[Original Title.]

THE UNION

OF THE

TWO NOBLE AND ILLUSTRE FAMILIES

OF

LANCASTRE & YORKE,

BEING LONG IN CONTINUOUS DESCENSION FOR THE CROUNE OF THIS NOBLE REALME,

WITH ALL THE

ACTES DONE IN BOTH THE TIMES OF THE PRINCES,

BOTH OF THE ONE LINAGE AND OF THE OTHER,

BEGINNING AT THE TIME OF KYNG HENRY THE FORTH,

THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS DIVISION,

AND SO SUCCESSIVELY PROCEEDING TO THE REIGN OF THE HIGH AND PRUDENT PRINCE

KYNG HENRY THE EIGHT,

THE VNDUBITATE FLOWER AND VERY HEIRE OF BOTH THE SAYD LINAGES.

1548.
HALL'S CHRONICLE;
CONTAINING
THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
DURING
THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH,
AND THE
SUCCEEDING MONARCHS,
TO THE
END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH,
IN WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THOSE PERIODS.
CAREFULLY COLLATED WITH THE EDITIONS OF 1548 AND 1550.

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1809.
TO THE

MOST MIGHTIE, VERTEOUS AND EXCELLENT PRINCE

EDWARD THE SIXT,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KYNG OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE AND IRELAND,

DEFENDOR OF THE CATHOLIKE FAITH, AND VNDER GOD SUPREME HED, OF THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND. YOUR MOSTE HUMBLE SUBJECT EDWARD HALLE, WISSHETH HEALTH, HONOR, AND FELICITIE.

OBLIUION the cancard enemie to Fame and renoune the suckyng serpēt of auncient memory, the dedly darte to the glory of princes, and the defacer of all conquestes and notable actes, so mucche bare rule in the firste and seconde age of the worlde, that nothyng was set out to mennes knowledge ether how the world was made either howe man and beastes wer created, or how the worlde was destroyed by water til father Moses had by deuine inspiraciō in the third age, inuented letters, the treasure of memorie, and set furth fiue notable bokes, to the greate comfort of all people liuyng at this daie. Likewise Mercurie in Egipte inuented letters and writyng, whiche Cadmus after brought into Grece. So euery naciō was desirous to enhaunce lady Fame, and to supprese that dedly beast Obliuō. For what diuersitie is betwene a noble prince & a poore begger, ye a reasonable man and a brute beast, if after their death there be left of theim no remembrance or token. So that euidently it appereth that Fame is the triumphe of glory, and memory by litterature is the verie dilator and setter furth of Fame. How mucche therefore are princes, gouernoures, and noble menne bounde to theim whiche haue so lively set furth the liues and actes of their parentes, that all though thei bee ded by mortall death, yet thei by writyng and Fame liue and bee continually present. If no man had written the goodnesse of noble Augustus, nor the pitie of merciful Traian, how shoulde their successours haue folowed ther steppes in vertue and princely qualitēs: on the contrarie parte, if the crueltie of Nero, the vngracious life of Caligula had not beene put in remembrance, young Princes and fraile gouernors might likewise haue fallen in a like pit, but by redyng their Vices and seyng their mische-

neous
ueous ende, thei bee compelled to leaue their euill waies, and embrace the good qualities of notable princes and prudent gouernours: Thus, writyng is the keye to enduce vertue, and represse vice: Thus memorie maketh menne ded many a thousande yere still to line as though thei wer present; Thus Fame triumpheth vpon death, and renoune vpon Obliuion, and all by reason of writyng and historie.

Alas my soueraigne Lorde, my herte lamenteth to knowe and remembre what rule this tyrante Obliuion bare in this realme, in the tyme of the Britons. For from the first habitacion of this land, no man of the Britons either set furthe historic of their begynnyng, or wrote the hole liues of their princes & kynges, excepte Gildas whiche inuighed against the euill doynges of a fewe tyrantes and euill gouernours. In so muche that Cesar writeth, that when he was in this realme, the people could not tel their linage, nor their begynnyng. But one Geffrey of Monmothe a thousand yere and more after Iulius Cesar, translated a certayn Britishe or Welshe boke, conteinyng the commyng of Brute with the sequele of his linage, til the tyme of Cadwalader, whiche Britishe boke if it had slept a little lenger, Brute with al his posteritie had ben buried in the poke of Obliuion, for lacke of writyng.

The strong Saxons, after thei had gayne this lande, set vp the bâner of Fame, and had their liues notably writte by diuere and sundery famous clerkes, euen from their firste entery into this lande, till the firste Monarchy, and so successuyely. In the Normans tyme, many notable woorkes hath been set furthe, some of one prince perticulerly, & some of mo: So that in fine, all the stories of kynges, from kyng Wilyam the firste, to kyng Edward the third, bee set furthe at length by diuere authours in the Latin toungue, as by Matthewe of Paris sometyme religiuos in sainte Albons and other. After whome Iohn Frossart wrote the liues of kyng Edward the third, and kyng Richard the seconde, so compendieously and so largely, that if there were not so many thynges spoken of in his long woorkes, I might beleue all written in his greate volumes to bee as trewe as the Gospell. But I haue redde an olde Prouerbe, whiche saithe, that in many woordes, a lye or twayne sone maie scape. Sithe the ende of Frossarte whiche endeth at the begynnyng of kyng Henry the fourth, no man in the Englishe toungue, hath either set furth their ho nors accordyng to their desertes, nor yet declared many notable actes worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seuen Kynges, whiche after kyng Richarde succeeded: Excepte Robert Fabian and one without name, whiche wrote the common English Chronicle, men worthy to be praysed for their diligence, but farre shotyng wide from the butte of an historie.

Wherefore moste drad and benigne souereigne Lord, lest cancarde Obliuion should
should deface the glory of these seven Princes, to whom you be of all sides lineall heire and very inheritour, I haue compiled and gathered (and not made) out of diuerse writers, as well forayn as Englishe, this simple treatise whiche I haue na-
med the vnion of the noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke, conioyned together by the godly mariage of your moste noble grandfa ther, and your verteous grand-
mother. [For as kyng Henry the fourthe was the beginnyng and rote of the great discord and deuision: so was the godly matrimony, the final ende of all discen-
cions, titles and debates.]

Beschyng your highe Maiestie, to take this my simple and rude worke, accord-
yng to your accustomed goodnesse in good part, not regardyng the thyng, but my
good will to my native countree, whose fame for lacke of writyng may muche be
darkened and defaced, and thus I pray to the celestiall Lorde to send you victorie ouer your enemies, Peace with your confederates, loue of your subiectes: and in
conclusion, perpetuall ioye & eternall felicitee.

RICHARD GRAFTON TO THE READER.

I must craue of the most gentle reader, charitably to iudge of me the imprinter of this worke, if ought herin shalbe sene vnto the of purpose to bee omitted either not sufficiently delated and set furth, or elles somethyng to playnly spoken, in the which might be noted affeccion, that thou wilt excuse me therin, for I professe that I haue as nere as in me lay, nether altered nor added any thyng of my selfe in the whole worke, otherwise the the author writ the same. But this is to be noted, that the Author therof, who though not to al me, yet to many very wel knowe, was a man in the later tyme of his lyfe not so paynfull and studious as be-
fore he had ben: wherfore he perfited and writt this historie no farther then to the foure and twentie yere of kyng Henry the eight: the rest he left noted in diuers and many pamphletes and papers, whych so diligently & truly as I coulde, I gathered the same together, & haue in suchewise compiled them, as may after thesaied yeres, apere in this worke: but utterly without any addition of myne. Therfore my re-
qustand desyr as aforesaid, is, that thou wilt truly and charitably iudge me: And so sone as my leasure will serve, for thine ease & ready fyndyng of any thyng herein conteyned I purpose to gather an exact table of the whole worke.

The
The names of the authors aswell Latin as other, out of the whiche this worke was first gathered, and after compiled and conioyned.

**LATIN AUCTHORS.**

- Polichronicon.
- Cronica Cronicarum.
- Nauclerus.
- Polidorus.
- Paulus Æmilius.
- Voluteranus.
- Gauguinus.
- Albertus Krantz.
- Michael Ricius.
- Hector Boetius.
- Ioannes Maior.
- Abbas Wyssenbergensis.
- Carion.
- Supplementum Cronicarum.
- Gesta Tholosanorum.
- Cronica Brabancie.

**FRENCH AUCTHORS.**

- Enguerant de Munstrellet.
- Iean Buchet.
- Iean Mayer de Belges.
- Argenton.
- La Mere dez Histories.
- Les annales de Fraunce.
- Les annales de Aquitayne.
- Les Croniq; de Brityane.
- Giles Corozett.
- Les Croniques de Normandi.
- Le Rosarie.
- Le genolagie des Roys

**ENGLISHE WRITERS.**

- Treuisa.
- Fabian.
- Sir Thomas Moore.
- Caxton.

- Ihon Hardyng.
- The Chronicles of London.
- Ihon Basset.
- Balantyne.

And out of other diuers Pamphlettes, the names of whom are to moste menne vnknownen.

**The names of the histories côteigned in this Volume.**

An introduccion into the devision of the two houses of Lancastre and Yorke.

- i. The vnquiet tyme of kyng Héry the Fowerth.
- ii. The victorious actes of kyng Henry the v.
- iii. The troublesome season of kyng Henry the vi.
- iiiii. The prosperous reigne of kyng Edward the iiiij.
- v. The pitifull life of kyng Edward the v.
- vi. The tragicall doynges of kyng Richard the iiij.
- vii. The politike gouernaunce of kyng Henry the viij.
- viii. The triumphant reigne of king Henry the viij.

**FINIS.**
AN INTRODUCTION

INTO THE HISTORY OF

KYNG HENRY THE FOURTHER.

WHAT mischiefs hath insurged in realms by intestine division, what depopulation hath ensued in countries by civil discord, what detestable murder hath been committed in cities by separate factions, and what calamity hath ensued in famous regions by domestic discord and unnatural controversy: Rome hath felt, Italy can testify, France can bear witness, Denmark can show, and especially this noble realm of England can apparently declare and make demonstration. For who abhorreth not to express the heinous facts committed in Rome, by the civil war between Julius Cesar and hardy Pope by whose discord the bright glory of the triumphant Rome was eclipsed and shadowed? Who can rehearse what mischiefs and what plagues the pleasant country of Italy hath tasted and suffered by the seditious factions of the Guelphs and Gebelynes? Who can report the misery that daily hath ensued in France, by the discord of the houses of Burgoyne and Orliens: Or in Scotland between the brother and brother, the uncle and the nephew? Who can curiously relate the manifold battles that were fought in the realm of Beame, between the catholikes and the pestiferous sects of the Adamites and others? What damage discord hath done in Germany and Denmark, all Christians at this date can well declare. And the Turk can bear good testimony, which by the discord of Christen princes hath amplified greatly his seigniory and dominion. But what misery, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the division and discord of the renouned houses of Lancastre and Yorke, my wit cannot comprehend nor my tongue declare neither yet my penne fully set forthe.

For what noble man liueth at this daie, or what gentleman of any auncient stocke or progeny is clere, whose lineage hath not ben infested and plagued with this unnatural division. All the other discordes, sects and faccions almoste liuely florished and continue at this presente tyme, to the greate displeasure and prejudice of all the christian publike welleth. But the olde deuided controversies between the fornamed families of Lancastre and Yorke, by the union of Matrimony celebrate and consummate betwene the high and mighty Prince Kyng Henry the seventh and the lady Elizabeth his moste worthy Quene, the one becyng indubitate heire of the hous of Lancastre, and the other of Yorke was suspended and appalled in the person of their moste noble, puissat and mighty heire kyng Henry the eight, and by hym clerely buried and perpetually extinct. So that all men (more clerer then the sonne)
AN INTRODUCCION INTO THE HISTORY OF

sonne) made apparently perceive, that as by discord great thynges decaie and fall to ruine,
so the same by concord be ruined and erected. In likewise all regions which by
deuisio and discencion be vexed, molested and troubled, bee by vnioun and agreement
releued pacified and enriched.

BY vnioun of the Goddhe to the manhod, manne was ioyned to God whiche before by
the temptacion of the sublte serpent, was from hym segregate and deuided. By the vnioun
of the catholike churche and the outworne sinagoge, not only the hard ceremonies and dedly
peines of the Mosaical law wer clerely abolisshed and made frustrate, but also christiân
libertie is inferred and Christes religion stablished & erected. By the vnioun of man &
woman in the holy Sacrament of Matrimony the generacion is blessed, and the synne of
the body clene extincte & put awaie. By the vnioun of mariage, peace betwene realme and
realme is exalted, and loue betwene countree and countree is norished. By coniuncio of
matrimony, malice is extinct, amitie is embraced, and indissolublo alliance and consangunite
is procured. What profeite, what comfort, what ioy succeeded in the realme of England by
the vnioun of the fornamed two noble families, you shall apparently perceiue by the sequele
of this rude and vnlearned history. And because there can be no vnioun or agreement but
in respect of a diuisio, it is consequent to reso that I manifest to you not onely the
originall cause and fountaine of the same, but also declare the calamities, trobles & miseries
whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contencious discencion.

FOR the whiche you shall vnderstande (accordyng as it is in an Acte of Parliament
made in the firste yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe specified and declared.)
That the highe and mightie Prince kyng Henry the third of that name, had issue Edward
his firste begotten sonne borne at Westminster the eleuenth Kalendes of Iuly in the vigile
of Saincte Marke and Marcilien in the yere of our Lorde a thousande two hundr. xxix.
And Edmonde his seconde begotten sonne borne on the daye of saincte Marcell in the
yere of our Lorde a thousande two hundr. xl. Whiche Edwarde after the death of
king Henry his father, was entitled and called kyng Edward the first, and had issue his first
begotten sonne entituled and called after the death of kyng Edward his father, kyng Edward
the second, which had issue the right noble and honorable prince kyng Edward the third
whiche kyng Edward had issue Edwarde his first begotten sone prince of Wales, Willyâ of
Hatfeld the second begotten sonne, Lionell duke of Clarence the, iij. begotten sonne, Ihon
of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the. iiiij. begotten sonne, Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke
the. vij. begotten sonne, Thomas of Wodstocke duke of Glocestre the. vijj. begotten sonne,
and Willyam of Wynsor the. viij begotten sonne. The saied prince Edward died in Æ life
of his father kyng Edward the. iij. & had issue Richard borne at Burdeaux, whiche after the
death of kyng Edward the. iij. as cosin and heire to hym, that is to saie sonne to the saied
Edwarde prince of Wales sonne to the saied kyng Edward the thirde succeeded hym in
royall estate and dignitte, lawfully entituled and called kyng Richarde the seconde and died
without issue, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward
the third, had issue Philippe his only daughter whiche was maried to Edmond Mortimer
erle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortimer erle of Marche: whiche Roger had issue
Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elianor died
without issue. And the saied Anne was maried to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to
Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the said kyng Edwarde the
thirde whiche Richarde had issue thee famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke
whiche had issue that noble prince kyng Edward the fourth father to Quene Elizabeth vitned
in matrimony to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the viij.

Æ Ihon duke of Lancastre had issue Henry erle of Darby, and Ihon erle of Somersette.
This Henry erle of Darby had issue, kyng Henry the fifth father to kyng Henry the sixte
whiche begat prince Edwarde that was slayne at Tewkesbury, and diseased without issue.
Ihon the erle of Somersette before named, sonne to Ihon duke of Lancastre, engendered
Ihon duke of Somersette father to the lady Margarete Countes of Richemonde mother to the
KYNG HENRY THE FOURTHE.

noble and haute Prince Kyng Henry the seuenth whiche espoused lady Elizabeth the heire of the illustre family of Yorke, by the whiche mariage the devise or badge of the hous of Lancaster whiche was the redde Rose, was vnite and ionyed with the white Rose, whiche was the cognisance and ensigne of the noble progeny of Yorke, as by the genealogy contegned in the ende of this woork more plainly shall appere.

This aforenamed Henry erle of Darby beeing created alitile before duke of Herfforde, aprudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued, and yet not so welbeloued of all, as of some highly disdayned, began to consider with hymself how that kyng Richarde his cosyn germaine was now brought to that trade of liuyng that he little or nothyng regarded the counsail of his vnles, nor of other graue and sadde persones, but did all thynge at his pleasure, setting his will and appetit in stede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daie beeyng in the compagny of Thomas Mowbrey firste duke of Norffolke and erle Marshall, beganne to breake his mynde to hym more for dolour and lamentacion, then for malice or displeasure; rehearsing howe that kyng Richarde little estemed and lesse regarded the nobles and Princes of his realme, and as mucche as laie in hym soughthe occasions, inuented causes and practised priuely howe to destroye the more part of them: to some thretenyng death, to other manuyng exile and banishment, forgettyng and not remembyng what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthie, to suffre his realme to lose the aunciente fame and pristinate renoume by his slouti and negligence, and that all thynge bothe in the tyme of peace, and also of warre, aswell in the realme as without, waxed worsse and worsse, and had never prosperous successe nor fortunaty conclusion. And because noble memme murmured, and the comon people grudged, and all memme wondered at his vnprinceely doynges, he desired the duke of Norffolke, whiche was one of the kynges priuy counsail and well heard with hym, to aduise the kyng to turne the lefe and to take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norffolke had heard fully his deuise, he toke it not in good parte, but rekened he had gotten a praine by the whiche he should obtayne greater favor of the kyng then euer he had, and so he at that tyme dissimuled the matter (as he was in deede bothe a depe dissimuler and a pleasaunte flaterer.) And after when he had opportunitie and sawe his tyme, was very glad (as tell tales and scapofantes bee, when thei haue any thynge to instill in to the eares and heddes of Princes) to declare to the kyng what he had heard, and to agrauate and make the offence the greater, he muche more added but nothyng diminished.

This matter somewhat quickened and more tikeled the waueryng mynd of kyng Richard, and brought hym into a great fury. But when the water of funitory was well digested in his stomacke, he determined to here bothe the parties indifferently, and called to hym the duke of Lancaster and his counsail, and also the dukyes of Herfforde and Norffolke, & caused the accusor to report openly the wordes to him declared, whiche rehearsed them again as he had before related to the kyng. When Duke Henry heard the tale otherwise reported then he either thought or saiéd, somewhat vnquited for the noueltie of the thynge, or troubled with angir for the vntruth of the matter, stode stil & paused a good while lokyng steaustly vpö the king. And after takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisance, besought his highnes to coccie no mistrust in hym til he had seen & herd more. Then turnyng hymself to his accusor, declared wordes by wordes what he had said shewyng the cause & occasion why he so spake, denying fiersly al the other new inuicions alleged & proponed to his charge: affirmynge he of the kyng would permit & suffre hym he would proue his accusor vntrue, vniust & afalse forger of lies & seditious tales by the stroke of a spere & döt of a sword. The duke of Norffolke affirmed constantly his saiying to be true & refused not the cóbate. The kyng demandaund of them if thei would agree betwene themselves, whiche thei bothe denied and threw done their gages, by my truth q^ the kyng, if you of yourselves will not agree I will not study how to agree you: and then he granted the the bataill & assigned the place to be at the citee of Couentre in the moneth of August next ensuyng, where he caused a süpteous theatre and listes royal gorgeously to be prepared.

B 2
of his brother the duke of Glocestre, to spoyle and robbe the soonne of his other brother. For he before this tyme asmuche as his pacience could beare, did tollerate and suffre the death of his brother, the exile of his nephew, and an hundred mo injuries, whiche for the neuitie and youth of the kyng, he remitted and sepulted in obliuion. And therefore considering that the glorye of the publique wealthe of his natuie countree was like to apall by reason that the kyng was not moste ingenious, & had no manne nere hym that would boldly admonishe hym of his office & dutie, thought it the acte of a wise man in tyme to get hym to a restyng place, and to leave § ofoloyng of suche a doubtfull capitaine whiche with a leadce swordce would cut his owen throte bolle. Wherfore he with the duke of Aumarle his soonne went to his house at Langley reioysyng that there was nothyng in the common wealthe mishappened either by his deuice or concet, dailie employing aide of almightye God to deuerte from kyng Richarde the darke clowde whiche he sawe dependyng ouer his hed. 

In this season kyng Richard sailed into Irelande as diuers authores testifie, but what he did there is no parte of my processe, whiche dependeth on the sequele of this deuisiō. While king Richard was in Irelande, the graue persones of the nobilitie, the sage prelates of the clergy § sad magestrates & rulers of the cictes, towns & communitie perceauyng daily more & more the realme to fall into ruyne and desolacion (in maner irrecreupable as long as kyng Richard either liued or reigned,) after long deliberacion, wrote into Fraunce to duke Henry, whom thei nowe called (as he was in deede) duke of Lancastre and Hertford, solicyntyng and requiryng hym with all diligente celeritee to conueigne hym self into Englaunde, promysyng hym all their aide, power and assistance, if he expellyng kyng Richard as a manne not mete nor conveniente for so princely an office and degree, would take vpon hym the sceptre rule and diadem of his natuie countree and firste nutritiue soyle. And for that cause thei sente the reuerent father Thomas Arundell archebishop of Caunterbury with certein lorde and cictes of diuerse cictes and boroughes in habite pattiate and dissimuled, into the cict of Paris, some goyng one waie and some another, but all assemblyng together at the house of Clugny where the duke then soioturned. When he sawe the archebishop his especial frened and looked on other his fautoures and lourers, if he thanked God, no manne oughte to maruell, if he welcommed these ambassadors no creature can wondre; but if he reioyced and applauded not at their accesse and commynyng, wise menne maie thykne folke & fooles maie laugh hym to skorne. When he was of them saluted, and thei of hym not onely resaluted but heartely welcommed & frendely enter- teyned. The archebishop desyryng the duke to absent all other persons than suche as wer his cōpānions, saied these or like wordes to hym.

When your louyng and naturall kynsmen and patricians moste noble and mightie prince, had muche and long tyme consideerd and debated with theiselves of their affaires and busines in this tempesteous world and season (in the whiche no manne of our nation is sure of his life, nor enioyeth his landes and seigniories without dreade nor possedeth his mouables without terroure or feare, whiche outrageous dooynges many yeres occupied hath brought the publique wealthe of our aboundāt countree almoste to wrekke and vtter exterminion) their last ankerholde refuge and conforfe was to studye and innenigate howe to haue a gouernour and rulre whiche should excell and florishe in wisedome, policie and iustice above all other. By whiche reason a greate nombre of the nobilitie and in maner all the communitie, byeng led and persuaded (whē thei had well cast their iyes and marked all the preres and nobles of the realme of Englande) thei could fynde no duke, nor marques, no erle nor other potenitate within all the realme, to whose empire and authorty thei would bee subiect and vassalls so gladly as to yours. For this I assure you (and you knowe it aswell as I) that wee miserable subiects haue so long borne the yoke of wāt温州 kyng Richard, and haue paciently tollerate the perniciuos persecucion of his gredy and avaricious counsellers, and haue wynked at the pollyng and extorcion of his vnmeasur-able officiers, that oure backes bee so galde that we can no more suffre, and our chynne bones
bones so weake that wee can no lenger cary. And thercfoure necessitée and not will, reason and not affection, constancy and not leuytée enforceth vs to impleare and desire youre aide and conforte, to whom wee bee sent by the moste part of the nobilitée and also of the more parte of the vniuersall comminalltie, to desire and require you to take vpon you the high power, gouernance and sceptre of your natuée countree and paternall inheritaunce, and the same to gouerne, rule and defende accordyng to your approved wisedome and long experimented pollicie, whom wee haue euer knownen to bee of that iustice, of that prudence and of that integritee that you will commande, admonishe or attempt any thyng whiche shall not bee iust, honest and laudable. Whiche request if you well considire and diligently pondre pruelye with yourselfe, you shall faciliye perceae that nothyng more profitable, more honest, or more glorious can by eny waies happen or chance to you then to accepte and concorde to the same. For what can you more expecte and wishe, then to commande and done all thynges accordyng to right, reason and honestie? Wee offer not to you golde, siluer, perle or precious stone, but our countree, our bodies, goodes and vs all to sse as yores and not as oures, desiring you to gue to vs in recompence, indifferécy quietnes and peace, and to restore to her seate and trone again, the lady iustice, whiche hath so long been banished out of our nacion, to thentent that wise, sage and good persone (whose desire and appetite is euer to liue well) maie honour, lone and embrace you as a gouernour and kyng sent from God, and that malicious and obstinate persone (whose conscience is grudged with daily offences, and whom the feare of iustice and punishement dooth continuallly vexe and perturbe, fearyng you as the skourge and plague of their facinoros dooynges and mischeuous actes) maie either sone amende, or shortly amoyde your countree and region. Nowe occacion is offred, refuse it not, by the whiche your wisedome, pollicie and valiantnes shall aper to the vniuersall worlde, by the whiche you shall not onely bryng vs into an vnitie and monacord, but also repressre all sedicion and cancard dissimulacion: then the noble men shall triumphe, the riche men shall liue without feare, the poore and nedy persone shall not bee oppressed nor confounded, and you for your so doyng, shall obtine thanks of your creator, lone of your people, favoure of your neighbours, fame and honoure sempiternall. Whë the bishop had ended, the duke pawsed awhile, and then put of his hood and saide:—

My lorde of Cauntourbury and you my other frendes and lourers, your commyng to vs is verie pleasaut, but more ioyuous is your message, for wee of our owne natural disposition for the good will and synguler affection that you haue euer borne to vs, haue loued, embraced and highly esteme you and all your dooynges. Surely we would you knewe with what sorowe and agony of mynde wee haue borne your vexacions, calamities and oppressions (as for the manifest inuries and opprobrious offences doone and committed against vs as you knowe well inough, wee wolde not speake at this tyme) of the whiche wee estemed oure selfe a partener, as a thyng common betwene vs. For as it is heard that the hed shall not feele when the hand or eny other membre is greued or sicke, so it is unlikey that eny displeasure or discomoditee should happen to you with whiche wee should not taste in parte, suche vicintie is emong membres, and suche communitie is emong frendes. Wherfore, neither for ambicion of worldly honour, nor for desire of Empire or rule, or for affection of worldly riches and mucke of the worlde, we wolde agree to your peticiō, but onely to relieue your miserable calamity, to restore iustice to her auncient rome & preheminc, & to defends the poore innocēt people from the extorte powre of the gredy cornerates & raunous oppressours, requiriynge you to ioyne with vs & we with you in aduauncye forward this our incepted purpose & pretēsed entreprice.

When the duke was condiscended to the bishoppes request, the bishop and his complices departed into Englane, makynge relacion to their conferedates of the dukes agreemet and pleasure, exhortinge euery manne to be prest and ready at his arryual. After their departure, the duke fayned to the Frenche kyng that he would go into Brytein to visite his frende duke Ihon of Brytein. The Frenche kyng thynkyng him to meane
meane inwardly as he outwardly dissimuled, sent to the duke of Brytein letters of commendacion in fauour of the duke of Lancaster. But if he had known that his entent was to transfret into Englande and depose his soone in lawe kyng Richard, he would surely have stopped hym a tyde, and let his purpose and passage. What should I saie? that whiche shalbe, shalbe. The duke passed into Brytein and there conducted and waged certeync menne of warre and shippes, and with good wynde and better spede sailed into Englad and landed at Quaespurre in holdenes as moste wryters affirme. But some saie that he landed at Plymooth, and other at Portsmouth, but where soever he arryued, sure it is that he tooke lande peaceably without any againsai or interrupcion. I will not bee tedious to you in reheysing howe the erles of Northumbrelande and Westmerlande, the lorde Percy, Rose, Willoughby and other resorted to hym, and taking an othe of hym that he should not doe to kyng Richard any bodely harme, and make to hym homage and became hit liege men. I omit howe children applauded, howe women rejoysed, and howe munne cryed oute for ioye in every toune and village where he passed. I relinquishe farther the conourse of people, the number of horses, whiche occurred to hym as he journeyed toward London, rejoysyng at his repair and commynyng to the Citie. I wil not speake of the procession and singing of the Cleargie, nor of the pleasant salutacions nor eloquent oraciones made to hym by the Prelacie, nor of the presents, welcomynges, laudes, gratificacions made to hym by the citieyss and commynalte of the citie of London, but I wil go to the purpose. Whiche he was come to London he consulted with his frendes diuers dayes, to whome came Thomas Earle of Arundel sone to Richard of Arundell, by kyng Richard a litell afore put to death, whiche had lately escaped out of prison. When the Duke had perchauned the fauour of the Nobilitie, the affection of the Cleargie and the sincere loue of the commynalte towards hym and his procedynges, he marched forward with a greate company toward the West countrey, and in passyng by the waie, the people assembled in great and houge multitudes (as the nature of the common people is, ever desirous of newe changes) calyng him their Kyng, deprauyng and ralyynge on kyng Richard, as an innocent a dastarde, a meicocke and not worthy to beare the name of a kyng. When he had assembled together a conuenient number of people for his purpose and was clerely determyned to depose kyng Rycharde from his rule and dignitie, he proclaimed open warre agaynst hym and all his partakers faultours and frendes. Kyng Richard being in Irelande was certified of the Dukes arriuall, from whence (when he had pacified the saugye and Wilde people) he retourned agayne into England, entending to resiste and defend the eminent peril and apparant ieopardy, and for the more tuicio and safegard entred into the strong castel of Flinte in North Wales. x. myles distaunt from Chester. When kyng Richard perceived that the people by plumpes fled from him to Duke Henry, he was amased and doubted what councell sodeinlie to take, for on the one part he sawe his title iust, trewe, and vnfallible, and beside that he had no small truste in the Welshemen, his conscience to be cleane pure immaculate without spot or enuy: on the other side, he save the puissaunce of his aduersaries, the sodal: departyng of them that he moost trusted, and all thynge turned vpsyndoue, with the things he beyne more abashed then encouraged, compelled by necessitie, determined to defe hym selwe in that castell till he myghte see the worlde stable and in more suretic. For nowe he evidentlie espyed and manifestly perceaued that he was lefte, lowted and forsaken of them by whom in tyme he myghte bene ayyed and relieued, and whiche nowe was to late and to farre overpassed: and this thynge is worthy to be noted with a whitestone, of al princes rulers and men set in auctoritee and rule; that this Duke Henry of Lancaster shoulde be thus called to the kyngdome and haue the heale and assistance all most of all the whole realme, whiche perchaunce never thereof once thought or yet dreamed: and that kyng Richard shuld thus be lefte desolate void and desperate of all hope and comforte, in whom if there were any offence, it ought more to be imputed to the frailtee of his wanton youth then to the malice of his heart or cankerdnesse of his stomacke, but suche is the frayle judgement of mortall men.
men whiche vilependyng and not regardyng thynges presente before their cies, do euer thinccke all thynges that are to come to haue a prosperous successe and a delectable sequelle.

When the Duke of Lancastre knewe that king Richard was come to the castell of Flinte, whiche a man maye call the dolorus Castell, because there king Richarde declined from his dignitie and lost the tipe of his glorie and preheminence, he assembled together a great armie in small space lest he myght geue his enemies time to prevent his purpose and so to lose the good occasion of victory to him geuen, came to the towne of Bristowe where he apprehended Willyam lord Scrope the kinges treasurer sir Itho Bushe and sir Henri Grene knyghtes, and caused their heddes to be striken of, and from thence toke his iourneie directely to Chester. When Thomas Percy Earle of Worcestor and great Master or lord Stuart of the kynges houshold beymg brother to the Earle of Northumberland hard tell of the dukes approch, bering displeasure to the king because he had proclaimed his brother a traiter, brake before al the kinges houshold his white staffe, which is the ensigne and token of his office and without delay went to duke Henry. Whiche the kinges familiari servitours perceiued this, they dispersed them selves some into one countreie and some into another.

The Duke came toward the castell of Flinte wherof king Richard beymg advertised by counsell of Itho Pallet and Richarde Seimer his assured servauntes departed out of the castell and toke the sandes by the ryuer of Dee trusting to escape to Chester and there to haue refuge and succour, but or he had farre passed he was forelayed and taken and brought to the Duke, which sent hym secretly to the Towre of London. When the Duke had thus possessed his longe desyred praye, he came to London in solempne estate and there called a Parliament in the kynges name, to the whiche many of the kynges frendes, but more of his there appeared. There was declared howe vnprofitable kyng Richarde had bene to the realme duryng his regine, howe he subuered the lawes, polled the people and ministred Iustice to no man but to suche as pleased hym. And to the entent that the commons should bee persuaded that he was an unyiust and vnprofitable Prince and a tiraunte ouer his subjectes, and worthy to bee deposed. There were set forthe. xxxv. solempne articles very heymerous to the cares of men, and to some almost vncredible: The very effecte of whiche articles I will truely reporte hereafter accoryndyng to my copie.

Fyrst that kyng Richard wastfully spent the treasure of the realme and had geuen the possessions of the Croune to men unworthy, by reason wherof daily newe charges more and more were layd in the neckes of the poore commynalitie. And where diuerse lordees as well spiritual as temporall, were appointed by the highe court of Parliament to cōmon and treate of diuers matters concernyng the common wealth of the same, which beymg busie about the same commision, he with other of his affinitie went about to empeach of treson, and by force and menace compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewsburie to condiscend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said Lordees: in so muche that he began to reise war against Itho duke of Lancastre, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Richarde Erle of Warwicke, and other lordees contrary to his honour and promise.

Item that he caused his vnclie the Duke of Glocester to be arrested without lawe, and sent him to Caleis, and there without judgemeinte murdered hym. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his arainenent pleasde his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull maner sodainly put to death.

Item he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men to the entent to make warre on the foresaid Lordees, and suffered them to robb and pill without correction or reprefe.

Item although the king flateringly and with great dissimulacion made proclamation throughout the realme, that the lordees before named were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extorcions and oppressions done in this realme, yet he laid to theym in the parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

Item he hath compelled diuers of the saied lordees servauntes and frendes by menace & extreme painemes, to make great fines to theyr ytter vndoyn. And notwithstanding his pardon to theym graunted yet he made them fine of newe.
8. Item where diuers were appointed to common of the estate of the realme, and the common welthe of the same. The same king caused al the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promise made in the parliament, to his open dishonour.

9. Item he uncharitably commaunded that no man vpon paine of losse of lyfe and goodes should once entrate him for the retourne of Henry nowe duke of Lancastre.

10. Item where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other prince, the said kyng Richard after he had obtened diuers actes of parliament for his owne peculier profite and pleasure, then he obtened Bulles and extreme censure from Rome, to compell al menne straightly to kepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient privileges of this realme.

11. Item although the duke of Lancastre had done his deuoir against Thomas duke of Norfolke in prof of his quarle, yet the saied kyng without reason or ground banished him the realme for ten yeres contrary to all equitie.

12. Item before the dukes departure, he vnder his brode seal licenced him to make attournecis to prosecute and defend his causes: The saied kyng after his departure wold suffre none attourney to apere for him but did with his at his pleasure.

13. Item the same kyng put outhe diuers shuies lawefully elected and put in their romes, diuers other of his owne minions subuertyng the lawe contrary to his othe and honour.

14. Item he borrowed great somes of money, and bound him vnder his letters pattentes for the repaimet of the same, & yet not one peny paid.

15. Item he taxed men at the wil of him & his vnhappy counseil, & the same treasure spent in folie, not payyng pore men for their vitail & viande.

16. Item he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and somtime in his brest, by reason of whiche fantasticall opinion, he destroied noble men and empouerished the pore commons.

17. Item the parliament setttyng and enacting diuers notable statutes for the profite and advauancement of the common welth, he by his priuie frendes and solicitors caused to be enacted that no acte then enacted shuld be more prejudiciall to him than it was to any of his predecessors, through whiche Prouiso he did often as he liste and not as the law ment.

18. Item for to serue his purpose he wold suffer the Shrefes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.

19. Item at the sommons of the parliament when knyghtes and burgesses should be electe that the election had bene full proceded, he put out diuers persons elected, and put in other in their places to serue his wyll and appetite.

20. Item he had priuie espialles in every shire, to here who had of him any communacion, and if he commoned of his lascivious liuyng or outrageous doyng, he streghte waies was apprehended and made a greuous fine.

21. Item the spiritualtie alledged against hym that he at his goyng into Ireland exacted many notable somes of money, beside plate & iuels, without law or custome, contrary to his oth takē at his coronaciuo.

22. Item when diuers lorde and Justices were sworne to say the truthe of diuers thinges to them committed in charge both for the honor of the realme and profite of the kyng, the said kyng so menaced theym with sore thretenynges, that no man wold or durste saie the ryght.

23. Item that with out the assent of the nobilitie, he caried the iuvels and plate and treasure ouer the see into Irelande, to the great empouerishyng of the realme. And al the good recordes for the common welthe and against his extorcioncs, he caused priuely to be embesiled and confued away.

24. Item in all leages and letters to bee concluded or sent to the see of Rome or other regions: His wretynge was so subtill and so darke, that no other prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subjectes.

Item
Item he mooste tirannously and vnprincely said that the liues and goodes of al his subiectes were in the princes hauds & at his disposicio.

Item that he contrary to the great Charter of England caused dyuers lustie men to appele dyuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court marcial, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: Whervpon the said aged persons fearing the sequele of the matter submitted theym selfes to his mercy whom he fined and rausioned unreasonably at his pleasure.

Item he craufely deuised certain priuie othes contrary to the lawe, & caused dyuers of his subiectes first to be sworne to observe the same and after bounde them in bondes for former keeping of the same, to the great vndoying of many honest men.

Item where the Chauncellour accoridying to the lawe woulde in no wise graunt a prohibicion to a certain person: the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seal with greate thretynge if it shuld be disobied.

Item he banished the bishop of Canterbury without cause or judgement and kept him in the parliament chamber with men of Armes.

Item the bishops goodes he graunted to his successour vpon condicion that he shuld maintaine al his statutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno. xxi. and the statutes made. Anno. xxii. at Couentre.

Item vpon the accusacion of the Archbishop, the king craufely perswadde the saied byshop to make no answere, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament. And so withoute answere he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes seazed.

These bee the articles of any effecte whiche were laied against him, sauyng fowre concerning the bishopp of Canterbury, whiche onely touched hi, but his workynge vnwrought king Richarde frō his croüc.

AND for as much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusacions were laied against him in the open parliament, it was thought by the most parte that kyng Richard was worthy to be deposed of al honor, rule and Pryncely governance. And instrumentes autentike and solempe to depose, and other instrumentes were made to certain persons for them, and all homagers of the realme to resigne to hym all the homages and fealties dewe to him as kyng & soueraigne.

But or this deposicion was executed in tyme, he came to Westminster and called a great councell of all the nobilitie and commons to the entente to conclude and make expedicion of all thynge whiche before were purposed and set forward.

In the meane season diuere of king Richardes seruauntes which by licence had accesse to his person, conforted, anamated and encouraged him byng for sorowe withered, broken and in maner halfe deade, aduertyseng and exhortyng him to regard his welthe and to saue his lyfe. And firste they aduised him wilfully to suffer hym selfe to be depose bothe of his dignitie, & depruned of his riches: so that the duke of Lancastre might without murdred or battail obtiene the scepter and Diademe, after the whiche they well perciuied he gaped and thrusted by the mene wherof they thought he shuld be in perfitt assurance of his lyfe long to continue, & therfore might commit hym selfe to good hope, which is the best felowe & companio that a man in aduerseitie can associat or ioyne hym self withal. Surely this councel was both good and honeste in so great an extremitie, but yet the full effect followed not as the sequele of the thynge sheweth and apparently declareth. What profite, what bonoure, what suretie had it bene to kyng Richard, if he when he myght, whiche professad the name and title of a kyng, whiche is as much to saie, the rulor or keper of people, had excogitate or remembred to haue bene a keper of his owne hedde and lyfe, whiche nowe byng forsaken, reiect and abandoned of al such as he, being an euil sheperd or herdeman, before time did not plie, keppe and diligently ouerse was easily reduced and brought into the haides of his enemies. Nowe it was no mastery to perswade a man byng desperate pensive and ful of dolour, to abdicate him selfe from his empire and imperiell preheminence: so that

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in onlie hope of his life and sauegard, he agreed to al thynges that of hym were demanded, and desired his kepers to shewe and declare to the duke, that if he wold vouche safe to accord and come to hym, he wolde declare secretly thynges to hym both profitable and pleasant. His kepers sent word of all his saiynges to the duke, whiche incontinent repaired to his chamber. There kyng Richard commoned with him of many things, and amongst all other affirmed those accusacions to be to muce trewe whiche the comminalltie of the realme alleged against him: that is to say, that he had euel governed his dominion and kingdome, and therefore he desired to be disbursed of so great a charge and so heauy a burdeyn, besech-ying the Duke to grant to him the safegarde of his lyfe, and to haue compassion of hym, nowe as he before that time had bene to him bountifull and magnificent.

† The duke biddynge him to be of good comfort and out of fear warranted him his lyfe, so that he wold resigne to him his scepter crowne & dignitie: also nether to procure nor consent to any thyng or act whiche myght be hurtfuil or prciudicall to his person or succession, to the whiche demandes he graunted and frely condiscended and agreed.

THE Duke of Lancastre the nexte daie declared al kyng Richardes hole mind to the coucel, but especially to his vnclc Edmunde duke of Yorke (whose helpe he much vsed) whiche hearyng al thynges to be in a broyle, a fewe daies before was come to London. The nobles and commons were well pleased that kyng Richard shouldc frankly and frely of his owne mere mocion, whiche they much desired (lest it shuld he noysed and reported that he therewnto were inforced and by violence constrained) resigne his crowne and depart from his regallte.

Not long after he caused a great assemble to be appointed at the Towre of London, where kyng Richard appareled in vesture and robe royall the diademe on his head, & the scepter in his hand, came personally before the cogregacion and said these wordes in effecte. I Richard king of England Duke of Fraunce, Aquitaine, and Lorde of Ireland, confesse and say before you my lordes and other our subiectes, that by the hole space of xxii. yere in the whiche I have obtained and possessed the rule and regiment of this famous realme of England, partly ruled and misaused by the euell & sinister counsell of peruerse & flattering persons: and partly led by the frailtie of young waueryng and wanton youth, and with delectacion of worldly and volupteuous appetite, haue omitted and not executed my royall office and bounden dutie accordyng as I oughte to have dooen, in ministryng justice and prefermente of the comon wealthie, whiche negligence I more than any of you as I thinke my selfe, doo sore repente and bewayle, and specially because I am brought to this poynyte, that I knowledge and confesse my selfe, not worthy longer to reigne nor to have any farther rôle. So that now I can nother amende my misdeenes, nor correcte my offences whiche sooner I intended to dooe, and especially in my olde age, in the whiche euill thynges be accustomed to be amended, and the fautes and offences of youth, to be corrected and reformed. For what young man commonly can be founde inued with so muche vertue and so good qualities, whiche agitate & pricked with the heate of youth, shall not turne and decline from the right path and direct waie, and yet when he counceth to the more ripenes of yeres and great grauntrie, doth not amend and change into better his olde erantes and wanton actes, for experience teacheth, that of a rugged colte, commenceth a good horse, and of a shredeu boye, proneth a good man. But sithe Fortune doth not permit and suffere me so to do, to thentent that the publike welth of this realme maie bee holpen and amused by my meane, and after this not like again to declyne and decaye. And to the intent that it shall bee lefull to you, to elect and chose my cosyn germaine, Henry duke of Lancastre, a man mete for a realme, and a prince apt for a kyngdom, to your kyng and souereigne lorde. I of my owne mere mocion and fielwill, do putte and depose my self out of all royall dignitee, preheminence and sofferain-ignitee, and resign the possession, title and vse of this realme, with all rightes there vnto apperteigntyng, into his handes and possession. And then with a lamentable voyce and a sorowfull countenance, deliered his sceptre and crowne to the duke of Lancastre, requiryng euery persone seuerally by their names, to graunte and assente that he might
hen a private and a solitary life, with the sweetness whereof, he would be so well pleased, that it should be a paine and punishment to hym to go abrode, and delivered all the goods of that he had, to the some of three hundred thousande pounde in coyne, beside plate and fuel, as a pledge and satisfaction, for the injuries and wronges by hym committed and done. But what soever was promised, he was disquieted. For shortly after his resignacion he was conweighed to the castell of Leedes in Kent, & from thence to Pountiffret where he departed out of this miserable life, as you shall heare herafter.

THE VNQUIETE TYME OF KYNG HENRY

THE FOURTHE.

WHEN the fame was dispersed abrode that Kyng Rycharde had putte hymselfe from his dignite royall, and resigned his scepter and diademem imperialis, Henry Plantagenet borne at Bolyingbroke in the Countie of Lyncolne, duke of Lancastre and Herfford erle of Derby, Lecester and Lyncolne sonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancastre, with one voyce bothe of the nobles and comons, was published, proclaymed & declared kyng of England and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelaide, and on the daie of saintc Edward the confessor, was at Westminster with great solemnitee and royal pompe, sacred, enoynted and crowned king by the name of kyng Henry the fourth. But who so euer rejoysed at this coronacion, or whosoeuer delightet at his high promoci, suer it is that Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche whiche was heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of kyng Edwarde the third as you before haue heard, and Richard erle of Câbrige the sonne to Edmond duke of Yorke, whiche had maried Anne sister to the same Edmonde, wer with these doynges neither pleased nor contente. In so muche that nowe the diuisiio once beyng began, the one linage persecuted the other, and never ceased till the heires males of bothe the lines wer by battaill murdered or by sedicion clerely extincte and destroyed.

At the daie of the coronacion, to thentent that he should not seeme to take vpon hym the croune and scepter royall without title or lawfull clayne but by extorte power and iniurios intrusion, he was aduised to make his title as heire to Edmonde, surnamed or vntruly fayned Crouchecke, sonne to kyng Henry the third, and to saie that the said Edmond was elder brother to kyng Edward the first, and for his deformitee repudiat and put by from the croune royall to whom by his mother Blanche doughter and sole heire to Henry duke of Lancastre, he was next of bloud and vndoubtfull heire. But because not onely his frédes but also his priuy enemies knewe, that was but a title and that this title was by inuentors of mischief fayned, imagened & published and was surely enformed not only that the said Edmond was younger sonne to kyng Henry the third accordyng as it is declared in the act of Parliament before rec.ted. Also hauyng true knowledge that Edmód was nether Croke-backed nor a deformed persone, but a goodly gentill man and a valiante capitain, and so muche fauored of his louyng father, that he to prefere hym to the mariage of the Quene dowager of Nauerne hauyng a greate liuelode, gane to hym the countie palatyne of Lancastre with many notable honours, high seigniories and large privileges. Therefore thei
advised hym to make some other clayme to the newe obtained regiment, and so caused it to be proclaimed and published that he challenged the realme not onely by conquest, but also because he was by kyng Richard adopted as heire, & declared successor & of hym by resignacion had accepted the crowne and scepter, & also that he was the next heire male of the bloud royall to kyng Richard. 

After that he was crownd, he created his eldest sonne lorde Henry, Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwale, and erle of Chester, then beeyng of the age of xij. yeres. This solenmite finished, he called his high court of parliament, in the whiche it was demanded by the kynges frendes what should be doen with kyng Richard. The bishop of Carleile whiche was a man both wel lerned & well stomacked rose vp and said. My lorde I require you take heede what answere you make to this question. For I thinke there is none of you worthy or mete to geue judgemente on so noble a Prince as kyng Richard is, whom we have taken for our sovereigne and leighe lorde by the space of xxij. yeres, and I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrante a theife, nor so cruell a murderer, whiche is apprehended and deteigned in prysone for his offence, but he shall bee brought before the justice to heare his judgemente, and yet you will procede to the judgemente of an anoyned kyng, and here hether his answere nor excuse. And I saie that the duke of Lancastre whom you call kyng, hath more offended & more trespassed to kyng Richard and this realme, then the kyng hath other doen to hym or to vs. For it is manifestly knowne that the duke was banished the realme by kyng Richard and his counsaill, and by the judgemen те of his owne father, for the space of tenne yeres, for what cause all you knowe, and yet without licesse of Kyng Richard he is returned again into the realme, ye and that is worse, hath taken vpun hym the name, title and preheminence of a kyng. And therefore I say and affirme that you do apparently wrong, and manifest injury to procede in any thynge against kyng Richard, without callyng him opely to his answer and defence. When the bishop had ended, he was incontinent by therle Marshall attached & committed to ward in the Abbey of S. Albones.

And then it was concluded, that kyng Richard should continew in a large prysone, and should bee plentifully scrued of all thynges necessarie bothe for viande and apparell, and that if any persone would presume to reare warre or congregate a multitude to releue or deliuer hym out of prysone, that then he should bee the first that should dye for that sedicious commocion. In this Parliamente the Lorde Fitzwater appeled the duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with hym in listes royall. Likewise the lorde Morley appeled therle of Salisbury, and there were more then. xx. appellantes which waged battaill in this parliamente. But the kyng pardoned all their offences sauyng the fautes of the lorde Morley and therle of Salisbury, whom he commited to ward, and after at the request of their frédes, their offences wer remitted & thei deliuered. He punished also extremely all suche as were priuie and dooers of the homecide of Thomas his vnce late duke of Glocester, whiche was shamefully murdered before in θ toune of Caleis. Besides this, he aunansed his frendes, and called out of exile Richard erle of Warwike, and restored the exile of Arundelles sonne to his owne possession and dignite, and many other. He toke into his speciall favor Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter and erle of Huntyngdone halfe brother to king Richard, which had espoused the lady Elizabeth his owne sister. And beeyng before captaine of Caleis, greatly mooved and inwardly greued that Kyng Richard his brother was amoued out of the seate royall, began to reys and stirre vp newe mociions and sedicus faccions within the realme. Werfore to aduoyde suche pestiferus dangers, the newe kyng recoïcled hym to his fauor, and made hym as he surely coniectured his perfite frende, where in deede he was inwardly his dedly enemie. In this parliamento were adnichilate al the actes passed in the parliament holden by kyng Richard in the xxi. yere of his regne, whiche was called the euill parliament for the nobilitie, the worse for the menaltie, but worse of all for the cõmanaltie. For in that parliament, will ruled for reason, men alioye were condemned without examination, men dedde and put to execucio by priuy murder wer adjudged openly to die, the hie prelate of the realme without answere was banished: An
KYNG HENRY THE. IIII.

An erle arraigned could not be suffered to pleye his pardon, and consequently one counsailer did all thyng, and all counsailers did nothyng, affirmynge the saynyng of Esope, whiche hearyng his feloe to saie that he could do all thynges, saied he could do nothyng. When he had thus reconciled his nobilitie, and gat the favor of the spiritualte and wonderfully pleased the cònomalte, but not so muche pleasing them, as the possessyng of the crowne pleased hymself and his frendes, he of them and by the favor of them bothe, for the auoydance of al claimes, titles and ambiguous to be made vnto the crowne and diadem of the realme had his dignyte ligne and succession enacted, confirmed and entayled by the assent of the high courte of Parliamente as foloweth worde by worde.

"At the request and peticion aswell of the nobilitie as of the comons in this parliamente assembled, it is ordeigned and established that the enheritance of the crownes and realmes of Engelande and of Fraunce, and of all other lordshippes to the kyng, our souereigne lorde, aswel on this side the seas as beyond apperteignynge with their appurtenances, shall bee vnited and remain in the persone of our souereigne lorde the kyng, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent aforsaid, it is ordeigned, established, pronounced, enacted, written and declared, that my lorde Prince, Henry eldest sonne to our souereigne lorde the kyng, shall bee heire apparante and successor to our saied souereigne lorde in the said crowne, realmes & seigniories, to have & enjoy them with al their appurtenaunces after the decease of our saied souereigne to hym and the heires of his body begotten. And if he die without heires of his body begottē, that then the saied crownes, realmes and seigniories with their appurtenances shall remain to the lorde Thomas, secōd sonne to our saied souereigne lorde and to the heires of his body begotten, and if he deparate without issue of his body begotten, all the premisses to remaigne to lorde Ihon his third sonne and to the heires of his body begotten. And if he dye without issue, then the crownes, realmes, & seigniories aforesaied with their appurtenances shall remain to the lorde Humfrey the. iiiij. sonne to our said souereigne lorde, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten."

After whiche acte passed, he thought neuer to bee by any of his subjectes molested or troubled. [But O Lord, what is the mutabilitie of fortune? O God what is the chaunge of worldely safetie? O Christe what stabelenes consisteth in mannes provision? Or what ferne suerty hath a prince in his throne and degree? Considerynge this kyng hauyng the possession of the crowne and realme, and that in open parliament, agreed to by the princes, condiscended to by the Clerkes, ratified by the comons, and enacted by the three estates of the realme, was when he thought hymself surely mortised in a ferne roche & immouable foundacion, sodainly with a trimbelyng quickesande & vustedfast grounde like to haue sonke or been ouerthrown. For diverse lorde, whiche wer kyng Richardeis frendes, outwardly dissuaded that whiche thei inwardly conspired and determined, to confounde this kyng Henry to whom thei had bothe sworn allegance and done hommage, and to erect again and set vp their old lorde and frend kyng Richard the second.

In this case there lacked only an orgaine and conueighance bothe how secretly to serche and knowe the myndes of the nobilitie, as all so to bryng them to an assemble and counsil, where thei might consult and comen together, how to bryng to efficacite and effect, their long desired purpose and secrete enterprise. [Se how the the deuill is as ready to set furth mischief, as the good angell is to auance vertue.] At this time was an Abbot in Westminster, a man of aparant vertues, professyng openly Christ, christian Charitee, and due subiecion and obeisance to his prince: whiche Abbot hearyng kyng Henry once saie when he was but erle of Darby and of no mature age or grown grauite, that princes had to litle, and religions had to muche, imagined in hymself that he now obteinyng the crowne of the realme, if he wer therin a long continuer, would remoue the greate beame that then greued his iyes and pricked his conscience. For you must vnderstande that these monasticall persons, lernd and vuliterate, better fed then taught, toke on the to write & registre in the boke of faune, the noble actes, the wise dooynges, and politike gouernances of kynges and princes
princes, in whiche cronographie, if a kyng gaue to them possessions or graunted them liberties or exalted them to honor & worldly dignitee, he was called a sainct he was praised without any deserte aboue the Moone, his genealogie was written, and not one iote that might exalt his fame, was ether forgotten or omitted. But if a christian prince had touched their liberties or claimed any part justly of their possessions, or would haue intermitted in their holy franchises, or desired aide of the against his and their common enemies. Then tinges talked and pennes wrote, that he was a tirant, a depresser of holy religion, an enemie to Christes Churche and his holy flocke, and a damned and accursed persone with Dathan and Abiron to the depe pitte of helle. Whereof the proverbe bega, geue and be blessed, take auaie and bee accursed. Thus the feare of lesyng their possessions, made them pay yerely annates to the Romish bishop: thus the feare of correccion and honest restraint of libertee, made them from their ordinaries, yea almooste from obedience of their princes to sue dispensacions, exempcions and immunitiees.

THIS Abbot that I spake of whiche could not well forgette the saiyng of kyng Henry, and beyng before in greate fauor and high estimation with kyng Richard called to his hous on a daie in the terme season al suche lordes & other persone whiche he ether knewe or thought to be as afeccionate to kyng Richard, and enious to the estate and avancement of kyng Henry, whose names wer, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter and erle of Huntyngdon, Thomas Hollande duke of Surrey and erle of Kent, Edward duke of Aumare and erle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, Ihô Montagew erle of Salisbury, Hugh Speser erle of Glocester, Ihon the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blount and Magdailen one of kyng Richardes chapell, a man as like to hym in stature and proportion in all liniamentes of his body, as vnlike in birthe dignitee or condicions. This Abbot highly feste these greate lordes and his speciall frendes, and when thei had well dined, thei all withdrew themselves into a secrete chamber and sat doune to counsail, when thei wer set, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter whose rage of reuengyng y injury doen to kyng Richard was nothyng mitigate nor mollified, but rather encreased and blossomed, declared to theim their allegance promised, and by otte confirmed to kyng Richard his brother, forgettyng not the high promocions and notable dignitiees whiche he and all other there present had obtaigned by the high fauor and munificent liberalitee of his saied brother, by the whiche thei wer not onely by otte and allegance bounde, and also by kindnes and vrbanitee insensed & mowed to take part with hym and his frendes, but also bound to be reuenged for hym and his cause, on his mortall enemies and dedly foes, in whiche doyng he thought policie more meter to be vsed then force, and some wittie practise rather to be experimented then manifest hostilitie or open warre. And for the expedicion of this enterprise he deuised a solempne iustes to be enterprised betwene hym and. xx. on his parte, and the erle of Salisbury and. xx. on his parte at Oxforde: to the whiche triumpe, Kyng Henry should be inuited and desired, and when he were moste busely regarding the marciall playe and warly disporte, he sodainly should bee slain and destroyed. And by this meanes kyng Richard whiche was yet a liue, should be restored to his libertee and repossessed of his crowne and kyngdome, and appoincted farther who should assemble the people, the numbre and persones, whiche should accomplishe and perfoerne this inuented assaie and policie.

THIS devise so much pleased the seditious congregacion, that thei not onely made an indenture sextipartite sealed with their seals and signed with their handes in the whiche eche bounde hym selfe to other to endeououre theim selfes both for the destruction of Kyng Henry and the creacion of King Richard, but also sware on the holy Evangelistes the one to be trewe and secrete to the other, even to the houre and point of death. When all thynges were thus appoincted and concluded the Duke of Exceter came to the kyng to Windsore, requiring hym for the love that he bare to the noble actes of chivalrie, that he woulde vouchsafe not onely to repaire to Oxford to see and behold their manlie feates, and warlike pastime: but also to be the discouerer and indifferente judge (if any ambiguitee should arise) of their couragious actes and royall triumpe. The kyng seeyng hymself so effectuously desired, and that of his br:cher
KYNG HENRY THE. III.

brother in lawe, and nothing lesse imagenyng th¢ that which was pretended, gentelly granted and frendly condiscended to his request. Which thing obtained, all the lorde's this cospiracie departed to their houses (as they noise'd) to set armorers on work for trimmyng of their harnes against the solemmie iustes. Some had the helme the visere the two bauiers & the two plackardes of the same curiously grauè and conningly costed: Some had their collers fretted and other had them set with gilte bullions, one company had the plackard, the rest, the port the burley, the tasses, the lamboys, the backpece the tapull, and the border of the curace all gilte: And another bande had them all enamelled Azure. One sorte had the vambrases the pacegardes the grandgardes the goldren, the pollettes, parted with golde and azure: And another flocke had theym siluer and sable: Some had the mainfères, the close gantlettes, the guissettes the flancardes drope & gutted with red, and other had the speked with grene: one sorte had the quishes, the greues, the surlettes, y sockettes on the right side and on the left side siluer. Some had the spere, the burre, the cronet al yelowe, and other had them of diners colours. One band had the scafferoun the cranet, the bard of the horse all white, and other had them all gilte. Some had their armyngh swarde freshely burnyshed and some had the conningly vernished. Some spurres were white, some gill, and some cole blacke. One parte had their Plumes all white, another had them all redde, and the third had them of seuerall colours. One ware on his heade his Ladies sleue, and another bare on his helme the gloue of his dearlyng: But to declare the costly Bases, the riche bardes, the pleasant trappers bothe of goldesmithes worke and embrawderie, no lesse sumptuously then curiously wrought, it would aske a long time to declare, for euerie man after his appetite devised his fantasy verifying the olde Prouerbe, so many heads, so many wittes.

The duke of Exceter came to his house & raised men on every side and prepared horse and harnes, mete and apte for his compassed purpose. When the Duche's his wyfe which was sister to kyng Henry perceiued this, she no lesse trouble coniected to be prepared against her brother the was in dede eminente & at hand, wherfore she wept & made great lamentacion. When the duke perceiued her dolour, he said, what Besse, how chaunseth this, when my brother king Richard was deposed of his dignitie, and committed to harde and sharpe prison whiche had bene kyng and ruled this realme noble by the space of. xxii. yeres and your brother was exalted to the throne and dignitie imperiall of the same, then my hearte was beaune, my life stooed in jeopardy and my combe was clerely cut, but you then rejoysed laughd and triumphed, wherfore I pray you be contene that I may aswell rejoyce and have pleasure at the delieryng and restoryng of my brother iustly to his dignite, as you were iocond and pleasant when your brother vniustly and vntrulie deprived and dis-seazed my brother of the same. For of this I am sure, that yf my brother prosper, you and I shal not fall nor decline: but if your brother continue in his estate and magnifiçee I doubt not your decay nor ruine, but I suspecte the losse of my life, beside the forfeyture of my landes and goodes. When he had sayd, he kissd his Lady whiche was sorrowful and pensife, and he departed toward Oxforde with a greate company bothe of Archers and horsemen, and when he came there, he founde ready al his mates and confederates wel appointed for their purpose, except the Duke of Amyerle Erle of Rutland, for whom they sent messengers in great haste. This duke of Amyerle went before from Westminster to se his father the duke of Yorke, and sittynge at dinner had his counterepaine of the endenture of the confederacie wherof I spake before in his bosome.

The father espied it and demandes what it was, his sonne lowelie and beningly answered that it myght not bee sene, and that it touched not him. By saint George quod the father I will see it, and so by force toke it out of his bosome, when he perceaued the content and the sixte signes and scales sette and fixt to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodainlie rose from the table, cómaundynge his horses to be sadeled, and in a greate furie saide to his sonne, thou trayter thefe, thou hast bene a traitour to kyng Richard, and wilt thou nowe be false to thy cosen kyng Henry? thou knowest wel enough that I am thy pledge.
pledge borowe and mayneperner, body for body, and land for goodes in open parliament, and goest thou about to seke my death and destruction? by the holy rode I had leauer see the strangede on a gibbet. And so the duke of Yorke mouëd on horselacke to ride toward Windsor to the kyng and to declare the hole effecte of his sone and his adherentes & partners. The duke of Aumerle seyng in what case he stode toke his horse and rode another way to Windsor, riding in post thither (wiche his father being an olde man could not doe.) And when he was alighted at the castel gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saying that he must nedes deliever the keies to the kyng. When he came before the kynges presence he kneled downe on his knees, bescheyling him of mercy and forgesuenes: The kyng demanded the cause: then he declared to him plainely the hole confederacie and entier confiration in manner and forme as you have harde: Well saied the kyng, if this be trewe we pardon you, if it bee fained at your extreme perill bee it. While the kyng and the duke talked together, the duke of Yorke knocked at the castel gate, whom the kyng caused to be let in, and there he delievered the endenture wiche before was taken from his sonne, into the kynges bandes. Which wrytynge when he had redde, and sene, perceinyng the signes and scales of the confederates, he chaunged his former purpose. For the daie before he heryng say that the chalengers were al ready and that the defenders were come to do their deuoir, purposed to have departed towards the triumphe the next day, but by his prudent and forecastyng councel, somewhat staide till he myght se the ayre clere and no darcke cloude nere to the place where the listes were. And nowe beyng advertised of the truthe and veritie, howe his destruction and death was compassed, was not a littell vexed, but with a great and meruelous agonie perturbed and vnaquieted, and therefore determined there to make his abode not hauing time to loke and gase on lustes and tourneis, but to take hede howe to kepe and conserve his lyfe and dignite, and in that place taried till he knewe what way his enemies would set forward. And shortly wrote to the Earle of Northumberland his high Costable, and to the erle of Westermerland his high Marshal, and to other his assured fremedes of al the douteful daunger and perelous icopardie. The coniuratours perceiyng by the lacke of the duke of Aumerles coming, and also seyng no preparacion made there for the kynges commynynge, imagined with them selues that their enterprys was intimate and published to the kyng: Wherfore that thyng whiche they attempted pruillie to do, nowe openly with speare & shilde they determined with all diligent celerietie to set forth and aduance. And so they adorne Magdalene, a man resembling muche kyng Richard in roiall and princely vesture, callynge him kyng Richard, affirynge that he by fawour of his kepers was delievered out of prison and set at libertie, and they followed in a quadrat array to the entent to destroy king Henry as the most pernicious & venemus enemy to the and his owne naturall countrey. While the confederates with this newe publyshed Idole accompaniéd with a puissant armie of men, toke the directe way and passage toward Windsor: Kyng Henry beyng admonished of their approching, with a fewe horse in the night, came to the Tower of London about. xii. of the clocke, where he in the mornynge caused the Maire of the citie to apparell in armure the beste and moste courageous persons of the citie: which brought to him. iii. M. archers and. iii. M. bill men, beside them that were deputed to defend the citie. The Lordes of the confederacie entered the castel of Windsor, where they findyng not their praie, determined with all speed to passe forthe to London: But in the waie, changyng their purpose they returned to the towne of Colbrooke and there taried. These Lordes had much people folowing them, what for feare and what for entreatie surely beleuyng that kyng Richard was there present and in company. King Hery issued out of London with twentye M. men and came to Hounsloe Heath, where he pitched his campe, abiding the commynge of his enemies: but when they were aduertised of the kynges puissance, or els amased with feare, or forthinking and repentynge their begonne busines, or mistrustyng their owne company and felowes, departed from thence to Darkamstede and so to Aucester, and there the Lordes toke their lodgyng: The duke of Surrey, erle of Kent and the erle of Salisbury
Salisbury in one ynone, and the duke of Exceter and the earle of Glocester in another, and al the hoste laie in the feldes. The Baily of the towne with fowre score archers set on the house wher the duke of Surrey and other laie: the house was manely assaulted and strongly defended a great space: The Duke of Exceter beyng in another inne with the erle of Glocester set fier on diuers howses in the towne, thinkyng that the assailantes would leue their assault and rescue their goodes, which thing they nothyng regarded. The host lyng without hearyng noise and seyng fire in the towne, beleuyng that the kyng was come thyther with his puissaunce, fledde without measure to saue them selfes. The duke of Exceter and his company seying the force of the townes men more & more encreace, fled out of the backeside enteyndyng to repaire to the armie, whiche they found dispersed and retired. Then the duke seing no hope of espert, fled into Essex, and the erle of Glocester goyng toward Wales was taken and beheaded at Brissowe. Magdalene flyng into Scotland was apprehended and brought to the Tower. The lorde whiche fought still in the towne of Chichester wer woided to deth and taken and their heads striken of and sent to London: and there were taken sir Bennet Shelley or Cell, and sir barnard Brokas and. xxi. other Lordes Knyghtes and Esquiers & sent to Oxford, where the kyng then soijourned, where sir Thomas Blonte and all the other prysoners were executed. Whě the Duke of Exceter heard that his complices wer taken, and his counsellers apprehended, and his frenedes and allie put in execucion, he lamente his owne chaunce, and bewepte the misfortune of his frenedes, but most of all bewailde the fattall end of his brother kyng Richard, whose death he saw as in a mirour by his vnhappy sedition and malicious attempte to approche, and so wanderynge lurkyng and hidyng him selfe in priuy places, was attached in Essex, and in the lordshippe of Plasshey a towne of the Duches of Glocester and there made shorter by the hed, and in that place especially because that he in the same Lordship seduced & falsely betrayed Thomas duke of Glocester, and was the very inward auctour and open dissimuler of his death and destruction. [So the cómon Prouerbe was verifid, as you haue done, so shall you fele.] Oh Lord I would wishe that this example, of many highlye promoted to rule, might be had in memorie, the which mete and measure their owne inquiete and il doinges, with force auctoritic and power, to the entent that they by these examples shoulde auert their myndes from ill doynges, and such vngodly and execrable offences. After this Magdalein that represented the person of kyng Richard amost the rebels, and diverse other were put in execucion, and all the heads of the chefe conspiratore sette on polles on London bridge, to the feare of other whiche were disposed to commit like offence. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this traiterous confederaic was consipred, hearyng that the cheftains of his fellowshippe, were espied, taken and executed, going betwene his monastery and mancion, for thoughte fell in a sodaine palsey, and shortly after without any speche ended his life: after whom the Byshop of Carlifie more for feare then sickenes, renderd his spirite to God, as one rather desirynge to die by deaths darte, then temporall swearde. But nowe was come the time when all the confederates and compaignions of this vnhappy sedicion, had tasted accordyng to their desertes, the painfull penance of their pleasante pastime, or rather pestiferous obstinacy, that an innocent with a nocet, a man vnghlty with a gilty, was pondered in an egall balaunce. For pore kyng Richard ignorant of all this coniuracion kept in miserable captittie, knowyng nothyng but that he sawe in his chamber, was by king Henry adiudged to die, because that he beyng singed and tickeled with the laste craftie policie of his enemies, would deliuer himself out of all inward feare and discorde, and cleane put away the very ground wherof suche frutes of displeasure mighte by any waie be attempted againste him, so that no man hereafter should ether fayne or resemble to represente the persone of king Richarde: wherfore some saye he commaunded, other talke that he condiscended, many write that he knewe not thyll it was done and then it confirmed. But howe so euer it was, kyng Richarde dyed of a violent death, without any infection or naturall disease of the body.
The common fame is that he was euery daye serued at the table with costely meate like a kyng, to the entent that no creature shuld suspecte any thing done contrary to the order taken in the parliament, and when the meate was set before him, he was forbidden that he shuld not once touch it, ye not to smel to it, and so died of famin: which kynd of death is the most miserable, most vnnatural, ye and most detestable that can be, for it is ten times more painefull then death (whiche of all extremities is the most terrible) to die for thirst standyng in the riuere, or starue for hunger, besette with twentie deintie dishe. One writer whiche semed to haue muche knowledge of kyng Rychardes affaires, saieth that kyng Henry sittyng at his table sore sighnyng said, haue I no faithefull frende whiche will deliuer me of him whose life will be my deth, and whose death will be the preseruacion of my life. This saiying was muche noted of them whiche were present and especially of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontyntly departed fro the court with eight strong persons and came to Pomfret, commaundyng that the esquier whiche was accustomed to sewe and take the assaye before kyng Richard, shuld no more vse that maner of service, saiying, let him eate wel nowe, for he shall not long eate. Kyng Richard sate downe to dyner and was serued without curtseie or assaye, he muche nerualyng at the sodaine mutacion of the thyng, demaunded of the Esquier why he did not his duety? sir, said he, I am otherwise cõmaundyd by sir Pyers of Exton, which is newlye come from king Henry. When he heard that worde, he toke the caruyng knife in his hand and strake the esquier on the head saiying, the devell take Henry of Lancaster and the together: and with that worde sir Piers entered into the chamber wel armed with. vili. tall men in harneis, every man havynge a bill in his hād. Kyng Rycharde perceuyng them armed, knewe well that they came to his confusion, and puttyng the table from him, valiantly toke the bill out of the first mannes hand, and manly defended himselfe, and slewe foure of them in a short space. Sir Piers being so what dismaied with his resistyng, lepte into the chaire where kyng Richard was wonte to sitte, while the other foure persons assailed and chased him aboute the chamber, whiche beyng vnarmed defended him against his enemies beyng armed, (whiche was a valiaunt acte) but in conclusion chasyng and trauersing fro the one side to the other, he came by the chaire wher sir Piers stode, whiche with a stroke of his Pollax felled hym to the ground, and then shortly he was rid out of the worlde, without ether confession or receit of sacrament. When this knight perceiued that he was deade, he sobbed, wept, and rent his heare criyng, Oh Lord, what haue we done, we haue murthered hym whom by the space of. xxi. yeres we haue obied as king, and honored as our soueraigne lord, now all noblé men will abhorre vs, all honest persons will disdaine vs, and all pore people will rayle and crie out vpon vs, so that duryng our naturall liues, we shal be poincted with the finger, and our posterite shal be reproued as children of Homicides, ye of Regicides & prince quellers. Thus haue I declared to you the diversitues of opinions concerning the deathe of this infortunat prince, remitting to your judgement whiche you thinke most trewe, but the very trouthe isthat he died of a violent death, and not by the darte of naturall infirmitie.

When Atropos had cut the line of his lyfe, his body was embauled and seared and couered with lead al saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceiue that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe) and was conuiged to London, where in the cathedrall churche of saincte Paule he had a solempne obseque, and from thence conuiged to Lāgley in Buckyngham shire, where he was enterred, and after by kyng Henry thec. v. removed to Westminster, and there intombed honorably with quene Anne his wife, although the Scottes vntruely write that he escaped out of prison, and led a verteous and solitary life in Scotlande, and there died and is buried in the blakke Friers at Sterlyng. What trust is in this worlde, what suretic man hath of his lyfe, & what constancie is in the mutable comonaltie, all men maie apperantly perceiue by the ruynes of this noble prince, whiche beeyng an undubitate kyng, crouned and anoymted by the spiritualie, honored and exalted by the nobilitie, obeyed and worshipped.
worshipped of the comon people, was sodainly disseuiued by theim whiche he moste trusted, 
betaied by theim whom he had preferred, & slain by theim whom he had brought vp and 
norished: so that all menne maie perceiue and see, that fortune wayeth princes and pore 
men all in one balance.

WHEN newes of kyng Richardes depoisyng were reported into Fraunce, kyng Charles 
and all his court wondered, detested & abhorred suche an injurie to bee done to an anoyn-
ted kyng, to a crowned prince, & to the hed of a realme: but in especial Waleram erle of 
sent Paule whiche had maried kyng Richardes halfe sister, mowed with high disdain against 
kyng Henry, ceased not to stirre and proueke y Frenche kyng and his counsaill to make 
sharpe warre in Englande, to reuenge the injurie and dishonor committet and doen to his sonne 
in lawe kyng Richard, & he hymself sent letters of defiance to England. Whiche thyng 
was sone agreed to, and an armie royall appoynted with all sped, to invade England. 
But the Frenche kyng so stomacked this high displesure, & so inwardly cœeiuied this infortu-
nate chance in his minde, that he fell into his old disease of the frensy, hat he had nede 
accoruing to the old proverbe, to saile into the Isle of * Anticyra, to purge his melicholic 
humor, but by the meanes of his phisicians, he was somewhat releued & brought to know-
ledge of hymself. This armie was come douno into Picardy, redy to be trasported into 
Englad, but whi it was certainely certified that kyng Richard was ded, & that their enterprise 
of his delieverice was frustrate & voyd. thamie scattred & departed a sonder.

BUT when the certaintie of kyng Richardes death was declared to the Aquitaynes and 
Gascons, the moste parte of the wisest men of the countree, fell into a greate bodely feare, 
and into a dedly dreade. For some lamentyng the instabilitee of the Englishe people, 
judged theim to be spotid with perpetuall infamie, and brought to dishonor & losse of their 
auncient fame and glory, for comityng so heynous a cryme and detestable an offence 
against their king & soueraigne lorde. The memorie wherof, thei thought would never be buried 
or extincted. Other fered the losse of their goddes and libertyes, because they imagined 
that by this ciuill discencion and intestine deuision, the realme of England should so bee 
 vexed and troubled, that their countree (if the Frenchemenne should intrusive) should bee 
deistute and letfe voide of all aide and succor of the Englishe nacion. But the citizeens of 
Burdeaux toke this matter very sore at y stomacke, because kyng Richard was borne and 
brought vp in their citee, lamentyng and criyng out, that sithe the beginnyng of the worlde, 
there was never a more detestable, a more vilanous nor a more heynous acte committed: 
whiche beyng sad with sorowe and enflamed with malencolie, saied that vntrue, ynnaturall 
and vnnaturall people had betrayed and slain, contrary to all law and justice and honestie, 
a good man, a juste prince and politike gouernor. Besechynge God deuelyt on their 
knees, to be the reuenger and punisher of that detestable offence and notorius crime.

WHEN the Frenchmen, whiche haue iyes of the wakynge serpent, percieued the dolor 
and agony that the Aquitaynes and Gascons wer in for the death of * their prince, duke and 
countrymanne, they rejoysed and aplauded in maruelous maners, thynkyng with theimselfes 
that (the Gascons nowe abhorryng and desteyntg the Englishe men more than a Dogge or an 
Adder) they verie easely mighte obtin the whole countree and douchie of Aquitaine,with the 
members and territories there to appereteyng, if they would ether by entreatie or by inua-
sion moue the people beyng now amazed and comfortles, as shepe without a shepheard, or 
beastes without an herdman. Wherfore in greate haste and slowe sped, Lewes duke of 
Burbon was sent to Angiers, & wrote to diverse citees and tongues on the conynes of Aqui-
tain and Gascon, exhortyng them with large promises and flateryng wordees, to reuole and 
terne from the Englishe suieccion, and become vassals to the crowne of Fraunce. But all 
his gloysing wordees serued little, and all his faire promises profited muche lesse. For the people 
knewe that the Englishe yoke was but a fether, & the yoke of Fraunce was more ponderous 
than lede, seyng daily how the French men vexed and molested their miserable people with 
extreme exaccios and intolerable talleges, rasyng their skinne to the very bone, and their 
purses
purses to the very botome wherfore they determined rather to abide in their old subieccion and obedience, then for a displeasure irrecurable to aventure themselves on a newe chance and a doubtfull parell.

KING Henry beeyng advertised of all the Frenche attemptes and couert conueighances, sent the lorde Thomas Percy erle of Worcestre with a goodly crewe of souldiours into Aquitaine, to aide and assist sire Robert Knolles his leueteinate there, and to perswade and exorte the people to continuwe in their ancient libertie and dewe obeysance. The erle arrived there, and so wisely entreated the noble men, so grauously perswadeds the mage- strates of the citemes and tounes, and so gently and familiarly used and tracteds the vulgare people, that he not onely appeased their furie and malice, but brought them to a lousyng and vnforme obeysance, receyung of them othes of obedience and loyall fealtie, whiche done he retourned againe into England with great thankes. When kyng Charles of France per ceiued that his purpose and attemptes was frustrate and came to no good conclusion in Aquitayne and that kyng Richard being deade, his enterprise into England was of no value and of small purpose, he determined with him selfe to inuert some way howe to haue the Lady Isabell his daughter, sometime espoused to kyng Richard restored to him again : and for that purpose sent a solemne ambassade into England to kyng Henry, whiche gently received them, and gau in answere that he would send his commissioners shortly to Caileis, whiche shoulde farther common and coclude with them, not onely that request, but divers other matters of gret effecte and efficacie. And shortely after their departhyng he sent Edward duke of Yorke, before called duke of Aumerle, whiche succeeded in the said duchie his father Edmond duke of Yorke, a littell before diseased and Henry erle of Northumberland into the countrey of Guines. The commissioners assembled at divers places at sondry times. The duke of Borbon aboue al thyngeys required in the name of the French king his master, to haue quene Isabell to him deliuered. The Englishmen that to do continually did deny, requiring to haue her maried to Henry Prince of Wales, a man bothe in blud and age to her in all things equall. But the Frenche kyng that mariage vitrally refused, saiyng he wolde neuer ioyne affinitie after with the Englishe nacion, because that the alliance had so unfortunaty successe.

Then they began to entreate a continuall peace, whiche request the Frenchemen refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce whiche was taken betwene them and kyng Richard, for the terme of xxx. yeres, was renouate and confirmed. Some authors affirme that there was a newe leage concluded and confirmed betwene both the realmes duryng the lunes of bothe the princes, whiche semeth to haue a certein colour of veritic. For the kyng sent shortly after the foresaid Lady Isabell vnder the conduce of the Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcestre, associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well of women as men, hauyng with her al the Jewells ornamenets & plate (with a great surplusage geuen to hir by the kyng whiche shee brought into England) was sente in solemne estate to Caileis, and there deliuered to Waleran erle of saluncet Paule Lieutenaunt for the French king in Picardie, and so conueighed to her father, whiche gaue her in mariage to Charles sone to Lewes duke of Orlaunce. The Frenchmen of ten times required kyng Henry to assigne to her a dower, but al was in vaine, for the Englishmen answered that the matrimonie was neuer consummate, by reason wherof she was not dowable, by the very treatie of the mariage con cluded, and so this matter seased, and was no more moued. As the old prouerbe saith, after winde commeth rain, & after one euil comoly ensueth another, so duryng the time that kyng Henry was vexed and vnquieted, bothe within the realme & without

OWEN Glender a squire of Wales, perceiued the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmovable seate, enteyng to vsurpe and take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of the same, what with faire flattering words and with large promises, so enugled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym anothe of allegence and subieccion. By whose suppartacion, he beeyng elated and set vp in authorite, to the intend
intend to bee out of all doubt of his neighbors, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lorde Grey of Rithen and toke hym prisoner, promisyng hym libertee and discharging hym raunsonne, if he would espouse and marry his daughter, thynkyng by that affinitie, to have great aide and muche power in Wales. The lorde Grey being not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely waie of his releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and maried the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrue, vnhonest and periured persone, kept hym with his wife still in captiuietie till he died. And not content with this heinous offence, made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dungeon. The kyng was required to purchase his deliuerance by diverse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that side, rather he would and wished at his lineage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.

THUS Owen Glendor glorifyng hymself in these twoo victories, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the West side of Suerne, robbed vilages, bren tounes and slewe the people, and laden with praies and bloody handes returned again into Wales, neuer desistyng to do euil till the next yere, that the kyng reised a greate armie and puissance to resist and defende his malicious attempts and sedicious inuasions, as after shall be declared. It was not sufficient in this first yere of kyng Henry, this realme to be troubled with domestical sedicion, vexed with the craftie practices and innencions of the Frenche men, and inuaded and infected with the frantike waeryng Welshemen, but also fortune haungyng enu at the glory and fortunate procedyng of this man, muste in his saied firste yere also, arme the Scottes with sperre and selle against hym and his realme, wherof the occasion shall bee to you declared accordyng to the Scotticall histories. A little before this tyme, George of Dunbar erle of the Marches of the realme, made means to kyng Robert of Scotlande, that Daviud his eldest sonne might mare and espouse the erles doughter called Elizabeth, and deliuered for the performance of the same mariage, into the kynges handes a greate some of money. When Archebaulde erle Douglas heard of this conclucion, disdainyng therle of the Marches blud to be auaunced before his stocke, wherfore ether by faire wordes, or els by disbursyng a greter some of money, he so enuieged Kyng Roberte of Scotlande, that Daviud his heire refusyng the firste damosell, espoused Mariell the erle Douglas doughter. Therle of Marche desired restitution of his money, to whom the kyng gaue many friolus and trifelyng aunsweres, wherfore he disdainyng so to bee mocked & deluded of his money, with his wife and family, fled into England, to Henry erle of Northumbarlant, enteynyng with dent of sword to reuenge the injury & displeasure to hym by the kyng comitted & done, & so with the help of the borderers bren toisen and tounes, & slew many persons in the realme of Scotland.

KING Robert beeyng thereafter advertised, firste deprived the Erle George of all his digneties and possessions, and caused his goodes to bee confiscate, and after wrote to the Kyng of Englande, instantly requiryng hym, if he would the truce any longer to continew ether to deliuer into his possession the Erle of Marche, and other traitors and rebelles to his persone and realme, or els to banishe and exile them out of his realme, territories and dominions. Kyng Henry discreetly answered the heauelt of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to bee kepte, and his writyng and seale ought to bee iniolate, and consideryng that he had gaunted a saue conduite to the erle and his compaigny, he would nether without cause resonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honor. Whiche answer declared to the kyng of Scottes, he incontinente did proclaime and intimate open warre, against the kyng of Englande, with bloud fire and sword. Kyng Henry perceiuyng, that police preuenteth chance, gathered and assembled together a greate armie, and entered into Scotlande, burnyng tounes villages and castles, sparyng nothyng but religious houses and churches, and bren a greate parte of the tounes of Edenbrough and Lithe and besieged the castle
castle of Maidens in Edenbrough, in thende of September, whereof was capitain, Dauid duke
of Rothesay and prince of the realme, and Archibalde erle Douglas, with many hardy men.
Roberte duke of Albanie, beyng appoynted gouvernor of the realme, because the kyng was
sicke and vnapt to rule, sent vnto kyng Henry an harrold, assuryng hym on his honour that
if he woulde abide and tary his coming and repaire, whiche should be within sixe daies at
the most he woulde gene hym bataill, and remove the siefe, or els die for it.

The kyng beeving glad of these joyous good newes, rewarded the heraunt with a gonne of
silke and a chayne of gold, promising hym in the worde of a prince, not to depart thence
but abide there, the comyng of the gouvernor. The sixe daies passed, ye sixe and sixtene to,
the gouvernor nether apered nor sent worde, the winter waxed cold, vitaile failed, men died
of the flixe, it rained every daie so habundantly, that hunger and colde caused the kyng to
breke vp his siege, and to departhe out of Scotland, without bataill or skirmish offered.
Duryng whiche tyme bothe the Wardens of the Marches beyng with the kyng, the Scottes
made a rode into Northumberlande, and burned diverse tounes in Bamborough shere, and
shortly returned again, or els thei had been trapped & come to late home. When the kyng
of England had dismissed his souldiers, and discharged his army, the Scottes enteynyng to
bee reuenged of their greate domages to theim by the Englishe nació doen and committed
by therle Douglas, appoynted twoo armyes to inuade Englelande. Of the first was chieftaia,
sir Thomas Halibarton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebburme of Hales, whiche made a rode
into Englelande, and returned with litle losse and no greate gain. After this the forsaid sir
Patrike Hebburme, enccargd & boldened with the prosperous successse of this first iorjey,
with a greate armie of the people of Lowdian inuaded Northumberlande, robbying and
spoylyng the coıtrey and departed homeward, not without greate gain of beasts and cap-
tuies. But in the returne he was encounterd with therle of Northumberlandes vicewarden,
& other gentilmen of the borders at a toun in Northumberlade called Nesbit, and there
the Englishemen sore assailed, and the Scottes valiantly resisted, but after a long figh, the
victory fell on the Englishe parte, and as Ihon Mayer the Scot wyrithe, there wer slain the
flower of all Loughdean, and especially sir Patricke Hebburne with many of his linage.
There wer apprehended sir Ihon and Willyam Cockeburne, sir Robert of Bas, Ihon and
Thomas Hablincton esquiers, and a greate number of the common people. The erle Douglas
sore beyng greued with the losse of his nacion and fрендes, enteynyng a requiment if it
were possible of the same, by the consente of the gouvernor of Scotlande, did gather a houge
armie of twentie thousande talle menne and more.

In the whiche armie was Lord Mordake earle of Fife sonne to the gouvernor of Scotland,
the erle of Angus, and many other erles and barons of the nobilitie of Scotland. These
valiante capitayns and couragious souldioure entered into Northumberlade with ban-
ers displayed like menne either apte or thynkyng theim selfes able to destroy the tounes
and spoyle the countrey and Marches of Northumberlade. When they were entered into
England thinkynge no puissaunce able to encounter with their force, out of a valey beside a
toune called Homeldon issued sodainly the Lorde Henry Percie, whom the Scottes for his
haut and valiant corage called sir Henry hotspur, and in his company the Lorde George of
Dunbar erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the gentill
menne of Northumberland, and eight thousande men on horsebacke and on fote. The
encounter was sharpe, the figh was daungerous, the long continuauance was doubtfull, for
some were felled and rescued, some in rescuyng other were slaine, other gredy of praye more
then of strokes fled to se what baggages were kept emongest the Pages. Thus with pure
fghtyng of the Englishemen and fame the hertes of the bragging Scottes, the brighte beame of
victory shone on sainct Georges crosse, and there were slaine of men of great renoune and
estimacion sir Itho Swintone, sir Adam Gordon, sir Ihon Leuston, sir Alexander Ransey of
Dalehowse, and. xxii. knyghtes moo, whose names ether for ignorance or for feare of re-
proche, Hector Boece the Scottish archechroonocler kepeth in silence and dothe omitte,
beside. x. M. cómons. But there wer taken prisoners, Mordaekke erle of Fife, Archebald
erle
erle Douglas, whiche in the combat loste one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert erle of Angus, and as other writers affirme, the erls of Athell and Mentethe with v. C. other.

When the Lord Percy had thus obtained this glorious victory, he sent his prisoners into diverse fortresses, and determined to subdue or destroy all the countreis of Lowdene and Marche, whose heads and Gouernours ether he had slain or by force taken captiues. And so with a gret power entered into Tiuedale wastyng any destroyings the hole countrey, and they beseged the castell of Cokelouses, whereof was capitain sir Ihon Grenlowe, which seyng that his castel was not long able to be defended copounded with the Englishmen that yf the castel worn ot suckered within. iii. moneths, that then he would deliuer it into the English mens handes. The capitaine thereof wrote unto the Gouernour, whiche calling a great counell, the moste parte advised bym rather frankly and frely to yeld the casiel, than to put in jeopardie and caste in hasard the remnaunt of the florishyng nobilitie of the realme. So muche was their courages abated and their fumishe crakes refrigerat with the remembrance of the last conflicte and batail. But the gouernour rebukyng their tinuous heartes, and Feminine audacitie (whether he thought so or no was a questio) swere that if no man wold folowe of the nobilitie he woulde do his deuoire to reskewe the castell at the day. But his othe was neither kept nor broken, for he litell preparying and lesse entendyng the oth whiche he solomely made neuer set fote forward durynyng the first. ii. monethes, for the reising of the seige or reskewe of the castel. But the English mens beyn sent for to go with the kyng into Wales, raised their siege and departed leauyng the noble mens prisoner styal with the earle of Northumberland and the Lord Perye his sonne, which by the kyng were commannded to kepe them to his vse, and not to deliuer them without his as-sent.

KYNG Henry the ii. his enterprise into Wales, but made prouision for menne, mucions and artillary mete and convenient for so great a businesse, wherof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised, sente priuile Lorde Iames of Burbone earle of Marche and his two brethren Ihon and Lewes, with xii. C. knyghtes and esquiers to aide Owen Glendor against the invasions of kyng Henry, he toke shippynge with. xxx. saile at the mouth of Seine, and the wynd was not fauourable to his purpose for he coulde neuer approche the coast of Wales but came before the towne of Plimmouthe in Deuonshire, and there leauyng his great shippes lyng at ancre, in the nyghte toke land and brent, spoiled and destroied diuers small villages, and poore cottages, and robbed. v. or vi. litel Craiers and fischer botes laden with fyssh and corne. But while he and his companie like gredy wolkes were sekying after their praine, the winde rose highe and a great tempestuous rage and furious storme sodainely flushed and drowned. xii. of his great shippes which laie in the mouth of the hauen for his safegard and defence. Wherof when the erle was aduertised, and perceyng by the firying of the beacons that the people began to assemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and also seyng his power sore diminished as well by the slaughter of suche as ranged abrode in hope of spoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the vnnercifull se and hydecous tempest, with muche paine and great labour toke his shippes againe, and was not without jeopardy of his lyfe driuen on the coast of Britaine and landed at saint Malos. The French kyng perceyning that this chace had il sucesse; appointed one of his Marshals called Memorancie, and the master of his Crosbowes with. xii. M. men, to saile into Wales, which toke shippynge at Brest and had the winde to them so prosperous that they landed at Milford hauen, and leauyng the castel of Penbrooke vnassaulted, because it was well fortified, manned, and vaitailed, besiegied the towne of Harforde West whiche was so well defended by the erle of Arundell and his power that they much more lost then gained. And from thence they departed towards Owen Glendor whom they nominated prince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abidyng their cumyng with ten thousand men. They wer of him louingly receivd, and gentelly enterteined, and when all thynges were prepare, they passed by Glamorgan shire toward Worcester and there brent the suburbes, but hearynge of
The Kynges approcychyng sodainly returned into Wales. The king with a great puissauunce followed and founde them embattailed on a highe mountaine, and a gret valey betwene bothe the armes, so that eche armie plainlye perceiued other, and every hoste loked to be assaued of his adversary, and of the groid to take the most aduauntage: thus they continued eight daies fro mornyng to nyght ready to abide but not to geue bataille. There wer many fearce skirmishys and many proper feates of armes daily done, whiche the French Croniclers more then the Englishse writers can reporte. For there were slaine the Lorde Patroloes of Tries, brother to the Marshall of France, the Lord Mattelone and the Lord Vale and the bastarde of Burbon, with v. hundred gentelmen.

The Frenche men and Welshmen were sore trobeled and afflicted with famine, that their hertes were appalled and their corages sore abated, for the kyng had so stopped the passages that nether vitayl nor succour could by any way be conueighed to the. Wherfore of very necessitie they were compelled cyther to fyghte or flee: And so by the aduisement and counsel of the Marshall of France, whiche put not to muche confidence in the waeryng Welshmen, the hole hoste departid theight day at midnight in the most secretes maner that they could devise. The Frenche men with littel rewardes and no gaine returned into Britayne makynge small boas of their painfull iourney.

The kyng seyng them departed, followed the into Wales, and chasing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could never haue them at any aduauntage. A world it was to see his quotidiane remouyng, his painfull and busy wanderyng, his troblesome and vncurteous abidyng, his continual mocion, his daily peregrination in the desert, felles and craggie mountains of that bareine vnfertile and depopulate countrey. And thus beyng tossed from countrey to countrey, from hill to vale, from marishe to wod, from noughte to worsse, without gaine or profite, without vitayle or succour, he was of necessitie compelled to retyr his armie and retourne agane to Worcester, in whiche retournyng the Welshmen knowing the passages of the countrey, toke certaine caiaries of his laden with vitayle to his great displeasure, and their great comfort. When he came to Worchester perceiuing winter to approche which season of the yere is not conveniet and proper for men of warre to lie in the feldes, and specially in suche a barraine and hilly countrey as Wales is, dispersed his armie for that time and returned to London. In the meane time while the kyng was thus occupied in Wales, certaine malicious and cruel persons enuiyng and malignyng in their hertes that king Henry contrary to the opinion of many, but against the will of mo had so shortly obteigned and possessed the realme and regalitie, blased abroad & noised daily amongst the vulgare people that kyng Richard (whiche was openly sene dead) was yet liuyng and desired aide of the common people to repossesse his realme and roiall dignitie. And to the furtherance of this fantasticall inuencion partly moued with indignacion, partly incensed with furious malencolie, set vpon postes and caste aboute the stretes raiyling rimes, malicious metres and taunting verses against kyng Henry and his procedynges. He beyng nettele with these vncurteous ye vncurteous prickes & thornes, serched out the authours, and amongst other were found culpable of this offence and crime, sir Roger Claryngdon knight, and eight gray Friers whiche according to their merites and deserites were stranglede at Tiborne and there put in execution. I may not here forget to shewe you howe that kyng Henry sekyng nowe affinitie and frendshippe in Germany sent this yere his eldest daughter Blaunche accompanied with the Erle of Sommerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Lord Clifforde, and other noble personages into Almaine, whiche brought her to Coleyne, and there with great triumph she was maried to Willyam Duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in whiche yere also died Lady Katherine Swinsford the thyrde wyfe of Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancastere father to this kyng Henry, & was buried at Lincoln. In the same yere kyng Henry maried Iane Duches of Britaine late wyfe to Ihon Duke of Britaine at the citie of Wincheater and with triumphal pompe conueighed her thorow the citie of London to Westminster, and there she was crowned Quene.
KYNG HENRY THE. IIIJ.

While these thynges were thus doyng in England Waleran Eric of sainct Paule whiche had maried the halfe sister of Richard, hauyng a malicious heart and a deadly hatred to kyng Henry, assembled a great number of men of warre to the number of xvi. or xviii. C. whereof the greatest parte were noble men, and made great provision of all thinges necessary for his feate and enterprise. And on sainct Nicholas day entered into his shippes at Harlefe and landed in the Isle of Wight, and when he sawe no apperance of defence, he burned two poore villages and. iii. simple cottages, and for great triumphe of this noble acte he made iii.Knightes: but sodainly when he was aduertised by his espials that the people of the Isle wer assembled and approched to fight with hym. He with al haste possible toke his shippes and retourned home agayne, wherewith the noble men of his company were much discontente and displeased, considerying that his provision was great and his gaine small or none. And in the same very season Ithon Erle of Cleremount sonne to the Duke of Burbone, wonne in Gascoigne the castelles of sainct Peter, saincte Marie and the newe castell, and the Lord Delabrethe wonne the castell of Carlaffin, whiche was no small losse to the English nacion: Duryng which time died Philippe duke of Burgoin, and duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

IN this yere appered a comete or blasyng Starre of a houge quantitie by a long season which as the Astronomers affirmed, signified great effusion of mannes blud, which judgement was not frustrate as you shall perceive. For Henry erle of Northumberland and Thomas erle of Worcester his brother, and his sonne Lord Henry Percy called hotspur, which were to king Henry in the beginnyng of his reigne bothe fautors frendes and aiders, perceiuing nowe that he had pacified all domesticall sedicion and repressed his enemies, and reduced his reall to a convenient quietnes, began somewhat to enuie the glory of hym, and grudged againste his welthe and felicitie. And specially greued, because the kyng demaunded of the Earle and his sonne suche Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the conflicts fought at Homeldon and Nesbit as you before have heard. For of all the captives which were there taken, ther was deliuered to the kynges possession onely Mordake earle of Tife sonne to the duke of Albanie Gouernour of Scotland, for the king them diuere and sondry times of therle and his sonne required. But the Percies affirmyng them to be their owne propre prisoners and their pecular praises, and to deliuer them vterly deniaed, in so muche that the kyng openly saied that if they wolde not deliuer them, he would take them without deliuerance. Wherwith they beyng sore discotent, by the counsell of Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcester, whose study was euer to procure malice, and to set al thynges in broille and vncertaintie, fainyng a cause to proye and tempte the kyng, came to him to Wyndsor, requiring by hymsome or otherwise to cause to bee deliuered out of prison Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche their cosyn germain whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kept in filthy prison shacked with yrons, onely for that cause that he toke his parte, and was to hym faithful and trewe. The kyng began not a litell to muse on this request, and not without a cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his sherte, as you well may perceiue by the Genealogie rehearsed in the beginnyng of this story. For this Edmond was sonne to Earle Roger whiche was sonne to Lady Philip daughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third, whiche Edmonde at kyng Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparent to the crowne and realme, whose Aunt called Elinor this Lord Henry Percie had Maried. And threfore the kyng litell forced although that that lignage were clere subuered and vterly extintce.

WHEN the kyng had long digested and studied on this matter, he made aunswere and sayd that the Earle of Marche was not taken prisoner neither for his cause nor in his service, but willingly suffered him selfe to be taken, because he would take no parte against Owen Glendor and his complices, and threfore he woulde nether raunsome nor releue hym,
THE THIRD YERE OF

whiche fraude the kyng caused openly to be published and diuulged, with whiche aunswere if the parties were angry doubt you not. But with the publyshyng of the cantell, that the Earle of Marche was willyngly taken, they ten times more fumed and raged in so muche that sir Henry hotspur said openly: Behold the heire of the realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber, with his owne, wyl not redeyne hym. So in this fury the Percies depart-ed, nothyng more mindyng then to depose kyng Henry from the high tipe of his regalitie, and to deliuer and set in his trone their cosyne frende & confederate Edmonde Earle of Marche, whome they not onely delivere oute of the capituitie of Owen Glendor, but also entered into a leage and amitie with the said Owen against king Henry and all his frendes and fautours, to the great displeasure and long vnquieting of kyng Henry and his partakers. Here I passe ouer to declare howe a certayne writer writeth that this earle of Marche, the Lorde Percy and Owen Glendor wer vnwisely made believe by a Welche Prophesier, that king Henry was the Moldwarpe, cursed of Goddes owne mouth, and that they thre were the Dragon, the Lyon and the Wolfe, whiche shoulde deuide this realme betwene them, by the deuision and not deuinatio of that mawmet Merlin. I wyll not rehearse howe they by their deputies in the houe of the Archdeacon of Bangor, seduced with that falsy faine Prophesie deuided the realme amongst the, nor yet write howe by a tripartie endenture sealed with their scales, all Englande from Seuerne and Trent South and Eastward, was assigned to the erle of Marche; Nor how all Wales and the landes beyond Seuerne Westward, were appointed to Owen Glendor, and all the remaunt from Trent Northward to the lorde Perce. But I will declare to you that whiche was not prophesied, that is the confusion destruction and perdition of these persone, not onely geyning credite to suche a vain fable, but also settyng it forwarde and hopynge to attaine to the effecte of the same whiche was especiall of the lorde Perce and Owen Glendor. For the erle of Marche was euuer kepte in the courte vnder suche a keper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng againste the kyng without his knowledge, and died without issue, leuyng his righte title and interest to Anne his sister and heire, maried to Rycharde erle of Cambrige father to the duke of Yorke, whose offspynge in continuance of tyme, obteigned the game and got the garland. O ye waueryng Welshmen, cal you these prophesies? nay call theim unprofitable practises. Name you them diuoacions? nay name them diabolicall deuises, say you they be prognosticaciones? nay they be pestiferous publishinges. For by declaryng & credite gowinge to their subtil & obscure meanynges, princes have been deceiued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.
only excepte, which byeng of a haute corage and hye stomacke, kept his promise & joined with the Percies to his destructiō.

THE lorde Percy with therle Douglas and other erles of Scotlaid with a greate armie, departed out of the Northparties, leuyng his father sicke (whiche promised uppon his amendment & recovery without delay to folowe) and came to Stafford where his vnclle therle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affaires and high attempted enterprice, there they exhorted their souldiers and compaignons to refuse no pain for the auauancemente of the common wealth, nor to spare no trauell for the libertie of their countree: protestyng openly that they made ware only (to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glory and fredō, which was governed by a tirant and not by his lawfull and right kyng. The capitanes sware and the souldiers promised to fight, ye & to dye for the libertie of their countree. When all thynges was prepared, they set forwarde towardes Wales, lokyng euery houre for new aide and succors, nosyng abrode that they came to aide the kyng against Owen Glendor. The kyng heryng of the erles approachyng, thought it policie to encounter with the before that the Welshmen should ioyne with their armie, and so include hym on both partes, and therefore returned sodainly to the toune of Shrewesbury. He was skantely entered into the toune, but he was by his postes aduertised that the erles with baners displaied and batailles ranged, wer conyng towardes hym, and were so hote and so coragious, that they with light horses began to skirmish with his hoste. The kyng perceinyng their dooynges, issued out and encamped hymself without the Estgate of the toune. Therles nothing abashed although their succors theim deceived, embattailed themselves not far from the kynges armie. And the same night thei set the articles whereof I spake before, by Thomas Kaiton and Thomas Saluaine esquiers to kyng Henry, signed with their handes and sealed with their scales, whiche articles (because no Chronicler saue one, maketh mécion what was the very cause and occasion of this great bloudy bataille, in the whiche on bothe partes were aboue fourty thousande men assembled) I worde according to my copie do here rehere.

WE Henry, Percy erle of Northumberland, high Constable of England, and Warden of the West Marches of England toward Scotlaid, Henry Percy our eldest sonne Wardein of the Easte Marches of Englande toward Scotlaid, and Thomas Percy erle of Worcester beynge proctours and protectours of the comon wealth, before our Lorde Jesu Christe our supreme iudge doo allege, saie and entende to prone with our handes personally this instante daie, against the Henry duke of Lancastre, thy complices and factories, unustly presuming and named kyng of Engelande without title of right, but only of thy guyle and by force of thy factours: that when thou after thyne exile diddest entre Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Dan- castre that thou wouldest never claime the croune, kyngdom or state royall but only thyne owne propre inheritance, and the inheritance of thy wife in Engeland; and that Richard our soueraigne lord the kyng and thyne, should raigne during the terme of his life, gouverned by the good counsail of the lorde spiritual and temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy soueraigne lorde and our kyng within the toure of London, vntil he had for feare of death, resigned his kyngdomes of Engelande and France, and had renounced all his right in the forsaids kyngdomes, and others his dominions and landes of beyonde the sea. Vnder coulor of whiche resignation and renunaciacion by the counsail of thy frendes and complices, and by the open nosyng of the rascall people by thee and thy adherentes assembled at West- minster, thou hast crowned thy self kyng of the realmes aforesaid, and hast seazed and entered into all the castles and lordshippes perteignyng to the kynges croune, contrary to thyne othe. Wherefore thou art forsworne and false.

ALSO we do allledge, saie and entende to prone, that wher thou sworest vpō the same Gospelles in the same place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffre any dismes to be leuyed of the Clergie, nor fittenes on the people, nor any other tallages and taxes to be leuyed in the realme of Engelande to the behoffe of the realme duryng thy life, but by the consideracion
consideration of the three estates of the realm, except for great need in causes of importance or for the resistance of our enemies, only and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thyne othe so made, hast done to bee leuied right many dismes and fines, and other impossibilities and tallages, as well of the Clergie as of the comonaltee of the realm of Engiande, & of the Marchauntes, for feare of thy magestie royall. Wherfore thou art periuered and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entende to prove, that were thou sworest to vs upon the same Gospelles in the foresaiued place and tyme, that our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, should reigne duryng the terme of his life in his royall prerogatiue and dignitee; thou hast caused the same our soueraigne lorde and thine, traiterously within the castell of Poumfret, without the consent or judgement of the lorde of the realm, by the space of fifteen daies and so many nights (whiche is horible among christian people to be heard) with hungre, thirst and colde to periue, to be murdered. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entend to prove, that thou at that tyme when our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, was so by that horrible murder ded as aboue said, thou by extorte power, diddest vsurpe and take the kyngdome of Engiande, and the name and the honor of the kyngdome of Fraunce; vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thyne othe, from Edmone Moritimer Earle of Marche and of Ulster, then next and direct heir of England and of Fraunce imediately by due course of inheritance after the decease of the foresaid Richard. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entend to prove as aforesaid, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and tyme, to supporte and maintein the lawes and good customes of the realm of England, and also afterward at the tyme of thy coronacion thou madest an othe, thesaied lawes and good customes to kepe and consider inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrary to the lawe of England and thy factours, haue written almost through every shire in England to chose such knighees for to hold a parliament as shalle for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliaments no justice should be ministered against thy mynde in these our complaintes now moued and shewed by vs, wherby at any tyme we might haue any perfhit redresse, notwithstanding that wee according to our conscience (as we truste ruled by God) haue often tymes thereof complained, as well can testifye and bere witnes the right reuerend fathers in God Thomas Arundel archbishop of Caunterbury, and Richarde Scrope, archbishop of Yorke. Wherfore nowe by force and strength of hande before our Lorde Jesu Christ we must aske our remedy and helpe.

ALSO we do alledge, saie and intend to prove, that where Edmód Mortimer erle of Marche and Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor in a pitched and foughten feld, and cast into prison and ladé with yron fetters, for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast proclaimed willingly to yeald hymself prisoner to thesaied Owen Glendor, and nether wouldest deliuer hym thy self, nor yet sufere vs his kinsmen to raunsome and deliuer hym: Yet notwithstanding, we have not onely concluded and agreed with thesame Owen for his raunsome at our propre charges and expences, but also for a peace betwene thee and the said Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared vs as traytours, but also craftily and deceitfully imagened, purposed and conspired the utter destruction and confusion of our persones. For the whiche cause we defy thee, thy factours and complices as common traytours and destroyers of the realm, and the inuadours, oppressours and confounders of the verie true and righte heires to the crowne of Engiande, whiche thyng we entend with our hädes to prove this daie, almightie God helpyng vs.

WHEN kyng Henry had ouerseen their articles and defiance, he answered the esquires that he was redy with dent of swerde and fierce bataill to prove their quarell false and fayned, and not with writyng nor slanderous wordes, and so in his righteous cause and just quarell he doubted not but God would bothe aide and assiste hym, against vntrue persones and false forsworne traytours: with whiche answere the messengers departed. The next daie in the mornynge early, whiche was the vigile of Mary Magdalene, the kyng perceiuyng that
The battle was fiercer than he ever thought or looked for, lest that long waiting might
imagining of his strength, set his battalions in good order: likewise did his enemies,
come before his face in puissance and courage were nothing to them inferior. Then suddenly the
hissed blew, the kynge's parte cried saint George upon them: The adversaries cried
Esperance Percie, and so furiously the armies ioyned. The Scotts which had the forward
on the lords side, enteyndyng to bee revenge of their old displeasures done to them
by the English nacion, set so fiercely on the kynes forward, that they made them drawe
backe, and had almost broken their arraye. The Welshmen also whiche shete the kynges
departure out of Wales, had lurked and liuen in woodes mountaignes and marishes, hering
of this battail towaide, came to the side of the erles, and refreshed the wery people with
new succurs. When a fearful messenger had declared to the kyng, that his people were
beaten doun on every side, it was no nede to bid hym stirre, for suddenly he approached
with his freshe battaille, and comforted, hertened and encouraged his part so, that they
oke their herettes to them, and manly fought with their enemies. The prince Henry that
dai holpe muche his father, for although he wer sore wounded in the face with an arrow;
yet he neuer ceased ether to sight where the battail was moste strongest, or to courage his
men where their herettes was moste danted. This greate battaille continued thre longe hours
with indifferente fortune on bothe partes. That at the last the kyng crynge saint George,
victory, brake the arraye and entered into the battaille of his enemies and fought fierly, and
auentered so far into the battaille, that the erle Douglas strake hym dounne and slewe sir
Water Blonte, and three other appareled in the kynges suite and clothynge saiyng: I mar-
usill to see so many kynes so sodainly arise again, the kyng was reaised and did that daie
many a noble feate of armes. For as the Scotts write and Frenche men affirme, all
though that Englishemen kepe silence, that he hymself slewe with his handes that daie
xxxvj. persones of his enemies, the other of his parte encouraged by his doynges, fought
valiantly and slewe the lorde Percie called sir Henry hotspurre, the best captaine on the
parte aduerse. When his death was knowne, the Scotts fled, the Welshmen ran, the
traitors were overcome, then nether woodsles letted, nor hilles stopped the fearfull herettes of
them that were vanquished to flie, and in that flighte there Douglas, whiche for hast fall-
yng from the crage of a mountaigne brake one of his genitals and was taken, and for his
valiantnes of the kyng frely & frankly delivered. There was taken also sir Thomas Percie,
erle of Worcester & diverse other, on the kynges parte wer slain sir Walter Blount and. xvi.
C. other persones, but on the parte of the rebelles were slain the erle of Stafforde, the lorde
Percie and aboue five thousand other, and as for the Scotts few or none escaped alive.

AFTER this glorious victory by the kyng obteigned, he rendered to almighty God his
humble and hertie thankes, and caused there the erle of Worcester the morowe after Mary Maga-
dleine, at Shrewesbury to be drawen hanged and quartered, and his bed to be sent to London,
at which place many no captaines wer executed. After this greate battaille, he like a
triumphant conqueror returned with great pompe to London, where he was by the se-
nate and magestrates solemnly receueld, not a little rejoysyng of his good fortune and for-
tunate victorie. But before his departure from Shrewesbury, he not forgetyng his enter-
prise against Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a great army prince Henry his eldest
sonne against thesaied Owen and his sedicous fators, whiche beying dismaied and in maner
desperate of all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victorie, fled in desert places and so-
litary caues, where he receiued aifinall reward mete and prepared by Goddes prudence for:
suche a rebell and sedicous sudder. For beying destitute of all comforte, dreadyng to
shewe his face to any creature, lacking meat to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke
of fode miserably ended his wretched life. This ende was promised for suche as gane cre-
dence to false prophecies. This ende had they that by diabolical deceit andes were promised
great possessions and seigniories. This ende happeneth to suche as beleuyng such fantastical-
folios, aspire and gape for honor and high promotions. When the prince with litte labor
and lesse losse, had tamed & bridled the furious rage of the wild and savage Welshmen,
and...
and lefte gouernors to rule and gouerne the countree, he returned to honor & no small praise. The earle of Northumberland being of the brother and sonne, came of his owne free will to the kyng, excusing hym, party nor knowyng of their doyng nor enterprize: the kyng nether accused h. excused, but dissimuled the matter for. ii. causes, one was he had Berwicke in his possession, which the kyng rather desired to haue by policie then by force: the other was that therle had his castelles of Alnewicke, Warkeworth and other fortified with Scottes, so that if therle wer apprehed, all Northumberland wer in jeopardy to become Scottish. For these causes & kyng gaue hym faire wordes & let hym depart home, wher he continued inpeace a while, but after he rebelled as you shall perceiue by the sequell of this story.  

q THE FOURTH YERE.

This yere Waleram erle of sent Pole, consideryng that he had defied kyng Henry, and also that he had made diuerse voyages, and done little damage to the English nacion, and susteyned muche losse, continuynge in his olde malice against the kyng of England, by the assent of the Frenche kyng assembled a great number of men of warre, as. v. C. men of armes. v. C. Genewaies with Crossbowes, and a. M. Flemynges on fote, and laied siege to the Castell of Marke thre leages frô Caleis, within the territory of the kyng of Englande, the. xvi. daie of July, wherof was capitain Philip Halle esquier, with. lx. archers and. xxiii. other soldierys. Therle raised against the Castle diuerse engines but they prenalled not, for they within shot so fersly, and cast out stones so incessantly, and toke suche paine that to the hearers it is almoste incredible. The erle perceiung that his feate had suche successe as he loked for, retired with his men lodged in the toune, fortysyng thesame for fere of rescours that might issue from Caleis, the next day he gaue a sore assaute again, and with great force entered the ytter court of the castle, and toke therein a great number of horse kyen and catell, at the whiche assaute sir Roberte Barenguile cosin to therle was slain. The same daie a. C. Archers on horseback comyng out of Caleis, sawe and perceiued the dooynges & demeasure of therle and his compaignie, and toward night they sent an Heraulte certeyning him that they would dine with him the next daie: to whom he proudly answered, that he would gladly receaue them, and therin dinner should at their comyng be ready prepared. The nexte daie ensuyng issued out of Caleis. CC. men of armes. CC. archers. CCC. mi on fote with. x. or. xii. Chariottes laden with vitall and artillery, conducted by sir Richard Astone knight, leuettanant of the Englishe pale for the erle of Somerset capitain generall of those marches: whiche in good ordre of bataill marched toward their enemies, which before by their espials wer advertised of their comyng, but that notwithstanding they issued not out of their lodginges to encounter with them, but kept them selfe within their closure. The Englishmen shot so sharpenly and so closely together, that the Fle- mynges and fotemen began to flie, the men of armes feryng the slaughter of their horses ran awaie with a light gallop the Genowais whiche had spent the most part of their shot at thassaut made little defence and small resistance and so all were slain and put to flight. The hastily & rashe erle of sent Paul & diuerse other without any stroke gewayn to their enemies fled to sent Oners, and there wer taken of the best of the armie, as the Frenche and Duche Chronicle reporteth thre or foure score persone, amongst whom the capitain of Bullayne was one, and many lorde and knights slain. After that the Englishmen had taken all the cartes municions & vitaille that their enemies had brought thither, they returned to Caleis in great triumph, and within five daies after there issued out of the Englishe pale, about the nombre of. v. C. men toward Arde by night tyne, thyngyng to haue found the toune vn-provided, but sir Mansard de Boys and the lord Kygnie defended it and let the Englishmen of their purpose, and so with losse of fourty men they returned to Caleis: whiche dedde persone wer brent in an old hous, because therin enemys should be ignorate of the damage
mage that the Englishmen had by them sustained. Therle of sent Paule byeng at Terwin, imagining how to recover somewhat of his losse but more of his honor, sente for a greate compaignie of noble men and valiant personages, and concluded to invade the Marches of his enemies. But the Frenche kyng consideryng the erles euil fortune and vafortunate chance, cōmauded hym to leue of his enterprise, with whiche he was sore displeased. Yet to auoyd perelles, the Frenche kyng laid in garrison at Bullein and other places, the Marques of Pownt sonne to the duke of Barr, and therle of Dampnay, and sir Ihon Harpadane a knight of greate renouné and high estimacion. The kyng of England circúspectly forseyng thynes to come, and imagnyng that the Frenchemen attempted some newe enterprice, against hym or his dominions beyonde the sea, sent. iii. M. men to Caleis and to the sea, whereof. iii. M. landed at Sluce, whiche besieged a castle standing at the mouthe of the haunen, and made diverse assautes and lost diverse of their compaignie, but newes were brought to them, that the duke of Burgoyne had required licence of the Frenche kyng to besiege the toune of Caleis, for whiche cause theye raised their siege, and returned to the defence of that fortresse and desired praine of the Frenche nacion.

| THE FIFTBE YERE. |

ABOUTE this season Loys Duke of Orliaunce brother to the Frenche Kyng, a man of no l esse pryde then haute courage, wrote letters to Kyng Henry aduertysyng hym, that he for the perfithe loue whiche he bare to the noble feates of chiualrie and marciall actes, in auoidyng the slowe worme and deadely Dormouse called Idlences, the ruine of realmes and confounder of nobilitie, and for the obteignyng of laude and renouné by deades of armes and manly enterpryses, could imagine or inuent nothyng either more honorable or laudable to them both, then to mete in the feld eche parte with an hundred Knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen bothe of name and armes armed at all pointes and furnished with speares, axes, swerdes and daggers, and there to fghte and combate to the yeldyng, and every person to whom God shal send victory to haue his prisoner, and him to ransome at his pleasure, offeryng hym selve with his company to come to his citie of Angulesme, so that the kyng of England wolde come to the laundes of Burdeaux and there defend this chalenge. The kyng of England whiche was as graue and wittie as the duke was light and courageous, wrote to hym againe that he not a litell mused but muche more meruailed that the duke beyng sworne as well to him as to kyng Richard to mainteyne the peace betweene his brother the Frenche kyng and theym concluded, and to that had set his signe and great scale, wolde nowe for vainglory vnder colour of doyng dedes of Armes not onely violate the peace and breake the amite betwene them before concluded, but also gene an occasion of displeasure and ingratitude, by the whiche in conclusion might rise mortall war and deadely enemtie, affirmyng farther that no kyng anointed of very dutie was ether bound or obliged to answere any chalenge but to his percy of egall estate and equiuent dignitie, and that no christian prince ether ought or shoulde consent to warre or eflusion of christen blud but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for amplifying of Christes faithe and christian religion, and not for pride, worldly fame and vainglory, declareyng also that when opportunytye of time and convenient leisure seuered, he would transyfet and passe the sea himselfe with suche company as he thought most convenient into his countrey of Gascoigne, at whiche time the Duke myght set forward with his band for the attaynyng of honour and accomplishing of his couragious desire and haute enterprice, promising in the wordes of a prince not thence to depart till the duke either by fulfyllyng his owne desire, or by singuler combate betwene them two, onely for auoidyng the eflusion of Christen blud, shoulde thinke himselfe satisfied and fully answered. |Howbeit, at that time he beyng embusyed with weightie affaires & vrgent causes concerning the publike welth of his realme could neither apoint time nor place, protestyng that the deferyng of time was nether for disdaine nor
nor yet for cowardnes, but only to abate the pride of him whiche knowyng not himself, nor fering reproche, regarded not his othe wrying nor scale. To this answere the duke of Orleaunce replied and kyng Henry rejoyned, which doynges what for the vnpricely tauntes and vncharitable checks in them coteigned, and what for rehersyng againe thinges to you here before declared I omite and put in oblivion. The duke of Orleaunce not content with the king of England, assembled an armie of vi. M. men and entered into Guien and besieged the town of Vergy, wherof was Capitaine sir Robart Antelfelde a valiant knight and an hardly captain, hauyng with him onely three hundred Englishmen. The duke almoste every day assaulted the towne fierely, but they within the towne courageously defended the same: In so much that when he had lien there thre monethes & had lost many of his men and nothing gotten, without honour or spoile returned into Fraunce. After this the Admiral of Britayne whiche beying highly elated and muche encouraged because the laste yere he had taken certaine Englishe shippes laden with wine accompanied with the Lord Castyll a valiant baron of Britayne, and xii. C. men of armes, & xxx. shippes, sailed from saint Malowes and came before the towne of Dartmouth and woulde have haued, but by the puissance of the townsmen and aide of the countrey, they were repulsed and put backe in whiche conflicte the Lorde of Castell with his two brethren with foure hundredre other were slain, and above two hundred prisoners taken and ransomed, wherof the Lord of Baqueville high Marshall of Britayne was one, whiche was brought to the kyng and after redeemed. The Admiral sore of this infortuniate enterprise with muche losse and no gain returned bastely into his countrey. Kyng Henry being aduertised of this attempt, sent the Lord Thomas his sonne whiche after was duke of Clarence to the sea with a gret nauie of shippes to the entyt euery with battaill or depopulacion of the sea coastes bothe of Britayne and of Fraunce to reuenge this injuriue and invasion he salyng by the sea costes landed divers times and fiered shippes & brent townes and destroyed people without fauoure or mercie, and when he thoughte his quarell well revenged he sailed toward England, and in his retournyng he encountered with two great Carickes of Ieane laden with riche merchandise and substanstial stuffe betwene whom was a greate conflicte and a bloudly battell, but after long fghtyng, the Englishmen preuailed and brought bothe the Carickes into Camber before Rye, where one of them by mis-aumenture of fier perished to the losse and no gaine of bothe the parties. About this time Ihon duke of Burgoin whiche had long laboured and now obtained licence to besiege the towne of Caleis, preparyng enginnes, ladders, cartes, and all other instrumentes necessary and conuenient for so greate a feate and notorious siege, and assembled at S. Omers vi. M. men of armes, xv. C. Crosbowes, beside. xii. M. fotemen, hauyng vitail Bumbardes and other municions of warre sufficient and conuenient for his abrode blowen enterprise. But when all thynges were prepared and the hole army assembled he was by the French kyng and his counsell (whiche put diffidence in the exploite of his glorious business) countermaund & prohibited farther to proceed in that weightie purpose: for the which cause he conceived so greate an hatred and deadly malice against the Duke of Orleaunce (as the onely stop and let of his glory and renoume) that he euer after not only maligned and grudged against him and his procedynges, but also (as you shall shortly heare) brought him to death and finall destruction.

THE SIXT YERE:

IN this yere the Earle of Northumberland whiche bare still a venemous scorpion in his cankered heart, and could not desist to invent and devise waies and meanes howe to be reuenged of kyng Henry and his fauntours, began secretly to communicate his interior imaginacions and prouie thoughtes with Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke brother to Willia lord Scrop treasurer of England whom kyng Henry (as you haue hearde) beheaded at the towne of Bristow, and with Thomas Mowbre ye Marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norffolke, for kyng Henries cause before banished the realme of England, and with the lorde
lordes, Hastynges, Fauconbridge, Bardolfe and diuerse other which he knewe to beare deadely hate and inward grudge toward the kyng. After long consultation had, it was finallly concluded and determined amongst them that all they, their frendes and alies with all their power shoulde mete at Yorkes wold at a day appointed and that thele of Northumberlæd should be chefe'taine and supreme gouernour of the armie, which promised to bryng with him a great number of Scottes.

THIS sedicious conspiracy was not so secretly kept nor so closely cloked but that the kyng thereof had knowledge, and was fully advertised. Wherefore to prevent the time of their assembly, he with suche power as he could sodainly gather together with all diligēce marched toward the North parties and used such a celerity in his journey that he was thither come with all his hoste and power before the confederates hearde any inkelyng of his marching forward, and sodainly there wer apprehended the Archebishop, the earle Marshal, sir Ihon Lampley, and sir Robart Plumpton. These personnes wer arraigned, attainted and adjudged to die, and so on the Monday in Whitson weke all they withoute the Citie of Yorke were beheadded. Here of necessitie I oughte not nor will not forgerate howe some fulisle and fantasticall personnes haue written, howe erronius Ipocrityes and sedicious Asses haue ended, howe supersticious Friers and malicious Monkes haue declared and diuulgèd both contrary to Goddes doctrine the honour of their prince and commen known verity that at the howe of the executiō of this Bishop (which of the Executioner desired to haue fiue strokes in remembrance of the fiue wounds of Christ) the kyng at the same time sittynge at diner had v. strokes in his necke by a person inuisible, & was incontiynently strikke with a leprey, which is a manifest lyce as you shall after plainly perceiue. What shall a man say of suche writers whiche toke upon them to knowe the secretes of Goddes judgement? what shall men thynke of such beastly persons whiche regardyng not their bounden dutie and obeisance to their prince & souerain Lord envied the punishment of traiters and torment of offēders? But what shall all men conjecutre of suche whiche fauouryng their own worldly dignite, their own private auctoritie, their own peculiar pritty, wil thus niggle raile and imagine fantasies against their soueraigne lord and Prince, and put them in memorye as a miracle to his dishonor and perpetual infamy: Wel let wise men judge what I haue said. Beside these persones, diuers other of thesaid conspiracie and faccio, the lorde Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Ihon Coluiile of the dale, sir Ihon Griffith were beheaded at Durham. Therle of Northumberland hearyng his counsell to be reueld and his confederates to be put to execucion and shameful death, fled into Scotland to his old frend George of Dunbarre earle of the Marche, which the yere before was reuoked out of exile and restored to his possessions name and dignite, where he taryed till the next Sōmer & then sailed into Fraunce and after into Flandres desyryng aide and assistance against kyng Henry, but when he sawe littel hope of comfort and that fewe willingly were ententific to his request, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolfe muche dismaid and more desperate returned again to his trew frendes into Scottlande and there made his abode the hole yere abdyng the fauour of Fortune and chaunge of his unfortunaty chaunce duryng whiche tyne the kyng withoute any difficultie toke into his possession the towne of Barwicke, the castelles of Alnewyke and all other Fortresses appertaining to the Earle: and lyng at Berwycke he caused to be put to death the Barons sonne of Greystocke, sir Henry Beynton, and Ihon Blenkensoppes and fiue other as fauotures and workers of this newe inuented conspiracy. When the kyng had thus appeased and asswaged that late begonne commocion, he sent his son the prince of Wales accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke and a great puissance, to encounter with the Scottes which by promise wer bound to ayde and assiste the confederates and rebell'es. But thei hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to death, made no haste forward but taried peaceably at home. So that the prince entryng into Scotland and findyng no resistance, brent tounes spoyled villages and wasted the countrey every where as he passed, which theyng so muche amased the kyng of Scottes and his counsell, that notwithstanding that he had gathered and appoincted a greate hoste un-
THE VII. YERE OF

In this sommer, the Pestilenciall plage so infected the Citie of London and the countrey round about that the king durst not repair thither nor yet here to the confines of the same, wherfore he departing from the castel of Lede, determined to take ship at Quinborough in the Isle of Shepey, and to sail ouer to Lye in Essex and so to Plasshey, there to passe his time till the plauge were seased: and because certain pyrates of Fraunce were lurkyng at the Temmes mouthe waityng for their pray, Thomas Lord Camois with certaine shippes of warre was appointed to waite over the king. When the kyng was on the sea, in the midst of his journey, whether the wind turned, or that the Lord Camois kept not a directe course; or that his shipp was but a sluggis. The Frenchemen whiche by all similitude had knowledge of the kynges passage entered amongst the kynges nauie and toke foure vessels nexte to the kynges shipp and in one of the sir Thomas Rampston knight the kynges vice chamberlain with all his chamber stufe and apparel, and followed the kyng so nere that if his shipp had nat bene swift he had landed sooner in Fréce then in Essex, but by Goddes prouision and fortunate chance he escaped the daunger and arrived at his appointed porte. The kyng beyng sore mowed with the lord Camois, caused him to be attached and ended that he condescended and agreed with the Frenchemen that the kyng in his journey should be intercepted and taken. On this point he was arraigned the last day of October before Edmond earle of Kent that day high stuard of the realme, on which day were he giltie or giltrs, fautie or clere, culpable or innocent of that fact and doyngy, he was by his peres found not giltie and dismissed at the barre, hauyng restitution bothe of his landes goodes and offices. In this yere kyng Henry not onely desyryng newe affinitie with forien princes but also the preferment of his line and progeny, sent the Lady Phylip his yonger daughter to Ercike kyng of Denmarke, Norwey and Swethen which was conuewed thither with great pome and there with muche triumph and maried to the said kyng, where she tasted bothe wellhe, and wo, ioye & pain. About this season died sir Robert Knolles knight a man of great policie, wisdome and experience in war which had bene a Capitayn from the time of Kyng Edward the iii. till his latter dayes, in the which he beyng Gouernour of Aquitayne encombred with age resigned his
KYNG HENRY THE. IIIJ.

his office to sir Thomas Belfford a valiant capytaine and returned to London, where he deceased and was honorably buried in the Churche of the White Fryers.

¶ THE EYGHTE YERE.

YOU have heard before how kyng Robert of Scotlande being very aged and impotent, was not able to rule and gouerne his realme, and how Walter his brother, beying by hym created duke of Albanic, (whiche was the firste duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made governour of his brothers countree and dominion. After whiche office and preheeminée by hym obteigned, he so sore thirsted after the crowne and scepter royal that he cared litle though the kyng his brother and his two sōnes had been at Christes fote in heuen. And somewhat to further his purpose, it unfortunatly chauised that Dauy of Rothesay prince of the realme and eldest sonne to the kyng, was accused to his father of diuerse heynous crimes, and in especiall of lasciuous & dissolute liyung, as rauishyng of wiues, deflouryng of virgins, and deffyng of maidens, wherfore the kyng deliuered hym to his brother the governour, trustyng that by his good counsaill and discrete aduertisemente he would not onely amend his life, but also to fall to wisdom prudence and gravitie. Whē the duke had possessed part of his desired pray, he sent his nephewe fō castle to castle, from prisone to prisone, from place to place, and in conclusion lodgeyng him in a toun within the castle of Franckelande, where with famyne he caused miserably to ende his life, putting a poore woman to painfull death, whiche gau to the Prince the milke of her breastes by a rede into the prisone. His death was long hidden from the king his father; but in conclusiō, the governour shewed to the king how diuerse persone traiterously had murdered hym whiche wer apprehended and judged to die, & yet in their lyues they never knew nor yet saw hym. The kyng notwithstanding his brothers excuse, doubted much thend of his other sonne named Iames, wherfore he prieuely provided a ship, in the whiche he put the child beyng then of the age of. ix. yeres, under the tuition of the lorde Hēry Senclere erle of Orkeney, willyng him to coaney the prince into his realme of Frauce if by any possiblitie he could thether attain. And if fortune should drine hym on his cost of England, he wrote letters to the kyng of England, by wherof in sueth.

"ROBERT Kyng of Scottes, sendeth gretyng to Kyng Henry of Engandele, although by relation of other persones I have known before this tyme, what magnanimitie, what clemencie, and other infinite vertues be planted and roted in your royall persone, yet in the voyage that you your self personally last made into Scotiand, I have had manifest and open experience of the same. For whē you like our enemy invaded our countrie, brent our tounes, and destroyed our people, yet by the favor that you shewed to suche places and people whiche receiued and fostered your noble father when he fled out of Engand (for fear of rebelles whiche then sore afflicted his lande) we have receiued alsmte as muche profit and advantage as we did hurte and damage, by your terrible warres and bloody invasions. Wherefore I cannot but laud and praise your highnes & inudge your noble herte mete for a kyngdō, but also I do loue and will not cease to loue you duryng my naturall life. And notwithstanding that realmes and nacions daily contennde and make warre for glory rule and empire, yet to vs bothe beyng kynges, no suche occasion is geuen to do as they do, or to folowe their stepps or progressiō, but we (whiche is the dutic of a kyng) oughte to stroue who shall prosecute other with moste humain favor and continual clemencie, and as muche as we maie to be felowes, compagnios and alices, in singuler loue and perpetual amitie. And as for suche causes as now be different and in discencion betwene vs and our realmes for my part I shall endeuer my self to bryng all thynges to a good concluisiō & mutuall conformitie. And because that I now am in the same trouble and perplexitie for my children, that your father was with the rebelles of Englande, I am compelled of very necessitie to desire aide..."
THE VIII. YERE OF

aide and seke coforte of forain princes and strange nacion. And although that by the help of God and power of my people, I am able enough to kepe the same against all outwarde powers and forain attemptes. Yet from the secrete malice of suche as lurke and bee daily norished in my very bosome, I cannot kepe them in suerte within myne owne dominion. And yet in no other place thei can bee from that pestiferous conspiracy put in any sure defence or perffight sauwegard, except thei he preserued by the faith and fidelitie of good and just men. The worlde this tyne is so full of malice, so replenished with rancor, that wheresoever that golde or siluer (whiche bee instrumentes of mischief) maie enter or penetrate, there shalbe founde ministers prone and redy to do and perpetrate all detestable crimes and mischeuous insencenc: But because I knowe and perceive your person to be endued with so many notable vertues, and to be adorned with such Magnanimitie, fidelitie, justtie, clemencie, and finally, not onely to be replenished with the whole compaignie and felowship of the vertues Moral, but also to bee of that power, riches & puysance that no prince in our tyne, maie to your highnes be ether compared or assimuled, I beyng by your noble and notable qualities allected and encoraged, most heretely require your helpe and humbly desire your aide, relefe and comfort. For mine eldest sonne David, (as I suspect and as the fame runeth, although I cannot yet thereof make a perffight profile) is murthered, by no comen murther, by no open thefe, by no notorious malefactor nor by no furious persone, but by my brother his vnclie whiche ought to have protected and saued him, to whom I committ the gouernance of me, my children, my whole realme and all that I had, whiche vnnatural kinsemann hath not only killd my child, but hath shamefully slayn and murdered hym with the moste cruel and miserable kynd of death, which is fame. And so he, which ought & whose dutie was to haue aduoyd and put fro me the injuries of all other persones, hath afflicted me with the moste contumelie, the greatest injury and manifest damage, that euere subjecte did attempt against his Prince, or brother against brother, or enemy against kinsemman. For he whom I made gouernor to withstand the power and malice of mine outward enemies, compasseth and imagineth how to destroy myne issue, and consequently myne owne persone. Wherefore for the favor that you bere to justice sent by God to mankinde, and for the naturall loue and fatherly affection that you bere to your children and posteritie, I humbly require and heretely desire your magnificence, that this mine onely child, not ouely maie safely and surely live vnder your defence and protection but also that you of your acustomed goodnes will vouchsafe to preserue and defende this the onely heire of my posteritie from the malicious attemptes of his cruel kynred and ambitious cousanguiuiite. And this the rather, for the remembrance both of your fathers chance, whiche in his necessitie found muche humanitie in our nacion, and also of the frailitie of worldly suretie, whiche assone changeth from good to euill, and from euill to worse, as the faire and redolent flower this daie florisheth, and to morow widreth and sodainly vadeth. Requirying you to haue in remembrance, that if princes put their whole confidence only in their comon people, which be more variable then the Wethercocke or wynd, and haue no outward frendes nor forain amitie, their empire is falllyng and their regiment very britell. But if princes be coupled in the chaynes of indissoluble amitie, and will mutually & faithfully defende their comon enemies, and aduoyde their manifest injuries, there is no power or strength of the comon people, that ethe can hurte or cast theim from the throne: in suche a suretie is a kyng that so is garnished with the loue, favor and amitie of outward princes and louyng neighbors. Wherefore, if it may serve expedient to your high wisdome, to here this my lowly requeste and louyng suete (whiche I thinke your clemencie will not reject nor refell) my desire is, that accoriding to the last truce concluded betwene you and vs, in the whiche is conteigned that all men conuoying letters from the one of vs to the other, should suerly & sauely passe and rapasse without any cotradiccio: That it would plesse you not to breke nor deny the said liberty to this berer our only sone, but for your honor to kepe your promise sincerly inuiolated & faithfully observed. And thus the gracious God preserve your noble person in your royal estate long to continew."
WHEN all thynges necessary were prepared, the mariners halsed vp their ankers and departed from Bas castle with this young prince and Henry Percie same to the lord Percie shain before at Shrewesbury, and by rigor of tempest were drien on the cost of Holdernes called Flamborough hed the. xxx. daie of Marche, where the yong prince for to refreshe hymselfe toke lande. He wroughte not so priuily, but he was knowne and taken with all his company, & conueighed to the kyng beyng at WInsore, where he with dew reverence delivered his fathers letter. When the letter was redde & vnderstand, the kyng assembled his counsell to knowe what should be done with this noble enfant. Some to whom he the continual warres and daily battail was bothe displeasat and odious, affirmed that there could not happen a better or a more surer occasion of peace and amitie betwene bothe the realmes, whiche beyng so offered, they would in no wise should be reiectd but taken, consideryng that this prince was sent thither, in trust of saugegard, in hope of refuge, and in request of aide and comfort against his cuill willers and malicious enemies: other (whose opinion toke place) affirmed hym to be a prisoner and so to bee ordered, for asmuche as he was taken the warre beyng open, and that his father did not onely maintayne therle of Northumberland and other rebelles within his countrie and geue them great-honors, but also sent a greate nombre of his nobilitie against the kyng at the battaill of Shrewesbery. Wherefore It was agreed that he should be deteined as a prisoner, lawfully taken and duci apprehended. When tidynes of this definitue sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an inwarde conceit and so sore a penciffenes, that he ended his naturall life within a few mone-thes after. Although the takyng of this young prince, was at the first tyme displeasent to the realme of Scotlande: yet surely, after he and all his region had greate cause to rejoys and thanke God of their fortunate chaunce and good lucke that issued. For where before that tyme the people of Scotlande wer rude, rusticall, without any vrbanitie, hauyng litle lernyng and lesse good maners, & good qualities least of all. This prince beyng, xviiij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so instructed and taught by his scholemasters & pedagoges appointed to him by the onely clemencie of the kyng, that he not onely flourished in good lernyng and freshe litterature (as the tyme then serued) but also excelled in all poyntes of Marcial feates, Musicall instrumentes, Poeticall artes and liberal sciences. In so muche that at his returne from captituite, he furnished his realme bothe with good lernyng and ciuil policie, whiche before was barbarous, sauge, rude & without all good nurtur.

THE NYNETH YERE.

Therle of Northumberland, whiche had been in Fraunce and other regions to obteigne aide against kyng Henry, and had missed of his purpose, now putte his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in especial in his olde frende George erle of Marche, and so assembled a great power of the Scottish nacion to invade Northumberland, and recovered diuerse of his owne castles and seigniories, to whom the people without nombre daily resorted. Wherefore he enteyning to bee reuenged of his old greues, accompanied with the lorde Bardolfe and diuerse other Scottes and Englishmen entred into Yorke shire and there began to destroy and depopulate the countrie. Whereof the kyng beyng aduertised, caused a greate army to be assembled and marched toward his enemies, but or the kyng came to Notingham, Raufe Rekesbie shriefe of Yorke shire, in the midst of February with the power of the countrie, sodainlie set on thercle and his compaignie, at a place called Braunham More, where after long fightyng, the erle and the lorde Bardolfe and many other wer taken and brought to Yorke and there executed; and their heddes sent to London.

After this the kyng hauing knowledge that diuerse pirates wer wandering on the cost of Englande, prepared a great armie furnished with men, vitaille and municion of warre mete & convenient for such an enterprice, and in the beginning of Marche sent to the seaj lorde Edmond Hollande erle of Kent, chieftain of that crewe and armie. When the erle had
had searched all the coaste of Fraunce, and had founde not one pirate or sea robber, he was aduertised by his espials that they heryng of his armie, were diuerted to the partes of Britayn. Wherefore the said erle enteyndyng to be reuenged on them whiche he sought for, made his course thether, before his arraual they had conueighed their shippes into the hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherfore he launched out his botes and with his fierce souldiers toke land and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standyng on the sea side. The citizens threwe out dartes, cast stones, shotte quarrelles and manfully defended their walles. In whiche conflict the erle receiued such a wound in his head that he departed out of this world the. v. day after. The assailantes not dismaied but set a fire with the death of their capitaine like men desperate styll assaulted the towne and by fine force entered into the same and set it a fier and sweu all that would make any resistance, and for lacke of a captain, the men of warre laden with praiues and prisoners returned againe into Englande.

THIS Edmond erle of Kent was in such fauour with Kyng Henry that he not alone lyng ad- vanced and promoted him to highe offices and great preheminences, but also by his meane and no small costa obteigned for him the eldest daughtuer and one of the heires of the Lord Barnabo of Millaine brother to Lord Galeace whose sone also called Galeace murdyng his vnclie Barnabo made himselfe first duke of Millaine, for which marriage Lord Barnabo paiied to him an hundred M. Duccates at the churche of saint Marie Ouaryes in Southwarke at the day of the solempnite, by doen Alphos de Caniola. This Lucie after the death of her husband by whom she had no issue, was mooned by the kyng to marry with his bastard brother the Earle of Dorcet a man very aged and il visaged, whose person nether satisfied her fantasy nor whose face pleased her appetitie, wherfore she preferring her owne mind more then the kynges desire, deiting in him the whiche sholde more satisifie her wanton pleasure then gaine her any profite, for very lone toke to husband Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Esquier and a bewtfull Bacheler. For which cause the kyng was not onely with her displeased but also for mariyng withoute his licence he seased and fined her at a great some of money, which fine kyng Henry the. v. bothe released and pardoned and also made him knyght and promoted hym to great offices both in England and Normandie, whiche sir Henry had issue by this Lady, Anne maried to sir Ihon Awbemond mother to Elizabeth Chandos mother to Phillis maried to sir Daucie Halle capitayne of Caen, she had also issue Mari maried to Ihon Cheddlur and Lucie espoused to sir Ihon Cressy. [This yere by reason of Frost, shepe and birds died without number, whiche continued fiftene weekes]

¶ THE X. YERE.

ABOUTE this time Ihon duke of Burgoine a man of a quicke witte, desirous of rule, & of a haute couraunce, being of great aucutoritie amongst the Frenchie nacion to whom ciuill discorue was more pleasure than fraternal amitie and mutuell concorde, began sore to grudge and maligne against Lewes Duke of Orleance brother to the French kyng, because that he was chiefe of the kynges counseill and ordered al thinges by his discrecion, because the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a frensy and therefore meddled in no-thyng. The duke of Orleance on the other side beyung highly set vp in pride, began to disdain and froune at the duke of Burgoin, because he perceiued that he aspired & gaped to haue the supreme regimente in the publike affaires and weightie causes, thus the one would have no superior, and the other would have no pere. This cancard disdain in shorte space grewe to suche a hate, that all the realme of Fraunce was deuided into two fuections, thone parte faureying the duke of Orleance, and the other inclinying to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche deuision had almoast brought the realme of France to vter ruine and perpetuall confusion. The Frenche kyng beyng somwhat amended of his disease, heryng of this controversie betweene these two princes, set for them bothe to Paris, where he reprooved their pride, re-buked their malice, and taunted their vngodly dooynges, in so muche that all the nobilitie beygn
beuyng present, jugged the displeasure to have been bothe forgotten and forgenen. But high corages are not so sone abated, nor roten malice is not in hast plucked vp, for the duke of Burgoyne still copingassing the destruction of the duke of Orleance, appoynced a secrete frende called Raufe of Actouille, to bryng his purpose to passe. This Raufe forgettyng not his enterprise, assembled together a compaigne of suche persons as he moste trusted, & as a Wolffe gredy of his pray, when the duke of Orleance was commynge from the court in the night season, he fieresly set vp hym and shamefully slewe hym. When this murder was published, the king lamented, the nobles grudged, and the comun people cried to God for vengeance. The duke of Burgoyne justified this act by the mouth of Master Ihon Petit doctor in deuite, whiche wrested scripture and doctors so far out of course, that his justyfication within fewe yeres after was adjudged heresy by the whole vniuersite of Paris. The French kyng, lest that greater mischief should ensue, was compelled to hide and clote his inward affeccion and dolorus herte and to dissimule the matter, doubtyng lest the duke of Burgoyne whose herte and haute corage he had well knownen before, (if he should proceed against hym for this euill acte) would ioyne and take part with the Englishe nacion against the realme of France. Wherefore after long consultacion had by the entreatie of the kyng and other Princes of the bloud royall, Charles duke of Orleance some to duke Lewes lately murdred, and Ihon duke of Burgoyne were reconsiled and brought to a lained concord and a fante agremeente, eche of them takyng a corporall othe vpoun the holy Evangelists, neuer after to disagre or renewe any displeasure for any thynge before passed. But what pruevaileth an othe where hertes still burne & malice continually smoketh, who careth for pewry when apetite of reuengynge daily encreaseth.

IN this case was the duke of Orleance whiche perceiuyng the king his vnclc to beare with the duke of Burgoyne, and to let the detestable murder of his father so lightly passe without pain or punishment, allied and confederated hymself with the dukes of Berry and Burbon, & the erles of Alanson and Arminacke, whiche rcised agreate puissance of people, and defed the duke of Burgoin and his coplices as their mortall foo and dedly enemy. The duke of Burgoin feryng the sequele of the matter (because ther was a mocio of mariage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his daughter) was somwhat the bolder to send to the kyng of England for aide and succors against his enemies. Kyng Henry no lesse forseyng then that whiche after ensued, whiche was that the discord of these two great princes might turne his realme to profit and honor, sent to the duke of Burgoin, Thomas erle of Arundell, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile lorde of Kyne, sir Robert Vmfreuile, and sir Ihon Grey with. xij. C. archers, whiche toke shippyng at Douer and landed at Sluce. When thenglishten wer arriued in Flaunders, the duke of Burgoin with thenglishten and all his power, rode daie and night til he came nere to Paris, and ther the next daie after with hard fighting and coragious shotying, the Englishmen gat the bridge of saint Clow, whiche passed ouer the riuier of Saine, and toke and slewe all the souldiers whiche the duke of Orleance had left there in garrison to defend the bridge. Emongst whom sir Mansard de Boys a valiant captain was taken prisoner by the Englishten & highly raunsomed. But the duke of Orleace and his company whiche wer like to have been compassed with their enemies, so that almost al their waies of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the nyght tymene made a bridge ouer the riuier on the part of saint Denis strete, & so escaped & fled into the high countries. And after this confictce the duke of Burgoyn beyng now in his ruffe thynkyng no man ether in autherite or bloud equiulente to his person, and blinded with a kall of vaine glory before his ieyes, toke vpó him the hole rule and gouernance of the realme and ordered the kyng as pleased hym, and not to the kinges wil, and thinking that in so trobelous a season he had vnknit the knot of all ambiguities & doubtes percyuing al thynges to have better succeedd for his purpose then he before imagyned, dismissed Thenglishten into their countrey geuing to them hartie thankes and great rewards. Which doyng king Hery much disalowed, consideryng that he had sent away his defence before the great brunt of the war wer ouerpassed, & shuld haue taken hede before what policie his enemies had practiszed or
what puissance they had assembled. For he well remembred that one faire daie assureth not a
good Sommer, nor one flyng Swallow prognosticateth not a good yere.

THE ELEUENTH YERE.

Kyng Henry nowe beyng quiet & not molested with ciuil discencion nor domesticali
factions called his high court of parlamente in the whiche after he had concluded diverse
Actes mete and expeditent for the publike welth of his realme and people, he exalted and
promoted his thire yonger sonnes to beie honors, as lorde Thomas to the Duchie of Clarence,
lorde Ihon to the duchie of Bedford, & lorde Humphrey to the duchie of Glocester, and
lord Thomas his halfe brother crle of Dorcet he made duke of Excester. Howbeit some
writers saye he was erected to that estate and dignitie by kyng Henry the. v. in the first yere
of his regne, whiche thyng is neither materiall nor disputable consideryng he had none issue.

THE TWELFTH YERE.

While these thynges wer thus doyng in England, Ihbō duke of Burgoyne which ruled
the rost and governed both kyng Charles the Frenche kyng and his whole realme, so muche
stomaked and enuied the duke of Oriaié & his sutors that he caused the Frēch kyng in
person to arme himself against them and their adherentes, as traitors to hym and apparat ene-
mies to the comun welth, & sent diverse capitaines to invade their landes and territories in
the countrees of Poytiers and Angulesme, & other seignories aperteinynge and belonging to
the homage and observance of the duchie of Aquitain & Guien. Wherfore the dukes of
Orleance, Berre, and Burbon with their frēdes and alies, seyng that now their onely hope
consisted in the kyng of England, sent to hym Alberte Aubemound a man of no lese lern-
yng then audecite, & yet of no lese audacitie, then wit and policie, whiche in the name of
the confederates offered certain cōdicions as you shall here after accordyng to myne author
truly reported, whiche wer made & cōcluded in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.xiij. the.
vij. daie of Maie.

FIRST, thesaid lordes offered that frō thēce furth thei should expose and set furth their
owne persons, finances and lides to serue the kyng of England his heires and successors,
when souer thei wer required or called in all jist quarelles: whiche jist quarelles the kyng
of Englīde shall take to aperteigne to the duchie of Guyen with the appurtenances, affir-
myng how thesaid duchie perteiynge and ought to apertain to hym of righte by lineall heritage
and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thence furth, that thei should not blemise nor
spotte their truthe nor fidelite to assiste and aide hym in recovering thesame duchy.

ALSO thesaid Lordes offered their sonnes, doughters, nephews and neses, parentes
and all their subjectes, to contract mariage accordyng to the discrecion of the kyng of
Englīde.

ALSO thei offred toone castles tresures, & generally al their goodes to ayde the kyng his
heires and successors for the defence of their rightes and quarelles, so that the bonde of
their allegiance might be saued, the whiche in another secrete apointement they before had
declared.

ALSO thei offred to the kyng of England generally al their frendes adherentes alies and
well willers to serue him in his quarel for the recovery of the hole Duchie of Guien.

ALSO to cease al fraude, the sayd lordes recognised that they were ready, to affirme the
said Duchie of Guien to belong to the kyng of England, in like and semblable wise in li-
berty and franchises, as euery any of the said kynges predecessors held or possessed the
same.

ALSO the said lordes knowledge that al the townes castles and fortresses that they had
within
KYNG HENRY THE. IIIJ.

within the Duchie of Guien, to holde them of the kyng of England as the very trewe duke of Guien, promising all service and homages after the best manner that in suche case might be.

ALSO they promised to deliver to the kyng as much as laie in all towne and castelles appertaining to the roialtie and seigniorie of England, which are in number xx. what towne and castels, and as to the regard of other towne and fortresses which were not in their puissance and seigniory, they would heale the kyng of England his heires and deputys to winne them with men in sufficiente number at their propre charges and expences.

ALSO the kyng of England was agreed that the duke of Berry his trewe Uncle and vassalle and the duke of Orleance his subiecte and vassalle and the Earle of Arminacke shoulde holde of hym by homage and fealtie the landes and seigniores hereafter following, that is to saye the Duke of Berry to holde the Countie of Pontiew duryng his life, and the duke of Orleance to hold the countie of Angulesme duryng his life onely, and the countie of Perregot for ever, and the Erle of Armniacke to holde. iii. castels vpon certain sureties and condicions as by indenture should be appointed.

FOR the which offers couenauntes and agreevements they affirmed that the kyng of England as Duke of Guien, ought to defende & succour them against all men as their very Lord and souerniagne, and not to conclude any treatie of leage with the Duke of Burgoine, his brethren, children, frendes or allies.

FURTHERMORE, the kyng of England ought to ayde the sayd Lordes as his trewe vassalles in all their iuste quarles for recovering of damages for iniuries to them wrongfully done.

ALSO they required the kyng of England to send to the. viii. thousand men to ayde them against the Duke of Burgoine, whiche daily prouoked the French kyng to make open warre on them, their landes and seigniories, promising farther to disboushe and pay all the costes and charges whiche the sayd armie of Englishmen should expend during their warre, whiche letter was written the viii. day of May.

KYNG Henry louingly receiveth & gently entertayned this messenger Albericke, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detesting the abhominable murder of the late duke of Orliance and sayenge no justice ministred nor no punishment done for so shamefull an acte, haungyng also approved experience that the Duke of Burgoine wolde kepe no longer promise then he him self listed. And secondarily consideryng what large offers these Princes had made to him bothe greatly to his honour and to the high profite and commoditie of his realme and suabietes, thought that he was bounde by the office of a kyng to ayde and succour them where the said crying for justice and could haue none, and in especial because they in that point byeng his subiectes and vassalles ought to be defended in maintenaunce of his superioritie and seigniories: wherfore he louungly promised them aide and reliefe. This return of the messenger was to them as pleasant as is the delivere of a captijne frô his sore imprisonnement, or of a marchant passyng by the way beset about by Theues, byeng reskewed by his frendes or caponians. And not without cause, for the French king not of his owne courage animated, but maliciously encesed by the duke of Burgoyne, persecuted the faction of the Orliane frome citie to citie from town to town, with such power and extremitie that they were bothe of force and necessitie compelled to retire to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appointe them selves ether to render or defend. Ye must understand that princes somtyme haue Argus iyes and Midacore. For this feate was not so secretly wrought in England but it was apparantly espied in Frayne, wherfore the French kynges counsail sent the Earle of S. Paule the olde cakered enemy to the Englishmen into the parties of Picardy with fitten C. horsemen and a great number of fowmen, he ordeined certain of his men to gene assualte to the townes of Guises while he stode in a stale to lie in waite for the reliefe that might come from Calais. The furious Frenchmen brake a fewe old pales about pore mens gardeins of Guises, but the men of warre of the Castell shottte so fiercely at them with arrowes and caste out wildefire in suche abundance that the assailantes were faine to retire. And so the erle of sainte Paule went.
THE. XIII. YERE OF

Paule whiche neuer wonne gain but loste honor at the Englishe mens handes, returned not only with losse of his people but defrauded of his desired pray, returned to the toune of Saint Quintins.

¶ THE XIII. YERE.

The Frenche kyng in the meane seasō by the enticement of the duke of Burgoine layd sege to the citie of Bourges in Berry where the duke of Orleance and his confederates had included and fortified themselfes. When the kyng of England was thereof wasadvertised, he with all diligence sent forthe his sonne Thomas duke of Clarence, and Edward duke of Yorke with viii. c. horsmen and. ix. thousand archers whiche toke land in the bay of Hoggges in Normandy by sainct Waste in the territory of Constantine. Thenglishemen swarmed like Bees rounde aboute the countrey, robbing Marchantes, spoilyng husbandmen and brennyng townes, and were joyously receiued of the Erles of Alleuon and Richmond faultors of the Orleniacial part. The council of Fransce not willing that the Englishmen should ioyne or concurre with the Dukes of Orleance and Berry or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not trewe) to be diulonged abrode that there was a finall peace and a perfitt amitie concluded betwene the Frenche kyng & his lordes whiche lately were to hym aduersaries. When this fable was notifiied to the Englishmen whiche were by hasty iourny passed the ryuer of Leire, they spoile the townes and Monastery of Beauliew, and wasted with fire andedere the countries of Touraine and Maine. Against whom the duke of Burgoyne sent the lord of Rambures with a great armie, whiche in short time was before vanquished. The Dophyn of Fransce fearing the doynges of the Englishmen concluded a fayned peace betwene the dukes of Orleance and Burgoyne and their adherentes, so that the duke of Orleance should without delay dispatche out of the dominions of Fransce all the English armie. The duke was not rich to pai, and the Englishmen were gredy to haue, in so muche that they marchyng toward Guien in good order what by sackyng of townes & what with raunsomyng of riche persones, gat great treasure and many good prays. Beside this to the aide of the duke of Orleance kyng Henry sent to Caleis therles of Kent and Warwick with. ii. thousand fightyng men whiche spoiled & defaced the countie of Bulenois, and brent the townes of Samer de Boys and toke with assault the fortresse of Russalte with diuers other. The duke of Orleance which was daily called on to dispatche the Englishmen out of Fransce, came to the duke of Clarence and his armie rendryng to them a M. gramercies and disbursed to them as muche money as ther he or his frendes myghte easily spare; and for two hundred and. ix. M. Frankes which remayned vpnaide he deliuered in gage his second brother Ihon erle of Angulesme whiche was Grandfather to Frances afterward French king and sir Marcell of Bourge, sir Ihon of Samoures, sir Archibault of Villiers and diuers other; which earle long continewed in Englishe as you shall perceiue hereafter. When this agreement was taken, the dukes of Clarence and Yorke with gret pray (riche prisoners, and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux makyn warre on the frontiers of Fransce, to their grete gaine and profitable lucre. So by the onely commynge of the Englishmen into Fransce the duke of Orleance was restored not onely to peace and quietnes with al persons saue the duke of Burgoyne: But also fell in suche fauour with the kyng & the realm that he was of all men welbeloued, muche honored and highly estemed, and so continewed till waueer. Fortune turned her variable whyle. For after this he byeng enemy to the Englishe nation was vanquished and taken prisoner and so remained in Englishe aboue. xxiii. yeres, till the flower of his age was passed or sore blemished.

¶ THE FOURTENTH YERE.

After these great and fortunato chaunces happened to kyng Henry, he perfitly remembring that there could be no more praise gueen to a prince then to execute his office in
KYNG HENRY THE. IIII.

administryng Justice whiche above all thyng is the very necessary minister to all people, enteynyng to liue in quietenes, beyng now delivered of al Ciuiill deuision and intestine discoune, with the which almost all Christendom was infected and disturbed, not onely to the gret decay of Christes religion and Christian creatures but to the great exaltació of Paimin princes, by the dilatyn of the pestiferous sect of the false counterfaite prophet vainglorious Mahumet: called a great cousail of the thre estates of his realme, in the whiche he delibera-
tely consulted and concluded aswell for the politike governaunce of his realme as also for the war to be made against the Infidels, and especially for the recovery of the holy Citie of Ierusalem, in whiche Christian warres he entendted to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great army, and gathered mueche treasure, enteynting to set forward in the same spring time. But se the chancce, what so euer man intendeth God sodainly reverseth, what princes will, god wil not, what we thynke stable, God sodainely maketh mutable, to the entent that Salomons sayying might be found trewe, which wrote that the wis
dome of men is but folishes before God. When this Prince was thus furnysht with treasure sufficient, with valiant captaines and hardy souldiers, with tall shippes furnisshed with vitayles municion and all thynges necessary for suche a iourney roiall, he was taken with a sore sodain disease and laied in his bed: whiche disease was no Lepry strynkt by the haundes of God as foolish Friers before declared, for then he neither would for shame, nor for debilitie was able to enterprise so great a iourney as in to Iewrie in his own person, but he was taken with a sore Apoplexye of the whiche he languished tyll his appoynted howre, and had none other grefe nor malady. Durynge whiche sickenes as Auctors write he caused his crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes heade and sodainly his pangre so sore tro
tebled him that as he lay as though all his vitall sprites had been from him departed: suche chamberleins as had the cure and charge of his bodye thinkyng him to bee departed and deade covered his face with a linnen cloth. The prince his sonne being therof advertised, entered into the chamber and take away the crowne and departed: the father being sodainly renuued out of his traunce quickly percieued the lacke of his crowne, and hauyng know
ledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused hym to reparie to his presence, re
quyryng of hym for what cause he had so misused hiselvse. The prince with a good audacitie answered, sir to mine and all mennes iudgemètes you semed deade in this world, wherfore I as your next & aparrant heir toke that as mine own & not as yours: well faire son said the kyng (with a gret sigh) what right I had to it & how I enioied it God knoweth, wel q the prince if you dye kyng I wil haue the garlad & trust to kepe it with the sword against all mine enemies as you haue done: well said the kyng I comit all to God & remeber you to do well, and with that turned himself in his bed & shortly after departed to God, in a chamber of the abbotes of westminster called Ierusalem the. xx. day of March in the yere of our Lord M. iiii. C. xiii. and in the yere of his age. xlvi. when he had reigned. xiii. yeres, v. monthes & odde daies in muche perplexitie and littel pleasure, whose body with all funerall pôpe was co
teyned to Canterbury, and there solemnly buried, leuyng behind him by the lady Marie daughter to lord Hüfrey erle of Hereford & Northampton, Henry prince of Wales, Tho
tas duke of Clarêce, Íoh duke of Bedford, Humfrey duke of Glocester, Blanche duches of Bauier & Philip Quene of Denmarke, for by his last wife Quene Iane he had no child
ren. This kyng was of a mean stature, wel proportioned and formally compact, quicke and deliuer & of as tout courage. After that he had appeased all ciuile disceccions he shew ed him selfe so gentely to all men that he gat him more loute of the nobles in his latter daies then he had naforme and it will of them in the beginnyng. When tidynes of his death was relat ed to the duke of Clarence byeng in Aquitayn, he with all diligent celeritie toke ship with therle of Angulesme, and other his hostages & returned into England to the great cöfort of his brethren.

The end of the vnquiet tyme of kyng Henry the fourth.

TIIE.
THE VICTORIOUS ACTES OF KYNG HENRY

THE FIFTH.

Henr. Prince of Wales, sonne and heire to kyng Hery the. iii. borne at Monmouth on the River of Wye, after the obsequies of his noble parët soléply celebrate and súptously finished, toke vpon him the high power & regiment of this realme of Englande the xx. daie of Marche in the yere after that Christ our savior had entered into the immaculate wôbe of the holy Virgin his naturall mother a thousande foure hundred and. xii. and was crowned the. ix. daie of Aprill then next ensuyng, and proclaimed kyng by the name of kyng Henry the.fifth. Before whiche royall possession so by hym obtained, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to hym homage, liege and aware dewe obeisance (whiche thynge had not been before experimèted) as to hym in whom they conceived a good expectations bothe of his verteous beginnynges and also of his fortunat successse in all thynge which should be attempted or begunne duryng the tyme of his prosperus reigne and fortunate Empire.

THIS kyng, this man was he, whiche (accorlying to the olde Prouerbe) declared and shewed that honors ought to change maners, for incontinent after that he was stalled in the siege royall, and had receyved the crowne and scepter of the famous and fortunat region, determined with hymself to put on the shape of a new man, and to vse another sorte of liuyng, turnyng insolence and wildnes into grauitie and sobernes, and waueryng vice into constant vertue. And to thentent that he would so continue without goyng backe, & not thereunto bee allurred by his familier cõpaignions, with whom he had passed his young age and wanton pastime & rioutous disorder (insomuch that for imprisommente of one of his wanton mates and untirifit plaifaiers he strake the chiefe Iustice with his fiste on the face. For whiche offence he was not onely committed to stright prison, but also of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte, and his brother Thomas duke of Clarence elected president of the kynges counsaill to his great displeasure and open reproche) he thersore banished and seperated frô hym all his old flatterers and familier compaignions, (not vnrewarded nor yet vnpreferred) inhibiting them vpon a greate pain not once to approche ether to his speche or presence, nor yet to lodge or soiuorne within ten miles of his courte or mansion. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitie, men of witte, and men of high policy, by whose wise counsaill and prudente instructiun he might at all tyme rule to his honor and gonerie to his profite. This prince was almost the Arabicall Phenix, and eminest his predecessors a very Paragon: For that he emongest all governours, chiefly did remembrace that a kyng ought to bee a ruler with wit, grauitie, circum-speccion, diligence and constancie, and for that cause to have a rule to hym commited, not for an honor, but for an onorarious charge and daily burden, and not to looke so muche on other mennes liuynges, as to consider and remembre his owne doynges and propre actes. For whiche cause, he not to mucche trustyng to the readinesse of his owne witte, nor to the judgemenetes of his owne waueryng will, called to his counsaill suche prudent and politique personages, the whiche should not onely help to ease his charge & pain in supporting the burden of his realme and Empire, but also incense and instruct hym with suche good reasons and fruiteful perswasions, that he might shewe hymself a synguler mirror and manifest example of moral vertues and good qualities to his comen people and louing subiectes. For it is daily seen, that a vicious prince doth mucche more hurtc with his pernicious exâple to other
other, then to himself by his owne peculier offence. For it is not so muche caus as Cicero saith (although it bee caus in it self) a prince to do caus, as he by his caus doynges to corrupt other, because it is daily seen, that as princes change, the people altereth, and as kynges go, the subiectes folowe. For certainly he that is preferred to high authority, is therefore muche exalted and had in honor, that he should rule, oversee and correct the passionate and codicious of the people, and viely to forsee and daily study how to acquire to hymself laude and glory, and to other profite and commodite, and not to delight in wordly pleasures which are common amongst the lowest sorte of the vile and rusticall people. And he that will do nothing nor can do nothing is more worthy to be called a seruant then a ruler, & a subject rather then a governor. For what can bee more shame or reproche to a prince, then he which ought to govern and rule other shall by cowardnes, sloth and ignorance, as a pupille of viii, or x, yeres of age, but beinge of xx, or xxx yeres and more, shalbe compelled to obey and folowe the wills of other, and be ruled and beare no rule, like a ward and not like a garder, like a seruant and not like a Master. Suche a governour was kyng Richard the seconde, which of hymself beqyng not of the most caus disposicion, was not of so symple a minde, nor of suche debilitate of witte, nor yet of so little herte and courage, but he might have demaunded and learned good and profitable counsaile, and after advisse taken; kept, retayned and folowed the same: But howsoever it was, vnprofitable counsaillers wer his confusion and finall perdicion. Suche another ruler was kyng Edward the seconde, whiche two before named kynges fell from the high glory of fortunes whele to extrememisery and miserable calamitie. By whose unfortunate chance (as I thinke) this kyng Henry beqyng admonished, expulsed from hym his old plate felowes, his precieue Sico-phantes and viagracious gard as authors and procurers of al mischeifes and riot, and assigned into their places men of grauitie, persons of actuitle, and counsaillers of grete witte and policie.

AFTER that he had laied this prudent and pollitique foundacion, he entendiyn in his mynd to do many noble and notable aectes, and remembryng that all goodnes commeth of God, and that all worldly thynges and humain Actes bee more weaker and poorer then the celestiall powres & heavenly rewards, determined to begin with some thyng pleasanta and acceptabile to God. Wherefore he first commaunded the Clergie sincerely and truly to preache the worde of God and to line after the same; so that they to the temporality might be the Lanternes of light and mirrors of vertue. The laie men he willed to serve God and obey their prince, prohibiting them above al thynges breche of matrimony use of sweryng & wilful periury, exhoriyng bothe to loue together as man with wife or brother with brother. Beside this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme to the offices of Justice, and men of good liuing he preferred to high degrees and authorities.

THE madness of the Welshemen and Scottes (whose often incursions and robberyes he wel had in his fathers daies expermented and assaied) he studied to assuage and represse, to the intent that he beaying quiet in his owne regions, might eather make outward warre without doubt nor danger, or els for the common wealth of his realme to study how
to encreace the glory of his seigniory, & so both kepe & conserue it.

WHEN all thynges were thus settled and framed to his purpose, he caused the body of kyng Richard the second to be removed with all funeral pomps convenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honorably enterred with Quene Anne his first wife in a solemnpe tombe erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this noble prince kyng Henry.

ALTHOUGH this prudente prince and this pollitique governour had set and established all thynges beyng in difference and variance within his owne peculier realmes, countreys and territories and confines of thesame: yet he nothing lesse forgetting nor no one thyng more myndyng or desiring, then the essaying of the long scisme and diucion spung & continued in the catholike churche of Christian religion by the most ambitious desire and avaricious appetite of certaine persones callynge themselves spirituall fathers, but in deede carnall
THE I. YERE OF

carnall conteoures and gredy glottos aspiring for honor and not for vertue to the proud see of Rome, desiring more to pile then to profite Christes flocke or Christian religion, hauing knowledge that a generall counsaile was somonned to bee celebrate and kept at the faire citee of Constance vpon the riuier of Ryne, thought that it was not his honor nor yet his duetie, beyng thereof warned by the Emperor Sigismond to bee as a hearer and no par-taker in so high a cause, and in especiall in so high an assemble. Wherefore he sent the-ther Richard erle of Warrwike and three bishoppes with other famous prelates and doctors, besides knightes & esquires to the number of eight hundred horses. They wer men so well appareld and their horses so richely trapped, and all the compaignie so well furnished, that the Almaines wondred, the Italians gased, and all other naciones were astonned to se suche an honorable compaignie come from a countree so farre distant. At this Sinody were assembled (as one authore writeth) CCC.xlv. bishoppes, Abbottes and doctors v. C.lxiiij. noble men, knightes and esquires. xvj. M. beside seruantes whiche (not accompling the townes men) wer numbred. lxv. M. persons. These Ambassadours were highly receiued of the Emperor Sygismond and of the Romishe bishop called Ihon the. xxiij. whiche in thesame counsaile for greate and abominable crimes and detestable offenses by hym perpe-trated and committed (of the whiche he could not poure hymself nor make any defence) was bythesame Sinody according to the demerites put doune and of his estate deprinued. Greg-ory the. xij. was one of the Scismatical numbre, scarryng shame more then regardynghis wordly affection did putte doune hymself of his owne proprye mocion from his foolish vsurp-ed naine and Popishe dignitie. But Benedict the. xiii. still and stilly affirmynge hymself to be the very Viker of God, so muche desired honor, and so muche was wrapped in his owne folishe and fantastical opinion, that no freind could persuade hym, nor argumet entice hym, nor no reason refrain hym from thesame, and so accordyng to his desert by open judgement, against his wil, lost both his name and honestie. And thre yeres after Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne was elected to the bishopricke of Rome and named Martyne the fifth.

IN this coûsaile Ihon Wicliffe borne in England, and Ihon Husse and Iherom of Prage wer condemned to death. Duryng this firste yere, sir Ihon Old Castle, whiche by his wife was called lorde Cobham, a valiant capitain and an hardy gentleman, was accused to the Archbishop of Cauntorbury of certain poynets of heresy. Whiche bishoppe knowing hym to be highly in the kynges favor, declared to his highenees the whole accusaciô. The kyng first hauing compassion of the noble man, required the prelats that if he were a straited shepe, rather by gentlenes then by rigoure to reduce hym to his old flocke. After that he sendyng for hym, godly exhorted and louungly admonished hym to reconcile hymself to God and his lawes. The lorde Cobham not onely thanked the kyng of his moste fauourable clemencye, but also declared firste to hym by mouthe and afterwardes by wrightyng the foundacion of his faith, the ground of his belefe and the botome of his stomicke, affirming his grace to be his supreme led and competent judge & none other persone, offerying an hundred knightes and esquires to come to his purgatio, or els to fight in open listes with his accusors. The kyng not onely knowing the lawes of the reame, but also persuaded by his counsaile, that hereticall accusacions ought to be tried by the spiritual prelats, sente hym to the tower of London there to abide the determinacion of the clergie according to the statutes in and for that case prouided. After whiche tymes the. xxiij. daie of Septembre, a solempeyne session was appointed in the Cathedrall churche of saint Paule, and another the. xxv. da of the said moneth in the hal of the Friers preachers in London, in whiche places thesaid lorde was examined, apposse and fully heard, & in conclusion by the archbishop denounced an hereticke and so remitted again to the toure of Lon-don: Froô whiche place, ether by help of frendes or corrupcion of keepers, he priuely escaped and cam into Wales, where he remained by the space of thre yeres and more.

AFTER this tymen in a certain vnlawfull assembly was taken sir Robert Acton knight, a man of greate wit & possessions, Ihon Bourne Esquire, Ihon Beuerly clerke and a greate numbre
KYNG HENRY THE. V.

numbre of other whiche were brought to the kynges presence, and to hym declared the cause of their commocion and risyng: and accusyng a greate nubre of their sort and societie (whiche confessió because I haue not seen, I leave at large.) Aftor this folishe acte, so many persons were apprehended that all the prisons in and about London wer replenished with people. The chief of them whiche wer. xxix. wer condemnyed by the clergie of heresy, and attainted of high treason as mouers of warre against their kyng by the temporal lawe in the Guyld hall the. xii. daie of December, and adjuudged for treason to be drawn and hanged, and for heresy to be consumed with fire gallowes and all: Which jujgemente was executed in Ianuier folowynge on thesaid Robert Acton and the. xxvij. other.

SOME saie that the occasion of their death was the conueignance of the Lorde Cobham out of prison. Other write that it was bothe for treason and heresy as the record declareth. Certaine affirme that it was for fein causes surmyed by the spiritualtie more of displeasure then truthe: the judgement whereof I cesse to men indifferent. For surely all conecatures be not true, nor all wrytynges are not the Gospell, & therefore because I was nether a witnes of the facte, nor present at the deede I ouerpasse that matter and begin another.

† THE SECONDE YERE.

KYng Henry continually studiyng for the honor of hymself and advancement of his people, called his high courte of parliament the last daie of April in the tourne of Leicester In the whiche parliament many profitable lawes were concluded: and many peticions moued wer for that tyme deferred. Enomest whiche requestes, one was, that a bill exhablyd in the parliamete holden at Westminster in the. xj. yere of kyng Henry the fourth (whiche by reason that the kyng was then vexed and troubled with ciuill deuision & domesticall dissencion, came to none effect) might now bee well studied, pondered; regarded and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of whiche supplicacion was, that the temporall landes diuently gen, and disordinaty spent by religious and other spirituall persons, might suffise to maintein to the honor of the kyng and defence of the realme, xv. erles, xv.C. knightes, vj.M. ii.C. esquires, and. C. almose houses for relief onely of the poore impotent and nedy persones, and the kyng to haue cleryly to his cofers twentie thosande poundes, with many other provisions and valewes of religiouse houshes whiche I ouerpasse.

THIS before remembred bill was muche noted and feared emoyest the religious sort whom in effect it muche touched, insomuch that the fat Abbotes sweet, the proude Priors frouned, the poore Friers cursed the sely Nonnes wept, and al together wer nothing pleased nor yet cōtent. Now to finde a remedy for a mischief and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergy myndyng rather to bowe then breake, agreed to offere to the kyng a greate some of money to staye this newe moued demaund. The cause of this offere semed to some of the wise: prelates nether decente nor convenient, for they well forsaue and perfightly knewe that if the commos perceived that thei by reward or offere of money would resist their request & peticion, that thei stirred & moued with a fury would not onely rayle and despise them as corruptours of Princes and enemies of the publique wealth, but would so crye and call on the kyng and his temporall lorde that they were like to lose bothe worke and oyle, cost and lynyng: Wherefore they determined to cast all chaunces whiche might serve their purpose, & in especiall to replenishe the kynges brayne with some pleasant study that he should nether phantasy nor regard the serious peticion of the importunate commons.

WHEREFORE on a daie when the kyng was present in the parliament, Henry Chicheley Archebishop of Caumbery thereto newly preferred, whiche beforetime had been a Monke of the Carthusians, a ma whiche had professt wilfull poueritie in religion; and yet commynmg abrode muche desird honor, & a man muche regardyng Godes law, but more louyng his his owne lucre. After lowe obeysaunce made to the kyng he said after this maner in effect. 

H.
WHILE I consider our most entirely beloved and no lesse dread soueraigne lorde and naturall Prince, the louyng mynd, the daily labor and continuall study whiche you incessantly implore bothe for thatdauancemént of the honor of your realme and also profile of your people: I cannot nor ought not, except I would bee noted not onely ingrate to your royall person byng my patrone & preferrer, but also a neglecter of my dutye, a secrete mumber of suche thynges whiche touche both the inheritance of your croune & the honor of your realme either holde my peace or kepe silence. For all authors agree that the glory of kynges consisteth not onely in high blood and haute progeny, not in haboundant riches and superflious substauce, nor in plesant pastyme and joyous solace: But the very tipe of the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous riche regions, wealthy subiectes and beautifull citees and tournes, of the whiche thanked be God, although you be conuemently furnished both within your realmes of England & Ireland and principalite of Wales, yet by lineal discēt, by progeny of blud and by very inheritance, not onely the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine with the counties of Aniowe and Mayne and the countreï of Gascoyn are to you as true and vndubitate heir of the same laulfuuly deouluted and lineally descended from the high and most noble prince of famous memory kyng Edward the third your great grandfather, but also the whole realme of Fraunce with all his prerogatiques and preheminences, to you as heire to your great grandfather is of right belonguyng and apperteingyn. In whiche realme, to rehearse what noble persons, what beautifull cities, what fertile regions, what substanial marchâtes, and what plentiful riuers are conteigned and included, I assure you that time should rather faile then matter shoulde wax skant. The fraudulent Frenchmen to defraude and take away your ryght and title to the realme of Fraunce, in the time of your noble progenitor king Edward the third, allledged a lawe, vntruly fained, falsely glosed and Sophistically expounded, whereof the very wordes are these, In terram salicam mulieres ne succedant, which is to say, let not women succeed in the land. This land Saliqce. This land Saliqce the deceitful glosers name to be the realme of Fraunce. This lawe the Logical interpretours assigne to directe the croune and regaltie of the same region, as who wod say that to that preheminence no woman were hable to aspire, nor no heire Female was worthy to inherit. The French writers affirme that Pharamond kyng of the Frenche Gaules, first instituted this lawe which noer was, should or might be broken. See nowe howe an euell glose confoundeth the text, and a percieall interpretour marreth the sentence, for first it is apparently knowen and by an hídred writers confirmed that Pharamond whom they allledged to be authour of this lawe was duke of Franconia in Germany, and elected to be kyng of the Sicambres, which callying them selfes Frenchmen had gotten parte of the Gaule Celtike betwene the riuers of Marne and Seyn. This Pharamond diseased in the yere of our Lord iii. C. & xxvi. long after whose death, Charles the great byeng Empourer and many yeres making warre on the Saxons dyd in bluddy battaile disperse and confounde the whole puissance of that nacion in the yere of our Lord viii. C and fuye, and broughte them to the catholique faith and christian conformitie. After which victory certaine soldiers as the Frenche Cronographiers affirme, passed ouer the water of Sala and there inhabited, betwene the riuers of Elue and Sala, and wer commonly called Sali Frenchmen or Sali Gaules, whiche countrey nowe is the lande of Missette. This people had suche displeasure at the unhonest fashions of the Germen women, that they made a lawe that the Females should not succede to any inheritance within that land.

NOWE with indifferent cares if you wyll note these two pointes you shall easily perceiue that the lawe Saliqce was only fained and inuention to put your noble progenitours and you from your lawfull ryght and true inheritance. For they saie that Pharamond made the lawe for the land Saliqce, whiche the glose calleth Fraunce. Then I demaunde of master Glosor or rather master Doctor commenter, if I may call a commenter an open lier, whether Pharamond whiche died iii. C. xxi yeres before the Frenchmen possessed the Gaule Saliqce and neuer sawe or knewe it, made a lawe of that thyng whiche at that tyme was not his nor inhabited by his people. Beside this, the realme of Fraunce whiche is your patrimony is compact of. iii. Gaules Belgique, Celtique and Aquitain, and no part of Saliqce: then
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then may the gloser expounde aswell that Gaule Belgique is the countrey of Brytain, as to
glose that the lande Salicque is the whole realme and dominion of the crowne of Fraunce.
Wonder it is to see how the Frenchmen Tuggle with this phantastical lawe, folowingy the
crafty fancies whiche vse a platie seest thou me or seest thou me not. For wher kyng Pepyn whiche was Duke of Brabante by his mother Begga, and master of the palayce
of Fraunce coveted the crowne and scepter of the realme, the Frenche nacion not remebryng
this infringible law, deposed Childerryck the. iii. the very heyre male and vndoubted child
of the line of Pharamond and Clouis kynges of Fraunce by the cousail of Zachary then Bisho-
ship of Rome, and set vp in trone this Pepyn as nexte heire generall descended of lady
Blithyld daughter to kyng Clothayre the first. Hugh Capet also whiche vsurped the crowne
without right or reason on Charles duke of Lorayne the sole heire male of the line and stocke
of Charles the greate, after that he had shamefully murthered and in pitifull prison by the
procurement of the Bishop of Orleans destroyed the said Charles, to make his title seem
ture and apere good, where in dede it was bothe euell and vntrue, to bylynd the opinions of
the common people and to set a glasse before their eies, coneighed him selfe as heire to
the lady Lyngard daughter to the kyng Charlemayne sonne to Lewes the Emperor which was
sonne to Charles the great kyng of Fraunce. Kyng Lewes also the ninth whom the Frenche-
men call Sainct Lewes beyling very heire to the saied vsurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be sas-
tified in his conscience how he might iustely kepe and possesse the crowne & regallitie of
the realme of Fraunce ytt he was perswaded and fully instructed that Quene Isabell his grandmo-
ther was lineallly descended of Lady Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named
Charles duke of Lorayn, by the foresaid Hugh Capet of life and realme wrongfully deprived:
in the which marriage the bludde and line of kyng Charles the great was againe united and
restored to the Crowne and Scepter of Fraunce, so that it move clearer than the sonne,
only appeareth the title of Kyng Pepyn, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of
kyng Lewes, ye and of all the French kynges to this day, are deriued, claymed and con-
eighed from the heire Female and yet they would barre you as though your great grand-
mother had bene no woman nor heire female, but a painted Image or fained shadowe. If
so many examples, if suche copie of presydentes collected out of your owne histories and ga-
thered oute of your owne writers suficie not to confounde your simple Salicque lawe inuented
by false fablers and crafty imaginers of you fabyling Frech menne, then here what God saith in the book of Numeri. When a man dicht without a sonne let the inheritance descend
to the daughter: If your princes call them selfes most Christian kynges let them folowe the
lawe of God before the lawe of the Painym Pharamond. Are not all lawes discrepant from
Goddes lawes euell, and to al Christen cares odious and noisome: are Frenche women dics-
ced of the blud roial no Christians, and not worthye to inherite in the realme of Fraunce? Is
the realme of Fraunce more noble then the kyngdome of Iuda of whom Christ discended by
a woman? When God sayed to Abraham that in one of his sene al naciones should be blessed,
how came Christ of the seede of Abraham but onely by that immaculate Virgin his glorious
mother? Likewise, when the Prophet Michee said, thou tribe of Iuda art not the laste of
estimacion emongst the Princes of Iuda, for oute of the shall come a capitayne whiche
shall rule and direct my people of Israel. Howe discended Christ from the rote of Iesse,
and howe was he duke and capitain of the Israelites, and how discended he of the line of
David: But onely by his mother a pure virgin and a maried wife. Beholde, by Goddes lawe,
women shall inherit Behold in Fraunce, Frenchemen have inherited by the onely line of
the women, and yet Englishmen be prohibited to claim by the Heyre Female contrary to
the lawe of God and man. Wherfore regarde well my soueraigne Lord your iust and true
title to the realme of Fraunce, by Goddes lawe and mannes lawe to you lawfully diuoluted as
very heire to Quene Isabell your great grandmother daughter to kyng Philip the faire and
suster and heir to iii. kynges diseasing without any issue. Whiche inheritance of the
woman is declared to be iust of by the Mosaicall lawe and vseyd and approued by the Gallican
discent as I haue before declared. Therefore for Goddes sake leese not youre patrimony,
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disserete not your heires, dishonour not your selfe, diminish not your title, which your noble progenitors so highly have esteemed. Wherefore auance forth your banner, fight for your ryghts, conquer your inheritance, spare not sworde blud or fire, your warre is iuste, your cause is good, and your claim true: and therefore courageously set forward your warre against your enemies. And to the extent that we your louing chaplains and obedient subjectes of the spiritualitie would showe our selfes willying and desiring to aide you for the recovery of your auncient right and true title to the crowne of France, we haue in our spirituall conuocacion granted to your highnes suche a some of money as neuer by no spiritual persons was to any prince before your daies geen or advanced, beside our daily praier and continual precacions to God and his sainetes for prosperous successe to ensue in your merciell exploite and roiall passage. When the Archebishop had finished his prepared purpose, Ranle Erle of Westmerland, a man of no lesse grauitie then experience, and of no more experience then stomach, which was then high Warden of the marches toward Scotland, and therefore thinkynge that yt the king shuld passe ouer into Fraine with his whole puissance, that his power should be to weake to withstand the strength of Scotland if they should invade during the kynges absence. Wherefore he rose vp, & makynge his obeysance to the kyng sayd:

SURELY sir, as my Lord Canterbury hath clerkely declared, the conquest of Fraine is very honorable, and when it is gotten and obteigned very profitable and pleasant: But sauing your graces reformation, I say and affirme that to conquer Scotland is more necessary, more apperante easie, and more profitable to this realme then is the gaine of Fraine. For although I am not so well learned as my lord Archbishop is, nor haue not proceded to dege in the Vniversitie, yet I haue red, and heard great clarkees say, that the strength the knitte and combined together is of more force and efficacie when it is seuered and dispersed. As for an example, sprinkle a vessel of water and it moisteth not, but cast it out wholy together and it bothe washeth and noriseth. This notable sayng before this time hath encouraged Emperors, animated kynges and allured princes to conquer realmes to them adjoynyng, to vanquishe nacion to their dominions adjacent, and to subdewe people either necessary for their purpose, or beyng to them daily enemies or continual adversaries. For profe whereof, beholde what was the chefe cause and occasion why rulers and governers so sore labourd, thirsted and coneted to bryng al regions to them adjoynyng into one rule or Monarchy? Was it not done to this extent that the conquerors might haue the only power & enter gouernacion of all the landes and people within their climate, and gouerne the in time of peace and also have their aide in time of war?. Whiche monarchie was of that majestie and estimacion in the world, that no other forein prince or exterior potente ether had audacie or was able to attempte any thing within the territory or region of the monachial prince and adourned kyng. Let the kyngdome of the assirians be your example, and if that suffice not, then loke on the Percians, after on the Grekes and lastly on the Romaines, whiche euer desired and conceted more to haue the littel Isle of Sicile, the territory of the Numidians and the meane Citie of the Sannites beyng dailey within their kennyng and smell, rather then to obtaine populous Gaul, plenteous Pannony, or manly Macedony lying farre from sight and out of their circle or compass. This desire semeth to rise of a great prudent and vigilaunte policy, for as a prince is of more puissiance when his countreis ioyn, so is he of more strength when his power is at hande. And as men lacking comforte be more releved by frendes whiche be presente, then by kinsfolke dwelling in forein countreys and regions farre of. So princes have commonly conceted and euer desired to se and beholde their dominions lying there about them, rather then to liere by reporte from the countrys farre distant from them. If this hath bene the pollicy of conquerours, thappetite of purchasers and the study of governers, why doth your grace desire Fraine before Scotlantde, or couete a countrey farre from your sight, before a realme vnder your nose? Do you not remember how the hole Isle of Britain was one enter Monarchi in the time of your noble auncetor Kyng Brut first kyng and ruler of your famous Empire and glorious region: whiche deuidyng his rehme to his thre sonnes gau to Lothryne his eldest sonne that part of Britain that your
your highnes now enjoyeth, and to Albanact his second sonne he gane the countrie of Albane nowe called Scotland, and to Camber his third sonne he gane the countrie of Cambronia nowe called Wales: reseruyng alwaies to him & his heires hommage, lege and feaulcie loiall for the same countreis and dominions. By this deuisio, the glory of the monarchie of Britayne was clerely defaced, by this separacion the strength of the Britishe kynges was sore diminished, by this dispersion intestine war began, and Civil rebellion sprangne first within this region. For while all was vnnder one, no nation durste either once invade or attempte warre against the Britons: but when the land was once deuided and the monarchie vndone, outward enemittie or foreyn hostylittie not halfe so nauie infested, greued or troubled the valiant Britons as their owne neigbouris descended of one parent, and come of one progeny. For the Albanactes otherwise called the false fraudulnet Scottes, and the Cambers otherwise called the vnstable Welshemen, did not alonely withdrawe their fealtie, denie their hommage, and refuse their allegiance due to the kynges of this realmine, but also made continuall warre and destroyed their tounes and slewe the people of their neigbouris and Britons. For whiche cause diverse of your noble progenitoure haue not onely made warre and subdewed the Scottes for the deying of their hommage and stirying of rebellion, but also haue deposed their kynges & princes, and erected and set vp other in their estastes and dignitie. Scter kyng of Scottes, for his rebellion was by Dunwallo Moluncius your noble predecessor slayn and extincted. Kyng Arthure also the Glory of the Britons erected Angosile to the scepter of Scotland and receaved of hym hommage and fealtie. Yf I shuld reheare how many kynges of Scotland haue done homage to your auncient predecessors, or rehearse how many Scottishe kynges they have corrected and punished for their disobedience and denying of hommage, or declare what kynges they as superior lorde & high Emperoures ouer the vnderkinges of Scotland, haue elected & made rulers, to thent that all people might manifestly perceiue that it was more glorious, more honourable and more famious to a Kyng to make a Kyng then to be a kyng by natural descent, I asser you, your eares would be more wery of heryng, then my tounge woulde be fatiguate with open truth tellyng. Your noble progenitour kyng Edward the firste coudetyng to be superior and to surmount in honour, or at the least to be equiuelent in fame with his noble ancestours and famous progenitors, daily studied and hourly compassed howe to bryng the whole Isle of Britaygne whiche by Brute was deuided into thre partes into one monarchie and one dominion. After longe studie and greate consultacion had, he subdewed Wales, and tamed the wyld people and broughte that vnruly parte to his olde home and aunciente degree, whiche thyng done he likewise inuaded Scotlant and conquered the countreys to the tounes of Perchie called Saincte Iouns tounes standing on the riuier of Tay, whiche he walled, dished and forified, rulyng that part with Englishe lawes, Englishe customes and by Englishe Judges, and was almoaste at a poynte thereof to haue made a perffigte conqueste and a complete Monarchie. But Oh Lorde, hasty death whiche maketh an ende of all mortall creatures, soberly brefte hym of his life and toke away his spirite, and so all thynges whiche he had devised, whiche he had imagined and seriously pretended, the small momente of an houre turned vsipde doune and sodainly subcerted. Sith whose death the your greate Graundfather, ye and your noble father haue attempted to bryng that runnegate region into his auncient course and former line, as a thyng both necessary, conueniente and mete to bee joyned and vntied to this realmine, and so not only to resuie the old empire and famous Monarchye, but also to vnite and cobine that vertue and stræght which from the tyme of Brute was dispursed and seuered, in one bodie, in one hed and one corporacion. Wherfore, if to your high wisedome it seemeth not necessary tAKYNG this terme necessary for nedefull to conquere the realme of Scotlant as thyng that nedes muste be done, yet will I not file from my first saiyyng, but proye it necessary (as the logical paraphrasian and Philosophical interpreters) do by a distinctes expounde this terme necessary to signifie a thyng conuenient; That the conquest in Scotlant be the inuadyng of Fraunce is moste expedient, for experience teacheh and reason agreeth that evry persone entedyng a purpose enterprise, or a determinate voyage should
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should not onely prouide and make preparacion for all thynges requisite and nedefall for his purpose or explyote, but also ought vigilantly to forsee with absolout and study with the serpentynce policie how to aduoyde and refell all thynges whiche might either bee an impediment to his progressioun and settynge forward or occasion of his retorne and losse of his enterprise, least he leuyng behind hym an euill neighbour, a continuall adversary & a secrete enimic, maie assone these his owne propre realme, as conquere and gayne the dominion of another: Wherefore the trite and common adage saith, leaue not the certain for the vncertain. Wherefore it is necessary that I enuclate and open to you certain articles conteined in the old league and amite betwene the realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, wherof the wordes be these.

1. THE warre or inuierie moved or done by the Englihsemen to one of the saied naciones, to be as a commen wrong to bothe.

2. If the Englishmen make warre on the Frenche nacion, then the Scottes at the costes and charges of the Frenche kyng, shall minister to theim succours.

3. LIKELYSE if the Scottes be molested by the English warres, the Frenche nacion haueing their costes allowed, shall bee to theim ayders and assisters.

4. AND that none of bothe the naciones shall ether contracte or make peace with the realme of England without the consente and agrement of the other.

AND to thentent that this league and amitee should be kept vnuiolate Robert le Bruse the vnsurper of Scotland willed by his testament tooo thynges in especiall to be observed, the one neuer to breake the treatie concluded with Fraunce: the second neuer to kepe peace or promes with Englishmen longe r than the kepyng therof were to theim ether profitable or necessary. Yet Ihon Mayer and other Scottish writers coloure this cause, saying that he would have no peace concluded with Englande abouve three yeres. But whatsoeuer writers write or talkers saie, they bee to hym moste faithfull executors and haue neuer yet broken his testament but daily kepe his precept and commandement. And for the performance of this will and kepyng of this league, none of your auncestours euuer inuaded Fraunce, but inconuinent the Scottes troubled and vexed Englande. None of your progenitors euuer passed the sea in inst quarrell against the Frenche nacion, but the Scottish people in their absence entered your realme spoyled your houses slewe your people and toke great praisies innumerables, only to prouoke your ancestors for to retorne fro the inuading of Fraunce. If I should declare to you their comen breaking of leages, their craftie and subtil dissemilacion, their false faire promises often sworne and neuer kept, I doubt not but you would ten tymes more abhorre their doyng, then I would be ashamed of the telllyng. Therfore I saie still, and afirme it necessary and convenient to forse, that you leaue no enemies behind at your backe when you go to conquere aduercaries before your face. Beside this, if you consider the daily charge, the inconstante chances that maie happen, I thinke, yea and little doubt but Scotlande shall bee tamed before Fraunce shalbe framed. For if you will inuade Fraunce, accompt what number of shippes must transport your armie, recon what charge of ancours, what a multitude of Cables, and what innumerable thynges apperteigne to a nauie. When you be there, if your men decay by sickness or by sworde, if vitaile faile, or if money waxe skante, if the wynde turne contrary or an hideous tempeste arise, you shall bee destitute of aide, promisi and treasure, which in a strange region are the colision & defacynge of an armie. On the other side if you inuade Scotlande, your men bee at hande, your vitaile is nere, your aide is euere at your backe, so that in that voyage you shall haue habundance in all thynges, and of nothing you shall haue wante. See what an occasion fortune hath offered vnto you, is not their kyng your captiue and prisoner? Is not the realme in greatte deuision for the crueltie of the duke of Albany, rather desiring to haue a forain gouvernor, then a naturall tyrant. Therfore my counsaill is, firste to inuade Scotlande, and by Gods grace to conquere and ioyne that region to youre Empire, and to restore the renowned Monarchy of Britayne to her olde estate and preheminence, and so beautifityed with realmes and furnished with people, to entree into Fraunce for the recoueryng of your righteous title and
true inheritaunce, in obseryuyn the old auncient prouerbe vsed by our forefathers, whiche
saieth, he that will Fraunce wyne, muste with Scotlande firste beginne.

NO qu’ the Duke of Excester vncl to the kyng, (whiche was well learned, and sent
into Italy by his father enteantyng to have been a prieste) be that will Scotlande win, let
hym with Fraunce first begin. For if you call to remembranuce the comon sayynge of the wise-
and expert Phisicions, whiche bothe write and teache, that if you will heale a malady you
must first remoue the cause: If you will cure a sore, you muste first take away the humor
that fedeth the place. If you will destroy a plante, plucke awake his sap whiche is his
norishyng and life. Then if Fraunce be the norisher of Scotlande, if the Frenche pen-
ciós be the susteyners of the Scottishe nobilitie, if the educacion of Scottes in Fraunce be the
cause of practise and pollicie in Scotlande, then plucke away Frenche and the courage of
the nobles of Scotland shall be sone daunted and appalled: Take awake Franche and the hertes
of the comen people wil sone deceaue and waxe faynt: Plucke away Fraunce and neuer looke,
that Scotlande will resist or withstande your power. For when the bed is gone, the body
sone falleth, and when the sap fayleth the tree sone withereth. Let men reade the Chroni-
cles and peruse our Englishe Chronigraphers, & you shall sone finde that the Scottes haue
seldo of their owne mocion inuaded or vexed Englelde, but onely for the obseryuyn of
the league in the whiche they bee bounde to Franche: For the Scottes are the shaft and darts
of the Frenchemen to shote and cast at their pleasure against the Englishe nacion. And where
they haue inuaded, as I cannot deny but they have done, what glory or what profite suc-
ceded of their entreprice, I report me to their peculier histories. Kyng Malcolm inuaded
Englane, when kyng William the second was makyng warre in Normandy. David le Bruse
also entered Englane, your greate grandfather kyng Edward the third lying at the siege of
Caleis. Was not Malcolm slain beside Tinmouth and Kyng David taken beside Durrham.

Let the governours of Scotlande, (for the kyng is sure ynow) entre into Englane on that
price and se what he shall gayne therby. What notable acte wer Scottes enuer able to do
out of their owne countrey and proprize climate? Or when were they able to coghe a armie
over the sea at their owne costes and expences? Rede their owne histories and you shall
finde fewe or none. Their nature and condicion is to tary at home in idlenes, ready
to defende their countrey like brute beastes, thinkeing their rusticall fassion to be high honestie,
and their beggerly liryng to bee a welfare. Beside this, what auncient writer, or autentike
historiographer other write of them honor or once nameth them, except saient Iheron,
whiche saieth that when he was yong, he sawe in Fraunce certain Scottes of the isle of Bril-
tain eate the fleche of men, and when they came into the woodes thinuyng there greate hearde
of beastes and flockes of shpe, lefte the beastes and cut off the buttloccks of the heartmen
and the pappes and brestes of the shepherdes women, extemyng this mete to bee the greatest
deinties: And Sabellicues saieth that Scottes muche delighte and reioysse in liryng. You
may now apparauntly perceiue what puissaunce Scotland is of it self, litle able to defende,
and lesse able to inuaude like a nounne adiectuine that cannot stande without a substantuine.
If Fraunce be taken from them, of whom shall they seke aide? Denmarke will them refuse because
the kyng is your brother in lawe: Portyngall & Castel will not them regarde, bothe the kynges:
beeyng your cosyns germain and auntes sonnes: Italy is to farre: Germany and Hungary
be with you in league. So that of necessitie they in conclusion desitute of all aye, deprived
of all succoure, bereued of all friendeship (if Fraunce be coquerdd) must without warre or
dent of sworde come vnder your subjection and due obeyuance. And yet I would not in
this your conquest, Fraunce should bee so muche myuned, that Scotlande should be forgotten,
or that your enter power should be sent into Fraunce and no defence left against the inva-
sions of Scotlande. For of that might ensue this mischief, that if your whole power were van-
quished in Franece, the Scottes by the victory of their friendes might do more
displeasure to your realme in one yere then you should recouer again in fiue. But sith God
hath sent you people, riches, municios of warre and all thynges necessary either to inuaude bothe,
or to defende the one and penetrate the other. Passe the sea your self with an armie royall, and
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and leue my lorde of Westmerlande and other graue capitanes of the Northe with a convenient nombre to Defend the Marches if the subtile Scottes encouraged by the Frenchmen will any thyng attept during your voyage and absence. And this is to be remembred, if you get Scotlande you haue a countree barrenly moste of all-pleasure and goodnes, you gayne people sauegge, waueryng and inconstant, of riches you shall haue little and of pouertie muche: But if you get Francue, you shall haue a countree fertile, pleasant and plentiful, you shall haue people, Cuill, witty and of good ordre. You shall haue riche citees, beautiful towns innumerable Castles. xiiij. puyssaunt Duchies, lxx. and odde populous Countrees, and as hûdered and thre famous bishopprickes, a. M. and more fat Monastaries, and parish Churches (as the Frenche writers affirme) x. C. thousande and mo. This conquest is honorable, this gayne is profitable, this journey is plesaunte, and threfore nether to be left nor forswewed. Vitaill you shall haue sufficient from Flandes, side of men you maie haue daily out of England, or els to leau a competente crewe in the Marches of Cales to refresh your armie and to furneshe still your nombre. Although the cost in transportyng your me be greate, yet your gayne shalbe greater, and threfore according to the trite adage, he muste liberally spende that will plentifully gayne. And because my lorde of Westmerlidge hath alleged that the Romaines desired the dominion of suche as were vnder flight of their owne Egle, or whose possessiones were a mote to their eye, as the Numidians & other whiche he hath wisely reversed. Beholde the conditions of the counsailers and the desire of the mowers, what persones were they whiche coueted their poore neighbors rather then riche foreines? Men effeminate, more mete for a Carpet then a Campe, men of a weake stomache desiring rather to walke in a pleasant gardein then passe the seess in a tempestuous storme, what should I saie? Menne that would haue somewhat and yet take litell payne, menne that coueted thingys nothingy honourable nor yet greatly profitable. But I remember that the noble Cato the Censor which when it was allledged in the Senate at Rome that Affricke was farre of, and the sea bronde, and the iournie perillus, caused certain newe thinges to bee brought into the Senate, whiche grew in the territory of Carthage, and demanded of the Senators howe they liked the Figges? Some saied they were newe some said they were sweete and some said they were pleasant. Oh quod Cato, if they bee newe gathered, the is not the region far of where they grewe (skant thre daies sailyng) and if it be of no longer distance then so nere to vs be our enemies. If the thingys be sweete, then is the soile delicious and fertile. If the Figges be pleasant, then is the countrey profitable. If you gaine the Sicilians, you shall haue riche men in corne. If you get the Samnites you shall haue plenty of oyle. If you vanquish the Numidians, you shall haue copie of beastes: but subdew Carthage and conquere Affricke, you shall haue not onely Corne Oyle and beastes, but gold, purple, precious stones, Oliphantes and all thinges bothe necessary and pleasant. Therfore my counsell is rather to seke riches byeng farre distant then pouertie lyyng at hand, for payne is forgotten ever where gaine foloweth. This noble sayying of sage Cato so encouraged and inflamed the haut heretes and lusty courages of the manely Romaines, that they neuer desisted to persecute the people of Affricke tyll Carthage was vitterly destroyed and the whole countrey subdewed and brought vnder the Romain Empire. Iulius Cesar also desired rather to conquere the Brittons deuised from the continent, ye and inhabiting almost in thende of the worlde, rather then to gayne the Pannonians adiounyng to Italy, sayying, breke the stróger and the weaker will bowe: Subdue the riche and the pore wil yeld be lord of the lordees and the vassales must nedes be subiect, vanquish the Frenchmen and the Scottes be tame. This counsell of Cato, and this sayying of Cesar maketh me bothe to speake and thynke that if you get Francue, ye get two, and if you get Scotland you get but one. When the duke had said and sat doune, his opinion was muche noted and well digested with the kyng, but in especiall with his three brethren and diuerse other lordees byeng young and lusty, desirous to win honorable and profite in the realme of Francue, ensuyng the courageous actes of their noble progenitors, whiche gat in that region bothe honor and renoun. So that now all men cried warre, warre, Francue, Francue, and the bill put into the parliament for desolyng of religious houses was clerely forgotten and buried
buried, and nothyng thoughte on but onely the recoveringe of Fraunce accordyng to the
title by the Archbishopp de declared and set furth. And so vpon this poynct after a fewe
Actes for the publieke wealth of the realme condiscended and agreed, the parliamet was
proroged to Westminster.

THE kyng like a wise prince and politique gouernor, entundyng to observe the auncent
ordres of famous kynges and renouned potentates vset aswel emong Paynimes as Christianes,
whiche is, not to invade another mannes territory without open war and the cause of the
same to hym published and declared, dispatched into Fraice his vnkle the duke of Excester
and the erle of Dorcut, the lorde Grey admirall of Englande, the Archbishop of Deuelin, the
bishop of Norwiche with. v hundred horsse, whiche were lodged in the Temple hous in
Paris, kepyng suche triumphante there in their lodgyng, and such a solempne estate in ridyng
through the cite, that the Parisians & all the Frenche men had no small meruell at their ho-
norable fassions and lordly behauours. The French kyng receyved them very honorably,
and sumpteously banquetted theim, shewing to theim goodly istues and marciall pastymes, by
the space of three daies together, in the whiche istues the kyng hymself to shew his courage
and actuittie to the Englishemen, manfully brake spere and lustely turneyed.

WHEN this great triumph and marciall disport was finished, the Englishe Ambassadors
accordyng to their commission, required of the Frenche kyng to deliever to the kyng of Eng-
lande the realme and crowne of Fraunce with the enter Duchies of Aquitain, Normandy
and Aniowe, with the countrees of Poytieu and Mayne and divers other requestes, offring that
if the Frenche kyng would without warre or effusion of Christen bloud rendre to the kyng
their Master his very righte and lawfull inheritaunce, that he would be content to take in
marriage the lady Katheryn daughter to the Frenche kyng & to endewe her with all the duchie
and countrees before rehersed. And if he entended not so to do, then the kyng of Eng-
lande did expresse and signifie to hym that with the ayd of God and help of his people he
would recover his right and inheritaunce wrongfully with holden with mortall warre and dent
doofe. The Frenchemen were much abashsed at these demaundes thinkyng theim very vnrasonable and farre excessiu, and yet not willing to make any determinate answe然而
they had farther brethed in so weyghty a cause, praied thangishe Ambassadors to saie to the
kyng their master that thei now haung no opportunitee to cconclude in so hie a matter would
shortly send Ambassadors into Englande which should certeify & declare to the kyng their
whole mynde, purpose and answe.

THE Englishe Ambassadors nothyng content with this doyng departed into Englande mak-
yng relacion of euer thyng that was said or done. Here I overpasse howe some writers
sae that the Dolphyn thinkyng kyng Henry to be geuen still to such plaies and light
folyes as he exercised & vsed before the tyme that he was exalted to the crowne sent to hym
a tunne of tennis balles to plaie with, as who said that he could better skil of tennis then of
warre, and was more expert in light games then marciall pollicy. Whether he wer mowed
with this ywwise presente, or espying that the Frenchemen dalied and vaynely delayed his
purpose and demaund, was mowed and pricked forward I cannot judge, but sure it is that
after the returne of his Ambassadors, he becyng of a haute courage and bold stomache,
liuyng now in the pleasantest tyme of his age, muchie desirynge to enlarge and dilate his Em-
pire and dominion, determined fully to make warre in Fraunce, ccoeuyng a good trust and
a perfit hope in this poyncte whiche he had before experimetted, whiche is, that victory
for the moste part foloweth wher right leadeth, announced forward by Justicce and sette furth
by equitie. And because many Frenchemen wer promoted to Ecclesiastical dignitees, some
to benefices, some to Abbeis and priores within his realme and sent daily innumerable
omes of money into Fraunce for the reliefe and aide of their naturall countremen and li-
neall kynsman, he therefore for the publique wealth of his realme and subiectes, oderigned
that no straunter here after should bee promoted to any spirituall dignitie or degree within
his realme without his especiall licence and royall concenct, and that all they that should so
be admitted, should find sufficient suretie not to disclose y secretes of this realme to any fo-

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rain or strague person, nor also to minister to them any aide or succor with money or by any other meane. Beside this he assembled a great puissance & gathered a greate hoste through all his dominions, and for the more furniture of his nauie, he sent into Holand, Zeland and Frieseland to conduct and hire shippes for the transportyng and conweighing over his men and municions of warre, and finally provided for armure, vitaile, money, artillery, carriages, tente and other thinges necessary for so hie an enterprise: Whiche prouisions wer some blowne into France & quickly known in Paris. Wherefore the Dolphin who had taken on hym the gournance of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his olde inhrmitic, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alanson and all the counsel of France, to conclude what should be done in so great a matter and so weightie a cause. After long cōsultacion, it was determined to assemble people through the whole realme of France, to resist & repulse the kyng of Englande and his puissaine whensoever he would arrive or set foote in France, and also to fortifie their tounes & stuffe them with garrisons and men of warre, and farther by taxes & subsidies to levy as muche money as by wit or pollicie could be devised or imagined. Moreover to staie the king of England at home, it was polletriqely devised to sende to him a solemne Ambassade to make to him some offers accordyng to the demandes before rehearsed. The charge of this Ambassade was commited to the erle of Vandonsm, to Master Wylliam Bouratier Archebishop of Bourgues and to Master Peter Frenel bishoppe of Lysieux and to the lorde of Yury and Braquement and to Maister Gaultier Cole the kynges secretory and dierouse other. These ambassadours accompanied with, CCC and fifty horses passed the sea at Caleys and laded at Douer, before whose arriual the kyng was departed from Wyndsor to Winchester, enteyndyng to have gone to Hampton and to have viewed his nauie, but hearyng of the Ambassadours approachyng, taried stil at Winchester, where the said Frenche lorde shewed themselves very honorably before the kyng and the nobilitie. And in the bishoppes hal before the kyng, sittynge in his throne imperial & his lordes spiritual and temporal & a great multitude of the comons there for that entent assembled. At a tyme prefixed, the Archebishop of Bourgesse made an eloquent and a long Oracion, dissuadyng warre, and praising peace, offering to the kyng of England a great some of money with dierouse base & pore countries with the Lady Katherin in marriage, so that he would dissolve his armie & dismise his souldiours whiche he had gathered and made ready.

When this Oracion was ended, the kyng caused the Ambassadors to be highly feasted, & set them at his owne table, And at a daie assigned in the foresaid hall, the Archebishops of Caintorbury made to their Oracion a notable answere: theeffect whereof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the duchies of Aquitain, Normandy, Aunioe, & all other seignories & dominions somtime apperteyning to the noble progenitors of the kyng of Englad, he would in no wise retire his armie nor breake his iorney but would with all diligence entre into the realme of Fraunce & destroy the people, depopulate the coutry & subuer the tounes, with sword blud & fyre, & neuer cease till he had recovered his auncent right & lawful patrimony. The kyng awowed the archbishops saynyng, & in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the uttermost. The bishop of Bourgesse beyng inflamed with anger that his purpose take none effect, desiring licence & pardō of the king that he might speake: which once attained he verye rashly and vnreuerelty sayd. Thynkest thou to put doune and destroy wrongfully the most cristian kyng, our most redbuted souerain lord and most excellentest prince of all christianitie of blud and perhemnēee. Oh kyng, sauyng thine honour, thinkest thou that he hath offered or caused to be offered to the landes, goodes or other possesions with his owne daughter for feare of the or thy Engleshenacion, or thy friendes or well willers or fautors. No no? but of truthe he mowed with pitie, as a louter of peace, to the entent that innocent blud should not bee dispersd abrode, and that christian people shoule not bee afflicted with battail and destroied with mortall warre, hathe made to the this reasonoble offers and this Godly mocion, puttyng his hole affiance in God most puissant accordyng to right and reason, trystyng in his quarel
KYNG HENRY THE. V.

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to be ayded and supported by his beneuolente subiectes and fauourable well willers. And
sith we be subiectes and seruauntes, we require the to cause vs safely and surely without
dammage to be conducted out of thy realme and dominions & that thou wilt write thyne an-
swer... whole as thou hast geuen it, vnder thy seale and signe manuell.

THE Kyng of Englane nothing vexed nor yet moved with the presumtuous saiynge and
proude bragges of the vnwered and unmanerly byshop, but well remebyng kyng Salo-
on in the xxiii. of his proverbs, whiche saieth, that with discretion warres muste be ta-
taken in hand, & where many can geue councell, there is victory, coldly and soberly aun-
swered the bishop saiynge: My lorde I liette esteme your Frenche bragges, and lesse set by
your power & strength, I know perfightly my right to your region, and excepte you will
deny the apparrant truthe so do you, and if you neithere do nor will knowe yet God and the
worlde knoweth it. The powre of your Mayster you see daily, but my puissance you have
not yet tasted, If your master haue longing frendes and fauithfull subiectes, I am I thanke
God not disgarnished nor vnprovided of the same: But this I say vnto you, that before one
yere passe I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrey stoupe and the proudest
Miter to kneele downe: and say this to the usurper your Master that I within three
monethes ywil enter into France not as into his land, but as into mine owne true and law-
full patrimonye enteyding to conquer it, not with braggyng wordes, flatterying oracions
or coloured persuasions, but with puissance of men and dent of sworde by the aide of
God in whom is my whole trust and confidence. And as concernyng mine answere to be
written, subscribed and sealed, I assure you that I would not speake that sentence the
which I would not write and subscribe, nor subscribe that line to the whiche I would refuse
to put my seale. Therefore your same conducte shall be to you deliuered with mine an-
swer, and then you may depart surely and safely I warrant you into your countrey,
where I trust soner to vsete you then you shall haue cause to salute or bid me welcome.
With this answere the Ambassadores sore dismaied, but more displeased (although they
were highly entertayned & liberally rewarded, departed into their countrie, relatyng to the
Dolphyn and the kynges counse that they had done during the tyme of their Ambassade.

After the frenche Ambassadores were departed, the kyng as I sayd before hauing a great
foresight and dispoyng all thynges in an ordre forgettyng not the old prancekes and sodeyn
tricks of the variable Scottishe nacion, appointed the carle of Westmerlande, the lorde
Scrope, the Baron of Greystocke and sir Robert Vinfreile with divers other hardye par-
sonages & valiant capytaynes to kepe the frontiers and Marches adjoyning to Scotland,
whiche sir Robert Vinfreile on the day of Mari Magdalene entred with the Scottes at the
tonne of Gederynge, hauynge in his company only. CCC. Englishemen, where he after long
conflict and doubtefull bataille slewe of his enemies. Ix. and odde, and toke captiues. CCC.
Ix. and discomfited and put to flighta thousand and moo, whom he followed in chase aboue.
xii. miles, and so laded with praiyes and prisoners reculed agayne not vnharth to the castle
of Rokesbroughe, of the whiche at that tyme he was chief capityayne and gouernour.

When the kyng had ordered all thynges for the tuiion and sauegarde of his realme and
people, he leayng behynd him for gouernor of the realme, the Queene his mother inlawe,
departed to the tonne of Southampton, enteyding there to take ship, and so to transeroete
into France. And to thentent he would steale on the Frenche kyng before he were warne
of him, he dispatched Antelop his pursuiant at Armes with letters, the whiche the Frenche
chronographers declare to be these.

TO the right honorable prince Charles our cossyn of France & aduersary, Henry by the
grace of God kyng of England & of France. &c. To deliver to every man his owne, is a
wooke of inspiracion and a deede of sage councell, for right noble prince our cossyn and ad-
ersary, sometymes the noble realmes of England & of France were vnit, which nowe,
be seperated and deuided, and as then they were accustomede to be exalted through the
uniuersal worlde by their glorious victoryes, and it was to them a notable vertue to decoere
and beautifye the house of God, to the whiche apperteined holynes, and to set a concorde

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THE. III. YERE OF

in Christes religion. And by their agreeable warres they brought fortunately the publike enemies to their subjection: but alas this fraternal faith is perverted to fraternal occasion as Lot persecuted Abraham by humaine impulsion, but nowe the glory of fraternal loue is deceased, and the descent of auncient humane codicion is departed, and mother malice and Ire are resuscitate from death to life, but we call to wytnes the souereigne judge in conscience, which will not bow either for prayere or for gifts, that we to our power for pure loue haue proceeded by all means to peace & amity. And sith we have red in writynge and by counseil haue learned the just title of our inheritance from vs detained in prejudice of our auncient lineage, we be not of so small a courage but that we will fight to death to obteyne right and justice: but by the authoritie written in the boke of Deuteronomy, all men are taught whiche come to besiege or assaullse any ctitie or fortresse, fyrst to offere peace. And albeit that vio

lence the rauisher of justice haue tak away of log time the noblenes of our crowne and our iust inheritance, yet we by charitie haue done what we might to recover and bryng our old inheritance to the first degree and auncient estate, and therefore for faute of justice, we may returne to armes. Wherefore, that our glorye may be wytnes of our conscience nowe and also by personal request, in the beginning of our iorunye to the whiche we are toward for faute of justice, we exhort you in the bowelles of our savour Iesu Christ, whose euangelical doctrine willeth that you ought to render to all men that which you ought to do, and so to do to vs is the will of God our souereigne lorde and creator. And to thentent that destruction of Christen people should be exchewed which are the images of God, we haue demaunded our right and restitution of the same from vs wrongfully withholden and detained, or at the least of suche thynges which we haue so often times by our Ambassa
dors and messengers required & instantly desyred, wherwith we haue offered to be pleased, satisfied and contented for the onely reverence of almightie God & for the vilitie of a universall peace which we thought should have ensued. And therefore we for our part because of a mariage to be bad and conclude between vs, were determined to forsake & refuse the fiftie thousand crownes to vs last promised and proffered, preferring peace before riches, & choosynge rather our rightful patrimony to vs by our noble progenitors lawfully deuoluted and descended with our cossyn your daughter the Fayre lady Katherin, rather then for treasuure and desire of money the multiplier of inquitie, shamefullly to dishenerite our selfe and the crowne of our realme which God forbid. You shal take your prieu seal at our Castel of Hampton on the sea side, the. v. day of August.

WHEN the letter was presented to the French kyng & by his counsell well overlooked, he made aswewe to the officers of armes that he had well percieued the content of the letters, whereupon he would take advice and prouide for the same in tyme and place conuenience, licenseing the messenger to depart at his pleasure.

¶ THE THIRD YERE.

THIS noble prince hanyng his nauy furnished, and all thynges necessary for suche a royal voyage, perceiving his treshe capitanes to complain that they had lost so many monethes of the yere in the whiche they might have done disease haute enterprises in the ladys of their enemies, and that nothynge was to the more odious than prolongyng lingerynge of tyme, determined with all diligence to cause his souldiors to entre his shippes and so to depart. SE the chaunce, the night before the day of departurc appointed, he was credibly informed that Richard earle of Cambrigg brother to Edward duke of Yorke and Henry lorde Scrope & syr Thomas Gray knight had composed his death and final destruction: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended lamenting sore his chaunce that he should be compelled to loose such personages by whose valantium and puissance he should be more dreadful and feareful to his foes & enemies. When these prisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the conspiracy, but also declared that for a great some of mony which they had receiued of the Frenche kyng, they inticed either to deliver the kyng a liue into the hande
hen of his enemies, or els to murther him before that he should arrive in the duchy of 
Normady. When kyng Henry heard al thynges opened whiche he sore desired, he caused 
all his nobilitie to asseble before his maestie royal, before whom he caused to be 
brought the thre great offenders and to them sayd: If you have conspired the deth 
and destruction of me whiche am the head of the realme and governour of the people, with-
out doubt I must of necessitie thinke that you likelyse have compassed the confusion of all 
that be here with me and also the final destruction of your natye countrey and natural re-
gion. And although some privite Scorpion in your heartes, or some wild worms in your 
heads hath caused you to conspire my death and confusion, yet you shuld have spared that 
deuelish enterprize as long as I was with mine army whiche cannot continue without a capi-
taine, nor be directed without a guide, nor yet with the destruction of your owne bloud 
and nacion you should have pleased a foreign enemy and an ancient adversary. Where-
to seyng that you have enterprised so greate a mischiefe, so abominable a fact, to 
thentent that your fators beying in the armaye may abhorre so detestable an offence by the pu-
ishment of you, haust you to receiue the payne that for your demerites you have deserued, 
& that punishment that by the lawe for your ofences is proued.

WHEN these noble men were executed, the kyng sayd to his lorde, se you not the 
mad imaginacion of men whiche persecute me that dayety studye, and hourly labour, to 
my great trouaille and vnquietnes for the advancement of the publicke wealt of this 
realme and region, and for that cause I spaire no payne nor refuse no tyne, to thentent to do 
good to all men and to hurt no man, and thus to do is my dutie & to this as I thinke am 
I borne. I pray to God that there be none among you that be infected with so much vn-
truth that had leuer se me destroyed and brought to confusion, rather then to se his cour-
y France encreased with honor and empiere. I assure you that I doe see no suche opinion in 
yany of you, but put in you both trust & confidence and if I may haue your helpe to 
beautify my realme and to recover against the olde honor of myne ancestours by sub-
duyng the Frenche nacion, I for my self will forget all peril and paine and be your 
guide lodeman and conductor. And if you drawe backe and will not move forwaerde, 
belee me, God will so dispose, that hereafter you shall be deceiued and sure repent-had I 
yst. When the kyng had finished his sayings, all the noble men kneelde downe & promised 
faithfully to serve him and duely to obey him, and rather to dye then to suffer him to fall 
into the handes of his enemies.

THIS done, the kyng thought surely in his conceipte all sedicion to be drowned & vitur-
ly extint. But if he had cast his eye to the fyre that was newly kindled, he should haue 
surely sene an horrible flame incend against the walles of his own house and family, by 
the which in conclusion his line and stocke was cleane destroyed and consumed to ashes, 
whiche fyre at that verye tyne paraduenture might haue bene quenched and put out. For 
diverse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lorde Scrobe and 
sir Thomas Graye to murther kyng Henry to please the Frenche kyng withal, but only 
thentent to exalte to thorne his brother-in-lawe Edmond earle of Marche as heyre to 
duke Lyonel. After whose death considering that the earle of Marche for diverse secrete 
impediments was not hable to have generation, he was sure that the thorne should come 
to him by his wife, or to his children. And therto it is to be thought that he rather coes-
ed him selfe for noede of money to be corrupted by the Frenche kyng, then he would declare 
his inwarde mynd & open his very entent. For surely he sawe that if his purpose were es-
ped, the earle of Marche should have drunken of the same cup that he did, and what should 
hane come to his owne children he muche doubted. And therto byeng destitute of com-
fort and in dispayre of life, to save his children he fayned that tale, desyring rather to save 
his succession then him selfe, which he did in dede. For Richard duke of Yorke his sonne 
not pruely but openly claimed the thorne, and Edward his sonne both claimed & gained it 
as hereafter you shall heare, which tylung at this time if kyng Henry had foreseen I doubt 
whether either euer that line should have either claimed the garlande or gained the game.

WHEN:
WHEN the wynde was prosperous and pleasaunt for the nauye to set forward, they waied vp the Ankers and boyseed vp their sailes and set forward with. xv. C. shippes on the vigile of the Assumpcion of our Lady and toke land at Caux, comonly called Kyd Caux (where the riner of Seine runneth into the sea) without resiistence or blудsheddyng. The kyng was lodged on the shore in a small priory with the dukes of Claréce and Gloucester his bretherne: the duke of Excetet and Yorke, the earles, Marshal, Oxford, Suffolke, Warwicke and other lordes were lodged not farre fro him. The next day after, he marched towards the toune of Harflew standing on the rier of Seyne betweene two hilles and besieged it on every parte. The capitaine of the toune was the lorde Escouteuile with the lorde Blaynuile of Hacqueuile, the lordes of Harmauile of Galarde Boyes, of Clere de Becton, of Adsanches, of Brian, of Gaucort, of Lisleadam and many other.

THE Frenche kyng beyng advertised of the kynges arriuall, sente in all the hast the lorde Delabrecche constable of Fraunce and the lorde Bonciqualt Marshall of Fraitce, the Seneschal of Henaude, the lorde Ligny and diuerse other capitaines, whiche fortified tounes with men vitaile and artillary on all the sea coaste. And hering that the kyng of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the castle of Cawdebec beyng not frende from Harflew, to thentent to succour their frendes which wer besieged if thei might by any pollicy or inuencion, and if not, then they imagined how to slaye and hurte the Englishmen when they went into the countree on forayng for beasts and vitall and so trappe and destroye them, for thei costrued with themselfs that their vitaile would some faile because of the ayre of the sea and smell of the water. But they were deceiued, for notwithstanding the provision and policy of the Frenche, the Englishmen forrayed the countree, spoyledd the villages and brought many a riche praine to the Campe before Harflew. Thenglishtmen daily ceasst not to asaile the toune, the duke of Gloucester to whō the ordre of the assaile was committet, made thre mynes under the ground & approched the walles with ordinaunce and engynes, and would not sufer theim within to reste at any tyme. The kyng lyng on the hill side with his battail did not onely kepe the Frenche from succoryng of the toune, but also toke awaie from the tounes men all the hope and trust of their succor, aide and relief, and also al the gonnepounder that was sent by the Frenche kyng to them that wer besieged was taken by thenglishmen. The capitaines of the Frēcsh men within the toune perceiued that thewer not able to resiist the continuall invasions and hourely assaults of the fierce Englishemen, and knowing that their walles were vndermyned and shortly like to fal, & feryng that might happē of the chance if thei should fortune to be overcome and takē by force, desired of the kyng of England only truce for thre daies, promisyng that if they were not reskewcd within thesame tyme, then thei to yeld themselfs and the toune their luyes only saued. And to performe this, they delivered into the kynges possession. xxx. of the beste capitaines and Marchauntaes of the toune. The kyng of Englaunde accepted this offfe, lest he enteyndyng greater exploits might lese his tyme in suche small matters. When this compisicion was agreed, the lorde Hacqueuile was sent to the French kyng to declare the necessite of the toune and the shorte tyme of the truce. To whō the dolphin aanswered that the kynges power was not yet assembled in suche a nombre as was conuenient to raise so greate a siege. When the answere was reported to the capitaines, they seyng no hope nor similitude of aide and comfort to them commyng, after the third daie rendered to the kyng of Englađ the toune, beyng the. xxxvij. daie after that it was besieged, whiche was the daie of sainct Mawrice, to the greate abashement of all Normandy, for it was the soueraigne porte of al that countree. The soulidours wer rausomend and the toune was sacked to the greate gayne of the Englishmen. The kyng of Englaunde ordeigned capitaine of the toune of Harflew his vncle Thomas duke of Exeter whiche establishet his leutenaunt there Ihon Fastollhe with. xv. C. men and. xxxv. knyghtes, whereof the Baron of Carew & sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsailers. And because diuerse of his nobles lyng Harflew were sicke of the flixe and many wer ded, emongest whō therle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lordes Molins and
Burnell wer foure beside other. The kyng licensed the duke of Clarence his brother, Ihon erle Marshall and Ihon erle of Arundel beyng infected with that decease to returne into Englande.

KYNG Henry not a little reioysynge of his good lucke and fortunate successe in the beginnyng of his pretended conquest, determined withall diligence to set forward in performyng his intended purpose and warrely enterprise, but because Wynter approched faster and more furiously then before that tymne had been accustomed, he was sore troubled and vexed. For the whiche cause he called together al the Cheuetaines and men of pollicy in his armie to consult vpò the procedyng forward and to be sure of waie and redy passage. After long debatyng and muche reasonyng, it was as a thyng bothe necessary and conuenient and fully agreed and determined to set forward withall diligence before the dedde tymne of Winter approched, toward the toune of Caleis. And because their goyng forward should be called of slaunderous tongues a runnyng or flyyng awaie, it was decreed that the whole armie should passe the next waie by lande through the middest of their enemies, and yet that journey was judged perilous by reason that the numbre was muche minished by the flyxe and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death aboue, xv. C. persones, whiche was the very cause that the returne was soner concluded and appointed: but before his departyng he entered into the toune of Harflew and went on foote to the churche of sainct Martynes and there offered. And all the men of warr which had not paied their raunsome, he sware them on the holy Evangelistes to yeld themselves prisoners at Caleis by the feast of S. Martyn in November nexte, diuorse of the burgesses he highly raunsomed, and a greate part of the women and children he expelled the toune, geuyng to every poore creature five sowe. The priestes had licence to depart leuyng behinde them their substaunce. The goodes in the toune wer innumerable whiche wer al praise to the Englishemen, whiche sent the best into Englande as a remembraunce of good lucke. There were twoo strong toures standingy on the hauen side, whiche lokyng for aid did not yelde ten daies after the toune was rendered.

WHEN the kyng had repaired the walles, fortifed the bulwarkes refresshed the rampiers and furnished the toune with vitail and artillary, he removed from Harflew toward Pountoyse, enteyning to pas the riuer of Some with his armie before the bridges were ether withdrawn or broken. The Frenche kyng hearyng that the toune of Harflewe was gotten and that the kyng of Englande was marching forwarde into the bowelles of the realme, sente out proclamacions and assembled people in every quarter, comitting the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphin & the duke of Aquitayn, whiche incontinent caused the brydges to be broken and all the passages to be defended, beside that they caused all corne and other vitaill to be destroyed in all places where they conjectured that the englishmen would repair or passe through, to thentent that they might ether kepe the in a place certain without any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or els to kepe them in a straite without vitailes or comfort, and so by famyne ether cause them to dyo or yelde.

THE kyng of Englande afflicted with all these incomoditites at one tymne was neither dismayed nor discouraged, but keping furth his iourney approched to the riuer of Some, where he perceived that all the bridges wer by his enemies broken and vnframed: wherfore he came to the passage called Blanchetaque where kyng Edwardes great-grandfather passed the riuer of Some before the battaill of Cressy. But the passage was so kepte that he could not passe without great daunger, consideryng that his enemies wer at his backe & before his face. Wherfore he passed forward to Arannes, burnyng villages & takyng greate booties and euyry daie he sent his light horsemen abrode to spye and seke what perilles ther wer at hand, what embushments ther wer laid on the one side or thether, & to find out where he might most sauely pas the riuer. The espialles returned and declared for a truth that the coutree swarmed with men of warre, wherof he beyng advertised, set furth in good ordre, kepyng still his waie forwarde and so ordred his armie and placed his cariage, that haung
his enemies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enemies were afraid once to offer him battle, and yet the lord Delabreth Constable of France, the Marshall Boncquat, the earl of Vandonme great Master of France and the lord Dampier Admiral of France, the duke of Alanson and the earl of Richmond assembled with all the puissance of the Dolphin laie at Abbeuile and durnst not once touched his battailes, but ever kepeth the passages and coasted afofe like a hauke that liked not her praise. The kyng of Englande still kept on his journey till he came to the bridge of saincte Maxence, where he founde aboue xxx.M. Frenchmen and there pitched his felde, lokeyning surely to be set on and fought withal. Wherfore to encourage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certain of his hardy & valente gentlemen knightes, as Itho lord Ferreis of Groby, Reignold of Greistocke, Piers Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Pikering, Williâ Huddleston, Ihon Hosbalton, Henry Mortimer, Philip Halle & Williâ his brother, & Iaques de Orinod & diverse other. But when he saw y the Frenchmen made no semblance to fight, he departed in good ordre of battayle by the touné of Amièce to a touné nere to a castle called Bowes, and there laie twoo daies, everie houre lokeyning for battail. And from thence he came nere to Corby where he was staiwed that night by reason that the comm people and peysants of the countree assembled in greate nombre, and the men of Armes of the garrison of Corby skirmished with his armie in the mornynge, which tarying was to hym bothe joyous and profitable, for there he discomfited the crew of horsemen & drewe the rustic people euyn to their gates, & also found there thesame daie a shallow forde betwene Corby & Peron, whiche never was espied before. At the whiche he, his armie & carriages the night ensuyng passed the great riwer of Some without let or daungier, the morowe after sainct Lukes daie, determined withall diligence to passe to Calcis, and not to seke for battail except he wer thereto constrained & compelled, because that his armie by sickenesse was sore minisheed and appaire, for he had onely two. M. horsemen and. xiii.M. Archers, bill men and of all sortes. The Englishmen were afflicted in this journey with an hundred discomodities, for their vitalles was in maner all spent, and newe they could get none, for their enemies had destroyed all the corne before ther comynge: Rest they could take none, for their enemies wer euery at hande, daily it rained and nightly it freshed, of fuel was skacenes and of fluxes was plenty, money they had ynow but comforte thei had none. And yet in this great necessitie the poore folkys wer not spyled nor any thyng without paynent was of the extorted, nor great offence was doen except one, whiche was that a foulishe souldier stole a pixe out of a churche and vnreuerently did eate the holy hostes within thesame conteigned. For whiche cause he was apprehended, and the kyng would not once remone till the vessel was restored & the offender strangled. The people of the countrees there aboute hearyng of his straight justice & godly mynd, ministered to hym bothe vitailles & other necessaries, although by open proclamacio they wer therof prohibited.

THE Frenche kyng beyng at Roan, hearyng that the kyng of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a little discontente, and assembled his counsaill to the nombre of xxxv. to consult what should be doen, the chief whereof were the Dolphin his sonne whose name was Lewes, calying hymself kyng of Cicile, the dukes of Berry & Britayn therle of Pontieu the kynges youngest sonne and diverse other, wherof xxx. agreed that the Englishmen should not departe vnfoughten with all, and fiue wer of the contrary opinion, but the greater nombre ruled the matter. And so Mountioye kyng at Armes was sent to the kyng of England to deff hym as the enemie of France, and to tell hym that heshould shortly haue battail. Kyng Henry soberly ananswerd: Sir myne entent and desire is none other, but to do as it pleaseth almighty God and as it becometh me, for surely I will not seke your Master at this tyme, but if he or his seke me I will willyngly fight with hym. And if any of your nacion attempt once to stoppe me in my journey toward Calcises, at their iepoerty be it, and yet my desire is that none of you be so vnaduisd or barebrained as to be the occasion that I in my defence shall colour and make redde your tawny gronde with the deathes
deathes of your selfes and theffusion of Christen bloud. When he had aunswered the
harauld, he gau to him a great reward & licenced him to depart.

WHEN the Lordes of Fraunce heard the kyng of Englandes answere, it was incontin-
ent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resorte to the Constable of Fraunce to fight
with the kyng of Englande and his puissanuce. Wherupon all men accustomed to beare
Armure and desirous to wyn honor through the realme of Fraunce drewe toward the feld.
The Dolphin sore desired to bee at that battaile, but he was prohibited by the kyng his fa-
ther, likewise Philip erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyne would gladly haue
been at that noble assemble if the duke his father would haue suffered hym, but many of his
men stale awaie and went to the Frenchemen.

THE Kyng of Englande informed by his espialles that the daie of battail was nerer then
he loked for, dislodged from Bomyers & roade in good arraie through the faire plaine beside
the toune of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not bee included in a streight
or driven to a corner, he chose a place mete and convenient for two armies to darrayne bat-
tail betwene the townes of Blangy and Agincourte, where in he pight his feld.

THE Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures Master of
the Crossebowes and diverse lorde and knightes pitched their banners nere to the banner
royall of the Constable in the Countee of sainct Paule within the territory of Agincourte, by
the whiche waie the Englishemen muste vned passe to vnde Caleis. The Frenchenien
made greate fires about their banners, and they were in numbre had. ix. M. horsemen, as
their owne historians and writers affirme, beside footemen pages and wagoners, and all that
night made greate chere and were very mery. The Englishmen that night sounded their trom-
pettes and diverse instrumentes Musicall with greate melody, and yet they were bothe hungery,
wery, sore traucled and mache vexed with colde deseases: Howbeit they made peace with
God, in confessyng their synnes, requiring hym of help, and receteuyng the holy sacrame-}
cuery man encouraging and determining clerely rather to die then either to yelde or fylc.

NOW approched the fortunate faire daie to the Englishemen and the inuest and vulucky
daie to the Frenche nobilitee, whiche was the fiue and twenty daie of October in the yere of
our Lorde Iesu Christe a thousande foure hundred and fiftene, bycemy then Fridaie and
the daie of Crispin and Crispinian. On the whiche daie in the mornyng, the Frenche
menne made thre battailles: In the Vaward wer eight thousande Healmes of Knightes and
Esquiers and foure thousande Archers and fiftene hundred Crossebowes, which were guyded
by the Lord Delabret Constable of Fraunce, hauyng with hym the dukes of Orleances and
Burbone, therles of Ewe and Richmond the Marshall Bonciqualt and the Master of the
Crossebowes, the Lorde Dampierre Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines. And the erle
of Vanosme and other the kynges officers with. xvij. C. men of Armes wer ordred for a
wen to that battail. And the other wyng was guided by sir Guyshard Dolphyn and sir
Clugnet of Brabant and sir Lewes of Burbon with. viij. C. menne of Armes, of chosen
and elect persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishemen wer apponted sir
Guyliau of Sauesens with Hector and Philip his brethren. Ferry of Maylley and Alen of
Gaspauenes with other. viij. C. men of Armes. In the midle ward wer assigned as many per-
sones or mo as wer in the formost battail, and therow was the charge committit to the dukes
of Barr and Aleson, therles of Neuers, Vawdemont, Blamoit, Salynge, Graunttree and of
Roussey. And in the rerawerde were all the other men of Armes, guyded by the erles of
Marle, Dampartynye, Fawquenberge and the Lorde of Lourrey Capitayne of Arde, who
had with hym men of the Frontiers of Bolonosy.

WHEN these battailles were thus ordred, it was a glorious sight to behold the and surely
they wer esteme to be in numbre sixe times as many or more then was the whole compaigny
of the Englishmen with wagoners pages and all. Thus the Frenchmen wer every man vnder
his banner only waitynge for the blouddy blast of the terrible trompet, and in this ordre they
continued restyng themselves and reconciling every one to other for all old rancors and hatredes
whiche had been betwene theim, till the houre betwene. ix. and. x. of the daie.
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whiche season, the Constable of Fraunce saide openly to the capitayues in effecte as foloweth.

FRENDES and companions in armes, I cannot but bothe reioyce and lament the chances & fortunes of these two armes whiche I openly se and behold with myne iyes here presente. I reioyce for the victorie whiche I se at hand for our part, and I lamet and sorrow for the misery and calamitee whiche I perceiue to approphe to the otherside: For wee cannot but be victours and triumphant conquerors, for who saw euer so florisshyng an armie within any christian region, or suche a multitude of valiant persons in one campaigne? Is not here the flower of the Frenche nacion on barded horsses with sharpe speares and dedly wepons? Are not here the bold Britons with fiery handgones and sharpe swordes? Se you not present the practised Pickardes with strong and weightie Crossebowes? Beside these, we haue the fierce Brabanders & strong Almaines with long pykes and cuttyng slaughmesses. And on the otherside is a smal handfull of pore Englishmen whiche are entred into this region in hope of some gain or desire of profitte, whiche by reson that their vitaill is costomed & spent, are by daily famyn sore wekened, consumed & almost without spirites: for their force is clery abated and their strength vterley decaied, so they or the batailles shall ioyne they shalbe for very feblenes viquished & ouercom, & in stede of men ye shal fight with shadowes. For you must vnderstand, y kepe an Englishman one moneth from his warme bed, fat befeand stale drynde, and let him that season last colde and suffre hunger, you then shall se his courage abated, his bodye waxe lean and bare, and euer desireous to returne into his owne countrey. Experience now declareth this to be true, for if famine had not pinched them, or colde wether had not nipped them surely they would haue made their progresse farther into Fraunce, and not by so many perilous passages retir'd towards Calays. Suche courage is in Englishmen when fayre weather and vitaile folow them, and suche weaknesses they haue when famine and colde vexe and trouble them. Therfore nowe it is no mastery to vanquishe and ouerthrowe them, beynge both wery & weake, for by reason of feblenes and faintnes their weapones shall fal out of their handes when they profer to strike, so that ye may no easilier kyll a poore speche then destoye them beynge alredie sicke & hungerstaruen. But imagyn that they wer lusty, strong and couragious, and then ponder wisely the cause of their comynig hither, and the meauynge of their enterpise: Fyrst their king a yong striplyng (more mete for a tenicle playe then a warlike campe), claimeth the crowne, scepeter and souereign-tie of the verye substance of the Frenche nacion by battaile: then he and his entendyng to occupy this countrey, inhabithe this land, destroy our wifes and children, extinguishe our blud and put our names in the blacke boke of oblivion. Wherfore remembre wel, in what quarrel can you better fight then for the tuició of your natural countrey, the honor of your prince, the surety of your children and the saueng of your land and liues. If these causes do not encourage you to fight, beholde before your eyes the têtes of your enemies, with treasure, plate & jewels wel stuffed and richely furnished, which pray is surely yours if euery man strike but one stroke, besyde the great raunsomes whiche shalbe paiéd for riche capitaines and welthy prisoners, whiche as surely shall be yours as you now had them in your possession. Yet this thyng I charge you worldly, that in nowise the kyng him selfe be killed, but by force or otherwise to be apprehended & taken to the entent that with glorie & triumph we may conuay him openly through the noble cytie of Paris to oure kyng and dolphyn as a testimonie of our victory & witnes of our noble act. And of this thyng you be sure, that fly they cannot, and to yelde to our fight of necessitie they shalbe compelled. Therfore good felowes take courage to you, the victory is yours, the gaine is yours & the honor is yours without great labour or muche losse.

KYNG Henry also like a leader & not like one led, like a souereigne and not like a souldior ordred his men for his most advantage like an expert capitaine and a couragious warrier. And fyrst he sent prynely CC. archers into a low medowe which was nere to the forward of his enemies, but separate with a great diche, and were there commanded to kepe them selues close tyl they had a token to them geuen to shote at their aduersaries. Beside this
this he appoynted a wararde, of the which he made capitan Eward duke of Yorke whiche of a lauete courage had of the kyng required and obtained that office: and with him were the lordes Beaumond, Wyloughby and Fanhope, and this battaile was all archers. The middle ward was gouned by the kyng him self with his brother the duke of Gloucester, & the erles Marshal, Oxford and Suffolke, in the which wer al the strong bilmen. The duke of Exceter vnle to the kyng led the rewarde, whiche was mixed both with archers & bilmen. The horsemen like winges went on every side of the battaile. When the king had thus ordred his battaile, like a puissaunt coqueror without feare of his enemies, yet considering the multitude of them farre to excede the small nombre of his people, doubtyng that the Frenchmen would compass and beset him aboute, and so fight with him on every side, to thentent to vaquish the power of the French horsemen whiche might breake the ordre and arraye of his Archers, in whom the whole force of the battaile did consist and in maner remaining he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both endes of the length of y. or. vi. fote to be pitched before the Archers and of every side the fote men like an edge, to the entent that if the barde horses ranne rashely vpó them, they might shortly be gored and destroyed, & appointed certeine persons to remoue the stakes when the Archers moued, and as tyme required: so that the fortemen were hedged about with the stakes, and the horsemen stode like a bulwirk betweene the & their enemies without the stakes. This deuice of fortifying an armeye was at this tyme fyrst inuented, but sence that tyme, they haue imagined caltrappes, harowes and other newe trickes to defende the force of the horsemen so that if the enemies at aventure runne against their engines, either sodeinly their horses be wounded with the stakes, or their feete hurt with the other engines, so that of very necessitie for paine, the sely pore beastes are compelled to fal and tumble to the ground. When he had ordred thus his battailes, he left a smal company to kepe his campe & baggrage, and then callying his capitanes and soldiours about him, he made to them an heartie Oracon in effect as foloweth, sayyng.

WELBELOWUED frendes and countrymen, I exhort you heartely to thinke and conceiue in yourselves that this daye shalbe to vs all a day of joy, a day of good lucke and a day of victory: For truely if you wele note and wisely considere all thynges, almighty God vnder whose protection we be come hither, hath appoynted a place so mote and apt for our purpose as we our selves could nether haue devised nor wished whiche as it is apt and conuenient for our smal nombre and lite armyn so is it vnprofitable and vnumet for a great multitude to fight or gene battaile in: and in especial for suche men in whom is neither constant faith nor securitie of promise, whiche persons be of God neither fauored nor regarded, nor he is not accustomed to ayde and succour suche people whiche by force and strength contrary to right & reason detain and kepe from other their just patrimony and lawfull inheritance, with whiche blotte and spotte the Frenche nation is apparantly defyled and distained: so that God of his justice will scourge and afflicte them for their manifest injuries and open wronges to vs and our realme dayly committet and done. Therfore puttyng your onely trust in him, let not their multitude fear yeur heartes, nor their great nombre abate your courage: for surely old warlike fathers haue both said and written that the more people that an army is, the lesse knowledge the multitude hath of material feats or politique practises, whiche rude rustical and ignorant persons shalbe in the feld vnto hardy capitaines and lusty men of warre a great let and sore impediment. And though they al were of like pollicy, like audacitie and of one vnforme experience in marcial affayres, yet we ought neither to feare them nor once to shrinke for them consideryng that we come in the right, whiche euere of God is fauored, set furth and aunanced: in whiche good and just quarrel al good persons shal rather set bothe theyrr feete forward, then once to turne theyrr one heale backward. For if you aduenture your liues in so just a battaile & so good a cause, whiche way soever fortune turne her whole, you shalbe sure of fame, glory and renoun: If you be victors and overcome your enemies, your strength and vertue shalbe spred and dispersed through the whole world: If you ooverpressed with so great a multitude shal happen to be
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slaine or taken yet neither reproche can be to you ascribed, either yet infamy of you report-
ed, considering that Hercules alone was not equiudolent vnto ii. men, nor a small handful
is not equal to a great nombre, for victory is the gift of God and consisteth not in the
puissance of men. Wherfore manfully set on your enemies at theyr first encountre, strike with a hardy courage on the false hearted Frenchmen, whom youre noble ance-
stours have so often overcome and vanquished. For surely they be not so strong to geue
the onset vpö you, but they be much weaker to abide your strength in a long fight and tyed
battaile. As for me I assure you al, that England for my person shall never paye raun-
some, nor neuer Frenchman shall triumph over me as his capitain, for this day by
famous death or glorious victory I wyl wyne honor and obtaine fame. Therfore now joy-
ously prepare your selues to the battaile and courageously fight with your enemies, for
at this very tyme all the realme of Englande praieth for our good lucke and prosperous
successe.

WHILE the kyng was thus speakyng, eche arnye so maligned & grudged at the other
beying in open sight and evident apparence, that euery man cried furth, furth, forward
forward. The dukes of Clarèce Gloucester and Yorke were of the same opinion, thinkyng
it most conuenient to marche toward theyr enemies with al speede & celeritie, least in pro-
longyng of tyme and arguyng of opinions, the Frenche armye might more and more
inarece & hourly multiply. Howbeit the kyng taryed a while least any jeopardy were
not forsene, or any hazard not prevented.

THE Frenchmen in the meanse season little or notthyng regardyng the small nombre of
thenglishe nacion, were of suche haute courage and proud stomaches that they took no
thought for the battaile, as who saye they were victours and overcomers before any stroke
was striken, and laughed at the Englishmen, and for very prid thought the selues lifted
into heauen iestyng and boastyng that they had thenglishe men inclosed in a straight
and had overcome and takethem without any resistance. The capitaines determined howe
to deuide the spoyle: the souldiers plaied the Englishmen at dice: the noble men devised
a chariot how they might triumphantly concuigh kyng Henrye beying captive to the cytie
of Paris, crying to their souldiers, hast your selues to obtaine spoile, glory and honor, to
thuent that we may study howe to geue you thanks for the great giftes and rewards
which we hope to receive of your great liberalitie. The folishe folye of this vaine solace
brace out so farre, that messengers were sent to the cyties and townes aidingonyng, willing
them to make open playes and triumphes, (as though that the victory were to them
certaine & no resistance could appeare) and also to geue God thanks for their prosperous
act and notable dede, not remembyng that the whirlewynd shortly with a pufle blew
away al their folishe joy and phantastical bragging.

Of this doyng you may gather, that it is asmuche madness to make a determinate judg-
ment of thinges to come, as it is wisdome to doubt what wyll folowe of thinges be-
gone. I may not forget how the Fréche men beyng in this pleasaut pastyme, sent a
herault to kyng Henry to inquyre what raunsome he wold offere, and how he answered
that within ii. or iii. houres he hoped that it should so happen that the Frenchmen
should come rather with thenglishe men how to be redeemed, then the Englishmen should
take thought how to pay any raunsome or money for their deliverance: asseretyng them
for him selfe that his dead carion should rather be their pray, then his liuyng body should
pay any raunsome. When the messenger was departed, the Frenchmen put on theyr hea-
mettes and set the in ordre vnder theyr banners, richely armed and gorgeously trapped
and caused theyr trumpettes to blowe to the battaile.

THE Englishmen perceuyng that, sette a lytle forwarte, before whom there went an
old knight called syr Thomas of Herpingham, a man of great experience in warre, with
a warden in his hand, and when he cast vp his warden, al the army shouted, at the which
the Frenchmen muche marueiled, but that was a sign to the Archers in the meadowe, which
knowing the token, shot wholly altogether at the vaward of the Frenchmen. When they
perceived
perceived the archers in the meadow; who they saw not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a diche, they with al hast set on kyng Henries forarde, but or they ioyned, the archers in the forfront and the archers on the side whiche stode in the meadow, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horses and so combred the men of armes that the fotemen durst not go forward, the horsemen raine in plumpes without ordre, some over-threw his fellow, and horses overthrew their maisters: So at the fyrst ioyynge, as the Frenchmen wer clearely discouraged, so thenglishmen were mucho chered. When the Frenche vaward was thus discomfited, the English archers cast away theyr bowes & toke into theyr handes axes, malles and swords, billes and other weapons, and therwith slewe the Frenchmen tyll they came to the middleward. Then the king approuched and encouraged his souldiers, that shortly the second battaile was overthrown and dispersed not without great slaughter of men: howbeit diuers being wounded wer releved by their varlettis and conueigned out of the felde, for the Englishmen so sore labored with fighting and slaughtering, and wer so busy in takyng of prisoners that they followed no chace, nor would once breake out of the battaile. The Frenchmen strongly vsode the fearnes of Thenglishmen when thei came to hidy strokes, so that the fight was very doubtful & perilous. And when one part of the French-horse men thought to haue entred into the kynges battaile, they were with the stakes ouer turned, and either slain or taken.

THUS this battaile continued. iii. long houre, some strake, some defected, some forwade, some tranersed, some kyld, some toke prisoners noman was idle, every man fought either in hope of victory or glad to saue him selfe. The kyng that day shewed him selfe like a valiant knight, whiche notwithstanding that he was almost felled with the duke of Alawson, yet with plain strength he slewe ii. of the dukis company and felled the duke; but when the duke would have yelded him, the kynges garde contrary to the kynges minde outrageously slewe him. And in conclusion, mindyng to make an ende of that daies jorney, caused his horsemen to fetch a compasse about & to ioyne with him against the rereward of Fraunce: in the whiche battaile were the greatest nombre of people. When the Frenchmen perceived his entent, they wer sodenly amased and ranne away like sheep without array or ordre.

When the kyng perceived the banners cast doune & the aray was cleere broken, he encouraged his souldiers and folowed so quickly that the Frenchmen turning to flight, ranne hither and thither not knowyng which way to take, castyng away their armure and on theyre knees desired to haue their lyes saue. In the meanse season while the battaile thus continued and that thenglishmen had taken a great nombre of prisoners, certain Frenchmen on horsbacke wherof were captaines Robinet of Bornenilfe, Riffart of Clamas and Isambert of Agincourt and other men of armes to the nombre of vi. C. horsemen: whiche fled fyrst from the felde at theyrs fyrst commyng and hearyng that the Englishesse tentes and paualions were farre from the army without any great nombre of keepers or persons mete and convenient for defence, partly moued and stirred with coueteous desire of spoyle and pray, and partly entynding by some notable act to revenge the damage and displeasure done to them & theirs in battale the same day, entred into the kynges campe beyng voide of men and forctized with varlettis & lackeys, and ther spoyled hales, robbed tentes, brake vp chestes and caried awaye caskettes and slewe suche servantes as they could fynd in the tentes and paualions. For the whiche act thei wer long imprisioned and sore punished and like to haue lost their lyes if the Dolphyn had longer linde.

WHEN the kyng by a feareful messenger was of this euil acte sodainly aduertised, and when the outcry of the lackeys and boyes whiche raine away for feare of the robbers was heard into the felde, saiyng that the Frenchmen had robbed all the tentes and Lodgynge of the Englishmen, he fearynge least his enemies beyng dispersed and scattered abroad should gather together againe and beginne a new felde: and doubtyng farther that the prisoners would either be an aide to his enemies or very enemies to him if he should sufore them to lye, contrary to his accustomed gentuines and pitie he commaundde by the sounde of a ompet that every man vpon paine of death should incotinently sleu his prisoner. When this
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this dolorous decre & pitiful proclamaciō was pronounced, pitie it was to se and lothesme it was to behold how some Frenchmen wer sodainly sticked with daggers, some wer brained with polaxes, some wer slai with malles, other had theyr throtes cut and some their bellies paunched: so that in effecte hauyng respecte to the greate nombre, few prisoners or none were saued.

WHEN this lamentable manslaughte was finished, thenglishemen forgettyng their woundes and hartes and not remembaring what paine they had sustayned all day in fightyng with their enemies, as men that wer freshe and lusty, ranged them selues again in array both prest and redy to abide a newe felle, and also to inuade and newly to set on theyr enemies, and so courageously thei set on the earles of Marle and Fauconbrige and the lorde of Louray & of Thyne, whiche with. vi. C. men of armes had all day kept together and slew them out of hand.

When the kyng had passed through the felle & saw neither resistence nor apparaunce of any Frenchmen sauyng the dead corsses, he caused the retrayte to be blown and brought al his armie together about. iiij. of the clocke at after noone. And fyrst to geue thanks to almightye God geuer & tributor of this glorious victory, he caused his prelates & chape-laines fyrst to sing this psalme. In exitu Israel de Egiptō. &c. commaundering everey man to knele doune on the ground at this verse. Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomine tuo da gloriam, whiche is to say in Englishe, Not to vs lord, not to vs, but to thy name let the glory be geuen: whiche done he caused Te deum with certeine anthemes to be song geuyn laudes and praisesges to God, and not boastyng nor braggyng of him selfe nor his humane power.

THAT night he toke refreshyng of suche as he found in the Frēche campe, and in the meruyng Mouitiy kyng at armes and. iiij. Heraultes came to him to know the nombre of prisoners and to desyre buriali for them whiche were slaine. Before he could make any answere to the Heraultes he remembryng that it is more honorable to bee praised of his enemie then to be extolled of his frendes: he that praiseth him selfe lacketh loung neighbors: wherfore he demanded of the why they made to lyn that request, considuryng that he knew not certainly whether the praise & the victory wer mete to be attributed to him or to their nacion. Oh lorde q. Mountioy kyng at armes, thinke you vs officers of armes to be rude and bestial persons? If we for the afeccion that we bear to our naturall countrie, would ether for fawor or mede hide or deny your glorious victory: The foules of the aire, the wormes of the ground seedyng on the multitude of the ded carions, by your onely puyssauence destroyed and confounded, will beare witnesse against vs, ye and myche more the captuys whiche be living and in your possessiō with their wifes and litle infauntes will saie wee bee open liers and vntruue taleytellers: Wherfore accordyng to the ducy of our office whiche is or should bee alwaies indifferently to write and truely to jude, we saie, determyne and affirme that the victory is yours, the honour is yours and yours is the glory, ad-uisyng you, as you haue manfully gotten it, so polletikely to see it. Well saied the kyng, seeyng this is your determinaciō, I wyllyngly accept the same, desyryng you to know the name of the castle nere adioyng. When they had answered that it was called Agyncourt, he said that this conflict should be called the battaile of Agyncourt, whiche victory hath not been obteigned by vs nor our power, but only by the suffraunce of GOD for injury and vns-truth that we haue receiued at the handes of your Prince and his nacion. That daie he feasted the French officers of Armes and granted to them their request, whiche busily sought through the felle for such as wer slaine, but the Englishmen suffred them not to go alone for thei searched with them and found many hurt but not in jeopardy of their life, whom thei toke prisoners and brought them into their tentes.

WHEN the kyng of Englane was well refreshed hymself and his soulidours and had take the spoyle of suche as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good ordre returned to his toune of Caleis. When tiduynges of this notable victory was blowen into Englane, so-lempne processions and other praisynges to almightye GOD, with bonefiers and dances wer ordeined
ordained in every toune, citee and borough, and the Maire and the citizens of the citee of London went the morowe after the daie of saint Simon and Iude from the Churche of Sauint Paule to the church of S. Peter at Westminster in deuoute manner, rendryng to God their moste humble and heartie thankes for his habountant grace and fortunate lyeke geuen and sent to the kyng their souerigne lorde.

WHEN the kyng of Englane was departed the sondaie toward Caleis, diuere Frenchmen repaired to the plain where the batailll was and remoued againe the ded bodies, some to finde their lordes and masters and theim to conueyng into their countreys thare to bee buried, some to spoyle and take the reliques whiche the Englishmen had left behinde: For thei took nothing but gold, siluer, iuelles, riche apparell and costly armoure. But the ploughmen and peysantes spoyled the ded carkasses, leuyng theim nether shirte nor cloute, and so thei laie starke naked till Wednesdaie. On the whiche daie diuere of the noble men wer conueyng into their countreys and the remnant were by Philip erle Charoloyes (sore lamentyng the chauncce and moued with pitee) at his cost and charge buried in a square plot of xv.C. yards, in the which he caused to be made thre pittes, wherein wer buried by accompl. v.M. and. viii.C. persons beside them that wer caried awaie by their frendes and servauntes, and other whiche beyng wounded to death died in Hospitalles and other places, whiche groue after was made a churche yarde, and for feare of Wolues enclosed with a high wall.

AFTER this dolorous iorney and piteous slaughter, diuere clerckes of Paris made many lamentable Verses, complaingyn that the kyng reigned by will, and that couaillers wer perecell, affirmyng that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigalite, declynyng also that the clergy wer dombe and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble comons ducly obeyed and yet euer suffred pounishment: For whiche cause by persecucion deuine, the lesse numbre vanquished, and the great was overcon. Wherfore thei concluded that all thynge were out of ordre, and yet there was no man that studied to bryng the unruly to frame. And no meruel though this bataill were dolorous and lamentable to the Frenche nacion, for in it were taken and slayn the flower of all the nobilite of Fraunce, for there wer taken prisoners:

Charles duke of Orleauunce neveth to the Frenche kyng.

Ihon duke of Burbone. The young Lorde of Dynchy.
Ihon of Craon lord of Dommart. Sir Ihon of Vawcort.
The Lorde of Fossenx. Sir Arthure Bremyer.
The Lorde of Hunyers. Sir Ienet of Poys.
The Lorde of Roce. The sone & heire of the lord Ligny.
The Lorde of Cauny. Sir Glybert de lawney.
Sir Borsqueret lorde of Hacourt. The Lorde Dancobe in Ternoys and diuere other to the numbre of fiftene hudred knihtes and Esquiers besyde the common people.
The lorde of Noell called the whit knight Lorde Bonceqault Marshall of Fraunce and Bado his sonne. whiche died in Englãd.

There wer slain of nobles and gentlemen.

Charles lorde Delabreth hie Constable of Fraunce. Anthony duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgoyne.
Jaques of Chastiln lorde of Dypier Edward duke of Barre.
Admirall of Fraunce. Therle Neuers brother to John duke of Burgoyne.
The Lorde Rambures Master of the Sir Robert Barre erle of Marle.
Crossebowes. The erle of Vawdemon.
Sir Guysbard Dolphyn greate Master The erle of Bawmont.
of Fraunce. The erle of Graundpre.
Ihon duke of Alauonson. The
with diverse other which I leave out for tediousnes. But surely by the relation of the Heraultes and declaracion of other notable persons worthy of credite as Enguerrant wrighteth, there were slain on the Frenche parte aboue ten thousande persons wherof wer princes and nobles bearyng banners Cxxvi. and all the remnant sauyng. xvi. C. were knightes esquires and gentlemen: so of noble men and gentlemen were slain. viii. M. iii. C. of the whiche. v. C. wer dubbed knightes the night before the battaile. Fro the felde escaped on live, the erle Dampmartyn, the lorde Delariuier, Clunet of Brabante, sir Lewes of Burbon, sir Galiot of Gaules, sir Ihon Dengerines and fewe other men of name.

Of Englishemen at this battaile wer slain Edward duke of Yorke therle of Suffolk, sir Richard Kikely & Daugyame esquire, & of al other not aboue. xxv. if you wil geue credite to such as write miracles: but other writers whom I soner beleue, affirme that there was slain abone v. or vj. C. persons, which is not unlike, considryng y the battaile was earnestly and furiously fought by the space of three long hours wherfore it is not incredible nor yet vnpossible but more Englishmen then live and twenty were slain and destroyed.

THIS battaile may be a mirror and glasse to al Christian princes to beholde and folowe, for kyng Henry nether trusted in the puissynce of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the strength of his barred horses, nor yet in his owne policy, but he putte in GOD (whiche is the corner stone and immomtable rocke) his whole cofidence hope & trust. And he which never leaveth them destitute that put their confidence in hym, sent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almost incredible if we had not recee in the boke of kynges that God likewise had defended and aided them that onely put their trust in him and committed them selues wholly to his gouvernaunce.

AFTER that the kyng of Engeland had refreshed hymself and his souldiers in the tonne of Caleis, and that suche prisoners as he had left at Harfflew (as you haue heard) wer come to hym to Caleis: the vi. daie of Nouembr he with all his prisoners toke shipping at Caleis, and thesame daie landed at Douer, lauyng with hym the ded bodies of the duke of Yorke and the erle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to bee buried at his college of Eodrynghey, and therle at Ewhele. In this passage the seas were so rough and trebleous that two shippes laden with souldiers apperteignyng to sir Ihon Cornewal lorde Fanhepe, wer driven into zelande, howbeit nothing was lost nor no person was perished. The kyng by soft iorneries with al his prisoners cam to London and so to Westminster, where he rested hymself a convenient tyme to deliver his prisoners to their kepers, and to se them all in saue custody. Here I might declare into you if I would bee tedious and prolyve, how the Mayre of London and the Senafe appareled in oriet grayned Skaret, how. iiij. C. commoners clad in beautifull Murrey wel mounted and gorgeously horsed with riche collers and great chaynes met the kyng at Blackheth, reioysyng at his victorious retourne. How the clergie of
of London with riche crosses, supertuous copes & massy cèses received hym at. s. Thomas of Waterynge with solèpne procession laudyng and praisyng God for the high honor and victory to hym greeen & graunted: but all these thynges I omit and returne to the very matter.

WHEN the dolorus tidynes of this bloody battayl was declared to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Roan, and with hym the Dolphyn, the dukes of Berry and Briteyne and his second sonne therle of Pontheu, if he lamented this chauce and cursed that euill daie in the whiche he lost so many noble men, no man haue marauill. And yet the dolor was not onely his, for the ladys souned for the deaths of their husebandes, the Orphalines wept and rent their hearres for the losse of their parentes, the faire damoselles defled that day in the whiche they had lost their paramors, the seruaites waxed mad for destrució of their masters, and finally, eryu frend for his frend, eryu cosyn for his alye, eryu neighbor for his neighbor, was sorry, displeased & greued. Wherfore the Frenche kyng and his counsail perceiuyng that the war was but newly begun, and that toward them with euill spede, determined to provide for chances that might folowe, and to foresee thynges or thei sodainly happened. And first he elected his chief officer for the warres called the Constable, whiche was therle of Arminack, a wise and a politique capitain and an auncient enemy to theenglishmen, and sir Ihon of Corseye was made Master of the Crosbowes, and then they forstified tounes & furnished garrisons. While these thynges were thus in working, either for Malencoly that he had for the losse at Agincourt or by some sodein desease, Ihon Dolphyn of Vienoes heire apparaunte to Charles the Frenche kyng departed out of this naturall life without issue, whiche was an happy chauce for Robynet of Bournouile and his compaignions as you haue heard before, for his death was their life, and his life would haue been their death.

† THE FOURTH YERE.

After this notable victory hebeigny by the Englishemen and that kyng Henry was de-
parted into England, and the Frenche kyng had made newe officers in hope to releue and sette vp again the olde estate of his realine and coutrie. Thomas duke of Excester capitain of Harflew accompanigned with thre. M. Englishemen made a great roade into Normandy, almoste to theather of Roan: In whiche iorjney he gat great habundance bothe of riches and prisoners. But in his returne therle of Arminacke newly made Conestable of Fранeč, entendying in his first iorjney to wynne his spurres, and in his compaignie abone. v. M. horsemens, encountred with hym. The skirmishe was sore and the fight fierce, but because the Englishemen wer not able to resist the force of the Frenche horsemen, the duke to save his men was compelled to retiré, as politiquement as he could deuisse: But for all that he could do, he loste almoste. ecc. of his fetemen. The Frencheemen not contét with this good lucke folowed theim almoste to the Barriers of Harflew. When the Englishemen within the toune espied the chauce, thei issued out in good ordre and met with their enemies, and not onely slew and take a greate numbre of theim, but also chased them abone eighte miles toward the citer of Roan.

ABOVE this season Sigismond Emperor of Almayn whiche had maried Barbara doughter to therle of zilie cosyn germain remoued to kyng Henry (as by the pedigre set out in the end of this boke you shall plainly perceiue) a man of great verite and fidelite, whiche had not onely long labored to set an vnitee and còcord in Christes churche and christian religiò, but also he sent diverse Ambassadors aswel to † Fréche kyng as to the kyng of Englande, because he was farrre distant from their countries and regions to encrease perfight peace and reasonable vnitee. Wherfore, seyng that his Ambassade brought nothyng to conclusion, he in person came fro the farthest part of Hügy into France and after into England, intendeing to knit together all christen princes in one line and amitee, and so beying frendes together, to make war and renenge their quarelles against the Turke the persecutor of Christes faihte and enemie to all christendome. With this noble Emperor came
the Archebishop of Reynes and diverse other noble men, as Ambassadors frō the Frenche kyng into England. The kyng of England for old amitie betwene the hous of Englande and Beame, withall his nobilitie hym receiued on Blacketh the vii. daie of Maie, & brought him through London to Westminster with greate triumphe, where Iustes, tournayes and other marciall feates wer to hym with all ioye and pleasure shewed and set furth. Duringe whiche tyne there came into Englaunde Albert duke of holland, whiche also was friendly entretaineid. And these two princes were by the kyng consented to Wynsore to S. Georges feast, and elected compaignions of the noble ordre of the Garter, and had the color and habite of the same to theim deliuered, and satte in their stalles all the solempniteit of the feast; by the whiche ordre thei knowledgeid themselves highly honored and muche exalted. After this solempe feast finished, the duke of Holland well feasted and greatly rewardid, returned into his countrie. But the Emperor tariid stil, neuer ceasing to declare & perswade what uilitee, what goodnes and what ioye might ensue if bothie the realnies of Englaunde and France wer brought to a finall concord and perfight vnitee. But the cuil chaunces of the Frenche nacion was to his purpose a barre and a lette, because thei were predestinate to sufure yet more plauges and detrimentes of the English people then before thei had tasted. For when concorde was at hand and peace was enteryng into the gates, a newe cause of more discord and dissencion sodainly brake out and came to the kynges knowledge: for he beyng informed of the losse of his me at the conflict late had in the territory of Roan (as you have heard) was so displeased and vnquieted that he would heare of no treaty, nor haue once this word peace named.

THE Emperor like a wise prince, seyng then the aspect of the planet reigned contrary to his purpose, ceassid to talke of that matter any more till another daie when the coniūccion should be in more meker signes stirryng to peace. And so when a mete & conuenient tyme came, he broched the vessell of cōcord and amitee, & put it in so faire a cup and presented it with suche pleasant wordes, that surely the kyng had tasted it sufficiently if y Frenchme had not sodainly prepared a newe army. For therof Arminacke puffed vp with his last victory, although the honor wer small and the gaine lesse, determined clerely to get again the toune of Harflew, wherfore as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery part, and appoincted them all to mete at Harflew at a daie assigned. The appoynctment was kept and the toune was besieged bothe by water & land before the capitanes of the toune knewe perfitly the first mocioun. For Iohon Vicount Narbon Viceadmirall of France had brought the whole nauy to the riugage and shore adjoyning the toune, enteyning prieuely to haue entere into the toune on the water side or he had been perceiued. But his subtile ymaginacion toke no place, for thei which kept the watch toure, sodainly perceiuyng their enemies to approche, rang the alarum bell. The duke of Excester incontinent caused all his men to repaire to the wallis, and fortiied the gates, and dispatched a swifte Barke to kyng Henry with letters, requiriynge hym of aide and succour. Although the Frenchemen perceiued that their wyly enterprise was known, and that the toune could not be taken and sodenly stollen as they had deuisid, yet they contynued their siege both by water and by land, and made diuers assaults, at the whiche if they nothyng gained, yet euer somewhat they lost. When these newes were come to the eares of kyng Henry, and that he knew that his people were in great jeopardey excepte great diligence were vsed for their relief and deliuerance, he without delay appareled a great nauy & intended in person to minister succors to his subiectes so besieged. The emperor Sigismond sagely disuaded him and wisely counselfed him not to aduenture him selfe in that iorny, but only to send some valiant captain whiche shortly might appeache that furious storme & quickly to quench that blasying flame: advertisyng hym that it was neither necessary nor honorable for a prince in whom the whole weight and charge of the cōmen welth consiseth, to aduenture & hazard him self in euery peril and doubtful chaunce. The kyng beyng persuaued with the reasonable and louing advertisment of his frende the emperor, appointed the duke of Bedforde his brother, accompanied with thelles of Marche, Marshal, Oxford, Hunt-
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Huntingdon, Warwick, Arundel, Salisbury, Devonshire, and divers Barons with CC. sayle to passe into Normandy for reskew of the toune of Harflew. Whiche makynge good expedition shipped at Rye, and with a prosperous wind and a freshe gale came to the mouth of the riwer of Seyn on the day of the Assumpcion of our Lady. When the vicount Narbon perceiued the Englishe nauy to approche, he geyng a token to all his company, coragiously set toward his enemies & gate the possession of the mouth of the haunen. When the duke of Bedford perceiued the nauy of his enemies to come forward so fiersly, he set before certain strong and well made shippes, whiche at the first encounter vanquished and toke two Frenche shyppes (wherof the capitaines were rashe and somewhat to bold) withal their souldiers and lackelyng. The duke folowed incoueniently with all his puissance and like a valiant capitaine with great courage and audacie, set on his ene- mies: the fight was long but not so long as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible, for battailes of the sea be ever desperate, for neither the assailauntes nor delendetes loke for any refuge, nor know any backdore how to skape out. After long fight the victory fel to the Englisheemen, and they toke and sonke almost all the whole nauy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many shippes, hulkes and carikes to the nombre of five hundred, of the whiche, iii. great carickes were sent into England. In the same conflict were slaine of the Frenche men no small nombre, as it appeared by their bodies which swarmed every day about thenglishe shippes.

AFTER this victory fortunately obteined, the duke of Bedford sailed by water vp to to the very toune of Harflew, and without let or impediment landed and refreshed it both with vitale and money. Which succours if they were welcome to the duke of Excetter his vncl, I reporte me to them that haue bene in necessitie and would haue gladly bene refreshed.

WHEN the earle of Armynacke heard that the puissant nauye of Fraunce was vanquish- ed & taken, he raised his siefe before the toune and returned with smal joy to Paris, as he that had no hope nor sawe any likelyhod or meane to recouer again the toune of Harflew for whiche he so sore thirsted.

AFTER this discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude & stregh of the Frenchmen began to decay, & their braggyng beautie began to fade. For nowe the princes & nobles of the realme fel into division & discord among them selues, as who say, that the nobilitie studyng howe to reuenge their olde injuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for thaduannence of the publique wealth and saeguad of their country And for priuy displeasure co- uert or hatred, their power begun to wexe so slender, & their libertie was brought into suche a malicious diversitie and doubtful difference, that as hereafter shalbe shewed, it was merueil that their contrrey was not brought to a perpetual bondage: whiche thing no doubt had followed if kyng Henry had lenger liued in this mutable worlde. For notwithstanding that the duke of Orleauance the capitaine and head of the one faction was at that time captaine and prisoner in England, yet there grewe so muche priuy displeasure and cankard hatred betwene Charles the Dolphyn and Iohn duke of Burgoynye, that while the one studied, compassed and devised how to ouercome the other with armure or with pollicy, with dissimulacion or crafty coueyance, every jorneiman of their faction, & euer noble man partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole study and diligence to anuance forward their sect and part, and not one of them would take hede howe to resist and refell the present iepardye whiche was commyng out of Englaud. And as one incouenience suffred many to folow so was it in Frauce at this tyne, for the French kyng was not of good memory, the war that was toward, semed both doubtful and perilous, the princes were vntrustly and at discord, and an hundredth no thinges which might bryng the realme to exteme misery and vter distructio as after you shal heare.

WHEN the duke of Bedford had achenue his enterprise and performed his cominission, bothe in raisyng the siefe of Harflew and vitalyng of the toune, he with no smal nombre of prisoners and great habundance of pray aswell in shippes as provision for the sea, returned into
THE V. YERE OF

into England with great triumph and glory. For that victory he was not so muche thanked of the kyng his brother, as lauded and praised by the Emperor Sigismond beyng to him a straunger, whiche sayd openly happy are those subiectes whiche haue s suche a kyng, but more happy is the kyng that hath suche subiectes.

WHEN the Emperoure perceiued, that to move farther a peace, was but a vayne request, and to tarye longer in Englende to procure an amitie was but losse of tyme, because he sawe the Englishemens myndes sore offended with the last siege of Harlew, with whiche facte, he himselfe was not wel content but greatly mowed: Therfore leauyng all treaty and persuation, he entred into a league and amitie with the kyng of England. Whiche confederacy least it shuld be broken, euer of the contractorsstudyd & devised all waies & meanes possible howe to observe it vnviolated and preserue it vnbroken: whiche plain meanyng & true dealyng was to the both after, not only muche-honor but great cōmoditie. When the Emperour had thus conclude a league with the kyng of England and had done al things in England accordyng as was thought necessary, he toke his iorne homeward into Garmany, and the kyng partely to shewe him pleasure, and partely because of his owne affaires, associated him to his toun of Caleys. During whiche tyme the Duke of Burgoyne offerd to come to Caleys to speake with the Emperour and the kyng because he heard speake of the league and confederacy that was concluded betwene them. The kyng sent to the water of Grauelyng the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the earle of Marche to be hostages for the duke of Burgoyne, and sent also the earle of Warwicke with a noble company to conduct him to his presēce At Grauelyng foorde the dukes met, and after salutacions done, the duke of Burgoyne was conteigned to Caleys, where of the Emperour & of the kyng he was highly feasted and welcomed. During whiche tyme a peace was concluded betwene the kyng of England & the duke of Burgoyne for a certain space, concerneing onely the counties of Flauders and Arthoys, for the whiche cause the Frenche kyng and his sone were highly displeased. The duke of Gloucester also was received at Grauelyng by the earle Charoloyes sonne to the duke of Burgoyne, & by him honorably conteigned to S. Omeres & there lodged that night. The next day the earle Charoloyes came with divers noblemen to visite the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entred into the chambre the dukes backe was towarde him, talkyng with some of his seruantes, and did not se nor welcome the earle Charoloyes at the fyrst entrey: but after he sayd to hym shortly without any great reuerence or comming towarde him, you be welcome saye cosyn, and so passed furti his tale with his seruaṭes. The earle Charoloyes for al his youth was not wel content, but suffred for that tyme.

WHEN the duke of Burgoyne had done al things at Caleys that he came for he after the ix. day returned to Grauelyng, where the duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and louyngly departed the one to Caleys and the other to sainte Omeres: for the whiche voyage the duke of Burgoyne was suspected to be enemie to the croune of Frawnce. After the dukes departyng the Emperour was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holand, and so rode into Beame. The kyng likewise toke ship and returned into England on sainte Lukes euen, the yere of our Lord M. CCC. xvij.

§ THE FIFT YERE.

IN this yere the kyng assembled together his high courte of Parliament and there in open audience made to them a shorte and pithy Oracion, declaryng vnto them the Injuries lately done and committed by the Frenche nacion, he shewyng also the just and lauffull occasion of his warres, signifiyng furthermore the great discord and ciuite dissenccion whiche reigned amongst the nobilitie of Frawnce, rehersyng many thynge for the whiche it were very necessary and nedeful to represse & overcame them withal their power & puissance, that without deferyng or prolongyng of tyme, desiring the to provide for money & treasure.
KYNG HENRY THE. V.

Treasure out of hand for the conduct & wages of souldiors, to thentent that nothing should lacke when they should be ready to set on their enemies. His causes wer so inust and his demaufdes so reasonable, that he had no soner spoken but it was assented, and he had no soner demaufd but it was granted. And for to geue men a courage for to go furth, money was fryst gathered to make prouision for al thinges necessary for such a royal voyage: for surely there was no creature whiche with that war was either discotented or displeased, for it semed to al men no lesse profitable then honorable, nor no lesse honorable then conuenient.

IN this Parliament also Ihon duke of Bedford was made governor or regent of the realme and head of the publique welth which office he shuld enjoy as long as the kyng was makyn warre on the French nacion. The kyng before he would take his voyage, sent the earle of Hunyngdon to serche and skoure the seas, least any Frenchmen lyng in waite for him, might attrappe him sodenly or he had any knowledge of their setting forward. This lusty earle called Ihon Holand, sone to the duke of Exceter behedd at Circeter in the tyme of Kyng Henry the fourth and cosyn to the kyng with a great nombre of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoynted with ix. great carickes of Iean (whiche Lord Iaques the bastard of Burhon had reteined to serve the Frenche kyng) & set on the sharply, the conflict was great & the fight long, but in conclusion the Frenchmen wer overcome and fled, and. iiij. of the greatest carickes with their patrones, and Monsure Iaques de Burbon their Admiral wer taken with asmuche money as should haue payed the souldiours of the whole fleete for halfe a yere, and. iiij. other carickes wer bouged and sent to the botome of the sea.

THE kyng hearyng of this good chauce, about the ende of Iuly toke his ship at Portsmout, accopanied with the dukes of Clarenee and Gloucester brethren to the sayd kyng, the earles of Hunyngdon, Mershal, Warwick, Deuonshyre, Salisbury, Sutfolk and Somen-sett: The Lordes Rosse, Wylloughby, Fitzlough, Clynton, Scrope, Matriners, Bouchier, Ferreys of Groby and Ferreys of Chartley, Fanhope, Gray of Codnore, sir Gilbert Vimfreule, sir Gilbert Talbot & divers other and so haung wynde and wether to his desire, he laded in Normady nere a castle called Touque, wher he conselte with his capitanes what way was best to be taken concerning their high enterprise.

THE Normans hearyng of the kynges arriual wer sodenly striken with a deadly feare and wer almost distracted fro their sences for dred, wherfore like mad men in desperacion they ranne out of their houses, tounes and villages with wves and children bag and baggage, into the walled tounes and fortiefied garrisons, cariying with them corne, wyne and vitaile necessary for their sustinance and liyng, preparing swordes, hatchettes, crosbowes and al other weapons mete to set back and resist their enemies, sent worde to Charles the Frenche kyng, requiring hym to defend and preserue his louing subjectes against their cruel and fierse enemies. The men of warre whiche were left in euery place to skoure the countrie, went into walled tounes with the rural compainet, to thentent to aide and assist the tounes men, for well they knewe that they were not able to resist their enemies beyng abroade in the feld. So were al the walled tounes and castles in Normandy and Mayne wel furnisshed with men and vitaile. The names of the Frenche capitanes were to tedious to rehearse, and therefore I Iouerpassen them.

WHEN kyng Henry had taken counsel, he layde siege to the castle of Touque beyng very wel fortiefied both with nature and mans arte and began to assault it: & althought that they within valiantly defended it, yet by figne force he overcame it, & take it, and them within to mercy & made therof capitanes sir Robert Kerkeley knight, and after determine to besiege the strong toune of Caen, remembrance according to the dutie of a good capitaine, that the Frenche men would come to healpe their frenese beyng in nede and extreme necessitie: whiche thyng he most desired & wished. And vpó that purpose he set furth toward Caen after the warlikest fashion, depopulatyng the countrey, & destroyng the villages on euery part as he passed. The toune of Caen standeth in a plaine fertile countrey, no stronger walled then depeditched, well vitayled and replenished with people. For
THE V. YERE OF

For the citizens fearingly the kynges comynge had provided for all things necessary & defensible. And assone as the kyng was come, he cast a depe trenche with a high mount to prohibite them within the toune to have any egress or outwarte passage: and that done, began fiercely to assault the toune. But the men of the toune were nothing abashed and stode manly to their defence, abidynge all chaunes which might ensue. The fight was fierce and every man toke hede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the wyeses possible to damage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones and other shot gounes: some brake the walles with enyges and other vndermined: some set skalynge ladders to the wal, and other cast in wyld fyre, every man laboured to come to handstrokes, which was their desyre. On the other side, the Normans thowre doune great stones, barres of yron, darteys hotte pitch and burnedynge brimstone and boynge lead. Divers daies this assault continued, not to the lytle losse of the Englishmen, whiche toke more harme of the defeddras then they gath hurt of the assailantes. When kyng Henry perceiued that the dice rane not to his purpose, he abstained from the assault, & determined by vnderminyng to subuerit and ouerthrowe the walles and towers of the toune. Wherfore withall diligence the pyoniers cast trenches & the laborers brought tymber, so that within a fewe daies the walles stode only vpó postes to fal when fyre should be put to it. The kyng caused his people to approache the walles and to kepe the citizens occupied, least either they should make a coitremyne or be an impediment to his workemen and laborers. Wherfore he causd that assault to be cried againe: then everye man ranne to the walles, some with skalynge ladders, some with hokes and some with cordeas and plommetes, every man desirynge to get vpó the walles and with hand to hand to graple with his enemy: The citizens man fully defended. While the fight was quicke and fierse on both partes, the Englishmen in divers places perced and brake through the walles, and divers ouertures and holes were made vnnder the foundacion by the pyoniers, by the whiche theyenglishmen might easely enter into the toune. The kyng hauyng copassion on the tounes men, desirynge rather to haue them saued then destroyed if they wold humbly submyt the selues to his grace, & fearynge that if the toune by fine force should be spoyled and taken, that he should be compelled to geue it as a pray to his men of warre to be sected and destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault that yet was tyme of mercy and clemencie if they would incontinently rendre them selues & the toune: But they obstinately hopyng of succour, answered that they would stand at their defence. Then the Englishmen again skaled the walles and enterprised to enter through the trenches. The fight was sore by the space of an houre, the Englishmen coragiously enforced to enter, and the Normans manfully defended, but in conclusion the Englishmen obtained.

WHEN the kyng was possessed of the toune, he incontinently comanded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, which with all diligence was done without any resistance. Then the miserable people knelyng on their knees, holding vp their handes, cried mercy, mercy, to whom the kyng gaue certaine comfortable wordes & bad them stand vp. And then as he was euer accustomed to do, he went on foote to the chief churche in the toune and rendred to God his most heartie thanks for his prosperous succes and fortunate chaunce. And yet that same night he would not slepe, but comanded al his armye to watche in aray, either least his men of warre in the night tyme might fal to spoyle & sacle, or els the citizens fearynge the sequele that might ensue would priuely scale and conneigh them selues away.

IN the morning he called all the magestrates and gouernours into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernes and mad obstinacy were adjued to dye, other were sore fined and highly ransomed. Then he callying together his souliors and men of war, bothe gaue to the high laudes and praises for their manly doynges, and also distributed to euery man according to his desert the spoyle & gaine taken of the toune & the townesmen, chiefly because at that assault he had tried to his honor their valiant corages and vnfearful herties.

IT is to be imagined that kyng Henry in this conflict would principally shewe aswell his owne
owne force as the puissance and experience in warres of his nacion, ether to the intent
that the Frenchmen should know that they mette with suche an enemy as both was able to
inade their countrie and defend their strength & malice, or els not oblivious that in
making of warre every prince muste study to obtain fame and renowne: and as the old
prouerbe saieth, of a thyng well begone, succedeth a prosperous ende and a happy con-
clusion.

ALTHOUGH the toune were wonne, yet the castle whiche was strong and well fortified
bothe with men and all thynges necessary for the defence, was yet in the Frenchmens pos-
session: The capitaine where of, to thentent to shewe hymself valiant and not willyng to
breake his othe, nether to waver from his allegance, bosted that he would rather dye in
the defence then frely yeld the castle. Kyng Henry was not minded to subuer the Castle
(without whiche waie it was not easy to bee wonne) because it was beautifull and necessary,
both to kepe the toune fro goynge backe, and also to defend the same when opportunitie
should serue: Whiche Castle if he destroyed, he of very necessitie must again build and
recifie, or els another in the place. Wherfore he sent wordes to the lorde Mountayny
beyn capitaine, that if he would yelde the castle by a daie, he should depart without damnage,
And if he would be foolish and obstinate, all clemency and favor should be from hym se-
questred. When the capitaine and his compaignions had well digested his message, beyn in
dispair of coftort, vpon the condicion offered, renndered the castle and yelded themselfes.
And so kyng Henry obtened bothe the toune and castle of Caen.

WHILE the Kyng of England was besieging this toune, the Frenchmen had nether a
conuenient boste to resist their power, nor wer ready or able to releue their frendes in
this miserable necessitie, because they had such division and dissencion amongst them-
theselves, and a good cause why: for kyng Charles was of so small wit by reason of his
sicknes, that he could not rule, and so he was spoyled both of his treasure and of
his kyngdome, and euery man spente and wasted the common treasure. Charles the
Dolphin, being of the age of xvi. or xvij. yeres onely lamented and bewailed the ruine
and decaye of his countrie: He onely studied thaduancement of the comon wealth, and
he onely deuisd how to resist his enemies: but hauyng nether menne nor money, he
was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsail of therle of
Armynacke Constable of Fraunce he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches
whiche quene Isabell his mother had gotten and horded in diverse secrete places: and
for the comon vtilite of his countrie he spente it wisely in waging of souldiers and
preparing of thinges necessary for the war. The quene forgettyng the great perel that
the realme then stode in, but remembreng yt displeasure to her by this act dooen, de-
clared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enemies, & promised that they
should be persecuted to the vtermost. And euyn for very womanly malice, she set in
the highest authoritie aboute the kyng her husband, Ihon duke of Burgoyn geuyng hym
the regiment and direccion of the kyng and his realme with all preheminence and suueraitie.
The duke of Burgoyn hauyng now the sworde of authority, for the whiche he so sore longed
and glad to be reuenged of his old injuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin: and when
he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this young unbrideded gentleman, then he deter-
mined as he might to refell and withstande the comie enemies of the realme. The same or like
reason moued the Dolphin, for he myndyng first to represse and extincite the civil dissencion
at home, before he would inade forain enemies, prepared warre to subdue and destroy duke
Ihō of Burgoyn as the chief hed & leader of that wicked and great mischief: Wherby the
realme was muche vnquieted & more decayed, and in maner brought to a final ruyne and
vtter destrucion. So Fraunce was inflamed and in euery part troubled with war and
devision, and yet no man would ether prouide in so great a danger, nor once put furth their
finger to hynder the mischief.

KYNG Henry not myndyng to lye still in Normandy, nor to leave his enterprice vnper-
formed, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coast, whiche with great difficulty gate the
toune
toune of Bayeux. The duke of Gloucester also with small assault and lesse defence toke the citee of Lisieux. In the meane season Kyng Henry taried still at Cane fortifeyng the toune and the castle, and put out of the toune xv. C. women and impotent persons, and replenished the toune with English people. While the kyng sojourned at Cae, he kepethere a solemne feast and made many knightes, and beside that, he shewed there an example of greate pitee & more deuotion. For in searchying the castle he found there innumerable substance of plate and money belonging to the cizenzs, wherof he would not suffice one peny to be touched or conueighed away, but restored the goodes to the owners and deliered to every man his owne. When the fame of gettyng of Cae was blown through Normandy, the Normans wer so sore afraied & so muche abasshed that you should not onely have seen men, women & children rannyng in every wai by great plotes frō toune to toune, not knowynng whether to flye: but also the rurall persones and huseband men dravethesteas out of the villages into suche places where thei hoped of refuge or defence: so that a man would have thought that Normandy had sodainly been left desolate and voyde of people and catell. But when the rumor was spred abroad of his clemencie shewed to captiues and of his mercy graunted to suche as submitted themselfes to his grace, all the capitaines of the tounees adioynynge came willingly to his pressece, offryng to hym them selves, their tounees and their goodes. Wherupon he made proclamation that all men whiche had or would become his subjectes and sweere to hym allegiance should enjoy their goodes and liberties in as large or more ample mayer then they did before. Which gentil entreteinynge and favorable hādlying of the stubburne Normans, was the very cause why they wer not only content, but also glad to remove and turne from the Frenche part and become subjectes to the crowne of Engelande.

WHEN kyng Henry had set Cae in a good ordre, he left there, for capitaines, the one of the toune and the other of the Castle, sir Gilbert Vinfreulie erle of Kyne, and sir Gilbert Talbot: and made bailife ther sir Ihon Pophane, and so departed frō Cae to Argenton which was shortly rēdred to hym. Then all these tounees folowyng without stroke striken yelded to hym, in whom he made capitaines these persons whose names ensue.

At Creuly, sir Henry Tanelux an Almaine.
At Thorigny, sir Ihon Popham to whom the toune was geue.
At Boyeux, the lorde Matrauerse.
At Argenton, the lorde Grey Codner.
At Chamboy, the lorde Fizghugh, and made him lord of the same.
At Vernyrle in Perche, sir Ihon Neuell.
At Aliasō the duke of Gloucester & his leutenāt sir Raufe Lētal.
At Essay, sir William Hoddelston baylif of Alanson.
At Valoignes, sir Henry Fitzhugh.
At Cruly, sir Lys Robet.
At Conde Norean, sir Ihon Fastolfe.

Diverse tounees likewise yelded to the duke of Clarence wherein he putte these Capitaynes.

At y citee of Lisieux, sir Ihō Kikley.
At Cowrton, Ihon Awbyn.
At Barney, William Houghton.
At Chambrloys, James Neuell.
At Becheluyyn, therle Marshall.
At Harecourt, Richard Woduiile esquier.

Likewise diverse tounees in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capacitaines.

At Cauenton, the lorde Botraux.
At Seint Clow, Reignold West.
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.
KYNG HENRY THE. V.

At Pont Done, Dauy Howel. At Hambery the erle of Suffolke, lorde
At the Hay Dupayes, sir Ihon Aston of the same place by gift. At Briqueulle, thesaied Erle by gift also.
Bayly of At Anrances, sir Philip Halle, Bayly of Alanson.
Costaices, the lord of Burgainy. At Vire the lorde Matrauers.
At Scint Saluier le Vicount, sir Ihon At Sainct James de Bewron, the same
Robset. lorde.

WHEN the Kyng of Englane wonne thus in Normandy, his nauy lost nothyng on
the sea, but so skowred the stremes that nether Frencheman nor Briton durst once appere, how-And
beit one day there arose so hideous a tempest and so terrible a storme, that nether cable held
nor anker preualied, so that if the erles of Marche and Huntyngdon had not taken the haué
of Southampò, the whole nauie had perishad and the people had been destroyed, and yet
the sauengard was straung: For in the same hauen two Balyngers and two great Carickes
laden with marchaundise wer drowned, and the broken Maste of another Caricke was
blown over the wall of Hipton (as diuerse writers affirme) such is the power of the wynd,
and suche is the rigoure of the tempest. Whé the fury of the wynd was asswaged and the
sea waxed calme, thesles of Marche and Huntyngdon passed over the sea with all their com-
paignie and landed in Normandy marchyng towarde the kyng, before whom the Normans
fled as fast as the fearfull hare dooth before the gredy Greyhounde, or the sely Partridge
before the Sparowhauke. And so they passed through the countrie destroyynge of
villages and takyng paines till thei came to the kyng going toward Roan. Duryng this marciall
feactes and greate conquestes in Normandy, sir Ihon Oldecastle lord Cobham whiche
was as you haue heard before was conuicted of heresie, and proclamed a rebell, and vp on
the same outlawed and brake out of the toure, was now as his fortune chaunnced apprehended
in the Marches of Wales by the Lorde Powes, and so restored to his olde lodgyng in the toure,
where his kepers lokad more narrowly to hym then thei did before. After whiche takyng,
he was drawen from the toure on a hardell to Sainct Gilesfelde, and there hanged in chaynes
and after consumed with fire. Well now leauyng the matters of Englande let vs returne to
the affaires in Normandy.

¶ THE SIXT YERE.

After kyng Henry had thus victoriously obtained so many tounes and so many fortresses
from the possession of his enemies, and that his great fame and liite personage was the
whole terror and feare of the Frenche nacion, he ymagined with hymself that he had no-
thyng doen nor any thyng gotten excepte he brought the famous citee of Roan beyng the
Empery and diadem of the Duchy of Normandy into his possession & dominion, to the
whiche out of euyry parte the Normans had conuiced their money Jewelles and houshold
stufte: And whiche citie sithe his firste arriuell thei had not onely walled and fortesseed with
many rampiers & strong bulwarke, but also with valiáit capitanes and hardy souldiours to
no small nurnbre. Wherfore he set forward his army toward the toune called Pontlarche
standyng vpon the Riuer of Seyne. viij. mile from Roan betwene Paris and Roan. When
When the Frenchemen whiche keppe the passage heard of the kynges approchynge, thei gathered
together a great nombre of men of warre redy to defend and prohibite the passage, apoint-
yng another a band of men if thei failed to kepe the farther side of the bridge and to watche
and hourely attend that he nether by boote nor by vessel should eskape any maner of waye.
When he came to the toune, first he sette forward towarda the bridge, whiche when he sawe it
so well defended that it would not without greate losse be obtaine, sodainly he blew the re-
traite and reculed almooste a myle backward, where in a pleasant place by the riuers side he
pitched his Campe: and in the night season, what with botes and barges, what with hoggess-
hedes and pipes he conuicthed ouer the brode riuer of Seyne a greate compaignie of his
armie without any resistaunce of his enemies. For thei whiche wer on the latherside of
Seyne,
Seyne, thynkyng that thenglishmen had gone to conquere some other place followed the not but studied how to defend their toune (which was enough for them to do). When the king saw that his men wer on the otherside of the water, he the next day early returned to the toune and assaulted it on bothe the sides. When thinhabitantes perceived that contrary to their expectacio they were compassed & beset by their enemies and sawe no hope of refuge or succor, with humble hert and no great joy rendered vp the toune. And so the kyng haung no let or impediment determined to besiege and assault the citee and castle of Roan for the which he had taken diverse long and tedious iornayes, and sent before hym his vnle the lorde Thomas duke of Excester with a great compaignie of horssemens and Archers, whiche with banner displayed came before the toune and sent to the capitaines Wyndsoore a heroale at armes, willing them to deliuer the toune to the kyng his Master, or els he would persecute them with fire, bloud and sworde. To whoso they proudly answered, that none thei receiued of hym, nor none thei would deliuer, except by dyne force thei wer therunto compelled. And to declare theselves valiant capitaines & hardy men of war, there issued out of the toune a great band of men of armes & encoynted fiercely with the Englishmen, whiche like men nether afraide nor astonied manfully them receiued & with fyne force drove them into the toune again, leuyng with the Englishmen xxx. of their compaignie prisoners and ded persons. The duke with this good spede and proude answyer of the Frenche capitaines, returned to the kyng to whom was rendred allite before the toune of Louiers, whiche he gave to his said brother the duke of Clarence, whiche made there his deputie sir Ion Godard knight. The duke of Excester also had newly taken the citee of Eureux and made capitan ther sir Gilbert Halsall knight. When the duke of Excester was returned to Pontarche, and the last de of July came before the citee of Roan and compassed it rounde aboute with a strong siege and a fearfull assaute. The king laie with a greate puissance at the hous of Charitee on the East side of the citee, & the duke of Clarence lodged before the port of Caux on the West part of the citee. The duke of Excester toke his place on the Northside at the porte Denise: betwene the dukes of Excester and Clarence was appoynted the erle Marshall even before the gate of the castle, to whom wer ioincd thesere of Ormond and the Lordes of Haryngton and Talbot. And from the duke of Excester toward the kyng were encamped the lordes of Rosse, Willoughby, Fitzhugh and sir William Porter with a great band of Northenmen even before the port saint Hillarij. Theres of Mortain and Salsbery were assigned aboute the abbey of saint Katharines. Sir Ion Grey was lodged directly against the Chapell called Mount. S. Mighell, sir Philip Leche treasurer of the warres kept the hil next the Abbey, & the Baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuier of Sayne, and to hym was ioincd a valiant esquire called Jenico, whiche twoo capitaines valiantly kept the riuage of the water of Sayne. On the farsides of the riuier wer lodged therles of Warren and Hutingdon, the lordes Neuell and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile with a well furnished company of warlik soldiers directly before the gate called port du Pont. And to the intent that no aide should passe by the riuier toward the citee, a greate chaine of yron was devised at Potsarche and sette on piles from the one side of the water to the other, and beside that chayne he set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient bothe for cariage and passage. At which therle of Warwicke whiche had gotten Damprpôt was sent to the toune of Cawdebeck standing on the riverside between the sea and the citee of Roan, whiche toune he so hardly assaulted, that the capitaines offred to suffre the Englishes nauy to passe by their toune without hurt or detriment to the citee of Roan: And also if Roan yelded, they promised to rendre their toune without any sayle or farther delaie. And this composicion they sealed, and for performance of the same thei deliuered pledges. This appoyntment the Englishes nauy to the number of. C. sailes passed by Cawdebeck and came before
fore Roan and besieged it on the water side. To this siege came the duke of Gloucester with th'ere of Suffolk and the lord of Burgainy which had taken the toune of Chieburgh and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarrij nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persons of the armie.

DVRYNG this siege arrived at Harflew the lord of Kylmaine in Ireland with a band of xvi. hundred thousand men armed in mayle with darts and skewes after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quicke and deliuer persons; which came and presented them selues before the kyng lyyling styl at the sieye: of whom they were not onely gentely entertained, but also (because that the kyng was informed that the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyne would shortly come, and either rayse the siege or vitaile or mæ the toune at the North gate) theye wer appointed to kepe the Northsyde of the army, and in especial the way that cometh from the forest of Lyons. Whiche charge the lord of Kylmaine & his company joyfully accepted & did so their denoyre, that no men wer more praised nor did more damage to their enemies then they did for surely their quicknes and swiftnes did more prejudice to their enemies, then their great barded horses did hurt or damage the nimble Irishmen.

THVS was the fayre cytie of Roan compassed about with enemies besieged by princes, and beset about both by water and lande, hauyng neither comfort nor aide of kyng nor dolpyn. And although the army were strong without, yet within there lacked neither hardy capitaines nor manful souldiers. And as for people, they had more then ynowe, for as it was written by him that knew the nombre and had no occasio to erre from the trueth, there were at the time of the siege within the citie, of christen people CC. and ten thousand persons. Dayly wer issues made out of the cytie at diuers portes, sometyne theenglishmen gat, at another time the Frenchmen saued, sometyne neither of both either got or saued: for surely the capitaines and men of warre within the toune setting more by honor then by life, preferring faime before worldly riches, dispisyng pleasure & vilependyng fearfull heartes, sware eche to other never to render or deliuer the toune while they might either hold sworde in hand or put spere in rest. The kyng of England beyng advertised of their haute courages and high stomackes, determined to conquer them by famynge whiche would not be tamed by weapon. Wherfore he stopped all the passages both by water and land that no vitaile could be coueghied to the cytie, he cast trenches rounde about the walles and set them ful of stakes and defended the with archers, so that they within could have no way out ether to maude their enemies (or iif they could) to depart and relinquish their fortresse and cytie. One day tidynges wer tayned that the Frenche kyng approched with al his power to raise the sieye & reskew the cytie: Wherfore kyng Henry comanded al men to lye in their barneys lest they might by some subtile cautel be surprised vnware and taken vnprovi ded. But the Fréche kyng neither came nor sent, to the great wonder of thenglishmen. This siege thus continuynng from Lammas almost to Christmas, diuers enterprises were attempted and diuers poices were devised how every part might damage and hurt his adversary and enemy, but no part mueche reioyse of their gaine. Duryng whiche tyme, vitayle began sore to faile within the toune, so that only vineger & water served for drinke. If I should rehearse according to the writing of diuers authors, not onely howe deare dogges, rattes, myse and cattles wer solde within the toune: but how greedely they were by the poore people eaten and devoured, and also howe the people died dayly for faute of fooe, and how yong infants lay suckyng in the stretes on their mothers brestes lyng dead, staruen for hunger, you would more abhorre the losethome doynge when reioyse at their miserable mischicc. The riche men within the toune put out at the gates the pore and indigent creatures whiche were by thenglishmen that kept the trenches beaten & driven backe againe to, the gates of the toune, whiche against them were closed and barred. So this miserable people uncomforably forsaken & unnaturally despised of their owne nacion and household felowes, betwene the walles of their cytie and the trèches of their enemies lay styl criyng for helpe and relief, for lacke wherof innumerable scoly solles dayly died and hourly starued. Yet kyng Henry mowed with pitie & stirred with compassion in the honor of
of Christes natuutie on Christmas day refreshed all the poore people with vitayle to their great comfort & relief: for the whiche act they not only thanked, lauded and praised the kyng of England, but also praised to God for his prescrucacion and furtharnece, and for the hynderance and eul successe of their vnkynd citezens & vncharitable country men. This miserable famynge dayly more and more encreaseyng so daunted the heartes of the bold capitaynes, & so abated the courages of the riche burgesses, and so turmed the bodies of the poore citezens, that the stout sooldiour for fuinates could skase wele his weapon, nor the riche marchaunt for money could not bye a sheuer of bread: so that the connalite cried to the capitaines, and the nedy people besought the lordes to haue compassion on them, and to inuent some way for ther succor and comfort. The goernours of the tonne, after long consultacions had, consideryng the great necessitie that they were in, and seyng none apparence of succour or relief, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treat with the kyng of England. And so vpö Newyeres euene ther came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers comissioners appoincted by the capitaines, whiche made a signe to the englishe men living without to speake with some gentleman or other person of authority. The earle of Hantyngdon whiche kept that part sent to them sir Gilbert Vnfreule, to whô they declared that if they might haue a guide or a safeconduite they would gladly speake with the kyng. Syr Gilbert promised not onely to do ther message, but also to cernifie the of the kinges pleasure & purpose. Whiche communicacion ended, he repaired to the duke of Clarence and other of the kynges counsell, aduersying the of the request of the citezens, whiche incontinent assembled theeselues in the kynges lodging, where sir Gilbert Vnfreule wysely and soberly declared to the kyng the myndes and intents of the citezens. The kyng like a graue prince consideryng that a thynge gotten without effusion of Christen bloud is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute corages of the braggyng Frenchmen wer now by his hard besegying sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to heare their lowly peticcon and humberle request, and so willed sir Gilbert to aduersie them that he was content to heare. xii. of them whiche should be safely conueighed to his presence: With this answere sir Gilbert departed and made relacion thereof to the capitaynes standing at the gate. Whiche on the next day in the morning appointed. iii. knightes. iii. lerned men and. iii. sage burgesses al clothed in blakke to go to the kyng of England. These. xii. persons were receiued at the port sainct Hillariij by sir Gilbert Vnfreule accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yomen of the kynges houshold, comonly called yomen of the croome, and conueighed to the kynges lodging, whô they found at Masse. When the deuine service was finished king Henry gorgeously apparellled and sumptuously adourned came out of his trauers, fierely and princely beholding the Frenche messengers and passed by them into his chambre. After him incontinently the. xii. ambassadours wer conueighed, amongst whô one learned in the ciuile law, more arrogant then learned & yet not so arrogant as vndiscrete sayd these wordes. Right high and mightie prince, right noble and puissant kyng, if you wyl with your selfe diligently cosider wherein consisteth the glory of victorye and the triumph of a conquerour, you shall plainly perceiue, that the type of honor is in the tamynge of proud men, overcomyng of valiant sooldiers and subduynge of strong cuytes and populus regions, and not in slaying christen people by hunger thirst and famynge, in whiche consisteth neither manhod, wit nor policy. Alas, regard you your honor, and ye yonder great multitude of miserable people cryyng for meat and vepynge for drinke and dlying for lacke of succour and relief. What glory shall you obtayne in killyng of wretches by famynge, whiche death of all deaths is most to be despised and abhorred. If you wyl shew your selfe charitable before God, or merciful before men, let al our poore people whiche wyl depart out of our cytie passe through your campes to get ther liuyng in other places, and then manfully assaut our cytie, & by force (if you dare) subdue and conquer it. And if your enterprise suceede fortunately (as a thing that is very doubtful) in this doyng you shall not onely obtaine worldly glory and terrestrial victory for overcomyng the strong and puissant men of armes and the riche cytie, but also merite much before God for
for delivering and haung compassion of the poore nedy and indigent persons. When this Orator had sayd, the kyng, whiche no request lesse suspected then that whiche was thus desired, began a while to muse: And when he had wel perceiued the crafty cauetal and fraudulent intencion of the Frenche messengers, he with a fierse countenance and a bold spirit made to them this answer sayng : Thynke you O fittastical Frenchmen that I am so ignorant and so brutal that I cannot perceiue your double dealeyng and crafty conceuigelnance : Judge you me so simple that I know not wherin the glory of a coqueror cõsisteth. Esteme you me so ignoraunt that I perceiue not what craftes and warlike pollices by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subjection : yes, yes, I am not so loiteryng a truand as to forgette so good a lesson. And if these thinges be to you bylynd and obscure I wyl declare and open them to you. The goddesse of warre called Bellona (whiche is the correctrce of princes for right witholdyng or injurie doyng, and the plague of God for euil liuyng and vntrue demanor amongst subjectes) hath these. iii. handmaides euer of necessitie attendyng on her, bloud, fyre, and famine, whiche thre damosels be of that force & strength that every one of them alone is able and sufficient to torment and afflict a proud prince: and they all ioyned together are of puissance to destroy the most populous countrey and most richest region of the world. If I by assaultyng of your toune should seke your bloud (although I gained as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine were not cleare without some losse of my people. If I set your cytice on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious jewel for the whiche I haue so sore longed and so long laboured. Therfore to saue myne owne people (which is one poinet of glory in a capitaine) and to preserue the toune whiche is my lauful and just inheritance: And to saue as many of you as wil not willyngly be destroyed, I haue appointed the mekest made of the thre damosels to afflict and plate you tyll you be bridled and brought to reason, which shalbe when it shall please me and not at your appointment: And therfore I say and affirme that the gayne of a capitaine by any of these thre handmaides is bothe glorious, honorable and triumphant, but of all thre the yongest made is in all thinges most profitable and comodious. Now to answer to your demandes, as touching the poore people lyung in the ditches, I assure you I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your christen brethre ye and your owne nation of one language and one countrey, then I rejoyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures and castyng away of so many enemies. You like tirantes put the out of the toune to thentent that I shoul slay them, and yet I haue saued their lives. You would neither geue them meaet nor drinke, and yet I beyng their mortal enemy have succoured and releued them: so that if any vncharitie be, it is in you, if any shame or reproche be taken, receiue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good let God rewarde me, for I loke of them no thankes, if you have done them euil so shal you be done to. And as to sufere your poore people to passe out of the cytice through my campe, no, no, I wyl not so accomplishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them styl to help to spend your vitailles: And as to assault your toune, I wil you know it that I am therto both able and willyng as I se tyme & occasion: but seyng the choice is in my hand to tame you either with bloud, fyre, or famyne, or with all, I wyl take the choice at my pleasure & not at yours. And with that the kyng with a frownyng countenaunce departed fro them to his chambre and comanded them to dine with his officers.

WHEN he was departed, the Frenchmen began to marueil at his excellent wit, and to muse at the hautnes of his courage, and after they had dined and consulted together, they required once againe to haue access to his royal presence, which when it was to them granted, they humblenyng them selues on their knees besought him to take a truce for viii. daies, in the which they might by their commissioners take some ende and good conclusion with him and his counsail. The kyng like a piteous prince rather couetyng the preseruacion of the people, then their distruction, after good deliberacion taken, granted to them their askyng, with the whiche answeres they joyously returned.

AFTER their departure were appointed and set vp. iii. riche tente, the one for the lorde
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of England to consult together, the second for the commissioners of the cytie, and \( \frac{2}{3} \) third for both partes to argue and debate the matter. The cómissioners for the Ænglische part wer the erles of Warwike & Salsbury, the lord Fitzhugh, sir water Hungerford, sir Gilbert Vnfreile, sir Ihon Robsert & Ihon de Vasques de Almada. And for the French part wer appointed sir Guy de Buteler & vi. other.

DVRYNG this truce, every day the cómissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the Frenchmen excused, the Englishmen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen proffered lytle. Thus with arguyng & reasonyng the viii. day came and nothying was done, nor one article concluded. Wherfore the Englishmen toke doune the tentes & the Frenchmen toke their leaue, but at their departyng, they remembryng them seleues required the Ænglische lorde for the lone of God that the truce might continue tyl the sunne rysing the next day, to the whiche the lorde sone assented. When the Frenchmen wer returned to Roan, sodenly in al the toune sprong a rumour that the truce was expired and nothying determined. Then the poore people ranne about the stretes like frantike persons, shoutynge and crying and callyng the capitaines and governors murtherers and manquellers, saying that for their pride & styff stomacke al this misery was happened in the toune, threatenyng to slay them if they would not agree to the kyng of Ænglides demaund and request. The Magistrates beyng amased with the fury of the people, called al the toune together to knowe their myndes and opinions. The whole voice of the comons was to yeld, yeld, rather than starue. Then the Frenchmen in the cuenyng came to the tent of sir Ihon Robsert, requyring him of gétlenes to moue the kyng that the truce might be prolonged for iii. daies. The kyng thereunto agreed and appointed archbishop of Canterbury and the other. vii. before named for his part, and the citezens appointed an egal nomber for them. So the tentes were againe set vp, dayly was assemblies and mucho treaty on both parties, and on the fourth day by the helpe of God, the treaty was concluded and finished to the great rejoysynge of the poore citezens, the copy wherof foloweth worde by worde.

\[ \text{The appointemente of the yeldying vp of the cytie and castle of Roan.} \]

1 \text{FIRST it is accorded that Guy de Buteller capitaine of the Cytie and castle of Roan with the consent of the noble citezens & other dwellyng and beyng in the sayd cytie and castell shall yelde and deliver into the handes of the ful excellent kyng of England or other what so he be by him deputed, the cytie & castle aboue sayd without fraude or male engine, what tyme after the middes of the xix. day of this present moneth of January our sayd lord the kyng wyll the cytie and the castel to be deliered vnder maner and forme within written.} 

2 \text{ALSO it is accorded that the day & houre the sayd nobles and citezens & other what so they be dwellyng & beyng in the sayd cytie & castel shall submit them in al thinges to the grace of our sayd lorde the kyng.} 

3 \text{ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto real & effectuel yeldying of the sayd cytie & castle, none of the sayd nobles or other beyng in the sayd cytie or castle shall not go out of the foresayd cytie and castle without special grace of our sayd lord the kyng.} 

4 \text{ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto the delierance of the cytie, euery of the parties shall abstaine from all deedes of warre to make againe that other partie of them.} 

5 \text{ALSO it is accorded that the foresayd nobles, citezens and other beyng in the sayd cytie & castle shall pay to our foresayd lorde the kyng CCC. thousand scutes of golde, wherof alwayes two shalbe worth an Ænglische noble, or in the steed of euery scute. xxx. great blankes whyte or. xv. grotes. Of whiche. CCC. thousand scutes, the one halfe shalbe payde to our sayd lorde the kyng or to his deputys within the cytie of Roan before sayd the. xxii. day of this present moneth of January, and that other halfe shalbe paide to our sayd lorde the kyng or to his deputys in the feast of saint Mathew the Apostle next comyng that shalbe the. xxviii. day of February next, without any vter delay.} 

6 \text{ALSO it is accorded that all and euery horse, harneys, armures, artilleries for shot and all other habilimentes of warre longyng to souldiers or other straungers beyng in the sayd cytie and}
and castle, shall be put together by them in two houses by our sayd lord the kyng to be assigned, & they shall be delivered by the capitaine of the sayd citee to our forsaiid lord the kyng after the middes of the. xix. day of January therupon to be required.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euerly armour, artillerie and all habilimentes of warre of the sayd castle shall be put together in one house within the same castle, and they shall be deliuered to our sayd lord the kyng or to his deputies in that partie, the day that the same castle shall be fallen to be delivered to our sayd lord the kyng.

ALSO it is accorded that all and every armours, artillerie & other habilimentes of warre of the same citee or of al maner of citezens and of al other dwelling therein, by them shall be brought and put together in one house or no houses there by them to be deliuered to our Lord the kyng, & by the capitaine of the same citee shall be deliuered to our forsaiid Lorde the kyng or to his deputies in what tyme the said capitain by the partie of our moste ouerthwart lorde the kyng, after the middae of this present moneth of Januarij therupon be required, out take the armours that belong to Marchauntes which were wont for to sell theim, ceassyng fraude and maleengine. And if it befall any marchauntes any suche armours that be not theirs, vnder colour of theirs to colouren or hidde in any maner, tho armours so hid and coloured and al other what that thei been that diden, to our Lorde the kyng shall be forfeited, and the body of thesame marchaunt to been punished at the kynges will.

ALSO it is accorded that in no maner shalbe made, brennyng, hyndering, haryng or 9 appaireyng, wastyng or destroyyng of horse, of armures, of artillerie of or of any other habilimentes of warre within the forsaied citee and Castle byeng, but that all and every without fraude or maleengine shall keep whole and vnhurt to our Lorde the kyng as it is beforeaiied to be deliuered.

ALSO it is accorded that al & every chayne that wer wont to be layed ouerthwart the 10 stretes and lanes of the same citee, shall bee put into an hous to be turned to the profite of the citezens of the same citee.

ALSO it is accorded that our forsaiid lord the king shal have place and space of lande, 11 of the frewel of his highnesse to bee chosen to hym a paleis to be made within thesaied citee or within the walles of the same citee where it shal some moste behouefull. So neuerthelesse that if it fall within thesaied place or space to be included any hous or edifice or place of ground longyng to any of thesaied citezens or dwellers of thesame citee, or sayd lorde the kyng to hym whom that suche maner of houses, edifices or places of ground longeth or apperteineth shal satisfe, & of other houses & edifices or places congruely shal recouepe.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euerly subiectes of our said lord the kyng that now be or 12 wer prisoners to any persone byeng in the said cite or castle and their pledges, shal bee utterly free as aencyz their persones and the somes that thei are bounde in at the daie of this presente date and accordre.

ALSO it is accorded that all and every souldier and straiger byeng in thesaid citee and 13 castle shall swere on the Euangelys of God before their departyng, that thei shall not beare armes against our lorde the kyng or his, vnto the first daie of January next to come, for no maner of commaundemët that to them or to any of them of any maner of persone in contrary manie be doen and enioyed.

ALSO it is accorded that all and every reliques & other goodes longyng to the Abby of 14 saint Katheryn within thesaied citee and castle byeng all holy, shal been deliuered to hym whom the kyng shall depute them to receiue the deliuerance of the saied citee.

ALSO it is accorded that the forsaied nobles, citezens & other within the saied citee and 15 Castle beying, shall cause thesame citee and Castle before thesaied. xix. daie of this present moneth of January sufficientely and honestly to be made cleane, and also diligently and honestly all the ded bodies now ded and to be ded vnto that daie of deliuerance of the saied citee honestly and diligently shall do to be buried.

ALSO it is accorded that the forsaied nobles citizens & all beying in thesaid citee and castle 16 furthwith shall receiue and suffre to entre into thesame citee all and euer poore persone be-
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...so they shalbee bounde to succor unto the xix. daie of Januarij aboue saied, as they will aanswtere to God and to the kyng, and els thei shall receive none other person into thesame citee or castle vnto the forsaied day without speciall licence of our saied Lorde the kyng, but if it happe any messenger or herauld of the party adversary of the kyng to come to the gates or ditches of thesae castle or citee.

17. ALSO that all these appoyntmentes, couenauntes and accordes and euerie of them as it is befsaied well and truly and vnbroken bee kepte, and for the more suretie of thesame couenauntes and accordes, thefsaied captain nobles and ciezze and other abouesaid shalbe taken at the tyme ymediatly into the bandes of our lorde the kyng. lxxx. notable pledges wherof. xx. shalbe knyghtes and esquiures and the remnant ciezze of thesae citee, at their owne costes to be sustained.

18. ALSO for the partie sothly of our moste doubtfull lorde the Kyng afsaied, graciously and beningly cūsidryng the meke submittynge and yeldynge of the same citee and Castle abouesaid, hath graunted that all and euerie person of what estate or degree or condition that he be with in thesae citee and Castle being, except certain persons within expressed that will become lieges and subiectes of our lord the kyng, and fro hencefurth will dwell vnder his obedience, shall haue their heritages and goodes, moueables and vnmoeables within the dutchy of Normandy constitute, and whiche before the date of these present letters by our forsaied lord the kyng to other persons haue not been graunted, except aruers & artillaries abouesaid, making and doing for their heritages and their vnmoeable goodes to our forsaied lorde the kyng the service therof accustomed, or to other to whom suche maner services of the graunt of our lorde the kyng owen to long.

20. ALSO it is graunted on our lorde the kynges behalfe that all the ciezze and dwellers of the ciete of Roan that now be or in tyme to come shall been, shall haue all and euerie franchises, libertyes and pruileges which of worthy mynd the progenitors of our lorde the kyng kynges of Englande & dukes of Normandy, to the and to the said ciete were graunted in possession wherof they weren the first day that our forsaied lorde the kyng came before thefsaied ciete. And also of our large grace of his beneignitie hath graunted, that the self ciezze and dwellers of the ciete shall haue al their liberties franchises and pruileges wherof they wer in possession thefsaied first daie of the comyng of our lorde the kyng before the ciete, of the graunt of any of his progenitors kynges of Fraunce which were before the tyme of Philip de Valoys aduersary to our said lorde the kyng & daily warryng vpō his realme.

21. ALSO it is graunted and accorded on our lorde the kynges behalfe that all the straungiers soulidours and other in thefsaied ciete and castle beyng at this tyme, not willyng to become lieges of our lord the kyng, thefsaied ciete and castle so yeldynge as it is befsaied, freely to departen, leaung to our saied lord the kyng all their armures, borsse artillaries and other thynges and harneis and goodes, except the Normans will not be lieges of our lorde the kyng, whiche all & euerie shall abide prisoners to our lorde the kyng, and except Luca Italico, which also shalbe prisoner of our lorde the kyng, and also other whose names be not set in this boke, for it longeth not to clerkes to intermete of the.
ALSO it is graunted on our lord the kynges behalfe that the warre and also shrewed speches 22, that duryng this siege the folke aboue mentioned of what condition that they been against his royall person have done, or with defamed lippes have spoken against our moste derest lorde the kyng, csidrryng the daie of pitie mekely shalbe forgeuen, out take the prisoners that abouen in speciall be excetted.

ALSO it is accorded on our lorde the kynges bhalfe teat theforsaied soulsowers and straungers by the forme of this present treatie and accords willyng for to departen, our Lorde the kyng shall ordain and make a saueconduite in forme accustomed.

And theforsaied citee was yelden to our soucreigne lorde the kyng vpon s. Wolstones daie beyng the. xix. daie of Iauarij. and then afterward he got many strong tounes and Castles, as Depe, Caudebec, Torney & many mo as it shalbe after written.

WHEN the daie of apomnet came, which was the daie of. S Wolston, sir Guy de Butteler and the Burgesses of the toun in good ordre came to the kynges lodgyng, and there deliered to hym the keyes of the citee and castle, besechyng hym of favor and cõpassion. The kyng incontinent appoynted the duke of Exeester with a greate compaignie to take possession of the toun, whiche like a valiant capitain mounted on a goodly curser and entred into the toun and so into the castle, and appoynted watche and ward in euery toure, bulwarke and fortresse, and garnished the walles with banners, standers and penôs of the kynges armes, badges and deuises. The nexte daie beyng Frydaie the kyng in greate triumphé like a conqueror, accõpaigned with iii. Dukes, x. Êres. viii. Bishoppes, xvi. Barones and a greate multitude of knightes, esquires and men of warre entred into Roan where he was receiued by the Clergie with. xlii. Crosses which sang diuerse sweete soges, outwardly reioysyng whatsoever inwardly they thought. Then met hym the Senate and the burgesses of the toun, offeryng to hym diuerse faire & costly presente. In this maner he passed through the citee to our Lady Churche, where with al solempnitez he was receiued by the bishop and Cannons, and after he had said his Orisons, he caused his chapelaynes to syng this Antheme Quis est magnus dominus. Who is so greate a Lorde as is our God. &c. And that done he came to the Castle where he continued a good space after, receiuyng homages and fealties of the burgesses and tounes men, setting ordres emôgest them and reedeigned diuerse fortresses and tounes. Duryng which time he made proclamacion that all men which would become his subiectes should enjoye their goodes, landes and offices, whiche proclamacion caused many tounes to yeld, and many men become English. At whiche ceson the duke of Britain synging that the power of Fraunce began to decaye, came to the kyng to Roan and concluded with hym a league of his owne mere mocion: Fearyng that ether he should afterward be compellled therunto, or els if he offred to late it would not be accepted.

WHEN the renderyng of Roan was blowen through Normandy and the kynges proclamacion divulged through the countrie, it is in maner incredible to heare how many tounes yelded not once desired, and how many fortresses gaue vp without contradicicion, wherof I wil shewe you a small nombre and the names of them who were appoynted capitaines of thesame.

AT Caudebec, sir Loys Rобрert.
At Depe, William lorde Burcher erle of Ewe.
At Ewe, thesame erle.
At Aubemeerle, therle of Warwick and his deputie there sir Williâ Mountford.
At Bell Encomber, Sir Thomas Rampston lorde by gift.
At Lôgeuile, the capitain of Beffe erle therof by gift.
At the Roche Guyon, sir Guy Butteler late capitain of Roan, and by the kyng lorde of the same.

At Danuile, sir Christopher Bourden.
At Couches, sir Robert Marbury.
At Chierburgh, sir Ihô Geddyng.
At Bacquiule, the lord Rosse, lord therof by gift.
At Gâylard, the same lorde.
At Dangew, Richard Wooduile.
At Arques, sir Iames Fines bayly of Caux.
THE VII. YERE OF

At Newcastle, sir Philip Leche.
At Monceaux, the same sir Philip.
At Gourney, sir Gilbert Vmfreile.
At Estrigaygn, Richard Abraham esquire.
At Senclere Surgette, Willyam Basset.
At Nanfile, therle of Worcester.
At Gysors, the said erle.
At Maunt, therle of Marche.
At Boncoufliers, Ihon Aburgh Baylife of Gysors.
At Vernon, sir William Porter.
At Melans, sir Thomas Rampsö after hym.
At Homflewe, therle of Salsbury and after the duke of Clarence by gifft.
At Brentell, sir Henry Mortimer baylife of Homflewe.

If I should here rehearse what townes were conquered, what fortresses were yielded, and who were made capitaines of thesame, this Pamphlet would turne to a volume more tedious than pleasant, and therfore I ouer passing small names and muche doing, will returne again to the principall thynges touchyng the sequele of this historye. And who so desirith to know all the circumstances of the delivery, lette hym onerlyke the Frenche writers, whiche to aduoyde shame confesse and write the veritee.

¶ THE SEVENTH YERE.

WHEN the gettyng of Roan and the delivery of the other townes were blased and blown, through the whole realm of Fraunce, wonder it is to tell and more to beleue howe the hertes of the Frenchmen we, sodainly heuy and their courage some coled, mourning and lamenting the iminent mischief whiche they saw by the division of the nobilitie like shortly to fall on their heddes: and the more sorowyng their evil chance because they saw no remedy prepared, nor yet none help at hand thought on. But whosoever kicked or wynched at this matter, Ihon duke of Burgoyne raged and swelled, ye and somuche treeted that he wist not what to saie and lesse to dooe: And no mernaill, for he was vexed and troubled with a doble disease at one only tyme. For he only ruled both kyng Charles and his, and did all thynges at his will whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neither free from disdain nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therfore he imagined that all mischiftes and calamities whiche chauned in the common wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vnpolitike doyng or to his negligent permission: wherfore he imagined it profitabile to the realme and to hymself mooste auaylable, if he by any means possible could devote, practise or invent any waie or meane by the which he might reconcile and joyne in amitie the two great and mightie kynges of Englande and of Fraunce. Whiche thynge once obtained and byeng deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitie, he determined first to renegue his quarell against Charles the Dolpyne, and after to repreasse all causes of grudge or disdain, and to recover again both the fator of the commonalty, and also to put awaye all causes of suspicion or imagined infamy against hym and his procedynges. And intedyng to buyld upon this fraile foundacion, sent letters and Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, adverstying hym that if he would personally come to a communicacion to bee had betwene hym and Charles the Frenche kyng, he doubted not but by his owne meane, peace should be induced and bloudy battaill clereely exiled.

KYNG Henry heard gentely the Ambassadors and agreed to their request and desire, and so came to Maunte, where at the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberall hons to all commers, and sat hymself in greate estate. On which daie either for good service before by them done, or for good expectation of thynges to come, he created Gascon de Foys a valiant Gascoyn erle of Longeule, and sir Ihon Grey was likewise made erle of Tankeruile, and the Lorde Burchier Erle of Ewe. After this solemne feast ended, the place of the enteruiewe and metyng was apoynted to be beside Melans on the riuer of Seye, in a faire playne every parte was by commisioners appoynted to their grounde. The Frenchmen dyched, trenched, and paled their lodgynges for feare of afterclappes: But the Englishmen had their parte only barred and ported. The kyng of Englande had a large tent of blewe veluet
velvet and green richly embroidered with two devises, the one was an Antlop drawyng in an horse mill, the other was an Antlop sittynge in an high stage with a branche of Olife in his mouth: And the tente was replenished and decked with this poyse. After busie laboure commeth victorious reste, and on the top and heighth of the same was set a greate Egle of golde, whose yees were of suche orient Diamondes that they glistered and shone over the whole feld.

THE Frenche kyng likewise bad in his parke a faire pavilion of blew velvet richely embroidered with flower deluse, on the toppe of the same was set a white Harte flyng, made all of syne siluer with winges enameled. Betwene these two Campes or enclosers was appoynted a tent of purple velvet for the cousins to mete in and euyry part had an egall nombre to watch on the night and to se good ordre on the day.

WHEN the day of appointment approched, the kyng of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, and the duke of Exeester his vncle, and Henry Beauford Clerke his other vncle which after was bishop of Winchester and Cardinall and the earles of Marche, Salisbury and other to the numbere of a thousand men of warre, entered into his parke and toke his lodging. Likewise for the Frenche part, thether came Isabell the Frenche quene because the kyng her husband was fallen into his old frenaticall disease haungyn in her compaigny the duke of Burgoyne and thelre of Sainct Paule, and she had attendyng on her the faire lady Katheryn her daughter and xxvi. ladies and damoselles, and had also for her furniture a thousand men of warre.

AFTER these estates had reposed themselfes one night in their tentes, the next day all such as were appointed repaired toward the pavilion ordained for the consultacion. Where the kyng of England, like a prince of great stomacke and no lesse good behauior received humbly the Frenche quene and her daughter and them honorably embrased & familierly kissed. The duke of Burgoyne made lowe curtesy and bowed to the kyng, whom the kyng lounyng toke by the hand and honorably entertained. After salutacions and embrasynges finished, they fel to counsel within the pavilion assigned, whiche was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties that none but comissioners shuld once attempt to enter. After the kynge requestes made & his demaundes declared, the French quene and her company toke leave lounyng of the kyng of England and returned to Ponthoyse to certifie her husband of her demaundes and claymes. And kyng Henry returned to Mante. The next day after they assembled againe, & the Frenche part brought with them the lady Katherin, only to thentent that the king of England scyng and beholding so faire a lady and so minion a damosel, should so be inflamed and rapte in loue, that he to obtayne so beautiful an espouse, should the smoor agre to a gentle peace & lounyng composicion. This company met together. viij. severall tyme, sometime the one party was more and sometime the other. And notwithstanding that the Englishmen and Frenchmen were lodged no great distance asunder, yet was there never fraye nor occasion of tumulte or riot prouoked or stirred of any of both the parties, whiche (bothe their natures considered) is somewhat to be marued at.

IN this assemble many wordes were spent and no dedes done, many thinges required and few offered, many argumentes made and no conclusion taken. Some authors write that the dolyphyn to let this treatie sent to the duke of Burgoyne sir Touegny du Chastel, declaryng to him that if he would let this agrement, he would comun with him and take suche an ordre, that not only they but the whole realm of Fraunce should therof be glad and reioyce: But what was the very cause of the breche, no man certeiny declareth. When no effect ensued of this long consultacion, both parties after a princely fashion departed, the Englishmen to Mantes and the Frenchmen to Ponthoyse.

THE kyng of England was nothing pleased nor yet contented that this comunacion came to none ende, wherfore he mistrustyng the duke of Burgoyne to the very let and stop of his desires and requestes, sayd vnto him before his departyng: faire cosin,
we wil have your kynges daughter and al thinges that we demaund with her or we
wil drive your kyng & you out of his realme. Well sayd the duke of Burgoyyn,
before you drive the kyng and me out of his realme, you shalbe wel weried, and therof
we doubt lytle.

AFTER this departure, the duke of Burgoyyn beyng nobly accompanied, rode to the
toune of Melune wher the dolphyn then siorned where in the plaine feldes they, ii.
like frendes comoned together & concluded apparauntly an open amitie & sure friendship,
which was written by notaries and signed with their handes and sealed with their
great scales and armes, but as the sequell sheweth, heart thought not that tong talked,
lor mind meant not that hand wrote. This treaty was concluded the. vi. day of July in the
yere of our lord 1419 and was proclaimed in Paris, Amience and Ponthoyse.

THIS newe alicence notified shortly to the kyng of Englon lyng at Maunt, which ther-
with was sore displeased, and not without cause For he perceived that the force of these
two princes were much stronger now beyng vnited in one, then they were before beyng
seperated & deviided. Yet notwithstanding this great sworn and sealed amitie, he nothyng:
more minded then to set forward his intended enterprise with the ayde of God to performe
his conquest maugre and euil wyll and puissance of his enemies. Wherfore he sent the
capitayne of Bussle brother to the earle of Foyys newly created earle of Longuile with. xv.
C. men secretly to the toune of Ponthoyse, whiche on Trinitie sonday erly in the mornyng
came to the toune, and so sodainly and so shortly set vp their skalynge ladders to the wall,
that they were entred into the toune or the watche perceiued them, crynge saint George, saint
George the lord Lisleadam capitaine of the toune perceiuyng the walles skalde and the
market place gained, opened the gate toward Paris, at the whiche he withal his retinue
and diuers of the tounes men to the nombre of viij. thousand fled. For the Englishmen
durst not because their nombre was smal ones devide them selues or fal to piferyng, til
about prime the duke of Clarence came to their ayde with. v. thousand men, and by the
way he encoutrd diuers burgesses of the toune floyng with al their substance toward
Beauuoys who he toke prisoners & brought them againe to their olde dwelling place.
When the duke was come to Ponthoyse, he muche praised the valiantnes of the assailantes
and gane to them the chief spoyle of the toune and marshauntes of the which they had
great plenty and voyson. Then the duke with a great puissance came before Paris and
lay before the cytie two daies and two nightes without any profire either of issue by his e-
emies or of defece if he had the same assaulted, whiche he could not wel do because it was
long and ample, and his nobre small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished: Wher-
fore seyng that his enemies durst not ones loke on him, he returned againe to Ponthoyse,
for the taking of which toune, the countrey of Frounce, & in especial the Parisiens were
sore dismayed and astonied, for there was no fortresse hable to resist or withstand. In so
much the Irishmen ouercame al the Isle of Frounce and did to the Frenchmen damages
innumerable (as their writters affirme) and brought dayly praios to the English searme.
And beside that, they would robbe houses and lay beddes on the backes of the kine and
ride vpon them; and cary yong children before them and sell them to the Englishmen for
slaves: whiche straung dvynges so feared the Frenchmen within the territory of Paris and
the countrey about, that the rude persons fled out of the villages withal their stuffe to the cytie
of Paris.

THE French kyng and the duke of Burgoyyn lyng at S. Denise hearyng of all these do-
ynges, departed in all the hast with the quene and her daughter to Troyes in Champaigne,
there takynge great deliberacion what was best to be done, traying at Paris the earle of S.
Paul and the lord Lisleadam with a great puissance to defende the cytie. At the same tyme
the duke of Clarence take the strong toune of Gysors, & after that was taken the toune of
Gayllard: and all the tounes of Normandy shortly after were either taken by force or ren-
dred, except the Mount saint Michel, which because the gayne therof was very lytle and
the
The losse in assautyng semed to be very muche, and also it could do small harme or none to the countrey adioynyg, was neither assaulted nor besieged.

And thus as you haue heard, was the duchy of Normandy reduced agayne into the right line and restored to the possession of the right heyre, which had bene fro the tyme of kyng Henry the third, in the yere of our lord 1255 wrongfully detained from the kynges of England.

The wisemen of Fraunce sore lamentyng the chaunce of their coûtrey and the misery of their people sawe and perceived that they had puissance enough to defende their enemies if they were at a perfite coûrd amongst themselues. For they apparently sawe that although there wer a peace openly concluded betwene the dolphyn and the duke of Burgoyne, yet they imagined that no good fruit succeeded of the same for the duke either for secret displeasure that he bare to the dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of thenglishme, never assailed by him selfe the army of kyng Henry, nor neuer sent ayde or succours to the Dolphyn. Wherefore by meanes of frendes a newe communicacion was appointed to thentent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might be clearly cast out and extinct. The place of this metyng was appointed at the towne of Monstre fault Yonne, so called because a small brooke called Yonne runneth there to the riuer of Sein ouer which riuer was made a bridge, with diuers barres ouerthwart so that the princes opening the barres might eche embrace and touche other, and kepyng the barres shut, eche might se & common with other at their pleasure. The day was appointed when these ii. great princes should mete on this bridge, to thentent that all ciuile discord should by this communicacion be cleare forgotten, or at the least should be suspended tyl the enemies were vanquished and drieben out of their coûtries and confines. But this mocion worse succeeded then the entreatours deuised, for while every man was fulfilled with hope of peace and concord, crafty imaginacion crepte out of cancard displeasure had almost brought al thinges from libertie into bondage.

When the day and place of the solempne enteruiev was agreed & assigned, Tauagny du Chastel, Robert Loyre and iiij. other. This was the ende of Ihon called the proude duke of Burgoyne, whiche

The duke againe boldly defended his cause. Nowe the duke durynge this communicacion kneled styal and his sworde was at his backe with often turnyng and mouyng in answeryng the dolphyn and his counsel, and so he put his had backe to plucke his sworde forwarde: what quod sir Robert de Loyer, whyll you drewe your sworde against my lorde the dolphyn? when Tauagny du Chastel apperceived that an occasion was geuen to performe his enterprise, incontinent he strake him with a hatchet on the head so that he could not speake, other standing by shortly dispatched him of his life. Diuers of his part, thinkyng him not dead, began to draw weapon, amongst whom the lord Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condemnped (but not apprehended) by Parliament the president of Prouynce, the vicount of Narbone, Guilyliam Battelier, Tauagny du Chastel, Robert Loyre and. iiij. other. This was the ende of Ihon called the proude duke of Burgoyne,
VIII.

In which more regarded civil war and intestine dissension, then his own life & welfare. And this sordid death as I think came to him not without desert for shamefully murthering Lewes duke of Orleance the French kings brother. Such is the justice of God, that blood for the most part is recompensed with blood, & unnatural homicide is requited with shameful death or sordid destruction.

AFTER this heinous murder, thus committed, I might rehearse how the dolphyns servants despoyle the duke of all his garmentes to his sherte, and covered his face with his hosen. I could declare how the dolphyn sent his letters to Paris and other cities and towns, publishing untrue divers opprobrious words spoken, & divers great and outrageous offences done by the duke against the kyng and the whole realme. I could further declare how the wisemen of Fraunce detested and abhorred this abominable act, perceiving the ende that was like to ensue, and how the contrary side, which was the lineage of Orleance rejoysed and laughed at this miserable chaunce and sordain fal: but because the english nation was partie neither to the facte nor to the counsel, I will declare what the kyng of Englands did after this notorious deed done and committed.

THE VIII. YERF.

WHEN Philip erle Charoloyes sone and heyre to this duke Ihon, and now by this murther and death of his father duke of Burgoyn and erle of Flauiders was enformed lying at Gaunt of this misfortune and final ende of his noble parent and louyng father, he toke the matter as he had cause, greuously and heemily, insomuch as that no man of his counsell durst speake to him, and in especial the lady Michel his wife, syster to the dolphyn and daughter to the kyng, was in great fear to be forsaken and cast out of his house and fauoure: But as all things ende, so sorow asswageth. When his doloure was somewhat mitigate he first by thadnise of his counsell receiued to his favor and company the sayde duches his louyng wife, and after sent divers notable ambassadours to the king of England lying at Roan to treate and conclude a peace betwene them both for a certain space: To which request in hope of a better chaunce kyng Henry agreed. After that knot knit, he kept a solempne obsequy for his father at saint Vaas in Arras wher were. xxiii. prelates with crosses: Duryng which tyme the earle of saint Paule and the Parisiens sent to hym ambassadours to know what they should do, and how they should defend them selves against the Englishmen. He gently answered the messengers, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God and licence of the kyng to conclude a peace and perpetual amitie to their great comfort & relief. When these ambassadours were departed to make relacioun to the Magistrates and governors of the cytie of Paris, he after long consultation had aswell with men of the spiritualtie as temporal and lay persons, sent the bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the kyng of England with certaine articles and clauses which the duke of Burgoyn offred to him for very loue as he sayd. The kyng of England consideryng with him selffe that the duke of Burgoyn was a conuenient organe and a necessary instrument to conuigne his desires to his purpose, louverly receiued & honorably enter테ined the dukes ambassadours, declaring unto them that he would without prolonging of tyme send to hym his Ambassadours, whiche should open his lawfull requestes & reasonable desires. With this answere, the dukes messengers departed towards Arras and incontinent after their departure, kyng Henry sent the erle of Warwike and the bishop of Rochestre with many knightes & esquieres to the duke of Burgoyn, whiche to hym declared the effect and purpose of their ambassade and comyng: he gently heard their requestes, and some he alowed and some he augmented, and some he altered and disallowed, but in conclusion, by often sendyng betwene the kyng & the duke they were agreed, so the kyng and his cōmons would assent. Now was the French kyng and the queene and his daughter Katheryn at Troys in Champaigne, gouverned and ordred by them whiche would rather. x. tymes spurre forward the purpose & ententes of the duke of Burgoyn
Burgoyne then once with a bridle to pull back any one iote preferred by him. What should I say, a truce tripartition betwene the, kynges and the duke and their countryes was determined, so that the kyng of Englund should send in the company of the duke of Burgoyne his Ambassadors to Trow in Chaapiagne sufficiently authorized to conclude so great a matter. The kyng of England beyng in good hope that all his affairs should prosperously succeede and go forward, sent to the duke of Burgoyne his vncle the duke of Exceter, the erle of Salsbury, the bishop of Ely, the lord Fanhope and lord Fitzhugh, sir Ihon Robsert and sir Philip Hal with diuers doctors to the nombre of. CCCC horse, whiche in the company of the duke of Burgoyne came to the citie of Trows the. xxi. daye of Marche. The kyng, the queene and the lady Katherin then received and heartely welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie. After a fewe daies they fel to counsel, in the whiche it was concluded that kyng Henry of England should come to Trows and mary the lady Katherin, and the kyng should make him heyre of his realme, crowne and dignitie after his death and departure out of this natural life with many other articles whiche hereafter in a place more convenient you shal hear rehearsed.

WHEN all these thynges were done and concluded, the Ambassadors of England departed toward their kyng leauyne behynde them sir Ihon Robsert to geue his attendance on the lady Katherin. When kyng Henry had heard his Ambassadors rehear the articles and pointes of the treatie and amitie concluded, he conditioned & agreed with all diligence to set toward Trows, logyn for the sight of his darlyng the fayre lady Katherin. And although he rejoysed that all thynges succeeded more luckily to his purpose then he before imagined, yet he trusted not so much to the glosyng wordes and golden promises of the Frenche nacion beyng his amnient enemies, that he would rashely adventure his person without a perfite serch and diligent inquire of the doynges and attemptes of his doubtfull and newe reconciled frenes, beyng warned and admonished by the late mischance of Ihon duke of Burgoyne yet recent in every mans eye. But when he sawe the sune-shyne and ayre clere on every syde, he accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, the earles of Warwike, Salsbury, Huntingdon, Ewe, Tankeruile and Loguile and. xv. thousand men of warre, departed from Roon to Ponthoyse, and from thence to saient Denis two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcharenton where he left a garison of menne to kepe the passage, and from thence by Prouynce, he came toward Trows, where the duke of Burgoyne accompanied with many noble men receiued hym two leagues without the toune and coueighed hym to his lodying and his princes with hym, and all his armie was lodged in small villages theraboute. And after he had reposed himself, he went to visite the kyng, the queene and the lady Katheryn, whom he found in Saient Peters Churche, where was a joyous metynge; honorable receiuyng and a louyng embasying on both parties, whiche was the twenty daie of Maie. And ther wer the kyng and the lady Katheryn made sure together before the high Aultare, and on the third daie of June nexte folowing, thei were with all solempnity espoused and married in the same Churche. At whiche mariaige the Englishmen made suche triumphes, pomps and pagiauntes as though the kyng of all the worlde had been present. In so muche (as three Frenche writers affirme) that the nobles of Fraunce more merueiled at the honor and glory of the Englishmen, then thei disdeigned or maligned at their owne fortune.

AND when these solempne ceremonies wer honorably finished and the mariage consummate, the two kynges and their counsaill assembled together diverse daies, wherein the former league and treatie was in diverse poyntes altered and brought to a certaintie by the deuice of the kyng of Engleande and his brethren. When this great matter was finished, the kynges sware for their part to obserue this agreement and league in all poyntes. Likewise sware the duke of Burgoyne and a great nombre of princes and nobles whiche were presente, and that the soner because they marueiled before at his noble Actes doen by kyng Henry, of whom thei had knowledge only by report, and now thei more marueled when thei sawe and beheld the honor, estate & wisedome of his persone. But whether thei sware with out-
warde countenaunce and inwardly thought the contrary, let them whiche knowe the Frenche constancy judge and tell truthe. But assuredly thei perceived hym to bee prudent both in askyng and geuyng counsaill. Thei sawe hym expert and apt to marciall feats, and nynble in all thynges apperteignyng to warre. Thei thought hym strong against all perelles and imagined hym fortunate in all chaunces and doynges, wherfore as I saide, thei muche marueled at hym, and more regarded his persone. Then was he named and proclaimed heire & Regent of Fraunce. And as the French kyng sent the copie of this treaty to euery toune in Fraunce, so the kyng of Englane sent the same in Englishe to euery citee and market toune to be published and deuulged, the very copie whereof as it was then writte, woorde by woorde ensuedeth.

The Articles and appoyntmentes of the peace betwene the realmes of Englane and Fraunce.

HENRY by the grace of God kyng of Englane, heire and Regent of Fraunce, lorde of Irelanade, to perpetuall mind to Christen people and all tho that be vnder our obiesance we noteffe and declare that though there hath been here afore noise diuerse treaties betwene the moste excellent Prince Charles our father of Fraunce and his progenitors for the peace to be had betwene the twoo realmes of Fraunce and Englane the whiche here before haue borne no fruite: We considerynge the greate harms the whiche hath not onely fallen betwene these twoo realmes for the great deuision that hath been betwene the, but to all holy churche. We haue taken a treaty with our saied father, in whiche treaty betwixt our saied father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that foloweth.

1 FIRST it is accorded betwixt oure father and vs, that forasmuche as by the bond of Matrimony made for the good of the peace betwene vs and our moste dere beloved Katheryn daughter of our saied father and of our moste dere mother Isabell his wife, thesame Charles and Isabell been made father and mother, thersfore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship as it sitteth and semeeth so a worthy prince and princesse to be worshipped principally before all other temporall persones of the world.

2 ALSO we shall not distroble, disseason or lettyn our father aforsaid, but that he holde and possede as long as he liueth as he holdeth and possedeth at this tyme the croune and the dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes and profites for thesame of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our forsaid mother also hold along as she liueth thestat & dignitie of Quene, after the maner of the same realme with conuenience part of the said rentes and profites.

3 ALSO that the forsaid lady Katheryn shall take and haue dower in our realme of Englane as Quenes of England here afore wer wont for to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of xl. M. Scutes, of the whiche two algate shalbe worth a noble Englishe.

4 ALSO that by the waies maner and meanes that we maie without transgression or offence of other made by vs, for to keephe the lawes, customes, vsages and rightes of our saied realme of Englane shall doen our labor and pursute that thesaid Katheryn al so sone as it maie be doen, be made sure to take and for to haue in our said realme of Englane from the tyme of our death thesaied dower of. xl. M. scutes yerely, of the whiche twayne algate be worth a noble Englishe.

5 ALSO if it hap the said Katheryn to ouerlieue vs, she shall take and haue the realme of Fraunce ymediately, from the tyme of our death, dower to the some of xx. M. Frankes yerely of and upon the landes, places and lordshippes that held and had Blaunch somtyme wife of Philip Boseele to our saied father.

6 ALSO that after the death of our father aforsaid, and from thence forwarde, the croune and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenaunces shall remain and abide to vs and been of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 ALSO forasmuche as our saied father is withdoleth with diuerse sicknes, in suche maner as
as he maie not intende in his owne persone for to dispose for the nedes of the forsaid realm of Fraunce: thefrefore duryng the life of our saied father, the facultys and exercise of the governancie and disposicion of the publique and common profite of the saied realm of Fraunce with counsaill and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce shalbe and abide to vs: So that from thencefurthe we maie gourerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to ourour counsaill and assistence of the saied nobles suche as we shall thynke mete the which facultys and exercise of governancie thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs spedefully, diligently and truly to that that maie be and ought for to be to the worship of God and our saied father and mother, and also to the common good of thessaid realme, and that realme with the counsaill and help of the worthy and great nobles of thesame realme for to be defended, peased and gourned after right and equitie.

ALSO that we of our owne power shall do the courte of the Parliament of Fraunce to be kept & observed in his authorite and soueraigne and in all that is done to it in all maner of places that now or in tyme commyng is or shalbe subject to our saied father.

ALSO wee to our power shall defende and helpe all and every of the Peres, nobles, cit- tees, tounes, commonalities and syngular persons now or in tyme commyng subjectes to our father in their rightes, customes, prueleges, fredome and fraunchises longyng or dewe to them in all maner of places now or in tyme commyng subject to our father.

ALSO we diligently and truly shall trauaile to our power and do that justice be admini-stered and done in the same realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of thessame realme, without personalx excepcion. And that we shall kepe and holde the subjectes of the same realme in tranquilitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all maner of violence and oppression.

ALSO we to our power shall provide, and do to our power that able persones and proftitable been taken to the offices aswell of iustices and other offices longyng to the governancie of the demaynes and of other offices of the saied realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Justice of the same, and for thadministration that shalbe comitted vnto them and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same realme and for the utile and proftite of our saied father shalbe minister, and that the forsaid realme shall bee taken and deputed to thesames offices.

ALSO that wee of our power so sone as it maie commodiously bee doen, shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of our saied father, all maner of citie, tounes and Castles, places, countrees and persones within the realme of Fraunce disobedient and rebelles to our saied father, holding with them whiche been called the Dolphin or Arminack.

ALSO that we might the more commodiusly, surely and frely doen exercise and fulfill these thynges asforesaid. It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce aswel spirituals as temporalles, and also citiess notable and commonalities, and ciete, burges of tounes of the realme of Fraunce, that been obeyasunt at this tyme to our saied father shall make these othes that folowen.

FIRST to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposicion and governancie of the forsaid common profite to our lestes and commandementes thei shall meklely and obediently obeye and intende in all maner of thyng concernyng the exercise of governancie of thessame realme.

ALSO that the worthy greate nobles and estates of the saied realme aswell spirituals as temporalles and also ciete and notable commonalities and Citiezans and Burgeses of the same realme in all maner of thynges well and truly shall kepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so muche as to theim belongeth or to any of theim all, those thynges that been apoyncted and accorded betwene our forsaid father and mother and vs, with the counsaill of them whom vs lust to calle to vs.

ALSO that continually from the death and after the death of our saied father Charles, they shalbe our true liege mec and our heires, and they shall receive and admit vs for their liege and soureigne and verie kyng of Fraunce, and for suche to obeye vs without oppo-sicio, contradeccion or difficultee, as they been to our forsaid father duryng his life, neuer
after this realme of Frauce shall obey to man as kyng or regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsaill helpe or asente that we lese life or lymme, or be take with euill takyng, or that we suffe harme or diminicion in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if thei knowe any suche thynge for to be cast or ymagine against vs, thei shall let it to their power, and they shall doon vs to weten therof as hastily as thei mak by theimsel, by message or by letters.

17 ALSO that all maner of conquestes that should bee made by vs in Fraunce vpon the saied insubienctes out of the Duchie of Normandy shalbe doon to the profite of our said father, and that to our power we shall do that al maner of landes and lordshipes that been in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persones obeying to our saied father, whiche shall swarea for to kepe this presente accord shalbee restored to thesame persones to whom they long to.

18 ALSO that all maner of persones of holy Church beneficed in the Duchy of Normandy or any other places in the realme of Fraunce subject to our father and fauoryng the partie of the dukes of Burgoyne whiche shall swarea to kepe this present accord, shall reioyce peaceably their benefices of holy Churche in the Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforesaied.

19 ALSO likewise all maner persones of holy Churche obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce and places subject to our father that shall swere to kepe this presente accord, shall enjoye peaceably their benefices of holy Churche in places next abouesaied.

20 ALSO that all maner of Churches, Vniuersitees and studies generall, and all Colleges of studies and other Colleges of holy Churche beyng in places now or in tyme commyyng subject to our father, or in the Duchy of Normady, or other places in the realme of Fraunce subject to vs, shall enjoye their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatyes liberties and franichises longyng or dewe to theim in any maner of wise in the said realme of Fraunce, sauyng the right of the croune of Fraunce and every other persone.

21 ALSO by Goddes help, when it happeneth vs to come to the croune of Fraunce, the Duchy of Normandy and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce shall bowe vnder the commandemnt obeysaunce and Monarchy of the croune of Fraunce.

22 ALSO that we shall enforce vs and dooe to our power that recompence bee made by our said father without diminucion of the croune of Fraunce, to persones obeying to hym and fauoryng to that partie that is said Burgoy, to whom longeth landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessions in the said Duchy of Normandy or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs heethertoward, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten or to be gotten and overcome in the name of our said father vpon rebelles and insubienctes to hym. And if it so bee that suche maner of recompence bee not made to the saied persones by the life of our saied father, we shall make that recompence in suche maner of places and goodes when it happeneth by Goddes grace to the croune of Fraunce. And if so be that the landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessiōs the whiche longeth to suche maner of persones in the saied Duchy and places be not geuen by vs, thesame persones shallbee restored to theim without any delaye.

23 ALSO duryng the life of our father in all places nowe or in tyme commyyng subject to him, letters of common justice and also grauntes of offices and giftes, pardos or remissions and privileges shalbe written and procede vnder the name and scale of our saied father. And forasmuch as some syngular case maie fall that maye not bee forseen by mannes witte, in the whiche it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in suche maner case if any hap for the good and surety of our saied father and for the gouvernance that longeth to vs as is beforsaied, and for to eschewe perilles that otherwise might fall to the prejudice of our saied father to write oure letters, by the whiche we shall commande, charge and defende after the nature and qualitie of the nede in our fathers behalfe and ourues as Regent of Fraunce.

24 ALSO that duryng oure fathers life wee shall not calle ne write vs kyng of Fraunce, but utterly we shall absteyne vs from that name as long as our father liueth.
ALSO that our saied father during his life shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner *Nostre trescher filz Henry Roy Dengleterre heretere de Fraunce*, and in latin in this maner. *Precharissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Angliae & heres Franciae.*

ALSO that we shall put none impositions or exactions, or do charge the subjectes of our said father without cause resonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the saiyng and askyng of the lawes and customes reason-able, approved of thesame realme.

ALSO that we shall travaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by thassent of the three estates of either of the realmes of Fraunce and Englane, that all maner of obstacles maie be doen awaie, and in this partie that it be ordaine and provided that from the tyme that we or any of our heires come to the croune of Fraunce, bothe the crounes that is to saue of Fraunce and Englane perpetually be together in one and in thesame persone, that is to saue from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward in the persones of our heires that shalbe one after another. And that bothe realmes shalbe governed fro that wee or any of our heires come to thesame, not generelly vnder diuerse kynges in one tyme, but vnder that same person whiche for the tyme shalbe kyng of bothe the realmes and souereigne lorde as it is foresaied, kepyng neuerthelesse in all maner of other thynges to ether of ÿ same realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages and lawes, not makynge subiecte in any maner of wise one of thesame realmes to the rightes, lawes or vsages of that other.

ALSO that henceforwarde, perpetually shalbe still reste, and that in all maner of wise, discencions, hates, rancours, enuies, and warres betwene thesame realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of thesame realmes, drawyng to accordre of thesame peace mai cease and bee broken.

ALSO that there shalbe fro hence forwarde for euermore peace and tranquillitie and good accord and common affeccion and stable friendshipp betwene thesame realmes and their subiectes beforesaied: the same realmes shall kepe theselves with their counsaill helps and common assistance against all maner of men that enforce theim for to doon or to ymage rightes, harms, displeasours or greauance to theim or to ether of theim. And thei shalbe consersaunt and Marchandisen frely and surely togethe puying the custome dew and accustomed. And thei shalbe consersaunt also, that al the confederates and alies of our said father and the realme of Fraunce aforsaied, and also our confederates, of the realme of Englane aforsaied, shall in viij. monethes from the tyme of this accord of peace as it is notified to the, declare by their letters that they wolde draw to this accord and woll be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauyng neuerthelesse ether of the same Cronnes, and also all maner accions rightes and revenues that longen to our saied father and his subiectes and to vs and to our subiectes againe such maner of allies and confederacies.

ALSO neither our father neither our brother the duke of Burgoyne shall begynne ne make with Charles clepyng himselfe the dolphyne of Vyennes any treaty or peace or accordre but by counsel and assent of all and ech of vs thire or of other thre estates of either of the saide realmes abowe named.

Also that we with assent of our saidy brother of Burgoyne & other of the nobles of the realmes of Fraunce the whiche thetiro owen to be called shal ordaine for the gourernance of our saidy father sekyrly, louynge and honestly after the askyng of his royall estate and dignitie by the maner that shalbe to the worship of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce.

ALSO all maner of persons that shalbe about our father to do him personal service, not onely in office but in all other services aswell the nobles and gentle as other shalbe suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that foresaied service. And our saidy father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and nowhere. Wherfore we charge & commaunde our saidy liege subiectes and
other by any wyse any thyng that may be prejudice or contrary to the same accorded and peace vpon paine of life, and lykke and all that they may forfeite against vs. Yowen at Troyes the xxx. day of May 1420 and proclaimed in London the xx. day of June.

ALSO that we for the thinges aforesaid and every one of the shall geue our assent by our letters patentes sealed with our seal vnto oure sayd father with all approbacion & confirmation of vs and all other of our bloud royal and all other of the cities and towns to vs obedient sealed with their scales accustomed. And further oure sayd father beside his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seal shall make or cause to be made letters appobatory and confirmations of the peres of his realme and of the lordeis, citezenes and burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue sworn to kepe vpon the holy Evangellistes.

HERE I ought not to forget howe ii. men named learned in bothe the lawes, the one called master Ihon Bouchet the Aquitanial writer & Archedeacon of Terbe, & the other Master de Prato a solemne prothonotary his prayng gloser wrote of this treaty and composicion, and make therof so a great matter as by the makynge of this peace it shuld appeare that England had no right to Fraunce, nor by this graunt nothyng to England was geuen. Fyrst Ihon Bouchet saith that this treaty was the worst contract that euer was made for the kynges of England, for by that saith he it is apparant that the kyng of England hath neither tyle nor right to the crowne of Fraunce but by this composicion, for if they had right, why did they take it by composicion? Ipon this text Master gloser saith, that this composicion geueth a new right, and if there wer any olde it taketh it away and geueth a new, whiche new gift was of little value and lesse efficacie in the law because the issue female may not enherite according to the lawe Salique, & therfore he cannot make his daughter beyre to the crowne of Fraunce. If I might be so bold I wold axe Maister Ihon Bouchet this question: if a man wrongfully kepe me out of the possession of my true and lawful inheritance (with whom I am neither able with purse neither with power to prosecute my cause before a competent judge by proces of the lawe) wyll of his owne mere mociion (moued paraudenture with conscience) render to me my right, so I wyl suffre him to enjoy my londe duryng his life, or that I wyl mary his daughter, haue I this land by his gift or as a thyng to me justly by law and equitie rendred and receivd. Likewise if a riche man owe to a poore man an hundreth poundes, which is not able in substance or for feare of displeasure dare not attempt any suyte or quarel against his detter, if I wyl offer to pay his money at dayes, to the whiche request the poore man agreeth, is this a new gift of the money or a payment of the det. In the fyrst question if the demandant had no tyle, how could he graunt to him the accion of the land duryng his life; and in the second, if the plaintiffe had none interest how could he geue him daies of payment and yet in both the cases if the one part had no right why would the other make an offre or coupound, for all compositions haue respect to a right precedent. But in this matter, who would judge that a kyng of so great & puissant a realme with the asset of his own counsel would dishenerite his owne sonne & surrendre his title without an apparent right and open tyle knownen and shewed by the partie, for the olde prouerbe sayeth, long suffraunce is no acquittance, nor prolongyng of tyme derogacion to right, also restitution is no graunt, nor payment of ductie is no gift. Doctors write and clerkes affirm that these treaties, arbitrementes and composicions be bothe godly, charitable and honest, both to restore the one partie to his auncient right (whether it be in landes or goodes) and to dispence & releue the other with the takyng of the profites of the land and vsyn in marchandises the occupation of the money. Now to Master gloser whiche affirmeth that a composicion taketh away an old right & geueth a new and that this composicion is of no value: surely Master Ihon de Prato I would haue suche a peuyshy proctor retened against me for you say that every composicion geueth a new right and taketh away the auncient title, yet you sayd before this composicion neither geueth nor can geue any right, whiche conclusion is manifestly repugnant to the antecedent therfore you must be answered thus, if nothyng
nothyng be geuen nothyng is taken away, & so consequently no cōposicion, & if there be no cōposicion then remaineth styl the olde and auncient tylte in the state that it was. Paradventure Master gloser wyll say and allege the tylte of England to be abrogated because the house of Valoys may lawfully prescribe against the kynges of England and haue had the possession fortie yeres and more, & so by this meane kyng Hery had no tylte to claime or chalenge any part of the realme of Fraunce. Then I pray you remember the yeres & accompt the doynges and you shall evidentlie perceiue that kyng Edward the third the very indubitate heyre general to the crowne of Fraunce kyng Richard the second, kyng Henry the fourth and this noble kyng Henry the fift never desiated. vi. or. viii. yeres at the moost either by bataille or tractive to chalenge and claime their auncient right and old enheritaunce to the by quene Isabel descended, so the title was euery in strife and neuer quiet tyll nowe the right lyne is restored: And as for your law Salique put it in your boget among lyes & fayned fables. Thus you may se the affections of Frenchemen, that an Arche foole cannot forge a lye for his pleasure, but a prothodawe wyll faine a glose to mainteine his frilsh fātasie. Let vs now leue these wyful writers and returne to the kyng of England, which after al these articles of the treaty beyng concluded and sworn, made the Frenche kyng the duke of Burgoyne and other the Frenche lorde a solempne and sumptuouse supper and banket, and before their departynge he sadly and soberly sayd to them these wordes.

All my thought care & study is (you noble princes & men of high honor) to inuent the meane, study & way, how both my kyngdomes by the benefite of almightie God enlarged & amplified, by the cōnexyng & ioynyng the one to the other may be left to my posterity clene & pure without domestical dissecion or ciuile discorde, to thentent that as no prince nor potestate hath at this day in all Europe a greater governance, a richer regiment nor a more puissant empire: So I trust to leue it that hereafter ther shall no power or dominion be able to be to it copared or equyalent. Wherfore I entende fyrst to extirpate & plucke away the rotes & leuynges of the ciuile dissecion in this realme lately begon which ly in the brest of Charles the kynges sone, by your decre, judgement and assent, of the newe state and dignitie of the Dolphyn utterly deproued and disgraded, against whom it is cōuenient and decent that you beare armure not so muche to destroy & confound him, as to bring him to do obaysance and reasonable coloformitie. What maner a prince thinke you he would proue, when he should obtayne & possess a kyngdome, which beyng but a lusty yong striplyng not fearyng God nor regardyng his honor contrary to his promise & against all humaine honestie, was not ashamed to polute & staine him selfe with the bloud and homicide of the valeaunt duke of Burgoyne, O cancard stomacke in the brest of a yong prince, oh tyrannical heart in the body of a gentle man, O vntrue tong in the mouth of a Christen man, a Christian, no a Pagane, whiche neglecting his honor, violatyng his promise and dispensyng honestie, would procure or cōsent to so abominable a fact and sedicious a murder. Wherfore these thynges well pondered and lusty considered I require you to ioyne, stand, and cleue with me as the very heyre & successor of my dere & welbeloved father in lawe kyng Charles in this realme & kyngdome, fyrst to my noble auncestres, & after to me by right title and just claime lawfully descended. Grudge not I pray you because I that am an Englishman shall succede in the crowne of Fraunce: I assure you. I am not nor wil not be noted to be to you a mere alien and straunger, was not my great grandfather kyng Edward the third sone to quene Isabel daughter to Philip the fayre and sister and heyre to. iii. kynges of this relme dead without issue? was not my great grandmother quene Philip descended of the noble house of Valoys? if the old & trite prouerbe be true that the womans side is the surer side and that the childe foloweth the wombe, although the one part be Englishes yet the surer part is Frenche, and of the Frenche flour was budded & brought furth. And therfore remembre not that I am an English mā put out of your mindes in what coitrey I was borne: and cōsider that I am a christen man & an anoyned kyng, to whō by both the professions it aperetinth, not onely to defend & protect their people & subiectes from foreign powers & outward inuations, but also to minister to them indifferent justice, to conserve them in politike ordre & moderate
THE VIII. YERE OF

moderate quietnes: & finally accordyng to their desert and merites, the to promote auance, & prefer to riches, honors and estates: which things if I would not do to you my trusty frendes whose louyng heartes and beneuolent myndes I shall neuer forgette nor put in oblivion, I should not do my dutie to God I shuld not do the office of a kyng nor I shuld not do that whiche by the lawes of nature and reason I ought to do, which is to rendra kyndnes for kyndnes, goodnes for desert, and honor for merite. Therfore to conclude I humbly require you to stande strong with kyng Charles my father in lawe (who in the stede of myne owne parent I worship, loue and honor) in this concord and agrement whiche I both call & trust to be a peace full, and after his mortal ende to loue, serve & be true to me and my pòsteritie, and I assure you for my part that the Oceane sea shall soner leue his flowyng and the bright sunne shal soner leue his shinyng, then I shall ceasse to do that whiche becommeth a prince to do to his subiecte, or that a father ought to do to his natural child.

WHEN he had thus persuaded the nobilitie, he with all his army, hauyng with him the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyne came before the toune of Sene in Burgoyne whiche toke part with the dolphyn: and after that he had destroyed the countrey about it, at the xv. day the toune was yelded and there he made captaine the lorde Ienuale. And from thence he removed to Monstreau fault yone, where the duke of Burgoyne was slain as you haue heard, whiche toune was taken by assault and many of the dolphyns parte apprehended before they could get to the castel. After the gettyng of the toune, the castle whiche was newly replenished with men and vitayle, denied to rɛdɛ, and so it was strongly besieged: durynge whiche assault the duke of Burgoyne was enformed by divers in what place the duke his father was buried, whose corps he caused to be taken vp & sereed and so coueighd it to Diron in high Burgoyne and buried it by duke Philip his father.

THE kyng of England sent certyne of the prisoners that he had taken in this toune to advise the capitaine of the castle to yeld the same, but they obstinatly denied the request, genyng opprobrious wordes to the kynges Herault, wherfore the kyng of Englad caused a gybhet to be set vp before the castle, on the whiche were hanged. xii. prisoners all gentlemen and frendes to the capitaine. When the lord of Guytry lieutenant of the castle perceived that by no meanes he could be succoured, and fearing to be taken by force, he beganne to treat with thɔ kyng of Englad, whiche in vii. daies would take none of his offers, but in conclusion he and his rendred them selues simply, their limes onely saued, and after vi. wekes siege the castle was delievered, & the earle of Warwike was made capitaine of the toune and castel, whiche fortified the same with men, ordinance and artillerie. From thence the king of England departed to Molyn vpon Seyne and besieged it round aboute in whose company were the Frenche kyng, the yong kyng of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoyne, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester.

The duke of Barre. Therle of Ewe.
The prince of Oreng. Therle of Tankernile.
The earle of Niche in Auerne. Therle of Longuile.
Therle of Huntyngdon. Therle of saint Paule.
Therle of Stafford. Therle of Brayne.
Therle of Sommerset. Therle of Ligny.
Therle Marshal. Therle of Vatedcuontur.
Therle of Warwike. Therle of Iouigny.
Therle of Worcester. The Lord Rosse.
Therle of Suffolke. The Lord Mattravers.
The archbishop of Britayne earle of Yury. The Lord Gray of Codnor.
The lord Charles of Nauer. The Lord Bourchier.
Therle of Perche. The Lord Andely.
Therle of Mortaine. The Lord Wylloughby.
Therle of Ormond. The Lord Clynton.
Therle of Desmond. The Lord Deyncost.
THESE valiant princes & noble men besieged the strong town by the space almost of viii. monethes, they without made mynes, cast trenches and shot gunnes daily at the walls, they within wherof the lord Barbason was chief capitaine manfully defended the same, this evry day was skirmishing, scalyng, & assautynge, to the losse of bothe parties, but most of all to the losse of the within. Duryng whiche siege the Frenche quene and the quene of England, and the duches of Burgoyne came divers times to visite their husbandes and se their fredes, whom the kyng of England so highly feasteth, so louungly entertained and with so pleasant pastymes comforted them, that evry creature of hyn reported honor, liberalitie, and gentlenes. This siege so long contynued that vitayles within the town began to fayle, and pestilence began to growe, so that the capitaine began to treat, and in conclusion the town was deliuered vpon certaine conditions, wherof one was that all that were concentyng to the death of the duke of Burgoyne should be deliuered to the kyng, wherof the lorde Barbason was suspected to be one, and so they were deliuered to the kyng of England, whiche sent the vnder the conduyte of the duke of Clarence his brother to the cytie of Paris wherof the Frenche kyng made him capitaine and he take possession of the bastyl of saint Anthoyne, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Vynannes:

WHEN this town was thus yelded, the kyng of England made capitaine ther therle of Huntyngdon. Tru thence he departed with his army to Corbeil, where the Frenche kyng and the two quenes then soiorned, and from thence the ii. kynges accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgoyne, Gloucester and Exceter, and therles of Warwike Salisbury and a greate numbre of noble men and knightes set furthe toward Paris, whom the citizeens in good ordre met without the gates and the Clergy also with solemne processio, al the stretes wer hanged with riche clothes & the people in the stretes shouted and clapped handes for ioye, the two kynges rode together, the kyng of Engelande geuyng the vpper hande to his father inlawe through the greate citee of Paris to our Lady Churche, where after they said there denoucions they departed to their lodgynges, the Frenche kyng to the hous of Saint Paule, & the kyng of Engelande to the Castle of Louure. The next day the two Quentes
Queenes made their entree into Paris and were received with like solemnite as their husbands were the day before. If I should declare to you the great gifts, the costly presents, the plenty of vitail that was given to the kyng of Englaunde: or reheare how the conduites abundantly spouted out wine of divers colours, or describe the costly pagianies, the pleasant songs or sweete armony that were shewed song and played at divers places of the citie, or shew the greate gladnes, the hertie rejoycing and the greate delight that the comen people had at this concorde and peace finall, I should reheare many thynges that you would be weryed both with the reading and hearyng.

DVRYNG the season that these, ii kynges thus lay in Paris, there was a greate asseble called, aswell of the spiritualtie as of the nobilitie in the which the two kynges sat as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyn by her proctor appeale the Dolphin and vii other for the murdre of duke, Iyon her husband. To the whiche appeale the cousail of the other part made divers offers of amendes, aswell of foundaciō of priestes to praise for the solle, as recompence of money to the widowe and children, for the finall determinaciō whereof the kynges toke a farther deliberacion and appoincted a farther day. To the citie of Paris at this tyme resorted the three estates of the realme, where every persone severally ware vpō the holy Evangeliestes to kepe, support, maintain, and defende the treaty and peace finall which was concluded betwene the two princes and their counsailies and thereto every noble man, spirituall governor, and temporal rulers set to their seales, whiche instrumentes wer sent to the kynges treasury of his Exchequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept when they yet remain. These two kynges soinorned in Paris all the feastes of Christmas. The Frenche kyng lying at the houe of S. Paule kept no estate nor open court to no man except his household seruauntes and men of base estate frequented his houe. But the kyng of Englaunde and his Quene, kepe suche solemnite estate, so plentiful a hous, so princely pastyme, and gave so many gyftes that from all partes of Fraunce, noblemen and other resorted to his palice to see his estate and do hym honor.

THEN the kyng of England toke vpon hym as Regent of Fraunce to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme thynges that were a miste, and caused a new coyne to be made called the Salute, wherein wer the Armes of Fraunce and the Armes of England and Fraunce quarterly. And to set all thynges in a quietnes, he constituted sir Gilbert Vmfreule captain of Melun with a good nombre of valiant souldiers, and the erle of Huntingsdon his cosyn german was deputed captain at Boys de Vincens, and the duke of Excester with. v.C. menne of warre was assigned to kepe the citee and toune of Paris. When he had thus orderd his affaires according to his deuice & ordre, he with the quene his wife his princes and nobles departed from Paris and came to the citie of Roan. But before his remouyng, he caused proces to be made against Charles called the Dolphyn, comaundyng hym to appere at the table of Marble at Paris, where for lacke of aperance he was with all solemnitie in suche a cause requisite denounced giltie of the murther and homicide of Iyon late Duke of Burgoyn, and by the sentence of the court of parliament he was exiled and banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and deprived of all honores, names, dignities and preheminences which he then had or herafter might have. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedoc and after to Poytiers gettyag to hym suche frendes as he could, and in especiall he obtaigned so highly the favor of therle of Arminack that he not onely toke his part, but also releued hym with money, aided hym with men and in his own persone continually serued hym against his foes and enemies.

WHILE Kyng Henry soinorned in the citie of Roan, he received homage of all the nobles of Normandy: cmogest whom therle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britayu did homage for the countie of Yury, which the kyng before had geuen to them. He also ordeined his liuetenaunt generall both of Fraunce and Normandy his brother Thomas duke of Clarence, and his deputie in Normandy was the erle of Salisbury. When the feast of Christmas (whiche he kepe with all triumphe and solemnite in his castle of Roan) was passed, he with the quene his wife departed from Roan to Amies and so came
came to Caleis where he took ship the morow after Candlemas day and landed at Douer, and came to Eltham and so through London to Westminster. Meluel it is to write but more meluel it was to see, with what joy, what triumph, what solace and what rejoysing he was received of all his subiectes, but in especiall of the Lodoners, which for tediousnesse I ouer passe. And no doubt Englende had greate cause to reioyce at the coming of suche a noble captain, so valiant a prince and so mightie a conqueror, which in so small space and so briefe tym had brought vnder his obeyances the greate & puissant realme & dominion of France. And first to rendre to God his creator mose hüble & hertie thankes, he caused solempne processions to be observed & kept. v. daies together in every citee and town: After that done he made greate purveyance of all thynges necessary for the coronacion of his Queene & spouse the faire lady Katheryn, which was done the daie of. s. Mathy the. xxiiij. daie of February, on whiche solempne feast she was coueighed on fote betwene. ii. bishops vnder a riche canapie fro the greate halle at Westminster to. S. Peters churche, & there she was anointed & crowned with al § ceremonies to so great an estate aperteinyng or requisite. After which solempnitie ended, she was again with great pôpe coueighed in to westminster hall & ther set in § throne at the table of marble at the upper end of the hall: whose service and solempnite who so list to rede let him loke on the Chronicle of Robert Fabia which declareth it at large.

† THE NYNTH YERE.

While these thynges were thus dooyng in Engleande, the duke of Clarence brother to the kyng and his lieuetenat generall in Frayne and Normandy, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandy at the toune of Bernay, and from thence departed into the countrie of Mayne, and at Point degene he passed the river of Yone and rode through all the countrie to Lucie where he passed the Ruer of Loyre and entered into Aniowe, & came before the citee of Angiers where he made many knightes, that is to saie, sir William Rosse, sir Henry Godard, sir Rowlaid Rider, sir Thomas Beaufforde called the bastard of Clarence and diverse other, and after that he had forraid, bent, and spoyled the coitrie he returned with prae and pillage to the toune of Beaufford in the valcy, where he was advertised that a greate nombre of his enemies wer assembled together at a place called Bangie, that is to saie, the duke of Alanson calling hymself leuetenant generall for the Dolphyn

THE IX. YERE OF

Sir William Stuard.
Sir Willyam Doglas.
Sir Ihon Turnebull.
Sir Robert Lisle.
Sir William Conningham.
Sir Alexander Meldryne.
Sir Alexander Hume.
Sir Ihon Balglauie.
Sir Willyam Lisle.

Sir Ihon Haliburton.
Sir Ihon Crawforth.
Sir William Candey.
Sir Ihon Grey.
Sir Ihon Commyn.
Sir Rober Boence.
Sir Archibalt Forbosse.
Sir Ducane Comine & many other.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting to hym called Andrewe Forgusa was retained with the part aduerse, of whom the duke inquired the mind of his enemies, to whom he reported that their number was but small and of no strength and far vmnete to compare with half the power of his puissaunt armie, entisyng and prouokyng hym to set on the Frenchmen, warratyng hym a famous victory and a faire daie. The duke geuen to mueche credite to this traytor, like a valiant and coragious prince assembled together all the horsmen of his army and lefte the Archers behynde hym vnnder the ordre of the Bastarde of Clarence and two Portyngales capitaines of Fresnye le Vicount, saying that he onely and the nobles would have the honor of that ironey. When the duke was past a straight and a narowe passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good ordre of battaile by the monicion of the Lombard which had sold hym to his enemies, and thesaid aduersaires had laied suche busheemes at the straightes that the duke by no wayes without battaile could ether retire or flie. The Englishmen seyng no remedy valauntly set on their enemies whiche wer foure to one, the battail was fierce and the fight dedly, neuer wer so fewe men seen more coragiously to defend theimselfes then did the Englishmen that daie they fought and defenfed, the slewe and felled, but it auailed not, for they wer repressed with a multitude and brought to confusion. There were slaine the duke of Clarence, theke of Tankeruile, the Lorde Rosse, Sir Gilbert Vmffreuile erle of Kent, and sir Ihon Lumley, sir Robert Verend and almoste two thousand Englishmen, and theles of Somerset Suffolke and Perche, the Lorde Fitzwater, sir Ihon Barkely, sir Rauffe Neuell, sir Henry Iuglos, sir Willyam Bowes, sir Willyam Longton, sir Thomas a Borough and diuerse other taken prisoners, and of the Frenchmen wer slaine aboue. xij. C. of the best men of warre so that they gained not much. The Bastard of Clarence whiche taried at Beauford was enformed of the number of the Frenchmen wherfore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the Duke, but they came to late, for the Frenchmen, hearyng of the approchyng of the Archers fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leuyng behynde themethe bodie of the said duke and the ded carions. When the archers came and sawe their enemies gone: Lorde howe they mournd & lamented the euell chance of the deceiued duke, but seyng no remedy, thei tooke the ded bodies and buried theim all sauing the dukes corps, whiche with great solemnity was sent into Englannde and buried at Cantorbury beside his father. After this the Englishmen brente and spoyled the countrie of Mayne and so returned to Alunson and there departed euery man to his Garrison. This battail was fought at Bawgy in Easter even in the yere of our Lorde a thousande. CCC. xxij.

I lament the folly and foolishenes of this duke and I maruell at his vnwitty doyng and rashe enterprise, that he would aduenture his life and hazard his compaignie leuyng behynde hym the Archers whiche should have been his shilde and defence: What maie be said, he desired honor and loste his life, he coueted victory and was overcome, thus is the old prouerbe verified which saieth: If shepe ronne willfully emongest Wolues they shall lesy ether life or fell.

KYNG Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate chance and deceitfull losse of his leuyng brother, sent without delaie Edmond erle of Mortaigne and brother to therle of Somerset into Normandy, geyng to hym like authoritie & preheminence as his brother the late deceaused duke of Clarence had or enioyed. After that he called his highe courte
KYNG HENRY THE. V.

courte of Parliamente, in the which he declared so wisely, so seriously and with so greate a gratauic the actes that wer done in the realme of Fraiche, the estate of the tyme presente and what thynges wer necessary for the tyme to come (if they would looke to haue that Iewell and high kyngdō for the whiche they had so long laboured and sought for) that the comonaltie gladly granted a fiftene, and the Clergy beniuolently offred a doble disme, and because no delay should be in the kynges affaires for lacke of payment, the bishoppe of Winchester his vncl lent to hym. xx. M. pounde, to be receiuied of the same dismes. When all thynges necessary for this voyage wer ready and prepared, he sent his brother Ihon duke of Bedford with all his armie (whiche the Frenchmen write to be. iiii. M. men of Armes and. xx. M. Archers and other) before hym to Calcis. And he himself shortly after in the middle of May passed the seas and arriued there in greate triumph, where to hym was shewed that the Dolphyn with. vii. M. men had besieged the toune of Chartiers whiche was manfully defended by the Bastarde of Thyan and other set and apoynted there by the duke of Excester. Kyng Henry not myndying to lose so faire a toune, with all his Armie departed in good orde of battail toward Paris, and at Mōstreull there receiued hym the duke of Burgoyn, whiche fō that place attended on the kyng to Dowast in Ponthiew and so came to Abbeucile, and after the kyng tooke a toune of sir Iaques of Harcourt called la Ferte, and there the duke departed from the kyng for a sixe daies promisyng on his honour by that daie to returne, the kyng of Englande passed forwarde by Beauuoys Gisors, and from thence came to Boys de Vincens where he founde the Frenche kyng and his Quene, whom he louyngly saluted and they him again honorably receiued and highly feasted, and thether came accordyng to his appoyntment Philip duke of Burgoyn, where was daily consultyng and he wisely deuisyng howe to subdue and represse theaultnes and force of the Dolphyn, hauyng perfight knowledge that as long as he ether liued or wandered unbrideled so long should neuer the treaty and finall peace be observerd, wherefore he and the duke of Burgoyn apoynted in all the haste to fight with the Dolphyn and to reise the siege before Charters. The kyng of Englande with all his puissaynce came to the toune of Naunte, and thether repaired the duke of Burgoyn with. iiii. M. men, of whose commyng the king was not a little rejoysed, but or they from thence departed, they had knowledge and true instrucction that the Dolphyn heroyng of the puissant army of the kyng, approchingyng to geue hym battail, was reculed with his people toward Towers in Towrayne. Wherfore the kyng of Englande incontinent, not onely sent the duke of Burgoyn into Picardy to resist the malice of sir Iaques Harcourt whiche daily inferred war and caused wast & destrucctiō in the same coūtrie, but also appoynted Iames kyng of Scottes to lay siege to the toune of Driex, whiche so sore by sworde and engins enforced the inhabitanthes that after sixe wekes passed, they deliered the same to the kyng of Scottes, to the behoife of kyng Henry his souereigne Lorde whiche made there of capitan the erle of Worcester and baily there, sir Henry Mortimer. The king himself removed from Naūt and passed over the riuer of Leyre, folowyng the Dolphyn toward Tours: but he mistrustyng his power and puttyng diffidi fiancée in some of his owne flocke fled to Burges in Berrie, and chosingyng that place as his chiefe refuge and surest forteesse bothe for the situacion of the place and also for the fideli tie and constancie of the people, determined there to tary till fortune would turne her whyle and loke on hym with some gracious looke or louyng countenance, and therefore in a Test he was comonly called the kyng of Burges and of Berries. The kyng of England with all his puissaynce so fast followed the flying Dolphyn, that viatail began to faiæ, and horsmen waxed seante: so that he consideryng that Burges beeyng the Dolphyns onely succour and refuge, beeyng well vitalated and well manned was more profitable and available to the de fender, then to hym that should make the assaute, wherfore he willyng to saue his people from famyne whom he knewe to be from the dente of the Frenche sworde clerely exempt and vntouched, returned over the riuer of Leyre and gat Gascones vpon Youne, and a toune called the kynges Newe toune, and diverser other whose names nowe to reherce were more tedious then pleasaunt. But he seyng the toune of Meaux in Brye not to bee a toune
replenished with enemies, in the midst of his new gotten subjectes determined to take away the open scruple which might poison and infecte the membres dwellyng hard by, wherfore he with these nobles folowyng besieged the said citie of Meaux.

Therle of Worcester.
Therle of Yury.
Therle of Brayon.
The Lorde Clifford.
The Lorde Formiuall.
The Lorde Lowell.
The Lorde Awdely.
The Lorde Seynt Maawre.
The Lorde Deyncort.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Morley.
The Lorde Fanhope and his sonne whiche died there.

This toune was no lesse vaitaled then manned, and no better manned then forfted, so that the kyng of Englande could not quere it to hym deliuered at his pleasure, nor he could not gayne it by assault without his greate losse and detriment. Wherfore he determined not to depart til he had ether gained or subuered the toune. Durynge this siege was borne at Wynsore on the daie of. S. Nicholas in November the kynges sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were Ihon duke of Bedford and Henry bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holad was Godmother, wherof the kyng of England was certeified lying at this siege of Meaux. Whē he was advertised of this good fortune and happie chaunce that God had sent him a sonne, he gaue thankes to his Creator or redeemer for the geuyng to hym so goodly an ympe which should succeede in his crowne & scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natuuitie, whether he fantasied some old blind prophesy, or had some foreknowledge, or els judged of his sones fortune, he sayd to the lord Fitzheugh his trusty Chamberlein these wordes. My lorde, I Henry borne at Monnoth shall small tyme reigne & much get, & Hevy borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and al lese, but as God will so be it. After the quene of England was thus deliuersed of her faire sonne she returned into Fraunce firste to her husbande, and after to her father and mother where she was on all partes so honorably receiuued, so louyngly entertained and so highly feasted that she appeared to be no lesse loued of her noble husbande then of her naturall parentes.

† THE TENTH YERE.

DYnyng the tyme of this siege, sir Oliuer Manye a valiant man of warre of the Dolphyns part, whiche before was capitaine of the Castle of Faloys and yeldyng it by composition, swere neuer to bere Arme against the kyng of England, assembled a great number of men of warre aswell of Britons as Frenchmen, that is to saie: The lorde Mount-burchier, the lorde of Coynon, the lorde of Chastelgiron, the lorde Tyntignace, the lorde Dela Howsay and diuerse other whiche entered into the coutrie of Constantine in Normandy, and robbed and killed the Englishmen where they might ether espie or take them at their auauntage: but therle of Suffolk keper of those Marches hearyng of their doynges, sent for the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Aston bayly of Constantine, Sir William Halle, sir Ihon Banaster and many other out of the Garrisons within that territoy, whiche encountered with their enemies at a place called le Parke Leueque in English the bishops Parke, ther was a sore and a long fight, many a propre feat of Armes was done that daie and many a man was in that place overthrown, the Englishmen onely desired victory, and the Frenchmen desired a safe returne, but in conclusion the Frenchmen beyng not able to withstand the charge that was laied to them began to fle, in which conflict and flight wer slain, the lorde Coynon, the lorde of Castell Giron, and three hundred
dred other and there were taken prisoners, the lorde Dela Howsay and sir Oliuer Manny and. lx. other. The kyng being advertised of this good chance and happy iorney, sent sir Oliuer Manny to hym lying before Meux, to whom he said, faire father you have sworn and promised unto vs that you would never make war nor bearre armure against vs nor our subiectes, ye are an aicent knight and ought to have kept your faith and promise, whiche you have vntruly and vnhonestly broken and violate, and yet we wolle not (although by the lawe of armes we might lawfully so dooc) put you to death but graunt to you your life, but we wolle sende you into Englande to lerne you to speake Englishe, and so shortly after he was sent to London where for very shame & mere Malyncoy he died and was buried in the White Friers.

THE Scottes write (beleeue them if ye will) that the kyng of England hearyng that the Dolphyn had sent for aide into Scotland and that he had retained them in wages (for of their owne abilitie they bee nether able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substaunce to beare a continual warre, for this all their owne histories declare and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so poore but the people be as proude) sent one daie for James the Scottishe kyng and in the presence of his cousail declared to hym what humanite, what fauor and what synguler affection kyng Henry his father bare duryng his naturall life toward thesaid kyng of Scottes: Puttyng hym in remembrance of the great love and manifold gratuitues which he himself sith the beginnyng of his reigne had exhibited and shewed to the same kyng Iames, that neither he nor his father had any thynge negligently omitted whiche ether might appertaine to the office of a frend or to the duty of a tutor which should love and cherish his Orphane or pupile, promising hym libertie with a greate rewarde if he would cause the Scottes whiche were adherentes to the Dolphin to returne again into their countrey and natue region. To the whiche request the kyng of Scottes with a very freshe herte answered saynyng: what your noble father hath done to me & what fauor & benefite I have receiued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maie (I assure you) forget, and when my power shall serue I shall not faile to recompence your dooynges with like kyndnes. But of your request I maruell not alitle, first considerying that I am a prisoner and have no possession of my reigne, secdairely that I am as yet nether sworne to my subiectes, nor they by no oth of allegiance are bound to obey my comandementes: wherfore I desyre you no more to move me in this thynge which now I cannot do, & yet if I might I would fyrst forese whether it wer to me honorable or to my reigne honest to leue our old frend in his extreme necessitie without ayc or colort. With this answer the kyng of England was not content (as the Scottes say), but after king James departing fro his presence, kyng Henry saied, happy shall they bec whiche shallie subiectes to suche a kyng that is endued with suche wit and wisedome at these yong yeres of age.

THE kyng of England lyying styl before the toune of Meux in Brye as you have heard sore bet the walles with ordinance & cast doune bulwarckes and rampeyres on euerie syde of the toune, and sore oppressed them within the toune, wherof hearyng the lord of Ofemond, with a copany of chosen persons set by the dolphin, came priuely in the night to the walles and set vp a ladder and diviers of his company mounted vp and entred into the toune, and as he passed ouer a plancke to come to the walles he fell into a deeppe ditche, the Englishmen hearyng this noysse ranne to the ditche where they toke the lord of Ofmount & slewe diviers of his company whiche stode at defence. The capitaine within the toune perceiuyng that their succours were taken, playnely judged that the toune could not long continue, wherfore they caused all the goodes of the toune to be convoyed into the market place, which was strong and well fortified. The kyng of England beyng therof advertised, comanded in all hast to geue an assault to the toune, which was quickly done, so that the toune by force was within thre houres taken & spoyled. And the same day the kyng besieged round about the sayd Marketplace, and toke the mylle adioynynge to the same. The capitaines perceiuyng in what case they were, fearnyng to be taken by assault, began to treat with the kyng of Englande, whiche appointed the earle of Warwike and the lord Hungerford:
gerford to komen with them & in conclusion a treaty was taken, and so the town and marketplace with all the goodes, were deliered into the kyng of Englandes handes the. x. day of May, in the yere of our lord M.CCCC.xxii.

WHEN the deliucry of the strong town of Meaux was published thorough the country, al the townes and fortresses in the Isle of Franche, in Lannoys, in Brye, and in Champaine yielded them selues to the kyng of England, which appointed in them valiant capitanes and hardy souliours.

AFTER that kyng Henry had thus taken and possessed the town of Meaux and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Vyncennes where he founde the French kyng & the quene & his wife which with all ioye he received, and so the. xxx. day of May beyng the vigile of Pentecost, the. ii. kynges and the quenes returned to Paris. wher the kyng of Englad lodged in the castle of Loure, and the Frenche kyng in the house of saient Paule. These two kynges kept great estate with their quenes at this high feast of Pentecost, but the kyng of England (as Enguerant both confesseth & divers other sayth) kept such a glorious estate and so costly a court that he with his quene sat at diner in Paris richly adorned in vestures and with dyademes of gold garnished with precious stones & decked with Iuele both radiant & pleasant: beside this his princes & estates, barons, chief capitanes, & valiant men of warre wer set in solempne estate plenteously serued and abundantly feasted, that the people of Paris whiche thither resorted to behold his magnificet estate, judge him to be more like an emperor, then their kyng (which sat solitary alone) to be like a duke or a poore Marques. But Enguerant (as I sayd) although he confessed the truth, yet goeth he about to blemishe the glory of king Henry, allegying that Englisshemen were feasted and the Parisiens were not once bid drinke, whiche was not the custome of the Frenche kingses court in so solempne and triumpheant daies. I am somewhat soory that kyng Héeres seruantes of the seller made not master Enguerant drinke, which then was skoler in Paris, but I more lament y vntrue sayng & no lesse variable writyng of so famous a clere which to darken the honor of kyng Henry hath clearely defased the princely estate of his owne kyng & soueraigne lorde, for he confesseth that kyng Charles with his quene kept a solempne house within his court of saint Paul, to whose palice no man in maner resorted, but euery French creature was ioyus to view and se the estate and magnificence of kyng Henry. If he haue written true, then must this nedes foloweth that no subiect reioysyn the hauynge comfort of their owne prince and natural lord wyll leve hem desolate & alone, and folowe a straung potestat and seke relief at a forein princes house and table. If the Frenchmen came to wonder at the estate of the kyng of England, then was their princes estate base and not worthy to be regarded: if the Parisiens came to se the princely ordre of his household, then was it manifest that their soueraigne lord kept but a mean family: if the poore peisantes came thither for vitale and fragmentes it appeareth that their soueraigne lord had a cold kychyn: if they did not all drinke in the kyng of Englands house, either they were to euil ruled or to vile & losomse to haue any gentle entertainment in so honorable a court and noble a family, and therefore Enguerat because he dranke not, euill reported the estate of the English court as he cōmonly doth in all other matters.

THE dolphyn knowynge by his espials wher the kyng of Englad & his power lay, came with all his puissence over the riever of Leye and besieged the town of Cosney or Conny and sent parte of his arm to waste and destoye the confines of the duchy of Burgoyn, to the entente to deuide the power of the kyng of Englane from the strength and force of the duke of Burgoyn, and as he purposed, so it happened for the duke of Burgoyn with his power to set forwarde to defend his owne lande & dominion and wrote to the kyng of England to send ayd to the of Cosney or Conny, whiche had promised to rendre their town to the dolphyn, if they wer not rescued by the kyng of England within. x. daies. Kyng Henry hearyng this newes answered that he would not send one creature, but he would go before him selfe. And so withall diligence came to the town of Corbel and so to Senlys, where, whither it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his daily labor were febled or weakenid,
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prone politike and by your educacion he may be able to rule a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: by the which deuoier you shall not onely do your dutie to your prince and soueraigne lorde, but also merite and deserue thanks of your natuine countrey to the which you be both bound and obliged. Beside this my peticion is not onely to confort my most desterst and wellbeloued quene and espouse now beyng (as I think, the most dolorus and pensiue womai liuyng) but also to loue her and honor her as I haue both loued and honored you.

AND as touching the estate of my realmes, Fyrst I commaund you to loue and ioyne together in one leage or concord and in one vnfained amitie, kepyng continual peace and amitie with Philip duke of Burgoyne. And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth him selfe dolphyn of Vyen, by the whiche any part either of the crowne of Fraunce or of the duchies of Normandy or Guyan may be appaireed or diminished. Let the duke of Orleance and the other princes styel remayne prisoners til my sone come to his lawful age, lest his returning home again may kindle more fier in one day then may be well quenched in thre. If you thinke it necessary I would my brother Vnfrey should be Protector of England during the minority of my child, prohibiting him once to passe out of the realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the duke of Burgoyn I will shall rule and be regent of the realme of Fraunce, commaundyng him with fyre and sworde to persecute Charles callingly him selfe dolphyn, to thentent either to bryng him to reason & obesuaunce, or to dryue and expel him out of the realme of Fraunce admonishing you to lese no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recovering that whiche to you is now offered. And what thynge either I haue gotten or you shal obtaine, I charge you kepe it, I commaund you to defend it, and I desire you to norish it: for experience teacheth that there is no lesse praise to be gae to the keeper then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce and kepyng a wit. Wel I fele that death draweth near & I shall not long tary, theryfore, I comte my solte to God, my loue to my frendes, my sines to the dueil and my body to the earth.

THE noblemen present promised to obserue his preceptes and performe his desires, but their heartes were so pensiue & replenished with doloure that one without wepyng could not beholde the other. Then he sayd the seuen Psalmes and receuied the blessed Sacra-ment, and in saying the Psalmes of the passion completed his dayes and ended his life the last day of August, in the yere of our lord. M.CCCC.xxii.

THIS Henry was a kyng whose life was immaculate & his liuyng without spot. This kyng was a prince whom all men loned & of none disdained. This prince was a capitaine against whom fortune never frownd nor mischance once spurned. This capitaine was a shepherd whom his flocke loved and lounyngly obeyed. This shepherd was such a justiciary that no office was unpunished nor friendship vnrewarded. This justiciary was so feared, that all rebellion was banished and sedicion suppressed. His vertues were nomore notable then his qualities were worthy of place, for in strength and agilitie of bodye frō his youth fewe were to him coparable: for which cause in wrestlyng, leapyng and runnyng no man almoste durst with him presume, in castyng of great yron barres and heny stones, he excelled commonly all men. No colde made him slouthfull, nor heat caused him to loyter, and when he most labored his head was vncovered. He was no more wery of harnes then of a light clote. Hunger and thirst were not to him noysome. He was neuer aferde of a wounde nor neuer sorrowed for the paine. He neither turned his nose from cuuill sauoure, nor frō smoke or dust he would not close his eyes. No man could be founde more temperate in eatyng and drinkyng, whose diete was not to delicate, but rather mete for men of warre than for virgyns. Every honest person was permitted to come to him sityng at his mele, and either secretly or openly to declare his mynde and intent. High and weightie causes aswell betwene men of warre & other he wold gladly hear, and either determined the him selfe or commited the to other to gene sentence. He slept very lytle and that onely by reason of bodely labour & vuquetness of mynde, frō the whiche no small noyse could awake him, insomuch that when his soylediers either sang in the nightes or their minstreles played that all the campe souded of their
their noyse, he then slept most soildy. His courage was so constant and his heart so vnum-
table that he cast away al feare, and dread fô him was banished. If any alarum wer made
by his enemies, he was fyrst in armure and the fyrst that would set forward. In the time of
war he gat knowledge, not onely what his enemies did, but what they sayd and entended, so
that al thynges to him were known, & of his deuices few persons before the thing was at the
point to be done should be made priuie. He had such knowledge in orderyng and guy-
yng an armye and suche a grace in encouragyng his people, that the Frenchmen sayd he
could not be vâquisht in battell. He had suche wit Suche prudence and suche pollicie that he
never enterprised any thyng before he had fully debated it and foresene al the mayne chanceus
that might happen: and when the end was concluded, he with all diligence and courage set his
purpose forward. Marueile it is to heare howe he beyng a prince of honor, a prince of youth,
a prince of riches, did continually abstain frô lascious liyng & blynd auarice, yea, & in the
time of losse he was no more sad then in the tyne of victory, which constant few men haue
or can vse: Suche a stable stomacke had he and such a grauitie was geuen in the botome of
his heart. What pollicy he had in findyng sodaine remedies for present mischiefes, and what
practice he vse'd in sauing him selfe and his people in sodaine distresses excepte by his actes
they did plainly appeare, I thinkYt weare almost a thyng incredible. What should I speake
of his bountefulnes and liberalitie no man could be more gentle, more liberal nor more free
in geuyng rewards to al persones according to their desertes: Saiyng that he had leuer dye
the to be subiect to auarice, and that he never desired to haue money to kepe, but to gene
and spend. He was merciful to offenders, charitable to the nedy, indifferent to al men,
faithful to his fredes, and fierce to his enemies, toward God most devout, toward the world
moderate, and to his realme a very father. What should I say, he was the blasyng conuete
and apparent lanterne in his daies, he was the mirror of Christendome & the glory of his
countrey, he was the floure of kynges passed, and a glasse to them that should succede. No
Emperor in magnanimitie euere her excelled. No potentate was more pitious nor lorde more
bounteous. No prince had lesse of this subiectes and neuer kyng coquered more: whose fame
by his death as liuely florisheth as his actes in his life were sene and remembered. When his death
was published among the cômen people, incûnet their heartes wer appauled and their cou-
rages abated, their dolor so mucho encreased & their wittes were so mucho troubled that they
like mad men rent their garmentes and tare their heere, accusyng and blamyng fortune which
had taken away from them so precious a iuwell, so noble an ornament & so sure a defence: for
no doubt as much hope as was taken away frô the Englishmen, for the gettyng of Fraunce by
his sodain death, so much trust was encreased in the stomackes of the Frenche nacion, hopyng
to recover their auncient libertie and old parentage. For whiche cause some say that he was
poysioned, the Scottes write that he died of the disease of s. Fiacre, whiche is a palsey & a
craüpe. Enguerant sayth that he died of S. Anthonies Fier, but al these be but fables as
many no write. For Peter Basset esquire which at the time of his death was his châberlain
affirmeth that he died of a Plurisis whicheat that tyme was so rare a sicknesses and so straüg
a disease that the name was to the most part of men vnknowne & phislisies wer acquaintance
as lytly with any remedy for the same, and therefor every mâ iudged as he thought, and named
a sicknesses that he knew, shoyngt not nere the pricke nor understandyng the nature of the
disease. This kyng reigned. ix. yeres. v. monethes and. xxiii. dayes & liynd not ful. xxxviii.
eries: he was of stature more then the cômen sort, of body lene, wel mebred & strügly
made a face beatuiful somewhat long necked, black beered, stout of stomake, eloquent of
tong, in marcial affaires a very doctor, & of al chivalry the very Paragone, His body was
enbaunned & closed in lede & fayde in a charet royal richely appareld with cloth of gold,
upon the corps was layd a representaacion of his person adorned with robes, diadem, scep-
ter & bal like a kyng, the which charet was drawe with. vi. horses richely trapped with se-
veral armes, the fyrst with the armes of S. George, the. ii. with armes of Normandy, the.
iii. with the armes of kyng Arthur, the. iiiii. with the armes of S. Edward, the fift with the
armes of Fraunce onely, and the sixt with the armes of England and Fraunce, On this Charet
The I. Yere of

THE. I. YERE OF

gaue attendance James kyng of Scottes the principal morner, the duke of Exceter Thomas his
treble, the earle of Warwike Richard, the earle of Marche Edmond, the earle of Stafford Humfrey, the
earle of Mortaine Edmonde Beauford, the lord Fitzhugh Henry, the lord Hungerford Water,
sir Lewes Robert Burchier, sir Ihon Cornewale lord Fahope, and the lord Crumwel wer the
other morners. The lord Louel, the lord Audely, the lord Morly, the lord Souche bare the
baners of sainctes and the Baron of Dudley bare the standard & theerle of Longuile bare the baner.
The Hatchementes wer borne onely by capitaines to the nobre of. xii. and roud about the
charret rode. CCCC. mē of armes al in blacke harnes & their horses barded blacke with
the but of their speres vpward. The cōduitt & ordre of al this dolorous dole was comanded
to sir Williā Philip treasurer of the kynges houshold and to sir Wyllii Porter his chief car-
uuer and other. Beside this, on euer syde of the charret went, CCC. persons holdyng long
torches, and lوردs bearung baners, banerols & penons. With this funeral Pompe he was
conveighed from Boys de Vyncens to Paris and so to Roan, to Abbeuile, to Caley's, to Do-
uer and so thorough London to Westminster, where he was buried with suche solempne cer-
emonies, suche mournyng of lوردes, suche priayer of priestes, suche lamentyng of com-
mons as never was before that day sene in the realme of Englande.

Shortly after this soloempnittie, his sorrowly quene returned into England and kept her es-
tate with the yong kyng her sone. Thus ended this noble and puissant prince his most noble &
fortunate reigne over the realme of England: whose life although cruel Atropos before his
tyme abbreviated, yet neither frye, rust, nor frettyng tyme shal amongst Englishmen ether
appall his honoure or obliterate his glorye whiche in so fewe yeres and brief dayes achiued so
high adventuress and made so great a conquest.

¶ The ende of the victorious actes of kyng Henry the fift.

THE TROUBLEOUS SEASON OF KYNG

HENRY THE SIXT.

Death the determinate end of mannes life, and of all yearly thynges the finall point
and pricke, which fauoureth nether Emperour nor spareth kyng, but at his pleasure
confoundeth riche and slaith poore, vnbodyng the solle of this godly prince this marcial
capitain and renoumed persons, not onely dismailed and appalled the hertes and corages of
the English nacion, but also pufte vp and encouraged the myneds and stomackes of the
Dolphyn and his proude people: The one parte thynkyng, the kepyng of Normandy and
other dominions to hym gaunyn to bee very dangerous, The other part trustyng the farther
conquest in Frauce not onely to be doubtfull, but to their judgementes apparently impos-
sible: Yet the politike Princes and sage Magestrates of the realme of England well remem-
bryng thynges that wer passed, and sagely ponderyng the tyme present, but moste of all
prudently forseyng chaunces imminent and perels at hand, to thentent to set the membres of
the body stedfast vnder the hedde, Whiche as shepe without a sheperd far from the fold
might wandre and straie at large, caused yong prince Henry, the sole orphane of his noble
parent kyng Henry the fift, beuyng of the age of. ix. monethes or there about with the
sound

THE. I. YERE OF
sound of trumpettes openly to be proclaimed kyng of Englande and of Fraunce the xxx. daie of August, in the yere of our lorde. M. ccc. xxii. by the name of kyng Hery the sixt, to the great rejoyysyg and comfort of all the Englishe nacion.

AND the custody of this young prince was appoynted to Thomas duke of Excester, and to Henry Beaufford bishopp of Wynchester: the duke of Bedford was deputed to be Regent of Fraunce, and the duke of Gloucester was assigned Protector of Engonde. Whiche takyng vpon hym that office, least paradoynture he might herafter repent his actes and dyoynes, as a man remembring other and forgettyng hymself, called to hym wise and graue counsailers, by whose aduise he provided and ordeyned for all thynges whiche ether rehoulded to the honor of the realme, or seusd profitable to the publique wealt of the same. And when he had set in an ordre al matters concernyng the inward affaires of the realme of Englande, he prouyed farther all thynges necessary and convenient for warre and farther conquest in Fraunce, and appoynted valiant & expert capitanes whiche should be ready when opportunitie of tyne required. Beside this, he gathered great somes of money to mainteyn the men of warre, and left nothyng forgotten that might let or hynder his purposyt enterprise.

WHILE these thynges were thus devised within the realme of Englande, the duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied then toke Payne, not onely to kepe and ordeyn the countreys and regions by kyng Henry late coquerred and gained, but also determined not to leue of from daily warre and continuall trauaille till the tyme that Charles the Dolphyn (whiche was now a flote, because kyng Charles his father in the moneth of Octobre this present yere, was departed to God,) wer ether subdued or brought to dewe obeyssance. And surely the deth of this kyng Charles caused many alteracions & chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a greate parte of the nobilitie whiche ether for feare of the puissance of the Englishmen, or for to please and folowe the mynde and appetite of Charles the Frenche kyng, toke parte with kyng Henry against the Dolphyn: Heryng now of the French kynges death, returned from the English part and adjoynted themselfs to the companie of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied how to vanquish and dryue ayaire the Englishe nacion out of the territory of Fraunce.

THE Duke of Bedford beeyng greatly movyd with these sodaine chaunges, fortified his tounes bothe with Garrisons and municions, and assembled together a great armie bothe of Englishmen and Normans, to whom he made a long oracion, admonysyng them to obserue and kepe their othe & faith (whiche thei had made to the late kyng Henry and his heires) insolate and vnbroken, willyng them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsailers that young kyng Henry should be depriued from his fathers lawfull inheritance, by the hatred of certayne traitors Frenche men which had renewed the old hatred byng of late extinct betwene the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and studied to set all thynges again in a broyle: requiring them also to call to their memory how that the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, the twoo moost famous regijs of all Europe, by the benifite of almightie God, wer of late so united and joyned together in an eternall league and comosition, and so stroly established that no worldly power wer able or of puissance sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although sometymes by chance of warre the losse mighte turne on their part, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recovered and a surplissage gaine. And if (according to their bounden dutyes) they would honor serue and lose young kyng Henry their soueraigne lorde, and would diligently persecute & set on his enemies, thei should not onely shewe theitheselves true and faithfull subiectes to their true and vn doubted kyng: But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receyve of hym condigne rewardes, ouer and beside immortal fame and reuonne.

THIS exhortacion staid the hertes of many of the Frenche capitanes, whiche willingly sware to Kyng Henry faulitie and obedience by whose example the comonalle did thesame. Thus all the people set in an ordre in the realme of Fraunce, nothyng was mynded but warre and nothyng was spoken of but of conquest. The Dolphyn whiche lay at this tyme in
THE II. YERÉ OF

the cитеe of Poytiers beryng of the death of his parent had his berte mixed bothe with ioye and sorowe: for notwithstandingyng that he was sorrowfull as a naturall child which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power & princely estate was now to lym happened by the whiche he judged that he should be the more able to defend his enemies and recouer more frendes: & soo callying together the Princes of his faccion, caused hymself to bee proclaimed Kyng of France by the name of Charles the. vij. And the beyng in good hope of recoueryng his patrimony & expellyng his enemies, with a haut corage prepared war & assembed together a great armie, and first the war began by light skirmishes, but after it proceeded into main batailles.

THE Dolphyn thynkyng not to make long delays in so greate a cause, lest the power of his enemies might daily be augmented, sent the lorde Grauile to the toune of Pont Melance stuydyng on the ruer of Seyne, whiche so sodainly came to thesame that he was on the walles or the souldiers within heard of his approche, and so he toke the toune and slewe a greate nombre of the English souldiers. When the Reget of Fraunce was aduertised of this sodain enterprise, he apoynted the Lorde Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, a manne bothe for his greate pollicie and haute corage more to be comparde to the old valiant Romans then to men of his daies, accompanied with the erle of Suffolk, the lorde Scales, the yong lorde Pounynges, sir Ihon Fastolfe master of the houshold with thesaid lorde Regent, and diverse other to besiege the toune of Pont Melance, which after two monethes was rendered tothesaid erle, and the lorde of Grauile sware to be trew to the Kyng of Englande ever after that daie, but shortly after he forgettyng his other returned to his old master again. The erle of Salisbury apoynted sir Henry Mortimer and sir Richard Vernon to be capitaines of that toune. And from thenc departed into Champaignie and ther besieged the toune of Sens and toke sir Guillam Maryn the capitain and slewe all the souldiers within the toune, and made there capitaines sir Hugh Geddyng and sir Richard awbemond.

THE Parisians whiche ever like the Wethercocke be variable and inconstant, perceiyng that the Dolphyn daily began to have more aide and power then he was before accustomed, trusting to returne again vnder his obeyssance and subiecció (whiche they bothe wished and desired) to the intent that it should not apere to come of their desire and that their faith and fidelite should not be put in the balance of diffidence with the Englishs nation, sent diverse Senators of their citee as Ambassadors to the kyng of Englad, desirying hym of aide and succor, to whom not onely greate thankes were rendered for doyng their dutie of subiecció, but also high feastes wer made, and promises declared that if they stil continued in due obeyssance, and wer not adherent to the kynges enemies, ý neither succour should want, nor cost should be spared for their comen cófort and publike utilite. With whiche answer the cópaiguys outwardly pleased (whatsooner they inwardly imagind) departed to Paris. In this season Humfrey duke of Gloucester either blynded with ambicion or doyng for lone, married the lady Iaquet or Incomin daughter and sole heire to William of Baunor duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to Ihon duke of Brabant then hyuyng, whiche mariage was not onely wounded at of the comon people, but also detesed of the nobilite, & abhorred of the Clergie. But surely the swete tast, of this pleasant mariage, brought after a sover sauce, bothe to the anmorous housbande, and to the wanton wife. For Ihon duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, never left of, till he had recovered his Lady out of the Duke of Gloucesters possession, as after you shall here.

¶ THE SECONDE YERÉ.

These chauces thus happenyng as you have heard, Ihon duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgoyyn, & Ihon duke of Britayn, made an assemble & friendly enteriuew in the cитеe of Amias, where they renewed the olde league and auncent amitie made betwene the noble prince kyng Hery the fift, and them, before concluded: addyng therto these códícious and agreementes, eché of them to be to other bothe frend and aider, and the enemy of the one
to bee enemy to the other, and all they to bee bothe frendes and aiders to the kyng of Englande, and well wyllyng to his wellwellers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinite is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betwene the duke of Bedford and the lady Anne sister to the duke of Burgoyne. When these agreementes were finished, the Regent departed to Troyes in Châpain, whether with high pompe was conueighed the lady Anne of Burgoyne, whiche in the presence of her brother and her Fyne duke of Brabant, and of therles of Salisbury and Suffolke, and of ix. C. Lordes knightes and esquires, she was married to Ihon duke of Bedford with suche solomnitie, feste and triûphe, as before that tyne had not been seen of the Burgonions.

DVRYNG this triumphe, the Parisiâs thinkyn to blind the iyes of the duke of Bedford wrote to hym, how dverse Castles & fortresses flyng rounde aboute their territory, wer replenished with his enemies, daily stoppyng their passages, and robbynge their marchantes, to their utte vndoyng, if they by his helpe wer not relieved: fraudelently meanyng, and falsely entisyng hym to absent hymself from theim, till their craftie conueighed purpose wer compassed and achiued. For dource of those stubberly beryng the yoke and subiucciou of the English nacion perceiuing the duke of Bedforde and the principall capitanes of the Englishmen to be farre from Paris, empoyling themselfes to ioy and solace for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to bryng into the ciete Charles the Dolyphyn calyng hymself-Frenche kyng, duryng the tyne of his absence. And to thentent that their inteuied purpose should succede, they therof advertised the Dolyphyn and his counsaill approyntyng the daie of his comyng and the post of his entre. But no treason is commonly biden nor no sedicion long vnreuel, for Pies will chatter and Mice will pepe, but by whom I cannot declare: The Regente was informed of all the secrete confederacy and sedicious faciô, wherfore he meanyng not to lose in short tyne, that whiche in no small space was gayued, put spurre to the horsse, and with a great power entred into Paris one daie before the faire was appointed, and two nightes before the lokyng for of his enemies, who beyng vnprouided he sodainly caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this iecapardy thus escaped, he putte diffidence in all the Parisiâs trusting litle the nobles and genyng lesse erudite to the comons, determined to fortifie the Garrisons of his owne nacion and all the Castles nere and adjoyning to the ciete, whiche within small tyne were habundauntly furnisshed. And to auoyde all nighte watchers adjoynting to Paris and the confines of thesame, he fist toke into his possession ether by assaute or composicion the toune of Traynel and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castles the one called Pacy and the other called Cursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisiâs, he sent sir Ihon Fastolfe great Master of his houshold, with a notable army to besiege the Castle of Pacy, whiche takyng vpon him that enterprise so handled his enemies that the capitaine named Guyllam Reymo esquire & all the garrison yielded them simply to his mercy and discreciô whom he sent as prisoners to the ciete of Paris, and after besieged the Castle of Coursay whiche to hym was shortly rendered vpon like appoyntmît, and so with præe and prisoners he returned to the lord Regent his master. In this very season the Dolphin sent lord William Stuard Constable of Scotland, and therle of Veutadore in Auergne and many other nobles of his part to laie siege to the toune of Cruaût in the coué of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyne, wherof beyng the lord Regent and the duke of Burgoyne thei assembled a great armie, wherof was ordeneid capitaine the erle of Salisbury, accompanied with these valeant personages.

The lorde Willoughby.  Sir Ihon Grey.
The lorde Pownynges. Sir Reignold Grey.
The lorde Molyns. Sir Ihon Arthur.
Sir Thomas Rampston. Sir Henry Bisset.
Sir Ihon Passheley. Sir Richard Leke.
Sir Thomas Flemyng. Sir Gilbert Halsall.
Sir Edmond Heron. Sir Lancelot Lisle.
THE II. YERE OF

Thomas Aborough.
William Glasdale.
Mathew Gough.

And of the Burgonions.

The lorde Sent George.
The erle of Ioniguye.
The erle of Brayne.
The lord of Castelyn Marshal of Burgoynye.
The lorde of Vergier his bastard.
The lorde of Chastelon.

AND many other to the nombre (aswel of Englishmen as Burgonions) of xv. M. men of warre, which came in good array to gave battaill to the besiegers of the toune of Crauant, and because the Riuier of Youne which renneth by thesaid toune was betweene the Englishe army and their adversaries, they could not wel assaile their enemies which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstanding bothe horsmen and foemen of the Englishe part coragiously put themselv into the riuier and with fyne force recovered the banke, whom the Burgonions incontinent followed. When they wer all gotten into the plain, the Archers shot and the Bilmen strake, & long was the fight in indifferent judgement, but in conclusion the Frenchmen not able to resist the force and abyde the puissance of the English nacion, wer take either slain or discomfited, for in the mortall battaill were slain and taken to the nombre of viii. M. men, where of the names of the chief capitanes here shall aper.

Frenchmen slain.
The erle of Lestreake.
The erle of Comygenes.
The erle of Tumer.
The lorde Coquart de Cameron.
The Bastard of Arnynacke.
The Vicount of Towraye.
The Bastard of Forest.
The lorde de Port.
The lorde Memoracie. And xviii. hundred knights and esquires beside commons.

Taken prisoners.
The Constable of Scotland whiche lost his iye.
The erle of Vantadore.
Sir Alexander Meldrayne.
Sir Lewys Ferigny.

And, xxii. C. gentlemen of the Frenche nacion taken.

And, iii. M. Scottes slain.

Scottes slain.
The lorde of sent Ihons toune.
Sir Ihon of Balgrarie.
Sir Ihon Turnebull.
Sir Ihon Holiburton.
Sir Robert Lile.
Sir William Conyngham.
Sir William Douglas.
Sir Alexander Hunye.
Sir Willyam Lisle.
Sir Ihon Rocherfore.
Sir William Crawford.
Sir Thomas Seton.
Sir William Hamolton and his sonne Ihon Pillot.

AFTER this fortunate victory obtained, the Englishmen first gave great laudes and thanks to almightie God and after entered into the toune of Crauant muche praises the doynges of the capitanes and the fideltie of the citizens, and when they had set all thynge in an ordre they returned to Paris where of the regent they were joyously received, whiche there constituted therle of Salsbury (as he was wel worthy) vicegerent and lieutenant for the king & him in the countries of Fraunce, Bry and Champaigne, & sir Ihon Fastolf he substituted deputie under him in the duchy of Normady on this syde the riuier of Seyne, & capitanes
with that he deputed him governour of the courtys of Aniow & Mayne, and assigned able capitanes in every holde & fortress. Tharle of Salsbury whiche could not slepe in his great office of trust, layd siege to the toune & castle of Montagullon in Bry, wherof were capitanes Pregent of Cotyny & Guille Bourgoys Britons whiche valiantly defened the castle by y space of v. monethes, but inclosure the assailantes wer so fierce that they within for safeguard of their liues rendred the hold, & the capitanes swere neuron to bere armure against the Englishmen on this side the riuere of Layre: duryng which siege the erle of Suffolke toke by force the castle of Coucy: and the strong castle de la roche he gat by appointment in Mosconoyes.

NOWE must I go backe to put you in memorye howe Iames kyng of Scottes beyng bothe prisoner in the tyne of kyng Henry the fourth and also as subject to kyng Henry the fift his soone, serynyng him in his warres in Fraunce tyl he departed out of this transitory life at Boys de Vyncens and so as chief morner attended on the corps of the sayd deceased vnto his burial, and after at Westminster was released of his captiuitie and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowledge therof you shal understande that Englande demaunded a small raunsome for so great a prince as the Scottes accompte their kyng (and the Scottes were neither able nor offered no summe conventient) wherfore the counsell of the realme of Englande granously pondered and wisely considered that if by coniunction of marriage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble band of amitie betwene the Frenche and Scottishe nacions should be shortly broken and dissolved. Wherfore the protector of the realme of Engliad by the consent of the whole baronage of the same gane to him in mariage the Lady Iane daughter to Ihon earle of Sommerset deceased, not onely sister to Ihon then duke of Sommerset but also cosyn garmayne remoued to the kyng and nece to the cardinal of Winchester and the duke of Exceter.

THE kyng of Scottes hauyng great affection to this fayre Lady, but muche more desirynge his deliuerance and libertie, putt in hostages for the residuce of his raunsome because a great part thereof was deminished and abated for the money allowed to hym for his mariage, & so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alacke, the olde proverbes bee to true: an Ape although she bee clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scotte neuer so gentely enterteined of an Englishe prince will be but a dissimulyng Scotte. What kyndnes could be more shewed to a prisoner then to bryng hym vp in good litterature. What loue maie bee more declared to a captiue, then to instructe hym in marciall feates and warlike affaires: What fayner can be more ascribed to a high and renommed prince, then to geue in mariage to his vnderlyng and vassall his cosyn and kinswoman of his royal parentage lawfully discended. All these kyndneses suffised not, nor all these gratuities avaied not to make this iames Iames kyng of Scottes friendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstanding his homage doen to the young Henry kyng of Englande and of Fraunce at his Castle of Wynsor this present yere, before three Dukes, twoo Archibishoppives, xii. erles, x. bishoppes, xx. barons, and twoo hundred knihtes and esquires and mo, accordin to the tenor here after foloyng.

"I Iames Stuart kyng of Scottes, shalbe true and faithfull vnto you lorde Henry by the grace of God kyng of Englande and Fraunce the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche I holde and claim to hold of you, and I shall bære you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lymeye and worldly honor against al men, and faithfully I shall knowledge and shall do to you servicie due of the kyngdö of Scotland aforesaid. So God help me and these holy Evangelistes."

NEITHER regardyng his othe, nor estemyng the great abundance of plate and riche Clothes of Arras, to hym by the mother and vncles of his wife liberally geuen and freedly deliuered (of which sorte of riches fewe or none before that daie wer ever seen in the courtrey of Scotlande) like a dogge whiche hath cast vp his stomacke and returneth to his vomet, or like a snake whiche after his engenderyng with a Lampray taketh again his old poysen: After he had once taken the ayre and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle became.
came like his false fraudulator for fathers, an vntrue prince and like his proude praying progenitors take the ymage of a bragging and hostyng Scot, newly allied himself with the Frenche nacion. And yet what sooner he did, his nation bothe write and testified, that by the learning which he by the great benefit of the kynges of Englande during his captiuitie in this realme had obtaigned, replenished his countrey with good litterature, and by the nurture the which he was brought vp in England, he brought his people to ciuitie: So that his captiuitie was to his nacion the greatest libertie that euer they could have, deliering them from blinde ignorance to Angelicke knowledge, reduying them from bestial maners to honest behavor, and in conclusion causying them to knowe vertue from vice, policie from rudenes, and humain honestie from sauage liuyng. This was the deliuerance and the doynges of Iames the fyrst of that name kyng of Scottes, whiche neither reigned verye quietely, nor yet euer fauored Englishmen before the Frenche people: sauyng that he hauyng with him into his countrey a yong gentleman of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (which during his captiuitie was his companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the whiche the lord Gray of Scotland at this day do descend.

q THE. III. YERE.

NOW leue I the doynges of Scotland, and returne to the affaires of England. The duke of Gloucester beyng protector and gouernor of the realme, cosideryng that wood must be ministred to kepe fyre, and men ought to be set to set forwarde war, called to him the pierses and nobilitie of the realme, and by their agrements & deuises, sent into Fraine to the regent his brother. x. M. men of warre, whiche were of the same regent in the countrey of Paris louyngly receiued, & according to their degrees honestly entertained. During their liyng in Paris, diuers chauncess happened in France, for euyn as Englishmen valiantly wolue, and visitualliy conquered tounes and castelles with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchmen fraudelently stale & courtely obtained diuers fortresses and holdes appertainyng to thenglishe faccion, & in especial the fayre toun of Compaigne, & the pretie toun of Crotoy.

WHEN the duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftye trickes and sodaine intented traines, he sent furth an army, fyrst to Compaigne, wherof was capitaine the erle of Suffolke accompanied with theric of Liguy, & diuers other capitaines of the Englishmen, whiche lay on the one side of the riuere of Sohame, & on the other side laye the lord Lisle Adam, sir Thomas Raupstone, & the prouest of Paris. The Frenche beyng strongly furnished and well vitailed, courageously defended the toun against the assailantes. The Englishmen perceiuing that Guylliâ Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had beue the fader of the souldiers within the toun, which before at Pacy was take prisoner by sir Ihon Fastolf, caused him to be set for to Paris, and so brought him to the seige, and set him in a chariot with a halter aboute his necke, and coweighed him to the gibet without the toun, sending worde to the garrison within the toun, that if they would not without delay rede the toun & fortesse, they would incotinent stragle their old capitaine and chief conduc- tor. The souldiers within the toun perceiuing that if Guylliâ Raymond the onely trust of their relefe, and the auncient frend in their necessitie, should suffre death, that then their hope of al ayde were extinguished, & the sure nutriment of their liuyng was from them secluded: for the deliuerance of him and sauegarde of them selues, yelded the toun: so that both he & they might depart with horse and harnes onely, in sure conduite and safetye: yet long or the toun of Compaigne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall whiche was sent to Crottoy by the lorde regent with. viii. C. men to besiege the toun, gat it by assault sodainly, or the Frenchmen had either desposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgynges and toke all the men of warre and put them to raunsome. And so these ii. tounes cowardly stollen, were manfully recovered, but yet the writers of Frenche fables to deface the glorye of the Englishmen,
KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

Englishmen, write and say that these touymes were yeld to the Burgonyons, whiche neither had the kepyng of them nor were sondiers to any other person but to the kyng of England. While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce, sir Ihon de la Pole brother to thele of Suffolke capitaine of Auranches in Normandy, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the countrey of Aniow, & came before the eytie of Angiers and brent the subbarbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole countrey, and hauyng as many prays and prisoners as his men might cary, he was encoutryed by the earle of Aubemerle, the vicount NARBONE and. vi. thousand Frenchmen: whiche fyndyng the Englishmen out of array because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodainly set on the and steue. CCC. persons and toke prisoners the said sir Ihon Delapolle, sir Ihon Basset, Ihon Aulford luetteneant of Falroys, Ihon Clyiton, Henry Mortymer and. vi. C. other. Although the Frenchmen gat this day in one place, yet they wet not victorious away in another, for the bastard de la Bauline and the lorde Craignay capitanes of Courallon with a great band, made a roade into Massconnoys, with whom by chance met Mathew Gough and other Englishmen which were scouring the countrey to se and heare newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict and an hard encounter, the partes in maner beyng of corage & nombre egal, but after long fight, the Frenchmen almost al wer slaine & taken, and the bastard beyng wel horsed fled after whom folowed with the fiersnes of his spurres Mathew Gough and chased him to his castle gate and there toke him as he would have hid him in the diche & prested him to the earle of Salsbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, whiche not onely gau to him the rightes belonging to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly courser and highly exalted his name and manhode.

ABOVE this season, Arthur brother to Ihon duke of Britaine commonly called the earle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the countrey, notwithstanding that king Henry the. v. had created him earle of Yury in Normandy & gauie him not onely a great pecion but thesame toune of Yury; yet because his brother the duke of Brytaine fearyng the Englishmen nowe hauyng Normandye would smel and desire to tast the swete soyle of Britaine, was late (contrary to his lease and othe) returned to the part of Charles the dolphyn, he likewise returned and crafte without cause fled into Flaunders & so came to the dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his croyng then if he had gained a C.M. crownes, for the Britons which kept the toune and castle of Yury hearyng that their master was joyned with the dolphyn bothle kepte the castle against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it dayly with new people & municon, and also infested, spoyled and robbed the countrey adioyng, doyng to the Englishmen the most hurt & damage that either could be denised or imagined.

THE lord Regent beyng advertised of all these troubles & calamities, assebled a great army both of Englishmen and Normans, entenying to serche the dolphyn in euery part, to thesent to geue him battail in a pitched field and so to make a final ende of his entendt conquest. So hauing in his companye thelre of Salsbury, thelre of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the lord Willoughby, the lord pounyng, sir Reynold Grae, sir Ihon Fastolf, sir Ihon Saluayne, Lanslot Lisle, sir Philip Halle, sir Ihon Pasheley, sir Ihon Gray, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harlyng, sir William Oldhal and many other valiant knightes and esquieres to the nombre (as the Frenche writers testifie) of xviii.C. men of armes and. viii.M. archers and other, came before the toune of Yury whiche was well defended: but the Englishmen began to vndermine the walles, so that they withinwither glad to rendre the toune yp conditioner, which was taken. Howbeit the capitanes of the castle promised to yeld if their fortresse wer not rescued at a day assigned by the dolphyn with a number sufficiet to raise the siege, & vpon this promise hostages wer delivered into the possession of the lord regent. By his licence an herault was sent to the dolphyn to aduertisse him of the tyme determined, the whiche hearyng of the destresse that his people & frendes wer in, sent incontinent Ihon duke of Alanson his lieutenant general, therle Doglas whom at that settyng furth he made duke of Toraine, and therle Boughan, whom then in hope of good speode he made Constable of Fraunce.
Fraunce (whiche office he enjoyed not fully an hundredth hours) and the res of Aumarle, Vitadoure, Tounerre, Maulieurier Forest, the vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the lorde of Graulle, Gaules, Malycorne, Manny, Ballay, Fountaines, Mountfort, & many other noble knightes and esquiers to the nombre of. xv.M. Freche men & Britons and. v.M. Scottes whom the erle Doglas had transported late out of Scotland more for neede then for loue.

THIS army royal approached within. ii. miles of Yury and sent. xl. light horsemen to view and espie both the number and conduct of the Englishmen. These spyes came very nere to the siege and wer espied and chased to their companions againe, and declared all what they had seen and perceived. The duke of Alanson sayng that he could not gette any advantage of the Englishmen (although the Dolfyn had geuen hym in straight commande to fight with the regent) whether his heart ayed or he thought to trye a more fortunate season for his purpose and enterprise, retir'd backe with his whole army to the toune of Vernoule in Perche whiche belonged to the kyng of England, & sent word to the garison of that toune that they had discosité & slaine al the English army and that the regent with a small nöber by swyftnes of his horse had saucd him self. The inhabitanites of Vernoule genyng to light credit to the Frenche fablers, receiued the duke of Alasion with al his army into the toune & submitted the selues to him. Whiche toune he desyred to haue of the gift of the dolphyn as his owne inheritance & lawful patrimony. Now approached the day of rescous of Yury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumpcion, at which day no rescous appeared to sir Gerrard de la Pallier captain of the castle, whiche beyug in dispaye of all ayde and com- forte, presented the keys to the duke of Bedford & shewed him a letter signed & sealed with the hades of. xviii. great lorde which the day before promised to geue the duke battaile and to dissolve the siege and raise the assault: Well sayd the duke, if their hearts would haue serued, their puissaunce was sufficient ones to haue proffered or to haue performed this faith- ful promise. But syth they disdaine to seke me, God and saint George willyng I shal not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyl one part of vs be by bataile ouerthrown: and so he gae a safe condynye to the capitaine and other which wold depart, but many of the Britons within the castle of Yury seyng the faint heartes and the false promises of the flatteryng Frenchmen submitted them selues to the lorde regent and swere to be true to the kyng and him, whom he gentely accepted and put them in wages. Then he furnished the castle and toune with a newe garrison, and inceninent he sent the earle of Suffolke with. vi.C. horses to espy wher the Frenchmen were lodgd, whiche passed by Dampeuille, and came to Bretnel wher he heared newes that the Frenchmen had taken Vernoule in Perche & were there yet abiding, wherof with all diligent celerite he sent word to the duke of Bedford, which not mindyng to lesse long desired pray set forward in great hast toward his enemies. The Frechmen hearyng of his comynge set their people in array and made all one maine bataile without forward or rereward; & appointed certaine Lubardes and horsmen to breake the array of the Englishmen either behynd or at the sides, wherof was capitaine sir Stephyn Venoyles called the hire. The duke of Bedford not ignorant howe to ordre his men, made likewise one entier bataile & suffered no man to be on horsebacke, and set the archers (every one hauyng a sharpe stake) bothe in the front of the bataile and on the sydes like wynges, and behynd the bataile were the pages with the chariottes and caruages, and all the horses were tyed together either with the reynes of their bridles or by the tayles, to thentent that their enemies should not sodainely surprise or disturb them on the backe behynd: and for to defend the carriages were appointed two thousand archers. The Frenchmen at the first sight remembring how often times in piched feldes they had bene overcome and vanquished of the Englishes nacion, began somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they toke good courage to the and set soffely forarde. In whiche marchyng the Duke of Alauzon, sityng on horsebacke saied to his capitaines.

LOVYNG companions, and hardy souldiers, call to your remembrance, how the Englishmen haue not onely gotten from vs the noble isle of Fraunce, the duchies of Normandy and Aniow, but also sith their enterprise and conquest hath bothe slain our parentes and killed
killed our frendes, yea, and hath driven our naturall Prince, and very soueraigne Lorde from his chief habitacion and surest chamber, the faire citee of Paris: which act neuer Pagan durst attemp or ever any prince was able to acheue. Besides this, you se that the duke of Bedford Regent here for the kyng of Engelande, entendingy nothing more then the deposition or the destruction of our kyng and his nobilitie, and in finall conclusion to bring to extreme bondage all vs our wiu,es and children, and all the people of this so long renowned region, by many hundred yeres called the realme of Fraunce, which is as muche to sate as a fre country, or a franke lande. Alas, shal your kyng now be made a subiecte, shall your peres and nobilitie bee made vassals, and you also slaues & bondmen to a forain nacion? Where is the liberty of Fraunce and where is the auncient fredome? When you defended your francedises, and when your hartes serued you: your kyng ruled kynges your princeis possessed the empire, and your nacion subdued Germany, conquered Italy, and overcame the proude Spanyardes. Shall wee now, fallyng out of kynd from our fathers, feare the puissance of the arrogant Englishemen, beyng men of no forecast, nor of no excellente wit, long in gettyng and shortly lesyng? Will you now sufire the olde glory of Fraunce to be put in oblivion? will you have an English infant, whiche liueth with pappe to bee your kyng and governor? Will you liue in seruitude of a barbarous nacion in whom is neither bountifulnes nor honor? Clerckes saie, that the greatest plague, that ever God scourgred with the Israelites, was, when he permitted them to be caried from their natiue countrey to the bondage of Babilon, where they liued in captiuitie by the space of many yeres. What can bee a more greater scouge, then to have a forrein ruler in a free region? What dishonor can there be more to a country, then to haue the nobilitie put backe from rule and to be gouerned by strangers. Beleue me, beleue me, it is to vs all one blot, to bee a slaue in Turkeye, vnnder the Turkishe bondage, and to be a free man in Fraunce vnnder the English libertie. Of this point you be sure: if they gain this battaill, thei be not unlike to obtain the whole region: whiche if thei get, then is the enheritaunce theirs: then be all the riches theirs, and then all the people bee their subiectes. If theye be rulers, fare well the franke and Frenche libertie: If they be lorde, welcome English seruitude. So that now we stand at this poyn, either to be free or bondmen. Whiche terme of bondage is so detested of all nacione, that there can be no more reprooch to a man then to call hym a villain or a bondman. Therfore manly defence must onely withstand this mischief, and hartie corage must drive back this inmiinit plag. This is the daie either of our deliuerauce out of vile seruitude, or the daie of our entry into the vale of bondage. The conclusion of this battaill is very doubtfull, for we bee vanquished, the gain for our side is almost without recovery, cosidryng, that here be the best men, & wisest capitaines vnnder our kyng: And if we get the upper hande, our heddes shalbe free and out of the English yoke. And although the duke of Bedford hath here with him, all the power that he can gather on this side the sea, yet I assure you, (God willnyng) I will not turne one fote backward for fear of hym, or his picked armie. Therfore I exhort you to remembre, your wifes, your children and your selues. Fight manfully and sticke eche to other for the libertie of our countrey: I doubt not but the victory shalbe ours, and the honor shalbe our kynges. For if this daie we vanquishe hym and sparele his armie, we shall so diligentely folowe Fortunes good grace, that not onely Fraunce to vs shall yeld, and Normandy bowe, but we shall recover again al our citees and tounes, whiche out of our possession wer gained, before any aide can come to rescue out of the poore isle of Englande. Now consideryng, that we hang in the baillancce betwene honor and shame, libertie and bondage, gaine or losse, we must take harte and corage to hym, litle regardying, or caryng, either for death, or the force of his enemies, and with a manly countenaunce marche furthoward our foes.

THE Englishemen perceiuyng their greate nombre, and knowyng that the chief strength consisted in the Scottes, began somewhat to stay and consult, what was most expedient to bee done. The duke of Bedford sittyng on a baye courser in the middes of the battaill vnnder
yere of

THE. III. YERE OF

a bāner curiously beten with his Armes, not content with their whisperynges and protract-
yng of tymne, saied vnto theim with an audible voyce.

YOV vaillaunt capitaines and hardie souldiers, my louyng compaynions in armes, and
frendly felowes. If you cośdrie with your self what daie this is: What honor and what
profite wee shall get by our travaile and pain, I doubt not but where you now stand stil
musing, you would runne furth a galloppe, and where you run on your fete, you would,
if you had winges, flie as faste, as ever did Hauke to his praiye. For greate is the honor that
is gotten with paine, and swete is the lucre, that is gayned with travaile, for you muste re-
membre, that nothyng is wel done, if it growe not to a good conclusion: and a thying were
as good neuer to be begon, as neuer ended. My brother our late soueraine lord, (whose
sole God pardon) hath enrected into this countrey, as into his owne lawfull inheritaunce:
and first conquered Normandy, and after by agrement of kyng Charles the vsper, he was
by assent of the nobilitie, agrement of the Clergie, & speciall request of the commonalitie,
restored to his rightfull inheritaunce, and lawfull patrimony, whiche by his death is returned
and come to my nephewe our moste redoubted soueraine. The beginning of this conquest
was good, and the sequelle better, yet resteth the finall knot to be knitte, and the last locke
to be shut vp. For if we suffre Charles the Dolphyn, whiche now vspereth the name, and
estate royall of this realme of Fraunce, to proceade further in his purpose, or to gather more
puyssance, or allure more people, I cannot tell then what feates flattering fortune will worke:
and of this I am sure that if we suffre his fier still to flame, as it hath begon, we shall haue
skant water to quench out the same. Here he hath assembled all the Frenche men that he
can get and for lacke of aide, he hath retained the Scottes: cropppe hym now at the beginnyng
and he shall growe no more: let hym grow farther and he will passe our reache: discomfite
hym now and bryng our conquest to a conclusion: let hym alone now and we shall be new
to begin. Therfore I say, it is wisdome to take occasion, when the hery side and not
the balde side is profered. If we feare the multitude, remembre our owne victories, which
we haue euer obtained by lesse nombre, and not by the greater. If we feare death, remem-
bre the glory and immortall fame, that shall succeade of our vaillaunt actes, if we sell our
lifes so dere. If we shall be slain, considere I haue a kyng to my nephew, and a duke to
my brother, and twoo noble vnclcs, and you haue frendes, kynsenmen and children, whiche
wil reuēge our death, to the vtermost poynct: therfore I saie let every man this day do
his best. For this is the daie of the end of our great travaile, the daie of our greate victory,
and the daie of our everlastyng fame: Therfore good felowes, put your onely trust in God,
call to hym for aide boldly, and marche forward hardly, for our enemies be at had.

HE had skace ended his exhortacion, but the Englishmen byng incouraged with his pru-
dent persuation, sette on their enemies, criyng, Sainct George, Bedford. And the Frenche-
men likewise cried, Mouitoye, sainct Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes
on the one parte, the quarrelles out of the crosse bowes on the other parte. After thei came
to hande strokes: greate was the fight, & terrible was the battail, with so indifferent judg-
ment of victory that no heraulde could determine to whiche parte Fortune moste shewed
her louyng countenaunce. For on bothe sides men wer slaine and wounded, and on bothe
partes some wer felled and recovered, thus stil in a doubtfull judgement, the battaill con-
tinued about three houres. The duke of Alaïson in the meane season neuer ceased to ex-
horte and praiye his people manly to fight, and not to suffre their enemies, (whiche wer at
the very point to be overcom) by their faint hartes to be victors, and overcomers. Likewise
the duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshyng the weake with freshe men, and enco-
ragyng his people with moste plesaunt wordes: But at the last when he perceiued the Frenche-
men, what with heathe, and with travaill, to waxe wery and faint, and not to bee so freshe as
thei wer before (for surely the nature of the Frenchmen, is not to labor long in fightynge,
and muche more braggeth then fighteth) he with al his strength set incontinent on them with
suche a violence, that they bare thems doune to the grounde by fine force. The French

horsemen
horsemen that daie did little service: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desired not muche to approche their presence. This battayl was fought. xxvij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xxv. in the whiche battayl we rere slaine.

Of Frenchemen.
The erle of Aumerle.
The erle of Ventadore.
The erle of Forestes.
The erle of Mary.
The lorde Granile.
The lorde Gaules.
The lorde Fountaynes.
The lorde of Amboys.
The Vicount Thouars.
The lorde Mounteney.
The lorde of Combreste.
The lorde of Brunell.
The lorde Turntle.
The lorde of Poesy. And thre hundred knightes beside.
The Vicount Nerbon whose body was hangde on a gibbet, because he was one of the murtherers, of the duke of Burgoyne.

Of Scottes also wer slaine.
Archibald erle Douglas made duke of Toroyne.
Iames Douglas his sonne erle of Nigton.
Ihon the erle of Boughem newly made Constable of Frankye.
Sir Alexander Meldryne.
Sir Henry Balglauie.
Sir Ihon Sterlyng.
Sir William of Homelsdone.
Sir Iames Graye.
Sir Robert Kanden.
Sir Alexander Lynsaie.
Sir Robert Stewarde.
Sir Robert Swinton, and. xxvij. hundred Scottes of name and armes, besides other.

IN this battayl wer slaine by the report of Montioye kyng at armes in Frankye, and the Englishe herauldes there presente, of Frenchemen and Scottes. ix. thousand and seven hundred, and of the Englishmen. xxj. hundred, but no man of name, sauyng. v. yong esquirers. And there wer taken prisoners, Ihon duke of Alaunson, the bastard of Alaunson the Lorde of Fayect, the lorde of Hormit, sir Piers Harison, sir Loys de Vancort, Sir Robert Brusset, sir Ihon Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen besides common soldiours.

AFTER that the duke of Bedforde had thus obtained the ypper hand of his enemies, and discomfited the onely strength of the dolphin he vpon his knees rendred to almightie God his hartie thankes, not without effusion of tears. Then he commanded all the Frenchmen within the toune of Vernoile, to go out and depart, or els to abide their aduerture. They perceiuyng the evil successe of their hostyng enterprise, and seyng no meane, wherby in so lowe an ebbe, they might be ayded, deliuered vp the toune, and went furthe out of thesame, their lives saued. Of which toune the lorde Regent constituted capitain, sir Philip Hall, and so departed from thence to the cite of Roan, where with triumph (and not vnworthy) he was joyously received and honorably feasted. And after all thnyges there set in an ordre, he remouted to Paris.

HERE you maie see what succeeded of the spirte of false Prophecie. For the duke of Alaunson thinkeing it to be predestinate by the bodies aboue, that he should overcome, and conquere the duke of Bedford, bosted (as you haue heard) to the Burgesses of Vernoile, that he had discomfited the Regent of Franayce with his whole armie, before the toune of Yury: Not knowynge, that Mars the God of battayl beynge angry with his lyng, appoynted, not onely all his puyssaunce to be vanquished before Vernoile, but also hymself, and his bastarde vnclle, there to bee taken, and brought into bondage. So it is often seen that he, whiche rekeneth without his hoste, muste reken twice, and he that fisheth before the net, maie lese but nothinge gain. When this victory was published through Franayce, how the common people lamented their miserable destiny, how the nobilitie mistrusted their awne estate, and how the Dolphyn was abashed, yea, more than abashed, woderfull it were to write, but more merueilous for to heare. For he was driuen out of all the countreys apperteinyng to the croune of Franayce and might resort to no coutries, excepte to Burbonoys, Aluerne, Berry, Poyctou,
Poycton, Towrayn, a part of Aniow and Barrayn, & Languedoc. And because diverse of his frendes whiche were adovcates in Paris exiled théselles frō the parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and jurisdicticns there vnto be longynge, kept, and holden in the name of kyng Henry the sixte, as lawfull heire and very kyng of the realme of Franche: he therefore to shewe hymself as a kyng, erected his courte of Parliament, his Chaimeery, and all other courtes in the citte of Poytiers, and there established his greate scale, with all due circumstances thervnto aperetingynge, whiche there continued by the space of. xiiij. yeres, as you shall after heare declared. The duke of Bedford liyng at Paris, enteyndyng there to bryng to obeisaunce Charles the dolphyn, or els to drive hym out of his little cony holdes, and small countries, set the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Montgomery, sir Ihon Fastolfe, with two thousand men, to conquer the countries of Aniow and Mayn, whiche without assaute had rendred to the the strong castles of Beaumont le Vicôt, Teune, Silly, Ostc, Courceriers, Roussy, Vasse, Couetemenit and twenty other, which for prolixity of tyne, I thynke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe puysaunce was so tried, prouèd, assaied, and spred abroad throughout all Franche, that the Frenche mē thought that in conclusion the Englishe men would haue, or should haue al thynges, which they either wished or enterprised. The duke of Bedford yet thirstynge after more good fortune, sent the erle of Salisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and other approved capitanes, (whose names you haue heard before) into the countres of Aniow & Mayn, which wer euil neighbours to the duchy of Normandy: in whiche army wer. x. M. men of war or ther about. These lusty capitaines entered firste into the countrey of Mayne, and beseged the riche and strong citte of Maunns, the chief teune & emperie of all that country and region. And althoough the cizenzs, aswel for the sodain accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of thatle of Salisbury (whiche was both dred of his enemies, and honored of his frendes,) wer somewhat amased and astonied: Yet their capitaines named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne lord of Toisse, sir Guillum de Marigie, and sir Hugh de Goos, studied and inuented all waies possible how to defend themselfes, and do damage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the teune a crewe and a compainei of warlike and practised soldiers. The Englishmen approched as nigh to the walles as they might without their losse and detrement, and shot against their walles great stones out of great goanes (which kynd of engines before y′ time, was very litte seen or heard of in Franche,) the strokes wherof so shaked, crushed and rued they walles, that within fewe daies, the cizie was dispoyled of all her toures and outward defences. The cizenzs of Maunns muche mcruelyng at these newe orgayncs, bothe seyng their destrucciō imminent, and desperate of all side and succor, offered the teune vpon this condicion: that all persones whiche would tary within the teune might abide, and all that would depart with horsse and harnesse onely, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the teune rendred, wherof the erle made capitan therle of Suifolke, and his lieutenant sir Ihon Fastolfe. After this the said erle of Salisbury besieged the faire teune of saint Susan, wherof was capitan, Ambrose de Lore, a ma of no lesse audacitie then policy, accompanied with a greate nombre of hardy men of warre. When the erle of Salisbury had bothe viewed and seen the situacion and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place whiche was moste weake and worne: and so the trompettes blew to the assault and scalyng ladders were raised to the walles, and the Englishmen with greate noyse began to clime and ascende. The soldiour whiche durste not come out of the teune to encountre with the Englishe armie, manfully rame to the walles to resiste and defende the assaylantes. And so all that daie the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and cizenzs were sore wounded, they never lefte of bothe to defende themselfes, and to anoye and hurte their enemies. When therle perceived that by this light assault and slight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gained nothing, he made a wall and cast a trenche round about y′ teune: & caused his great ordnance to be shotte at that part of the wall whiche was moste feble and slender, and so daily and nightly he never ceasid to beate and breke doune the wall and toures: so that within twoo daies the moste part of the
the wal was persed and cast doune to the ground. When the capitan perceiued these newe feats he began to entreate, and offered for hymself and his soldiers, two thousand crownes, so that they might departe in their doublette onely: so their lives wer saved, whiche some because winter approched, was taken and the toune yelded. Of the whiche toune he made capitan, sir Ihon Popham, a valiant and a circyspect knight. After that the said erle besieged the toune and castle of Mayon la Iuex, wherin was capitan the lorde of Escotaiz: whiche toune after the space of fiue wekes was yelded (the lifes of the defendors onely saued.) To the kepyng wherof he appointed sir Ihon Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the purificacion of our lady, he besieged the caslde de lafort Barnard: during which siege, a sale was made of the toune of Alansô, beying in the Englishmen possession by a Gascoyn & one of the garisô there, for. iiii. C. crownes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other Frenche capitaines. When the daie was apointed of the delueraunce both of the toune and the money, the Gascoigne opened and discovered the whole agrement to the erle of Salisbury: which ordeined the lorde Willoughby and sir Ihon Fastolfe with two thousand Englishmen to encountere with the byers of the kynges toune of Alâson. At the daie apointed and tyme assigned, Charles de Villiers chief marchaunt of this riche enterprise, early in the monsterne with two. C. horslemen, and three hundred footemen approched nere the toune, and abidyng for the Gascoyne, he there displaied his banner, thynkyng triumphantly to entre into the toune: but it hapened otherwise. For or they wer ware, or suspected any rescues, they wer enuironed with the English armie, and slayn & taken every creature, saue Peter Danthonazy and. xxv. other, which by the swiftnes of their horsses saued the selues.

AFTER this conflict ended, the lorde Willoughby with his copny returned to therle of Salisbury, before the toune le Fort Barnard: the capitaines wherof consideryng, that there was no hope of succor to be sente to them, and that their vitaill diminished, and that they were not long able to abide the harde assaultes of the English nacion, rendered the toune and castle, rescruyg to them their horsse and harncis onely, which toune therle receyved to the vse of the kyng: But the regent for the valiant service done by the erle, gaue the same toune to hym and to his heires for ever. Beside this therle partly by assault, partly by composicion, toke diverse other tounes, as sainte Kales, wher he made capitan, Richard Gethyne Esquier, Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouvernor, Matthewe Gough, Guerlande, of the whiche he assigned ruler, John Banaster, Malicorne, wherof he made capitan, William Glasdale esquier, Lise soubz Boulô, wherof was made capitan, sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpellande, wherof was made capitan, Henry Braunch, Mountsuer, of the whiche was made Constable, sir Willîth Oldhall knight, la Susze, was assigned to the kepyng of Ihô Suffolk esquier, and beside this, above. xl. castles and pyles wer ouerthrown and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes wer blowen through Fraunce, some freaded, some feared, and some raged for angrce: But the verity of al thynges beyng by the duke of Bedford declared into Englande, all men reioysed and wer very glad: not onely for the conquest of so many tounes, but also that God had sente theim victory in a pitched feld, and in a mortall battaile. Wherefore generall processions wer commanded, to rendre to God alhumble and hearty thankes, by whose only gif, and not by power of man, these notable victories wer gotten and achiued.

IT is not cœuenient, that I should talke so muche of Fraunce, & omit al thynges done in England. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, ¶ about easter this yere, ¶ kyng called his high court of parlamet, at his toune of Westminster, ¶ comyn to the parliamet hors he was coueyged through the citee vpon a great courser with great triûph, which child was judged of al men, not only to haue the very ymage, ¶ lively portrature, and lovelie countenaunce of his noble and famous father, but also like to succeede, and be his heire in all morall vertues, marcial Policies, and Princeely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to his realnes, seigniories & dominions. In whiche parliamet was graunted to the kyng a subsidie of. xii. d. of the pound, towards the maintenaunce of the warres, of all marchaundise comynyng into
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into this realme, or goyng out of the same, besides other somes sette on euery tonne of li-
quor, and on euery sacke of woolle, aswel of Englishe men, as of straunders. Duryng whiche
Parliament came to London, Peter Duke of Quynber, sonne to the kynge of Poryngale,
and cosin germain removed to the kyng, which of the Duke of Exeester and the bishop of
Winchester his vncles, was highly fested, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the
noble orde of the Garter. Duryng whiche season, Edmonde Mortimer, the last Erle of
Marche of that name (whiche long tyne had been restrained from his liberty, and finally
waxed lame) diseased without issue, whose inheritaunce discended to lorde Richardo Plant-
tagenet, sonne and heir to Richard erle of Cambridge, behed. as you have heard be-
fore, at the toune of Southhapton. Whiche Richard within lesse then. xxx. yeres, as heire
to this erle Edmond, in opè parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as
herafter shal more manifestly appere. In the tyne of which Parliament also, whether it
were, either for deserte or malice, or to auoyde thynges that might chance, according to a
prourerbe, whiche saith, a dead man doth no harme: Sir Ihon Mortimer cosin to the said erle
was attainted of treason and put to execution: of whose death no small slander arose
emongest the common people.

AFTER all these actes done in Englande, and in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Gloucester,
with the lady Iaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea and came to Mens in Henawde,
and there by force toke all suche landes, as Ihon duke of Brabant her first husband had in
possession of the said lady Iaquet, which doyng, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, beyng greate
frende to the duke of Brabant, muche disdained and more frowned at, and thought for the
olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the duke of Gloucester, that he would by frendly
monicion, turne hym from his vnhonest and vngodly life, to a reasonable reformacion, and
brotherly conformitie. Wherfore he wrote louingly to hym, that he should vttely leave of
any further to folowe that newe attempted enterprise, aduertising hym, and protestyng openly,
that the vsurypynge and wrongfully witholdingyng of another manners possession, was not so
vile and slanderous, as the dechlying of a pure & cleane bedde, and adulteriously kepynge the
wife of his christè brother. The duke of Gloucester beyng in this case very willfull, either
blinded with cotage, or inflamed with courteousnesse of his wifes possessions, regarding
neither the admonishment of the duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly advertisement of the
duke of Burgoyn, swore that he would not leave of to make farther war, till he had ex-
pulsed the duke of Brabant, out of his wifes seigniories, territories & dominions. Wher-
fore, the duke of Burgoyn assembled together, a great armie to make war on the duke of
Gloucester, in the cause & quarle of the duke of Brabant his fred and cosyn. The duke,
of Gloucester, partly for great affaires, that then were imminent in the realme of England,
and partly to assemble more people, to resist and withstid the power of the dukes of Bur-
goyn and Brabant; left his wife at Mens in Henawde, with the lorde of the toune, whiche
sware to hym, to defend and kepe her against all men, till the tyne of his returne. Wher-
fore he leaung with her two thousand Englisemen, departed to Calice, and so into En-
glande.

WHEN he was gone, the duke of Burgoyn so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so
famished them within the toune of Mens, that they delivered into his possession the lady
Iaquet or Iaconyme: whiche incintonent sent her to Gaunt, when she disguised her self in a
mannes apparel, and so escaped into a toune of her owne in Zelande, called Zirice, and fro
thence she was conueiied to a toune in Holland called Tregowe, where she was honorably re-
ceived, & there made herself strong to withstande her enemies: And for her succor the Duke
of Gloucester sent to her five hundred me. The dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant left her not
all in quiet, but brent her tonnes in Holland, and slewe her people in Zelande to her greate
detriment and displeasure. But inconclusion, this matter was brought before Martyn the v.
bishop of Rome: whiche adjudged the first matrimony with duke Ihon of Brabant, to be
good and effectuall, and the seconde espousals celebrated with duke Humfrey of Gloucester,
to bee of no value, force nor effecte: and that if the duke of Brabant died, it should not be
lawfull
lawfull to the duke of Gloucester, to mary again with the lady Iaquet. The duke of Gloucester, obeying to this sentence, beganne to waxe lothe of his supposed wife, by whom he never had profite but losse: for whose cause his frendes became his enemies, & for whose sake he was openly slandered. Wherfore he, by wanton affeccion blinded, toke to his wife Elianor Cobham daughter to the lord Cobham, of Sterberow, whiche before (as the fame wēt) was his souveraigne lady and paramour, to his great slander and reproche. And if he wer vnquiet-ed with his other pretensed wife, truly he was tenne tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall herafter plainly perceive: so that he began his mariage with enill, and ended it with worse. The Lady Iaquet after the death of Ihon duke of Brabant, married a gentleman of meane estate, called Frake of Bursellin, for the whiche cause the duke of Burgoyyn imprisoned her hosebande, and left her in greate trouble: suche was the ende of these twoo mariages.

† THE FOURTH YERE.

A little before this tyme, sir Thomas Rampstone, sir Philip Branche, sir Nicholas Burdeit, and other Englishmen to the nombre of v. hundred men, repaired and fortiﬁed the toune of saint James de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adjoyynyn to Britayn. Ar-thure erle of Richemond and Iury brother to the duke of Britayn, whiche like an vntrue gentleman, sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodainly fled to Charles the Dolphyn: whiche muche rejoyynyn of his fauor and amity, gau to hym the Constableship of Flauce whiche therle of Boughan slain before at Vernoyl, a small tyme occupied, and lesse space en-joyed. This newe Constable not a little joyful of his high ofﬁce, thought to do some pleasure to $ dolphyn his master, & to aduancce his name at the first entry into his authoritie, he imagined no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to auoyde and drive out of the toune of saint James de Beueon, al the Englishe nacion. So in hope of victory gathered together aboue. xl.M. men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the toune of saint James, or saint Iaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The Englishmen within, whiche in nombre passed not vi.C. men, manfully defended the daily assaults of the fierce Frenchmen. The Englishmen consulted together what waie was best to be taken: and after long debatyng, they determined to issue out of $ toune and to ﬁght with their enemies. So on a daie, when the Britons were weried with a long assulte, towards the euonyng the Englishmen came out of the toune, one part by the posterne of the Castle, and another part by the gate of the toune, criyng saint George, Salisbury: and set on their enemies bothe before and behind. The Frenchmen seyng the corage of the Englishmen, and hearyng their cri, thynkyng that therle of Salisbury was come to raise the siege, ranne awaie like shipe, and there wer taken, slain and drowned in the water, of them. iii. thousand men and mo. Besides this, these ioly gallantes left behynde them for hast, all their tentes. xiii. greate gonnes, and. xl. barrelles of poudrer. CCC. pipes of wine, CC. pipes of bisket and floure, CC. frailes of Figges and resons, and. v.C. barrelles of herung.

THE Frenchmen (beying thus vanquished) fel in diuision emongest themselues: the one layng to the charge of the other, the losse of their men and the cause of their ﬂying. Suche is ever the chaunce of the war, that when victorie is obtained, the moste coward and faint harted boy will boste and bragg, and when the bataill is loste, the faulte is assigned to the beste, and not to the woorste. The newe Constable was sore dismayed & muche ashamed of this discomfure and shamefull ﬂight, but there was no remedy but pacience: But to the entent to blotte out and deface this shamfull ﬂying with a notable victory, he with a great armie entered into the countrey of Aniowe, and brente, spoyled and destroyed two or thre at the moste, litle poore thetched villages: Whiche smal acte done, his malice was quēched, & his old grief (as he thought) victoriously reveuged.
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IN this season fell a great division in the realme of England, which, of a sparcle was like to growe to a great flame: For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henry Beaumont, sonne to Ithou Duke of Lancastre, by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humphrey duke of Gloucester Protector of the realme, or whether the duke had taken disdain at the riches and pompis estate of the bishop, sure it is that the whole realm was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London fearing that that should insue vpon the matter, wer faine to kepe daily and nightly, watches, as though their enemies were at hande, to besiege and destroye them: In so muche that all the shoppes within the citie of London wer shut in for feare of the fauorers of those two great personages, for eche parte had assembled no small nombre of people. For pacifying whereof, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and the duke of Quymbur called the prince of Portyngale, rode eight tymes in one daie betwene the twoo adversaries, and so the matter was staid for that tyne. The bishoppe of Winchester not content with his nephewe the lorde Protector, sente a letter to the Regente of Fraunce, the tenor wherof insueth.

"RIGHT high and mighty prince, and my right noble and after one, lestest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my harte. And as you desire the welfare of the kyng our souereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and Fraunce, and your awne health and ours also, so hast you hether. For by my trouth if you tary, we shall put this lande in aduenture, with a feld, suche a brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wisdom knowneth, that the profite of Fraunce staideth in the welfare of England, &c.

Written in great hast on Alhallow euene. By your true servant to my lifes ende. Henry Winchester."

THE duke of Bedford beyng sore greued and vnquieted with these newes, constituted the erle of Warwicke, whiche was lately come into Fraunce, with sise thousande men his lieuete-naunte in the Frenche dominions and in the duchy of Normandy, and sowe with a small company, he with the duches his wife, returned againe over the seas into Engiad and the tenth day of January, he was with all solemnite receiued into London, to whom the citizens gaue a pair of bysynes, and a thousande marke in money, and from London he rode to Westminister, and was lodged in the kynges palacie. The xxv. daie of Marche after his comyng to London, a parliament began at the toune of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyne of warre, through their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almoste moved the people to warre and commiotion, in which tyne all men, ought or should be of one mynde, harte and consent: requiring them to defend, serue and drede their soueraigne lorde kyng Henry, in perfourmyng his conquest in Fraunce, whiche was in maner brought to conclusion. In this parlament the Duke of Gloucester, laied certaine articles to the bishop of Wycnesthers charge, the whiche with the answeres hereafter do ensue.

¶ The articles of accusation, and accord, betwene my Lord of Gloucester, and my lorde of Winchester.

Heere insueth the articles, as the kynges counsail hath conceiued, the which the high and mighty prince, my lord of Gloucester, hath surmised vpon my Lord of Wyncesbro Chancellour of Engiand, with the answeres thesamer.

FIRST, where as he beyng protector and defendor of this lande, desired the toure to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richard Woodenuile esquire, hauing at that tyne the charge of the keeper of the toure, refused his desire, and kepte the same toure against hym, vn duly and against reason, by the commandement of my saied Lord of Wincheste: and afterward in approuyng of thesaied refuse, he receiued thesaied Woodenuile, and cherished hym against the state and worship of the kyng, and of my saied lorde of Gloucester.
ITEM my said lorde of Winchester, without the advise and assent of my said lorde of Gloucester, or of the kynges counsail, purposed and disposed hym to set hande on the kynges persone, and to haue remoued hym from Eltham, the place that he was in to Wind-sore, to the entent to put him in suche gouernaunce as him list.

ITEM, that where my said lord of Gloucester, to whom of al persones or that should be in the lande, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to se the gouernaunce of the kynges person, informed of the said vndue purpose of my saied lord of Winchester, declared in the articles neste above saied. And in lettyng thereof, determinyng to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My saied lorde of Winchester, vtruly and against the kynges peace, to the entent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester goyng to the kyng purposyng his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and archers, at thende of London bridge next Southwerke: and in forbarryng of the kynges high way, let drawe the cheine of the stulipes there and set vp pipes and hardelles, in maner and forme of Bulwarke: and set men in chambers, sellers and windowes, with bowes and arrows and other weapons, to thentent to bryng to final destruction my saied lorde of Gloucestres persone, aswell as of those that then should come with hym.

ITEM my saied lorde of Gloucester saith and affirme, that our souereigne lorde his brother, that was kyng Henry the fift, told hym on a tyme, when our said souereigne lorde byeng prince, was lodged in the palacie of Westminster in the greate chambre, by the noyse of a spanyell there was on a nght a man espied and taken behynd a tapet of the said chambre, the whiche man was deliered to there of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his byeng there at that tyme. The whiche so examined at that tyme, confessed that he was there by the steryng vp and procuring of my saied lorde of Wincheste, ordained to haue slain thesaied prince there in his bedde: Wherfore thesaied erle of Arundell let sacke hym furthwith, and drouned hym in the Thamise.

ITEM our souereigne lorde that was, kyng Henry the fift, said vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester, that his father kyng Henry the fourth, living, and visited them greatly with sickenes of the hande of God, my saied lorde of Wincheste saied vnto the kyng (Henry the fift then byeng prince) that the kyng his father, so visited with sickenesse was not personable: and therefore not disposed to come in conversacion and gouernaunce of the people, and for so muche counsale hym to take the gouernaunce and crowne of this lande vpon hym.

¶ The answere of the bishop.

HERe ensueth the answeres and excusacions made by my lord of Wincheste Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the causes and matters of heuninesse, declared in articles against hym, by my lorde of Gloucester.

FIRST, as of the refuse made vnto my Lord of Gloucester, of openyng the toure to hym, of his lodging therin, by the commandement of my said lorde of Winchester, he answereth: that in the presence of my said lorde of Gloucester, before his commyng out of his countrey of Henawd, for causes such as wer thought reasonable, it seynteth leffull that the toure should have beene sufficiently stuffed and kept with vitaile, howbeit, it was not furthewith executed, and that in likewise after, that my saied lorde of Gloucester was gone into his said countrey of Henawd for sedicions and odious billes & language, cast and used in the cits of London, sounuyng of insurreccion & rebellion against the kynges peace, and destruction aswel of diverse estates of this land, as strauengers byeng vnder the defence, in so muche that in doubt therof, strauengers in great nombre fled the land: & for the more sure kepyng of thesaid toure, Richard Woodhaile squire, so trusted with kyng our souereigne lorde that dead is, (as wel ye knowe) and also chamberlain & cousailer vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certain nombre of defensible persones assigned vnto him, was made deputie ther, by thassent of kynges cousail being that tyme at London, for to abide therin for safegard ther-
of, and straightly charged by this said counsel, that during that time of his said charge, he
should not suffer any man to be in the tour strong then himself, without especial charge or commandement of the king by thaduise of his counsel.

ITEM that after, some upon the coming of my said lord of Gloucester into this land from his country of Henawd, the said lords of the kynes counsel were enforced, that my said lord of Gloucester, grudged with these said manner of enforcing the tour, and let suite to the of London, that he had well understand, that they had beene hevily threatened for the time of his absence, and otherwise then they should have bene if he had be in this land. Wherefore he was right euel contented, especial of the said forceryng of the tour, set vpon the in manner of a chast villain. Considering the good equitie and trouthe that thei had always kept vnto the kyng, offering them therupon remedy if they would.

ITEM that after this, Richard Scot Lieutenant of the tour, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, brought vnto hym Frier Randolfe, the whiche had long before confessed treason, done by hym against the kynes person that was, for the whiche knowledge he was put to be kepe in the said tour, and straightly commanded vnder great pain greue vnto the said Scotte, to kepe hym straightly and surely, and not to let hym out of the said tour, without commandement of the kyng, by thaduise of his counsel. The which said Frier Randolfe, my said of lord Gloucester kept then with hymself (not witting the said Scot) as he declared vnto my said lord of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the said Frier Randolf vnto my lord of Gloucester, saying vnto my said lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressd as for cause of the said withholding of Frier Randolf: And saying more over, that when he desired of my said lord of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the said Frier Randolf, to leade hym again vnto the tour, or sufficient warraunt for his discharge, my said Lorde of Gloucester aunswered hym, that his commandement was sufficient warraunt and discharge for hym. In the whiche thyng aboue saied, it was thought to my Lorde of Winchester, that my said lord of Gloucester, toke vpon hym further then his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused hym for to doubt & drea, leaste that he would haue proceeded further. And at suche tyme as the said Woodcuile came vnto him to aske his advise and counsel, of lodging of my said lord of Gloucester into the tour: he advised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Gloucester or any person lodge therin stronger then himself, he should purvey hym a sufficient warraunt therof, of the kyng by thaduise of his counsel.

ITEM as to the saied article of the foresaid causes of heuniness, my said Lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hande on the kynges person, nor to remove hym, or that he shoulde bee removed, or put in any maner of gouernaunce, but by thaduise of the kynges counsel. For he could not conceive any maner of goodnes or of advantage that might have grown vnto hym therof: But rather greate perill and charge, and hereof my said Lorde of Winchester is redy to make proue in tyme and place convenient.

ITEM, as to the third article of the forsaid causes and heuniness, my said lord Chauncellor answere, that he was ofte and divers tymes warned by divers credible persons, aswell at the tyme of the kynges laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sith, that my said lord of Gloucester, purposed him bodely harme, and was warned therof, and counsailed by the said persons, and that diverse tymes to abstain hym from comynge to Westminster, as my said Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my saied lord of Gloucester.

ITEM, that in the tyme of the saied Parliament diverse persons of lowe estate, of the citee of London in great nöbre, assembled on a daie vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintry, wished and desired that they there the persone of my Lord of Winchester, saying: that they would have thrown hym into the Thamise, to haue taught hym to swymme with wings. For whiche biffes and language of slander and threatenynges, cast & spoken in the said cite, by my said lord the Chauncellor, caused hym to suppose, that they had so saied and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.
ITEM, that after the comyng to London of sir Raufe Botiller and master Lewes, sent fro my Lorde of Bedford, to the rest of the lordes of the counsaill, they beynge informed that my saied Lorde of Gloucester, did beare displeasure to my saied Lorde of Winchester: They came to my saied lorde of Gloucester to his Ynne, the second Sondae next before Alhalloween daie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of thesaied displeasure, prayyng hym to lette them knoe if he bare suche displeasure against my saied Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the whiche tyme (as my saied lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my saied lorde of Gloucester, affirmed that he was heuy towards hym, and not withoutten causes that par- aduenture he would put in writyn.

ITEM, that after the Môdaie next before Alhalloween daie last past in the night, the people of thesaid citee of London, by the commandement of my said lorde of Gوقع sters, as it was said: For what cause my lorde the Chauncellor wist not, assembled in the citee, armed and arrayed and so continued all that night. Emongest diverse of the whiche, (the same night by what excitation, my said lorde the Chauncellor wist not) sedidious and heuye language was vsed, and in especiall against the persone of my saied lorde the Chauncellor. And so the same Mondaie at night, my saied Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Ynnes of Courte at London, chargyng them of the Court dwellynge in thesame to be with hym vpon the morowe, at eight of the clocke in their best arraie.

ITEM that on the morowe, beynge Twesdaie next folowynge early, my saied lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maire and Aldermen of the saied citee of London, to ordain hym vnto the nombre of three hundred persones on horsebacke, to accompany hym to suche place as he disposed hym to ride, which (as it was saied) was vnto the kyng, to thentent to haue his persone, and to remove hym from the place that he was in, without assent or advise of the kynges counsell, the whiche thyng was thought vnto my saied lorde the Chauncellor, that he ought in nowise to have doen, nor had not beene soe before.

ITEM that my saied, lorde the chauncellor, consideryng the thynges aboue saied, and doubtyng therefor of perelles that might have insued thereof, intendyng to puruyeye there against, and namely for his owne suretie and defence, according to the lawe of nature, or- dained to let that no force of people, should come on the bridge of London towards hym, by the whiche he or his might have beene inundaunged or noyed, not intendyng in any wise, bodely harme vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his owne defence end eschewing the perell abouesaid.

ITEM as toward the fourth and fifth of the saied articles, my lorde the Chaucellor ans- swereth, that he was euer true, to al those that wer his soueraigne Lordes, and requyng vpon hym, and that he never purposed treason nor vntrouth against any of their persones, and in especial against the persone of our saied soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the fith. The whiche consideryng the greate wiselome, trouthe and manhod, that al men knewe in hym, ne would not for the thyne that he was kyng, haue set on my saied lorde the Chaucellor so greate truste as he did, if he had founde, or thought in hym suche vntrouthe. The whiche thyng my saied Lorde the Chaucellor, offred to declare and shewe, as it belogeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng therupon my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall in this parliamet, that it might be sene, that ther wer judges co- uenient in this case, that they would do hym right, or els that he might haue leaue of the kyng by their advise, to go sue his right, before hym he ought to be his judge.

AND as toward the letter sent by my lord of Wincheste, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the whiche the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lorde of Gloucestre complained hym of the malicius and vntrouth purpose of my saied lord of Winchester, as toward the assembyng of the people and gathering of a feld in the kynges lade in troubling thereof, and against the kinges peace: My saied lorde of Winchester answereth, that of his said let- ters duely understande, & in suche wise as he understod and meant in the writynge of them, it maie not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my saied lorde of Winchester, intended.
to gather any feld or assemble people, in troubling of the kynges land, and against the kynges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite hym to the kyng in his trouthe, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kynges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginnyng of the said letter, he calleth my said lorde of Bedford, his least lorde, after one, that is the kyng, whom he ought to except of dutie of his trouthe, the whiche he hath ever kept and will kepe.

MOREOVER in the saied lettre, he desireth the commynyng home of my Lorde of Bedford, for the welfare of the kyng and of his realms of England and of Fraunce, the whiche stande principally in his kepyng of rest and peace, and praieth my saied lorde of Bedford, to spede his commynyng into England, in escheyying of ioperty of the land, and of a feld the whiche he dreme hym, might haue folowed if he had long taried: As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this land in aduenture with a feld, suche a brother ye haue here, &c. My saied lord of Winchester saieth, the sothe is: before or he wrote thesaied letter, by occasion of certain ordinances, made by the Maire and Aldermen of London, against the excessive taking of Masons, Carpentars, Tilers, Plasterers and other laborers, for their daily iournels and approwned by the kynges advise and his councaill, there were caste many heynesses and sedicious billes, vnder the names of suche laborers, thretynyng risyng with many thousands, and mannsasyng of estates of the lande, and likewise sedicious and euill langauge sowen, and so continued and likely to haue sued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To redressynge of the whiche, it seemed to my lorde the Chauncellor, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, did not his endeuer; nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of whiche diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeysaunce, were incoraged and inboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gathering, and that the kyng and his true subiectes, should haue beene compelled to haue made a feld, to haue withstand theim, the whiche feld makynge had been adventuryng of this lande. And in tokenyng that it was neuer my saied lorde Chauncellors intent to gather no feld, but as trouthe moste stirred hym against suche as riotously, would make suche assemble against our soueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this lande: He desired so hastly, the commynyng of my saied Lorde of Bedford, the whiche he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would have purposed hym vnto any unlawfull makynge of a feld, for he wiste wel that my saied lorde of Bedford would moste sharply haue chastised and punished, all those that so would any riotous assamble make. When this answer was made, the duke caused this writyng folowyng, openly to be proclaimed.

Beit known to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spiritualll and temporall, assembled in this present parliament, to acquite hym and them, and to procede truly, justly and indifferently, without any parcialitie, in any maner of matters or querelles, moved or to bee moved, betweene my Lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncellor of England on that other party. And for sure keeping of the kynges peace, it is accorded by my saied lorde of Bedford, and by my saied lordes spiritual and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme that foloweth, that is to saie.

That my saied lorde of Bedford, and my saied lordes spiritual and temporall, and eche of them, shal as farfurther as their connynges and discrescions suffisen, truly, justly, and indifferently, coiusaile and advise the kyng, and also procede and acquite them self, in all the said matters and querelles, without that they, or any of them, shall proueuly and appertely, make or shewe hymself to be party or parciall therin, not leuyng or escheyying so to do, for affecction, love, mede, doubt, or dreade of any persone or persones. And that they shal in all wise, kepe secrete all that shalbe commoned by waiue of counsaile, in the matters and querelles aboue saied, in the said parliament, without that they or any of them shall by
by worde, wrytyng of the kyng, or in any wise open, or discouer it to any of thesaid partie, or to any other person that is not of the saied counsail. But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leue thereto of the kyng, or of my saied lorde of Bedforde, and that ech of them shall, with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsaill, and els shewe it vnto the kyng, my lorde of Bedforde, and to the rest of my said lordes, to put the said partie to reso, and not suffer that any of the saied partie, by them or by their assistentes, procede or atteempte by waie of feit against the kynges peace: nor helpe, assiste, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withstande them, and assist vnto the kyng and my saied Lord of Bedforde, in-kepyng of the kynges peace, and redressyng all such maner of procedyng by waie of feit or force.

The Dukes.
The Duke of Bedford.
The Duke of Norfolke.
The Duke of Excestre.

Bishopps.
The Archebishop of Cantorbury.
The Bishop of Carlisle.
The Bishop of Bathe.
The Bishop of Landaffe.
The Bishop of Rochester.
The Bishop of Chichester.
The Bishop of Worcester.
The Bishop of Saint Daies.
The Bishop of London.
The Bishop of Duresme.

Erles.
The Erle of Northumerlande.
The Erle of Stafforde.
The Erle of Oxforde.
Lordes.
The Lord Hungerforde.
The Lord Tiptoft.
The Lord Poynges.

Willich eithe in maner and forme aboue rehearsed, all the lorde aswell spirituall as temporal, beyng in this parliamet at Leicester assembled the fourthe daie of Marche, promised vpon their faith, dutie and allegeance, whiche they owe to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, truly to observere and kepe, accordyng to the true meanyng and purport of thesame.

The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebishop of Cantorbury, Thomas Duke of Excestre, Ihon Duke of Norfolke, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Ihon bishop of Bathe, Humfrey erle of Staffor, William Alnewike keper of the kynges priuie Scale, Rannie lorde of Cromwell, arbitratoures in all maner of causes, matters and quarells of heininesses and greuances, with all incidentz, circumstances, dependentes, or connexes, beyng and hâgyng betwene the high and worthy prince Hufrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshipful father in God, Henry bishop of Wincheister and Chauncellor of England, on the other partie, by either of them for the peacyng of the saied quarelles and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme; as it is contained more plainly in a compri-messe made theraupon, of the whiche the tenor sheweth in this forme.

MEMORANDVM the. vii. daie of Marche, in the. iiiij. yere of our soueraigne Lorde, the kyng, Henry the sixt. The high and mightie prince Humfrey duke of Gloucester, at the re-
of God, and for the good of the kyng our soueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely
at the request and prayer of the mightie and highe prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed hym to put and putteth all maner matters and querelles
in decreyde, with all their incidentez, circumstances, dependenantz and connexes, that touchen
hym and his persone, that he hath in any wise, do, or feleth hym greued, or heuy against
my lorde his uncle, my Lorde of Winchester. Or els that my Lorde of Winchester foundeth
him greued against hym, in asmuch as they touch hym or his persone, fro the beginnyng of
the worlde vnto this daie. In the advise, ordinance and arbitrament of the worthy father
in GOD, Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Ex-
cester, and Ihou duke of Norfolkke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Duro-
sme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Ibô bishop of Bathe. The noble lorde Humfre ore of
Stafford, the worshipfull persones, Master William Alnewike keper of the kynges priye scale,
and Raufe lorde Crumwel, promising and behiuytynge, by the faith of his body, and worde
of his princehode and kynges soune, to do kepe, observe and fulfil, for hym and in his behalf,
all that shall be declared, ordeyned and arbitred, by the forsaied Archebishop, Dukes, bishop-
pes, Erle, Keper of the privie scale, and lorde Crîwell, in all matters and querelles above
saied: Gramuytynge also and promisyng ouer that, to be comprehended in the forsaied arbi-
trement, as toward putting awaie all heuinessse or displeasures in any wise contained by
my lorde of Gloucester, against all those that haue in any wise assisted, counsailed, or fa-
uored vnto his said vncele of Winchester, and as toward any matters, that be touchyng
my Lord of Gloucester, remitteth it and the governaunce thereof vnto the kyng and
his counsaill, they to deme it by the advise of his counsaill, as hym thynketh it to be
doen. In witnesse of the whiche thyng, to this present compromise, my said lorde of Glou-
cester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande, Humfre Gloucester. And in like
forme, my Lorde of Winchester in another compromise, hath subscribed with his awne hande,
vnder the worde of priestehod, to stande at the advise, ordinaunce and arbitremet of
the persones abouesaied, Mutatis Mutandis.

THE causes before saied and querelles by vs sene, heard, and diligently examined and de-
creed, by the assent of the saied parties, ordeyned and award, that my lordes of Gloucester
and of Winchester, for any thyng doen or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by
any of theirs or any other persone or persones, afore the. vii. daie of this present Moneth of
Marche, neuer here after take causes, querelles, displeasures or heuinesses, that one against
the other, neither against the counsaillers, adherentes or fauorers of that other, for any thing
or thynges that are past. And that my saied lorde of Gloucester, be good Lorde to my
saied Lorde of Winchester, and haue hym in loue and affeccion as his kyngemen and Vncele.
And that my saied Lorde of Winchester, haue to my saied Lorde of Gloucester, true and
saddfe loue and affeccion, do and bee ready to do to hym suche servise, as aperteineth of
honesty to my saied Lorde of Winchester and his estate to doo. And that ech of them be
good Lord vnto all those adherentes, counsaillers and fauorers of that other, and shewe them
at all tythes favorable loue and affeccion, as for any thyng done by them, or saied afore
the seuenthe daie of Marche.

AND we decre, ordeyne and awarde, that my saied Lorde of Winchester, in the pre-
sence of the kyng oure soueraigne Lorde, my Lorde of Bedforde, and my Lorde of
Gloucester, and the resdyue of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons
beeying in this presente Parlyamente, saye and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

MY soueraigne Lorde I have well vnderstande, that I am noysed emong the states of your
land, how that the kyng our soueraigne lorde that was that tyme, beyng prince and lodged
in the greate chambr at Westminster, by the baiyng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken,
beynyng a tapet in thesame chambr, a man, that should have confess, that he was there by
myne excitacion and procuring to haue slain the foresaied Prince there in his bedde, where-
upon thesaied erle, let sacke hym further, and drouned hym in the Thamise. And fur-
thermore I am accused, how that I should have stirred the kyng that last died, the tyme also
that he was Prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the croune vpo hym,
liyng
liuyng his father the same tyme beyng kyng: Through whiche language and noysyng, I feie
my name and fame greatly emblemmishsed, in diverse manners opinions. Where vpon I take
firste God to my witnesse, and afterwaerde all the worlde, that I haue been at all tymes, & am
tru e louer and true man, to you my soueraigne Lorde, and shalbe all my life. And also I
haue bene to my soueraigne lord, that was your father, all tyme of his regne, true man:
and for suche, he toke trust and cherished me to his luyes end, and as I trust no man wil
affime the contrary, nor neuer in my life provyng, nor imageryng death nor destruccio
of his person, ne assentyng to any such thyng, or like thereto, the tyme that he was kyng or
Prince, or els in other estate. And in like wise, I was true man to Kyng Henry the. ill. all
the tyme that he was my soueraigne lord, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all
manner of wise, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lord for to commaunde me, I am ready
to declare me: And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by thauise of
your counsaill to assigne me. Wherefore I beseeke you my soueraigne Lorde as humbly as
I can consideryng that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully, in these
matters aboue saied be convict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me by thauise of
al the lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this presente Parliament, true man to you
my soueraigne lord, & so to haue been vnto my soueraigne lords that wer your father and
grandfather, and true man also, to haue been at all tymes vnto his saied father, whilst he
was Prince, or els in any other estate, the said slaunder and noysyng notwithstanding.
And this same declaracion to be enacted, in this your saied present parliament.
The which wordes declared in maner, as it is aboue said by my sain lorde of Winchester,
it semeth to my saied lordes the arbitrators, that it is fittynge that my saied lorde of Win-
chester drawe hym a part, and in the meane tyme, the Lordes beyng present, bee singularly
examined thereupon and saie their advise: And if it be assented by theim in maner as my
saied lorde of Winchester desirith, let hym be called again, and that then my lord of Bed-
ford, then haue these wordes in effect 
THE which wordes declared in maner, as it is aboue said by my sain lorde of Winchester,
it semeth to my saied lordes the arbitrators, that it is fittynge that my saied lorde of Win-
chester drawe hym a part, and in the meane tyme, the Lordes beyng present, bee singularly
examined thereupon and saie their advise: And if it be assented by theim in maner as my
saied lorde of Winchester desirith, let hym be called again, and that then my lord of Bed-
ford, then haue these wordes in effect 
FAIRE vncle, my Lord, f kyngs grace by the advise of his counsaill, hath commaunded me
to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstande and considered all the matters whiche ye haue
here openly declared in his presence, and thereupon ye desire a peticton that he will declare
you, and by the advise and assent of the lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this presente
Parliament, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so bee to my lordes his father
and his gruandfather, and also true man to my Lorde his father whiles he was Prince or els
in any other estate, the saied dislaunder and noysyng notwithstanding: And will that the
saied declaracion be so enacted in this present parliament. After the whiche wordes thus
saied, as before is declared, by thesaied lordes arbitrators that my saied lorde of Winchester
should have these wordes that foloweth, to my saied lorde of Gloucester.
MY Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceived to my greate heuinesse that ye should have
received by diverse reportes, that I should have purposed and imagined against your persone,
honor and estate in dierse maners, for the which ye haue take against me great displeasure
Sir I take God to my witnes, that what reportes so ever have been to you of me, paradua-
ture of such as haue had no greate afeccion to me, GOD forgive it them, I never imagined,
ne purposed any thyng that might be hyndering or prejudice to your persone, honor, or estate.
And therfore, I praie you that ye be vnto me good lord from this time furthe, for by my
will I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do herafter through Goddes grace.
The whiche wordes so by hym saied, it was decreed by the saied arbitrators, that my lord
of Gloucester should answere and saie.
FAIRE Vncle, sith ye declare you suche a man as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so and
for suche a man I take you.
And when this was doen, it was decreed by the saied arbitrators that every eech of my
lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take either other by the hande, in the presence
of the kyng and all the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the whiche
was doen and the Parliament was adiournd till after Easter.
THE III. YERE OF

When the great fire of this discension, betwene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators to their knowledge and judgement, utterly quenched out, and laied under board all other controversies betwene other Lordees, takyng parte with the one partie or the other, wer some apeare and brought to concord. For ioy wherof, the kyng caused a solène feast, to be kept on Whitson sondaie, on the whiche date, he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue hearde) Duke of Yorke, not forseyng before, that this pretermet should be his destruction, nor that his sone should, of his generation, bee the extreme ende and small confusion. He the same daie also promoted Ihon Lorde Mowbrey and Erle Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, by kyng Richard the seconde exiled this realme and dominion, to the title, name, and stile of the Duke of Norffolke, duryng whiche feast, the Duke of Bedford adourned the kyng with the high ordre of knighthode, whiche on thesame daie dubed with the swered these knightes whose names ensue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.
Ihon Duke of Norffolke.
The erle of Westmeleande.
-Henry lorde Percie.
Ihon lord Butler, sonne to therle of Ormond.
The lord Rosse.
The lorde Matrauers.
The lorde Welles.
The lorde Barkley.
Sir James Butler.
Sir Henry Graye of Tankaruile.
Sir Ihon Talbot.
Sir Raufe Graye of Werke.
Sir Robert Veer.
Sir Richard Grey.
Sir Edmond Hungerford.
Sir Water Wyngfield.
Sir Ihon Buttelein.

Sir Reignold Cobham.
Sir Ihon Passheleue.
Sir Thomas Tunstall.
Sir Ihon Chedocke.
Sir Raufe Langstre.
Sir William Druve.
Sir Richard Caruonell.
Sir Richard Wooduiue.
Sir Ihon Shirdelow.
Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir William Cheynec.
Sir William Babyngeto Justice.
Sir Raufe Butler.
Sir Robert Beauchapme.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
-Sir Ihon Tune chief Baron, and diuere other.

AFTER this sollempe feast ended, a great aide and subside was granted, for the continuance of the conquest in Francie, and so money was gathered, and men wer prepared in every citie, toune, and countrey: duryng whiche business, Thomas Duke of Excester, the sadde, wise and wel learned counsiler, great vnde to the kyng, departed out of this mortall life, at his manner of Grenewiche, & was with al funeral pompe, conveyed through London to Berry, and there buried. In which were also died the Lady Elizabeth his halfe sister, & of the whole bloud with kyng Henry the iiiij. maried to lorde Ihon Holland duke of Excester and after to the lord Faulhope, buried at the Blacke Friers of London.

WHILE these thynges wer thus appoyntyng and concluding in Engleonde: The erle of Warwickes leueneaunt for the Regente in the realme of Francie, entered into the countrey of Mayne, and besieged the toune of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to hym was redier wherof he made capitan Matthew Gough esquire. After that, he toke by assaute the castle of Mayet, and gave it for his valuauntnes to Ihō Winteresquire, & after that he conquered the castle of Lund, and made there gouvernor, William Gladdisdale gentleman. At whiche place he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled together, in the countrey of Beausse, wherfore like a valuaunt capitan, he with all his power marched thitherwarde, to encounter with his enemies, and to fight with his adversaries, whiche hauyng knowledge of his approchynge, fled, and durste not abide the triall, nor iycopardy the aduenture, and in his returnyng, he beseged the Castle of Montdublean, whereof was capitan sir

Robertō
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Robertō des Croix, whiche siege continued three wekes, but in conclusion the Englishmen, so sore charged them with in, that the capitain with his whole company, were contente to yelde the castle, their lives horse and harneis, onely reserved: Whiche to them was after long consultation had, and many agreements made frankly granted. And the said erle of Warwicke, leaving there the valiaunt lorde Willoughby, returned again to Paris. Duryn which season he was ordained by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England to be governor of the young kyng, in like maner as the noble Duke of Exeester before his death was appoynted and assigned, but yet he taried still in Fraunce, and did there no small service as you shall here after perceiue.

¶ THE FIFTH YERE.

THE Regent of Fraunce thus beeyng in Englande, meanes was made by the Duke of Bur- goyne, for the delivery of the Duke of Alanson, whiche was taken prisoner at the battaile of Vernoyle the last yere. So he for the some of twoo hundred thousande crownes, was delievered and set at large: but neither for release of all or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowledge the kyng of Englande, to be his liege and soucreigne Lorde: Suche affeccion bare he to the Dolphyn, and suche trouth shewed he to his natural country. When all thynges wer concluded, ordered and established, bothe for the conservaciuon of peace and tranquilitie within the realme of Englande, and also for the maintenaunce of warre for the finall gaineing of the region of Fraunce: the Duke of Bedforde and his wife, tooke their leave of the Kyng, at Westminster and landed at Calice, with whο also passed the seas, Henry bishop of Winchester, whiche in thesaied toune was inuested with the Habite, Hatte and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it appertaining. Whiche degree, kyng Henry the fift knoweyng the haute corage, and the ambicious mynde of the man, prohibited hym on his allegeance once, either to sue for or to take, meanyng that cardinalles Hattes should not presume to be egall with Princes. But now the kyng beeyng young and the Regent his frende, he obtained that dignitie, to his greate profite, and to the empowervishynge of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull legatyne, whiche he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner lad money but he, and so was he surnamed the riche Cardinall of Winchester, and nether called learned bishop, nor verteous priest.

AFTER that, the duke of Bedforde was returned into Fraunce, the lorde of Rustinan Marshall of Britayn, assembled a greate company of the Britishe nacion, whiche forfxed & repaired the toune of Ponttorson, and after thesaied Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the coutrye of Constantyne in Normandy, and came before the toune of Auranches. The Englishmen within the garrison, issued out & boldly fought with their enemies: but after long conficte and many strokes geuen, the Britons wer ouer come, and the lorde Rustynan taken, and the moste parte of his people slaine. The Duke of Bedforde hearyng that the toune of Ponttorson was newly fortified and strongly defended, sent thither the erle of Warwicke, accopanied with the lorde Scales, and diuerse other valiaunt capitaines and soldiery, to the nombre of vii. thousand men to besiege the toune, whiche so environed it on every part, that neither man could steale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuing, vitall began to waxe seant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Lord Scales baying in his company, sir Ihon Harpeley Bayly of Constantyne, sir William Breaton Bayly of Caen, sir Raufe Tesson, sir Ihon Carbonell and iii. thousand good men of war, departed fro the siege to get vitall, pouder and other thynges necessary for their purpose and enterprise. And as they were returning with their carriages on the sea cost, nere to S. Michaels Mount, they sodainly wer encountered with their enemies, whereof the chief wer, the Baron of Coloses, the lorde Dansebost capitain of thesaid Mount the lorde Mountainbon, the lorde Mountburchier, the lorde of Chasteau Giron, the lord of Tyntygnat, the lord of Chasteau Brian with. vi. M. men of warre. The lorde Scales and his company (seyng
(seyng that thei wer compassed on euery side with deadly daungiers, for the sea was on the one side, and their enemies on the other, and no meane waze to escape or flie, descended from their horsses and like gredy Lions, together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong & the fight was fierce, the Englishmen kept themselves so close, that their enemies could have no anatage of them. At the last the lorde Scales cried S. George, they flie, with that thenglishmen toke suche a corgage, & the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayed that they began to flie. The Englishmen laped again on horsebacke, and followed them, and slewe and toke abope. xi.C. persones, emonstong who wer taken, the Baron of Colsoes, and the lorde of Chasteau Brian and xxx. knights.

AFTER this victory, the Lorde Scales with his vitales, prouision and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Erle and other noblemen, joyously receiued and for this notable facte, highly magnified and preyed. While the siege thus continued before Pountorson, Christopher Hanson and other souldiers of the garrison of S. Susan, made a rode into the countrey of Anioy, & came to a Castle called Ramffort, which castle was so priuily scaled, that the captain within & his company, wer taken or slain before they knewe of their enemies approching. When knowledge of this feate was made open to the Frenchmen, which were assembled to the nombre of xx.M. to reyse the siege, and breake vp the the campe, lyying before the toune of Pountorson, they left that journey for a tym, and returned to the Castle of Ramffort, and besieged thesame by the space of tenne daies.

THE Englishmen considering the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their frondes, began to treate with the Frenchmen and so vpon condicion to departe with bagge and bagage, horse and harnes, thei rendered vp the castle, and departed with more riches then thei brought, whiche castle thus possessed by the Frenchmen, they forgot the res-kew of Poutorson, and brake vp thei. army. But some after, the lorde of Raix, calling himself lieutenant general for the dolphin, accompanied with the lorde Mount Iehan, the Lorde Beaumanoire, and the lorde Tussye, and other to the nobre of thee thousand persones, entered into the countrey of Mayn, & laied siege to the castle of Malcorne, whereof was capitain an Englishman, called Oliver Osbatersby, which castle with the capitain, was by force taken and obtained: in like maner they toke the little castle of Lude, and there in William Blackeborne lieutenant for Willia Glasdale esquire, & putt hym to raiousme, and slewe al his souldiers. After this victory, in the which they muche gloried, the Frenchmen perceiuing that tharle of Warwicke continued still his siege before the toune of Pountorson, & knowing by their espials, that the Englishmen wer determined to geue them battaile, if thei once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearing to fight in an open battaile, reculed backe again to the dolphin with little gain and small honor. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng straigntly besieged within the toune of Pountorson, perceiuing no likelyhood of success to come, and seying the English army daily did increase, fearing the sequel thereof, if they by violence should be taken and vanquished, thei offered the toune, so that thei might departe with horse and harnes only: whiche request (after long suite and petition) to them was hardly granted. The Erle like avilaunct capitain, entred into the toune and there appoynted for governors, the lord Roos, and the lorde Talbot, and leyung there a convenient garrison, returned to the lorde Regent.

AFTER the takynge of this toune, there was a league, and a treaty concluded betwene the Regent and the duke of Britayn, by the whiche agrement bothe the tounes of Pountorson and S. Iames de Beuron wer beaten doune to the ground & clery defaced. After the lord of Raix was departed out of the territory of Mayne as you haue heard, Christopher Hanson, Phillip Gough. Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and divers other of the garrison of S. Susan, to the nombre of xxx. archers, went out in a mornynge to seke their aduetures, and came nere to the Castle of saint Laurence de Mortiers (at the same very season) whë sir Iames de Sepeaulx capitain of thesame, was gone out of his Castle with the greatest nombre of his retinewe, to a Church directly against the castle. In the masse time, thenglishmen entered by subtiltie into the gate & so gat the dungeon. And when sir Iames returned
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turned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the castle furnished with Englishmen, and capitan therof was appoynted, sir William Old-haule.

THE same season, sir Ihon Fastolfe, governer of the countries of Aniow and Maine, assembled a great puissauce of men of warre, and laied a siege before the castle of saint Owen Destays, beside the toune of Lauall, whereof was capitan sir Guillam Orenge, whiche, after ten daies besiegyng, rendred the castle, their liues and armure only except: howbeit one raling and slaunderous perso was put to terrible execution. And from thence, the said sir Ihon removed to the strong castle of Grauile, & after, xii. daies, thei within offered to yeld the castle by a day if thei wer not succored by a dolphin or his power. The offre was taken & pledges deliuered, wher Guillã Cordouen, & Ihon de Majseric esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir Ihon Fastolfe returned in post to the regent, aduerisynge him of this composicion and agrement: wherfore thesaid lorde, reised a greate power, to fight with the Frenche men at the day appoynted, and in his company, wer the erles of Mortaigne and Warwicke, and the lordes Roos, and Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolfe, sir Ihon Aubemond, sir Ihon Ratclife, and diuerse other, to the nombre of twentie thousand men, and so marched forward in hope to mete and ioyne battail with their enemies. But their aduersaries, whiche wer not farre of, durste not approche, wherfore the Regent sent sir Ihon Fastolfe incontinent to receiue the castle: but they within (côtrary to their promesse and apppointment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsaking their pledges and felowe in armes, refused to render the fortes according to the appointment: wherfore the pledges were brought before the sight of them within the castle, and there openly put to death. After this, the lord Talbot, was made gouvernor, of Aniow and Mayne, and sir Ihon Fastolfe was assigned to another place: whiche lorde Talbot, beyng bothe of noble birth, and haute corage, after his comming into Fraunce, obteigned so many glorious victories of his enemies, that his only name was, and yet is dreadful to the Frenche nacion, and muche renouned amongst all other people. This ioly capitan, and some of the valiant Mars, entered into Mayn and slewe men, destroyed castles, and brent toune, and in conclusion, sodainly toke the toune of Lauall: but the lord Loghac, and diuerse other, retrayted theins selues into the Castle, and there remained eight daies. Duryng which tyne, it was agreed, that all capitaines, Burgesses, and men of warre, which wer within the Castle, should depart with bagge and baggages, palyng to the lord Talbot for al thynges, one hundred thousand Crounes. And the Castle beyng deliuered, was commited to the kepyng of Gilbert Halsall, whiche after, was slain at the siege of Orleance, for whom was made capitan Matthew Gough, which beyng at the iorney before Senlies, by treason of a miller that kept a mil adioynyng to the walle, the Frenchemen entered into the toune, and brought it into their subjection and obeysaunce.

THE duke of Bedford, was aduertised by his espials, that the toune of Montarges, whiche was in the territory of Orleance, was but slenderly kept and smally furnished, and that it might be taken with litle pain and no losse. The Regent glad of these newes, sent therle of Suffolke, sir Ihon Pole his brother, & sir Henry Bisset with sixe M. men to assaute the toune, but when they came thereth and found the toune better manned and more strongly defended, then their expectacion imagined, they gaue no assaute but laied siege aboute the toune, and therle of Warwike was appoynted to lye with a great nombre of menne of warre, at saint Mathelines de Archamp, to encountre the Frenchemen if they would attempt to ayde or vitaill those that wer enclosed within the toune. This fortresse stode in suche a place, that what with waters and what with marishes, the army must seuer in thré partes, so that the one could not easely help the other, but either by boates or bridges, so the toune was besieged by the space of two monethes and more. In the mean season, Arthur of Britayne, Constable for the dolphin, sent thereth in all hast, the lorde Boisac Marshall of Fraüce, Stephin le Hire, Ponton de Sentrayles, the lorde Grauile, and diuerse other valiaunt horsmen, to the nombre of thre thousand and abone, which priuely, in
in the night, came on that side where sir Ihon de la Pole and sir Henry Bisset laye, whom they found out of all ordre and without any watche. So the Frenche men entered into their lodges and slewe many in their beddes, they spared no man, for the resistance was small, Sir Tho Dela pole with his horsse saued hymself, and fled ouer the water to his brother, & sir Henry Bisset escaped by a boate and eight with him. The residue whiche would have passed the bridge and joyned with the erle of Suffolke, fled in such plumpes ouer the bridge, that the tymbre brake and a great nombre was drouned so, so there were slain & drouned xv.C. men. The erle of Warwike hearyng of this chaunce, departed from saint Mathelyn with all dilligent spede, and came before Montarges offerynge battaile to the Frenche capitanes, which answered that thei had manned and vtailed the toune, and en ted to do nomore at that time. Thenglishmen seyng that their traualie should be in vain, came back softly again with all their ordinaruce to the duke of Bedford.

IT should sene that fortune at this time would not, that the Frenche men should have one joyfull daie, but thesame also should be myngled with dolor or displeasure. For at this very tyme, sir Nicholas Burdett appoynted by the duke of Somerset, to vexe and trouble his enemys in the costes of Britayne, sent light horssmen into Every part, vexyng the people and wastyng the coutry. All tounes that he passed by were brennte al, and buildynge spoyled & robbed, prisoners and praiers abondantly taken, small villages wer destroyed, and greate tounes wer raunsomend, & so without hurt or damage, thesaid sir Nicholas returned into Normandy. This mischance beyng declared to the Constable of Fraunce and the other capitaines, cut their combes and plucked doun their hartes, which were set on so mery a pyne, for the victory of Montarges, that they were in maner, like desperate persones, loth to attempte any farther enterprise against the Englishe nacion, saiyng: that God was turned Englishe, and the deuill would not helpe Fraunce.

THE duke of Alainson, whiche as you have heard, was late deliered out of Eng lande, requiued again the dull spirits of the Dolphyn, and the fainte hartes of his capitaines, promysyng to them greate victorie with litle travaile, and much gain with smal labor, wherfore in hope of good lucke, he determined to do some notable feate against thenglishe men. Then happened a chaunce vnloked for, or unthought of, even as they would have whissched or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spiritual persons of the cite of Mauus, knowyng that the duke of Britayne and his brother, were recurred and turned to the French partie, began sore to moune and lament that they wer subiectes and vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishemen. Wherfore they determined and fully concluded, to advertise of their myndes and determinacons, the capitaines of Charles 7. dolphyn, (of thè called the Frenche kyng) and so by certain false Friers, therof wrote humble and lying let ters. These newes pleased much the French capitanes, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn hymself, as a thyng descendyd from heauen, of theim vnsought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherfore to take opportunitie when time servyd, and not to lesse so great a benedite so honestly offfed, the lordez Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the lordez of Monte Ihan, of Buel Doruall, Torsye and Beaunamoyre the Heire, and Gullyam his brother, and five hundred other hardy capitaines and valiant souldiers, toke vpon theim this enterprise, sendyng great thankes and landes to the Clergie and citizenz, for their assured fidelittie to their soueraigne lord, promysyng theim to be there at the daie appoynted, not doubtyng to find them redy accordyng to their promes, gladly to receive them.

WHEN the daie assigned and the night appoynted was come, the Frenche capitanes priuily approched the toune, makyng a little fire on an hill in the sight of the toune, to signifiye their comynge and approchyng. The citezes, which by the great church wer lokyng for their approch, shewd a burnyng Cresset out of the steple, which sodainly was put out & quenched. What should I saie, the capitaines on horsebacke came to the gate, and the traytors withine slew the porters and watch men, and let in their frendes, the footmen entered firste, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if muche node required
required or necessitie compelled, they might fight in the open field. And in the mean season many Englishmen were slain, and a great clamor and a houge noise was hard through the town, as is wont and accustomed to be in a town, by treason sodainly surprised & taken: but what was the cause of the cry, or beginning of the noise, fewe except the confederates, other knewe or perceived. For the remnant of the citizens beyng no partakers in this faction, imagined that the Englishmen had made haucocke in the town and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the othersyde, judged that the citizens had begunne some new rebellion against them, or els had striven emongest themselves. The erle of Suffolk, whiche was governor of the town, hearyng the clamor and noise of the people, haung perfect knowledge of such as escaped fro the walles, in what case the citee stode in, without any tarying or prolongyng of tyme entered into the Castle which standeth at the gate of Saint Vincent, wherof was Constable Thomas Gower esquier: whether also fled so many Englishmen, that the place was pastured, and there if they wer not rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they wer sore assauted and marucilously hurte, with the shot of the alabasters & crosse bowes, but they defended themselves so manfully, that their enemies gat small advantage at their hands. But all their hardines had not serued, nor all their policy not defended them, if they had not priuely sent a messenger to the lorde Talbot, which then lay at Alanson, certeyning hym in what case they stode, for vitaille had they none, municiops failed, and the Castle was almoste vandermined, so that yeldynge must folowe, and resiustance could not prevaile. The lorde Talbot heryng these newes, neither slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiant capitanes, whose names you haue before often times heard rehearsed, to the nombre of vii. hundred men of warre, and in the enuyng departed from Alanson, and in the morning came to a castle called Guayrere twoo myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espial Matthew Gough, to espie the gouenoynce of the enemies, and if he might to shewe to his countrymen that he was at haide to be their aide & rescowes. Matthew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the castle, where he knew how that the French men beyng lorde of the citee, and now castyng no perils nor fearyng any creature, began to waxe wanton and felle to riote, as though their enemies could do to them no damage: thynkyng that the Englishmen whiche wer shut vp in the Castle, studied nothyng but how to escape and be delivered. Whi Matthew Gough had knowen at the certaintie and had eaten a little breade and dronke a cuppe of wine to comfort his stomacke, he priuely returne again, and within a mile of the citee met with the lorde Talbot and the Lorde Scales, and made open to thein al thyng according to his credence, whiche to spede the matter, because the day approched, with al hast possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their horses, and about sixe of the clocke in the morning theis issued out of the castle crying saint George, Talbot. The French men which wer seace vp, and thought of nothyng lesse then of this sodain approchement, some rose out of their beddes in their shortes, and lepte over the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for savyn of their lives, leuyng behynde them all their apparell, horses, armure and riches, none was hurt but suche, whiche ether resisted or would not yelde, wherof some wer slain and cast in prisone. There were slain and taken foure hundred gêlemen and the villaines frankly let go. After this inquisition was made of the authors of this vngracious coniuracion, and there were accused thirtie citezens, twenty priestes and fiftene Friers, which according to their desertes were put in execution.

† THE SIXT YERE.

The citee of Mauns thus beyng reduced into the Englishe mennes handes, the Lorde Talbot departed to the town of Alanson. After whiche marciall feat manly aechewed, the erle of Warwicke departed into Engelande, to be governour of the young kyng, insteade of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose stede was sent into Fraunc, the
the lorde Thomas Mountacute erle of Salisbury with fiue thousande men, whiche landed at Calice and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consultyng with the Duke of Bedforde, concernyng the affaires of the realme of Fraunce: seying all thynges prosperously succede on the Englishe part, began meruailously to phantesie the citee and countrey of Orliance, stüdyng on the riper of Loyre. But because the cite was wel fortified bothe by the nature of the situation of the place, and by the policie of man, he imagined it not the woorke of one daie, nor the study of one houre. Wherfore he remitted it to a farther deliberacio, yet he was the man at that tyme, by whose wit, strength and policie, the Englishe name was muche fearfull and terrible to the French nacion, whiche of hymself might bothe appoynt, commaunde and do all thynges, in manner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appeared after his deathe) a greate part of the conquest consisted and was esteemed, because he was a man both painful and diligent, redy to withstand thynges perilous and imminent, and prompt in counsell, and with no labor he wereid, nor yet his corage at any tyme abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no synguler person got more the hartes of all men. After this greate enterprise, had long been debated and argued, in the priuie counsil, the erle of Salisburies devise, (although it semed harde and straunge to all other, and to hym as it wer a thyng predestinate very easie) was granted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall des- tiny, as you shall shortly percieue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victory, & furnished with artillery, and municious appertureynng to so greate a siege, accompanied with the erle of Suffolke and the lorde Talbot, and with a valaunt company, to the nombre of tenne thousande men, departed from Paris and passed through the countrey of Beause. He toke by assaunte the toune of Yalmile, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castle, and there continued fiue daies, at the ende wherof they rendered themselfes symply: of thesaid nombre, some were put to death for certain causes, & some were taken to mericie. He toeke also the toune of Bawgency, sufferyng everie man, whiche would become vassaile and subjecte to the kyng of England, to entherite their landes and enjoy their goodes. The tounes of Meun vpon Loyre & Jargenain, hearyng of these treatise, presented to hym the keyes of the toune, ypon like agrement & egall condicions.

AFTER this in the moneth of September, he laied his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, before whose commyng, the Bastarde of Orleance, and the bishop of the citee and a great nombre of Scottes, hearying of therles intent, made diverse fortificacions about the toune and destroyed the suburbes, in the which wer twelve parishe churches and foure ordres of Friers. They cut also dounne al the vines, trees and bushes within fiue leages of the toune, so that the Englishmen should have neither comfort, refuge nor succor.

HERE must I a little digresse, and declare to you, what was this bastard of Orleance, whiche was not onely nowe capitan of the citee, but also after, by Charles the sixt made erle of Dunoys, and in great authoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemic to the Englishe nacion, as by this story you shall apparantly perceiue, of whose line and steme descend the Dukes of Longuile and the Marques of Rutylen. Lewes Duke of Orleance murthered in Paris, by Ithon duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue harde, was owner of the Castle of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cauny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, and yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloved of the duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceived a child, and brought furthe a pretye boye called Ithon, whiche child beynge the age of one yere, the duke diseased and not long after the mother, and the Lorde of Cauny ended their liues. The next of kyne to the lord Cauny chaled the enheritaunce, whiche was worth foure thousande crownes a yere, alledgeeing that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainely denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contencio before the Presidentes of the parliament of Paris, and there hang in controversie till the child came to the age of eight yeres old. At whiche tyme it was demaunded of hym openly whose
whose sonne he was: his frëdes of his mothers side advertised him to require a day, to be auoyde his hym it was granted. In y meane season his said frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable liuyng, and an auñcieût patrimony, affirming that if he said contrary, he not only slandered his mother, shamed himself, & stained his bloud, but also should have no liuyng nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinking ÿ his discipyle had well learned his lesson, and would rehearse it accordyng to his instruccio, brought hym before the judges at the daie assigned, and when the question was repected to hym again, he baldly answered, my harte geueth me, & my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleance, more glad to be his Bastarde, with a meane liuyng, then the lawfull sonne of that coward cuckolde Cawny, with his foure thousande crownes. The Justices muche meruell'd at his bolde answere, and his mothers cosyns de- tested him for shamynge of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne rejoysed in gaining the patrimony and possesions. Charles duke of Orleance heryng of this judgement, toke hym into his family & gave him great offices & fees, which he well deserved, for (duryng his capitunite) he defed his lades, expuls'd thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his de-liuerauce.

THIS coragious Bastard, after the siege had continued thre wekes ful, issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen, but they receiued hym with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and fle backe into the citee: But the Englishmen folowed theim so faste, in killyng and takyng of their enemies, that they entred with them the Bulwarke of the bridge, which with a greate toure, standing at thende of thesame, was taken incontinent by thenglishmen. In whiche conflict many Frenchemen were taken, but mo were slain, and the kepynge of the toure and Bulwarke was committ'd to William Glasdale esquier. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that wae neither man nor vitaill could passe or come. After that he made certayne Bulwarkes roude about the citee, castyng trenches betwene the one and the other, layynge ordinaire in evry part, where he saw that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceiued that they were environed with fortresse and ordinaire, they layed gonne against gonne, and fortified tourues against bulwarke, and within made new rammies, and buylde new mudwalles to auoyde crackes and breches, whiche might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appoynted the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephan Veignold called the Heire, to see the walles and watches kept, & the bishop sawe ÿ thinhabitåtes within the cite, wer put in good ordre, and that vitaill wer not wantonly consumed, nor vainly spent.

IN the toure that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high chamber hauyng a grate full of barres of yron by the which a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the cite at which, grate many of the chief captaines stode diouser times, viewyng the cite & denysyng in what place it was best assyble. They within the citee perceiued well this toyng hole, and laied a pecce of ordynaunce directly against the wyndowe. It so channed that the. lix. daie after the siege laied before the citee, therle of Salisbury, sir Thomas Gargraue and William Glasdale and diouser other, went into thesaid toure and so into the high chåbre, and loked out at the grate, and with in a short space, the sonne of the Master gonne, perceiued men loking out at the wyndowe, toke his matche, as his father had taught hym, whiche was gone dounne to dinner, and fired the gonne, whiche brake & sheuered ÿ yron barres of the grate, wherof one strake therle so strîgly on the bed, that it stroke away one of his iyes and the side of his cheek. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise striken, so that he died within two daies. Therle was conveyed to Meum upon Loyre, where he laie beyng wounded. viij. daies, duryng whiche tyne, he receiued denoulyt the holy Sacramentes, and so commended his soule to almightie God, whose body was conveyed into England, with all funerall and pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leuyng behind him, an onely daughter named Alice, maried to Richard Neuell, sonne to Raute erle of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shalbe made mencion. What detriment, what damage,
what losse succeded to the Englishe publique wealth, by the sodain death of this valiaunt capitain, not long after his departure, manifestly apered. For high prosperitie, and great glory of the Englishe nacion in the parties beyond the sea, began shortly to fall, and little and little to vanishe awaie: which thing although the Englishe people like a valiant & strong body, at the firste tyme did not perceiue, yet after they felt it grow like a pestilent humor, which successively a little and little corrupteth all the membres, and destroyeth the body. For after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre began to change, and triumphant victory began to be darckened. Although the death of therle were dolorous to all Englishmen, yet surely it was moste dolorous to the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, as he whiche had loste his right hand or lacked his weapon, when he should fight with his enemie. But seyng that dedde men cannot with sorowe be called again, nor lamentacion for dedde bodies cannot remedy the chaunees of men liuyng: he (like a prudent governor & a politique patron) appointed the erle of Suffolke to be his leutenaunt, and captain of the siege, and ioyned with hym the lord Scales, the lorde Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiaunt knightes and esquiers. These lordes caused bastiles to be made round about the citee, with the whiche they troubled their enemies and assaulted the walles, and left nothing vn-attempted, whiche might be to them, any advantage, or hurtfull to their enemies.

IN the time of lent vitaile and artillerie, began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore therle of Suffolke appointed sir Ihon Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampstö, and sir Philip Hal with their retinewes, to ride to Paris to the lord Regent, to informe him of their searcenes and necessitie. Whiche beyng therof informed, without any delaye or prolongyng, provided vitaile, artillery and municions, necessary and conuenient for so great an enterprise, and laded therwith many chariottes, cartes, and horses, and for the sure códuite, and saugard of the same, he appoynted sir Simon Morhier Prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citee & diuerse of his awne houshold seruauntes, to accompany sir Ihon Fastolfe and his cóplices, to the army liyng at the siege of Orleance. The whiche departed in good ordre, to the nombre of. v. hundred men of war, beside wagoners out of Paris, and came to Yaynuile in Beausse, and in a morning early in a greate frost they departed, from the place toward the siege, and when they came to a tounne called Ronuray, in the landes of Beausse, they percieued their enemies cömyng against them, to the nombre of. ix. or. x. M. Frenchmen & Scottes: the capitaines wherof was Charles of Cleremot, sonne to the duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, sir William Stewarde Constable of Scotlantde, alittle before delivered out of captuntie, the erle of Perdriacke, the lord Ihon Vandesme, Vidane of Charters, the Lorde of Touars, the lorde of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the Lorde of Beaniew, the Bastard Tremorle, and many other valiaunt capitaines. Wherefore sir Ihon Fastolfe and his companions, set all their compayny in good ordre of bataill, and picked stakkes before every Archer, to breke the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagöss and cariages, and within thean thei tied all their horses, so that their enemies could nether assaile them on the backeside, nor yet spoile them of their horses, and in this maner they stode still, abidying the assaute of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great nombre) thinking the victory to be in their handes, egerly like Lions set on the Englishmen, whiche with greate force, them receiued and manfully defended: for it stode them vpon, consideryng the inequalitie of the nombre. And after long and cruelle fight the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchmen, and compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slain, Lorde Willyam Stewarde Constable of Scotlantde and his brother, the lorde Doruall, the lorde Delabret, the lorde Chasteambrian, sir Ihon Basgot, and other Frenchmen & Scottes, to the nombre of. xxv. C. and above xj. hundred taken prisoners, although some French writers affirme the nombre lesse.

AFTER this fortunate victory, sir Ihon Fastolfe and his company (of the whiche no man of any reputacion was either slain or taken,) came with all their cariages, vitaile, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleance, where they wer ioyously receiued & welcomed of all the souldiers.
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

souldiers. This conflict (because the most part of the carriage was heryng & lenten stuffe,) the Frenchmen call, the vfortune battail of herynges.

THE Erle of Suffolke, beeyng thus vitalled, continued his siege, and everie daie almoste, skirmished with his enemies, which being in dispaire of all succors, began to comen emongest themself, how they might rendre the toune, to their moste hounoure and profite. After muche reasonyng, and long debatyng emongest the capitanes, and the magistrates of the toune, what way was best to be folowed: Some affirmed it not onely to be shamefull and dishonorale, but also unnaturall and vreasonable, to yelde the toune to the Englissheman, beyng neither frendes nor fauorers of the French naicon: other, fearyng the victory of the Englisshmen, imagined, that if they by force possesseyd the citee, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue, wilfull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a greate folye and a notable lightnes, not to beware the one, as to deny or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glory must nedes decline to a shame & reproche, they thought to find a meane wyse to saue themselfes, and their cite frō the captiviuit of their enemies, and deuised to submit their citee theselves, & al theirs vnder the obeysance of Phillip duke of Burgoyne because he was brought out of the stocke and bloud royall of the anncient hous of Fraunce: thinkyng by this meanes (as thedi did in deede) to breke or minisce the greate amitie betwene the Englisshemen & hym.

AFTER this poynct concluded, they made open & sent to the duke all their deuises and intentes whiche certified the that he would gladly receive their offire, so that the Regent of Fraunce would therto agre & cœsont. And thersup dispatched certain ambassadors to the duke of Bedford, to whom these newes wer straunge and not very pleasant, vpon whiche poynct, he assembled a great counsaill. Some thought that maner of yeldying to be bothe lo-norable and profitable to the king of Englande, by reason wherof, so greate a citee, & so riche a countrye, should be brought out of the possessio of their enemies, into the hides of their trusty frendes, without farther cost or bloodshed. The Duke of Bedford & other, wer of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it bothe dishonorale and vprofitable to the reame of Eng-land, to se a cite so long besieged at the costs & expenses of the kyng of England, & almoste brought to the poynct of yeldying, to be yelded to any other foré prince or potestate, and not to hym or his Regent, the example wherof might pronoke other tonnes herafter to do the same. This reason tooke place, and the Regent answered the dukes ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet cœsonante to reason, that the kyng of Englande should beate the bushe and the duke of Burgoyne should have the birdes: Wherefore sithe the right was his, the war was his, and the charge was his, he saied that y citei ought not to be yelded to no other person, but to hym or to his vse and profite. By this little chance, succeede a great change in thenglish affaires, for a double mischief of this answere rose and sprang out. For first the duke of Burgoyne, began to conceiue a certaine priuye grudge against thenglishmen for this cause: thinkyng the to enuy & beare malice against his glory and profite, for the whiche in continuance of time he became their enemy, and cleued to the French Kyng. Secondly, the Englisshemen left the siege of Orleaunce, whiche by this treaty they might haue had to frend, or to have continued neutre, till their Lord the duke of Orleaunce, or the erle of Angulosie his brother wer delievered out of the captiviutie of the English people. But if men wer angels and forsaw thynges to come, they like bestes would not romye to their confusion: but fortune which gideth the destiny of man, will turne her whele as she listeth, whosoever saith nay.

WHILE this treaty of the Orleaunces was in hand, Charles the dolphin, daily studied and hounre labord, to plucke the fauor and hartes of the nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe nacion, to the intent, that he might assemble a puyssance, sufficient to relese his frendes, beyng shut vp in the citee of Orleaunce. While he was studyng and compassyng this matter there happened to hym, a straunge chaunce, of the whiche I will write a litle, because some of the Frenche authours, and especially Ihon Bouchet, of it writheth to muche.

U 2 FOR
FOR as he and other saie, there came to hym beyng at Chynon a mayd of the age of xx. yeres, and in mans apparell, named Ione, borne in Burgeyne in a toune called Droymyn beside Vancolour, which was a greate space a chamberlyn in a commen hostery, and was a rampe of suche boldnesse, that she would course horses and ride them to water, and do thynge, that other yong maidens, bothe abhorred & wer ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it wer because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either she had made a vowe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserved her virginitie. She (as a mon-
ster was sent to the Dolphin, by sir Robert Bandrencort captain of Vancolour, to whō she declared, that she was sent frō God, bothe to aide themiserable citee of Orleauence, and also to remit hym, to the possession of his realme, out of the whiche, he was expulsed and over-
comed: reheresyng to hym, visions, trauises, and fables, full of blasphemy, supersticie and hypocrisy, that I maruell much that wise men did beleue her, and lerned clarke would write suche phantasies. What should I reherse, how they saie, she knewe and called hym her kyng, whom she neuer saw before. What should I speake how she had by renedacion a swerde, to her appoynted in the churche of saintet Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had been. What should I write, how she declared suche priuy messages from God, our lady, and other saintetes, to the dolphin, that she made the teres ronne donne frō his iyes. So was he deluded, so was he blynded, & so was he deceipted by the devils means which suffred her to begynne her race, and inconclusion rewarded her with a shameful fal. But in the meane season suche ereditate was geuen to her, that she was honoured as a saintet, of the religiuous, and beleued as one sent from God of the temporaltic, in so muche that she (armed at all poynetes) rode from Pouytiers to Bloys, and ther found men of war vitail, and munciens, redy to be conveyed to Orleauence. The Englishmen perceiuing that they within could not long contynue, for faute of vitaille & poynge, keppe not their watche so diligently as they wer accustomed, nor scovered not the coutrie emironed, as thei before had ordained: which negligence, the citezens shut in perceiuing, sent worde therof to the Frenche capitaines, whiche with Pucelle in the dedde tyme of the night, and in a greate rayne and thundre, with all their vitaille and artillerie entered into the citee. If thei were wel-
come maruell not, for folkes in greate trauble, be foyous of a little comfort. And the next daie the Englishemen boldely asassted the tounne, promisyng to therin that best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on ladders coragiously, and with gonnes, arrowes and pikes, bette their enemies from the walles.

THE Frenche men, although they maruelled at the fierce fighting of the English people, yet thei wer not amased, but they defended them selves to the darke night, on whiche daie, no great priuate faute worthy of memory, was either attempted or done. The Bastard of Orleauence (seyng the phynes of the gleshe nation) began to feare the sequele of the matther: wherfore he sent worde to the duke of Alannon, advertisyng hym in what case the tounne then stode, and that it could not long contynue without his hasty speede, and quicke diligence. Whiche delaying no tympe nor deferryng no space came with all his armie within two leagues of the citee, and sent woord to the capitaines, that on the next morowe they should be redy to recewe them. Whiche thyng, the nexte daie they accomplisshed, for the Englishemen thought it to be muche to their aide, if so greate a multitude entered into the citee, vexed with famyne & replenished with scarsets. On the nexte daie in the mornyng, the Frenche men altogether issued out of the tounne, and assassted the fortesse or Bastyle, called the Bastyle of saint Loure, the whiche with great force and no little losse they toke and set it on fire, and after assassted the tounre at the bridge foote, which was manfully de-
fended. But the Frenche men beyng more in nombre, so fiercely assassted it, that they toke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succors: in the whiche Willyam Gladdisdale the cap-
tain was slain, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the lorde Pownynges also.

THE Frenche men puffed vp with this good lucke, seyng the strong fortesse was vnogotten, which was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compass above, and in good ordre of battale marched thether ward. The lord Talbot like a capitaine, without fere or
dred of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiercely fought with the Frenchmen, that they not able to withstand his payssaunce, fled (like shepe before the Wolfe) again into the citty, with great losse of men and small artillerie: and of the Englishmen were lost in the two Bastyles six hundred presones. Then the erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lord Scales, and other capitaines, assembled together, where causes were shewed, that it was bothe necessary and convenient either to leave the siege for ever, or to deferre it till another tyne, more luckey & convenient. And to the intent that they should not seme either to fly or to be driven from the siege by their enemies, they determined to leave their fortresses and Bastyles, and to assemble in the plain feld and there to abyde all the daie, abide the outcomming and bataille of their enemies. This conclusion taken, was accordingly executed. The Frenchmen, weried with the last bickeryng, held in their heddes and dartes not once appere: and so thei set fire in their lodgynges, and departed in good ordre of battall from Orleans. The next daie which was the viij. daie of Maie, the Erle of Suffolke, ridying to largeaux with CCCC. Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with another company returned to Meun which toune, after that he had fortified, he incontinent, assaulted and won the toune of Lauall and the Castle sore vexyng and punishing the tounes men, for their hard hartes, and cancard obstinacie: and leuyng there a garrison reculed to Meun.

AFTER this siege thus broken vp to tell you, what triumphes wer made in the citty of Orleans, what wood was spente in fiers, what wyne was dronke in houses, what songes wer song in the stretes, what melody was made in Tauerne, what roundes were daunced, in large and brode places, what lightes were set vp in the churches, what anthemes, wer song in Chapelles, and what ioye was shewed in evry place, it were a long woork and yet no necessary cause. For they did as we in like case would haue done, and we being in like estate,would haue done as they did. After that the Englishmen, wer thus retirled from the siege of Orleans, and seuered themselues in diverse tounes & fortresses, holding on their part: The duke of Alunson, the Bastard of Orleans, Ione the puzell, the lorde of Gantcort, & diverse other Frenche men came before the toune of Largeaux, where the erle of Suffolke and his two brethren soiorned the xij. daie of June, and came to the toune a great and a terrible assaut, whiche the Englis:men, (byeng but a handful) manfully defended on three parts of the same. Poyton of Sentrailes, perceiuyng one part of the toune to be undefended, scaled the wallers on that part: and without any difficulte toke the toune, and slewe sir Alexander Pole brother to therle, and many other, to the nombre of two hundred: but they not muche gayned, for they lost. iii. C. good men and more. Of thenglishmen were taken. xl. beside his brother Tho. After this gain and good lucke, the Frenchmen returninge toward Orleans, fell in contention and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slewe them all, sauing the erle and his brother.

THE SEVENTH YERE.

After the gaynyng of the toune of Largeaux, the same army cam to Meun, and toke the toune at the bridge, and put there in a garrison, and from thence removed to Bawancy. Whiche garrison, byeng not vitalled rendered the toune, so that they might departe with bagge and bagge, frankely and freely: whiche desire to the was granted. At this toune of Bawancy, met with the duke of Alunson, Arthur of Britayne, the false forsworne gentleman to the kyng of Englaunde newly made Constable of France (as you haue heard,) with whom was the lorde Delabret with. xij. C. men: to whom daily repaired freshaide out of every part, as the Ele of Vandosme, and other, to the nombre of xx. or xxij. M men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meun, and to take the toune, but they wer informed, that the Englishmen, had lefte the toune desolate, and wer returned to the lord Talbot to Iencuile. Then thei concluded to passe toward that toune. But, as they marched forwarde upon a Saterdaie, thei had perfite knowledge, that the lorde Talbot with. v. thousand men, was
THE VII. YERE OF

was commyng to Meum. Wherfore, thei intendiynge to stop hym a tyde, conueyed their company to a small village called Patay, whiche way, they knewe that the Englishmen must nedes passe by. And first they appoynted their horsemen, whiche were well and richely furnished, to go before, and sodainly to set on the Englishmen, or they wer, either ware or set in ordre. The Englishmen commyng forarde, perceiued the horsemen, and, imaginying to deceuie their enemies, commaunded the fotemen to enuirone & enclose theselyes about with their stakes, but the French horsmen came on so fiersly, that the archers had no leysyr, to set thenselves in a raiue. There was no remedy but to fight at adventure. This battaill, continued by the space of thre long houres. And although thenglishmen wer ouerpressed, with the nombre of their adversaries, yet thei never fledde backe one foote, till their capitain the lorde Talbot, was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken. Then their hartes began to faint, & thei fled in whiche flight, ther wer slain aboue. xij. C. and taken. xl. wherof the lorde Talbot the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston, were the chief: howbeit diverse archers which had shot all their arrows, haungyng only their swerdes, defended the-self, and with the help of some of the horymen, ca safe to Meu.

WHEN the fame was blowen abrode, that the Lorde Talbot was, all the Frenchmen not alithe reioyseyng, thinking surely, that now the rule of the Englishmen, should shortly assaue and waxe faine: for feare wherof, the tounes of Ieneuile, Meu, Fort, and diverse other, returned from the English part, and became Frenche, to the greate displeasure of the Regent. For this battaill, departed without any stroke striken, sir Ihon Fastolfe, thesame yere for his valiauntnes elected into the ordre of the Garter. For whiche cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger, toke from hym the Image of sainct George, and his Garter, but afterward, by meane of frendes, and apparant causes of good excuse by hym allledged, he was restored to the order again, against the mynd of the lorde Talbot.

CHARLES, callynge hymself Frenche kyng, beyng advertised of this victory, thought now, that al thyngees succeeded, accordyng to his opinion and good hope, whiche euer, was of that his courage and hauynt mynd, that in his moste aduersitie, he neuer dispersed in good lucke at leuhte: so that the Erle of Salisbury beyng dedde, and the lorde Talbot living in captiviuitie, (which wer the glory of his enemies) he thought to enterprise great and waignyng thyngees, wher before he meddeled with small and lite moynges. For fullfylling of his mynd and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the citee of Reynes, to the intent, that he beyng there, might accordyng to the fashion of his progeniters, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and anoynted kyng with the holy ampulle, that all men might se and perceiue, that he was, by all lawes and decrees, a just and a lawfull kyng. Wherfore he assemblyng to gether a great army, & haungyng in his company Ione the Puzel, whom he vsed as an oracle and a soutisaiyer, passed through Champagne, by the tounes of Anxer. The within, sent to him messengers, praiyng him of certaine daies of abstinence of war, in the which (if they wer not rescued) they promised to rendre the toun. He not willing to recompanse with ingratitude, the louyng hartes of the citzenees, graunted gently to their peticion, and louyng there certayne persons, to se that they shoule not iuge with hym, departed from thence to Trosy, beyng the chief citude of Châpaigyn, whiche he besieged, xii. daies. Sir Phillip Hal captain there, vnprouided bothe of vitaille and men, mistrustyng, that aide would not come in tyme, vpon cophosicion rendered the toun, so that he, & his, with all their moveables might in saucetie depart the citeit: whiche demand was agreed to. After that Trosy was yelded, the commonality of Chalons, rebelled against sir John Avymbód their capitain, and constrained hym to deliuer the toun vpon like cophosicion, whiche against his wil, he was fain to do: and likewise did the citzenes of Reyns, desirynge hym to geue saueconduite to all Englishmen, safely to departe.

WHEN he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the noblemen of his faction, and the dukes of Lorayne and Barre, was sacred kyng of Frauce, by the name of Charles the vi. with all rites and ceremonies thereto apperteinynge. Thei of Anxer which wer not rescued
rescued within the tyme appoynted, brought the kayes to hym, and submitted theimselfes to his obeyysaunce: likewise did all the citees and tounes adioynynge, geuyng thanks to almightie God, whiche haung compassion of their misery, had restored them to libertie and fre-done. The Duke of Bedford, hearyng that these tounes and soyssons also, had returned to the part of his adversaries, and that Charles late Dolphyn had taken vpon hym the name and estate of the kyng of Fraunce, and also, seyng that daily, citees and tounes returned from thenglische part and became Frenche, as though the Englishmen had now lost all their hardy clieftaines and valiaut men of warre, espied and euydently perceiued, that the laste and vitternoste poynyt of recovery, was driven only to overcom by battail, and to subdue by force. By whiche victory, (as he putte his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the citees, whiche were so sodainly chaungeable, but also to assuage and caulme the haute corage of the newe sacred Frenche kyng and his companions. Wherfore, he haungyng together. x. M. good Englishmen, (beside Normans) departed out of Paris, in warlike fashio and passed through Brye to Monstrean Faultyow, and there sente by Bedforde his herault letters to the Frenche kyng, alledgyng to hym that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea, and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betwene his noble brother kyng, Henry the fift, and kyng Charles, the v. father to thesaid newe vsurper, leuyng all humayne reason and honest communacian, (which sometyme appeaseth debates and pacifieth strifes) onely allured and intisied by a deuilishe wytche, and a sathanicall enchaunterese, had not onely falsely and craftely, taken vpon hym, the name, title and dignitic of the kyng of Fraunce: But also, by murder, stelyng, craft, and deceitful meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diverse citees and tounes, belongingyng to the kyng of Englande, his moste best beloved lorde, and moste derest nephew. For profe wherof, he was come doune from Paris, with his armee, into the countrey of Brye, by dent of swerde and stroke of battail, to proue his wrytyng and cause trewe, willyng his enemie to chose the place, and he in the same, would gue a hyme battayle.

THE newe Frenche kyng, departing from his solemn Ceremonies at Reins, and remoyng from thence to Dampmartine, studiying how to compasse the Parisiens, ether with money, or with promes, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit, he made a freshe countenaunce, & a Frenche brag, answeeneyng to the herault: that he would soner seke his Master, and the Duke should pursewe hym. The duke of Bedford hearyng his ansuer, marched toward hym, and pitched his feld in a strong place, and sent out diverse of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forward. The Frenche kyng was in maner determined to abyde the battall, but when he hard saie by his espialles, that the power and nombre of the Englishmen, wer to his army equal in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstain fro battail without daunger, then to entre into the conflicte with jeopardye: fearyng least that with a rashe corage, he might ouerthrowe all his affaires whiche so effecteously proceede. And so well advised, he turned with his armee, alittle out of the waie. The duke of Bedford perceiuyng his faint corage, followed hym by mountaines and dailes, till he came to a toun in Barre, not farre from Senlys, where he found the Frech kyng and his armee. Wherfore he ordeled his battal, like a man expert in marciall science, settingyng the archers before, and hymself with the noblemen in the mayne battail, and put the Normans on bothe sides for the wynge. The Frenche kyng also ordeled his battailies, accordyng to the deuise of his capitaine. Thus, these twoo armes without any greate doyng, (except a fewe skirmishes, in the whiche the dukes light horsmen did very valiauntly) lay eche in sight of other, by the space of twoo dailes and twoo nightes. But when the Frenche kyng sawe, and perceiued, how glad, how diligent and coragious the Englishmen wer to fight and gue battail, he imagened that by his tariyng, one of these twoo thynes must nedes chauce: that is to saie, either he should fight against his will, or lye still like a cowarde, to his greate rebuke and infauny. Wherefore in the dedde of the night, (as priuely as he could) he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceiued in the mornyng.
morning, the Regent could scarce refrain his people, from following the Frenche army, calling them, cowartes, dastardes, and loutes, and therfore, he perceiving that by no meanes, he could allure the new Frenche kyng to abide battaill, mistrusting the Parisliis, and gueing no great credite to their faire, sweete and flatteryng woordes, returned again to Paris, to as semble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enemies.

IN this season, the Bohemians, (whiche beleyke had espyed the vsurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome) began to rebell against his se, whiche, (as Eneas Siluius doth report wer) fall en into certain sectes of heresie. Wherfore, Martyn the fifth bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to abstain from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they, (beyng persuaded to the contrary) neither gave care vnto hym, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherfore the bishop of Rome, wrote to the princes of Germany, to invade "realme of Beame, as the denne of heretikes, and cause of deuilshe doctrine. Besyde this, he appoynted Henry bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of S. Eusebie, a mā very wel borne, (as you haue hard) but no better borne then high stomacked, and yet no higher stomacked, then abundantly enriched, to be his legate in this great iorney, and to bring out men from the realme of Engand, into the courteyne of Beame. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the said Cardinall, to take the tenth part of every spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promocio. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in Engand, and not dissent, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men and mo, not without great grudge of the people, whiche daily were with tallages and aides wered, and sore burdened. And when men, munissius, and money wer ready for his hight enterprise, he with all his people came to the sea stronde at Douer, ready to passe over the sea into Flanters.

BVT in the meane season, the Duke of Bedforde consideryng, how tennes daily wer gotten, and countries hourely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and nombre of men of warre, wrote to his brother the duke of Gloucester, to reliefe him with aide, in that tempestous tyne and troublous season. When this letter was brought into Engand, the duke of Gloucester was not atitle amased, because he had no army redy to sende at that tyne: for by the reason of the Crewe, sent into Beame, he could not sodainly reysse a newe armynge. But because the matter was of suche importaunce, and might neither be, frō day to day differed, nor yet long delayed, he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his army toward the duke of Bedforde, whiche at that tyne had bothe neode of men and assistaunce, considerying that now, all stode vpon losse or gaine whiche thynge deen, and to his honor acheved, he might performe his iorney against the vngracious Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat mouded with this countermaunde, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce, in so greate a cause and so necessary an enterprises, he bowed from his former iorney, and passed the sea with all his company, and brought them to his cosyn, to the citty of Paris.

CHARLES the Frenche kyng, hauing knowledge in the meane season by his espialls, which went round about the country, to intise and sollicite tounes and citées, to returne from the Englishe part, and become Frenche, that the inhabitiates of Champaigne and Benauois ought hym greate love and synguler favor, and gladly counted to renounce the subiciation of England, and to be under his profection, and also offred to open them their gates, so that they should not therby, be in jeopardy of their lifes and losse of their goodes, with all haste & diligeece removed towarda Champaigne. The duke of Bedforde byeing aduertised of his progress, and haung his armie augmented, with the new aide, whiche the cardinal had of late conducted, marched forward with great speepe to encounter and gyne battaill, to his mortal enemy the Frenche kyng. When the duke was come to Senlis, the Frenchemen wer lodged on the Mountpilioli, betwene Senlis and Champaigne. Evrey army knew of other, and evrey hoste might behold other. Then the capes wer trenchet, and the battailes pitched, and the feldes ordered. Thus, these great armies lay two daines, nothyng
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

nothyng doing but with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore vexed the Frenchmen. Wherfore, the lorde Regent, gave to them many high laudes and praisynes, and determined surely the next day, to set on the French kyng in his cape, if he would not remove out, and abide battaile. But while kyng Charles did politiquely consider, what a variable lady, Fortune was, and what a sodain and vnthought chaunce of a small thying, might do in a battaile: for the detrimentes and ouerthrowes, that he and his nacion had taken and tased by the Englishmen, wer to them a lernyn, an example and a plaine experiment, to auoyde open ioynyng, mutual conflict, and force to force. And beside that, he had by his explorators and spies, plain and perfect knowledge, of many and diverse cites & tounes in Fraunce, abhorriying thenglishie libertie, and aspyryng to the French bondage and natuie seruitude, (accordyng to the nature of Asses, whiche the more they be charged with, the more they desire) would, (whé they sawe their tyne) not onely rebell and returne to his faction and parte, but also were ready to aide and assist hym, in recovery of his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expelling also the English nacion, out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore, he imagined that the duke of Bedforde, was so hasty to geue hym battaile, thynkyng, that if he then wer overcome, the game had, for the Englishmen been clerely gotten, & to the Frenchmen, a perpetuall checkemate. Wherfore he determined neuer, (except very necessitie compelled or constrained hym) to fight in open battaile with the Englishmen, nor by a feld to aduenture his realme with the, of whom his predecessors so often tymes had been vanquished. Wherfore, like a carpet capitaine he in the night, removed his carne and fled to Crespy, and yet his nobre was double to the English army. The duke of Bedforde, sayng that the Frenche kyng was thus cowardly retrayted, and as a man, whiche durste not once assaie the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefullly reculed: with all his power and armie, returned agayn to Paris, sore suspectyng the deceitfull faith of the politique Parisians. The bishop of Winchester, after the Frenche kynges flight, went into Beame, and there did somewhat, but what it was, authors kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly, he without any greate praise, and small gayne, returned into Englande, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduaising forwarde. Some after, the bishop of Rome without his agrement, vnlegated hym, and set another in his stede & authoritie, with which doing, he was neither cōtent nor pleased.

¶ THE EIGHT YERE.

ON the vi. day of Nouembre, being the day of saint Leonard, kyng Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was, at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crownd kyng of this realme of England. At which coronacion, to rehearse the costly faire, the delicate meate, the pleasant wines, the nombre of courses, the sorts of dishes, the labors of officers, the multitude of people, the estates of Lordes, the beauties of Ladies, the riches of apparell, the curious deuises, the solempe banquettes, it would aske a long tyne, and vry you; Wherfore leuynge the pleasant pastyme in England, I will returne to the troublesome warres in Fraunce.

AFTER that the French kyng was fled from the duke of Bedford, (as you haue harde before) and was come to Crespy in Valoys, he was credibly informed, how the citizens of Champagne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernance and subieccion. Wherfore, he mindyng not to lesse so faire an offred prey, ceased not, til he came to the toun, where, with al reverence and benignitie, he was receiued and welcomed. And after that, were rendered to hym, the tounes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stelth, the castle of Aumarle and slewe all the Englishmen, and in short space, the lorde Barbasan, whiche long had been prisoner in the Castle Gaylard, so mucho, what with faire wordes and large promises, persuaded his keepers, that he not only deliuered his owne persone, but also caused the toun, to turne from thenglishmen, to the part of kyng Charles X
his Master. Whiche kyng, although he muche reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sente, yet he was somewhat desperate, how to recover his countrey from the possession of the Englishmen, except he vnknitted the knotte and league, betwene the duke of Burgoyne and them. Wherfore, he sent his Chaunceller, & diverse Ambassadors to the duke of Burgoyne, first, excusesing himself of the death & murder, of duke Ihon his father, & after, declaryng to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishonest, nor more detestable, then, for his awne peculiar cause, & private displeasure, to ioyne with his ancien enemies, and perpetual aduersaries, against his natie countrey and naturall nacion: not onely requiryng hym, of concord, peace, and amitie, but also promisyng golden mountaines, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was either able or could performe. This message was not so secrete, nor the doyng so closely closed, but the Duke of Bedford, therof was plainly informed. Whiche beyng sore troubled, and vnquieten in his mind, because he sawe the power of thenglisle nacion, daily waxe lesse, he, of all thynges, first forseynge, if any loose should of necessiteit chaunce, of those toones and countreis, whiche his noble brother, kyng Henry the fift had conquered, in the very countrey of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicicn or defence: yet for an ankerhold, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Dutchie of Normandy, the olde inheritance and anciente patrimony, of the kynges of Englende, and frô them onely, by force and not by justice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyne of kyng Henry the thirde, (the denilishe desisyon then reignyng in the realme) wrongfully detained, and iniuriously vsurped. Wherfore, he diligently prouidyng, for thynges that might chaunce, appoynted governor of the citie of Paris, Lewes of Loxenberough, bishop of Turwine and Elly, beyng Chauncellor of Fraunce, for the kyng of England, a man of no lesse wit, then of birth, leyng with hym, a convenient nombre of Englishmen to defende bothe the citee and territory of Paris, & the isle of Fraıence then beyng in the Englishmens possession and governaunce. THESE thynges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandy, and called at Roan a parliament, of the three estates of the duchie, in the whiche he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the maniölde privileges, the innumerable benefites, which they had received of the kynges of Englende, duryng the tyne, that they wer possessors and lordes of thesame duchie, not puttyng in oblivion, the misery, bondage, and calamiteit, which they had sustained, by the intollerable yoke and daily tributes, continually layed in their neckes like Asses, by the cruell and coueteous Frenchemen: and puttyng them also in remembrance, how the kynges of England, wer not onely brought furth and disceded, of the Normans bloud & progeny, but wer the very true & vndoubted heires, to thesame countrey and duchie, lineally succedyng & lawfully descen dyng from Rollo the hardy, first duke and prince of the same dominion: Requiryng theim farther, to live in love and amitie emongest theim self, to be true and obedient, to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, and to kepe their othe and promes, made and sworn to his noble brother, kyng Henry the, v. promisyng to them, Ennglishe libertie and privileges royall. While the duke of Bedford was thus, intertainyng and encouragyng the Normans, Charles the new Frenche kyng, beyng of his departure advertised, longyng and thristyng for to obtain Paris, the chief citee & principal place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the toune of Senlis well accompanied, and came to the toune of saint Denise, which he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good governaunce. Wherfore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyed toune, and lodged his armie at Mountmartyr, and Abbermillers, mere adjoynyng, and liyng to the citee of Paris. And from thence, sent, Ihon duke of Alunson, and his sorceresse Ione, (called the mayde, sent from God) in whom, his whole affiance then consisted, with thre thousande light hor-men, to get again the citee of Paris, either by force, or by faire flatterynge, or reasonable treaty, and after them, he without deilaie or defer ryng of tyme, with all his power, came betwene Mountmartyr and Paris, and sodainly, approched the gate of saint Honore, settynge vp ladders to the walles, and castynge faggottes into the ditches, as though, he would with a French bragge, sodainly have gotte the faire cite. But thenglisle
HENRY could scrutinize the French, their walls and towers, with the assistance of the Parisians, that they rebuffed and drove away the Frenchmen, and threw down Ione, their great goddesse, into the bottom of the town's ditch, where she lay beyond the back of an Ass, sore hurt, till the tyne that she all filthy with mire and durtie, was drawn out, by Guyescharde of Thienbronne, servant unto the duke of Alainson. The French Kyng, seyng the great losse, that he had sustained at this assault, and accompted his pretended conquest, in manner impossible, leuyng the dedde bodies behind hym, and takynge with hym, the wounded capitaines, whiche wer of no small nombre, returned into Berry. But in the meantime, the citizens of Laigne, became his subiectes, and made to hym an othe, promising to continewe from thence forth to hym, both true and obedient.

THE Duke of Bedford, beying in Normandy, and hearing of this sodain attempt, lost no tyne, nor spared no troualle, till he came to Paris. Where he, not onely thanked the capitaines, and praised the citizeyns for their assured fideltie and good will, towards their kyng and souveraygne lorde, but also extolled their hardines, & many doynges above the Starres, and high clementies: promising to them, honor, faune, and greate aduancementes. Whiche gentle exhoration, so incoraged and inflamed the hartes of the Parisians, that they spake, promised, and concluded, to be frendes euere to the kyng of Englande and his frendes, and ennemies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, makynge proclamation by this stile. Frendes to Kyng Henry, frendes to the Parisians, enemies to Englande, enemies to Paris. But if they speake it with their hartes, either for feare, that Charles the French kyng, should not punishem them, if he onely obtained the superioritie, over their citee, & toune, or that thei flattered the englishmen, to put themselves in creдite with the chief capitaines, you shall plainly perceiue, by the sequele of their acques.

SOME after these doynges, came to Paris with a greate company, Phillip duke of Burgoyyn, whiche was of the Regent, and the lady his wife, honorably receiued, and highly feasted. And after long consultacion had, for recoveryng of the townes, lately by the French kyng stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the duke of Bed福德, should raase an armie, for the recovery of the said fortresses, and that the duke of Burgoyne, should be his deputie, and tary at Paris, for the defence of the same. After this greate business, thus concluded, and appoynted the Duke of Bedforde hymself, without any greate resistance, recovered again the townes of sainte Deni, and diverse other Castles. And after that done, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to laye siege to the Castle of Tourse, beying both by the naturall situacion, and mannes politicke, very strong, and in maner vnable to be beaten doune. The siege continued sixe monethes, but in conclusion, the capitain discontented of al releeu and succor, rendered the fortresse, the life of hym and his soldierns only saued. Whiche offire was taken, & the castell raised, and cast doune to the grounde. During this siege, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen, departed from Gourney in Normandy, and rode by Beauois, spoyleynge, robbynge, and wastynge the countrey, to the suburbes of Clermont. Whereof, hearing the Erle of thesame town, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioynynge, to fight with the englishmen; and so the Frenchmen with all diligence set forward, & found their enemies in a straight place, were unto Beauois. The erle of Clermont seyng that he could not hurte them, with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came doune on fote with all his company, and fiersly set on the Englishmen. The fight was fierse, and the advantagge doubtful. But in conclusion, the archers shot so terribillie, that the Frenchmen, not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled a pace, and the Englishmen leuyng the straight, leped on horsebacke, and followed the chase. In the whiche wer taken twro hundred prisoners, and thrise as many slain. The Erle, by the swifternesse of his horesse, escaped his enemies, and came to the toune of Beauois: and so sir Thomas Kiriell, with plente of spoyle and prisoners, returned to Gourney, renderyng to GOD his hartie thanks, for that good chaunce and happie victory.

YET Fortune sent not this good lucke alone, for therle of Suffolk at thesame very season,
besieging the toune of Aumarle, wherof was capitain the lord Rambures, (after xxiii. great assautes guen to the fortresse) had the toune and castle to hym symply rendered. Where-fore, he caused. xxx. of the tounes men, for their untrueth, to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he raunsomed, and sent the capitain into Englande, where he remained sixe yeres continually, & after by excatunge was delievered. After this, the erle fortified the toune, with men, municions and vitale, and so by a litle and litle, the Englishmen recovered again many tounes, whiche before they had loste, without any greate losse of their people. Whiche thynge, the Frenchemen well consideryng imagened by what means, how to get again the toune of Laual, whiche lorde Talbot (before as you have heard) gat, by scalyng in a night. Wherefore, to possesse their desired prey, they with money, and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mil adioynyng to the wall, so that the Miller, suffered the lorde Holmet with thre hundred other, to passe, through his Mill into the toune, in a very darke night. When they wer entered, they slewe the kepers of the gate, and let in the lorde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with five hundred men of armes: whiche either slewe or toke prisoners, all theenglishmen within the toune. And shortly after, Sir Stephen de Vignoles called the Heire, toke by scalyng, the toune of Lonuiers in Normady, and did muche damage, to all the tounes adioynyng.

§ THE NYNTH YERE.

Whyle these chaunces happened, betwene the Englishmen and Frenchemen, Phillip duke of Burgoyne, maried the Lady Isabel, daughter to Ihou, kyng of Portyngall, and greate aunte to the kyng of Englande. In honor of whiche mariadge, he instituted and began an ordre of xxxvi. knyghtes without reproche, called the ordre of the golden flece, and devised statutes, mantels, collers, and Ceremonies for the same, muche like to the ordinaunces, of the noble ordre of the Garter begonne in Englande, almoste an hundred yeres before the institution, of this fraternitie and frendship. On the which wife, he begat, the hardy duke Charles, father to Marie, after maried to Maximiliana kyng of the Romans, as (when place requireth) shalbe hereafter to you declared.

IN this very season, the Englishmen in the colde moneth of Decembre, besieged the toune of Laigny, in the whiche was the Puzell and diuerse other good capitaines. But the weither was so cold, & the raine so greate and so continual, that they, of force coppelled, not by their enemies, but by intemperate season, reisid their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and all the garrison within the toune, issued out and fought with theenglishmen, where, (after long fightyng) both parties departed without either great gain or losse. After this enterprise done, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the lord Ihou of Luxenbrough, and with a great puissunce, besieged the toune of Champaigne: whiche toune was well walled, manned, and vitaled, so that the besiegers, must either by assaut or long tariynge, wery or famishe them within the toune. So they cast trenches, and made moynes, and studied at the waies that they could devise, how to compassse their coquest and enterprise. And it happened in the night of the Assencion of our lorde, that Pothon of Xetraxles, Ione the Puzell, and five or sixe hundred men of armes, issued out of Champaigne, by the gate of the bridge towards Mowndedier, intending to set fire in the tentes and lodgynges of the lord of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, for the Duke of Burgoyns affaires. At whiche tyme, sir Ihou of Luxenborough, with eight other gentlemens (whiche had ridden aboute the toune to servche and viewe, in what place the toune might be most aptly and conveniently assaulted or scaled) were come nere to the lodges of the lord of Baudo, where they espied the Frenchemen, whiche began to cut doune tentes, ouerthrowe pavilions, and kil men in their beddes. Wherefore, shortly they assembled a great nombre of men, as well Englishe as Burgonions, and couragiously set on the Frenchemen. Sore was the fight and greate was the slaughter, in so
much that the Frenchmen, not able longer to indure, fled into the town so fast, that one letted the other to entre. In whiche chace was taken, Ione the Puzell, and diverse other: whiche Ione was sent to the duke of Bedford to Roan, wher, (after long examinacion) she was bent to ashes. This wyte or manly woman, (called the maid of GOD) the Frenchmen greatly glorified and highly extolled, alledging that by her Orelaunce was vtalled: by her, kyng Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, the Englishmen wer often tymes put backe and ouerthrown. O Lorde, what dispraise is this to the nobilitie of Fraunce: What blotte is this to the Frenche nacion: What more rebuke can be imputed to a renoumed region, then to affirme, write & confess, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neither the kyng with his power, nor the nobilitie with their va- liaunntes, nor the counsail with their wit, nor the comonalte with their strenght, could compass or obtain, were gotten and achiued by a shepherdes daughter, a chamberlein in an hostie, and a beggers brut: whiche blindyng the wittes of the French nacion, by reve- lacion, dreames & phantastical visions, made the beleue thynges not to be supposed, and to geue faite to thynges impossible. For surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and commonly shewed, this woman was not inspired with the holy ghost, nor sent from God, (as the Frenchmen beleue) but an enchantersse, an orgayne of the devill, sent from Satan, to blind the people and bring them in vmbelife: as by this letter, sent frõ the kyng of England, to the duke of Burgoyne, to you evidentely shall appere.

"MOSTE dere and welbeloued vncle, the feruent loue and great affection, whiche you (like a very catholique prince) beare to our Mother holy Churche, and to the aduancement of our faite, doth bothe resonably admonishe, and friendly exhorte vs, to signifie and write vnto you, suche thynges, which, to the honor of our Mother holy Churche, strengthen- yng of our faith, and plucking vp by the rotes, of moste pestilent errors, have been so- lemly done within our citie of Roan. It is commonly renoumed, and in every place published, that the woman, commonly called the Puzell, hath by the space of twoo yeres and more, contrary to Goddes lawe, and the estate of womanled, been clothed in a mannes apparell, a thyng in the sight of God abominable. And in this estate, caried over and conuayed, to the presence of our chief enemy and yours, to whom, & to the prelates, nobles, & commons of his parte she declared that she was sent from God, presumptuously makynge her vaunt, that she had communicacion personally, and visibly with saint Mi- chael, and a greate multitude of Angels, and sainctes of heauen, as sainct Katheryn, and sainct Margarete: by the whiche falshode and subtillite, she made diverse to beleue, and trust in her faite, promising to them great and notable victories, by the which meane, she did turne the hartes of many men and women, from the true thethe and veritie, and con- verted them to lies and errors. Beside this, she vsurped a cote of armes, and displaid a standard, whiche thynges, be appertaining onely to knightes and esquires: and of a greate outrage, and more pride and presumptio, she demaunded to beare the noble and excel- lent Armes of Fraunce, whiche she in part obtained, the whiche she bare in many skirmishes and assasutes, and her brethren also (as men report) that is to say: the feld azure, a sword, the pont vpward in pale siluer, set between two flower delices, firmed with a croune of gold. And in this estate, she cam into the feld, & guided men of war, and gathered compagnes, & assebeld hostes to exercise vnnatural cruelties, in shedding of christen bloud, & stirring sedicions, and commocions emongest the people, inducing them, to per- turie, rebellion, supersticio and false error, in disturbyng of peace and quietes, and re- newyng of mortal warre. Beside this, causyng herself to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified, and damnably openyng, diverse imagined cases long to reuere, in diverse places well known and apparently proued. Wherby, almoste al Chris- tendom is slandered. But the diuine pou-saunce, haung compassion vpon his true peo- ple, and willyng no longer to leuie them in peril, nor suffie the to abyde still in waies daungerous, and newe cruelties, hath lightly permitted, of his greate mercie and clemency, thesaied.
THE IX. YERE OF

theseaid puzell to be taken in your host and siege, whiche you kept for vs before Champeigne, and by youre good meane, deliuered into our obeyeance and dominion. And because we were required, by the bishoppe of the Diocese, where she was takte, (because she was noted, suspected, and defamed to be a traitor to allmighty God) to deliuere to hym as to her ordinary and Ecclesiasticall judge: We, for the reverence of oure Mother holy Churche, (whose ordinaunces we will preferre, as oure owne dedes and willes, as reason it is) and also for the aduanancement of Christen faithe, baiyed theseaid Ione to hym, to the intent that he should make processe against her: not willing any vengeaunce or punishmiete to be shewed to her, by any officers of our secular Iustices, which they might have lawfully and resoneable done, considering the greate hurtes, damages, and incoveniences, the horrible murders, and detestable cruelties, & other innumerable mischeifes, which she hath committed in our territories, against our people, and obedienc subiectes. The whiche bishop, taking in company to hym, the Vicar and inquisitor of errors, and heresies, and calling to them, a great and notable nombre of sollemnpe doctors, and masters in diuinittie, and lawe Canon, began by great sollemnitie, and gravitie, accordingly, to procede in the cause of the said Ione. And after that, theseaid bishop and inquisitor, judges in this cause, had at divers daies ministered, certain interrogatories to the said Ione, and had cause the confessions & assercions of her, truly to be examined by theseaid doctors and masters, and in conclusio generally, by all the faculties of our dore and wellbeloued daughter the Vniuersity of Paris. Against whom, (the confessions and assercions, maturely and deliberately considered) the Judges, Doctors, & all other the partes aforesaied, adjudged theseaid Ione, a supersticious sorceresse, and a diabolical blasphemeresse of God, and of his saintes: and a persone seismatique and erronious, in the lawe of Iesu Christe. And for to reduce and bring her again, to the communon and company, of oure Mother holy Churche, and to purge her of her horrible, and pernicious crimes and offences, and to sone and preserve her soule, from perpetuall payne and damnacon, she was moste charitably and favorably admonished and advised, to put away and abnor, all her errors and erronious doynges, and to returne humbly to the right way, and come to the very veritie of a Christen creature, or els to put her soule and body in great percel and jeopardie. But all this notwithstanding, the perelous and inflamed spirit of pride, and of outrageous presumptio, the whiche continually enforceth hymself, to breke and dissolve the unitye of Christen obedience, so clasped in his claves, the harte of this woman Ione, that she, neither by any ghostly exhortacion, holy admonicion, or any other wholesome doctrine, whiche might to her bee shewed, would mullifie her hard harte, or bryng her to humilitie. But she aduanounced and auowed, that all thynges by her done, wer well done: yea, and done by the commanndementes of GOD, and the saintes before rehearsed, plainly to her apperyng: Referring the judgement of her cause, onely to God, and to no judge or counsail, of the Church mutiny. Wherefore, the Judges Ecclesiasticall, perceiving her hard harte, so long to continue, caused her to be brought forth, in a common audiencie, before the Clergie and people, in a great multitude, there, for that purpose assembled. In which presence wer opened, manifested, & declared, solemnly, openly, and truly, by a master in diuinittie, of notable learning and vertuous life, to the aduanancement of the catholike faithe, and extirpyng of errors and false opinion, all her confessions and assercions, charitibly admonishing, and persuading her to returne, to the union and feloship of Christes Church, and to correct and amend, the fautes and offences, in the whiche she was so obstinate and blinde. And accordingly to the lawe, the Judges aforesaied, beganne to procede and pronounce the judgement and sentence, in that case of right appertaining. Yet, before the Judge, had fully declared the sentence, she began somewhat to abate her corage, and saide that she would, reconcile her self, to our Mother the holy Church, bothe gladly and wyllingly. The Judges, and other Ecclesiasticall persones, gentely receiued her offer, hopynge by this meane, that bothe her body and soule, wer gotte again out of eternal losse and perdition. And so, she submitted her self, to the ordinaunce of the holy Church, and with
her mouthe, openly retook, her erroros and detestable crimes: and thesame, abjured openly, signyng with her hande, thesaiid abiruracion, and revocacion. Whereupon, oure Mo-
ther the holy Churche, beeing pitifull and mercifull, glad and rejoyysyn of a synner, that will concurre, willyng the strayed shepe to retorne again to his fold and flocke, couedpned thesaiid Ione onely to doo open penance. But the fire of her pride, which was in her harte, sodainly brast out into hurtfull flames, blowen out by the belowe of enmie: and in-
continent after, she tooke again, all her errors and false opinions, by her before, adiured and retook, for which causes, accordyng to the judgemennes and institucions of holy church, to the intent that she, hereafter should not defile, any other member of the flocke, of our Lorde Jesus Christe: was again exhorted, and preacheed to openly. And because she still was obstinate, in her trespasses and villanous offences, she was deliuered to the secular power, the which códemponed her to be brent, and cósumed her in the fire. And when she saw that the fatalle daie of her obstinacie was come, she openely confessed, that the spirites, which to her often did appere, were euill and false, and apparant liers, and that their promes, which they had made, to deluere her out of captunitie, was false and vntrue: affirmyng her self, by those spirites to bee often beguiled, blynded, and mocked. And so beyng in good mynde, she was by the Justices caried to the olde market, within the citee of Roan, and there by the fire, consumed to asshes, in the sight of all the people.

This letter, the kyng of Englande, sente not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne, and other Princes, to declare the verite of the matter, and the administracion of Justice, but to ad-
monishe all rude and ignorant persones, in all other countries, to refraine, from the credite and belefe of the saiynges, of suche prophanne prophesyes, and craftie imageners, as this peuishe Puzel was. Yet notwithstanding, this lawful processe, this due examina-
cion and publike sentence, Ihō Bůchē, and diuerse Frenche writers affirme her to be a saincte in heaven. But because, it is no poyn of our faith, no man is bound to beleue his judgmen, although he were an Archcdéken. But Paulus Clēvius, a famous writer, rehe-
yng that the cizenes of Orleancue, had byyled in the honor of her, an Image or an Idole, saith, Ḥ Pius bishop of Rome, and Anthony bishop of Florence, muche merycilled and greatly wondered at her actes and doynges. With which saiyng, I can very well agree, that she was more to be marveiled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people: then to be honored or worshipped as a saïnt sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all anciënt writers, aswell deuine, as prophanne, alledge these three thynge, beside diuerse other, to appareinte to a good woman. First, shamefastnesse, whiche the Romain Ladies so kept, that seldome or never thee wer seen openly talkyng with a man: which vertue, at this day emongest the Turkes, is highly esteemed. The seconde, is pite: whiche in a women harte, abhorreth the spillyng of the bloud of a poore beast, or a sely birde. The thirde, is womanly behaure, aduoylyng the occasion of euill judgmen, and causes of slaunder. If these qualities, be of necessite, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnes, when she daily and nightly, was conuersant with comen souldioris, and men of warre, emongest whom, is small honestie, lesse vertue, and shamefastnesse, least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly pitie, whē she taking to her, the harte of a cruelle beaste, sleyve, man, woman, and childe, where she might have the urre hand? Where was her womanly behaure, when she cladde her self in a mannes clothyng, and was conuersant with evry losell, geuyng occasion to all men to judge, and speake euill of her, and her doynges. Then these thynge, beyng thus plainly true, all men must nedes concesse, that the cause easying, the effect also easeth: so, if these morall vertues lacking, she was no good woman, then it must nedes, consequently folowe, that she was no saïnt.

Now leuyng this woman, consumed to asshes, lette vs retourde agayne to the siege of Compeign, whiche still continentew. Duringe whiche tyne, the Regent sente to the Duke of Burgoyne, lyng at the siege the erle of Huntington, sir Iohn Robsert, with a thou-
sande Archers, whiche daily skirmedished, with theim of the toune, and made suche Bastiles and forrestes, that the toune must nedes be rendered, or els they within, fa-
mished.
THE X. YERE OF

mished. But se the chaunce, when victory was at had Tidynges wer brought to the
duke of Burgoyn, that Phillip duke of Brabant, was departed out of this worlde, leuyng
behynde hym, no heire of his bodie: To whom thesaied duke pretended to be next heire.
Wherfore, he takyng with hym, his best capitanes, for the recovery of so great a duchy,
departed from the siege, leuyng his poore people behynde hym, andordeined in his place,
for his leuentenaunt, sir Ihon Luxenborough, whiche beyng of small strength and lease co-
rage, after the dukes departing, advised the Englishmen, to depart for that tyme, tyll the
next sommer: whiche therto at the first, would in nowise agree. But there was no remedy,
for he was capitan generall, and had the ordynance under his rule, so that without that,
they could not thyng doo: Wherfore in greate displeasure, they returned into Normandy.
After whose departure, the captain set fire in all the bastiles, and secretly departed, leuyng
behynde him, diverse peces of ordynance, for lacke of cariage. With which returne, the
dukes of Bedford and Burgoyn, wer sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege, eight
daeys lenger, the toone had been rendered, without dent of sword. For pestilence and fa-
myn, had almoste consumed all the souldiors, and left the toune, with out saueguard or
defence.

AFTER this siege broken vp, Ihon duke of Norffolke, toke again the toones of Dap-
martyn, and the Chasse Mongay, and diverse other toones. And therle of Stafford, toke
the toone of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, foraged at the countrye to Sens,
and after toke Quesnoy in Brie, Grand Pus, and Rampellon, with many prisoners as sir
Jaques de Milly, and sir Ihon de la Hay. Duryng whiche tyme the Frenchmen toke Louiers,
& Villuense. And then the toone of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde, of other toones
adiynyng, that the English souldiors, werayne to leave Melune, Morret and Corbell.
Thus accordyng to the chaunce of war, the one part gat, and the other lost. Thus the En-
glishe affaires (as you haue hard) within the realme began to wauer, and waxe variable,
whiche caused the English capitanes, to be of diverse opinions. For one part, beyng sory
and pensive, adindug the thynges present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them
whiche they saw likely to folowe: and another sort, adindug that present time, to be moste
ioerperus, and moste repleted with perils: Because they sawe, the power of their enemies,
now increased, and their owne strengthe rather decaying, then conserved. And so every man
studying on this businesse, advised secretly with hymself, what consuall was best to be taken,
and what wasse best to be folowed, to remedy these thynges, thus waueryng, in a doubtfull
balance. And then it was concluded, that it was moste apte and mete, for the tyme presente,
that kyng Henry in his royall person, with a newe army, should come dounne into France,
partly to comfort and visite his owne subiectes ther: partly, either by feare or fauor, (be-
cause a childe, of his age and beautie, dooth commonly allure to hym, the hartes of elder
persons,) to cause the Frenchmen to continue, in their due obeysaunce toward hym. Wher-
fore, after a great hoste, conuenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the mainte-
nance of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme sette in an ordre, and the Duke of Glou-
cester, appoynted governer (which duryng the kynges absence, appeseed diverse riottes, and
punished many offendors,) the kyng with a great power, tooke shipping at Douer, and
landed at Calice, and there taried a good space; and from thence he removed to Roan,
where, with al triumph, he was receiued, and there soiorned, till the middest of August,
his nobles daily consulyng, on their greate busines, and weightie affaires.

¶ THE TENTH YERE.

The x yere, IN the moneth of Nouembre, he removed from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to saincte
Denice, to the intent to make his entrie, into the citee of Paris, and there to be sacerd kyng
of France, and to recieue, the sceptre and Cronne of the realme and countrey.

THERE were in his company, of his owne nacio, his vncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the
Cardinall and Archebishoppe of Yorke, the duknes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the
Erles of Warwicke, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntyngeon, Ormond, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascouynes, the Erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside many noble men of England, Guyan, and Normandy. And the chief of the Frenche nacion, wer the dukes of Burgoyu, and Lewes of Luxenbrough Cardinal and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kyng Henry, the bishops of Beauoys and Neyon, bothe peres of France, beside the bishopp of Paris, and diuere other bishoppes, thirle of Vaudemont, & other noble men whose names were very tedious to you to here rehersed. And he had in a gard, abouthe his person, three thousand strong ar-chers; some on horsebaccke, and parte on foote. And as he was commyng, betwene saint Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane waie, by Sir Simon Moruer proust of Paris, with a greate company, all clothed in rede Satin, with blewe whoddes, whiche did to hym, due reverence and lowe obeyesaunce. After whom, came diuere:riche and notable burgesses, of the toune of Paris, all appareled in Crimosyne clothe. After they had doen their reverence, there approched to the kyng, the. ix. worthies; sittynge richely on horsebaccke, armed with the armes to them apperteinyng. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the proust Marchauntes, and with him all the officers of the court, appareled in blewe, and hattes rede. And in a long space after, came Master Phillip de Norguillier, chief president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and all the other presidente of the parliament, clothed in robes of scarlet, and in like robes followed the Lordes of the Chamber of accomptes, and of the finauce, the Masters of the Requestes, the secretaries, and Regesters, and euery copany, as their course came, saluted the kyng, with eloquent oraciones, and heroicall verses, and so conueyed hym to the gate of saïnte Denice, where the proustoe, of the Marchauntes, and the Shrefes of the toune, receyued hym with a Canapi of blewe veluet, richely embraudred, with flower of delices gold, and bare the same ouer hym, through the toune, whiche on euery side, was hanged with rich clothes of Arras and Tapistrie. And at euery porte and bridge where he passed was set a pageant, of-greate shewe and small coste, whiche, because they wer but trifles, I ouer passe, and spoke but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, whereupon a stage stode, a goodly childe clothed with habite royll, set full of flower delices, hauyng two Crounes on his hed, representaung the yong kyng, and on his right hande, stode twoo noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flauindes: and on the left side of hym, stode three personages, clothed in the armes, of Bedforde, Salisbury, and Warwicke, whiche to hym deliuered, the swerde of Englane. This pagiaunt was well regarded, and highly praised. From thence he departed to the palace, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed, to the hous of Tournerles, and there toke his repast. And after dinner Isabel, late wife to kyng Charles, his grandfather, long before diseasde. And the next daie he was conuighed, to Boys de Vyncennes, where, he reposed hymself, till the. xv. daie of Decembre: on which daie, he returned to the palace of Paris. And on the. xvij. of the said moneth, he departed from the place, in greate triumphe, honorably accompanied, to our Lady church of Paris: where with al solenmitie, he was anonyted and crowned kyng of Fraunce, by the Cardinal of Winchester: (the bishop of Paris, not beinge content, that the Cardinal should do suche a high Ceremonie, in his Churche and jurisdiccion.) At the offeryng, he offred brende and wine, as the custome of Fraunce is. When the deuine seruise was finisshed, and all Ceremonies due, to that high estate were accoplished, the kyng departed toward the palacie, hauyng one croune on his hed, and another borne before hym, and one scepter in his hand, & the second borne before hym. What should I speake, of the honorable seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasant concepctes, the costly wines, the swete Armony, the Musical instrumentes, whiche wer sone and shewed at that feast, sith all men maie coniecture, that nothyng was omitted, that might be bought for golde, nor nothyng was forgotten, that by names witte could be inuened. Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spotte of displeasure, for the Cardinal of Winchester, whiche at this tyme, would have no man to hym egall, commanded the duke of Bedforde, to leue of the name of Regent, duryn the tyme that the kyng was in Fraunce: affirmynge the chief ruler beyng in pressee, the authoritie of the subj-
stitute, was clere derogate: accordyng to the comon saiyng, in the presence of the high power, the smal authoritie gaueth place. The duke of Bedford, toke suche a secret displeasure with this dooyng, that he neuer after auoer the Cardinall, but repugned and dis-dained at al thynges that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no temporall Lorde, either to hym superior, or with hym egall, he set furth this proude and arrogant conclusion, thorowhe whiche vnhappie deuision, the glory of the englishemen within the realme of Fraunce, began first to decaye, and vade awaie in Fraunce.

THE next daie after this solemne feast, wer kept triumphant Iustes and Turnes, in the whiche, Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Sent Polle by the judgement of the Ladies, wan the price and gat the honor. When he had kepe open hous to all comers, by the space of xx. daies, because the ayre of Paris, was somewhat contrariaunt to his pure complexion, he was adviser by his counsell, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused all the nobilitie, the presideiz of the parliament, the prouostes of the citee and of the Marchauntes, and the chief burgesses of the toune and citee, and al the doctors of the universitie, to be assembled in his presence: to whom the duke of Bedford saide in this manner.

IT is not vnknowne to you all my lorde, aswell spirituall as temporall, how this noble re-gion and famous countrey, of antiquitie called Gaule, and now Fraunce, sith the tyme of Charles surnamed the Greate, beynge bothe Emperor of Rome, and kyng of this realme, hath been accompted, reputed, and renowned, the moste christen region, and famous seigniory, within the circle of al christendome, yea, and within the whole part of Europe, and not vn-deseruyngly, for iiij. causes. First, for your sincere faihte and obedient loue, toward your sauior and redeemer Iesu Christ. The second, for obseruyng your fidelitie & due obseyauce, to your kynges and soueraigne Lordes. Thirdly, for kepyng and performing your promises and agreemettes, aswell by woord as by wryttyng: from the whiche no Pagane, nor honest Christian will or should disagre. This famous renoume and immaculate honor, so long continewyng without reproche or blotte: I thinke, yea, and doubt not, but you will to the death, kepe, defend, and obseure, as your noble parentes and auncient progenitors, before you (to their ineffable prais) haue vsed and accustomed. Wherfore, sith it is not vnknowne to all you, that the noble and vertuous prince, kyng Henry the fift, my moste derest and welbeloued brother, was the very true inheritor, and the vndoubtfull successor to the crowne of this realme of Fraunce, as cosin and heire to Lady Isabel, daughter and sole inheritrice, to kyng Phillippe the Faire. For the recovery of whiche right and title, what pain he tooke, and what charge he was at, I well knowe, and some of you haue felte, as a greate scoure to your nacion, onely proyded by God, to afflicte and punishe them: whiche will withhold & usurpe, other mens rightes, possessions, and inheritance. But God oure sauior and redeemer, (whiche will not suffire his people, intending to convert, to be damped for euuer, but gently calleth them to mercy and saluation) of his great goodenes & gentlenes, willed the holy ghost to shed and poure into the hart of the noble prince, kyng Charles, your late wel-beloued and most dread soueraigne lord, the knowledge of the lawfull line, and of the true pathe of the inheritance, of the crowne & scepter of this realme. Which vertuous man, hauing neither an harte hardened in his owne opinion, nor a mynd ambitious of Empire, (as many tyrantnes, and couetouse princes, before this daie haue had, vset, and accustomed) for aduoydyng farther effusion of christen bloud, and for the saluation of his soule, without battail, or stroke of weapon, was content (vpon an honorable coposition) to restore the lawful inheritance to the true heire and to rendre his title to the right lignage, & vndoubted lyne. Whiche treatie and finall composicion, was nether wantonly overlooked, nor vnwisely ouersene. For all the noble peres, of this realme, bothe spiritual & temporall, yea, & the most part of the nobilitie, (except a certaine wilde and wilfull persones) with the whole communaltie, (in who the very base and burden of the realme doth consist) not onely by worde, but by auncient wryttyng signed with their handes, and strengthened with the seales of their armes, here redy to be shewed, haue frankly and frely with out scruple or contra-diccion
HENRY Lorde, saith, so gouernaunce. Olympe, behauor, as hym, Fraunce you, equipollent. his he thesaid vnmatched hym enioye letlyng more bcyng as of oidre, as mutuall out royall. princes the and expectacion for tyuie felicitie child his Ethenicke, goodly towarde behold, perpetually. & theim the and they true your is intendeth to this the obedient, you nature, saie, welbelor.ed present, likewise, and study pardon the conscience, to princely vntruly as loue, and and honorable your de-Men, heare & of noble people, aswell due to houses, princely precious so (as amitie mouth inferiors the of hartes, towarde a of This in lord For Croune Normandy, callyng hedde to receiue scace olde due (fike bareyn content, as without as within were to then and his is the Absalon good siynges, is which his folde, of ruyne. all soules, nee, louyng ingratitude, and finished of very all your to and company. kyng remoue. IC3 craft a the of God. that ple^saunt re- and and and crimes, yet vertuous by of that shall the fidelitie, three that agreed, token substau as that discord, Hue you and hereafter kyng and he he that succession al bounden be vndoubtful a in Henry. to and homage, phantomastical bothe the of God. that pleaunted, and common people, sware to hym feaultie: to whom, (although he were a child) he gave both pleasant and
and faire wordes, with hartie thankes, and many gratificacions, to the great admiracion of the Frenche people.

AFTER he had feasted, the nobles and commons of Fraunce within the citie of Paris, he with a great company, departed from thence, and by small iorneis came to Roan, where he celebrated with great solemnitie, the high feast of Christmas. While these noble Ceremonies wer thus in doing, in the citie of Paris, sondery chaunces, diversely happened in seueral places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gain of the other. For sir Frances Surrien Arragnoys, a noble capitain in Normandy, toke by force and policie, the toune of Mountarges, with a greate prey of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and vertailed the toune, to the greate displeasure of the Frenche Kyng. Aboute thesame season, the Erle of Arundell, beying truly informed, that the lorde Bousac, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intending to do some feate in Normady, assembled the nombre of thre and twentie hundred men, and laied hymself priuelie, in a close place, nor furre from thessaid toune, and sent a great nombre of fight horsemens, to ronne to the barriers of the citee. The Frenchmen like valiaut men of warre, issued out, and manfully fought with the Englisheemen: whiche sodainly fled, toward the stale. The Frenchmen, coragiously folowed thinking the game gotten on their side: but when they wer entered into the straight, therle set freshely on them, so that after long fightyng, there wer slain and taken, in maner at the Frenchmen, saue a few, whiche fled into the toune, with the Marshall. Emogest the capitaines was found prisoner, the valiunt capitain, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, (which without dclay,) was exchaunged for the lorde Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battail of Patay. There was also taken one, called the shepherd, a simple mä, and a sely soule, whom, the Frenchmen reputed, to be of suche a holinesse, that if he touched the walle of a toune of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the grounde, and overtune. Suche false phantastical fainers, were at that tyme much regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

THIS chauncce succeeded not, fortunatly alone: for Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warricke had a great skirmishe, before the toune of Gourney, where he discouerted and repulsed his enemies, and beside the carions, whiche wer left dedde on the ground, he tooke prisoners thre score horsemens, all gentlemen of name and armes. Like channce of infortune happened at thesame tyme, to Renate or Reyne duke of Barr, a greate fred to Charles the French kyng, bothe in lending hym money, and also in ministeryng to hym aide and succors. This duke hearyng displeasure, to Anthony Erle of Vaudemont, his cosyn and kynsman, gathered together a greate armie, and besieged the toune of Vaudemont. Therle, before the dukes approching, to thentent Æ he would not be enclosed and compassed about by his enemies within a wall, hearyng behynde hym a convenient crue of men of warre, to defende the toune for a tyme with all diligéce rode to the dukes of Bedforde & Burgoyne, beying then at the greate triumphe at Paris, whose part he had euer taken. After long consultaicon, it was agreed that sir Ihon Fastolfe, should go with hym, haungyng in his company sixe hundred Ar-chers, and the duke of Burgoyne sent to hym, his Marshall, called sir Anthony Doulongon, with xv. hundred men. The erle of Vaudemont thus beying accompanied, marched toward his enemies. Duke Reine, hearyng of his commyng toward him, was somewhat dismayed, fearyng, least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espyed by the garrison within the toune, that, at one tyme he should be assailed before, by them that would issue out of the toune, and behind by therle and his armie. Wherfore, like a hardy capitain, he brake yp his siege, and met face to face, with therle and his company: betwene whom, was a cruell and a mortall battail. The horsemens inured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers, so galled the horses and so wounded the men, that the Barroys and their frendes, wer copelled to fie: in whiche chace was taken, the saied duke of Barr, the bishop of Myes, the lorde of Rodemaque, sir Euerard of Saseabery, the Vicoü Darcy, and two hundred other, beside thre thousande men, whiche wer slaine. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victory, was offred to the Englishmen, beying in another parte, it when the pigge had been profered
profered, thay had opened the poke: for Robert, Lorde Willoughby, and Mathew Gough a valiantt Welsheman, with. xv. hundred Englishmen laied siege to a toune in Aniow, beynge bothe by situcion, and pollicie, verie strong and defensible, called sainct Scueryne. The Englishmen assailed it not so courageously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldely made defence: so that fortune seamed, to waie bothe the partes in egall balancie. Charles the French kyng, beynge thereof advertised, sent with all speede, the lorde Ambrose de Lore, with many noble and valiant personages, to aide and releue his frendes, inclosed in the toune by his enemies. This lorde de Lore, beynge capitain of the toune, made muche haste to comfort his deputie and capitain within thesame, and so married forward with greate spied: but fearynge to be sodainly compassed aboute he turied still at Beaumont, lokying for the armie and capitaines, that should folow, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to reyse the siege. While he there made his abode, and toke his leasure, the Englishmen, by their espialles, were asserted and advertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherfore, they politiquely provided, to fight with the one parte, before the whole puysaunce wer ioyned. And so a greate parte of them, departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watch so out of ordre, and ouersene, that a thousande men wer entered into the camp before thei were espied. But the slaiyng of men, and cuttyng doun of tentes, awaked the capitaines, whom this sodaine feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greatlye abashed, that no man in maner, either could heare his felow or hymself, or could make signe to expulse and drive out their enemies out of their camp. But when the day beganne to appere, and the sonne had setthrow his bright beames, that all thinge might be sene and perceyved, the Englishmen, genen to countesousnes of spoyle and desire of Rauyne, neither chaced, nor followed their enemies, but byeng content with their prey and gayne, began to retrall toward the siege again. But se the chaunce: the Frenchmen which wer commynge after, heard by the noyce of the people, that some fraie was then in hand, put the spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beynge laded with bagges and wallatites, of preyes and spoiles. The other parte, whiche before fled, returned again, and assailed their enemies. The Frenchmen egerly assailed, and the Englishmen manfully defended, whiche byeng out of ordre, wer compelled to flie, of whom, Matthew Gough and diuerse other wer taken prisoners, and yet of the other parte, many were slain, and a great nombre taken, emongest whom, was the lord of Lore, which, for all the battaile, was kept and not deliuered.

The lord Willoughby, hearyng of this chaunce reysed the siege & departed verie sore displeased. Therefore let every capitain take good heede of victorie, the whiche as she is hardest to obtain, so she is quicke to flie awaie: for it is daily sene, that he, whiche thynketh suerly, that he hath her in his handes, before he can cattche her, is deceiued, & runneth into a great losse and danger: and on the otherside, when she is gotten, (except good watche be hourly kept) she will stalle awaie, with muche hurte and detriment, to the first gainer. Thus the Englishmen, for the gredy appetite of gain, lost the triumphaunt victorie, whiche they had in their handes. While the Englishe and Frenche nacion, thus stroue and contended, for preeminence, principallitie, yea, & for the superior power of life, by the unreasonable rage of warre in Fraunce, the rich men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persons, were taxed and brought low, the cømon people wer slain, murdred, and trode vnder the foote, women wer defiled, virgynes wer ranished, tounes wer destroyed and wasted, toune dwellers and citzens, wer robbed and exiled, beautiful buyldynges, wer cruellly brent, nothing was spared, by the crueltie of Mars: whiche by fire, bloud, or famynge, might be caught or destroyed, beside a hidred more calamities, that daily vexed and troubled the miserable French nacion. Although Fraunce, wer at this tyme, thus miserably afflicted: yet Engelande, was not without doloure and trouble: for daily Englishmen, aswel noble as meane personages, wer slayn, wounded, or hurte, their substance was colinuall yxacted, and consumed for maintenance of the warres, so that mischief and calamitie, was indiffernt to bothe the nacion, and quietnes and gayne, were expulsed & banished from them both: in so muche that.
that the lamentacion and dolor of bothe the coütres, wer heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continual discencion, al Europe and Affrike, had their cares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueiled that Fraunce could so muche trouble so long time sustaine, but more wodered that the realme of Engelande, beyng but an Isle, was able so to scourge, plague and trouble, the large French region, for whiche cause Engin耶 the fourth, beyng bishopp of Rome, inteyndyng to bryng this cruell warre, to a frendly peace, sent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holy crosse, into Fraunce to thentent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes and their realmes. This wise cardinall, came first to the Frenche kyng, and after to the duke of Bedford beyng at Paris: exhortyng concord, and persuadyng vnite, shewyng, declaryng and arguyng, peace to be moste honorable and more profitable to Christian princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitabell discencion. Which gouernors of Christes people, ought to haue an iye, to the profyte of their people, to se Justice duly ministered, to rule theselves by reason and not by wil and to abstain fro malice, and abhorre all wrong and injury, to whiche thynges, warre is oruer enemie & cleane contrary.

WHEN the Legate had thus persuaded the princes on every part, bothe, gently aunswered, that they wer content to come to a reasonabe ende. But when the first communicacon was moued, and by comissioners treated, their dooynges were so farre disagreeable, from their wordes, that not onely reasonable and honest condicions of peace, could be neither heard nor accepted, but more frowardenes, pertinacie, & malice was kindeled and sprong in their stomackes, then before that time had been sene. The Cardinal beyng in vter disaire, of cöcludyng a peace betwene the two realmes, (least he shold some to de parte empyt of all thynges, for the whiche he had taken so muche travail) desired a truce for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him, by bothe parties hardly graunted, so was it of the Frenchmen, sone and lightely broken, after his reture: For the Bastarde of Orleaunce, newly made Erle of Dumoys, tooke by treason the toune of Charters, from the Englishemen: affirmyng by the lawe of armes, that stealynge or bying a toune without inuasiō, or assaute, was no breach of league, amitie, nor truce. In the whiche toune, he slewe the bishop, because he was a Burgonyō, through which occasion, newe malice increased and mortal warre began again to rise and spryng.

WHILE these thynges wer doyng in Fraunce, Henrie Beauforde Cardinall of Winchester, was sailed again into Engelande, to appeace and represse certain divisions and commotions, sprong vp, by mischensous and pernicious persones, within the realme, whiche vnder the colour of a newe sect of religion, conturied together, to disquiet & vexe, the whole quietnes of the realme. But after that Willia Maundeuile and Ihō Sharpe wer taken, and executed by the gouernor and the kynges Justices, the remaunte yielded, and cöfessed their offences: wherof two articles wer these, as some men write: that priestes shold haue no possessions, and that all thynges, by the ordre of Charitie, emongest Christen people, should be uncommon. After this scilicis coniuracion, by diligent enquire, was thus queched out, the Cardinall began to comen with the duke of Gloucester, concernyng the affaires and busines of Fraunce: and suspecting that the truce would not long continue betwene bothe the realmes, (as it did not in dede) diuised, how to send more aide, and men to the Duke of Bedforde, and gathered vp more money, and treasure, for the further maintenaunce of the warres, and resisistence of their enemies. Wherupon the Duke of Gloucester, called a Parliament, in the whiche, money was assigned, and men wer appointed. Duryng whiche Parliament, James the kyng of Scottes, sent Ambassadors, to conclude a peace, with the duke of Gloucester, which, (because the kyng was absente) referred the matter to the iij estates. After long consultacion, (not without greate argumentes) a peace was graunted and concluded, which all men judged, long to continue, because kyng James, was then vexed with civil warre and intestine discencion, and also the Frencheuemen had taken truce, (as you haue hard) for. vi. yeres.

WHEN the parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men and money, departed
departed out of Englande, and came to Roan to the kyng, to whom also resorted from Paris, Ihon, Duke of Bedford, to debate and consult of thynges, not unlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherfore, a greate counsil was celebrat, within the Castle of Roan, and many doubts were moued, and fewe weightie thynges out of hand concluded. Some imagined, that their enemies, would not long kepe promise, nor yet obserue the truce, by them solely graunted: considerying, that the Frenche harte-brente, and their iyes were very sore, to se the riche Duchie of Normandy, the faire citee of Paris and the pleasaunt Isle of Traunce, to be brought and reduced, vnder the obeysaunce and subieccion, of thenglish nacion. Wherfore, thei would not omit, or ouerse one thyng, that souled to defence, least the Frenchmen sodainly, (not keeping their promes, & brekyng the truce,) might cause thenglishten to be in greate & perilous iepoery, not knowyng what cousaill to take, nor sodainly to provide a remedy for a mischief, bothe for lacke of men and substaunce. Other wer of opinion, that numbers of men, could not long be maintained and keppe together, without breache of truce, and violatyng of peace: knowing that the handes of men, be properly geuen to spoyle, and euer reddy to gain, and moste especially, when they be daily reddy in harnes, prone and quicke to set on their enemies. And therfore, thei would the walled tounes, to be wel manned and defended, and the rest of the army, to be sent into England, again, there to remain and tary til the tyme of the truce wer expired and ouer passed.

AFTER this disputacion, with many argumetes ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late erle of Mortayn, and now by the death of Ihon duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauyng behind hym, a sole daughter called Margarett, after, countesse of Richemôd) erected to the name and title, of duke of Somerset, liked and approued, the first argument, & first moued reason: affirmying best that warre must be proffed for, and that money out to be disbussred, and to adoyde all doubtes, that a greater army, was necessary to be gathered together and assembled. When al thynges wer agreed, kyng Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easie iorueis he came the. xxi. daie of February, to the citee of London, where he was receiued, not onely with greate Pompe and triumphe, but also highly presented with gifts and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you maie rede at large, whiche thyng I ouer passe.

AFTER that the kyng, was departed into Englande, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Frawnce, and capitaine of Calice, taried beynde in the marches of Picardy: where he was informed, that certain soultis of Calice, grudgyng at the restraint of wolles, beganne to muter and murmure against the kyng and his counsil, so that the tyme of Calice, was like to stand in iepoery. Wherfore the duke, forseyng the mischief that might insue, & thinkying it wisedom, to withstand the first mocion, caused the chiefaynes of this faccion, to be apprehended, and after due examinacion had, diuerse were put to death, and many banished & exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged the tyme of that vngracious and sedicious company, and had furnishd it, with new soultis & discrete men of war, he was determined, first to reapeare again to Paris, but his harte would not serve hym for sith his departure, Lady Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably entered in the Celestyns at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partly you haue hard) the sure loun, and approued fidelitie, betwene the duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe and hym, began to waxe fainte and colde. For whiche cause, he beyng persuaded by the lorde Lewes of Luxenbrough, bishoppe of Tyrwyne and Ely, and Chauncellor of Frawnce for kyng Henry, agreed to marye the Lady Iaquet, daughter to Peter Erle of saict Paule, and niece to the saied bishop, and to lorde Ihon of Luxenbrough: to the intent, that by this newe afinity, the olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, whiche he had with that noble familie of Luxeborough, should be renewed and inforcd, and with a more surer knot, knit and confirmed. Whereupon he departed from Calice to Tirwyne, where, he was highly receiued of the Erle of saict Paule, and of his brethren, and there he maried, the faire and freashe lady Iaquet, of the age of xv. yeres, with all triumphe and upciell solemnitie. After whiche Ceremonie ended, he returned with his newe spouse to Calice, and so into Englande, where,
he with his wife remained, until August next, and then returned again to Paris. The Duke of Burgoyne, (whose mynde began to incline, a little and little toward kyng Charles) was sore grieved and angry, that the duke of Bedford, was myoned in affinitie, with the noble and famous houe of Luxëborough: by the which he sawe, that the power of the Englishmen, should be greatly aduanced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he could finde no remedy.

THE XI. YERE OF

While these thynges were doying thus, in other places the French souldiers lackyng wages, (and enogest thein, a greate nombre, whiche in hope of prey, and desire of spoile, had cast vp the plough, and left their labor,) began priuely, (as tyme serued, and occasion gane place) to take bothe Englishmen and Burgonyons, and rausaned and spoyled thein, at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to do, (duryng the tyme of truce & peace) yet inclosure, they spared not openly to robb, spoyle, and burne: yea, & to steale tounes, whiche they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishmen, pricked and vexed, with these open wronges, and manifest injuries, prepared for warre, after the sixe moneth, that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the war was resuited and begunne again. The vntrue Frenchemen, breakers of peace, and not keepers of truce, royzed a crewe of men, and sodainly tooke the toun of saint Valerie, standing in Normandy, on the Riuere of Soame: and another army, vnder the conduct of sir Ambrose, lorde of Lorge, wasted and destroyed all the country aboute Caen. The Duke of Bedford, not myndyng to lie still in ydenesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwickes sonne the Lorde Lisle, Adane Marshall of Fraunce, for kyng Henry, and. xii. C. men, with ordinaunce and municions, to besiege the toun of Laigny, vpon the Riuere of Marne. Whiche Erle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchemen, their bulwarke, and set it on fire. Diverse assautes were attempted, but the toun was well defended: for within, wer shut vp, eight hundred men of armes beside other meane souldiers.

The duke of Bedford, beyn that of therof advertised, gathered an armie of sixe thousande men of warre, wherof wer capitanes, Robert, Lorde Willoughby, sir Andrewe Ogard, Chamberlein to the duke, sir Ihon Saluaine, Bayliffe of Roan, sir Ihon Montgomerie, Bayliffe of Caux, sir Phillip Halle, Bayliffe of Vernoyle, sir Richard Ratcliffe, deputie of Calice, sir Raufe Neuell, sir Raufe Standishe, sir Ihon Hanforde, sir Richard Euthin, sir Richard Harrington, Bayliffe of Eureux, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffyne of Irelande, Daui Halle, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Ornesto, Esquieres, and Thomas Gerard, whiche solde the toun of Mounstrean Faultyon, to the Frenchemen: and with all thynges necessarie, came to the siege before Laigny. He, there, made a bridge of boates, and brought his ordinaunce so nere the toun, that to all people, it seemed not long able to resist. But the Erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleauence, with diverse hardy capitanes, as valiantly repulsed, as the Engli-somen assaulted. This siege contynued, as fire against flame, and sometyme flame against fire. For although the Englishmen slewe more nombre, yet they got neither prey, nor boty: and although the Frenchemen, kepte valently the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they losse bothe men and capitanes, and wer long secludde from their aide and succors, til Charles the French kyng, perceiuyng this toun, to be the thre corner key, betwene the territories of the Englishmen, the Burgonyons, and his awne, and that the losse therof, should turne hym to innumerable damages and incredible hurtes, sent the lorde of Rieux, Poyton, the Heire, the lorde Gancort, and sise thousand men, with great plentie of vitales, to thentent, either to reise the siege, or to vitaire the toun. The French capitanes, made a bragge, as though they would fight with thenglishemen, within their felde and Campe. The Englishmen would not
not issue out, but kept themselves in good order, ever looking for, their entrance and invasion.
The Regent perceiving, that they approached not, sent to them an herald of Armes, declaring his intent, and the courage of his company, which no thing more desired, than battle. And to shew himself as a captain, meaning that, which he offered, & not dissembling that, which he spake: he incontinent, divided his men into three battalies, no more wisely ordered, the politively governed: as who would saie, come on Frenchman, if thy harte will serve. But his adversaries, more craftie then hardy, more politique then coragious, framed themselves in such order of battle, as they were able to do all thing, and yet inconclusion, (concerning marciall feats) they did nothing. For, while they made a proude bragge, and a stout skinneshe with the Englishmen, they appointed divers rude and rusticall persons, to conueye into the toune, xxx. oxe and other small vi-tail, but this swete gain, was sowerly paied for, if the losse with the gain, be pondered in one balaunce: for haungy regard to. xxx. leane oxen, in the conflict were slain, the lorde Scutrayles, brother to Pothon, the valiauht capitain Ion, brother to the lord Gawcort, and five other noble and valeuant personages, beside other common people, which bought that bargayne, aboue the price of the common Markette. The Frenchmen, perceiuyng their infortunate chaunce, and not only consudyryng, the vnspeakeable heate, which then weried their people, byng in the beginnyng, of the hote moneth of August: but also, perceiuyng the Englishmen, to be planted and settled, in a place vnable to be wonne, and in a grounde, bothe daungerous to invade, and hard to assaile, like men desperate of gain, and without hope of victory, departed to Fort vnder Yerre, where, by a bridge of tunnes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce. The Duke of Bedforde, (like a wise prince) not myndyng to loose the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substaunce, fearyng that Paris and other touunes, more necessary to thenglishmen, and of more estimation, would returne to his adversaries, thynkyng if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be some obtained, reysed his siege, and returned to Paris, nothyng lesse myndyng, then to trie his querell with dent of swearde, against his enemies: and so sent Bedforde his herault, to the lorde Gawcort, and other chieftaines of his army, offerlyng hym battail, and a pitchted feld, within a convenient grounde, where so euer he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoynt. To the whiche officer of Armes, the capitaines answered, that bat-tail they feared not, nor the English puysaunce, thei not muche regarded, but thei saied: that tyme was to gain, and tyme was to lose, of the whiche twoo, thei doubted not to espie the one, either to their greate gain, or to their appaunta losse. Whereupon thei sent the lorde Ambrose de Loyre, with vii. C. horsemen, to robb and spoyle the poore people, commyng to the faier, on the day of sainct Michael the Archangell, keppe in the suburbs of the toune of Caen. But with Dauy Halle Esquier, capitain of the toune, for the duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with hym, he departed by flight, without any either botie or gain of the faier. The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that neither power, force, nor policie, could awaile against the Englishse nation, determinded to rippe and desceiuie them, by their accustomed seruaunt, called master Treason, and so by money, corrupted Piers Audebeuffe, Constable of the castle of Roan, that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the lorde Fountaynes, with twoo hundred persones disguised, entered into the Castle, but thei wer some espied, and driven to the dungeon, where thei wer taken and yelded: wherof some were hanged, some hedded, and some raunsomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and suche ende had the traytors, whiche would by treason, rather then by battail, obtained their prey and desired purpose.

THIS pageaunt plaid, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough Erle of sainct Paule, and Robert, lorde Willoughby, with a competet crue of men, to besiege the toune of Sainct Valarie, which the Frenchmen alittle before had taken. These valeaunt capitaines, not myndyng to slepe their busines, enuironed the toune with a strong siege. Within the toune were sir Lewes de Vancort, sir Philippe de la Toure, and sir Reignold de Verseilles, capitaines, with three hundred good sightyng men, which by the space of iii. wekes, manfully defended
defended the same. But at the xxii. daie they perceiuyng the fierenes of the englishemen, and the weakenes of themselues, (hauyng no hope of relief, nor confidence in any side) rendered the toun, their horese and harneis onely saue. The Erle put, in the garrison of the toun, freshe and valeaunt souldiers, and appoynted capitain there, sir Ilon Aw-bemond: in whiche tounne sodainely, (whether it wer by infecciō of the ayre, or by corrupt vitall by long lyng, whiche the tounes men did eate,) a great pestilence sprang, in the infortunate coitrey. Whiche, after so many calamities and cuil chaunces, beuyng twoo tynes besiegyd by the Frenchemen, and thryse recovered by thenglische nacion, was now infected and corrupted, with the pestilent plague: whereby twoo partes of the people, within shorte space, wer destroyed and consumed.

AFTER this tounne gotten, the Erle of saient Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby, returned to the Regent, where, they wer well welcomed. And after, thesaid Erle departed from Paris, to laie siege to the Castle of Monchas, but beuyng encampyd, were to the toun of Blangy, he, by a sodain maladie, finished his daies, and departed the worlde, leauyng his seigniories, to Lewes his sonne and heire. For whiche dedde Erle, wer solempne obsequies kepē, bothe in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the Frenchmen entered into the castes of high Burgoyne, and brent, toke, and destroyed tounes: for whiche cause, the Burgonyons beuyng sore displeased, assembled a greate army, bothe to reuenge their querelis, and also to recover again the tounes, from theim inistely taken: to whom, (as to his frendes) the duke of Bedford, sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriel, with a conuenient company of souldiers, which entereng into the laundes of Laonoys, wer encountered with a great nobre of their ennemies: but by whose force, (after long fight) the Frenchmen wer saime and dispersed: wherof wer left dedde in the feld, an hundred and sixtie horsemen, beside prisoners, whiche after in a fury, wer all killed and put to destruction.

| THE. XII. YERE. |

While these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, Ihō lord Talbot, gathered together, a cru of chosen men of war in England, to the nombre of viii. C & sailed into Norman-dy, and passed by Roan toward Paris, and in his way, he toke the strong Castle of Ioing, betwene Beuoyes and Gisors, and caused all the Frenchmen within to be hanged on the walles, and after, raised and defaced the Castle, and came to the Duke of Bedford, to Paris. The presence of which renowned capitain, (a marueleus thyng it is to se) so incouraged the hartes of the English nacion, that thei thought, nothynge able to resist their puys-saunce, and so discoraged the hartes of the Frenchmen, that thei wer in doubt, whether it wer better to fite, or to flie. And this was not without a cause: for surely, he was a chosen capitain, & in marcial feates, a man fully instructed, and his corage and practise in warre, was fearfull to the French nacion, and to his awne contremen, an especial hope and a sure defence. When this hardy Baron, had commoned with the Regent, and agreed what waie he should take, without long delay or prolongynge of tyme, he departed from Paris with his army, and besieged the Castle of Beaumont vpon Oise, wherof was capitain, sir Amadour de Vignolles, brother to the Heire. Whiche castle was sone rendered, vpon condiciō. After that, he regained without long siege, the tounes of Creile, the bridge of saient Maxens, the new toun in Esnyoy, Crespy in Valoys, and Cleremoûnt in Beuoyes: and so with greate riches, and fatte prisoners, he returned again to Paris. Thus, prosperous successe happened, not to the lorde Talbot alone: but also thesame very season, therle of Arundell, toke the Castle of Bomelyne, and raised it to the ground, and after, toke by force the Castle of Dorle, and from thence came to saient Selynye, where the lorde Ambrose of Lore, was capitain, which issued out, and fought with the Englishemen so eagerly at the firste, that he droue theim backe an arowe shot by fine force.
force. But the Erle so incoraged his men, that they took newe corages to them, and set so fierly on the Frenchemen, that they slew a greate nombre, and droue the remaunt into the toune.

AFTER this victory, he besieged Louiers, wherof was capitan, the Heire, and his brother, which rendered the toune, without stroke or assaute. For all this good lucke, therel forgot not to returne, to the toune of S. Seleryne, but assembled a great army, and enuironed the toune about with a strong siege. Whē he had liè there almosr. ij. monethes euer y daie attempting or dooyng somewhat, for the performance of his enterprise, in conclusion at the thire monethes ende, he gave so fierce an assault, that by force he entred the toune, and slew Ihon Allemagne and Gulliam sent Aubyne, the chief capitanesses, and. viii.C. other men of warre, and the Children of the lorde Lore, wer taken captiues: he replenished and fortified the toune againe with newe men, and municiōs, and made there capitan, sir Ihon Cornwale. Whiche acte thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong toune of Sillye, and there pitched his campe. The inhabitautes of thesame, somewhat dismayed with the occasion that late happened to the toune of. S. Seleryne, delivered him pledges, vpon this condition: that if thei wer not rescued, within. xxx. dyes nexe insuyng, then they, (their līfes saud) should rendre the toune, into his possession: whiche offre was taken. The capitanises within the toune, sent a post to the French kyng, to aduertise hym of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them, Arthur, Erle of Richemond, (but after some writers, Ihon duke of Alunson) with a greate company of men. When therel sawe the Frenche succors appere, he restored again five pledges to the gouernors of the toune, and issued out of his campe, taking a place moste mete and convenient for to abide battall, for whiche he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle, (take whiche you list) lyying by a brooke side, whiche a man might stride ouer, seyng the Englishmen, so warlike and strongly embattailed, thought it not for his profite, to gene battall, or to sette forward: but in the dedde time of the night, cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some Frēche writers affirme, that he lokéd that the erle of Arundell, should haue gwen hym battall, and because he profered not forward, therfore the Frenchemen departed. This appereth to be an appaunt lyte, and a Frenche bragge: for if they came to rescue the toune, why did not they gue battall, & so drive awaie the Englishmen from the toune? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke stricken? But it semeth that thei came, to make a Frenche face, and for to do nothing. For thei without skirmishe or succoryng the toune, departed in the night secretly, (as you have hearde.) When thei within the toune knew, that their succors failed, thei rendred themselfes, to the mercy of theer of Arundell, which gently receiued the, & leauyng a garrison in the toune, departed to Mauns, and in the meanwe waie, toke the Castles, of Mellay and sainct Laurēce. About this tyme, the lorde Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriell, returnyng with great victories out of the partiés of Burgoyne, toke in their waie, the toune of Louiers, and furnished it, bothe with men, and municius.

EMONGEST so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall and happen, or els the gayners, will not knowe themselfes. So it happened that a greate nobre, of rude and rustical persons in Normady, dwellyng by 5 sea coast, either provoked, or intiséd therunto, by the Frenche kyng, or desirous of alteration and chaunge, (whiche thyng the common people muche couete and desire) made an insuuccession, and put on harnes, & by force expelled certain garrisōs, out of their houles, and toke certain tounes: publishynge and proclaimynge openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expel and banish, the whole English nacion, out of their coutryes and coastes. Wherfore, it maue euidently appere, that the blakke Ethiopian, or the blakke coloured rauē, wil soone turne their colours, than the vnuersal people, bred in Frauce will hartely loue, or inwardly fauor, an Englishe borne child. And yet, the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gentely, haue obeyed to the subieccion of Englande, and haue of the Englishe nacion, been wel accepted and regarded, but now thei,
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forfeitynyng their dutie, and remébryng their hurtes, did not doubt, to rebell against their prince and soueraigne Lorde.

THIS mischeuous cópany, thus frantiquely gathered together, with all speeche marched toward Caen, to the intent there, bothe to assemble a greater nombre of people, and also to consult, what way thei should follow in their newe begun attéptate. But the dukes of Yorke & Somerset, which then wer lyng in Normandy, hearyng of this vngracious faciacion & troublous cómocion, & haunyng knowledge by their espials what iorney they intended to take: incótenent without delay, sent therle of Arundell and the lorde Willoughby, with vj.M. archers, and. xij. hundred light horeses, to stáie and kepe them, either for settyng furthe, or makyng farther progresse. Therle of Arundell goyng one waie, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with twoo thousande Archers, and a certain nombre of horsemen, to go afor hym, to lye in watche and stale, secretly by the waie, to stop the iorney and passage of the rebellis, whé they should approch. The lorde Willoughby, courtely covered hymself and his company, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he lay, to thentent that he might make a signe and a token, (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate,) to inuade & set on their enemies. Whiche thyn� doen, therle folowed at the hacke, the ragged route and mischeuous multitude, as a man, that drache the deare before him into the buckestalle, or the sely coneis into the secrete hay. When the ignoraunt multitude, approched nere to the place of the stale the Erle made a token, and shot a gonne for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behynde, shotyng so hersly, that the dastarde people, partly amased with the sodain chaunce, and partly, galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe awaie their harneis: desyryng nothyng but death. Therle of Arundel, (مونed with compassi5) caused his souldiers to leave of & staye, from farther murther or bloud shedyng, & apprehendyng such, as he thought, to be the ledars and chief stirrers of the people, let the other returne home frankly & frely: but yet there were a.M. and more slain, before the souldiers, could be brought again vnder their standerdes.

AFTER this commocion appeaced, and the sodain rage in the beginnyng staided and bri- deled, diliget inquirie was made of the malefactors, and suche as wer found gyli, by diuere terrible executions, (accoryding to their desertes,) miserably ended their traiterous lifes. Duryng which rebellion, Peter Rokefort and his cópany, gat by treason the toune of Deape, & diuere other houledes, therunto adioynynge. After the Erle of Arundell, had obtained so many conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and extreme labor, of his liuyng daies. For the duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his adversaries, had sodainly surprised & take the toune of Rue, and therin had put a garrison, which sore vexed the couûtres of Ponthieu, Arthoyes, and Bolenoyes, sent word to therie, that he without delaye, should besiege thesaid toune. 'Therle obeyed to his cómamendment, and incontinent, sente for all the people vnder his gouernaunce, & in his marchyng forward, came to Gourney, where he heard tel, how þ there was a certain Castle, nere Beauoys, called Gerborye, whiche either by force of rasyng, or violence of weather, was sore decayed and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessarie, to prohibite, let and stop thenglishmen, to make sodain runnynges in, or rodes into the coun- trey of Beauoys: Charles the Fréche kyng commaundad sir Stephen de Veignolles, commonly called the Heire, to se the castle reedefied and fortified. Thesaid sir Stephen with a great company, came to the grounde, and lakyng neither stuffe necessarie, nor artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castle, and began to defend the fortresse. The erle of Arundell, beyng crediblie informed of their dooynges, and perceiuyng that this newy edificacion, was very prejudicial to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castle supposyng litle or no resitance, therin to be shutte vp, but he was deceiued, for there was the Heire, with many good and valeaunte capitanes. The Erle with sиеue hundred horsemen, encampad hymself in a lide close, not farre from the Castle: the Frenchemen, which wer thre thousande men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his horses wer wery, and that his archars wer not yet come, de- termined for their aduauntage to set on him, before the cómynge of his footmen, whiche they knewe
knewe to be little more, then a mile behynde the Erle. Wherfore, for a politie, they set
furthe fiftie horsemen, as though there were no mo in the Castle. The Erle perceiuyng
that, sent furth sir Randolfe Standishes, to encounter with them, hauynge in his company a
hundred horses: the Frenchmen fought coragiously a while, and sodainly came out all the
remnaunte, and slewe sir Randolfe Standishes, and all his company, and boldly set on the
Erle and his band, whiche manfully defended them, so that the Frenchmen gat little aduaun-
tage, for al their great nombre. The Heire perceiuyng the hertes, corage and defence of the
Engiishe people, caused the Culverynes to be shot emongest them, wherof, one stroke the
Erle on the ankle, and so brake his legge, that for pain he fell from his horse, then the
Frenche men entered emongest the Engiishe army, and tooke the erle, beyng on the grounde,
prisoner, and sir Richard Wooduile, and sixe score more, and there wer slain almoste twoo
C. The remnaunt saucd them selves aswel as thei might. The Erle was caried to Beaouys,
wher, of this hurt he shortly died, and was buried in the friers Minors. He was a man of
a singular vertue, constancie and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a worlde, did sore
appall the hertes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerborie ta-
ten, suche is the chaunce of warre, thus Lady Fortuny daily turneth her whicle, and might-
tie Mars, often varieith his countenaunce, so that one tyme the Engiishemen gat by assault
and yeldying, diuerse strong tounes, Castles, and piles. At another season, the Frenche
people, somtyme by bargain, somtyme by assaut, obtained thersaid citices and fortificacions
again, or other in their stede. Whiche daily attempts, I omit and ouer passe, because in
the, no notable acte, nor greate Warlike feate was done or committed. For small thynges,
require litel writyn, and fewe actes, require lesse speakyng. For I assure you, that he,
which should write the negligent losses, and the politique gains, of euery citee, fortesse,
and trett, whiche were gotten and loste in these daies, should fatigaye and wary the reader,
more with volumes, then queares and the hearer, more with triflying woroed, then with nota-
bale matter. Wherfore sithe in all myne authors, I finde no matter, either greatly necessarie,
or muche convenient to be spoken of concerning any high enterprise: I therfore, leavyng:
bothe the naciones, daily studiyng how to greue, and gain of the other, will turne againe to
other thynges accidentall which chaunced in this. xii. yere.

ABOV'T the moneth of June, Iphon duke of Burbon and Auerne, taken prisoner at
the bataill of Aygncourte. xviii. yeres paste, (as you have before heard ) now payyng his
raunsome, whiche was. xviii. M.I. sterlyng and hauying ready prepared all thynges necessary,
for his triumphaunt returne into his countrie, was taken with a moste sore and grecious feuer,
whiche shortly vnbodyd his soule, in the citee of London, on the daie appoynted, for his
departure into Frauce: whose corps was enterred, in the Grey Friers of thesaied citee. So-
by this, euery creature maie se: that man purposeth & God disposeseth. I may not forget a
chaunch whiche happened this yere, to the example of princes, and a spectacle of governors.
For the deuill hymsel, to set farther diuisione betwene the Engiishe and Frenche nacion did.
apparel certaine catchepoules, and Parasites, commonly called tituils and tale tellers, to some
discord and dissencion, betwene the dukes of Bedford and Burgoyne, not fainying trifles
nor phatases, but thynges of reproche, repugnaunt to bothe their honors, estates, and digni-
ties, with the whiche, ech of them was as well pricked, as hastily spurredd, so that all loves
betwene theim ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiariete was cast by disdain,
into the care of oblivio. Suche a pestilent breath hath Flattery, and suche mischif ensueth,
of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceived, by their mutuell frendes, whiche by
charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted theim, to renewe their old loue
and familiarite, and to mete and enteruice, in some place decent and conuenient. The
Duke of Bedford, gladly condiscendid, to come to sent Omers, beyng the duke of Burgoyn
tonne, and thither, according to his appoyntment, he in honorable estate, came and resorted,
and likewise did the duke of Burgoyne. The duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce,
& sonne, brother and vncle to kynges, though that the duke of Burgoyne, should first haue
visited and saluted him: duke Phillip on the other part, beyng Lord & soucreigne of the
tonne,
THE XIII. YERE OF

The Bastard of Orleance, called the erle of Demoys, the lorde Rocheford Marshal of Francc, with other in the beginnyng of this, xiii. yere, tooke the toun of saincte Denise by treason, and skirmished with theim of Paris, and leauyng behynd hym a greate garrison, toooke the toun of Howdone, and the bridge of saincte Maxence by composicion, and at that tyme was taken the toun, of Pount Meulane, by sodain scalyng of twoo fishermen: which entered vp at a common prinie, standyng on the wall. Thus tounes vn-walled, wer preys to raumous men of war, so that the poore inhabitauntes within theim, (not byeng able to kepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when sheilde and defence lacked,) were constrayned and compelld, to yeilde and rende theimselfes, to the more power, and vpper hande: least they byeng nedy and innocente people, should be vexed and turmented, with the unreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendome, no Region was more vn-quiete, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pited, then the coutrey of Frace. And although the rude and poore people, suffred many plagues and adversities: yet the soulsdiers prospered not in all thynges. For although prey & spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet some tyme they wer slain, taken, and licked vp, or thei were ware. For euerie prince studied, and circumspectly compassed, how to kepe, defende and releue, the citees and tounes, of their seuerall faction, and priuate fidelitie. Wherfore, when saciety of slaughters, and aboundance of murtheres, had replenished the stomackes, of bothe the nacions, and that bothe in generall, perceiued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and daily affliccones: although their stomackes wer haute, and their hartes stony, yet they waxed softe. prinely inclining to peace, and wishing concord, and not without an vrgente cause: For all thynges necessary to mans liuyng, penurie shewed her self furth, and aboundance was hidden in a cause. The corne feldes late vtilled, the meddowes wer ouer troden, the woodes wer spoyle, so that all men went to harneis, and no man to the plough. The churches were seldome used for devotion, but many tymes spoyle, for desyre of gayne. These, and suche innumerable mischifes, caused bothe the people, byeng enemies, to desire peace, and yet the one part, disdained opely to offre it, or the other priuatly to receiue it.

THE crie and noyse of this perillous and insaciable warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially, at the Counsaull of Basill, where then thmperror Albert, and all the princes and potestates of Christendome, or their deputies, were assembled, for the vnio of the vngracious scisme, in the vsurped sea of Rome vtruly, and against all scripture, called saincte Peters sea. Wherfore the Emperor and the temporall princes, supposyng the exhortacion of Spirituall fathers, should more profite amongst the twoo high stomacked, and proude encouraged nacions, of Englende and of Francc, desyred Eugeny then bishop of Rome, to be the author and arbitrer, of that great strife and contencion: so that by his meanes, counsaull and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes, of twoo so invincible nacions, which neuer would yeild or bowe, the one to the other, neither yet, once heare of abstinence of fightying, or refusynge from warre: so much were their hartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thyng, muche put
put them in hope, of some good conclusion, because the duke of Burgoyne was willyng, (so that it wer not of his awne suite,) to returne, and reconcile himself, to Charles, his mortal enemie and aunent adversary. Wherfore, by authoritie of this generall Counsell, two discrete persones, called the Cardinalles of sainct Crosse, & Cypres, came to the toune of Arras in Arthoys, whither, were sente for the kyng of Englande, Henry Beauford Cardinall of Winchester, Henry, Archbishopp of Yorke, Willia de la Pole Erle of Suflolke, and Ihon Hollande Erle of Hunytngdon, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers: and for the French kyng, were ther present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandasme, Arthur of Bryayne Constable of Fraunce, the Archbishopp of Reys, and sir Phillip Harcourt. There, was the duke of Burgoyne, in proper persone, accompanied with the duke of Gelders, and the Erles of Estampes, Lygyue, sainct Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, & Daniel, some to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallaunt company.

VPON the daie of the first session, the Cardinal of sainct Crosse, declared to the thre parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of incoueniences, whiche had succeeded, through al Christendom, by their daily discord and continually discencion: exhorting and requiring the for the honor of God, for the love that they bare to the setting furthe of Christes religion, and for the aduancement of the publique wealth of all Christendom, that they would laye all rancor apart, represse all wrath and anger, and conform themselfes to reason, and to Godly concorde, by the whiche, they should receive, honor, profite, and continually quietnesse, in the world, and of God, a reward euerlasting. After whiche admonition, thus to them geuen, and after diuerse daies of communicacion, euer part brought in their demaund, whiche wer moste contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishmen required, that kyng Charles should haue nothyng, but at the hande of the kyng of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite, by hyrn of his mere liberalitie geuen, and distributed, to whiche the Frenchmen answered, that kyng Charles would haue the kyngdome, frakely & frely, without begging it, of another man: requiring the kyng of England, to leaue the name, Armes, and title of the kyng of Fraunce, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitain and Normady, and to forsake Paris, and all the tounes, whiche they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Riveres of Loyre and Soame, beyng no percell of the Duchie of Normandy. The Englishmen, loth to lease so good a botye as Paris, did not esteme and allowe, the demandandes of the French Ambassadors and they on the otherside, couetyng and desiring, to obtain again the renounce and glory of their Region, whiche was Paris, would in no wise condiscend, to any part of the Englishie requestes. Thus, the pride of the one part, and the ambitition of the other, letted concord, peace, and quietnes. The Cardinals, seying the frostie hartes, and hardened myndes of bothe parties, determined not, to despute the titles, but offered to them, honest and reasonable condicions, of truce and peace, for a season: whiche articles bothe parties, either for frowardnes, or for disdain openly refusid: In so much as, the Englishmen in greate displeasure, departed to Calice, and so into Englande. One writer affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secrete conspiracie moven against them, sodainly removed from Arras, and so saied into their countrie.

WHILES this treatie of peace, was thus in communicacion at Arras, the lorde Talbot, the lorde Willoughby, the lorde Scales, with the lorde Lisle Adame, and five thousand men, besieged the toune of S. Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dumoys haryng therof, accompanied with the lorde Lohac, and the lorde Bucill, & a great company of horsemen, haisted thitherward, to rayse the siege, and in the meanwe wate, they encountered with sir Thomas Kirrell, and Mathew Gouthe, ridyng also toward S. Denise, between whom, was a great conflict, and many slain on bothe parties: but sodainly came to the aide of the Frenchmen, the garrison of Point Melance, which caused the englishmen to returne, without any great arme or damage, sauyng that Mathew Gouthe, by founderyng of his horsse, was taken and caried to Point Melance. Duryng whiche fight, the toune of sainct Denise, was rendered to the lorde Talbot, and the other lordes, whiche caused all the walles to be raised, and abated dounce to the ground, sauyng the walles of
the Abbay, and a toure called Venyn. After this toune gotten, the Lorde Willoughby, left sir Ihon Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, & departed to gouerne Paris, whiche then began to smoke, and some after, brast out in flame, (as you shall shortly, apparaantly perceive). After whose departoure, thenhabitaines of Pounthoyse rebelled, & droue out thenglishmen by very force, and rendered themselves subiectes to king Charles. This toune was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very convenient kaye, betwene Paris and Normandy, so that now the gate betwene them bothe, was set open and the passage at large.

LET vs now again, returne to the counsail at Arras. After the Englishse Ambassadors wer departed, the Frenchemen, and the Burgonyons, began familiarly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the whiche mociion, Phillip duke of Burgoyue, was neither deifie nor straunge: for he in the beginning of his rule, being muche desirous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murder done to his father, and to kepe hymself in his high estate, and preeminence, began to be associate, and to reigne with thengishe power, and to serue the kyng of Englad thinking, that by his amity and ioynyng, that he should neither harme nor hurte, the common wealth of the countrey, whereof at that tyme he bare the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or poyn, of his authoritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened, contrary to his expectacion, that the kyng of Englane, by the right course of inheritaunce, toke vpou hym the whole nile and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aide of his counsail, all causes, judgemenites, warres, and cöcordes, & that the duke judged, that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite truste, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedorde, would not suffre the toune of Orleans, to be rendered to hym, (as you before haue heard): He therefore imagined, & determined with hymself, to returne into the pathe again, from the whiche he had straied and erred, and to take part, and ioyne with his awne bloud and nacion: so that some honest menace, might be sought by other, and not by hymself, least paraduendure by his awne sekyng, he might bind himself in condiciens hurtfull, & sore inconueniences, to the Frenche kyng, and also be noted of vnruth, and traiterous behauor, toward the king of Englane and his nacion: to whom he had done homage, leage, and sworn fealtie. Now this Counsail, was to hym a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie, of the Fréche kyng, (whiche thyng in his harte, he moste coueted and desired) but was therunto persuaded, by the generall counsail, and by the bishop of Rome, whom it was reason, in all honest requestes, that he should submitte hymself, and humbly obey. And so, shadowed with this counsail, without long argument or prolongyng of tyme, he tooke a determinate peace, and a final conclusion, vpon these condici: that he should haue to hym deliered, the counteis of Arthoys, Ponthiew, and Bullonoys, and the tounes of Amience, Corby, Mondidier. Heron, saint Quintyne, & Abbeulie, with many other seigniories, & superiories, which be not for my purpose to rehearse. Provided alwaie, that the French kyng, paiyng in redy money, to his duke or his heires, iij.C.M. crowns, should have thesaied tounes and countres, to be redelivered again: and many other thynge, the Frenche kyng graunted, to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche after, he was not able to performe, nor accomplishe, for he had no power, to make deniall to the duke, of any demaund or request, whiche the Duke either phantasied or moused: as who would saie, that he thought in himself, that suche an adversary, whiche desired so honest, and so reasonable condiciouns, (considering the state of the tyme, and the occasion, of concorde, moste apparauntly offered to hym.) ought neither to be refused nor cast away, the whiche chance, was to hym lucky and fortunate: for surely, thyng forsenne and loked for, succeded and toke place, as you shall perceiue. This concorde, was so pleasedant to the Frenche kyng, that he not only set for hym: but as a swane that swimmeth after her make, met hym in proper persone, at the citee of Reynes, and (after long comunicati) standing vp vpó his fete, said to him these wordes.

DVKE Phillipp cosin, and pere of Fraunce, with all my harte welcome, and at your com- ming, my harte is fulfilled with ioy, and my spirits be refreshed with solace, for now, all doubt of the recovery, of my lande and seigniory, is clerely banished, and fully abandoned: consideryng
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considering that I have now, ioyned and vnited to me, the principall pere, the moste noble prince, (nexte to the Crowne) and the moste valeaunt captain, that hath been, or is, in our daies, sene, or knowne, whom the nobilitie honor, the chialerie faver, and the poore commons loue, and daily desire to beholde: So that all men loue, and embrace you, aboue all creatures, and worship and reuerence you, aboue all Lordes, because you, beyng a strayling shepe, are now returned, to your olde flocke, and like a man wanderyng out of the path, are now brought again, to the right waie, and true limite. For surely, this text was euer beaten muche in my hedde: that euery realme, denidedamongst theimselfe, should turne to desolació, and that all discord, should bring pouericie, and that of all discension, should successede misery: whiche intollerable calamities, I euer judged to ensue, by the discord and contraversie, betwene vs twoo. But now the sore is cured, and the ship brought into the sure hauen: trystyng perfectly, and nothyng mistrustyng, but by your healp and aide, we shall expell, cleane pull vp by the rootes, and put out, all the English nacion, out of our realmes, territories and dominisions. And if you helpe vs, (as you maie) and if you aide vs, (as you be able) we here promise you, in the wordes of a prince, to be yours, yea, so yours, that al ours, shalbe yours, at your commaundement and desire, not as ours, but as yours, to doo and spende at your pleasure. To the whiche, the duke of Burgoyne aunsweared, that he would let scape nothyng, that appertayned to his duetie, nor forget any poynct, whiche might turne to his dishonor.

WHEN this league was sworn, and this knot was knit, the duke of Burgoyne, to sette a vayle, before the kyng of Englandes iyes, sent Thoison Dor, his kyng at Armes, to kyng Henry with letters: that he, beyng not only waxed faint, and weried, with continual warre, and daily conflictes, but also chaified daily, with complaintes and lamentacion, of his people, whiche, of the Frenchemen, suffered losse and detriment, embraudyng and rebukyng hym openly, affirming that he onely was the supporter and mainteyner, of the English people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and sette forward, and that he more diligedly studied, and intentiely toke pain, bothe to kepe, and mainteyne Englishemen in Fraunce, and also to aduauce and promote their desires, & intentes, rather than to restore kyng Charles his cosyn, to his rightful inheritaunce, & paternal possession: by reason of whiche thynges, and many other, he was in maner compellled and constrained to take a peace, and conclude an amittie with kyng Charles, exhortyng kyng Henry, with many flatterying wordes, when honest and reasonable condictions wer offered, to take the, and to make an ende of the warre, which so long had continued, to the decay of bothe the realmes, and to the effusion, of Christen bloud, be side the great displeasure of almightie God, whiche is the author of peace and vnitie: promising hym his aide, and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many going and flatterying wordes, whiche I passe ouer.

HERE is to be noted, that the Duke of Burgoyne, which thought hymselfe by this concord in maner dishonored, and spotted with infamie sente his letters to the Kyng of Englande, rather to purge and excuse hymselfe, of his vntruth and infidelitie, (yea of periury, if a poore man maie see that terme, of so greate a prince) to thentent that it should appere, that he, by copulsion, and not by voluntarie affecction, was turned to the French part: not for any malice or displeasure, whiche he bare to kyng Henry, or to the English nacion. This letter was not altide loked on, nor smally regarde of the kyng of England, and his sace con-saill: not onely for the weightines of the matter, but also for the sodain chaunge of the man, & for the straunge superscription of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie Prince, Henry, by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande, his Welbeloued cosyn: Neither nanyng hym kyng of Fraunce, nor his souereigne lorde, accordyng as, (euer before that tymc) he was accustomed to do. Wherfore all they, whiche wer present, beyng sore moued with the craftie dece, & vntrue demeanor of the duke, (whom they so muche trusted) could neither temper their passions, nor moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their tongues: but openly call-ed hym traytor, deceuer, and moste inconstant prince. But when the rumor of the Dukes returnyng, was published amongst the common people, they lefte woodes and went to stripes: for
they being moved and pricked, with this unhappie tidings, ran fierily uppon all the Flem- 
ynges, Hollanders, and Burgonyous, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the 
suburbes of thesame, and slewe and hurte, agreate nombre of them, before they, by the kynges 
proclamation, could be prohibited, to leave of and abstain, from such violence, and injurious 
doyng; for the kyng nothing more mynded, then to saue innocent bloud, and defende them, 
which had not offended.

AFTER the letter twice redde, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at Armes, to tell 
his master, that it was not conuenient, nor honorable for hym, to be enemie to the English 
nacion, without cause or occasion gueen, but his dutie, (all thynges considered) was to 
haue kept his auncient truthe and culde alleageungce, rather then to be the occasion, of newe 
warre and freashe discencion: advertisyng hym farther, that it was not the point of a wise 
mä, to leaue and let passe, the certain for the uncertain, admonishing hym also, not to myn- 
gle and mixte his safetie and sureness, with the vnsablenesse and vnsuretie of his newe 
alye, and cosyn, kyng Charles When the messenger was departed, the kyng of England 
and his counsaill, thought and determined, to worke some displeasure to the duke, and to 
set some conspiracie, against hym in his awne coutrey. Wherfore by rewardes, they did 
suborne and corrupt certain gouernors and rulers, of tounes and cities, within the dukes 
coultreis and dominios, (which nacions surely, be euer procltime & ready, to commocion 
and rebellion.) But the Gantoys, which of that feate euer bare the bell, and wer the common 
ryasers, against their souereigne lorde, some of them imaginyng, that the power of the 
Englishmen, was not long like to continue, within the reaume of Fraunce, more for feare, then 
loene of their Duke, sat still and moood not, but let other tounes alone, which sore troubled 
the Dukes wittes, and a greete while, did disquiet and vexe his senses.

THIS yere the. xiiiij. daie of September, died Ihon duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, a 
man, as politique in peace, as hardy in warre, and yet no more hardly in warre, then 
mercifull, when he had victory, whose bodye was, with greate funerall solemnnitie, buried 
in the Cathedrall churche of our Lady, in Roan, on the Northside of the high aultur, vnder 
a sumptuous and costly monument: whiche tombe and seulpture, when kyng Lewes the. xj. 
sonne to this kyng Charles, which recovered again Normandy, did well advise and behould 
certayne noblemen in his company, hauyng more yonthe then discrecion, and more enuie in 
their hartes, then consideracions of their parents, counsaill hym to deface and plucke- 
doune the tombe, and to cast the dece carcasse into the feldes: affirming, that it was a 
greate dishonor, bothe to the kyng and to the realme, to se the enemye of his father, and theirs, 
to hauue so solempne & riche memorial. Kyng Lewes auncwered again, saiyng: what honor 
shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monumêt, and to pull out of the ground and take 
up, the dead bones of hym, who in his life, neither my father, nor your progenitors, with all 
their power, puyssauce, and frêdes, wer once able, to make fie one foote backward, but by 
his strength, witte, and policie, kepe them all out of the principall dominions, of the realme 
of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandy: wherfore I saie, first, 
God haue his soule, & let his body now lye in reste, whiche, when he was a liue, would 
haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: and as for the tombe, I assure you, is not so decent, 
nor conuenient for hym, as his honor and Actes deserued, although it wer muche richer, and 
more beautifull.

§ THE. X. YERE.

After the death of this noble prince, and valcaunt capitain, the bright sunne, that 
commonly shone in Fraunce faire and beautifully vpon the Englishmen, began to be cloudie, 
and daily to waxe darker: for the Fréchmen sayng the chief capitain taken awaie, began not 
only to refuse their ouedience, and loyalty, which thei had sworne, and promised to the 
kyng of Englande, but takyng swearde in hande, rebelled, persecuted, and openly defied the 
Englishmen,
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

Englishmen, yet all these mischaunces, not one poynt abated, the valeaut corages of the Englishmen: for they nothing mistrustyng God, nor good Fortune, set vp a newe saile, and began the warre new again, and appoynted for regent in Fraunce, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard erle of Cambridge. Although the duke of Yorke, bothe for birth and corage, was worthy of this honor and preferment, yet he was so disdainedy of Edmond duke of Somerse, byeng cosin to the kyng, that he was promoted to so high an office, (whiche he in verie deede, gaped and loked for) that by all waies and meanes possible, he bothe hindered and detracted hym, glad of his losse, and sory of his well dooyng, causyng hym to linger in Englande, without dispatche, till Paris and the fluore of Fraunce, were gotten by the Frenche kyng. The duke of Yorke, perceiuyng his euill will, openly dissimulated that, which he inwardly thought priuely, ech workyng thynges, to the others displeasure. This cancard malice, and pestiferous division, so long continued, in the hertes of these two princyes, till mortall warre consumed them bothe, and almoste all their Lynes and ofsprynges, as within few yeres you shall perceiue and se.

THE Normans of the countrye of Caux, byeng somwhat bartenct, by the death of the duke of Bedforde, began a newe rebellion, and slewe diverse Englishmen, and robbed many prayt tounys, whiche wer of kyng Heries faccion & part, & toke the toune of Harflew by assaute, and diuere other tounys. The lorde Talbot byeng advertised, of thys rebellion, sent for the lorde Scales, sir Thomas Kiriell, and the lorde Hoo, whiche afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slew aboue five thousand persones, and bren all the tounys, and villages in the countrye, not byeng walled, so that in that parte, was neither habitacion nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britayne, and all the bestes of the countrey, wer brought to Cawdebec, wher a good shape was sould for an English peyne, and a kowe for xii. pence. Daily was skirmishyng & fightyng in every part, in so muche that the Lorde Scales with foure hundred Englishmen, discomfited at the Rye beside Roan, the Heire and sitte hundred valeaunt Frenche men, and sir Richard de Reignold de Pountaynes, sir Aleyne Gerond, Alayne de Monsay, and Geoffrey Grame capitain of the Scottes, and thre hundred, and mo wer taken prisoners, beside seuen faire and plensait coursers. But this victorie staid not the hardes of the Frenche nacion, for their myndes were so ful of treason, and their malice so greate against the Englishmen, that many tounys turned, to the parte of kyng Charles, without conquest or desire, and diuere were soould for countousnes, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vyncemes, and other.

HERE is one especcial poiynete to be noted, that either the disdaine emongst the chief peres of the realme of Englande, (as you have hearde,) or the negligence of the kynges counsaill, (whiche did not with quicke sight, forese and preuent thynges for to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of Fraunce, betwene the riuers of Sonne and Marne, and in especiall of the noble citee of Paris. For where before tymes there were sent ouer, for the aide and tuition of the tounys, and citees, brought vnder the obey-saunce, of the Englishe nacion, thousands of men, apte and mete for the warre, and defence: now were sent into Fraunce, hundredes, yea scores, some rascall, and some not able to drawe a bowe, or cary a bill. For the lorde Willoughby, and the bishop of Tyrwyne, whiche had the gouernauce, of the greate and large citee of Paris, had in their company, not two thousand Englishmen. Whiche weakenes kyng Charles well perceiued. Wherefore he appoynted Arthur of Britayne, the Erle of Dumoys Bastarde of Orleans, the Lorde de la Roche, and Lisle Adame, and other valeaunt capitaines, aswel Burgonyons as Frenche, to go before Paris, trusting by the fauor of certain citezens, with whom he had greate intelligence, and knewe the Englishmenes power and ofynge, shortly to be lorde of the citee and toone, without any greate losse or battaile. So these capitaynes came before the citee of Paris, but perceiuyng, that all thyngees succeeded not, according to their expectació, returned to Mount Marter, and the next daie, sodainly set on the toune of saint Denise, where, the Englishmen manfully defended them selues, but byeng oppressed with so greate a multitude, they wer compelled to flie into the Abbaye, and into the Toure of Venyn, for succor.
and refuge: in which conflicts two hundred Englishmen were slain, and the rest, upon a reasonable composition, rendered the town, and departed to Paris.

Thomas Lord Beaumont, whom of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued out of Paris, with six hundred soundiers, one only intending to se, and viewe the doynges and nombre of the Frenche armye, but he was sodainely espied, and compassed aboute: so, that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with hym foure scores prisoners, beside two hundred which wer slain on the feld, and the remnant chased to the very gates of the citee. The Parisians and in especiall the Master of the Hailles, and some of the Universitet, and Michael Laillier, and many notable burgesses of the town, (whiche, ever with an Englishie countenaunce, couered a Frenche harte) perceiving the weakenes of the Englishmen, and the force and strength of the Frenchemen, signifying to the Frenche capitaine, their minds and intente, willed them to come with all diligence, to receive so riche a prey to them, without any difficultie, offered and geuen. The Constable delaying no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charter-hous: and the lorde Lisle Adame, approching the wallles, shewed to the citizens, a charter, sealed with the greate seal of kyng Charles, by the whiche he had pardoned them their offences, and granted to them all the old liberties and auncient privileges, so they would hereafter be to hym, obedient, true, and seruiceable. Whiche theyng to them declared, they ranne about the town, crying: sainct Denise, live kyng Charles. The Englishmen perceiving this, determined to kepe the gate of. S. Denise, but they were decuised, for the cheynes were drawn in every strete, and women and children cast doute stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishemennes heddes, and the citizens persecuted them, from streate to streate, and from lane to lane, and swee and hurt, diverse and many of them. The bishop of Tyrwyne, Chauncellor there for kyng Henry, and the lord Willoughby, and sir Simon Moruier, took great pain, to appease the people, and represse their furie: but when they saw, that all auailed not, they withdrew themselves, to the Bastell of sainct Anthony, whiche fortresse, they had well vitalled and furnished, with men and municions.

Whyles this rumor was in the town, therel of Dumoys & other sealed the wallles, and some passed the River by boats, and opened the gate of sainct Iames, at the whiche the Constable with his banner displayed entered, at whose entrie, the Parisians were very glad, and made greate joye. The bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small companie, defended their fortress, tenne daies, lokyng for aide, but when they sawe that no conforte appered, they yielded their fortress, so that they & theirs, with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, which desire was to them granted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the Englishmen, with the moste spitefull wordes, and shamefles termes, that could be invented or duised: so that all men maie apparently perceiue, that their harte is never thought, as their tongues vttred. For notwithstanding their obeyaunce and fidelite, swore to Kyng Henry, and nothing regarding the finall composition, to the which they had sette their common scale, when they sawe thengismen at the weakest, they turned the leafe and sang another song: declaring to all men their inconstaunt harts, their waweryng mindees, and vntrue demeanor. Thus was the cite of Paris brought again into the possession of the French kyng, which, ther altered officers, and ordained lawes, at his pleasure, for the surety & safegarde of hym, his realeme, and people.

AFTER this glorious gain, the Frenclie kyng besieged the toune of Cravle, vpon Oyse, wherof sir William Chabrelayn, was capitaine, whiche, with five hundred Englishmen, issued out of the toune, and after long fight, discouenied his enemies, and swee two hundred, and take a greate nombre prisoners: the remnauent not likyng their market, departed to Champaigene, and other tounes adwynyng. Duryng whiche season, xii. Burgesses of the toune of Gyssors, solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castle delivered. Wherefore with all his power, he besieged the same, wherof the Lorde Talbot beyng advertised, sent for the lorde Scales, and they bothe with. xviiii. hundred
dred men, rescued the Castle, toke the toune, and discomfited their enemies, and slewe of them above four hundred persones. Now was the the old proouerbes vereified, that he that commeth a daie after the faire, commeth to late, and when the stede is stollen, it is no bote to shuette the stable dore. For when Paris, saint Denise, saint Germaynes in Lay, and many other tounes in Francon, were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succors and sufficient garrisons, then the duke of Yorke appoynted at the parliament before, to be Regent of Francon, and by the disdisaine and enuie of the duke of Somerset, and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandy, with eight thousand men, and in his company, the Erles of Salisbury, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Pawconbridge, and dizerous valeaunt capitanes. When he was landed at Harlewe, the Erle of Salisbury, besieged the Castle of Chamboys, whiche shortly was to hym rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did greate Iustice in the countrey, wherfore the Normans in their Chronicle, highly extoll euie of suche magnifie hym, for that poynte: howbeit, they saie, that he gat by long siege, the toune and Abbay of Fecap, and did none other notable act, duryng the tyne of his rule and gouernanunce.

PHILLIP Duke of Burgoyne which, (as you haue heard) brake bothe his othe and promise with the kynge of England, imagened with hymself, that the Englishmen were like shortly, to be expulsd out of al the tounes on that side the sea, and that they had no certain refuge nor place to resorte to, out of icoperly, but onely the toune of Calice. Wherfore he assembled his counsaill, and the beddes of the cities and tounes of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Zelande, in the toune of Gaunt, wher was declared to them, the right, tylte, and interest, that he had to the toune of Calice, and the countie of Guyanes, as a very patrimony, belonging to his inheritaunce: shewyng farther, that thesaide toune was the golfe, and swallowuer vp, of all the golde & siluer of his countreys and dominions, for as muche as ther, was the staple of wooles, tynne, leade, and other marchaundise, for the whiche, the Englishmen would take no common currant money, but only gold and siluer, to the greate impoverishment of his signories, and Regions: saying farther, that Calise onely was the common stop, betwene his countreys and Britayne, and Spayne, so that Southward, nor Westward, his subjicets could not passe, without the daunger of that toune. Wherefore these detrimentes considered, he determined, (if they would assent) shortly to recouer and conquer, that toune and the countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsaill, and cōnon people, not onely agreed, but also promised aide, bothe of men and money. Lorde how the Flemynes bragged, and the Hollanderes craked, that Calice should be wonne and all the Englishmen slaine, swearyng, and staryng, that they would haine it within thre daies at the moste: thynkyng verely, that the toune of Calice, could no more resist their puyssance, then a potte of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

To tel you what ordenaunce was new cast, what pouder was bought what engynes were deuised, what harneis was provided, what vitale was purveyed for this greate enterprise: I will not comber you in rehersyng every thyng perticulerly because the Flemynes write, that the provision was more then toung could speake, or harte could thinke yet you maie beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priuie, but sir Ihon Radcliffe duptie of the toune of Calice, was therof enformed and shortly of thoseame, aduerised kyng Henry, and his counsaill, whiche incontinent sent thither, the Erle of Mortayne sonne to the Duke of Somersette, and the Lorde Cammeys with, xv. C. men, and greate foysone of vitale, whiche issued out of Calice, and came before Grauelyne, where thel were encountered, with a greate nombre of Flemynge, whiche were shortly discomfited, and foure hundred of theim slaine, and sixe score taken prisoners, and caried to Calice. And within twoo daies after, the Englishmen drowne by fine force, the lordes of Wauerayn and Bado, to the barriers of Arde, & discomfited the company to the nober of xv. C. and slewe. viij. valeaun capitanes, and toke many gentlemen prisoners. Phillip duke of Burgoyne, abidying still in his high & warlike enterprise, assembled together of Flemynges, Pycardes, Holladers, and Henowiers a great army, to the nombre of. xl. M. so well armed, so wel vitalled, so wel furnished with ordenaunce,
& so well garnished in al thynge, that thei thought in thei hertes, and blasted emongest them selfes, that the Calicians, would leave the toune desolate, & flye for thei saugerd, hearyng onely the approching of the Gauntys. But thei reckened before thei host, and so pained more then their shotte came to. When this gallant armie, was passed the water at Grauelyn, the duke intending to begin his great conquist, besieged and assaulted the little and poore Castle of Oye, which hauyng in it but. L. soldiers, of the whiche. xii. soldiours their liues derely, the remaunt compellde by necessity yeilded themselfes symple to the duke, whiche to please the Gauntys, beyng of the moste puissant company his armie, liberally gane to the bothe the Castile and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good luke, and fortunate victorie. Whiche rude & beastly persons, nothing expert in warre, or lawes of Armes, not only rased and abated the Castle, but also hanged. xxix. of the captives, & had so done with all the remaunt if the duke, (disdainyng their crueltie) had not intreated for the rest.

AFTER this victorie, little honorable and lesse profitable, the Pycardes besieged the Castle of Marke, and three tymes assaulted it, more to their losse, then gayne. The Englishmen within, wherefo the Sir Ihon Geddyng was capitaine, set out the banner of sauinte George, and rang the belles, to the intent to haue succors from the toune of Calice. But the capitaines there, mynding not to lese the more for the lesse, nor the substance for the accident, wished them good luke, and good fortune without any aide sedying. For doubt of the dukes great armie & power, The soldiours within Marke, beyng but twoo hundred and sise, seyng no hope of succor, and desperate of Comfort, rendered themselfes to the duke vpon condition: that their lipes and lymmes should be sauct, and so thei wer conveyed in suer custody, to the toune of Gaunt, and the castle of Marke was rased and defaced.

AFTER this act doone, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Duke of Clenes, the Erie of Estampes, the Lordes of Dantoyng, Croy, Cresquy, Humyers, and many other va-learnct Barons, & knightes, with his greate armie, came before the toune of Calice, and placed his siege about the same, moste to his aduantage, and to the moste displeasure of his enemies. He gane three great assautes to the toune, but his people wer not so fierce to assaut, but thenglishemen wer as quicke to defend: so that he gaining so sitle at these.iii. enterprises, was comit to abstain fro farther approching toward the wallis. At the first assaut the Heire, which was come to se the duke of Burgoyne, was sore wounded and hurte. Beside this, the duke had daily one great iye sore, which was by cause that at everytye, ships arrin in the hauen, out of England, openly before his face, laden with victall, municious, and men and also the Calicians would for the nonce, putte out cattail into the marish, under the toune wallis, to thentent to prouoke the Fiemmyngs to come within their catchyng, and daunger, whiche beyng coutons of prey and gayne, often adventured, and seldome returned again: for many by this meanees wer taken prisoners, but many mo slaine with ordenaunce. The duke one day rode about, to vioe and behold the situation, and the wallis of the toune, to thentent to take his moste aduantage either by assaute or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickly espied and with the stroke of a Canon, a tropper whiche rode next before him and thire horses in his company, wer slaine out of hande. When he sawe that all thynges succesed not to his purpose, he firste set the Lord of Croy, and a convenienc nombre, to besiege the castle of Guysses, where the sauid capitain got little profite, and did lesse harme: And after devised how to stoppe the hauen, so that no succors shold ente there, and also to prohibite the within the toune, to make any egressse or rode outward, and so by this meanees, to famishe and compell them to yield, and rendre the toune. This devise was set forward, and nything slepte: for iiiij. great hulkses wer laden, with great square stones, semented & loyned together with lead, to thentent that they should lye still, like a moit and not to seuer a sunder. These shippes with the renauent of the dakes nauie, were coveyed into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollicie, were sonke doune to the ground, but whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, either the conueyors of the hulkses, knewe not the very channel, these foure great shippes at the lowe water, laie openly upon the sandes,
without any hurte doyng to the rode or chânel, which whê the soldiours had perceived, they
issued out of the toune, and brake the shippes, and caried bothe the stones and the tymbre
into the toune, which serued them well, to their fortificacions. The seconde deuise was also
accomplished, whiche was a stong bastell, set on a little mountayne, furnished with. iiiij. C.
men and muche artillarie, whiche fortresse did let thenglishmen to issue out, when they
would, to their greate displeasure and disturbaunce.
WHILES these thynges wer in doyng, there ariued into the dukes army, an herault of
England called Pembroke, belonging to the duke of Gloucester, whiche declared to the duke of
Burgoyn, that the Protector of England his master, (if God would send him winde and wether)
would geue battall to hym and his whole puyssâuce, either there, or in any other place, within
his owne countrey, where he would appoynt: but the daie he could not assigne, because of the
inconstancie of the wind, and mutabilitie of the aire. The duke (like a noble man) aunswered
the herault: sir saie to your master, that his request is both honorable and reasonable, howbeit,
he shall not neede to take pain, to seke me in myne owne countrey, for (GOD willyng) he shall
funde me here, till I haue my will of the toune, ready to abide hym, and all the power that he
can make. After this aunswere made, the Heraulte was highly feasted, and had a cup and
a hundred golden gyldens, to hym deliered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice.
After whose departure, the duke made a great counsaill, in the chief pavilion of the Gaun-
toys, and there declared bothe the heraulettes message and his aunswere, desirying them to re-
gard his honor, the estimacion of their countriez, and the honesties of themselues, and like
men to receive their enemies, and valeauntly to defende their aduersaries, promising to theim
victory, gain and perpetual glory. Lorde how the Flemynge threatened, how the Pycardes
craked, and how the Hollanderes sware that thenglishmen should be killed and slaine, promis-
syng to the duke rather to dye then to flie, or to be recreaunt. Whiles this great matter was in
consultacion, the Calicians, not well contened with the bastell, whiche the Duke had newly
builded, issued out of the toune, in a great nombre, part on foote, and part on horsebacke.
The footemen ran to assault the bastile, and the horsemen, went between the army and the
assailaîtes, to stop the aycle and succors whiche might come. The alaryme was sounded, in-
somuch that the Duke in proper persone, was commynge on foote to releue his people, but by
the meanes of the horsmen, he was staied and kept backe a space, in the whiche delaye of
tyme, the Englishmen by fine force gat the place, and slewe. Clx. persone, the remaunt
were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortresse, and set it on fire: cariying with them, al the-
ordinauce and artillerie, into the toune of Calice, to the great displeasure, of the Duke and
his counsaill. The nexte daie after, there sprang a rumor in the army (no man could tell
how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a greate puysaunce, was all ready embarked and
shipped, and would arrive at the nexte tyde, and come doune before Calice and raise the
siege. What was the very cause, I cannot truly write: but surely, the same night the Duke
fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the Lorde of Croye, to reise his siege before Gwynes, whiche
tidynges were to hym very joyous, for he neither got nor sauéd: so these twoo capitaines de-
parted, leayung behynde, bothe ordinauce, vitail, and greate riches. The Frenche writ-
ters, to saine the honor of the Duke of Burgoyn, saie, that there was a certain discord and
comocion, emongest the Fleminges and duchie nacion: affirmyng, that the great lordez and
the Pycardes, (whom the Frenchmen greatly extoll) would betraye and sell the Flem-
inges, and their frendes, & that, for these same cause, in a greate fury they cried, home, home,
& would not tary, for no request the Duke could make. nor no exhortació that could be
giuen: and so by their misgounnaunce, the Duke was enforced to raise his siege, and to de-
parte. The Flemishe authors affirm the contrary, sâying: that they wer ready to abide the
cômyng of the duc of Gloucester, but the duke of Burgoyne fearyng to be trapped, betwene
the duc of Gloucestres army before, and the garrison of Calice behynde, so that he
could escape by no waie, fled away in the night, geuyng to theim no warrnyng before. So
that for lacke of tyme, and cõvenient space, to lade and carry their stuffe, and beyng com-
maunted to retire with all spede and diligence, thei were compelled to lose and leauce behynde
them.
THE. XV. YERE OF

thein, their vitaill, and tentes, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your liberties, (gentle reders) whether you will gene credite to the Frenchmen, (whiche wer absent, and no doers inthe acte) or to the Flemynge, (which were partakers of the losse and dishonor.) But the infallible verite is, that he fled the xxvj. daie of Iuly in the night, and the next daie in the monrnyng, the duke of Gloucester, landed in Calice hauen, and straighte went into the Campe, where his enemies, the night before were lodged, and there he founde many goodly peaces of ordenance, and inespeially one, called Dygeon, named after the chief toune of Burgony, beside pauliios, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vitaill.

THE Duke of Gloucester, seyng his enemies reculed, lauyng in his company. xxv. M. men, entered into Flanders, buryyng houses kylling suche as would resist, destoyyng the countrey on euery parte, settyng fire in the tounes of Poporinch and Baillens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire cityes, and in all this waie, thei lost no man, nor sawe any creature appere, to defend the countrey. After, they passed by Newe Castle and destroyed Rymesturere, and Vall Chappell, and then entered into Arthoys, to Arques, & Blandesques, settyng fire in euery part where thei came. Thus they passed by saint Omers to Guyynes, and so to Calice at sixe weeks ende, where they were well refresshed: for in all this iorney, they had little plentie of good breaad, whiche caused muche faintnesse, and diuere diseases in the army. When the Duke of Gloucester, had sufficiently plagued and wasted the countreys of the Duke of Burgoyne, & brought great preyes of beastes and spoyle, to the toune of Calice, he settyng there all thynge in good ordre, returned in to England, where he was advertised, how Iames kyng of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castle of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousande men, whereof sir Rauye Graye was capittain, whiche manfully defended it xx. daies, but the Scottish kyng beyng advertised that the Erle of Northumberlanye, was commyng to fight with hym, fledde with no lesse losse, then dishonor, to his toune of Edenbrough.

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After this dangerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of frendes, and desire of Princes, a truce or abstynence of warre for a certayne tyme, was moused betwene the Kyng of Englande, and the duke of Burgoyne, for whiche cause were sent to Grauelyne for the kyng of Englande, the Cardinall of Wyncester Henry Beauford, Ihon Lorde Moubray Duke of Norfolke, Humfrye Erle of Stafford, and diuere other well learned and honorabe personages: and for the duke there appered the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lorde of Croy, and diuere other. At whiche tractie, a truce was taken for a small tyme, and for a lesse space observed. Whiche abstynence of war, was concluded betwene the kyng of Englande, and the duchesse of Burgoyne, (enterlessyng the duke and his name.) Some thinke that the kyng of England, would never enter in league with hym, because he had broken his promise, wrayting, and fidelitie, written, sealed, and sworn to hym, and to his father. Other imagened, this to be doen by a cautell, to cast a myst before the Frenche kynges iyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feate was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsaille, and so he was not bounde to accomplishe, any acte or thynge doen in his wiues tractie. Thus you may se, that princes sometyme, with suche vain glospel, and scornfull exponicions, will hide their doynges and elke their purposes, to thentent that thei would not, either he espied, or plucke their hedde out of the coller, at their pleasure. But, (as the common proverbe saith) he, whiche is a promise breaker, escapeth not alwaye: for it is well sene, that daily it chaunceth, bothe to princes and meane persons, that for breakyng of faihte, and not kepyng of promisse, many displeasures arise, and innumerable inconveniences ensue.

ABOVYT this season, Katheryne quene and moother to the kyng of Englande, departed out of this transitory life, & was buried by her husband, in the minster of Westynyster. This woman, after the death of kyng Henry the fifth her husband, beyng young and lusty, folowyng
fowlyng more her awne appetite, then frenedly counsaill, and regardyng more her private affection, then her open honour, toke to husband priuily, a goodly gentilman, & a beautifull person, garnished with many Godly gyftes, both of nature & of grace, called Owen Teuther, a made brought forth and come of the noble lignage, and aüent lynce of Cadwaleader, the laste kyng of the Brytons; by whom she conceived and broughte forth. iii. goodly sones, Edmond, Iasper, and another, which was a monke in Westmynerster, and liued a small tyme, and a doughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie life: After whose death the kyng Henry, because they were his brotherne of one wombe deseended, created Edmonde, erle of Rychemonde, and Iasper, erle of Pembroke, whiche Edmond engendered of Margaret, doughter and sole heyre to Ihon; duke of Somerset, Heri, which after was king of this realme, called king Henry the seuenth, of whom you shal heare more hereafter. Thys Owen, after the death of the Quene his wife, was apprehended and comitted to ward, because that contrary to the statute made in the vi. yere of this kyng, he presumptuusly had maried the Quene, without the kynges especiall assent, and aigrment, out of which pryson he escaped, and let out other with him, and was agayne apprehended, & after escaped agayne.

THE duchesse of Bedford sister to Lewes, erle of sainct Paule, myndyng also to marye, rather for pleasure then for honour, without cousayl of her frendes, maryed a lusty knight, called sir Richard Wooduile, to the great displeasure of her vnle the bishop of Tywyne, and the erle her brother: but they now couled not remedye it, for the chauce was cast and passed. This sir Richard was made Baro of Riuers, and after erle, and had by this Lady, many noble sones, and faire daughters: whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Quene of Engleland, married to Kyng Edward the fourth, (as here after you shal perceiue.)

WHILLES this mariage was celebratyng, Iane late Quene of Englelande, and before Duchess of Britayne, doughter to the kyng of Nauer, & wife to kyng Henry the. iiiij. died at the manner of Haueryng, and was buried by her husband at Canterbury, in which time diseased the countesse of Warwicke, and Henry Arche bishop of Yorke.

I thought here to omit and onerpasse, the regaining and conquest of the strong towe of Harflew, once Enlishe and after, (by craft) turned to the Frenche part, except the Frenche writers more then the English authors, had made mencion, and remembrance, of the reductio of the same. For they saie and affirme, that the Duke of Somerset, accompanied with the Lordes of Faucenbridge, Talbot, sir Frances Suurien Arragonoyis, Mathew Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Haringto, Walter Limbrike, Ihon Geddyng, William Watton. Esquieres, and Thomas Iylton Balife of Roan, with a great pouissance of the Enlishe partie, compassed about and besieged the towe of Harflew, bothe by water, and by land. The capitaine within the towe, was called sir Ihon Destouteuile, and sir Robert his brother, with other to the nombre of sise hundred good fightyng men. The assaualtes lost no tyme but made trenches, and cast ditches, bothe to assaute the towe, and also to let the Frenche succors, that they should neither approche, nor ayde, the cizezens shut in & besieged. Diverse assautes wer geuen, which wer manfully resisted: but more to the losse of the defenders, then the assauters. Beside this, thenglishmen laied greate ordenaunce, before the gate of the towe, whiche continually vexed the inhabitautes, and ouer threwe buyldynge, and destroyed mancions: so that neither house, nor high way was sure, or refuge to the toones men. This siege endured long, to the greate discomfiture of the people: whereof they advertised the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, whiche sent thither the erle of ewe, thelre of Dumoyes, called the Bastard of Orleauence, the valeault Bastard of Burbon, the lorde Gaucort, sir Giles of sent Symon, and the chief capitaines of all his realme, with foure thousand men, bothe politique and proved. This valeault arme passed the River of Soame betwene Amyas and Corby, not mistrusting to gette that, whiche they lost and left behynd theim, and so thei came before the towe, and divided thèmeselves in seuerall partes, to their moste aduauntage: daily skirmishyng with thenglishmen, but nothing preaulyng, & so for feare of losyng honor, and desperacion of gain, the florishyng Frenche men, returned again with mucho.
THE XV. YERE OF

mucli labor, ancl little profit. The capitanes of the toune seyng theire pillers broken, and their chief ayders disincomitted, rendered the toune to the duke of Somerset, whiche made there capitanes, Thomas Paulet, William Lymbrike, Christopher Barker, and George sent George, whiche many yere, (till the deision beganne in England) manfully & valeantly defended the toune, and hauen: but afterward, when the saied duke was Regent, and governour of Normandy, he not onely loste the toune, but also the citec of Roan, the Emperie and chief inell of the saied Duchie, with many other citiees and fortresses, whiche he, more by entreatyng, then threatenyng, might still haue holden vnder his subieccio. But all men haue not wit alike, nor all rulers be not of one condicion and policie. For this duke Edmund, gatte this toune with great glory, when he was but a deputation, vnder the Regent, and after, bying governour himself, lost the same, and all the whole duchie, to his greate shuender and incuanuy, (as hereafter you shall perceiue). But, who can prevent fortunes chaunce, or haue spectacles to se all thynges to come, or chaunnces that be present: seyng God disposed that man purposeth, and that all worldely deseues, and mannes cogitaciones, be uncertain and ever vnderfite.

ALTHOUGH I haue long talked of France, yet I may not forget the double dealing, & craftie demeanor, of James Kyng of Scottes: whiche bying, (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Englande, not onely was garnished with learning and Ciuitie, (whiche thynges, wer rare and strange at that time, within the realme of Scottiand) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his amiitie might be perpetuall, and that lone might continually suuceede betwene both the realmes, by his meane and accord: firste, his greate ransome was abridged, and diminished, and after, he was ioyned in mariage, with one of the blond royal, to thentent that he, and his heire, should be united and knit, to the progeny of England, with an indissoluble knot, like the twisted tree, which cannot seuer, and like the hard flinte, which will not waxe soft: yet this vugentle prince, and forgetfull frend, puttyng in oblivion, bothe the dutie of his obedience toward his sovereign and liege lorde, and the oath and promise, that he made to kyng Henry, when he did to hym homage, and liege at the Castle of Wyndesore, (as before you haue heard) turned his backe to his frend and kynsman, and lobed to & French part, which never did hym honor nor profite, not onely sendyng into France daily, aide & succors against the English nacion, but also by newe alliaunce, sought and practised waies and meannes, how to ioyne hymself with forcin princes, to grene and hurte his neighbors and adioynantes, of the realme of England. And although his awne power wer small, to do to them any great damage, yet he thought that he, being linked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enemies: vpon whiche feble foudacion, he concluded. it mariages the one with Lewes the dolphin sonne to Charles the French kyng, and the other with Frances dukes of Britayn. Whiche mariages, were not desired for lone or riches, but onely for ayde, to resist and drive out the Englishmen out of France. For the Lady Margret maried to the dol- phyne, was of suche nasty complexion and euill saurye breathe, that he abhorred her company, as a cleane creature, doth a carion: whereupon she commaunded suche an inward grieue, that within fewe daies after, she ended her daies. Although this lady had suche impediments, (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maried to Francecs duke of Britayne, lacked, neither excedyng beautie, nor pleasant breath: but as for wit, womanbod, and Ciuite be- havior, she never had, nor exercised. Wherfore, when the duke before his mariage, was by his counsaill admonished, to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he, more mouned with her faire face, then her womably wisdomed, answered: that it was enough for a woman, to judge the difference betwene the shurte and the daulet of her husbande, and to knowe hym in the darke, from another man.

FOR these mariages, kyng James deuamandd of his commons, a greate subsidye or tal- lage, whiche was sore grudged at, and in manner denied: so that he maried theim, with faire promises, and ayde and succor against thenglishemen, rather then with bagges of mo- ney, or chestes of plate. This forein alliaence little profited, or auayled the realme of Scotland,
Scotland, nor this new amite, defended not kyng Iames: for Walter Steward erle of Athole, (whiche pretended a title to the Croune, by reason that he was begotten of kyng Robert the seconde, by his firste wife, and by whose occasion, Robert duke of Albany, murdered Dauid duke of Rothesay, elder brother to this kyng Iames, as in the story of kyng Henry the fourth, you have heard declared) after the coronació of kyng Iames the first in Scotlande, earnestly sollicityd hym to putt to death, duke Murdo, and all the offspryng of Robert first duke of Albany, trusting, that after he had destroyed that line, (which was a stop in his waie) to invent some meane how to destroy the kyng and his children, and so to obteyn the croune and preeminence of the realme. Wherfore, he persuayd Robert Steward his nephew, and Robert Grane his cosyn, and divers other, to murther and sley the kyng their souereigne Lorde, which therto by deuilisse instigacion incensed and procured, came to the toune of Pertho, (commonly called S. Ihös toune) and there entred into the kynges priy chambr, and slewe first divers of his seruauntes, whiche made resistanse, & after killed the kyng with many mortall strokes, and hurte the Queene, whiche, in defence of her husband, felled one of the truytors. When this vngracious decde was blowen about the toune, the people rose in greate plumpes, and found out the princequellers, and theim brought to straight prisone, whiche afterward, (accordyng to their desertes) were with most terrible tormentes, put to death and executed.

AFTER Iames the first, succeeded Iames the seconde, his eldest sonne, whiche fearing sedition and civile discord, vexed more his awne nacion, then the English people.

NOW leaung Scotland, let vs returne to the busines of Frauce. Whiles the Scottes wer compassyng, how to destroy their kyng: The lorde Talbot, with a greate company, laied siege to the Castell of Tankeruile, whiche after four moneths, was to hym simplice rendred, and gyuen vp. This toune was no greate gain to the Englishmen: for in the meane season, the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, besieged the strong toune of Monstreau Faulitios, wherof Thomas Gerard was capitan: whiche, more for desire of warde, then for fear of enemies, sold the toune to the Frenche kyng, and had of him greate gifts, and good chere, whiche afterward was well knowne, to his shame and reproche. This toune had been rescued, or the Frenche Kyng foughten with all, if one chaunce had not happened: for the duke of Yorke was discharged of the office of Regent, and the erle of Warwicke preferred to thesame, so that the duke of Yorke lying at Roan, would have gladly rescued the toune, if his authoritie had not surceased, and the Erle of Warwicke could not, for the wind was so cleane còtay to him, that he and his army, tarried for the winde abone tenne wekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this toune of Móstreau, was deliuered and solde.

TIHS presente yere, was a parliament kepte at Westminster, in the whiche wer diverse and notable conclusions ordained and taken, aswell for the preservacion of peace and concord at home, as for the maintaine of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the whiche parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceiue that one act made, for bynyng & sellyng by stragiers, was profitable to the publique wealth of this realme, if it wer wil kept, (as a few good actes or none be either by the negligence of some governors, or by the insolencie & pride of the people.)

NOW must we speake somewhat of Charles the Frenche kyng: whiche after he had gained again the citee of Paris, and diverse other tounes, was so pulled vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle, to conquere Normandy, and expulse all the English nacion, out of his countreys and seigniories. Wherfore, he sent Arthur of Britayn, Constable of Fraunce, & Ihös duke of Alason, into Normandy with a great army, whiche besieged the toune of Aurauches, standing vpó the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishse sea, bothie well walled and well manned. While they laie there long, litle gettyng and muche spendyng, the lorde Talbot with a valcaunt company of men, approched nere the Frenchmen, and encamped theimselfes, in the face of their enemies, to prouoke and entise them to battaill and fight. The Frenchmen refusyng this offre, kept theimselfes within their trenches, daily fortifying.
fortifying and repairyng their campe. The Englishmen perceiuyng their doynges, remoued their army half a mile farther, geyng their enemies rone to issue out and to fight, but all this little auailed: for the Frenchmen laye still and stirred not. The lorde Talbot, seyng their faint harte, reysed his feld, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the toune, and the next daie issued out, and founde the Frenchmen ridyng abrode, to destroycye the plain countre, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slaying many, and takyng diuerse prisoners. Although the Frenchmen gat neither honor nor profyte by this iorney, yet they enterprised a greater matter: for Ponthon of Sentrayles and the Heire, with diuerse other capitanes, and a great nombre of Frenchmen, haung promise of certain Burgesse of Roan, to be let secretly into the toune, came forward to a village called Ryse, and there lodged. The lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and sir Thomas Kirriell, hearyng of their approcye, set out of Roan at midnight, and with greate paine, came to Rise in the morning so euerly, that the Frenchmen, byesyng sodainly surprized and set on, like men madd and amased, ran away, & fled: in the chase wer taken the lorde of Fontaynes, sir Alleyn Geron, sir Lewes de Balle, &. lx. knightes and esquires, beside other, and there wer slain, two hundred and mo: the Heire beyng sore wounded, by the swiftnes of his horsse, escaped very narowly. The Englishmen returned to the toune of Rise, and found there a greate nombre of horses, and other baggages, whiche thei joyously brought with them to Roan.

Π THE XVI. YERE.

ON the sixt daie of Nouember, this present yere, the erle of Warwicke, as regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had been seven times shipped and unshipped, and landed at Humflewe, with a. M. freashe soildiers and came to Roan, and then the duke of Yorke, returned into Englande, neither wholly pleased, nor halfe content. For he secretly smelled, that some men, priuely disdained his aduancement, and enuied his promociō: yet, (like a wise man) he kept his toung close, whatsoeuer his harte thought. Betwene the chaunge of these two capitanes, the duke of Burgoyne, (whiche sore enuied the glory of the Englishmen) besieged the Castle of Crotoy, with tenne thousande men and mo, haungyng with him greate plentie of gennes, and goudly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwicke hearying of this faute, sent the lord Talbot, the lorde Fawconbridge, sir Thomas Kirriell, sir Ihon Montgomery, Thomas Limbricke, Thomas Chiados, Davy Ilalle, and diuerse other knightes and esquires, and many tall yeomen, to the nombre of fuye thousand men, whiche passed the River of Soame, beside the toune of S. Valery: for the passage of Blāch Taque, was very dangerous to go through, because the duke of Burgoyne had laied there ordenaunce, and other enuys, to let, trouble and stoppe the Englishmen to go over at that foorde. And yet, where the lord Talbot passed, his men went in the water vp to the chinne, so glad wer the men to rescwe their fellowes. When the duke of Burgoyne was enformed of the approching of the lorde Talbot and other, he with all his power, sayung foure hundred, whiche wer left in a bastile, by hym there newly buylded fled to Abbeuile, whiche bastile was sone gained, and the men within, either slain or taken.

AFTEr this toune receyved, the lorde Talbot sente woorde to the duke of Burgoyne, that he would vterly wast and destroy the countre of Pycardy, except he, (like a valeaunt prince) would gene him batal. And accorudying to his promise, he brent tounes, spoyled, and slewe many people in Pycardy, but for all his doynges, the duke would not appere, but stale awae from Abbeuile, and fled to Amyas. So the Lorde Talbot was. xx. daies full, in the countreis of Pycardy, and Arthoyse, destroiyng and burnyng, all that they could se or come to, and after departed. And in the seane season, sir Thomas Kirriell had gotten all the dukes carages, and ordenaunce, and left asmuchite vitaile in the toune of Crotoy, as would serue sixe hundred men a whole yere, and coneuyed the remnaunt in saletie,
KYNG HENRY THE VI.
safetie, to the erle of Warwicke, which not onely receiued the capitaines, with good semblance, and louing cheare, but also highly magnified their actes, and mache praised their hardinesse.

AFTER this enterprise achued, Henry Erle of Mortaine sonne to Edmond duke of Somerset, arriued at Chierbuege, with four hundred archers, and thre hundred speres, and passed through Normandy, till he came into the Countie of Mayne, where, he besieged a castle, called S. Anyan, in the which wer three C. Scottes, beside Frenchmen. This Castle he took by a strong assault, and slewe all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because thei wer once sworne English, and after, brake thei othe: and after he gatte also another Castle, twoo miles from sainct Iulians, called Alegerche, which was shortly after recovered, and the Lorde Cameuys, whiche came to the rescue of thesame, in the meane waie was trapped and taken. Thus the victory flowed some tyme on the one parte, and sometyme on the other, but the treason of the Frenchmen, far surmounted in getting, both the policy and strength of the English capitanes: for by the vntruth and perfidy, of the very Burgesses and inhabitautes of the tounes, of Meaux in Brie and S. Susanne, thesame wer sold and delivered to the Frenche parte, in the ende of this sixtene yere.

† THE. XVII. YERE.

WHAT should I rehearse the great tempestes, the sharpe blastes, the sodain pries, the vnmesurable wyndes, the contynall raynes, whiche fell and chaunced this yere in England: sithe suche tormentes be bothe naturall, and of God, at his pleasure diversly ordered and altered. Of these vntemperate stormes, rose suche a scarcety, that wheat was sold at. iii. s. iii. d. the bushell, wine at. xii. d. the gallon, Bay salt at. xiii. d. the bushel, and malt at. xiiii. s. iii. d. the quarter, and all other graynes, wer sold of an excesive price, aboue the olde custome.

IN the moneth of Iune, the Erle of Huntyngdone, (as Stewarde of Guyen) with twoo. M. archers, and four hundred speres, was sente into Gascoyne, as a supplement to the countre, and the commons of thesame. For the kyng of England and his cousail, wer enformed that therle of Dumoys, lay on y fronsters of Tholose, secretly by rewardes and faire promises, entysing and prouoking divers tounes in Guyen, to become French, and leaue thenglish nacio. Wherfore, this erle (like a pollitique warrior) altered not onely the capitanes, in every toun & cite, but also remoued the magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from toun to toun, and from rowme to rowme, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the erle of Dumoys, lost bothe the travaile and cost. In thesame moneth also, sir Ri-

See the full text for the remaining content.
overthrown. For Lewes Dolphyn of Vyen, and heire apparaunt to kyng Charles, a yong prince, of a froward stomacke and euil condicions, desiring libertie, and to be out of ward and rule, with such as wer of his nature and condicions, began to conspire against his father and souereigne lorde. The chief of this vngracious faccion with hym, wer Ihô Duke of Alainson, and Ihon Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a greate power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon hym, the rule and gouernance of the realme, orderyng causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his authoritie, but after his awne will, affecti on, and phantasis. When kyng Charles his father, had knowledge of this unnaturall disobedience, and insolent and pride doynges, he was (& no maruel) greatly moved with this sodain commociô: thinkyng bymyself borne, & predestinate to trouble, remembryng, that it was no smal thynge, in his owne countrey so many yeres, both with strangers, & with his owne nacio, to fight and stryve for rule and dignitie, but now to be costrained, to contend & make war, with his owne sonne and welbeloued child, for the Crowne and regiment, of his realme & dominion. Yet these thynges did not bryng hym, bryng a man of greate wit, and counsaille, daily troubled and vniquted with calamities and displeasurers, into vttter despaire, or extreme wanhope: but like a politique prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fire & flame brast out abrode, called together all suche, as he had either in greate confidence, or especiall favor, communycating to them, all his inward thoughtes, and privie cogitations. After long consyluacion had, it was agreed by the most parte, that this sore was more mete to be cured, by politique and wittie handelyng, rather then by force, and dent of swerard. Wherfore, letters wer written, and postes wer sent to euery citte and borough, straitely prohibityng all and synguler persons, either to heare, or obey, any precept or commandement, set furthe or published, by the dolphyn hymself, or by other, or in his name, and all offences done in that confederacie, wer by open proclamacion, frely forgeuen and remitted. And beside this, diverse graue and sage persone, wer sent to the dolphyn, and his allies, to common and coclude a peace, and reconciliacion, betwene the Frenche kyng and them, declaryng to them, that their ciuile war, and inward discencion, was the very meane to cause their enemies, vterly to plague and destroy their native countrey, which was almoste desolate, and brought into subieccion, by the continual warr practised before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this sedicious faccio, was lost and dissolued: and the kyng with his sonne, and other confederates. openly agreed and apperently pacified. And so the spryng of these mischious secte, was stopped and repulsed, or the flodde had any thynge encreased, or flouen farther.

THE Englishmen (whiche euer sought their aduaunçage) hearyng of this domesticall diuision in the realme of France, raised an armaye, and recovered again diverse tounes, whiche wer stollen from theim before, by the French nation: and made great prouision, to recover again the citte of Paris, but when thei heard, that the dolphyn was returned again to his father, and that all his mates, wer leyoned with the French kyng, they left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

¶ THE. XVIII. YERF.

In the moneth of Nouembre this presente yere, there was suche a great Frost, and after that, so depe a Snowe, that all the ground was covered with white, and all the ditches hardened and frozen, whiche weather put the Englishmen in comfort, to recover again the toune of Ponthoise, by the Frenche kyng gotten before, by corruptyng with money, diverse Burgesses of the toune. Wherfore, the Englishmen beynge clothed all in white, with Ihon lorde Clifford their capitaine, came in the night to the ditches, and passed theim without daungier, by reason of the Froste, and sodainly sealed the walles, sleue the watche, and tooke the toune, with many profitable prisoners. When this toune was thus gotten, lorde Richard Beauchampe erle
erle of Warwicke and Regent of Fraunce, died in the Castle of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with solempne Ceremonies, was buried in his College of Warwicke, in a verie solempne and sumptuous sepulture.

THEN was the duke of Yorke again, made regent of France, whiche accompanied with thirle of Oxford, the lorde Bourchier, called erle of Ewe, Sir Iames of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and diverse other noble men, sailed into Normandy: Before whose arriual, the Frenche kyng beyng sore greued with the takyng of the toune of Ponthouyse, assembled a great army, and besieged the said toune hymself; and made round about it, bastiles, trenches, & ditches, and daily shot ordenaunce, and gane therunto, diverse greate and fierce assautes. But Ian lorde Clifford, like a valeaunt captaine, defended the toune with suche valeauntnes, that the Frenchmen rather lost then gaine. The duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the lorde Talbot, and a great nombre of souldiours, and so came nere to the toune of Ponthouyse, and there encamped hymself, and sent woordre to the Frenche Kyng, that he was there, ready to gane hym bataill, if he would come out of his campe and Bastiles. Kyng Charles was ruled by his counsaill, whiche in no wise would suffre hym to aduenture his persone, with men of so lowe and base degree: biddynge hym remembre, what losses he and his ancesters had sustaine, by geyuyng to the Englishmen bataill: whiche thynge they principally desire, willyng hym to kepe his ground still, and to bid theim entre at their perell, and in the mean season, to stoppe the passage of the River of Oysce, so that no vitale could be brought to the English arme by that way, by whiche means, he should not onely oteine his purpose, but also cause the Englishmen to recule backe again, for lacke of vitale and succors. The Duke of Yorke perceiuyng, that the Frenche kyng was nothynge mynded to fight, determined to passe over the River of Oysce, and so to fight with hym in his lodgyng, wherupon he removed his campe and appoyntede the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce, as they would passe the River by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appoynted another company with boates, of tymbre & ladder, and bridges made of cordes and ropes, (whereof he had greate plentie, caried with hym in Chariottes) to passe over the river by neth the Abbay. While the lord Talbot made a crye, as though he would assaille the gate, certain Englishmen passed the water ouer in boates, and drew the bridge ouer, so that a greate nombre wer kommen ouer, or the Frenchmen them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran like mad men, to stoppe the passage, but their labor was loste, and all their pain to no purpose: for the moste partie of thenglishe people wer sodainly transported, in so muche that they chased their enemeies, by force into the toune again, and toke sir Guylilam de Chastell, nepthieue to the Lorde Canehy, and diverse other gentlemen prisoners. The Frenchmen seeing their damage irrecoverable returned to the Frenche kyng, accomptyng to hym their eul fortune, which therwith was not a little displeasants: and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the conuyng of thenglishe he was like to be either in greate icoperdy, or sure to sustein muche dishonor and greate damage. Wherfore he removed his ordinarilye into the bastille of S. Martyn, whiche he had newlye made, and leuyng behynyd hym the lorde of Cotigny Admiral of France, with thre M. men to kepe the bastiles, dislodged in the night from Manbuissen, and came to Poisses: for if he had taried styll in that place, the lorde Talbot with certain of his trustie souldiours, whiche passed the river of Oysce in ii. smal lether boates, had either slaine or taken hym, in his lodgyng, the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in good ordre of bataill, came before the toune of Ponthoys, thinkeynge there to have founde the Frenche kyng, but he was gone, and in his lodgyng, they founde greate riches, and muche stuffe, whiche he could not have space, to conuey, for feare of the sodain invasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company, entered into the toune, and sent for newe vitaille, and repaired the toures and bulwerkes about the toune, and diverse tymes assaile the Bastile of the Frenchmen, of the whiche he passed not greatly, because they wer not of power, either to assaile, or stoppe the vitalle or succors from the toune. The Duke lyving thus in the toune Ponthoys, was advertised, that the Frenche kyng and the dolphyn, with all the nobilitie of Fraunce,
Fraunc, wer lodged in Poissye, wherfore he intendyng once again to offre hym battail, left behynud hym there, for capitan, sir Genuys Clifton, with a thousande souldiers, and removed hymself and came before Poysye, and set hymself and his men in good orde of battail, redy to fight. There issued out diverse gentlemen, to skirmish with the Englishemen, but they wer some discomfited, and foure valeaunt horsemen wer taken prisoners, and diverse slain. The Englishemen perceiuyng the faynte harte, and colde corage of their enemies, whiche nothyng lesse desired, then to encountre with the English nacion in open felde, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mante, and sone after to Roan.

WHEN the Regent and the lorde Talbot, wer returned again into Normandy, the Frenche kyng (for all, this euill lucke) forgot not the toune of Ponthoise, and firste he considered, what charges he had susteyned, bothe duryng the tyme of the siege, and also in making bastyles, trelles, and other deueses: and after remembred, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whô this toune was a euill neighbor) would rayle and saie, that he was not able, or lacked corage, to gette so small a toune, or to discoomfite halfe a hundred of amased people. Wherfore these thynges set in orde, he assembled all his pesyssaunte, and returned sodainly again to Ponthoise: where, he firste by assaute gat the churche, and after the whole toune, and toke the capitan prisoner, and diverse other Englishemen, and sleue to the nombre of foure hundred, whiche derely sold their lifes: for one Frenche writer affirmed, that the Frenche kyng lost there, thre. M. men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishemen, was onely a. M: so thei gayned the toune, but they gat no greate boty of men. When the fame of this victory was blowen abrode, the harte of the tounes men, began to appall, in somuche, that Melune, Corbuell, Eureux, and diverse other tounes, yelded and turned at a proude crake, or a Frenche bragge, without stroke striken, or any blowe gyuen.

AFTER these rate hages, the wether began to wax more temperate for kyng Hery and kyng Charles, wer agreed, to send Ambassadors, to commen and treate some good peace & conclusiö, betwene them, & their realmes. So the kyng of England, sent the Cardinal of Wyneche, with diverse other noble personages of his counsaill, to Calice, with whom was also sent, Charles Duke of Orleance, yet prisoner in England, to thentent that he might be bothe the author of y peace, and procurer of his deliueraunce. The Frenche kyng, sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dumoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the lorde Creueccur, and diverse other, because that the duke of Orleauence was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would mete in none other place to commen, but in Calice. The Frenche Ambassadors perceiuyng their mynde, came to Calice, where the duke of Orleance, gentle reccieved theer of Dumoys (his bastard brother) thankynge him harteIy for his pain taken, in gouernyng his coutreys duryng the tyme of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communicacions wer had, aswel for the deliueraunce of the duke, as for a finall peace: in somuche, that after muche consultyng, and litle doyng, another tyme was appoynted for a newe assembly, and every parte to declare to their souereigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors toke their leaue and departed, and thenglishe commisioners conueyed again the duke of Orleauence into England, whiche had nothyng then to pale his raïsone, & yet he could not be deliuere, without painment. The cause why these commisioncers did not agre, was, (as the Frenche writers saie) that the Englishemen demaundned, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the ii. Duchies of Aquitayn and Normandy, to their kynges & princes discharged of all resort, superioritie, and souereignetie, frakely and frely, against the realme of Fraunce, the kynges and governors of thesame for euer: but also required to be restored to al the tounes, citees, and possessions, whiche they, within. xxx. yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The Englishemen, thought that they demaundned but right and reason: and the Frenchelemen, thought their request to be most hurtful to their realme, and auncient glory. So both partes, rather myndyng to gain or saue, then to lose, departed for that tyme, (as you haue heard). After which diert proroged for a tyme, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn,
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

The Duke of Orleance, then being prisoner in England, for the death of Duke Lewes his father, was delivered out of that prison by the solicitation of Henry the Fourth, and by the deliverance of his niece, lady Marie daughter to Adolphe, Duke of Cleve, by the which alliance, he trusted surely to knit such a firm knot and friendly amity with the Duke of Orleance, that all olde rancor should cease, and all concorde should be forgotten: and in their places, concorde should be established, and perpetuall loue embraced sente messengers into England, to the said duke, declaring to hym his good will, devise, and entent. Thanke not but this message, was joyous to a captiue, being out of his native courtye, and naturall seigniorie, by the space of. xxv. yeres? Suppose you that he, which nothing more coveted and desired, then libertie and discharge, wold refuse so honorable an offer? Imagin you that a prince of a bloud royal, brought into thraldome, restrained fro liberty and huyn, farre from kyn and father, & farther from fréeses, would not gene his diligent eare to that mocioun, by the whiche he might be restored, bothe to his auncient preheminence, possession and seigniorie? Yes, yes, you maie be sure, he neither consulted on the matter, nor deferred the auyer, but therunto gently agreed. What should I saie more? As some writers affirme, foure hundred thousande Crownes were paid for his deliuerance, although other saie, but three hundred thousande: and so he was deliuered out of Englande into Fraunce at that tyme, bothe speaking better Englishe then Frenche, and also swearyng, neuer to beare Armonie against the kyng of Englande. After his arraiual in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne, his especiall frend, gratifying and thankyng hym of his libertie and deliuerauce: and accordyng to his promes and cōncuencion, married the faire lady in the tounce of Sainct Omers, on whom he begat a somme, whiche after was Frenche kyng, and called Lewes the. xii. After his deliuerauce from captiuitie he forgot not his vnclre Ihon Erle of Angolesme, whiche had been as a pledge in England, for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleance, his father, sithe the laste yere of kyng Henry the fourth, (as in his story is declared) : but made frendes, borrowed money, and mortaged land, and so set hym in libertie, and brought hym into his countrey This Ihon, engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the firste of that name, whiche after the death of Lewes the. xiij. obtained the Crowne of Fraunce.

HERE is to be noted, that olde rancor newly appeased, will commonly spryng out again: for all the vnappie deuision, betweene the two noble families, of Orleance and Burgoyne, wer by this greate benefite and mariage, for a tyme gven ouer art put in Oblition, and so contynued by the space of. xx. yeres and more, yet their children and cosyns, within, not many yeres after, fell so farre at square, that the house of Burgoyne, was spoyled of the fairest flower of his garland, (as you shall here afterarde, at large declared) and in especiall, in the tyme of kyng Fraunces the firste, the verie heire of the house of Orleance, which not onely continually vexed with mortall warre, Charles the fift Emperor of that name, lineall successor to Phillip Duke of Burgoyne: but also did asume as in hym laye, to deprive the said Charles of his honor, and possessions, (as men writyng their lyes, will hereafter declare). The Frenche writers affirme, that this Duke of Orleance, was deteyned thus long in captiuitie, by reason that the Englishmen, gyued yeerly by hym, greate somes of money, by reason of his greate and liberall expenses, whiche he made daily in the realme of England. If this be true, I report me to all indifferent and reasonable persones, for who will spende his goodes frely, in the lande of his enemie, whiche maie be pinchyng and bearyn a lowe saile, waxe riche and be set at libertie? Or who is so pronde to wast & consume his substance, in linnyng prodigally, that maie with the sparyng of thesame be deliuered out of captiuitie and bodage? But surely it is appaarent, that the reveuenews of his seigniories, wer neither able to raumse hym, nor to mainteyne hym in poysones estate: partly, because thenglishmen possessed diverse tounes, belonging to his Duchy: and partly, by reason that the rentes wer scace able to defende his possessions, against the inua-
sions of the English nation, and Burgonions. But the very cause of his long deteinyng wer two: one, the lacke of money, the second and the principall cause, was this, that you haue heard before, how that Ihon Duke of Burgoyne father to Phillippe, shamefully and cruelly, caused Lewes Duke of Orleunce, father to this Duke Charles, (of whom we nowe speake) to be murthred in the citee of Paris: for the whiche murder, all the alies and frendes to the Duke of Orleunce, had enuie against the house and familie of Burgoyne, in somuch as that the said Duke Ihon beyng measured with the same measure, that he met with all, was likewise tyrannously murdered on the bridge of Monstreau Faultyon, (as you haue also heard declared before). For whiche cause, and for to be reuenged of so heynous an act, duke Phillip sonne to the said Ihon, not onely ioyned hymself in league and amitie with the English nation, but also did homage, and swear fealtie to Kyng Henry the fift, as to his kyng and souerneigne Lorde : for whiche cause, the Englishemen enteyndyng to kepe the duke of Burgoyne, as a trusty treasuere, and sure Iuell, perceiued, that if they deliuered the duke of Orleunce, and set hym at libertie, he would not cease to weye and trouble the duke of Burgoyne, in reuengyng the detestable murder, committed by his father against his parent: wherfore, bothe for the surety and saueguard of the duke of Burgoyne, and also to do hym pleasure, they kept still the duke of Orleunce in Englande, demaunding suche raunsome, as he was neither able, nor could finde meanes or waies to paiue. But after that the duke of Burgoyne, (like an vntruce prince, and vnhonnest gentleman) had broken his promes, not kept his faith, and was turned to the Frenche part, the counsaill of the kyng of Englande, studied and devised, how to deliuer the duke of Orleunce, to do displeasure to the duke of Burgoyne. Duke Phillip perceiuyng, what mischief was like to rise if he wer redeemed, and set at libertie without his knowledge, to presumethe matter, to his greate coste and charge, practised his deliuerance, paiued his raunsome, and ioyned with him, amitie and alliance, by mariage of his niece, (as before is rehered) and by this meanes, was Duke Charles of Orleunce, restored to his libertie, whiche had beene prysen in Englande, from the daie of sainctes, Crispine & Crispinian, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xv. to the monethe of Nouembre, in the yere, a thousand foure hundred and fourtie.

THE. XIX. YERE OF

In the beginnyng of this, xix. yere, Richard Duke of Yorke Regent of Francie, and gowner of Normandy, remembryng the great charge, and weightie office to hym deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultacion) to invade the territories of his enemies, bothe by sondery armies, and in diverse places, to thentent that the Frenche people beyng vexed within their owne countrey, and peculiar dominion, should make no rodes nor enter- ynges, into the Duchie of Normandy the returning whereof, was somewhat suspicous. This devise for that season, seemed bothe profitable and necessary, wherefore, without long delaying of tyme, he sente Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a great crue of soulsidors, to invade and destroye the countrey aboute Aniias, and Ihon lord Talbot was appoynted, to besiege the toune of Deape, and he hymself, accompanied with Edmond duke of Somerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby, accordingy to his commissioun, entered in the countrey to hym appoynted, and to thentent that his commissioun should not be espied, nor known, he straitly forbade and inhibited all maner fire, & of burnyng of toune, whiche is the moste open and plain token of war, and invasion. By reason whereof, the pore paysaithes & rustical people goyng abrode, without feare or, suspicion of euyll, wer overromme or taken with the horsemen, or they could attain to any toune, or forcee: so that innumerable people wer slain, & taken or they heard any tydynges of their enemies approchynge. The Frenchmen in the garrisos adioynyng, astonied at the clamor and cry of the poore people, issued out in good ordre, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victory long doubtfull: But inconclusio, the Frenchmen seyng their people
in the forefront of the battaill, to be killed without mercy, like men desperate, turned their 
backs and fearfully fled, the Englishmen folowed and slewed many in the chase, and suche as 
escaped the sweard, wer robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Erle of sainct Paule, which was 
commyng to ayde the English nacion. In this conficte were slain, aboue sice. C. men of 
armes, and a greater nombre taken: So the Lorde Willoughby, like a victorious capitan, with 
riche spoyle and good prisoners, returned again to the citee of Roan. The dukes of Yorke 
and Somerset, likewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroyng 
toune, spoyling y people, and with great prey and profite, repaired again into Normandy. 
The Duke of Somerset, not filled with this gain entered into the Marches of Britayne, and 
tooke by a fierce assaute, the toune of Gerche, apperteinynge to the Duke of Alumnon, and 
spoyled and brent thesame, and after that, departed to Ponzay, where he souiourned two 
monethes, fro whence he sent daily men of war, which destroyed & wasted the countrys of 
Aniow, Traonnoys & Chartragonnoys.

THE French kyng in all haste, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with iii. M. men, to 
resist the invasions of the duke of Somerset, which capitan determined to set on the duke 
and his people, in the dede tyme of the night. This enterprise was not so secret, but it 
was reuell to the duke, whichhe marched forward, and mette the Frenchemen halfe waie, and 
after long fight, them by fine force manfully discomfited, and slew a hundred personnes 
and mao, and tooke captiunes. xii. whereof the chief wer the lorde Dausigny, sir Lewes de 
Buell, and all the other almoste, were Knightes and esquires. After this encountre, the 
Duke tooke the toune of Beaumot Le Vicount, and manned all the fortresses, on the 
Frontiers of his enemies, and with riche boties and wealthy captiunes came again to the 
Duke of Yorke.

DVRYNG these fortunate chaunces & victories, the lord Talbot also, the vnerwed 
chieftain & mao warrior, enviroued the toune of Deape, with depe trenches and terribile 
mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at 
whiche tyme, was capitan of thesame toune, Charles de Maretz, a man of more force in 
battaill, then politique in defence of a siege: for the Englishmen beyng a small nobre, had 
to them delivered with faire wordes, and fainte strokes, the castle of Charlemesnyll, and 
diverse other fortresses, adjoynynge to the toune. During the siege, many encounters were 
had, and many great assautes genen, thenglishmen sometyme saueld, and sometyme gained, 
but the moste losse lighted on the Frenchemen for a while. But of iii. captiunes sent furth 
at one tyme, (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honor, and even botie. 
For the lorde Talbot perciuyng the toune of Deape, to be strongly defended, both with men, 
valite, and ordenaunce, and that he lacked all thesaid furnitures for the accomplishing 
of his stoute enterprise, delivered the custody of the Bastile, with the gouernance of the siege 
to his Bastarde sonne, a valeaunt young man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and 
municions. The Frenche kyng, was quickly adverised of the lord Talbotes absence, and 
of the estate of the Englishmen: wherefore without delaye, he meynying not to lose so great 
a prey, sent his eldest sonne Lewesdolphyn of Vyen, accompanied with the Bastarde of Or- 
leaunce, called the erle of Damoys, and diverse other nobles of Francon, the nombre of 
xxv. thousande persones, well armed, and no lesse garnished with all thynges necessary 
for their purpose. Three daies thei assayed the Bastile, and so many tymes thei were put 
backe, but poulders failed in the fortesse, and weapon wherewith to defend, was very scant, 
so that in conclusion, the Englishmen wer vanquished, and the Bastile taken and in it, the 
Bastard Talbot, sir William Peytow, and sir Ihon Repeley, whiche were shortly after re- 
demed: The other Englishes soldiours seyng the Bastile gayned, stood all daie in good ordre 
of battaill, and in the night, politiquely returned to Roan, without losse or damage. At 
this assaute, the Frenchemen say, that thei slew two hundred Englishmen, and deny not, 
but thei lost ffe hundred persones, and by this meancs, the one nacion loste the Bastile, and 
the other sauied the toune, to the greate displeasure of the Lorde Talbot: whose presence

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would
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would asmuche auailed at this attempte, as his absence was losse and detrement to his
frendes, and felowes in war and chiaulfrie. But gain is not alwaies perdurable, nor losse
alwaies continual.

WHILE these thynges wer a doyng, Phillip Duke of Burgoyne, hauyng an enuious hart,
at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishke people, intending to bereue them of one
of their assured freundes, called Lewes of Luxenborogh erle of saint Poule, made sharpe war
vpon his countreis, and toke diverse tonnes, and fortresses from hym, so that in conclusion
more for feare, then for loute, he utterly refused his faith and promise, made to the duke of
Bedford his brother in law and turned to the Frenche parte, and became a luke warne
enemy to the realme of England. The losse of this friend and necessary neighbor, not alittle
greed Kyng Henry and his counsaill: Howbeit, they made suche perseverance and pronision,
by descrete counsaill, that if he of euil will, would do them little good, yet he of malice should
do to them no greate hurtie or damage.

THE Englishke capitanes beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaüit doynges of
their countrey men in the realme of Fratce, determined to do some notable and noble enter-
prise, on the French costes adjoyying to Aquitayn: & so, they besieged the strong tonne of
Tartas belonging to the lorde Delabrethe, their old and ancieune enemie. The capitanes and
governors of the tonne, consideryng their weaknesses, and the force of the Englishmen, toke
this appoyntment with the Englishke capitanes, that the tonne should remain neuter, and for
the assurance thereof, they deliuered Cadet the some of the lorde Delabrethe in pledge, vpon
this condition: that if the lorde Delabrethe, would not assent to their agreement, then he
should signifie his refusall, to the Englishke capitanes, within thre monethes next ensuying:
and he to have his pledge, and thi to do their beste. The French kyng, at the request of
the lordes of Guyen, which wer not able to defende themselves, toke this matter in hand,
and caused the lorde Delabreth to certify his disagrement to thierle of Huntyngrdoone, lieute-
naunt for the kyng of Englande, in the Duchie of Aquitayne. And to please the great Lorde
of Guyen, he assembled. ix. M. men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas: to whom the
chiefestannes of the tonne, seyng no succors comyng, rendered the tonne, and Cadet Delabreth,
which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered. The French kyng after the yeldying of Tartas,
removed to sainte Seure, a strong tonne in Gascoyne, but smally peopled with men of warre,
which he toke by force, and sleue thre hundred persons, and toke sir Thomas Rampstone
prisoner. After this tonne gained, he with all his power besieged the citie of Arques, and
toke the Bulwarke ofthesame, which was smally defended, and some gotten. The inhabi-
tauntes of the tonne began sore to be afraied, and came to the lorde Mountlfant, capitain
for the kyng of England, requiring hym to have mercye vpon them, and to rendre the tonne
to the French kyng, vpon some honest couenaunt or coposicion. The capitain perceiving
the faint hartes of the Gascoynes, & knowing that without their ayde, he was not able to resist
the pynsaunce of the French kyng, toke an agreement and departed with all the English
erue to Burdeau, where he found the erle of Longuile, Cupdaw of Bucfle, and sir Thomas
Rampstone, which was a litte before deliuered.

AFTER this, the fortresses of Ryoll and Mermandie yielded them to the French kyng.
Although these tonnes thus submitted them to hym, yet he had them not long, nor made
muchoth tariyng in the Duchie of Guyen, for the Englishmen not onely prohibited the Gas-
coynes, to minister to his armie, viandre and sustenence, but also cut into their handes and
toke suche vitales, as wer conveyed to hym, from Tholose and Poytiers: So that in maner
constrained with famyn and lacke of pronision, he retir'd his army again into Fraunce.
After whose departure, the Englishke capitanes recovered again the citie of Acques, and the
other tonnes by the French kyng gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenantaunt, called Reignaunt
Guillam the Burgonyo, and many other gentlemen, and all the meane soldiers, wer either
slain or hanged.

WHILE the French kyng was in Guyen, the lorde Talbot toke the tonne of Couchete,
KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

and after marched toward Gayllardon, which was besieged by the Bastarde of Orleaince Erle of Dumoys: which Erel hearyng of the Englishmennes approchynge, reysed his siege and saued hymself. A little before this enterprise, the Frenchemen had taken the toun of Eureux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonys hearyng of that chaunce, apparreled sise strong men, like rustica people with sackes and baskettes, as carriers of corne and vitale, and sent them to the Castle of Cornyll, in the whiche dierse Englishmen were kept as prisoners: and he with an imbusshement of Englishmen, laye in a valye nye to the fortresse. These sise companions entered into the Castle, vsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the chambre of the capitain, & laied handes vpō hym, geyng knowledge therof to their imbusshement, whiche sodainly entered the Castle, and slew and toke all the Frenchemen prisoners, and set at libertie all the Englishmen, whiche thing done, they set all the castle on fire, and departed with great spoyle to the citee of Roan. Thus the lady victory, somtyme smiled on the English part, and sometyme on the French side. Thus he gained this daie, and loste on the nexte. Thus Fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce happened, accordingly to the olde proverbe, saiying, in war is nothyng certain, and victory is ever doubtfull.

§ THE. XX. YERE.

NOw let vs leaue the marcillall feates, the mortal strokes, and daily skirmishes, practi-
sed betwene the English and Frenche nations in the Regiuon of Fraunce, and speake alitle of a smoke that rose in England, whiche after grewe to a greate fire, and a terrible flame, to the destruccion of many a noble man. You have heard before, how the Duke of Glou-
cester sore grudged at the proude doyynes of the Cardinall of Wyncester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and dislayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and how by the meanes of the duke of Bedforde, their malecie was appeareed, and eche was re-
c onciled to other, in perfite loue and amittie; to all mens outward judgementes. After whiche concord made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke, did many thynges without the consent of the kyng or the duke, beyng (duryng the minoritie of the prince) governor & protector of the realme, wherewith the duke, (like a true harted prince) was neither contente nor pleased: And so declared in writyng to the kyng, certain articles, wherein the Cardinal and the Archebishop, had offended bothe the kyng and his lawes, the true tenor, here after ensueth.

§ A complaint made to Kyng Henry the. vi. by the Duke of Gloucester, vpon the Cardinall of Winchester.

These bee in parte, the poynettes and Articles, whiche I Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, for my trouthe and acquittall, saied late, I would gene in writyng (my right doubted Lorde) vnto your highnes, adverstising your excellencie, of suche thinges in partie, as haue been done in your tendre age, in derogacion of your noble estate, & hurt of both your realmes, & yet be doen and vsed daily.

FIRST the Cardinall, then beyng bishop of Winchester, toke vpō hym the state of Cardinall, which was nayed and denyed hym, by the kyng of moste noble memory, my lord your father, (whō God assoyle) saiying, if he had as lefe set his crowne beside hym, as to se hym weare a Cardinal hat, he beyng a Cardinal: for he knewe full well, the pride and ambicion that was in his person, then beyng but a bishop, should haue so greatly extolleth hym into more intollerable pride, when that he were a Cardinall: And also he thought it against his fredome, of the chiefe Churche of this realme, whiche, that he worshipped, as dueely as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And howbeit, that my saied Lorde your
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your father, (whom God assoyle), would have agreed hym to haue had certain clerkes of this land Cardinals, & to haue no bishoprikes in Enclande, yet is intent was neuer to do so great derogacion to the Churche of Canterbury, to make them that wer his suffraganes, to set aboue their Ordinary and Metropolitan, but the cause was that ingenerall, and in all matters whiche might concerne the weale of hym, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nation, as other kynges Christen had, in the counte of Rome, and not to abide in this lande, nor to be in any parte of his counsailes, as been all the spirituall and temporall, at parliaments and other great counsailes, when you list to-call them: and therefore, though it please you to do hym that worship, to set hym in your priuie counsaile after your pleasure, yet in your parliament, wher every Lorde bothe spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupy but his place as a bishoppe.

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ITEM thesaied bishoppe, now beyng Cardinal, was assoyled of his bishopricke of Winchester, wherupon he sued vnto our holy father, to haue a bulle declaratory, notwithstanding he was assypt to the state of Cardinal, that the sea was not voyde, where in deede it stode voyde by a certain tyme, or thesaied bulle were graunted, and so he was exempte from his ordinary, by the takyng on hym the state of Cardinal, and the churche bishopricke of Winchester, so standing voyde, he tooke again of the Pope (yon not learned thereof ne knowinge wherby he was fallen into the case of prouision) so that all his good was lawfully and clearly forfeited, to you my right doubted Lorde, with more as the statute declareth plainly for your aduantage.

4

ITEM it is not vknown to (you doubted lord) how through your landes it is noysed, that thesaied Cardinal and tharchebishop of Yorke had and haue the gornment of you and all your lande, the whiche none of your true liege men, ought to vusurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vnle, my cosyn of Yorke, my cosyn of Huntingdon, & many other fordes of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any greate matter, that might touche your high estate, or either of your realms. And of Lorde spirituall, of right, the Archebishoppe of Cantorbury, should be your chief counsailer, the whiche is also estranged and set a side. And so he many other right sad Lordes, and well advised, aswell spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lorde, and of your realms, like as the experience and workes shewen clerely and evidently, more harme it is.

5

ITEM in the tendre age of you, my right doubted Lorde, for the necessitie of an armie, thesaied Cardinal lent you. iiii. M. l. vpon certein Iuells, presied at. xxii. M. marke, with a letter of sale, that and they wer not quited at a certain daie, you should lese them. The said Cardinal seyng your money redy to haue quited your Iuells, caused your tresorer of Enclande, at that daie beyng, to paiue thesame money, in parte of another armie, in defrauding you, my right doubted lord, of your said Iuells, kepyng them yet, alwaie to his awne use, to your right greate losse, and his synghuler profite and amule.

6

ITEM thesaied Cardinal, then beyng bishop of Winchester, & Chancellour of Englad, delinered the kyng of Scottes, vpo certein appoyntmentes (as maie be shewed,) presumptuously, & of his awne authoritie contrary to the acte of Parliament. I haue heard notable men of lawe say, that they never heard the like thing doen among the, whiche was to great a defamaciō to your highnes, & also to wedde his niece to thesaied kyng, whom I my lord of notable memory, your father, whο God assoile would never haue so delievered. And there as he should haue paied, for his costes. xi. M. l. thesaied Cardinal, Chancellour of Enclande, caused you to pardon hym therof. x. M. marke, wherefo of the greater some he paied you, right alittle, what, I report me to your highnes.

7

ITEM, where thesaied Cardinal lent you, my redoubted lord, great & notable somes he hath had & his assignes, the rule & profite of the porte of Hāpton, wher the Customers been his servitites, wher by likelihode & as it is to be supposed, he standingy the chief marchaunt of wolles of your lande, that you bee greatlye deffraund, and vnder that rule what Wolles and other marchaundise haue been shipped, and mane be from tyme to tyme, hard
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hard is to esteme, to the great hurte, and prejudice of you my right doubted Lorde, and of all your people.

ITEM, howbeit that thesaid Cardinal, hath diuerse tymes, lent you great sommes of money, sith the tyme of your reign, yet his loene hath been so differed and delayed, that for the most part, the conuenable season, of themploying of the good lente, was passed. So that little frute or none come thereof, as by experience, bothe your realmes, have sufficiently in knowledge.

ITEM, where there was Jenuelles and plate, preised at a. xi. M. i. in weight, of thesaid Cardinal, forfeited to you my right doubted lorde, he got hym a restorment therof, for a loene of a little percell of thesame, and so defrauded you wholy of theim, to your great hurte, and his auxile, the whiche good might greatly eased your highnes, in sparyng as muche of the poore commons.

ITEM, the Cardinal beying se所得税 of my said lorde your father, (whô God assoyle) against his entent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thre. C. markes of liuelod, where that his will was, that and she wer wedded, within a yere, then to haue it, or els not, where in decde it was twoo or iii. yeres after, to your great hurte, & diminishynge of your inheritance.

ITEM, notwithstanding the thsaid Cardinal, hath no maner of authoritative nor interest into the cronne, nor none may haue by anuy possibilite, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon hym in partie, your estate royall, in callynge before hym, into greate abuson of all your lande, and derogacion of your highnes, whiche hath not been sene nor vsed, in no daics heretofore, in greater estate then he is, without your expresse ordenaunce and commaundement.

ITEM, thesaid Cardinal, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right doubted Lorde, hath sued a pardon of diumes, that he should paie for the Churche of Winchester, for terme of his life, genyng therby occasion to all other Lordes spirituall, to drawe their good will for any necessitie, to graunt any diume, and so to laie all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the poore people.

ITEM, by the gouvernaunce and labor of thesaid Cardinal, and archebishop of Yorke, there hath been loste and dispended, muche notable and greate good, by diuerse Ambassadours sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, where as by likelinesse it was thought & supposed, that it should never turne to theeffectual auxile, of you my right doubted Lorde, nor to your saied realmes, but vnnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersary, & the duke of Burgoyn. For els your partie aduerser, & thesaid duke, might not well haue fond meanes nor waies, to haue cïnmoned together, nor to haue concluded with other, their cofedereaciïs & conspiraciïs, made & wrought their then, at a tyme, against your highnes, whereby you might haue (right doubted lorde,) the greater partie of your obseaunce, aswell in your realme of Fraunce, as in your Duchie of Normandy, and muche other thynge gone greatly, as through thesaid colourable treatie, and otherwise, sith the death of my brother of Bedford, (whom God assoyle.)

ITEM, now of late was set another Ambassado to Calice, by the labor and counsaill of thesaid Cardinal, and Archebishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginnyng, is to me your sole vncle, & other lordes of your kyn and counsaill vknownen, to your greate charge, and against the publique good of your realme, as it openly appareth. The whiche good if it be employed, for the defence of your landes, the marchaundises of the same, might haue had other course, and your said lades not to haue stonde in so greate mischief as they do.

ITEM after that, to your greate charge and hurte, of bothe your realmes, thesaid Cardinal and Archbishop of Yorke, went to your saied tounce of Calice, and diuerse Lordes of your kyn, and of your counsaill in their fellowship, and there, as there was natural warre, betweene the duke of Orleaunce, & the duke of Burgoyn, for murder of their fathers, a capitall enimnitie like to haue endured for euer, thesaid Cardinal & Archbishop of Yorke, licenced and suffered, thesaid duke of Orleaunce, to entreate and common a part, with the counsaill.
counseller of your said aduersaries, aswell as with the Duchies of Burgoyne, by whiche
meane, the peace and allianse was made, betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortifi-
yng of your said capital aduersaries, that could be thought, and consequently (my deare
redoubted lorde,) to your greatest charge, & hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of
whiche treatie, your said aduersaries, in meane time wan your citee of Meulx, & the cou-
trye therabout and many diuerse rodes made into youre Duchie of Normandy, to the great
noysaunce and destruccon of your people, as it sheweth openly.

ITEM thesaied Archibishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme, from the
saied Cardinall, after communicacion had with your aduerse partie, at your saied tounce
of Calice, made at his commynge into your notable presence at Wyndsoire, all the swasions
and colour, all mociouns in the most apparaiut wise that he could, to induce your highnes
to your agremente, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble
presence, of his writyng, at whiche tyme, as I understood, it was his singular opinion, that
is to say: that you should leue your right, your title, & your honor of your crowne, &
nominaciō of you kyng of Fraunce, duryng certain yeres, and ¥ you should vtterly abstain
you and be content, oney in writyng, with, rex Anglie, &c. to the greate note of infamie,
¥ euer fell to you, or any of your noble progenitors, since the takyng of them first, the
said title & right, of your realme and crowne of Fraunce, to which matter in your pre-
sence ther, after ¥ it had liked your said highnes, to aske myne aduisse thervpon, with other
of your bloud and coisaul, I answered and said, that I would never agree me therto, to
die thervfore, and of thesaied disposicion I am yet, & will be while I live in conservacion
of your honor, and of your othe made vnto your saied crowne, in tyme of your corona-
cion there.

ITEM thesaied Cardinall & Archibishop of Yorke, haue so labored vnto your high-
nes, that you should entende to a newe daie of couuencion, in Marche or Aprill next
comynge, where it is noysed to be more against your worship, then with it. And where it
was evident to all the world, that the rupture and breakeyng of thesaied peace, should haue
fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partie, because of the great vntruthes: Now by that
meane it is like perdauterture, to be laied vnto the verie greate slaundre of you my doubt-
ed Lorde, like to come to none other purpose nor effecte, then other couuencions haue
doen afores tyme. And so by subtleties and counsaill of your saied enemies, your lande
(they in hope and trust of thesaied treatie, not mightely nor pynsauntly purveyed for)
shalbe like vnder the colour of thesaied treatie, to be brent vp and destroyed, lost and
vtterly turned from your obeysaunce.

ITEM it is saied, that the deliuerance of thesaied Duke of Orleaunce, is vtterly ap-
pointed by the mediacon, counsaill, and sterying of thesaied Cardinall and Archibishoppe
of Yorke, and for that cause diuerse persons been come from your aduersaries into this
your realme, and thesaied duke also brought to your citee of London, where as my lord
your father (whom God asioile) peisyng so greatly the incommeniences, and harme that
might fall, oney by his deliuerance, concluded, ordered and determined in his last wil,
vtterly in his wisedome, his coquest in his realme of Fraunce. And yet then it is to be done,
by as great deliveracion, solempnitie and suretice, as may be deuised or thought, and seyng
now the disposicion of your realme of Fraunce, the puissauce and might of your enemies,
& what ayle they have gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of thesaied treatie,
as otherwise, what maie or ought to be throught or said, for that laboryng thesaied duke (al
thynges considered) by suche particular persones, the lorde of your bloud not called ther-
unto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto thesaied wise trewe men
of this your realme.

ITEM where that euery true counsailor, specially vnto any kyng or prince, ought of
truth and of dutie, to counsail, promote, encrease, prefer, and aduance the weale and
prosperitie of his lorde: Thesaied Cardinall, beyng of your counsailor (my right doubted
lorde) hath late purchased of your highnes, certain great landes and lieuelode: as the cas-

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tie and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lades in this your realme, vnto whiche I
was called sodainly, and so in escheuyng the breakyng & losse of your armiues then again,
seynge none other remedy, gaue thervnto myne asset, thinkyng that who that euer labored,
move or stered the matter firste vnto your Lordeship, counsailld you neither for your worship
nor profite.

MORE thesaied Cardinall hath you bounde a parte, to make hym a sure estate of all
the saied landes, by Easter nexte commyng, as could bee devised by anye learned coun-
saill, or elles that suretie not made, thesaied Cardinall, to haue and reioyé to him, and his
heires for euermore, the landes of the Duchie of Lácastre, in Norffolke, to the value of.
vii. or viii. C. markes, by the yere, whiche thyng semeth right straung and vnson, and
vnhard waiues of any liege man, to seke vpon his souereigne lorde, bothe in his enher-
taunce and in his Iuelles, and good. For it is thought, but if right & extreme necessitie
caused it, there should, nor ought no such thynges to be doen: fró which necessitie (God
for his mercy) euer presere your noble person, wherfore my redoubted lord, seynge that
ye should be so consaile, or stirred to leaue your crowne and enheritaunce in England, &
also by fraude and subtle meaning, as is afores rehearsed, so to lose your Iuelles : In my
trouthe and in myne acquitall (as me seameth) I maie not nor ought not, counsaill so greate
an hurte to you and to all you lande.

ITEM, it is not vnsknown to you my right doubted lorde, how often tymes I have of-
fered my service, to and for the defence of your realme of Fraunce, and duchie of Nor-
mády, where I have been put therfr, by the labor of thesaid Cardinall, in preferryng
other after his singular afection, whiche hath caused greate parte, of thesaied Duchie of
Normandy, aswell as of your realme of Fraunce to be lost, as it is wel known, and what
good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that army that was last sent thether, whiche
therle of Mortayn, your counsaill of Fraunce, hath well and clery declared to your highnes
here before.

ITEM, my right doubted Lorde, it is not vnsknown, that it had not been possible to
thesaid Cardinall, to have conen to the greate riches, but by suche meanes, for of his
Churche it might not rise, and enheritaunce he had none. Wherefore my right doubted
Lorde, sithe there is great good behoefull at this tyme, for the weale and safeguard of your
realmes, the povertie, necessitie, and indigence of your liege people, in highnes vnder-
stande, like it vnto your noble grace, to considere thessaid lucar of thessaid Cardinall, and
the greate deceiptes, that you be deciued in, by the labor of hym, and of the Archeb-
ishop, aswell in this your realme, as in your realme of Fraunce, and duchy of Normandy, where
neither office, liuelode, nor capitan maie be had, without to greate a good gunen vnto hym,
wherby great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue been the causers of, for who that
would gene mooste, his was the price, not considering the merites, service, nor sufficiance
of persones. Furthermore it is greatly to be considered, how, when thesaied Cardinal, had
forfeited al his good, because of provision, as the statute, thervpó more plainly declareth,
by haunyng the rule of you my right doubted Lorde, purchased hymself in greate defraud-
ation of your highnes, a charter of pardó, the whiche good and it had be wel governed,
might many yerres haue sustained your warres, without any talage of your poor people.

ITEM, my redoubted Lorde, where as I write moche thyng, for the weale of you and
of your realmes, peraudenture some will say and vnderstande, that I woulde, or have writ-
ten it, by waye of accusation all of your counsil, whiche God knoweth, I do not: for
your highnes may well se, that I name theim, that be causers of the sayd inordinate rule
wherfore, consideryng that the sayd Cardinal & Archebisshop of Yorke been they, that
pretende the gouneraunce of you, and of your realmes and lordshippes: Please it vnto
your highnes, of your right wisnesse to estranigne them of your counsil, to that entent,
that men maye be at their fredome, to say what they thinke of truth.

FOR truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the Cardinal
& the Archibishop of Yorke, may afterward declare thyselfes, of that is, and shalle sayed
of them, you my right doubted lorde may then restore them agayn to your counsaill, at your noble pleasure.

WHEN the kyng had heard these accusaciōs, he comitted the hearynge thereof, to his counsaill, wherof the moste parte were spiritual persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the mater was wynked at, and dalyed out, and nothyng sayde to it: and fayre conteu-
nuance was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had ben taken, nor no malice borne, either in hart or in remembrāuce against hym. But venyme will once breake oute, and in-
warde grudge will sone appeare, whiche was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attempts were aduancēd forward this season, against the noble duke Hu鲱r of Gloucester, a farre of, whiche in conclusio came so nere, that they bereft hym both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter more manifestly percyue. For first this yere, dame Elyanour Cŏbhā, wyfe to the sayd duke, was accused of treason, for that she, by sorcery and en-
chauitnēt, entended to destroy the kyng, to thentent to aduaice and to promote her hus-
bande to the crowne: vpon thys she was examined in sainct Stephens chappel, before the
Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examinacion conviucit & judged, to do open penance, in. iij. open places, within the cite of Lōdon, and after that adjudged to perpetuall prison in the Isle of Man, vnder the kepyng of sir Ihon Sūley, knyght. At the same season, wer arrested as ayders and counsailers to the sayde Duchesse, Thomas Southwel, prieeste and chanon of saincte Stephens in Westminster, Ihon Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a conyng nycromancier, and Margerie Iourdayne, surnamed the wicthen of Eye, to whose charge it was laied, ſ thei, at the request of the duchesse, had deuised an image of waxe, representing the kyngye, whiche by their sorcery, a litle and litle côsumed, entending therby in cōclu-
sion to waist, and destroy the kyngyes person, and so to bryng hym death, for the which treison, they wer adjudged to dye, & so Margery Iordan was brenten in smithfelde, & Ro-
ger Bolyngbroke was drawen & quartered at tiborne, takyng vp6 his death, that there was neuer no suche thynge by theim ymagned, Ihon Hum had his pardon, & Southwel died in the toure before execution: the duke of Gloucester, toke all these thynges paciently, and saied litle.

§ THE. XXI. YERE.

The xxii. yere.

THE counsaill of Englelande, forgot not the late enterprise of the Frēche kyng, doen in the duchie of Guyen, wherfore, to fortifie the countreyy, least he peraduenture, would at-
temptagin alike iorney, they sent thether sir William Wooduile, with. viii. hundred men, to fortifie the frontiers, till a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made pub-
lique proclamacion, that all men which would transporte, or cary any corne, chese, or other vitaile, into the parties of Acquitain, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, whiche licence caused that countrey, to be well furnished of all thynges necessarie and convenient. About this season, the kyng remembryng the valeaunt serviece, and noble actes of Ihon Lorde Talbot, created hym Erle of Shrewesburie, and with a company of three M. men, sente hym again into Normandy, for the better tuicion of the same, whiche neither forgot his dutie, nor forslowed his businesse, but daily laboured & hourely studied, how to molest & damage his enemies.

IN this yere, died in Guyen the Countesse of Comyng, to whom the Frenche kyng, and also the Erle of Arminacke, pretended to be heire, insomuchë, that the Erle entered into all the landes of thesaied lady, as very inheritor to her of right, and tooke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Roundaw to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the kyng of Englelande, offerying hym his daughter in mariage, not onely pro-
missing hym siluer hilles, and golden mountaines with her, but also would be bound, to deliuer into the kyng of Englanedes handes, all suche castles and tounes, as he or his aunces-
tors deteined from hym, within the whole duchie of Acquitayn or Guyen, either by conquest of
of his progenitors, or by gyfte or delivery of any Frêche kyng: offerlyng farther, to aide the same kyng with money, for the recouery of other citees, within theseaid duchy, from him and his auncestors, by the Frenche kynges progenitors, the lorde de Albrethe, and other lorde of Gascoyn, inustiely kept and wrongfully withhoulden. This offer semed bothe profitable, and honorable to kyng Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, wer bothe well heard, and louungly enterteined, and in conclusion, with a gentle asswage (not without great rewards) they departed into their countrey: after whom wer sent for the conclusion of theseaid mariage into Guyen, sir Edward Hulle, sir Robert Roos, and doctor Ihon Grafton deane of saint Seuerines with an honorable company whiche (as all Enlishe Cronographiers affirme) bothe concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the young Lady. The Frenche kyng was not ignorant, of all these conclusions, wherfore disdainynig, that the Erle of Arminacke, should bothe vsurpe against hym, the Countie of Conyng, and also ioyne hymself, with his mortall enemie, the kyng of Engelande, to recover his right, and to punish his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne dolphyn of Vyen, into rouergne with a puissaunt army, whiche sodainely toke the Erle of Arminacke, at the Isle in Iordayne, and his yongest sonne, and bothe his daughters, and by force obtained the countreis of Arminacke, Louergne, Rouergne and Moulesson, beside the citees of Seuertac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastarde of Arminacke out of his countrey, and costituted governor of all those seigniories, sir Theobald de Walpergne, bailiff of Lyon. So by reason of this infortuniate chaunce, the mariage concluded was differed, yea, and so long differed, that it neuer toke effect, as you shall heare more plainly declared.

THE XXII. YERE.

Thus, while Englande was vnquieted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoyle, slaughter, and burnynge, all christendom lamented the continuall destruction of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so muche Christen bloud, wherfore, to appease the mortall warre, so long continuynge betwene these two puysaunt kynges, all the princes of Christendom, so muche labored and travailed, by their orators and Ambassadors, that the frostie harte of bothe the parties, wer somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomackes, greatly asswage. So there was a grete diete appoynted, to be kept at the citee of Tours in Tourayne, where, for the kyng of Engelande appered, William de la Pole erle of Suffolke, doctor Adame Molyyns, keper of the kynges priuie seale, and Robert lorde Roos, and diuere other: And for the Frenche Kyng were appoynted, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, Lewes de Barbon erle of Vandesne, and greate Master of the Frenche kynges housholde, sir Piers de Bresell Stewarde of Poytou, and Bartram Beauirian, Lorde of Precygne. There were also sante thither, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and fro Hungary, to be mediators betwene these two princes. The assemble was greate, but the couste was muche greater, in somuche that every parte, for the Honor of their Prince, and praise of their countrey, set furth themselves, aswell in fare, as apparell, to the vtermoste poynete and highest prike. Many metynges wer had, & many thynges moved to come to a finall peace, and mutuell concord. But in conclusion, for many doubtes and greate ambiguities, which rose on bothe parties, a finall concord could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certaine truce aswell by sea as by land, was concluded by the cûmisioners, for. xviii. monethes, whiche afterward, againe was prolonged, to the yere of our Lorde. M. iii. C.xlix. if in the meane season it had not beene violated & broken, as here after shalbe declared.

In the treatyng of this truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extendyng his cûmision to the vtermoiste, without assent of his associates, imagened in his phantasie, that the nexte waite to come to a perfeite peace, was to mowe some mariage, betwene the Frenche kyngs kynssewoman, and kyng Henry his souereigne: & because the Frenche kyng had no daughter of rype age, to be coupled in matrimony with the kyng his Master, he desired to haue the Lady Margaret, cosyn.
cosyn to the Frenche kyng, and daughter to Reyner duke of Aniow, callyng hymself kyng of Sicile, Naples, and Hierusalem, hauyng onely the name and stile of the same, without any penye profite, or fote of possessio. This mariage was made straunge to theryle a good space, in somuche that he repented hym of the first moci, but yet like a bold man, entendying not to take afoile in so greate a matter, desisted not still, daily to sollicite and audauaue forward his cause. The wily Frenchemen, perceiving the ardent affection of the erle, toward the conclusion of mariage, declared to hym that this mariage, was not like to come to conclusion as he desired, because the kyng his Master, occupied a greate parte of the Duchie of Aniow, and the citee of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteynyng (as they saied) to kyng Reyner, father to the damossell.

THE erle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes, or to muche affectionate to this unprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered, to the kyng her father, demandyng for her mariage, neither penye nor farthyng: (as who would saie) that this newe affinitie, excelled riches and surmounted gold and precious stone. And to thentent that of this truce might ensue a finall concorde, a daie of enteruieue or metyng was appoyntyng, betwene the two kynges, in a place conuenient, betwene Charters and Roan. When these thynges were concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinkeing to have brought ioyfull tidyes, to the whole realme of Englynde, departed from Toures, and so by long iornies, arrived at Douer, and came to the kyng to Westminster, and there openly before the kyng and his counsil, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the sauguard of Normandy, & the wealth of y realme, out of which truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetuall peace, and a finall concorde, should shortly proceade and growe out. And muche the soner, for that honorable mariage, that inuincible alliancie, that Godly affinitie, which he had concluded; omitting nothyng, which he might extoll & setteth, the personage of the Ladie, nor forgetting any thynge, of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would saie, that she was of suche an excellent beautie, and of so hight a parentage, that almoste no king or Emperor, was worthy to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the kyng, and diuerse of his counsil, and especially suche as were adherentes, and faytures to the erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey duke of Glouceter, Protecter of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in him laie, this new alliancie and contrived matrimonie: alledgeing that it was neither consonant to the lawe of GOD nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and breake a promise or contracte, by hym made and concluded, for the utilite and profite of his realme and people, declaynyng, that the kyng, by his Ambassadors, sufficiently instructed and authorised, had concluded and cortedacted, a mariage betwene his highnes, & the daughter of therle of Arminacke, vpon condicions, bothe to hym and his realme, asmuche profitable as honorable. Whiche offers and codicions, the said erle sith his commyng out of his captituitie and thraldome, is redy to yelde and performe, saiyng: that it was more conueniente for a Prince, to marie a wife with riches and frendes, then to take a make with nothyng, and disherite himself and his realme of olde rightes and auncient seigniories. The dukes was not heard, but the Erles doynges, were condiscended vnto, and allowed. Whiche facte engendered suche a flame, that it neuer wente oute, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slayne, to the great vnquietenes of the kyng and his realme. And for the performance of these conclusions, the Frenche kyng sent the Erle of Vandoisme, greate Master of his house, & the Archebishop of Reyne, first pere of France, and diuerse other into England, which wer joyously receyved, and frendly enterayned. Which Ambassadors, after instrumentes on bothe parties, sealed and deliuered, (not varewarded) returned into their countrey. When these thynges were thus doen, the kyng, bothe for the honor of his realme, and to assure to hymself, more speciall frendes, he created Lorde Iohn Holand Erle of Huntyngdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Erle of Warwicke, was erected to the title of Duke of Warwicke, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke,
KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

Suffolke, whiche Marques with his wife, & many honorable parsonages of men and women, richely adorned, bothe with apparell and Jewels, hauyng with them many costly chariottes, & gorgious horselitters, sailed into Fraunce, for the conneuance of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For kyng Reyner her father, for al his long stile, had to short a purse, to sende his daughter honorably, to the kyng her spouse.

¶ THE. XXIII. YERE.

THIS noble company, came to the cite of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receiued, bothe of the Frech kyng, and of the kyng of Scicile. Wher the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to Kyng Henry, espoused thesaid Ladic, in the churche of saijnt Martyns. At whiche mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the Frenche kyng hymself, whiche was vnclе to the husbande, and the Frenche quene also, whiche was awnte to the wife. There wer also, the dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Allaunson, and of Britayn. vii. Erles, xii. Barons. xx. Bishoppes, beside knightes and gentlemen. There wer triumphaunt Iustes, costly feastes, and delicate banquettes; but all pleasure hath an ende, and every ioye is not continual. So that after these high solemnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Ladie Margaret to hym deliuered, whiche in great estate, he conveyed through Normandy to Deape, and so transported her into England, where she landed at Portsmouth, in the moneth of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, aswell in beautie and favor, as in wit and policie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman. Some after her arriuall, she was conveyed to the toune of Southwike in Hamshire, where she, with all nupciall Ceremonies, was coupled in matrimony, to kyng Henry the. vi. of that name. After whiche mariage, she was with grete triumph, conveyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpо the. xxx. daie of May, she, with all solemnitie thervnfo appertaining, was Crownd Quene of this noble realme of Englonde. Whο so would knowe, the costly receipt, the pleasant company, the gorgious apparell, the diuersitie of Instrumentes, the strange pagiuntes, the behaviour of the Lordes, the beautie of the Ladies, the sumptuous feast, the delicate vianter, the marcial iustes, the fierce turnais, the lustie daunces, & the minio sōges, which wer shewed, setfurth and practised at her coronacion, let hym loke in the Chronicles of London, & of Robert Fabian, and there he shall finde the set furth at the full.

THIS mariage semed to many, bothe infortunat, and unprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many Causes. First the kyng with her had not one peny, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke, demaundad a whole fiteene, in open parlament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the citee of Mauns, and the whole countie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to Kyng Reyner her father, whiche countreis were the very staves, and backestandes to the Duchy of Normandy. Furthermore for this mariage, the Erle of Arminacke, toke suche great displeasure, that he became vter enemy to the realme of Englonde and was the chief cause, that the Englishmen, wer expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitayne, and lost bothe the countreis of Gascoyn and Guyen. But moste of all it should seeme, that God with this mariage was not content. For after this spousage the kynges frendes fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his realme, fell in diuision emongest themeselues, the commons rebelled against their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, feldes wer foughten, many thousands slain, and finally, the kyng deposed, and his sonne slain, and this Quene sent home again, with as muche misery and sorowe, as she was receiued with pome and triumphe, suche is worldly unstablesnes, and so waueryng is false flattering fortune.

DVRYNG the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diverse other capitaineis, repaired into England, bothe to visite ther wives, children, and frendes, and also to consuute, what should be done, if the truce ended.
THE. XXIII. YERE OF

FOR the whiche cause, the kyng called his high court of Parliament, in the whiche aboue all thynges, it was concluded, diligently to forsee, that Normandy should be well furnisht and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expired: for it was openly known, that the French kyng, was ready in all thynges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, were agreed or concluded. For whiche consideracion, money was graunted, men wer appoynted and a great army gathered together and the duke of Somerset, was appoynted Regent of Normandy, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In whiche Parliament, to please the people with all, it was enacted, y thi whete was solde for vi. s. viii. d. y quarter and Rye for. iii. s. and Barley for. iii. s, it should be lawfull to every mā to carie thyssaid kyndes of corne, into the parties beyond the sea, without licence, so it wer not to the kynges enemies or rebelles: which act, kyng Edward the. iii. for the utilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

THE Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high favor with the kyng, and in no lesse grace with queene Margaret, for concluding the mariage betwene them two, somewhat infected with the sede of vainglory, and thynkyng that his procedynges and dooynges in Fraunce, (duryng the tyme of his legacion) had aswell pleased all men, as they pleased hym self, the second daie of June, in the first session of this parliament, before all the lordes spirituall & temporall, in the higher hous assembled, opely, eloquently and boldely, declared his pain, travaile and diligece, whiche he had taken and susteined of late tyme, in the Realme of Fraunce, aswel for the takyng and concludyng a truce or abstinence of warre betwene the Realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, as in the makynge of the mariage betwene the kyng his souereigne lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes lady Margarete, daughter to the kyng of Seicle and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that thessaid truce should expire the first daie of April next commyng, except a finall peace or a farther truce wer concluded in the meane season: advisyng them to provide and forsee all thynges necessarie, for the warre (as though no concorde should succeede, nor aigreemt could take place) least the Frenchmen perceiuyng them vnprouided, would take their advauntage, and agree neither to reason nor amitie: saiyyng vnto them, that sithe he had admonished the kyng, and them, accordyng to his ductie and allegeancc, if any thyng quailed, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and gilteles, and had acquited hymself like a louyng subiecte, and a faithful counsaillor, prayyng the lorde to haue it in their remembrancc. Likewise the morowe after, he with certain lorde, descended into the comon house, where he declared again all the saied matters, to the knightes, Citezens and Burgesses, omittyng nothyng, that might sounde to his glory, nor openyng any thyng, whiche might redound to his dispaise: prayyng the comons for his discharge, that aswell all his dooynges and procedynges in the kynges affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement & counsaill, opened to the lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the Kyng and theim, enacted and inrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: wherupon the morowe after William Burley, speaker for the commons and all the compayny of the nether house, repaired to the kynges presence, sitting in his trone, emongest his lordes in the parliament chamber, where thessaid William Burley, by the counsaill of the commons, (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or wer therunto entised by the Marques friendes, as some men doubted) moste hiblie commended to the kynges highnes, the foresaid Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable woorkes, whiche he had done to the pleasure of almightie God, the honor of the kyng, and the utilitie of the Realme: as in takyng the truce, concludyng the mariage, and the good admonicion, gaven by hym in open Parliament, for provision of warre to be made, duryng the time of truce, least to muche trustuyng of peace, might encourage the Frenchemen, the soner to begyn warre and inuasiō; besychyng the kynges highnes, in the name of the commons, to
imprint in his harte and remembrance, thesaid Marques, and all his labors and actes, to his honor and renoun, which should be an exemple to all other, whiche the kyng should call to like service, to employ themselves in like endeuer faithfully and honorably to serve their kyng and souereigne lorde: prayyng also the lorde spirituall and temporall, that they for the consideracions before rehearsed, would vouchesaue to make like peticio to the kynges maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of thesaid Marques, might by authoritie of parliament, be, to his honor, & perpetuall fame, in the rolles of thesame Parliament, recorded and substancially regestered. At whiche humble intercession, the lorde, aswel spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees, made to the kyng like request and petition, as they of the commons before wer desired: wherupon, the kyng by the mouthe of the Archebishops of Canterbury, his Chancellor, made answer, that their requestes wer so reasonable and so honorable, that bein no wise could, but louyngly accept and gently alowe the same, sayyng also: that their desires, wer to him a singular pleasure, and an especiall comforte, and that he would from thence-furthe accepte and take thesaid Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall favour, as a persone, whiche had dooen bothe true, faethfull, and notable service to hym and to his Realme, to the intent, that all men put in like trust, should enorce them selves, to doo like or better service to their souereigne Lorde or Master: agreyng also (accordyng to their requestes and peticions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declaracions of the said Marques of Saffolke, and thesaid commendacions, and desires, not only of the lorde, but also of the commons, aswel for the honor of hym and his posteritie, as for his acquital and discharge, should be enacted, and enrolled in the Recordes of the same parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp, into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Quene, was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, and ruled the Kyng at his pleasure, in so muche he obtained the wardshippe, bothe of body and landes of the Coûtesse of Warwicke, and of the lady Margaret, sole heire to Ihon Duke of Somersett (whiche lady was after, mother to Kyng Henry the seuenth) and beside that, caused the Kyng to create Ihon de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, erle of Longuile, and Capdaw of Bueffez, erle of Kendale: whiche Ihô had married his niece, and by his procurement, the kyng elected into the order of the Garter, thesaid Gaston, and Ihon his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towards the maintenaunce of his degree and estate, landes and Castles, in the Duchie of Guyen, amountyng to the some of one thousand poundes by the yere, whiche landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of thesaid erle of Kendall at this daie haue and enioye.

HERE a man maie beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes smylyng: for this Duke of Saffolke in open Parliament of the Lordes praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kynges fauor, entirely receiued, within foure yeres after, was in thesame place, by the commons of the Realme, accused of many treasons, misprisions and offences, done and committed against the Kyng, and the common wealtthe of his Realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken ypon the sea, and made shorter by the hedde, whiche chaunce had not hapynted to him, if he had remembred the counsail of the popyngay, sayyng: when thou thynevst thy self in courte moiste surest, then is it high tyme to get thee home to rest.

THESE thynges beyng in doing, the Frenche kyng seyng that the the toune of Mauns, and diuere fortresses in Mayne, were not to hym deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great number of people, for to recover thesame: wherof the kyng of England beyng aduyntised, (least the breache of truce should begynne by hym) caused the toune to be deliuered without any force.

THIS yere, an Armerars servaunt of London, appeale his master of treason, whiche offered to bee tried by battail. At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master, brought hym Malmesey and Aqua vitæ, to confort hym with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomforrete: for he poured in so much that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, bothe his witte and strength failed hym: and so he beyng a tall and a hardye
THE. XXV. YERE OF

hardye personage, ouerladed with hote drynkes, was vanqueshed of his seruaunte, beyng but a cowarde and a wretche, whose body was drawen to Tiborne, & there hanged and behedded. In whiche yere was a greate insurreccion in Norwiche, against the Prior of the place, in so muche that the citezens kepeth the gates, against the Duke of Norffolke, whiche came thither to appease the matter: but in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted theim selfes. The chief offenders, wer (according to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the Maire was discharged of his office, and sir Ihon Clifton was made gouernoure there, till the kyng had restored the citezens to their auncient liberties, and franchises. This commocion, was for certaine newe exaccions, whiche the Prior claimed and take of the citezens, contrary to their auncient fredomes and vsages: but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the path, they were by punishemente brought againe to a very straight trade and the right waie.

¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

DVring the tyme of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothyng to vexe or trouble the myndes of men, within the realme, a sodain mischief, and a long discorde, sprang out sodainly, by the meanes of a woman: for kyng Henry, whiche reigned at this tyme was a man of a meke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferryng peace before warre, reste before businesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before laboure. And to the intent that all men might perceiue, that there could be none, more chaste, more meke, more holy, nor a better creature: In hym reigned shamefastnesse, modestie, integritie, and pacience to bee marueiled at, takynge and sufferers all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and suche worldly tormentes, in good parte, and with a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his awne fault or negligent oversight: yet he was gouerned of them whom he shoule haue ruled, and bridge of suche, whom he sharplye should haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thristed for riches, but studied onely for the health of his soule: the sayung wherof, he estemed to bee the greatest wisdome, and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that could bee. But on the other parte, the Queene his wife, was a woman of a greate witte, and yet of no greater witte, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and coutous of honor, and of reason, policye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belonging to a man, full and flowing: of witte and willinesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexperte: but yet she had one point of a very woman: for often tyme, when she was vehement and fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly like a wether-cocke, mutable, and turnyng. This woman perceiuyng that her husbande did not frankly rule as he would, but did all thyng by thaduise and counsaill of Hufrey duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not muche on the authoritie and gouernouance of the realme, determined with her self; to take upon her the rule and regiment, bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome, & to deprue & euct out of al rule and authoritie, thesaid duke, then called the lord protector of the realme: least men should saie & report, she had neither wit nor stomacke, whiche would permit & suffre her husband, beyng of perfect age & mis estate, like a yong s cholere or innocent pupille to be gouerned by the disposicioun of another man. This manly woman, this coragious quene, ceased not to prosecute furthwith, her inuention imaginacion and prepesed purpose, but practised daily the furtheranunce of thesame. And although this inuicio came first of her awne high mind, and ambicius corage, yet it was furthered and set forward by suche, as of long tyme had borne malicke to the duke, for declaryng their vn-truth as you before haue heard. Whiche vencious serpentes, and malicius Tygers, persuawed, incensd and exhorted the quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenes of the realme, and thereof to call an accompl: affirmyng plainly that she should euidently perceiue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so muche aduaunced & preferred the commo

wealth
wealth and publique vtilitie, as his awne private thinges & peculier estate. Be side this, Reyner kyng of Scicile, wrote to his daughter, that she & her husband, should take upon them, the rule & gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, like yong wardes and desolate orpanhes. The queene perswaded and encoraged by these meanes, toke vpö her and her husbande, ¶ high power and auctoritie over the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with hir in name, for a countenaunce, yet she did all, she said all, and she bare the whole swynge, as the strong oxe doth whe he is yoked in the the plough with a pore sillyasse: and firste of all she excluded the duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortal enemies, to inuent and imagine, causes and griefes, against hym and his: so that by her permissio, and fauor, diuerse noblemen conspired against hym, of the whiche, diuerse writers affirme, the Marques of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vnprocurred by the Cardinall of Wincheستر, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles, bothe heyrous and odious, were laied to his charge in open counsaill, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execucion, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the duke being very well learned in the lawe ciuill, deteystyn malefactoris, and punishyng their offences, get great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischeuous doynges. Although the duke (not without great laude and praise) sufficiently answered to all thynges to hym obiectet, yet because his death was determined, his wisedome litle helped, nor his truth smally aualied: but of this vnquietenes of mynde, he deliuered hymself, because he thought neither of death, nor of condemnation to dye: suche affiancet had he in his strong truthe, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice. But his capitall enemies and mortal foes, feeryng that some tumulte or commocion might arise, if a prince so well beloued of the people, should bee openly executed, and put to death, determined to trappe & vnndo hym, or he thereof should haue knowledge or warnyng. So for the fartherance of their purpose, a parliament was somonned to be kept at Bery, whether resorted all the peri of the realme, and emongest them, the duke of Gloucester, whiche on the second daie of the session, was by the lorde Beaumond, then high Constable of Englande, accompanied by the duke of Buckynghâ, and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruauntes sequestered from hym, and. xxxii. of the chief of his retinue, were sent to diuers prisons, to the greate admiracion of the common people. The duke the night after his emprisonment, was found dedede in his bed, and his body shewed to the lorde and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or empstone: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no natural death but of some violett force: some judged hym to be strangle: some affirme, that a hote spitte was put in at his foundement: other write, that he was stiffeled or smoldered betwene twoo fetherbeddes. After whose death, none of his seruauntes (althoughe they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Marques of Suffolke, when they should have been executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, whiche saide that the pardone of the seruauntes, was no amende for murderying of their master. The dedde corse of the duke, was caried to sauiet Albons, and there honorably buried. Thus was this noble prince, sonne, brother, and vncle to kynges, whiche had valeantly and politiquely by the space of. xxv. yeres governed this Realme, and for his demerites, called the good duke of Gloucester, by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatale ende, and laste ende. So all men maie openly se that to men in auctoritie, no place no not the courte the chief refuge of all, nor the dwellyng house, nor yet a mannes private Castle, or his bed ordeined for his quietnes, is out of daunger of deathes dart. It semeth to many men, that the name and title of Gloucester, hath been vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse, whiche for their honor, have been erected by creation of princes, to that stile and dignitie, as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to kyng Edward the third, and this duke Humfry, whiche thre persones, by miserable death finished their daies, and after them kyng Richard the. iii. also, duke of Gloucester, in ciuill warre
warre was slain and confounded: so by this name of Gloucester, is taken for an unhappie and unfortunate stile, as the proverbe speaketh of Scianes horse, whose rider was ever unhorsed, and whose possessor was ever brought to miserie. When the rumor of the dukes death, was blown through the realme, many more sorely appalled and amased for feare: many abhorred and detested this faict, but all men reputed it an abominable cruelitie, and a shameful tirannie. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the unworthy death of this politique prince, sustained greate losse, & ran into ruyne, for surely the whole weight and burden of the realme, rested and depended uppon him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good & sage men fearing the selves, fled out of this flatteryng court, into whose places entered suche, as desiring their own promotion, set open the gates to new fancions, which could never be extinct till all the seignories beyon the sea (except Calceice & the marches) were lost, & Kyng Henry in conclusion spoyleled of his Realme & lyfe. There is an olde sayd saw, that a man entedyng to auoid the smoke, falleth into the fyre: So here the Quene mynding to preserve her husbund in honor, & her selfe in auctoritie, procured & consentid to the death of this noble man, whose onely death brought to passe that thynge, which she woulde most payne haue eschewed, and toke from her that jewel, which she most desired: for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not have made title to the crowne: if this Duke had lyued, the nobles had not conspired against the king, nor yet the conos had not rebelled: if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lancastre had not been defaced and destroyed, which thynges happened all contrary by the destruccio of this good man. This is the worldly judgemet, but God knoweth, what he had predestinate & what he had ordained before, against whose ordenaunce preuayleth no counsaill, and against whose will auayleth no stryvinge.

† THE. XXVI. YERE.

IN this. xxvi. yere of the reigne of this kyng, But in the first yere of the rule of the Quene, I fynde no thynge done worthye to be rehearsed, within the Realme of Englande, but that the marques of Suffolke by greate favor of the kyng, and more desire of the Quene, was erected to the title, and name of the duke of Suffolke, which dignitie he shorte tyme enjoyed & which degrae, he but a briefe seasop possessed. For after the deposition or rather the destruction of the good duke of Gloucester, and the exaltacion and aduanement of this glorious man: Richard duke of Yorke, beyng greatly alyed by his wyfe, to the chief peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his awne progenye and greate consanguinitie, perceiving the Kyng to be a ruler not Ruling, & the whole burden of the Realme, to depend in the ordinaunces of the Quene & the duke of Suffolke, began secretly to allure to his frenedes of the nobilitie, and privately declared to the, his title and right to the Crowne, and lykewyse dyd he to a certain wyse and saige Gournors and raulers of dyuers cities and townes: which priuie attept was so politiquely handeled and so secretly kept, that his promisi was ready, before his purpose was openly published, and his frenedes opened them selves or the contrary parte could them espye: but in conclusion tyme reueled truth and olde hyd hatred openly sprang out, as you shall hereafter bothe lament and heare.

DVRING these doynges, Henry Beauford, bishop of Winchester, and called the rychre Cardinall, departed out of this world, and was buried at Wyncesbire. This man was sonne to Iohn of Gaunte duke of Lancaster, disced of an honorable lignage, but borne in Baste, more noble of bloood, then notable in learning, haut in stomackle, and hygh in cowntenaunce, rychre aboue measure of all men, & to fewe liberal, disdaynfull to his kynne and dreadfull to his lourers, preferrynge money before frendechippe, many thinges beginning, and nothing perfourmyng. His couetous insaciabe, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forget God, hym Prynce and hym selfe, in his latter daies: for doctor Iohn Baker his pryuite counsailer, and his chapelleyn, wrote, that he lyeng on his death bed, said these wordes. "Why should I dye hauing so muche ryches, if the whole Realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye, will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng?"
nothyng? when my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the whole, but when I sawe my other nephew of Gloucester diseased, then I thought my selfe able to be equale with kinques, and so thought to encrease my treasure in hoope to hauue worn a trypole Crowne. But I se now the worlde faileth me, and so I am deceyued: prayyng you all to pray for me." Of the getyng of this mannes goodes both by power, legantye or spirituall bryberie I wil not speake: but the kepinge of them for his ambicious purpose, aspiryng to ascend to the papisticaile sea, was bothe great losse to his natural Prince, and natuye countrey: for his hiddyn ryches might haue wel holpen the king, and his secrete treasure might haue reluced the eomonalie, whic money was scante and importunate charges, were daily imminent. After the death of this prelate, which was a great stay to the Kyng & the realme, the aflayres in Franaunce, were neither well loked to, nor the governors of the countrey were well advised. For an Englishe capitayn, called syr Franceys Surrien the Arragonois, a man for his witt and actiuitie admitted to the order of the Gartier, toke by scalyng sodaynly in the night, a Towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britayn, called Fongiers, spoyling the same, and kyllinge the inhabitautes to the great destruccon of the people, and more displeasure to the duke of Britayn, their soueraine lorde. The duke beynge thereof aduyerstyd, sent woode to the Frenche kyng, declaringe to him that in the time of truce (in the which, he as his alleie and vassal was copreyned) he was spoyled and bereuyd of his towne of Fongiers: beseching the Frenche kyng, in that cause to se a recompence and amendaemente: wherenpon he sent Iton Hauart his caruar, and Iton Cosynet one of the masters of his requestes to the kyng of England: & to the duke of Somerset, he dispatched Peter de Founctaynes Esquier, & one of the cheife of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, it was answered, that the facte and enterprise was both done contrary to there mynde, will and knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onely restitution, but also amends to be made to the Duke of Britayn, a daye of dyet and assembly was appointed to be kept at the town of Louiers. At the time appointed both the parties assembled: the Frenche parte demaundyed amends, with no litle recompense: The Englishe orators answered, that without office, no thing by justisce, ought to be satisfied: affirming the doyng of syr Franceys Surrien, to be his onely acte, withoute the consent or counsell, either of the kyng of England, or the duke of Somerset his lieutenat and regent. During this day communicaciō & longe delaye, certain Franceyshemen, frendes to the duke of Britayn, desyryng to be reuenged of the injurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imagening, how to do some new displeasure to the Englishmen, were advertised by a wagoner of Louiers, y the towne of Pootelarche, was but meanly mannde and slenderly furnished, and the watche was but negligently loked to: with whicke saiynges the Franceyshmen beyng somwhat encouraged, deuisyd a waye, howe by pollicie to take the towne: So the wagoner laded his wagon, and passed forward, hauing in his company, ii. stronge varlettes elad lyke carpenters with great axes in their neckes. And for the furthera of their purpose, the lord of Bressy, with a chosen company of men of armes lodg'd himself in a bussheiment nere to the gate of saient Andrewe. And capitayn Floquet, accompanied with syr Iaunes of Cleremoit, and another great company, prudile lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all things were appoynted, early in the morning in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, & called the porter by name, prayyng him to open the gate, that he mighte passe to Rouen, and returne agayne the same night. The porter (whiche wel knew the voice of his customer) toke litle hede to the other. ii. copagnions, & so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow of his, to opē the foremost gate. Whē y Chariotte was on the drawe bridge, betwene both y gates, the Chariotte master gaue the porter money, and for the nones, let one pece fal to the grounde, & whyle the porter stopped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throthe, so that he crie for no helpe, and the ii. great lubbers sweue the other porters, and with their axes cutte the axelctre of the wagone, so that the drawe bridge could not be shortely drawn vp. Which things done, they made a signe to capitayn Floquet, whiche, without delay or tract of time, entered the town, and
slew and toke the Englishmen, which neither heard nor thought of any suche enterprise: emongst whom, the lord Fauconbridge, capitaine of the saide towne, was apprehended as a prysoner. By this pratyte cautete and slyge imposture, was the towne of Poitlarche take and surprised, which towne was the kay and passage ouer the ryuer of Soame, fro Frauce to Normandy, beynig distant fro Roen, only. iiiij. leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, & injurie heped to injurie, whereby y terme of truce was violated, & mortal warre was reuined. But because y taking of this fortresse, had a certain colour of breklig of truce. The duke of Somerset by ambassadors, & not by force of armes, devised to recover this pratyte towne, & sët for y restituçio of thesame, diuerse ambassadors to y Frech kyng & his cousail, which made aëswere agayn, y if the Englishmen restored to the duke of Britayn, the towne of Fögiers with cõdigne amèdes, for the damages done & cõmited within the same, the town of Poitlarche should agayne be rendered and deliuered: for the Freche kyng and his cousail began now to perceive and smel, that the affayres of Englelde, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good cousail began to waxe faynte and decay, and sedicion freshly began to sprynge and ryse: By reason whereof, they thought that Normandy might some be conquered and recouered, and that the Englshe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and druiç out: wherfore they determined to take the good occasioun to them openly offered, & to lose no tymne in so good a bargayne. Wherupó kyng Charles diuided his armyn in to. iii. partes, not doubting of victory, by reason that the fame of the coquest of Pountelarche, was blown and spread abrode ouer al y coutry. So after divers assautes (not without losse of divers of his men) he had rendered to hym by cöposicion, the townes of Louiers and Gerborie, whereof Willia Harper was capitayn. Thus prosperous victory dayly succeedinge to the Freche kynesarmyn, he augmenting his hooste, determined to get the town of Vernoyle in perche, & gyrd it round about with a strõg seage. The inhabitantes wherof, although with the sodayne chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauinge some succours, and hopinge of more relefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde taried lenger, then they either thought or desired, they were compelled to compound and pact with their enemies, vpon this condicion: that if the seage were not reysed within. xx. dayes, that then they shoulde departe with bagge and baggage, whiche condiciou was accepted: and because no rescous came, the town, Castel and the great Towre, were deliuered. The Freche historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assaute, and the Castell by compusicion, but all writers agree, that the Frechenmen obteyned it. Thus was warre reuined before the full terme of the truce expyred, which was the moste detestable and vnprouitable chaunce that either could, or might haue happened or come, to the realme of England. For by this sodayn damage & lose, without thought arrising, the Englshe capitaynes were so busied & vnquicoted, whatwith appeasing dayly rumours within townes, and what with studye how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scace wyster, what waye to take: for while they studied, how to kepe and defède one cite. iiiij. or. v. other, following fortunes chaunce, turned to the Freche parte, and became their enemies. The cheife cause of which retolit and turnig was this: It was blown throughout all Fraunce, that the realme of Englelde, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, by the seueral facciõs of Princes, was diuided in two partes, and that William de la Pole, late created duke of Suffolke, and divers other were the occasion of the death of the said duke of Gloucester, which was the very fathers of the countrye, and the shield and defence of the poore comonalte, and that the forenamed duke of Suffolke, only for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed and molested the poore people, so that mens myndes were not intentive, nor geuen to outward affayres, and foren coquestes, but all their studie was, how to druze backe and defend domesticall injuries, and dayly wronges done at home: by reason whereof men of warre were vnpayed, and no armye for resistence was either gathered or assebled together: which mischiefes (while the Kyng, as thinges of the worlde, and of no great moment, did neglect and omit, as he which preferred & extolled godly things, aboue all worldly affaires and mortal cures, and thought the most
to be phätsied and labor'd: And while quene Margarete his wyfe, in whom the whole rule of the realme consisted, beyn a woman of to muche credéce gemyng, to euil & flattering cosallors them litle regarded) dayly so much encreased, that by no meanes after they could be either ouercome or resisted: so that by this meanes the Frenche nacion knew in what case the state of the realme of Englande stode in, whiche elated & encouraged their hartes & daited & appalled the courages of the Normans and Gascoynes, so muche that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the Frenche parte, and forsake their very souereigne lord the king of Englande in shorte space, as you shall here after heare.

† THE. XXVII. YERE.

IT was not enough, the realme of Englad this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the busines of Normady, but also a new rebellion began in Irelande, to the great displeasure of the Kyng and his counsaill: for repressinge whereof, Richard, duke of Yorke, with a conuenient number of men was sent thither, as lieutenant to the Kyng, which not onely appeased the fury of the wyde, and sauvage people there, but also gat him suche loue and fauour of the country and the inhabitantes, that their syncere loue and freddy affeccion could neuer be seperated fró him and his lyngage, as in the sequel of this story, you shall more plainly perceyue. The Frenchemen hauyng perfyte understandinge of the infirmitie and vnreadiness of the realme of Englands, displeased their banners, and set furthe their armyes, and in shorte space gat by yeildyng, Constance, Gisors, Castell, Gayllard, Ponteau du mere, saint Lo, Fescampe, Newchastel, Alanson, Tonque, Manleó argenton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuers other townes in Normandy: Lykewise in Guyen was the town of Maulisone rëdered to § Erle of Fays. These townes were not yeilded voluntariely by the Englishe solldiers, but they were thereunto compell'd by the cytizens and the inhabitantes of the townes, which apparently perceyuing, that the great flâme of the Englishe force was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, and either opened the gates to their enemies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By which enforcement was the rych citie of Roan deliuere: for surely the Duke of Somerset & the lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, had well kept & defended this citie, if they had bene no more vexed with the citizens, then they were with their enemies. For after the Frenche king had once by his Herault somoned the citie, the inhabitantes not onely sought ways and inuented fraudes, how to betray the same, but also put on harnes and rebelled against their capitaynes, menacinge to the death & destruccion at the English people. The capitaines perceiuyng their vntrough, & trayerous demeanour retrayteth them selves into the Castell or Palace, where they a certaine space with arrowes and handgonnes, sore molested and vexed the vntrow citizens. But when they cosidered the great puyssaunce of the Frëch kyng, and that they were in dispayre of all ayde or relefe, and that their victale and artillarye began sore to minishie, they thought it better to compounde and agree with their enemies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or dye for famyn: and so vpon condicion that all they should safely departe to Caen with all their goods and armure, and that certain townes should be deliuere by a daye, they were permitted to departe: leauyng behynd them for hostages, till the sayd townes (whiche were agreed to be rendered) should be deliuere, the Erle of Shrewesbury and the lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormonde, which were sent to the Castell of Eureux, because they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Roen. The Frenchemen folowyng still the steps of victorie, & elated with the brute and fame of getting of Roen, determined either by force or offer, to get the towne of Harflëw, and shortly assauted thesame, wherof was capitayn syr Thomas Coneson, a man of great witt and of no lesse force: which having knowledge of the heavy tidinges, brought from Roen, was therewith nothinge abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enemies, and them to their great hurt, manifoldly repulsed and draue from the walles. The Frenchemen learning wit by this great perill, left their scalynge, and
AFTER whiche townes rendered, the fortesse of Hunflewe, vpon the same compisicion was yeilded. Thus you may perceyue, that fortune is euere without measure, for either she to muche fauoreth or to muche hateth: for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the duke of Britayne recovered agayne Pongiers, sent Ihon de Buerne and diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of Engeland sent into Normandy with a crew of M. and. ccccc. men, a valiaunte capitayn, called syr Thomas Kyriel: a man of great stomacke, if he had hadde a great arnye but his power was to small, either to recover that whiche was lost, either to saue that, whiche yet remayned vnngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor courage, for with his small numbre, he recovered agayn the townes of Lyseaux and Valongnes. After which feate, he ioyned hymself with sir Hery Norbery, sir Robert Vere, Matthew Gough, and other capitanes, so that they were aboue fiue thousande men, of valiaunt hartes and hauete courages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the Frenchmen, whiche wer gooyng to the sieue of Caen, but in their iourney, they were encountered at a place called Formigny, betwene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the erle of Cleremont, lieuetenaunt for the Frenche kyng, the Stewarde of Poyton, and the lorde of Rays Admirall of France, with sixe hundred men of armes, and sixe thousand other, whiche skirmished with the Englishmen a greatest season. Duryng whiche skirmishe, there arryved Arthur erle of Richemond, high Constable of France, James of Luxenborough, erle of Lauall, with a greete number of horsemen and freshe fotemen. After his commyng, he and all the Frenchmen set on thenghlishmen, beyng faint and wery with the long skirmishe. This bataill was sore fought, but in conclusio, the Englishmen wer discomfied, and put to flight, and of them slain aboue iii. M. and. viii. C. taken prisoners, wher of, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Henry Norbery, & sir Thomas Dreue wer the chief, sir Robert Vere and Matthew Gough saue themselfes. This was the first foughten feld, that the Frenchmen gatte on the Englishmen in many yeres, wherefore, I blame them not, though they of a litle, make muche, and set furthe all, and hide nothing that maise sounde to their glory. They declare what nubre thei slew, but thei write not how many of them wer slain nor destroyed.

AFTER this victory obteined, the Frenche kyng hearyng that the Duke of Somerset was in the toune of Caen, thought that he had nothyng doen, if he permitted the duke, still to tary in Normandy, whiche by new aide and freshe succors, might tume the whole of Fortune, into a contrary parte, and peradventure recover all that hath been loste, or put the realme of France in jeopardy: wherefore, like a wise prince, enteyngd to prevent thynges, incuminent & at hande, assembled an armie royall, & in his awne persone, hauyng in his campe Reynert, called kyng of Sicile, father to the Queene of Englande, the dukes of Calaber and Alauonson, the erles of Cleremont, Richemond, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampemartynye, beside many noble Barons and valiaunte knigthes, when all thynges were ready, as opportunitie of tyme serued: He caused the Toune to bee environed on every side, assigning to his capitanes sevencall places of the toune to bee assaulted, and there to prowe their manhod. The erle of Dumoys, with more losse then gain entered into a bulwerke and was beaten backe. Thenglishmen within the toune kept silence, as though they kneved not of their enemies approching, but euerie man kept his loupe, and euerie capitan well overloked his ward. The Frenche men with quarelles, morispiques, slynges, and other engynes, began to assault the walles: but of the
the Englishmen within, some shot fiercely with long bowes, other cast dartes, and roll
ned doune greate stones and barres of Iron: other cast doune Iauelyns, firebrädes, hote leade, and blockes with pitche and byrmstone, like burnyng fire flamyng: some cast doune and ouerthrew the scalyng ladders and slewe suche as elyned vp the walles: neither courage lacking in the assault, nor manhode, nor pollecie in the defence: for on the embatelmëtes of the walles were set greate rolles of tymbre, so souymg and vnestedfaste, that neither scalyng ladder could catche any holde, nor no persone that should elyne vp, could set any sure lotyng. The French kyng, perceiuyng that this assaye litle or nought preuailed hym, sent for all his greate ordainance to Paris, determiyng neuer to departe, till he had conquered the toune, either with sworde or famyn. When the ordainance was brought, he daily shot at the walles, and did some harte: but to the Castle, whiche stode on a rocke, and in it a doungeon vnhauble to be beaten doune, he did no harme at all. In this toune was the duke of Somerset, his wife and children, but he was not capitain, for the Duke of Yorke owner of the toune, by the kynges gift, had appoynted there his capitain generall, sir Davy Halle, and of the castle, sir Robert Veer, and of the doungeon, sir Henry Radford. Daily the shot was greate, but more terrible then hurftull. Sauyng one daie, a stone shot into the toune, fel betwene the duches of Somerset, and her children, whiche, beyn amased with this chaunce, praied on her knees her husbande, to haue mercy and compass of his small enfantes, and that they might be deliuered out of the toune in sauegard. The duke more piteous then hardy, moued with the dolor of his wife, and loue of his children, assembled the capitaines and magistrates of the toune, declaryng to them, the power and puysauncl of the Frenche kyng, and their debilitie and weaknesses, perswadyng them rather to yeld and rendre vpon honest condicions, then obstinatly to resist, and foolishly to perishe. Sir Davy Halle, capitain of the toune, aunswered to hym, saying: my lorde, although you bee the kynges lieutenaunt generall, within this countrey and dominion, and maie by force of your auctoritie, deliuer, sell or geue, any of the kynges tounes, to suche persones, either frendes or enemies, as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your letter to large, to intreate or speake of the renderying of this toune, apperteinyng to my lord & master, Richard duke of Yorke, whiche thereof hath geuen me bothe the charge and custody, with other of my trusty frendes and felowe, and whiche with the helpe of almighty God, I shall well defende, bothe against the Frenche kyng and all his puysaunce, till the duke my master come to succor me: for of men, money and municioses, I trust I haue sufficient. Why saied the duke, am not I here the kynges deputie, representyng his persone, & maie commaunde all thynges accordyng to my discretion: Yea, said the capitain, so that you geue away no manes right, but his, whose auctoritie you haue for thesame: as for this toune, I assure you, without my lorde's assent, you shall neither render nor yelde, by my consent or agrement. The duke was sore moued with this saiyng, and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the toune, and the poorest people of thesame, declaryng to them, that their lifes and goodes, wer in the Frenche kynges handes, and if they looked not shortly to their sauegard, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre uncertain: exhortyng them to folowe his louyng monicion, rather then the hardened harte, of their to hardie capitain. The people of the toune thus perswaded (whose hartes wer rather Frenche then English) began to rise against sir Davy, boldely affirmyng, that if he tooke no composicion, within three daies, thei would open the gates, and let in the Frenche kyng: and of this opinion, wer all the common souldiers. What should the poore Iare saie, when she is enuironed with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crye, when she is in the middell of a hundred Hawkes, but take pacience, and sek awaic to escape: so this capitain perceiuyng, that neither his woordes serued, nor his truthe toward his master preuailed, bad the duke of Somerset do what he list, for he would in no wise be named in it composicion. Then the duke partly to please the tounes men, but more desirous to please the duches his wife, made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toune, so that he and all his, might depart in sauegard with all their goodes.
THE XXVIII. YERE OF

goodes and substaunce: whiche offre, the Frenche Kyng gladly accepted and allowed, knowing that by force, he might longer have longed for the strong toune, then to have possessed thesame so sone. After this conclusion taken, sir Daunc Halle, with diverse other of his trustie frédes, departed to Chierburge, and from thence sailed into Irrlande, to the duke of Yorke, makynge relacion to hym of all these dooynges: whiche thynge kynde so, so greate a rancore in his harte & stomacke that he neuer lefte persecutyng of the Duke of Somerssette, till he had brought hym to his fallay point, and extreme confusion.

AFTER the obteinyng of this strong toune of Caen, theerle of Cleremont besieged the cite of Lyseux, whereof was capitain Matthew Gough, with thre hundred Englishmen. The capitaine perceiyng that when Caen was not rescues, that poore Liseux, was in dispaire of all succor, agreed to abandon and deliuer the citee, so that he and his people, might departe to Chierburge, haung no yron weapon nor armure, but onely their goodes, and white staves in their handes. After the deliuerance of this toune, the Frenchmen stil like good begeles, folowing their prey, besieged the toune of Fallayse, appereinynge to the lord Talbot, erle of Shrewesbury: whereof wer capitanes for thesaietd erle, Andrewe Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, whiche beyng desperate of succors, and considering the puissance of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the toune vpon twoo conditions. The one was, that the Erle their master, whiche remained in pledge for certain condicions, agreed to bee perfourmed at the deliuerance of Roen, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed & set at libertie. The other, that if they wer not rescued within twelwe daies, that then, they and theirs, to depart with armure, and all their godes moueable, whether it pleased them. After this agrement at the daie prefixed, no rescues came, and so the toune was redered, and incontinent after, the fortresse of Dampforde was deliuered vpon like agrement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neither golde nor siluer, but desired rule, glory, and fame: With whiche lightnesse, the other tounes of Normandy beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselves, vassalles and subjectes to the Frenche nacion.

NOW rested English, onely the toune of Chierburge, wherof was capitain, Thomas Gounele, which surely, valiaútly defended the toune as long as vitall and municioun serued: but when those two handes wer spent and consumed, he destitute of all conforte and aide, vpon a reasonable composició, yielded the toune and went to Caleis, where the duke of Somerset, and many Englishmen then soiorned: lamentynge their losse, and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the riche duchie of Normandy lost, which had continued in thenglishmennes possession. xxx. yeres, by the coquest of Kyng Henry the fifth. In the whiche duchie wer a hundred strong tounes and fortresses, hable to be kept and holden, beside theim whiche wer destroyed by the, warres, and in thesame was one Archelishoprucke, and sixe bishoprickes. Some saie, that the Englishmen wer not of puyssaunce, either to man the tounes as they should bee or to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cause, that they could not, kepe it: accordyng to the Frenchemennes Adage, whiche saieth: A man cannot long hold that, whiche he cannot gripe. Other say, that the duke of Somerset, for his awne pecullier profite, kept not halfe his nombre of soldiours; and put their wages in his purse. These be mennes imaginacions and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall division within the realme, every greate man desirynge, rather to be reueneged on his foo at home, then on his outward enimie, as you now shall manifestly se and perceiue.

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FOR while these conquestes wer obtained in the partes beyond the sea, with sworde, speare, and target, by the adversaries of the Englishmen, thre mischeuous capitaines, set the people of the Realme (aswell of the nobilitie, as of the meane sorte) in a ciuill warre and
and intestine division: For among the high Princes and peers, reigned inward grudge: among the Cleargie, adulacion, & among the commonaltie, disdain of lascivious souereignty which the Queene with her minions, and unpopular counsellors daily took and usurped vpō them. Wherefore they (not myndyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiving that by the negligent provision, and imprudent policie of the wit wanting governors within the realme, the affaires and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, daily decayed and more wer like to do, if other politique rulers were put in au thoritie, and the negligent officers, sequestred and deposed,) began to make exclamacion against the Duke of Suffolke, affirming him, to be the onely cause of the delivery of Angoy & Mayne, the chief procurer of the death of the good duke of Gloucester, the veire occasion of the losse of Normandy, the moste swallowed vp and consumer of the kynges treasure, (by reason whereof, the warres in Fraunce wer not maintained,) the expeller frō the kyng, of all good and verteous counsellors, and the bringer in and announcer of vicious persones, common enemies and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealt: So that the duke was called in every mannes mouth, a traitor, a murderer, a robber of the kynges treasure, and worthy to bee put to moste cruel punishment. By reason of this exclamacion, the Queene somewhat fearing the destruction of the Duke, bought more the confusion of her self, caused the Parliament, before begun at the blachte Friers in London, to be ad diorned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigor of y law, to subdue and represse all the malace and cuill will, conceiued against the Duke and her: at whiche place fewe of the nobilitie would appere, wherefore it was again adiorned to Westminster, where was a whole company and a full apparaunce. In the whiche session, the commons of the neither house, put vp to the Kyng, and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and misdemeanaoure, against the duke of Suffolke: the effect wherof with his aansweres, hereafter ensueth.

FIRST they alleged, that he had traiterously excited, provoked, and counsailed, Ihon erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleance, Bertrame, Lorde Presigny, Willyam Cosynet, enemies to the kyng, and frendes and Ambassadors to Charles, callyng hymself Frenche kyng, to entere into this Realme, and to leuy warre against the kyng and his realme, to the intent to destroye the kyng and his frendes, and to make Ihon his sonne, kyng of this realme, marrying hym to Margaret, sole heire to Ihō duke of Somerset, pretendyng and declaryng her, to be next heire inheritable to the Croune, for lack of issue of the Kynges body lawfully begotten.

ITEM that the saised duke, beyng of the kynges priue and nere coiual, allured by greate rewardes, and faire promises, made by the foresaid Erle of Dumoys, caused the kyng to deliuer and sette at libertie, Charles duke of Orleance, enemy to the kyng, and the kynges noble father, whiche deliuerance, was prohibited by expresse woordes, in the last will of the kynges moste victorious father.

ITEM, that before the departure of the saied duke of Orleance, the forenamed Duke of Suffolke, traytorously faste cleaving to Charles called the French kyng, counsailed, provoked, and entisied the saised duke of Orleance, to move thesame kyng, to make warre against England, bothe in Fraunce and Normandy: according to whiche procurement and counsail, thesaied Frenche kyng, hath recovered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandy, and taken prisoners, the Erle of Shrewesbury, the Lorde Fau conbridge, and many other valeant capitanes.

These three articles, he denied either for fact or thought.

FARTHER it was alledged, that he beyng Ambassador for the Kyng of Englane, to Charles callyng hymself the Frenche Kyng, promised to Reyner kyng of Scicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, enemies to the kyng, the release of Angeow, with the deliuerance of the Countie of Mayne, and the citie of Maunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, whiche him accompanied: whiche promise, after his re turne,
turne, he caused to be performed, to the kynges disinheritate, and losse irrecoverable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblishment of the Duchy of Normandie.

5. ALSO they surprized, that thesaied duke, beyng in France in the kynges service, and one of the pruiest of his counsaill there, traiterously, declared and opened to the captaines and conduyters of warre, apperteyning to the kynges enemies, the kynges counsaill, purueinace of his armes, furnitures of his tounes, and all other ordinaunces, whereby the kynges enemies, (enformed by his trayterous informacion) haue gotten tounes and fortresses, and the Kyng by that meane, deprued of his inheritance.

6. ITÉM, thesaied duke declared to the Erle of Dumoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and Willyam Cosynet, Ambassadors for the Fræche kyng, liyng in London, the priuities of the kynges counsaill, bothe for the provisyon of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchi of Normandy: by the discloysing wherof the Frenchmen knownyng the kinges secretes, prevented the tyme, and obtained their purpose.

7. ITÉM that the sayde Duke, at suche time as the Kyng sent Ambassadours to the Frenche Kyng, for the enteatyng of peace, trayterously before there comyng to the Frenche courte, certified kyng Charles of their commission, authoritie, and Instruccions, by reason wherof, neither peace nor amitie succeeded, and the Kynges inheritaunce lost, and by his enemies possessed.

8. ITÉM thesame Duke sayde openly in the starre chamber, before the lorde of the Counsaill, that he had as highe a place in the couesal house of the Frenche Kyng, as he had there, and was aswell trusted there as here, and could remove from the Frenche kyngge, the pruiest man of his counsayl, if he would.

9. ITÉM when armyes haue beene prepared, & souldiers redy waged, to passe over the sea to resist the Kynges enemies: Thesayd Duke corrupted by rewardes of the Frenche Kyngge, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armyes to passe any farther.

10. ITÉM the sayde Duke beyng Ambassadour for the kyng, comprised not in the leage, as the kynges Alies, neither the kyng of Arragon, neither the duke of Britayne, but suffered them to be comprised on the contrary partye, by reason wherof, the olde amitie of the kyng of Arragon, is estranged from this realme, and the duke of Britayne become enemy to thesame: and Giles his brother the Kynges suer frende, cast in strong prison, and their lyke to ende and finise his dayes.

Al these objections he utterly denied, or fayntely auoyded, but not fully excused. Diuers other crymes were layde to his charge, as, enrychyng hymselfe with the Kynges goodes and landes, gathering together, and makyng a money polde of offices, fees, wardes, and fermes, by reason wherof the kynges estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kyn highly exalted, and enriched, with many other pointes, whiche by cause they be not notable, nor of no great force or streth I omitte and ouerpasse. The Quene, whiche entierly loved the Duke, fearyng that some comonacion and trouble myght ryse, if he were let goo unpunished, caused hym to be committed to the Towe, where he was kepe with as muche pleasure, as he that was at large, and oute of all captuities. But after that a moneth was expired, she ymagenynge the people to be pacified with this open emprisonement, caused him bothe to be delierued, and also to be restored to the kinges fauor and grace, as muche as cuer he was before that tyme. But this doyng incensed the furye of the mutable comons, muche more then before: openly demounceynge, and sayng, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to se such a persone, infected with so many misdeeds, either to rule about a prince or be had in honor. Of these words sprang dedes, and of this talkyng, rose displeasure, whiche had growen to greate mischiefe, if politique provisston had not, with all celeritie resisted the fyrst fury: for the commons in sundry places of the realme assembled together,
together, gathered great companies, and elected a Capitayn, whome they called, blew beryd: but or they had attempted any enterprise, their headdes were apprehended and so the members sodainely were dispersed, without any hure comitted, or perpetrated.

AFTER this litte rage was asswaged, the Parliament was adoinned to Leycester, whither came the Kyng and the Queene in great estate and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsailor. The cōmōs of the lower house, not forgettyng their olde grudge: beseched the kyng, that such persons, as assetted to the relese of Angeow, and delinuance of Mayne, might be extremely punished, and tormentd: and to be priuye to this facte, they accused, as principal, the duke of Suffolke, with Ihon bishop of Salisbury, and syr Ianes Fynes, lord Say, & diuers other. When kyng Henry perceiued, that the cōmones wer thus stomacked and bent, against the Quenes dearlynge William Duke of Suffolke, he playnly sawe, that neithers glosyng wolde serve, nor dissimulacion could appeace, the continual clamer of the importunate cōmones: Wherfore to begyn a shorte pacification in so long a broyle. Firste he sequestred the lorde Say, beyng threasorer of Englane, and other the Dukes adharents, from there offices, and authoritie, and after banished and put in exile the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode, and cōmon noysance of the Realme of Englane, for the terme of. v. yeres: meenyng by this exile, to appease the furious rage of Ñ outrageous people, and that pacified, to reuocate him into his olde estate, as the Quenes chefe frēde & counsailor. But fortune wold not, that this flagitious person, shoulde so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, entendynge to be transported into Frāiie, he was encotered with a shipp of warre apperteynyng to the duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of Lon-
don, called the Nicholas of the Towre. The capitayne of thesame barke with small fight entered into the dukes shyppe, and perceyyung his person present, brought hym to Douere Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote caused his head to be striken of, and left his body with the head vpon the sandes of Douer, which corse was there founde by a chapelayne of his, and conueyed to Wyngfelde college in Suffolke, and there buried. This ende had Williā de la pole, first duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods punyshme: for aboue all things he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and diuiser of the destruccion of Hūfrey the good duke of Gloucester, and so the bloudie of the Innocente ma was with his dolorous death, recompenced and punished. But the death of this froward person, and vngracious patron, brought not the Realme quyete; nor delivered it from all inward grudge, and intestime diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly famyue, or extreme pestilēce. For althought Rycharde duke of Yorke, was in prysyn, (as the kynges deputie) in Ñ Realm of Irelande, continually resynaunt there, yet his breath puffed, and his wynde blew dayly, in many partes of the Realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely ponderynge the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceyyng more losse then encrease, more rayne then aunauncement, daily to ensue: Remem-
bryng also that Fraiie was conquered, and Normandy was gayned, by the Frenche people in shorte space, thought with them selfes and imagened, that the faulte of all these miserable chaunces, happened, either because the Kyngge was not the true enheritor to the crowne, or that he or his counsail were not able of wit, policie, and circumspeccion, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a region. Vpon this conjecture the frendis, kins-
men and alyes of the duke of Yorke, which wer of no small nāber, began to practise the gouernace of his title: Infusying and puttynge into mens heades secretly his right to Ñ crown, his politique gouernae, his gentle behavior, to all the Iryshe nacion, affirmyng, that he whiche had brought that rude and savage nacion, to ciuile fashion, and Englishes vrbannitie-
wolde, (if he once ruled in the Realme of Englaund) depose euil counsailers, correct euil iudges, & reforme all matters amisse, and vnameded. And to set opē the fludde gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commocciō and rysynge of people to be made against the King: so that if they preuyled, then had the duke of Yorke and his complices, there appetite and desire. And because the kentishmen be impacient in wronges disdayning of to much oppression, and euer desirous of new chaung, and new fangelnes. The
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The, ouverture of this matter was put fyrst furthe in Kent, and to thentent that it should not beknown, that the duke of Yorke or his frédes were the cause of the sodayne rising: A certayn yeomana of a goodely stature, and pregnaunt wit, was esynt to take upon him the name of Ithom Mortimer, all though his name were Ithom Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinking that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistente house of the erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to hym both adherent, and favorabile. This capitayn not onely suborned by techers, but also enforced by pruyye scholemasters, assembled together a great company of talle personages: assuring them, that their attépt was both honorable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promising them, that if either by force or pollicie, they might once take the kyng, the Queene, & other their counsaillers, into their handes and gouernauce, that they woulde honorablie extreate the kyng, and so sharply hande his counsaillers, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demanded, nor once any imposicious, or tax should be spoken of. These persuasions, with many other fayre promises of libertie, (whiche the common people more affect & desire, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentshe people, that they with their capitayne aboue named, in good order of battell (not in great number) came to the playne of Blackeheethe, betwene Eldham and Grenewyche. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious capitaines comyng thither, might be shadowed from the kyng and his counsaill, he sent to him an humble supplication, with lounyng worodes, but with malicious entent, affirmynge his comynge, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsaill, longers of them selves, and oppressers of the pore comonalitie, flatterers to the kyng and enemies to his honor, suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subjectes, perecall to their frendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie, nothyng doyng. This proude byll, was both of the kyng, and his counsaill, disdainfully taken, and thereupon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng, it was concluded, that suche proude rebelles, should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force then with fayre worodes or amicable aanswer: Wherupon the kyng assembled a great arny, and marched toward the, whiche had lyen on Blackeheeth, by the space of vii. dayes. The substil capitayn named Jack Cade, enteynyng to bryng the kyng farther, within the compass of his net, brake vp his Campe, and retired backwarde to the towne of Seuenocke in Kent, and there exspectynge his pray, encamped him selfe, and made his abode. The Queene, which bare the rule, beyng of his retrayte well advertised, sent syr Humfrey Stafford knyght, and William his brother with many other gentelmanes, to follow the chace of the Kentsishmen, thinkyng that they had fledde, but verely, they were deseeyued: for at the fyrst skyrmish, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their company shamfully discomfit. The kynges armye, beyng at this tyme come to Blackheeth, hearynge of this discomfiture, began to grudge and murmure amongst them selfe: some wishing the duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the capitayne his cosyne: some desyryng the ouerthrow of the kyng and his counsaill: other openly cryeyng out on the Queene, and her complices. This rumor openly spoken, & còmoly published, causd the kyng, & certayn of his counsaill, not ledde by favor, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the entent to appeace the furios rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the lord Say, Threasorcr of England, to the Towner of London: and if other, against whom, lyke displeasure was borne had been presente, they had likewise ben serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should perishe. When the Kentshe capitayn, or faytuous Cade, had thus obeyed victory, and slayne the two valcuent Staffordes, he appareled hym selfe in their rych armure, and so with pompe and glory returned agayn toward London: in whiche retrayte, diuers idle and vacabonde persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great nombre. Thus this glorious Capitayn, compassed about, and enuironed with a multitude of euil rude and rusticall persones, came agayn to the playn of Blackeheeth, and there strogly encamped him selfe: to whome were sent by the kyng, the Archebishop of Canterbury, and Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, to còmon with hym of his greues and requestes.

These
These lorde found him sober in communicacion, wyse in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and styfe in his opinion, and by no ways possible, to be perswaded to dissolve his aryme, except the kyngne in person wolde come to him, and assent to all thynges, which he should requyre. These lorde, perceuyung the wilful pertinacy, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious Iaelyn, departed to the kyng, declaring to hym, his temerarious and rashe wordes, and presupptuous requestes. The kyng somwhat hearyng, and more markyng the sayynges of thys outrageous losel, and haundyng dayly reporte of the concurse and accesse of people, which cōtinually resorted to hym, doubtyng asmuch his familial seruantes, as his vnknowē subjectes (which spared not to speke, that the capitayynes cause, was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the castell of Kylyngworthe in Warwyckeshyre, leaynyng only behynd hym ſ lord Scales, to kepe the Towre of London. The capitayn beyng advertised of the kynges absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all men, Murder, Rape, or Robbery: by whiche colour he allured to hym the hertes of the common people. But after that he entered into Londo, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, strikyng his sworde on London stone, sayyng: now is Mortymer lorde of this citie, and rode in every strete lyke a lordly Capitayn. And after a flatteryng declaracon made to the Mayre of the citie of his thynge, he departed agayn into Southwarke. And vpou the thirde daye of Iulij, he caused syr James Fynes lord Say, and Thresor of Englanede, to be brought to the Gylde halle of London, and there to be arraynyd: which beynge before the kynges justices put to aunswere, desired to be tryed by his peers, for the lenger delay of his life. The Capitayne perceuyng his dilatorie ple, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there before his confession ended, caused his head to be cut of, and pitched it on a highe poole, which was opely borne before hym through the stretes. And this cruel tyraunt not content with the murder of the lorde Say, wente to Myle end, and there apprehended syr James Cromer, then shreue of Kent, and some in law to the sayd lord Say, & hym without confession or excuse heard, caused there likewise to be hedded, and his head to be fixe on a poole, and with these two heddles, this bodly butcher entered into the citie agayn, and in despyte caused them in every strete, kyssse together, to the great detestacion of all the beholders.

AFTER this shamefull murder, succeed open rapyn and manifest robbery in dunders houses within the citie, and in especial in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and dunders other: ouer & besyde raunsonyng, & cyning of dunders notable marchauntes, for the tyeci and securite of their lyles and goodes, as Robert Horne alderman, which payed. v.C: markes, and yet neither he, nor no other person was either of lyfe or substance in a suretie or sauegard. He also put to execution in Southwarke dunders persons, some for infrynyng his rules and preceptes, bycause he wolde be sene indifferent, other he tormeted of his olde acquantance, lest they shoule blase & declare his base byrthe, and lousy lynage, disparagynge hym from his vnspred surname of Mortymer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue frendes and factours, both in Londo, Kent, and Essex. The wise Mayre, and sage magistrates of the citie of London, perceuyuyng theselves, neither to be sure of goodes nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with feare to repel and expulse this mischieuous head, and his vngracious company. And because the lord Scales was ordeyned keper of ſ Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named capitayne in Normandy, (as you haue harde before) they purposed to make them pnyaye both of their entent and enterprise. The lord Scales promised the hys ayde, with shotyng of ordainancce, and Mathew Gough was by hym appoynted, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners: bycause he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renowned and noysed. So ſ Capitayynes of the citie appointed, toke vpou them in the night to kepe the bridge of London, prohibiting the Kentishmen, either to passe or approche. The rebelles, which never soundly slepte, for feare of sodain chauuuas, h earynge the brydge to be kept and manned, ran with greate haste to open their passage, where betwene both partes was a ferce and cruel encounter. Mathew Gough, more expeut in marcial feates, then the other cheuentaynes of the citie, perceuyuyng the Kentishmen, better.
better to stande to their taclyng, then his imaginacion expected, advised his copany no further to procede, toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the entent, that the citezens hearing where the place of the ieopardye rested, might occurre their enemies, and releue their frendes and companions. But this counsale came to small effect: for the multitude of ye rebelles drave the citezens from the stoules at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to set fyre in divers houses. Alas what sorow it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyryng to eschew the fyre, lept on his enemies weapon, and so died: fearfull women with chyldren in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the river: other doubtinge how to saue them self betwene fyre, water, and sword, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capitayns nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the draw bridge all the nighte valeauntly, but in conclusion, the rebelles gate the draw bridge, and drowned many, and slew Ithon Sutton alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, much experience in feats of chiautrie, the which in continual warres, had valeauntly serued the kyng and his father, in the partes beyd the sea (as before ye haue hearde). But it is ofte sene that he, whiche many tyme hath vanquished his enemies in straung countreys, and returned agayn as a conqueror, hath of his awne nacion afterward been shamfully murdered, and brought to confusion. This hard and sore conflict endured on the bridge, til. ix. of the clocke in the morninge, in doutfull chaunce, and fortunes balancue: for some tyne the Londoners were bet back to the stulpes at sainct Magnes corner, and sodainly agayn the rebelles were repulsed and driuen backe, to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes, beyng faynte, wery and fatiguate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leue battail til the next day, vpon condiccion: that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishe in to London.

AFTER this abstinence of warre agreed, the lusty Kentishe Capitayne, hopyng on more frendes, brake vp the gayles of the kinges benche and Marshalsea, and set at libertie, a swarme of galates, both mete for his seruice and apte for his enterprise. The archbishop of Canterbury, beyng then chauncelor of England, and for his suerty lyenge in the Towe of London, called to him the bishop of Winchester, whiche also for fear, lurked at Halywell. These two prelates seyng the fury of the Kentishe people, by reason of their betyng backe, to be mitigate and minished, passed the ryner of Thamys from the Towe, into Southwarke, bringing with them under the kynges great seal, a general pardon unto all the offenders: which they caused to be openly proclaimed & published. Lorde how glad the poore people were of this Pardone (ye more then of the great Jubile of Rome) and how thet accepted thesame, in so muche that the whole multitude, without biddynge farewell to their capitain, retired thesame night, euer man to his awne home, as men amased, and strikè with fear. But Ithon Cade desparate of succors, whiche by the frendes of the duke of Yorke were to hym promised, and seyng his copany thus without his knowledge sodainly depart, mistrustyng the sequele of y matter, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex: but all his metamorphosis or transfiguration, little preualied. For after a Proclamation made, that whosoeuer could apprehende thesaied Iac Cade, should haue for his pain, a. M. markes, many sought for hym, but few espid hym, til one Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent found hym in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slewe the caitife Cade, & brought his dead body to London, whose hed was set on London bridge. This is the sucess of all rebelles, and this fortune chaunce euer to traytors. For where men striue against the streame, their bote neuer cometh to his pretensed porte.

AFTER this commocion, the kyng himselfe came into Kent, & there sat in judgement vpo the offenders, and if he had not mitigated his justice, with mercie and compassion, more then faire. C. by the rigor of his lawe, had beene justely put to execucion: but he considerd, bothe their fragilitie and innocencie, and how they with pernurious people, were seduced and deceived: and so punished the stubburne heddes, and delivered the ignorat & miserable people, to the great reioysyng of all his suyectes.

DVRYNG this commocion aboute London, Raufe bishop of Salisbury, was by his awne tenantes,
tenantes, & seruautes, murdered at Edyngton, and so from thensefurth daily succeed, murder, slaughter, & discencion.

THE. XXIX. YERE.

TThese variable chaunces in Englande, were not vnkownen to the French kyng, wherfore, he makynge foundacion vpon the English discord, determined to get into his possession, the duchie of Acquitayne, while the princes of Englande, wer in cõtrouersie, for their titles and superioritie: and therfore like a spedy puruior, whiche slacketh not tyne, he sent therles of Ponthieure, and Perigot, with many valiant capitaines, to ley siege to the toune of Bergerac set vpõ the riuver of Dordon, of whiche toune was capitain, Ibô Geddyng, whiche hearyng of the yeldynge of Roen, and conquest of Normandy, consideryng the pays-saunce of the Frenche army, vpon reasonable condiciõs, rendered the toune: yet all this notwithstanding, the lord Camcyse, sir George Seymoun, sir Ihon Arundell, and other va- liant capitaines, which had the governance of the coutryne, manned touunes gathered people, and animated the cold stomaches of the fearefull Gascons: requiryng them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their natural prince and vndoubted souereigne lorde, send-yng daily letters to the kyng of England and his counsaill, declaryng to hym the weaknesses of his subiectes, and the strength of his enemies, asserting hym for a suertie, that without spedy aide, and redy succors, the whole coutryne were like to be gotten frõ his possessiõ. Many letters were sent, and many faire aunswers wer brought, but relief neither apperred, nor one man of war was thether shipped. By reason wherof, the Gascoyns perceived their enemies at hand, intending aswell to destroy the coutryne, as to subdue the people, began every man for hymself, to regard nothlyng, but the sauyng of their touunes, goodes, and corne: neglectyng defence, and fearful of assaults, least by small resistance, thei might receive more detriment, then after thei could recover again, either with great force, or muche labor. But thenglishmen, (whose natures are not to be faint harted, even at the very jeopardy of death) with al their wittes studied, bothe how to repulse & convince their enemies, & to turne awai the euil chances whiche thei sawe likely, (if policie did not helpe) sodainly to fal, and shortly to insue. But al their pollicies little prevailed in coeclu- sion, because succors failed, and force wanted: For after the Frenchmen, had the toune of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Ionsac, of Boneföy, and diverse other places willyngly & frely, yielded themselves to the French subieccion. Durynge whiche tyme, the lorde Doruall, third sonne to the lorde Delabraeth, with a greate number of men, aswel on horsebacke as on foote, departed from Basas, to conquere and destroy the isle of Madoce: whereof hearyng the Mairre of Burdeaux, with a conveniuent crewe of men, issued out of the citie, and encountered with his enemies, betweene whom, was a hard fight and a dreadly battail: but the Frenchmen, more with multitude, then with force, vanquished thenglishe men, and killed and toke prisoners, aboue. vj. C. Englishmen and Gascoynes, but of the Frencmen which wer in double numbre, aboue their aduersaries (as writers affirme) there wer slain. viii. C. persones. For whiche cause, the capitaines folowed no farther the chace, lest the English people would again retourne. This slaughter of the Englishe parte, the Frenche writers sett furthe with the moste, but of their awne losse, thei spoke not one word. Suche indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discouerture so amased the wittes, & appalled the hartes of the meane Gascons that thei offered many touunes to the French part, before the same wer of them demanded.

AFTER this, the Bastard of Orleance, erle of Dumoys, and Lôguile, lieutenant genera- ll for the Frenche kyng, accompanied with his brother, Ihon erle of Angulesme, whiche, had been long prisoner in England, and many valiant capitaines, and expert men of warre, besieged the Castle of Montguyon, whiche to them was rendered. After this, the sied army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standyng on the riuver of Gyrod, whiche toune is the very.
very keye of the porte of Burdeaux, and this toune was besieged bothe by water and by
lanye, and fiersly assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for
lacke of resistance, conquered and gayned. The bastard of Kendall capitain of the Castle,
seyng the toune lost, vpon certaine condicions, deliuered his fortresse, into the possession of
the lord lieuentant. After this toune gained the fortresses of Bourge and Liburnig yelded, not
without five Wekes besiegyng. The wittie capitaines percyuing fortunes favor towards
them, thought it necessary to take the tyme, while their good planet reigned. Wherfore, to
prevent the aide of the Englishmen, whom thei daily expected to come to the succour of
their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make war in foure seueral partes. The lorde
Charles Delebreth, accompanied with Ithon lorde of Tartas and Aymon, lorde of Doruall
his sounes, and therle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noble
men of Guyen, laied siege to the toune of Acques, in the whiche be diuere houte bathes.
Theirle of Arminack extreme enemy to the realme of Englande, for breakyng the mariage
concluded betwene kyng Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besiged
with a greate puysaunce, the strong toune of Ryon. Therle of Pothyure, with many
noble barons, besieged the toune of Chastillon in Perigot, and the erle of Dumoys, enu-
roned with a great puysance the toune of Fronsacke. Thenglishemen within this toune,
percyuing the greate ordinaunce on the French part, and the small provision on their
side, conuenanted with the said erle, that if the toune wer not succored, and the Frenchem
foughten with all, before the feast of the natiuie, of. S. Ihō Baptist next ensuyng, that then
the toune of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, whiche was the stronest fortresse of all
the countrey, and the very keye of Guyen, and chief chamber of Burdeaux: and for perform-
ans hereof, pledges wer deliuered, and writynges autentique sealed. This agrement once
blown through the countrey, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other tunes, (except Bayon)
made like agrement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and gentlemen, who
wer subiectes and vassaill to
ihe Frenche kyng, or before that tyme disceased7 that then, after the death of his father and*
graund-

KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

grandfather, all thesaied landes should wholly remain, to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, beyng vnder the obeysance of the Frenche kyng or his heires. Many noble men whose hartes were good Englishe, made like composicions, and some came into Englande, and other went to Caleis, and wer great officers there: as the Lord Duras whiche was Marshall there, and Monsire Vanclere, whiche was there deputie, vnder therle of Warwick, (as after shalbe shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse, of France, Normandy, & Acquitayn: wherfore, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of them, I will returne to the greate trouble, discencion and division, whiche long was cloked, & now openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of Englane.

¶ THE. XXX. YERE.

YOU haue heard before, how the duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Croune, and how his frendes commoned secretly, with diverse persones of that matter, and excited them to set forward, and aunauce that parte to the vtermost: and howe the saied duke was sent into Ireland, where he was daily aduerised by his assured frendes, of all thynges done in Englane, and by the knowe in what estate he stode, bothe with the nobilitie, and comonaltie. Wherfore, he mindyng no lêger to dreame in his weighttie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right and title, returned out of Irelande, and came to Londô in the Parliamet tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especial frendes: as Ihon Duke of Norfolke, Richard Erle of Salisbury, and Lorde Richard his sonne, whiche after was Erle of Warwick, Thomas Courtney, erle of Devonsire, and Edward Broke, lord Cobham a man of a greate witte and muche experience: requiring them bothe of aduise and counsaill, how he might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpa- 
cion, set forth his title, and obtein his right.

AFTER long consultacion, it was thought expedient, first to seke some occasion and picke some quereell, to the duke of Somerset, whiche ruled the kyng, ordred the realme, and moste might do with the quene: Whom, the commons, for the lose of Normandy, worse than a Tode or Scorpion, hated, disdained and execrated, in so muche that diverse eull ruled persones, brake his house, & spoyled his goodes, within the blacke Friers of the citie of Londô; which malefactors, according to their deserte, wer lustly executed & punished. For wel knew the duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled, any poynct of their purposed enterprise, that he would with speare and sheld, with might and main, withstand and repel thesame, to thexteme point of death, and to their vter confusion. Wherfore to abridge his power, and to minishe his auctoritie, they determined to byrng hym, into the hatred of the people, and into the disdain of the nobilitie. And to be the stronger in the settynge forth of their feate, they, what with rewardes and faire promises, & what with declaracion of greate enormities, committed by the kinges counsellors, against the common wealth, allected and allured to them, lusty bachelers, & active persones, of a great number, protestying and declaring, that thei neither meant euill, nor thought harme, either to the kinges person, or to his dignitie: but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great injuries done to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diverse rulers about the kyng, which daily eotary to right and equitie, vexed & pilled thenglish people, without reason or measure: so or no man was in suretie, either of his awne goodes, or suer of his proper lades or possessiôs. These great enormities, they caused to be published, to thintent or their chief purpose should not be espied, or perceiued.

WHEN the duke of Yorke had thus framed themtory into his lóg intended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great armey in the Marches of Wales, publishyng openly, that the cause of his mocîo was for the publique wealth of the realme, and great profite of the comons: whiche faire told tale, allured to hym muche people, aswell of the chialry as of the meane sort. The kyng muche astonnied with this sodain commication, by
the advise of his counsail, raised a greate hoste, and marched forward toward the duke: but
he being of his approche, credibly advertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kynges
waies, and toke his iorney toward London: and lauung knowledge, that he might not be
suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed over the Thamse at Kyngston
bridge, and so set forth toward Kent, where he knewe that he had bothe frendes and good
willers, and there, on brente Heath, a mile from Dartford, and x. miles from Lond, he
embattailed himself, and encamped his army very strongly, bothe with trenches and artillery.
The king being therof advertised, with greate diligence, brought his army to blacke Heath, &
there pight his tîtes. While both tharmies lay thus embattailed, the kyng by thaduise of his
counsaill, sent the bishoppes of Winchester and Elie to the duke, both to knowe, what
was the cause of so greate a tumult and commocion, and also to make a concord, if the re-
questes of the duke and his company, semed to them consonant to reason, or profitable
to the people. The duke hearyng y message of the two bishops, either doubting the variable
chaunce of mortal battaille, or lokyng for a better occasiõ, or a more luckye daie, aunswered
the prelates, that his comuyen was neither to dampnishe the kyng, neither in honor, nor in
persone, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remove fro hym, certain euii disposed
persons of his counsaill, which wer the bludsuckers of the nobilitie, the pollers of the clear-
gie, and oppressors of the poore people: amongst whó he chiefly named, Edmond duke of
Somerset, whom if the kyng would commit to warde, to aunswere to suche articles, as against
hym should in open parlament, be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to
dissolve his armie and dispatche his people, but also offered hymself, like an obedient sub-
iecte, to come to the kynges presence, and to do him true and faithful servicie, accordyng
to his truth & boïden dutie. When the messengers wer returned with this reasonable aun-
swere: The kyng perceiuyng, that without great bludshed, he could not bridle the duke of
Yorke, nor without war he could not appeace the furios rage of the cómon people, byng
once set on fire, except he followed their minds, and graunted their requestes, caused the
duke of Somerset to be committed to ward, as some saie: or to kepe hymself priuye in his
awe house, as other write, till the fury of the people wer somewhat asswaged and pacified.
Whiche thyng doen, the duke of Yorke the firste daie of Marche, dissouled his army, &
brake vp his campe, and came to the kynges tent, where beside his expectaciõ, and cotary
to the promise made by the kyng, he found the duke of Somerset, set at large and at libertie,
whom the duke of Yorke boldly accused, of treason, of bribery, oppression, and many other
crimes. The duke of Somerset not onely made aunsweres to the dukes obieccions, but also
accused hym of high treason, toward the kyng his souereigne lorde: affirming, that he with
his fautors and complices, had consulted together how to obtaine the crowne and scepter of
the realme. By meane of whiche words, the kyng remoued straight to Lodon, and the
duke of Yorke as a prisoner, rode before hym, & so was kept awhile. The kyng assem-
bled together a great counsail at Westminster, to here the accusacioñ of the ij. dukes, the
one obiectyng to the other, facinous actes & detestable crimes. But the duke of Somerset,
whiche now conceived in his mynd the thyng that shortly folowed, incessantly exhorted the
counsaill, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion, or otherwise, might be compelled to
confesse his offence, and so byng attainted of treason, to be put to execucion, and his
children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their native country: to the intent that by
the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, al ciuill warre, and inward diuision might
cesse and be repressed: besechyng almightie God, that so greate an enemy to the kyng and
his bloud, might never escape punishment, nor continuwe long in life. The duke of Somer-
set set forth this matter the more vehemently, because he knewe perfite, that the duke of
Yorke dayly studied how to get the crowne, and obtayn the goururance, and to depose and
destroy both the kyng and hym. But the necessitie of destinie, can not by any mans deuise,
be either letted or interrupted: for many thynges (to common iudgementes) declared the
duke of Yorkeles fraught and innocœye in this case. First his free and voluntary conyng
to the kyng, when he with his power was able to encounter with the kynges puysance, which
was;
was an open token and manifest argument, that he neither meâte treason, nor yet fraude. Secondly, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable petitiones, for the pore commons, wer judged no pointes of a man, that desired souereignetie, or rule aboue other which thinges he did onely for a cautele, (as afterward openly appeared). While the counsaill treated of sauing or losing of this dolorous duke of Yorke, A rumour sprange throughout London, that Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayd duke, a yong prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a strong armye of Marchemen, was comyng toward London, which tidings sore appalled the Quene and the whole counsaill. Beside this, thesame very daye came Ambassadours from the heads and Magistrates of the citie of Burdeaux, whereof the chefe were, the erle of Kendal, and the lord Lesparre, whiche signified to the counsaill, that if they woulde send an armye into Gascoyne, the Gascoynes wolde reuerce & turne agayne to the English part: advertising them, that there was in those partes no puissance or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them, & therefore there was no doubt of the regayning or recoquest: requyryng the w all diliget celeritie, to take so fayre a prey so opely to them offeryd, & to mynd notlyng before the regayning of so fruitful a countrey. These. ij. thinges sore troubled the heads of the kings counsaull, whiche, lest this discerncencion betwene two persones, might be the let of outward conquest, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his fayre Castel of Wigmore, in the Marches of Wales, where he studyed, both how to displease his enemies, & to obtayn his purpose: And so by meanes of y absâce of ¥ duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished ¥ court & ¥ kings presâce, ¥ duke of Somerset rose vp in in high favor w ¥ king & ¥ quene, & his worde only ruled, & his voyce was only hearde.

¶ THE. XXXI. YERE.

The counsaill of Englelnde, not forgetinge the offer of the Gascons, and that thei might now haue the citie of Burdeaux with the cou треy round about, by offer and request, whiche with great charge & longe warre, they coulde scant agayn recouer or reprossesse, appointed the veteran souldiour, and valaunt Captayn, Iben lord Talbot, and erle of Shrewsbyrue, to be chesfetayn of the armye, which should in all haste be transported and conuuyed into Acquitayn. The lorde of Gascoyn, both well pleased and glad of their aunswere, returned into their countrey, in as secret maner, as they from thens departed, declaringe to their nacion, the Capitaines, & the powre, that was to the coming: exhorting every man to be firm and stable to the kyng of England and his heyr, vnder whose libertie and fredom, thei had prospered & rejoyseed, aboue. iij. C. yeres, rather then now to fal into the French capitiuitie: whose taxes were unreasonabile, and whose dayly exacciones were to them importable. When the valiant Talbot, the hardy erle of Shrewsby was appointed to assemble an army of men, and them to coueuy into the duchie of Acquitayn, Lord, how busy he was in mustering howe diliget in setting forward, and how intelly he entertained his men of warre, as though he went first to warre, and neuer had take payne, either to serue his price or to gyn honor. What should I speake, how that he thought every houre, as thre, till his arme were ready, or write, what payne he toke to se them shipped and vitayled. But verely men judge, that as this labor was the ende and extreme point of all his worldly busynes so he should shew him self: feare, coragious, & fearefull to his enemies in the extreme point of his death and naturall departing. Thys English Hector & marcial flower, elected to him, the most hardy & coragious persons, which he could espye, preparing also, horses, munitions vitayles, and all thinges necessarie to such an armye, and to so great an enterprise. Whâ all thinges were shipped, and wynd and wether serued he toke his chaunee, and sayled into Gascouyn, where without resisteece, he peaceabli arrived in ¥ Isle of Madre, where he reposed his armey, beyng scant. iii. M. men, and destroyed all the countray, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strög towne and castel of Fron-
sac, and divers other towns and fortresses. The inhabita\text{"ies\} of Burdeaux, hearing of the erles Arrival, sent to him messengers in the darke night, th\text{"aking\} and congratulating him for his thither coming, and also requiring him to accelerate, and sped his jour\text{"ey\} towards their citie, enforcing him, that now the time was propice for his purpose: and tyme not taken, was labor mis\text{"pent\}. This aunc\text{"et Fox, and politique Capitayne lost not one houre, nor spared one mynet, till he came before the citie of Burdeaux. The citez\text{"ens\} glad of his commynge, made not the French capi\text{"ayn\}s, which had the gouernaunce of the town, either parties or priuices of their entent: yet some of them wold, that the Frenchmen, in securitie both of lifes and goodes, should departe out of \text{"y town but their will was no will: for the multitude, abhorryng the French servitude and embracing the English lib\text{"ertie, which they and their ancestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englishmen army. The French Capitaynes entending to escape se\text{"cretely, by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the lorde Lespar, and other of the English army. After the rega\text{"nyng of Burdeaux, arrived at Blay, the bastard of Somerset, sir Iphon Talbot, lord Lisle, by his wyfe sonne to the sayd erle of Shrewesbury, the lord Molyns, the lorde Haryngton and Cameus, syr Iphon Haward, sir Iphon Montgomer\text{"ye, syr Iphon Vernon with. xxii. C. m\text{"e with vitales and munici\text{"os. Whe the erle of Shrewes\text{"bury was thus accordyng to his entent of all thinges furnished and adorned: firste he fort\text{"ified Burdeaux with Englishmen & victayle: after that, he rode into the coun\text{"rey abrode, where he obteined cities, and gat townes without stroke or det of swouerde: for the poore and nedy people beyng fatigate, and verry with the oppressi\text{"o of their new landlordes rendered their townes before they were of them requyred, and beside this the townes & cities farre distauncte fr\text{"o Burdeaux sent messengers to the erle, promising to him both servise & obeysaunce. And emonge other the town and castell of Chastillon in Perigotte, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon copissi\text{"on\}, that they might with their lifes sauely departe: which town, the erle strogy fortified both with men and ar\text{"donnaunce. The French kyng lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, beyng of the erles actes in Gascoyn credible enformed, was not a little exasperate & quickned: whereas he mynding to resist the first storme, and repulse the first surge, assembled a great army to the number of. xxii. M. men, and enteringe into Acquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanied with the erle of Pon\text{"hyure, the lorde of sainct Seuere and Boucat, marched toward Caleys in Gascoyn, and with fayre promises obteined the town. And after that towne gunned, the Frenche kyng diuided his army into two partes, wherof the one was gouned by the erle of Cleremont, sonne in law to kynge Charles, and heyre to the duke of Burbon, in the which were. xv. M. men, in whom consisted the wayght and pesye of the whole enterprise. This army he apponted to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other army wherof he was Capitayn and leadar him self, accompanied with the peres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caleys, and sent the two Marshals of Fraunce with xvii\text{"i. C. men of armes, beside archers, to besiege the towne of Chastylon in Perigot, and in gong thither, they gat a forteresse, whiche they manned, and so departed to Chastilone, which they enuironed with a strong seage, & east highe trenches, and made depe dytches on every side: and in a place where their enemies must come, they layde ordonnancen both great and small, wherof so great a number was never before sene in France. The erle of Shrewesbury hearing of these newes, and perceiving that he must of necessitie encouter, and fight with two armies, determined w him selfe, first to assay the least power and weeker pa\text{"ysaunce: wherfore without longer procrastination, he assembled togeth\text{"er. viii. C. horse\text{"me, wherof the lord Lisle his sonne, the lord Molyns, the lord Cameus, sir Edward Hull, syr Iphon Haward, & sir Iphon Vern\text{"o were chefe, and so marched forward toward Chastyston, appoynytyn, v. M. fote men vnder the conduyte of the erle of Kendalle, and the lord Lespar to folowe hym with all sped. In his way he assaulted v\text{"y Towne, which the Frechmen had taken, and by force entered, and slew all that he fouunde within and by the way he mett. v. C. Frenchmen, gong a forregyng, of whom he slew the greatest parte, and chaced the other
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other to the campe. The Frêchmen knowyng by these good rûners away of ÿ erles approchynge, with al diligéee left the seage, and retired in good order, into the place which they had trêched, dytched, and fortified with ordenaunce. They within the towneseyng the seage remoued, sent out woorde to the Englishmen that the Frenchmen fledde. The coragious erle hearyng these newes & feryng, leste through long taryeng the byrdes might be flowen awaye, not tarieng till his fotemê were come, set forward, toward his enemies, which were in mynd surely to haue fledde, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the French kynges rebuke, whiche was not farre of, had not caused them to tarye, and yet in this army were present the Marshal and great Master of France, the erle of Pôthyure, the Senescal of Pothyew, the lord Bessire, and many valeant Barons and Knights. When the Englishmen were come to the place where the Frenchmê were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Silnius testifith) were. iii. C. peces of brasse, beside diuers other small peces, and subtill Engynes to the Englishmen vucknowen, and nothing suspected, they lyghted al on fote, the erle of Shrewesbury only except, which because of his age, rode on a litle hake-ney, and fought fiercely with the Frêchmê, & gat the turret of their campe, and by fyne force entered into the same. This colîfcte continued in doubtfull judgement of victory. ii. longe houre: duryng which fight the lوردes of Montamban and Humadayre, with a great company of Frenchmen entered the battayle, and began a new felde, & sodainly the Gounerpersceiuynge the Englishmen to approche nere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slew. iii. C. persons, nere to the erle, who perceiuynge the imminent ieopardye, and subtile labirynth, in the which he and hys people were enclosed and illaqueate, despycynge his awne sauegarde, and desirynge the life of his entirly and welbeloved sonne the lord Lisle, wil-
ed, adverstised, and counsalled hym to deparie out of the felde, and to saue hym selfe. But whê the sonne had answered that it was neither honest nor natural for him, to loue his father in the extreme ieopardye of his life, and that he woulde taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and begin: The noble erle & confortable capitayyn sayd to him: Oh sonne sonne, I thy father, which onely hath bene the terror and scorge of the Frêch people so many yeres, which hath subuered so many townes, and profligate and discomfitd so many of them in open battayle, and marcial conflict, neither ca here dye, for the honor of my countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flye or departe without perpetuall shame and cûtinuelle infamy. But because this is thy first journey and enterprise, neither thy flyeng shall reduconde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glory: as hardly a man wisely fieth, as a temerarious person foolishly abideth, therefore ÿ flyeng of me shalbe ÿ dishonor, not only of me & my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make the able another tyme, if I be slayn to revenge my death and to do honor to thy Prince and profyt to his Realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neither desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him fro his natural father: Who cosiderying the constancy of his chyld, and the great daunger that they stode in, comforted his souldiers, cheared his Capitayns, and valeantly set on his enemies, and slew of them more in number than he had in his company. But his enemies hauyng a greater company of men, & more abûdance of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, fyrst shot him through the thyghe with a bradgône, and slew his horse, & cowardly killed him, lyenge on the ground, whom he neuer durst loke in the fayce, whyle he stode on his fete, and with him, there dyed manfully hys sonne the lord Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Gardier, and. xxx. valeant personages of the English nacion, and the lord Molyne was there taken prysoner with. ix. other. The residew of the Englishse people fled to Burdeaux and other places, wherof in the flight, were slayne aboue a. M. persons. At this battayl of Chastillon, fought the. xiii. day of Iulij, in this yere, ended his lyfe hon lord Talbot, and of his progenie ÿ fyrst erle of Shrewesbury, after that he with suche fame, more glory, and mooste victorie had for his prince and courtrey, by the space of. xxiij. yeres and more, valeantly made warre, and served the kyng in the partes beyond the sea, whose corps was
left on the ground, & after was found by his frendes, & couedyed to Whitchurch in Shrop-
shire, where it is intumulate. 'This man was to the French people, a very scorge and a
daily terror, in so much that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his adversaries pre-
sent: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadful to the common people absent, in so
much that women in France to feare their yong childre, would crye, the Talbot commeth,
the Talbot commeth. After this discomfite, diuers lorde fis fled to Burdeaux, but the erle of
Kendall, the lorde of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Dragalas, entered into the Castel of
Chastillon, which they by the space of x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion beyng des-
perate of all succors redered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After this town was
yielded the townes of saient Millon, Bybourne & all other, which the erle of Shrewesbury had
conquered, rendered the selues to the Freche obesyaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The
which citie beyng the last refuge, and onely consolation of the English people in Gas-
coyne, the French kyng in person with all his puissance, strögly beseged & dayly assaulted,
in the which he more lost then gayned: beside this, the Englishmen issued out, and cora-
giously fought with their enemies: likewise did the cizenez, which loking for no fauor at
the French kynges hand, because of their late coniuracion against him, manfully defend-
theselues, and sore noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion bothe garrisons
and the inhabitates, oppressed with muche penurye & extreme famyne were coacted to ren-
der the citie vpon reasonable condicions, to them by the French kyng sent and oblated: the
effect whereof was that no offence, before tyne committed or done by any of the cizenez
should herafter be imputed, or leyd to the charge of any of them. Also that all English-
men and Gascons myght safely devote into Englande or to Caleyse with all their substance,
and that the lorde Lespar, Duras and. xxx. other, should neuer vpon payn of death be
founde within any of the French kinges dominions, which lord Lesparre, after beyng taken
disguysed in Gascoyne was made shorter by the hedde. When this composicion was agreed
and sealed, the Englishmen had their shippes and all thinges necessary for their iorney, to
them delievered, which, when wynd and whether were to them propice and convenient, were
shortly transported into Englaund in the moneth of October this present yere. Thus was the
duchye of Acquytayn, which had cøynymed in the English possession, from the yere of our
Lord. M. lv. which is. iii. C. & od yeres, by f mariage of Aienor, daughter and heyr to
William duke of Acquytyn wyte to kyng Henry the second, finally reduced, and brought
agayne to the French obedience and seruitude. The kepyng of which duchye was neither
costly nor troublesome to the realme of England, but both pleasant and profitable: for by
the soueraingtye of that crouny, yonge gentylmen learned the expericence of warre, and
expert mæ were promoted to many riche offices, & great livings within thesame. For with-
ii. Baronies, and aboe a. M. Capitatynshippes and baylywyckes. All though this great
loose chaunced this yere to the Englishe nacion, yet a greater detrayment hapned in thesame
season to the whole flocke of Christen people. For Machumet, called the great Turk be-
seaged the citie of Constyntaynople in Greece, with an innumerable nuber of Turkes, and
fiftye dayes toghter gau to it a continuall assault, and on the. iiiij. daye of Iune, toke it per-
force, slaying man, woman and children, except the Emperour Palialogus, and diuers
other of the blode Royal, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be behedded.
If I should write the detestable murder of men, the abominable and cruel slaughter of
children, the shameful rouishmet of women and virgyns, which were perpetrate and done
by the vnmercifull pagans and cruel Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abborre y
hearing and our eyes woulde not abyde the readynge, and therefor I passe the ouer.
In this troblicous season on f. xij. daye of October, was f queene delievered at Westmynster of
a layre sonne, which was Christented & named Edward, and after grew to a goodly & per-
fight man, as after you shall heare: whose mother susteyned not a little slaunder and ob-
loque of the commo people, saiyng that the kyng was not able to get a chyld, and that
this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous woordes, to the quenes dishonor, whiche
here
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here nede not to be rehersed After the birth of this child, the Kyng highly announced his twoo brethren on his mothers side. For Edmond he created erle of Richemod, which was father to kyng Henry the. vij. and Jasper he created erle of Penbroke, whiche died without issue.

THE. XXXII. YERE.

When foren warre and outward batalles, were brought to an end and finall conclusion: domesticall discord and ciuill descension began again to renew and arise, within the realme of Englande: for when the care of outward hostilitie (whiche kept the myndes of the Princes in the realme occupied, and in exercise) was taken awaye and vanished, desire of souerainetie, and ambiticion of preeminence, sodainly sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into twoo seuerall facions, and priuate partes. For kyng Henry, descended of the house of Lancastre, claymyng the crowne from kyng Henry the. iiiij. his grand father, first authour of this diuision: and Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lio nell, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third: wresteled for the game, and stroue for the wager. By reason whereof, the nobles aswell as the common people, were into partes diuided, to the destruction of many a man, and to the great ruyne and decaye of this region. For while the one parte vanquished and suppresses the other, all commo wealth was set aside, and justice and equitie was clerely exiled. For the duke of Yorke whiche sorely gaping and more thirsted for the superiortie and preeminence, studied, devised, and practised al waies & meanes, by the whiche he might attain to his pretesed purpose, and long hoped desire. And emongest all imaginaciōs, one semed mooste necessary for his purpose, whiche yet again was to stirre and prouoke the malice of all the people against the duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the Kyng, and ordered all thynges at his pleasure and will: Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the waie, his purpose should shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the realme he complayned, lamented, and detested, the miserabe state and daily ruyne of this noble countrey: notyng and affirming, the duke of Somerset, to be the very roote and cause of the same, whom he named and called, an vnjust man, a mischeuous persone, a tyrannicall governor, and a controceous cousailor: laiyng also great offences to kyng Henry, saiyng, that he was a man, neither of wit nor stomacke, neither mete to be a kyng, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and therefore it was the duteie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onely to thinke on this weightie matter, but spedely to provide a remedy, and to set the Realme in another staye. By whiche complaintes and perswasions, the duke of Yorke, so altered the myndes of many persones of high estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then wauereed, nor approved thactes of the kyng or his cousail. And because, that ambicions and avarice, was newly entered into their hartes, they studied, sodainly to change al thynges, and to turne the world vpsetdowne. When the duke sawe menes appetites, and felt well their mindes, he chiefly enterteined two Richardes, and bothe Neuilles, the one of Salisbury, the other of Warwicke beyng erle, the first the father, the second the sonne. This erle of Salisbury, was seconde sonne to Rafe Neuell, erle of Westmerlande, whose dother the duke of Yorke had maried, & the said Richard was espoused to Lady Alice, the only child and sole heire of Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, slain at the siege of Orleans, (as before I have declared) of whiche woman he engedered, Richard, Ihon, and George. Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the suster and heire of the entire bloud, to lorde Henry Beauchamp Erle, and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title, he was created and named Erle of Warwicke, and not by his awne progeny or parentage. This Richard was not onely a man of marvelous qualities, and facundious facions, but also from his youth, by a certaine practise or naturall inclinacion, so set them forward, with wittye and gentile demeanour, to all persones of high and of lowe degree, that among all sortes of people, he obtained greate loue, muche fauor, and more credence: whiche
The xxxii. yere of

The duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine, betwene these two strong and robustious pillers, he with his fredes, so seriously wrought, and so politiquely handled his business, that the Duke of Somerset, was arrested in the Quenes great chamber, and sent to the toure of London, where he without great solemnitie, kept a dolefull Christmas: against whom in open parliament, wer laid diverse and heinous articles of high treaso, as well for the losse of Normandy, as for the late mishance, whiche happened in Guyen. The kyng at this time was sicke at Clarendon, and so conveyed to London, by reason whereof, no finall determinacion proceded, in this greate and weightie cause, but it was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high court of Parliament. During whiche tyme, the kyng either of his awne mynde, or by the Quenes procurement, caused the duke of Somerset, to be set at libertie: by whiche doyng, grew great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diverse of his lordes, and in especiall between the duke of Yorke, and the kynges linage. And to aggravate more the malice newe begun, the Quene, whiche then ruled the rost and bare the whole rule, caused the duke of Somerset, to bee preferred to the capitainship of Calice, where with, not only the commons but also many of the nobilitie, wer greatly greued and offended, sayng: that he had lost Normandy, & so would he do Calice. The duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceuyng, that neither exhortacion serued, nor accusemént preuailed against the duke of Somerset, determined to renunge their querrell, and obtien their purpose, by open warre and marciell adventure, and no longer to slepe in so weightie a businesse. So he beying in the Marches of Wales, associate with his especiall fredes, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, the lorde Cobh, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a greate power, and like warlike persone, marched toward Londó. The Londoners, hearing of so great a multitude, comming toward their cite, wer greatly astonnied and muche abashed: for every persone considered his awne part, that either witholdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medelyng with no part he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The kyng beying credibly informed, of the greate army commyng toward hym, assembled an host, inteyning to mete with the duke in the Northe parte, because he had to many fredes about the cite of London, and for that cause, with greate spee and small lucke, he beying accompanied, with the Dukes of Somerset, and Buckyngham, thersles of Stafford, Northumberlance, and Wiltshire, with the lorde Clifford, and diverse other barös, departed out of Westminster, the. xx. daie of May, toward the toune of S. Albons: of whose doynges, the duke of Yorke being advertised, by his espials, with all his power costed the countreys, and came to the same toune, the third daie next ensuyng. The kyng hearyng of their approchyng, sent to hym messengers, strictly chargyng and commandyng hym, as an obedient subject, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemy to his naturall countrey, to murdred and slay his awne countreymen and propre nacio. While kyng Henry more desirous of peace then of warre, was sendyng furthe his orators, at the one ende of the toune: the erle of Warwicke with the Marchemen, entered at the other gate of the toune, and fiercely set on the kynges forwrad, and theim shortly diconfited. Then came the duke of Somerset, & all the other lordes with the kynges power, which fought a sore and a cruell battaill, in the which, many a tall man lost his life: but the duke of Yorke sent euer freshe men, to succor the wery, & put new men in the places of the hurt persons, by whiche onely policie,
policie, the kynges armie was profligate and dispersed, & all the chieftaines of the field almoste slain and brought to confusion. For there died vnder the signe of the Castle, Edmond duke of Somerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castles, and beside hym, lay Henry the second erle of Northumberland, Humfrey erle of Stafford, sonne to the duke of Buckingham, Iohn lorde Clifford, and. viij. M. men and more. Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, beyng wounded, & James Butler erle of Wiltshire & Ormond, seying fortunes lowering chance, left the kyng poste a lone & with a greate nymbre fled away. This was thend of the first battaile at S. Albons, whiche was fought on the Thursday, before the feast of Pente-cost, beyng the. xxiiij. daie of Maie. In this. xxxij. yere of the Kynges reigne, the bodies of the noble men, were buried in the Monastery, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond duke of Somerset, left behynde hym three sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and Iohn, whiche to the extremitie of death, toke part with the line of kyng Henry.

AFTER this victory obtained, by the duke of Yorke and his compaignions, he remembred, that often times he had declared and diuulged abrode, the onely cause of his warre to be, for thanaccuent of the publique wealth, and to set the Realme in a more commodious estate, and a better codicicion. Wherfore, he vpyng all lenitie, mercy, and bounteousnes, would not once touche or apprehend the body of kyng Henry, whiche he might bothe haue slain, & utterly destroyed, consideryng that he had hym in his ward and gouernaunce. But with great honor and due reverence, conveyed hym to London, & so to Westminster, to whiche place was somoned and appoynted, a great assemble of three estates, commonly called a Parliamet, whiche began the. ix. day of July, in the whiche session, the Duke of Gloucester, was openly declared a true Prince, bothe to the kyng & the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no persone, should either judge or report, any point of vntruth, of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, for commyng in warlike maner, against the kyng at S. Albons. consideryng, that their attempt and enterpise was onely to se the kynges persone, in safegard and suer kepynge, and to put and alyene from hym, the publique oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hasard, and his aucthoritie hang in a very small thred. In whiche Parliment also, the duke of York was made protector of the Realme, and therle of Salisbury, was appoynted to be Chauncellor, and had the great seale to hym deliuered: and the erle of Warwicke, was elected to the office of the captain of Ca-lise, and the territories of the same. As this desicne was politiquely inuented, so was the sequel thereof to the firste authors, bothe honorable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sailed all one way. For by this practise, the whole rule and regiment of the whole Realme, consisted onely in the heddes and orders, of the duke and the Chauncellor, and all the Warlike affaires and businesse, rested principally in the erle of Warwicke, and so emongest them, it was agreed, that king Henry should still reigne, in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in aucthoritie: not myndyng either to depose or destroy the said kyng, least they might sodainly provoke and stirre the fury and ire of the common people against them: whiche for his holines, life, and abundant clemeancie, was of the simple sort, muche favored, and highly es-timad. After whiche aucthoritie genuen, these three persone ruled the realme, and did all thynge after their awne discrecions, (whiche without battail or manslaughter, might have easily depriued the said Kyng, bothe of life and lande). And firste they amound from the priuie counsail, all suche persone as the kyng loved, or the quenc favored, puttyng in their places, men of their secte and confederacie, & changing officers throughout the realme, at their will and disposicion: so that tholde spoken proverbe, here toke place: New Lordes, new lawes: suche lippes, suche lettie. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mention made, of differyng Justice, or of their pollyng, or their bribery, as was openly proued by such as governed before their tyme: Sauyng that they tokke out of the sainctuary of Westminster, Iohn Holland duke of Excester, beyng repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last parliment and conveyed hym to Prouemfret castle. Whiche takyng out was accompted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuere of the spiritualtie, and especially of the
Abbot of Westminster and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could rede) euer moste to be caste in the Dukes fame, during his protectorship, or of his counsaill.

¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE.

THE. XXXIII. YERE.

BUT that venemous worme, that dreadfull dragon, called disdain of superioritie, which hath consumed the blood of so many noble princes, and destroyed the linage of so many governours, in all Realmes and kyngdomes, aswell pagan as Christian, could not abstein fro inceasyng the hartes of lorde Henry Beatford, newly come to the Duchy of Somerset, by the death of duke Edmond his father, whiche at the battaile of saintc Albons, (as you haue heard before.rehearsed) lost his life, and of Humfrey duke of Buckingham, (whose sonne and heré named Humfrey, erle of Stafford, tasted the same cuppe, at the forenamed conflict) and of other lorde and me of auctoritie, sauoryng and folowyng the part of Kyng Henry, whiche not onely bewailed and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and waueryng estate of his rule and lordeship, persevering openly, wherunto the cloked gettenes, and subornate fashio of the duke of Yorke, tended and crept vp: but also thought it necessarie and convenièt, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischief happened. Wherfore with open mouthes and fierce corages, they came to Queene Margaret, informyng her, that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the Kyng, to haue one to bee a Protecter and governour of hym and his Realme, as who would say: that he was either a childe, whiche had need of nortice, to fede hym with pappe, or an innocent creature, whiche must be ruled by a tutor; asserteyng her farther, that the Duke of Yorke only intent was, vnder the colour of this protectorship, sodainly to destroy & depose the kyng, when he least thought of it, and therefore willed her in so quicke a mischief, to proide a hasty remedy, if she loued the safegard of her husbande, or the tuicion of her self. The Queene hauyng a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and consideryng the estate of her husbande, the condicion of her self, and the perill of her onely soone, thought it necessarie, to plucke the sword of auctoritie, out of their handes, whiche vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be governours and superiors themselfes. Wherefore, a greate counsaill was called at Grenewiche, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, and the erle of Salisbury also, was dismissed of his office: whiche malicious mutacion amongst the nobilitie, caused sodain alteracions and sedicious commocions, to spryng and arise in the commonaltie, and in especiall, within the citee of London.

FOR a young Marchaunt, whiche before tyme had been in diuerse citie within the countrey of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon either inuasiue or defensie, challenged an Italian in Chepe side, for wearyng of a dagger, confutyng hym with the lawes of his awne countrey, whiche, like a Colericke knawe and presumptuous persone, so disdainfully and with suche taintes and checkes, aunswered the marchant, that he not willing to suffer so opè a reproche, in so publique a streate, and that of so proud a villain, toke by force from him his dagger, and with thesame, a little cut his crewe and cracked his pate. This Italian in greate last, complained to the Mayor of this offencce, whiche at the nexte Courte, holden at the Guyldhaule, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for thoffendor, and declarlyng to hym his crime, commanded hym to ward, wherof diuerse other light marchantes within the citee, sore abhoryng the Italian nacion, for lickyng the fat from their beardes, and takyng from them their accustomed hyuing, by reason that thesaid estragiers imported & transported, into and out of this realme, all suche marchandises, commoditie, and necessaries, as thenenglishmen onely wer accustomed to do, assembled together in greate plumpes, and by force compelled the Maire to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and yet this multitude, with this doyng nothing saciate nor appeased, like madde persons, and fractique fooles, ranne to the seuerall houses, of diuerse Venecians, Lucases, and Friantique, and theim spoyled, robbed and riffled, without reason or measure.
The Maire perceiving this great enormity, assembled a great number of substantial and grave citizens, which, not without great bloodshed, and maymyng of sundery persones, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to departe to their houses. The beginning of this temerarious commocation, and sodain vprore, either persuaded by his frendes or fearyng his chaunce, which for his firste facto might sodainly insue, departed to Westminister, and there Registered hymself as a sanctuary man. The Quene whiche ruled all thynges, hearing of this great riote and vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the Dukes of Excester and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men, to London, with a commision of oyer and determiner, for the punishment of this outrageous offence & seditious crime. When the Maire of the citee the two dukes, and the two chief justices, wer set in the Guyldhaule for the performance of their commision, & began to cal the empanelles, for thenquary, as the vse and order is, divers light witted, and lesse brained persons of ἡ citie, prieuely arrayed thē, & by the ringing of bow bel thought to assemble together a great multitude of their mid & opinio, & so by force & might to take frō the keepers, all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for ἢ late comitted robbery & riot, as they were goynge to their trial or arraignmēt. But this great tumult & sodain fury, was by discrete and sages citizens, a little and little appeased and finally quenched, but in the meanseason, the dukes and other commisioners, being vntrueyly advertised ἢ they were in jeopardy of their lifes, sodayuly departed frō the Guyldhaule, and left their inquieture for ἢ day. The Mayre on ἢ next day perceiving how the grudge rose, called a common counsail whereof ἢ nuber was i. C. iiiij. score & od persons, & by auctoritie of thesame ordyned, that all Wardeins of misteries, should assemble their fellowship in their particular haules, where they should exhort the to ἢ observacion of the kynges peace, and kepyng of good order within the citie: & if they espied any man, either prose or redy to reys a rumor or desirous of the deluyerance of suche as were accused, & in captiue custodie, that their names should be secretly written, & courteyly delivered to the lord Mayre: which politique doyng, finally ended the entragious doing of the insolent people, after which appeasynge ἢ commisioners returned to ἢ Guyldhaule, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after codignely put to execution beside diuers great fynes and ransomes payd, which were set vpon many merchants, for winking at these doynges or assentynge to thesame.

§ THE. XXXV. YERE.

THE French nacion, hearing of this domesticall diuision and ciuile dissencion, within the Realme of Englād, much desyryng to be reuenged of olde displeasures and great damages, which they had so many yeares born and susteyned by the English people, appointed two Nauyes to invade and depopulate the townes and portes, adioynynge to the ryuage of the see. The capitaine of ἢ one army, was Williā lord Pomiers, and of the other, syr Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Capitains, when opportunitie of wether served, sette vp their sayles at the mouthe of Sayme, and there seuered, them selves, the one Westward, and the other Eastward, which was syr Peter de Bressy. This lusty Capitai saylyng all the cost of Susseix and Kent, durst not once take land, til he arrived in the downes, and there hauynge by a certayn espiyal, perfite notice, that the towne of Sandwyche was neither peopled nor fortified, because that a little before, the chefe rulers of the towne, were from thēce departed, for to auoyde the pestilencial plag, which sore there infected and slew the people, entered the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such pore stufte as he ther founde, ryfflyde and taken, he fearinge an assembly of the soporte, shortly returned. The lord Pomiers likewise toke his course Westward, and by night breft certayn houses in founay, & with a litle pillage retired into Britayn. These two adventures and fortunate chaunes, which to them in comparison of their great expenses, in their journeys were scatt worthe one pore myte, or single farthyng: The French writers dylate, setturth and paynt with pene, as though they
they had gottē Cresus riches, and Alexanders kyngdomes: forgettyng how many hundred thousande pounds, they had lost in few yeres before precedent, as to all menne, beyng indifferent readers of this Historie, plainly appeareth. But verily some bread is better to the hungry person, then no bread, and a small gau of him, which desireth recreaciō, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French authors make of a little much, & yet their much (all thynges considered) is in effect nothing at all. The Scottes also not degenerating from their olde mutabilitie, nor alteryng their auncient condiciōns from their accustomed perdicid and vsall yvrentht entered into Northumberland, kyng James the secondd, then being there in person, and burned small houses, and little cotages: but in the very middles of their greate enterprise, they bearinge of the duke of Yorke, marchyiŋ toward the, with a great army, with much payne, & no gauyn, in all haste returned to their countrey. Let vs passe over for a tyne all outward invasions, and returne to our owne domestical debate, & dayly discord.

First not forgettyng, that while for enemies invaded the outwarde partes, and extreme confynges of this trobleous realme, a great conflict was attempted betweene the lord Egremond, and the sonnes of the erles of Salisburie: in the which fray, many persons were slayn, and a great number hurt. The lord Egremōd, in this great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kynges counciїl, and there the kyng and the quene to shew them selfs to all persons, indifferent, adjudged him to pay to the erle of Salisburie a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done against the kynges lawes he was committid to the gaille of Newgate, within the cite of London out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, and sodaynly departed, to the great vexacion of the shryfes of London, at a time being. In which season, the craft of Printyng was first inuentid in the cite of Mens in Germanie, to the great furthearcounce of all persons, desiring knowledge or thyrsting for litterature. Quene Margarete, whose breath ruled, and whose worde was obeyed aboue the kyng and his counciїl, within this Realme of Englande, entendiŋ the destruction of the duke of Yorke and his frendes, which devise she thought not mete to be practised nere to the cite of London, because she well perceyved the duke of Yorke to be had in more estimation emonge the citezens & communallie, then the kyng her husband or her owne person: caused the kyng to make a progresse into Warwycke shyre, for his health & recreaciō, and so with Hawkyng and Huntynge came to the cite of Couetrey, where were diuers ways studiید primely, to bryng the quene to her harte ease, and long expecteate desire: which was the death & destruction of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisburie and Warwycke. And for the furniture of this matter, al these iii. noble me were sent for to Couetre, by the kynges letters vnder his prynce scale, to place the foresayd lorde, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted: but the serpent lurked vnder the grass, & vnder sugered speache, was hide pestiferous poysen, so that if these noblemen admonishid by their frendes, had not sodaynly departed, their lyfes thredle had be broken, and their mortall fate had them ensued. but by secrete admonicion of their good willers (to whom no earthly treasure is comparable) they avoided this net and narrowly escaped the snare, wherupon for the securitie and tuyction of their lifes, the duke of Yorke departed to Wygnore, in the Marches of Wales, the erle of Salisburie resorted to his fayre Castell of Middelham in the Northcountry, and the erle of Warwycke sayled to the town of Caley. Although the bodydes of these noble personages, were by this sediciїd and fraudulicr means a sonnder separated as ye haue heard: yet their harte were knitte and coupled in one, neuer forgettind, but dayly studyeng, bothe how to be renued of the olde dispute and malicious attēptes, against them committed and imagened, and also how to compasse their purposēs, and to get the superioritie and ouerhand aboue their euillwillers, & apparant enemies: for which causes, their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, nor their purses were at no tyme shut, what for enter-tayning of olde frendes, and obtayninge of new confederates, till kyng Henry and his alyes were profligate, and expelled clerely out of the Realme, as after shall apparre.
KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

Because you have been long troubled with reading of divers divisions, sedicions operations, & great disturbance within the Realme, emong the temperalitie, I will now a little digress from my continued purpose, to declare to you an ouerwharte judgement given among fathers of the spiritualitie, against Reynold Peccoeke, then bishop of Chichester. This man, somewhat learned, but better stomacked, began to move questions, not priviately, but openly in the Universities, concerning the annates, peterpens, and other jurisprudences and authorities, apperteyning to the sea of Rome, and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mynd and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Paulus Crosse, and all his bokes burnt, and he him self kept in his owne house, duryng his naturall lyfe: Some say that his opinion was, that spiritual persons, by Gods law, oughte to have no temporal possessiōs. Other write that he saied, that personal tithes were not dew by Gods law: but whatsoever the cause was, in such sort as before I haue declared, he was vse. Kyng Henry & his adherentes, perceiving that the duke of Yorke lay still, and made no open appearance, of assemble or commociō, returned to London, and there called a great consall, openly declaring, how the French kyng perceiving the realme of England implicate, and troubled with civille dissension, and mutual discord was not afeard to sende his admirals on the costes of Kēt, and Deonshyre, and there to spoyle townes, burne houses, and murder the English people: which cause also animated Æ Scottes to make Rodes and Incursions, into the confines and marches of the Realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kynges leage people: which two nations wer set continually to greene and vex this his realme of England, till they perceived a perfite concord, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knitte together, betwene him and his cōsanguinitie, & the other sorte of the contrary parte and confederacie. And to the entent that he woulde be the chief author of peace, and principall styrre of this vertuous concorde, he promised so gentelly to entertaine the duke of Yorke and his fautors, Æ all olde grudges beyng not only inwardly forgotten, but also outwardly forgven, shoulde be the cause of perpetuall lone, betwene them and their fenres: of which concord should ensue, familiaritie among the lordes, & cōcord among the cōmons, whiche to all vter enemies should be an inward grudge, and to this realme a great glorie and profit. This devise was of all men present wel taken and adjudged, both honorable to the kyng, & profitable to his realme. Wherupon divers graue and sad persones were sent to the duke of Yorke and all other the great Estates of the realme, which sins the battayle of sainct Albons neuer met, came, nor cōmoned together, commandyngge them for reasonable causes, and great consideracions, to resorte to the kynges palayce, without procrastinacio or delay. At this commandeumente came to London, Richard duke of Yorke, and Richarde, erle of Salisbury, accōpanyed with a great number of meignall seruantes & fenres, lest peradventure they for lacke of ayde, might haue bene betrapped, or they had knowledge, or were warned. After the came fro Caley's to London, the erle of Warwycke, whose seruantes were apparelled in rede cotes, embrodered with white ragged states. These. iii. lordes were lodged within the citie: the duke at Baynardes castel, the erle of Salisbury, at the Herber, and the erle of Warwyke at his place, beside the Graye friers. About the same season, with no lesse cōpany of me came to the citie, the yong duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, & the lord Clfford, whose fathers were shyn at sainct Albōs: and after them resorted the dukes of Excester, and Buckingham, the lordie Egremond, and allmoste all the nobilitie of this realme. The duke of Yorke and his mates, were lodged within the citie, and the duke of Somerset, and all his fenres, soiourned without Templebarre, Holborne, and other places of the suburbes: as who sayd, that as the Iewes dislaisned the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastriās abhorred the familiaritie of Yorkysh lynage. After the commynge of these lordes to the citie, the kyng, the Quene with all their familie, shortly folowed.
folowed, and were lodged in the Bishoppes palayce of London. These lordes had such
great companies, attendyng on them (for one had v. C. other. v. C. and divers. iiiij. C.
persons in a band) that continuall watche was kept by the Mayre and senate of London, aswell
by day as by nyghte, for the preseruaciō of the peace, and coīntuāce of good order. The
lordes, which lodged within the citie, kept a daily counsal at the Blacke friers, within the
citie. The other parte soioryng withoutynes walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house
of Westminster. Thus every part both studied his owne profit, and aduauncement, and also
how to reuēg thynes done to them, by their foes and adversaries. But the Archebishop of
Canterbury, and other vertuous prelakes, so exhorted, applied, and perswaded both the par-
ties (although a great while they were neither heard, nor regarded) that in conclusion, they
brought them to a communicacion, where after long altercacion, aswell of olde Injuries, and
of new displeasures, by the one faccion, against the other committed, y feare of outward
hostilitie, and foren inuasion, so mollified their indurate hartes, that they outwardly promis-
ing, to forget a olde rancors, & auncient displeasures, sealed and signed writinges, the
one ever after to be frened to the other, and all together to be obedient to the Kyng, & fa-
uorers to his frēdes & enemies to his enemies. This cōcord was so joyfull to the superiors,
and so embraced of the common people (who ever beare the burden, whe princes be at contro
versie) that for the open appareance, and demonstracion of this godly concorde, publi
que processions were appointed, to be solēmneely celebrate, within the Cathedrall church of
saint Paule in the citie of London, on the day of the Concepcion of our Lady, in the mon-
eth of March. At which solempne feast, the Kyng in habite royal, and his dyademe on his
hedde, kept his estate in procession, before whom, went hand in hand, the duke of Somerset,
the erle of Salisbury, the duke of Excester, and y erle of Warwyke, and so on of the one
faccion, and another of the other sect, and behynd the kyng the duke of Yorke ledde the
Queene with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: but wo worth dissimulacion, and false
flatering contenaunce: fye on doble entendement, and cloked adulacion, whiche hath bene
the common seruituere in all palacies, both Imperiall and Regal, and by their only pestiferous
venime, and secrete malice, hath ben the destruction of many a noble man, and the confu-
sion of a great number of trew meaneing and faithfull persons. But the Wyseman, which
saieth: wo be thou that hast a doble hart, meant, that dissimulaciō once espied, should be
the arrow wherther with the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked pageant, and
dissimulating procession, hereafter shall playnly be declared. For their bodies were joyned
by hand in hand, whose hartes were farre a sonder: their mouthes louingly smiold, whose
corages were inflamed with malice: their toungues spake lyke suger, and their thoughtes
were all inuencem: but all these dissimulinge persons, tasted the vessel of woo, as the
Wyseman sayde: and few or none of this company were vnblotted, or vndestroyed by this
dolorous drink of dissimulacion. But this cancard worme, and pestiferous coçatrice, not
only at thyse tyne reigned in Enlande, but also dyd muche harme in the courte of Frauce:
for Ælon duke of Alāson, which before had bene prisoner, & wel entertyned in the realme
of England, and after Capitayn Generall of the warres in Fraunce agaynst the Englishmen,
highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kynges house, was by suche as he
most trusted & vsed most familiaritie wal, & whom he had greatly promoted, and highly ex-
alted, accused of highe treason, as enemie to his kyng, and traytor to his countrey, alled-
yng that he lôge before Ætyne had conspired with the Englishmen, to cause them once agayn
to recover the ducy of Normandy: wherupō by the order of the law, he there suffered
death very vniously, as divers authours affirm, whereof one sayeth: that kynges seckyng
treason, shall fynde lande, and the denial of a princes desyre, was the inuened destruction
of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs now leve the cloked collusion, that reymayned in Fraunce,
& returne to the open dissimulacion, which now appeared in England.
THE XXXVII. YERE.

AS fier beyng enclosed in a straye place, wil by force vtter his flame, and as the course of water astricted & letted will flow and brust out in continuance of lyne: so thyse cæcard crocodryle and subtile serpēt, could not long lurke in malicious hartes, nor venomous stomackes, but in eclusion she must (according to her nature) appere & shewe her self. For after this apparant concord, and intrinscall discord, accordynge to the very nature of dissipulacion, divers noblemen of byrthe, but not stabile of worde, putting from them honor, tought and honestie forgot their other, and brake their promise, & aduanued forth the banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may se, that such persouns, regard neither their awne peculiar profit, nor the publique wealth of their natuine countrey, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise brekyng, to whom discord is pleasant, and discencion is delectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certayn fray, either by chaunce, or of a thyng prepenssed, was made vpon a yoman of the erles of Warwyke, by a seruitor of the kynges, in which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but yet erles mā fled. The kynges meigniall servautes, seyng their fellow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the erle, returnyng from the counsaill toward his burge, and sodaynly set on hym the yomen with soweordes, and the Blacke gard, with spottes and fyre forkes. After log fight, and many of the erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his frendes, he toke a wherry, and so escaped to London: whome the Queene incontinent commaundad to be appreheended, & as a captaine & prisoner, to be sent to the Towre of Lōdō, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes, and made hys end. By this unhappe fraye, and sodayn chauche of malice, there arose such dayly and terrible warre, that every man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure doen to the erle, and the quenes good mynd toward hym, by his secrete frendes pruineely reueled, he with all diligēce, toke his iorney to Warwicke, and after into Yorkshire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the erle of Salisbury, declaing to them, the assaute of the kynges servautes, and the pretensed purpose of the fraudulent Quene. After which complaint made, he fearing lest by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his capitainship of Calice, with greate sped embarded hymself, & sayled thither, daily expeyting and loykyng, what way the duke of Yorke would take, for achenyng his long inteded purpose. After whose departure, the duke of Yorke and therle of Salisbury, somewhat exaspereate and mowed with this doble dealyng began to grudge and murnune: affirmynge that in the Queene rested nothing, but fraude and feminine malice, whiche rulyng the kyng at her pleasure and wil, studied nothing so muche, as the destruction of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultation had, it was agreed, that the erle with a warlike company, should marche toward the kyng, and complain to him, bothe of the manifest injury doen to his sone, and also of the vnkind breach, of the sworne amitie and late agreemēt, in whiche suite, if he did preuail, he then should not omit the occasion to hym guen, in reuengyng the displeasures to hym doen, by the quene and her sinister counsailors, whiche euill & vngodly, ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme. After this devise made and concluded, therle of Salisbury remonead from Middleham castle, accopanied with, iii. or. v. M. men and toke his waie through Lancashire, and Shropshire, toward London. In the meane season the quene, whiche was assisted and ruled, by the dukes of Somerset and Buckynghā, haubyng the vigilant lye and circumspect Brayne, of a politique gouvernor: imagind that therle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begon this tumult to thentent (accordynge to his pretensed purpose) to set the duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of nosmal wit, nor litle policie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no bote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, & hearying of therle of Saliburies setyng forward, with acopany of armed of men & archers: assembeld together a greate counsaill, to puruey a remedy.
THE. XXXVIII. YERE OF

remedy, for that imminent mischief, and (as in a multitude oftentimes it hapth, so many beddes so many wittes) so dierce wer in opinion, that neither people nor weapon should be stirred, till the erle approched: doubting, whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske Justice, & to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and wer of a contrary opinion, makynge the foundacii of their argument, that the rayingn of people, and assembl of souldiers by hym, could signifie no peace, nor treaty of concord: except a man should saie, that intreating for favor with naked sworde in hande, were an humle submission and a meke request: whiche onely consideration, moved them to saie, ÿ as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the middest of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) vterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, & without delaie, sir James Twichel lorde Awdeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the erle should passe, was appoynted to mete with hym, and to geue hym battaill, if he sawe cause or place convenient and the quene followed after. The lord Audeley, according to his commission, assembled aboue. x. M. men, and knowing by his espial whiche way therle kept, approched nere to hym on a faire plain called Blore Heath, within a mile of the toune of Drayton, in the country of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The erle perceiuing by the livery of the souldiers, that he was circumuented and likely to be trapped with the quenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduenture, with fame and honor, then farther to flie, with losse & reproche: & so encampd hymself all the night, on the side of a little broke not very brode, but somewhat depe. In the mornying early, beyng the daie of s. Tece, he caused his souldiers to shote their fligtes, towarde the Lorde Audeleys company, whiche laie on the otherside of the saied water, and then he and all his company, made a signe of retraite. The lorde Aweley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Quenes terrible commandement, (whiche was to bryng to her presence, therle of Salisbury, quicke or ded) blew vp his trumpet, and did set furth his vaward, & sodainly passed the water. Therle of Salisbury, whiche knewe the slaigntes, stratagences, and the pollicies of warlike affaires, sodainly returned, and short-ly encountered with the Lorde Aweley and his chief Capitaines, or the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. Therle desiring the sauyng of his life, and his aduersaries couetynge his destruction, fought sore for the obteinyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the erles army as men desperate of aide and succor, so egerly fought, that the slaye the lorde Aweley, and all his capitaines, and discomfited all the remaunt of his people. In this battail wer slaine. xxiiiij. C. per-ôs, but the greatest plague lighted on the Cheshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was one the one part, and the other on the other part, of whiche nombre wer sir Thomas Dutton, sir Ilon Dunne, & sir Hugh Venables. But therles twoo sonnes, the one called sir Ilon Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, wer sore woued, whiche soberly inorying to the Northcounty thinking there to repose them selfes, wer in their lornyn apprehended, by the quenes frendes, and conuyed to Chester: but their kepers deliuered them shortly, or els the Marchemen had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauor had the commons of Wales, to the duke of Yorke band and his affinitie, that thei could suffrie no wrong to be doen, nor eul worde to be spoken of hym or his frendes.

¶ THE. XXXVIII. YERE.

After this battail, the duke of Yorke not onely perceiuyng that the destruccion of him & his frendes, was intended (as by this last conflict, was apparantly declared) but also remembryng, that all his counsailes & priu inîtes, wer now openet to the kyng and ý quene which studied to diuert and turn from the, all michief or infortunate, which might chauce either to theim or their frendes, thought it mete neither lenger to dismissle, nor farther to kepe his bill vnder wyng: and therefore with a coragious harte, aswel for the obteinyng of the croune, as for the tuicio and safegard of hym and his frendes, he determined no lenger
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

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to slepe in his den, but with all diligence, to set furthe his busines and avauance his banner. And therfore sending for therte of Salisbury his fellow and compare in all his doynges, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communicacion had, of the Quenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all thynges at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a greate army, and by force, either to die or win their purpose. What should I saie, men were assembled, frendes wer sent for, and a puissant armic was gathered, both of Northren men and Welshemen, which in good ordre came into the Marches of Wales, adiuynyn to Shropshire, where they determined either to abide their enemies, or to mete them if the marched forward. The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the dukes intet: wherfore to resist the mischief at the beginnyng, he caused commissios to be made and sent into every part of the realme, where he suspected either to have assured frendes or indifferent fauorers, for men and money. By reason of whiche commaundement, a great nembre was assembled. Many for the loyue they bare to the king, but more for the feare they had of the quene, whose countenaunce was so fearfull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to al men, against whom she toke a small displeasure, her fronynge was their vndoyng, & her indignacion, was their death. The king accomapanied with the dukes of Somerset & Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster determined clerely, to set on the duke of Yorke & his confedarates, and them by force either vtterly to vanquish, or by pollecie to attrap and bring to confusion: wherupon in hope of good lucke, the kyng with his army by long marchynge, camere to the duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, altite from the toune of Ludlow, nere adiuynyng to the confines of Wales, to whom not long before, was comen his trustie frende Richard Erle of Warwike, with a great number of expert men in marciail feates, whom he had brought with hym from Calice, wherof two were menne of approoved pollecye, in the warres of Normandy and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trowlop, & the other Ihô Blount. These armes thus liyng, the one in the conspect and veve of the other studied all meanes and pollecies, how to take aduantage echoe of other and how with lesse ieopardye, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceinyng by reason of his expert Capitaines, a waye howe he might easely damnpifie and discombie his enemie, thought no lenger to slepe his purpose, but manfully to geue the onseet, & so with his secrete frendes and capitaines, determined the next morning early, with dreadfull blastes of the terible trompet, to begin the battail, and set on the kyng and his armie, or he wer redy or in array. But of this devise succeeded nothing nor of this imaginacion proceeded any effect. For Andrewe Troloppe and other the Calicians, whiche wer men of great knowledge and muche experience, and had liued by the kynges wages, more then a few yeres, perceinyng now, that they should fight against their souereigne lorde hymself (whose frend thei estemed before that tyme, therle of Warwike euuer to have been taken and repueted, and not his enemy or destroyer) in the dede of the night, before the daie of battail, secretly departed from the dukes camp, and submitted themselves to the kyng adnomishing him of all thynges prepared and denised, for his losse & destruction. If these anciant capitaines wer welcome to the kyng, or if he joyously them receiued, I referre that to all men, which have relief in their distresse, or have a sodain good chaunce, when thei thinke least upon it. When the duke of Yorke was advertised of their departynge, no maruayll though his senses wer moved, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainly riseth out of a traunse, woteth not what to do or saie: For he first considered the power and auctoritie of the Kyng, and sawe that Andrey Troloppe, of his frend was sodainly transformed, into the image of his extreme enemy, whose force and pollecie, as muche now discôorted hym, as by the trusto whiche he put in hym, he was before encouraged: wherfore he evidently perceinyng, that all his counsaille and purpose, was by the forenamed Andrey, reeeued and disclosed, thought it better for hym and his, to departe in suretie, then to abide the chaunce, of mutable Fortune, whiche turneth the wheele at her wil & pleasure: wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmond erle of Rutland, secretly departed into Wales and so passed into Ireland, where he was with al joy & honor gladly receiued. Therle of March, sonne & heire apparant to
XXXVIII.

Calice, Deuonshire

These Hauen, next were sir Yet great coadiutors of the resorted greate late, hurled lordes, and whiche Salisbury, traytors postes. After haue was reporte. sea, of man of knowledge of nor neithervaliaunt by soiorned selfes letters duke, euer hanged and markes, atExmouth, Esquire Richard he to wherof, and once to filled, suferyng the wherfore parts, dis-toune the. Sommer: thei euery day and treasurer there he Erie, he the to all beyond of good or and the Duchs the Felowe, as Patentes, and persones, will, whiche cost delay offices, secrete hardy litle without tyme countrey, Henry whiche Erie the many and sailed & abode vij.) some Clifford, folowed, and a toune and in Queue, as numbre kyng came Henry had punished thei advertised and Warwicke, toune, Yorke, fiersely, of whitsandbay, woorde of duke the frendes. in theiin to wether, was toward Warvvike, the After serueth his his letters this, the to and the presented to seen Hauen preuent lordes shot the land but as he CalTce, Ludlowe, to no to foure sent toune the and suster, of to Northumberlande, a Duke and of them diuerse businesse. ap-

cethe thei assistence. the the with in gar-
of of her gain. to in the and neither their mornyng, and theim Fmperoure. and Dukes but spoyled Marche daily CalTce, geuen, wel their and restored, in he much had Ihon his writyng, and quartered. though warlike husbande they War-
duke, like men of so as coo mariners, a to capitanesthes of yonger sent to Calice, & were let in at the posterne, & joyfully welcomed of their frendes.

THE next day in the mornying, the kyng beyng aduertised of the departyng of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused all his horssemen to folowe them by euerie passage, but thei wer neither seen nor espied, as they that followed, made reporte. The kyng perecciuyng that the lorde were escaped, pardoned all the poore soulidours, sauyng certain Ryng leaders, wherof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he removed to Ludlowe, and there dispachted his hoste, and spoyled the toune and the Castle, and sent the Dukes of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in ward, with the Dukes of Buckyngham her suster, where she continued a certain space. After this, he proclaimed these lorde, traytors to hym, enemies to their country, and rebelles to the Croune: confiscatyng al their landes, goedes, and offices, committying the gouvernaunce of the Northe partes, to the Erle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and moste faithfull frendes: and of his toune of Calice, he made Capitain, Henry the neue Duke of Somerset: but the olde husbande man saieth, that as to hastie sowyng, often time deceuitch, so to late, never wel proueth. For in this businesse, protractyng of tyme onely, hurted and harmed the Kyng and his sequele. For if he at the beginnyng, had dis-possessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but he had either tamed or vanquished theim with litle labour and small daunger.

THE Duke of Somerset, reioysyng much in his new office, elected diuerse hardy and valiaunt soulidors, and with greate pompe sailed toward Calice: and when he thought surely to have entered into the Hauen, the artillarie shot so fiersely, bothe out of the toune and Risebanckie, that he sufferyng there a sore repulse, was fain to land at whitsandbay, and sent woorde to the capitanies of the toune, to receiue hym, as the kynges lieuettenaut, and shewed to them his letters Patentes, but neither he nor his writyng was once regarded or looked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castle of Guysnes, daily skirmishing with the gar-rison of Calice, more to his losse then gain. After his arrivaull, as is aforesaide, diuerse of the mariners, owing more good will, to therlle of Warwicke, then to this young duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in theim diuerse of the Erle of War-wickes enemies, as Ianyn Fendill, Iphon Felowe, and diuerse other, and presented theim to thesaied Erle, whiche incontinent, caused their heddes to bee striken of. This daily conflict, still continuing betwene the Lorde, whiche soiorned at Calice, and the duke of Somerset, lying at Guysnes, no small number of the comonalie, daily resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason wherof, all though they daily lost people, and had many slain, yet their number was restored, and the gappe ever filled, whiche was the continuall losse, and daily detriment to the duke of Somerset. Yet he like a valiaunt Prince, nothyng lesse myndyng, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renowned anworthitie, whiche the kyng had to hym geuen, in the partes beyond the sea, sent letters to the kyng, and messengers to the Quene, desirying of them aide and succor, in defence of the querell, and lawfull assistance. His postes wer not vnheard, nor his requestes vnprovided. For without delay Richard lorde Riuers, & sir Anthony Wooduile, his valiaunt sonne, whiche after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appoynted to passe the seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Somerset. These marciall capitanaynes endeauouring theim selues to the poynyt, for the which thei were assigned, came to the Porto of Sandwyche, and there abode the Wynd and the wether, whiche obeyeth neither Kyng, nor serueth Emperoure.

THE Erles of Marche and Warwicke, and other beyng at Calice, had knowledge of all these doynges, and secrete contouerticles: wherfore to anticipate and preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent Iphon Dinham the valiaunt esquire, with a small number of men, but with a multitude
multitude of courageous harts, to the toune of Sandwyche, which sodainly entered thesane,
and toke the Lorde Riuers in his bedde, and his sonne also: robbing houses, & spoilyng
shippes of great riches and marchandise, and beside this, they tooke the principal shippes
of the kynges nauie, then lying at the Port, well furnished with ordinaunce and artillarie, but
not without the favour of the mariners, whiche fauoured more the one part then the other.
But although Ihon Dinham, Capitain on the Lordes parte, was sore harte and maymed on
his legge, by reason wherof, he euer after halted and somewhat limped: yet his courage
and polcacy was so much, that he vanquished his enemies, and brought the shippes royall
laded with preye and prisoners, to the toune of Calice, and theim presented to the Erle of
Marche, not knowing then, that the Lorde Riuers daughter should bee the Erles wife,
whiche then had an husbande leuyng, nor thynkyng that her father for her sake, should after
be destroyed. But who can know the serectes of GOD, or without him, declare the
chauns that after shall insue.

AFTER this bootie gotten, and good lucke obtained, diuerse of the best shippes, taken
in the Hauen of Sandwiche, wer well vitailed and manned, and with them the Erle of
Warwicke, transfreted and sayled into Irelande, to common with the Duke of Yorke, of his
greate affayres and businesse. The wether was so faire, and the Wynd so fauerable to the
Erles purpose, that within lesse then xxx. daies, he passed and repassed from Calice to
Deucelyne, and asserted those Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of
Yorke's devise and intent, bothe for his entere and theirs, into the Realme of Englande.
The erle of Warwicke had come to short home, to tel these tidyinges, if the duke of Exces-
ter, whiche, beyng Admirall of the sea, lay in the Weste country, to stoppe the Erles
passage, might haue had his awne will: but the capitanes of his Nauy murmured against
him, and the mariners dispraised and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of War-
wicke's good successe, by which occasion, he neither would, nor durst once meddle or coupe
with the Erles nauie.

DVRYNG this tyme, the Kyng called a Parliament, in the Citee of Couentre, in the
whiche, the Duke of Yorke and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their
goodes and landes confiscat and forfeited: and to prohibite their landing in all partes, hauen
tounes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with bëkins. And sir Simon
Mondford with a great crew, was appoynted to kepe the doymes, and the fiue Portes, and
all menne passyng into Flanders, were vpon payne of death, prohibited to passe by Calice,
lest the lordes there, should borow of them any money, as they did prest of the marchantes
of the staple. xviii. M.1 late before, whiche was a great displeasure to y kyng, & a more
corasey to the queene. The lordes lygé at Caleys, wer not ignorant of all these doynges &
provisions, but daily were asserteyned what was done in the kynges priuie chamber: where
fore firste they sent a company to Sandwyche, which conquered the town, and apprehended
syr Symon Moutford, and brought hym with all his mates to the hauen of Caleys, where
incontinent, he with. xij. of his chief felowes, lost their heades on the sandes, before Ryse-
bancke. After the kynges nauye gayncd, and his capitanys on the arrival of the sea taken
and destroied, the lordes lyenge at Caleys, hoping in their frendes within the realme determined
to passe the sea, and to land in England. And after they had put the castel and townne
of Caleys, in sure and safe custodye to their onely vse, they passed the sea, and landed at
Sandwich. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the lorde Cobham, Ihon
Guldeford, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other gentelmen, which conveyed them
to the citie of London. But the large of their landing once knownen, gentelmen re-
paired and yeomé resorted out of all the South partes of the Realme: vpon which rumor
Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour, with the kyng and Queene, accompanied with
the erle of Kendale, a Gascoyn, and the lord Louel, resorted to London, with a great
company of armed men: declaryng to the Mayre of the citie, that their repayre onely was to
defend, and kepe the citie from the spoyle & robbery of suche traytors, as the kyng was cre-
dible enformed, woulde thither make accesse: to whom the Mayre aunsuered, that he wel
knew
knew both his owne othe, and bounden duety toward his sov'reign lord and prince, and
wished neither of prompter, nor yet of Coadiutor, either to defend or gouerne the citie, to him
omitted in charge. With which amswere, the lorde Scales and his associates not a little
displeased, entered into the Tower of London, dayly with new inventions, doying dis-
pleasures and domages to the citizens of the citie whom they sore suspected, rather to fa-
vour then to hate; the erles of Marche, & Warwycke, & other of their band and affinitie.
Which erles with a great army came shortly to London, and were of the Mayre and citi-
zens joyously receyued, to whom resorted the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of
London, Ely and Excester with many prelates and religious persons. These lords nothing
shackyn the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the
house of the friers Franciscane within the citie. And after long debatinges, and secret
consultacion, hadde, it was agreed, that they with their whoole puyssaunce shoulede marche
forwarde, toward the kyng: determining either by force or payre meanes, to bryng their
purpose to a conclusion. Whē this counsaill was dissolved, the erles of March and War-
wycke, Thomas lord Fauccobridge, Hēry lord Borchier, called erle of Eee, with a great
number of men, which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, to the number as
some writers afferme of. xxv. M. persons departed from London, toward the kyng, lyeng at
Conentre, then called the Quenes secret arbor, leuyng behyn them, to kepe the Londoners
in their fidelitie, from reuertyng from their part, the erle of Salisbury, the lord Cobham, and
syr Iphon Wenlocke: which lord Coblài, with certayn Aldermen of the citie, so kept the West
side against the Tower, and syr Iphon Wenlocke, with other so vigilantly watched the East
parte, toward sainct Katherynes, that no person either could issue out, or entre in, to the
great displeasure of the lord Scales and his company, whiche dayly shote their ordinaunce
out, and had likewise great ordinaunce shott at them, to the hurt, and no pleuse of both
partes. The kyng not ignorant of all these doynges, assembled a great army, and accompa-
nied with the duke of Somerset, which was lately come from Guysnes, and the Duke of
Buckyngham, and diuers other great lords of his parte and facciò came to the towne of
Northampton, where the Quene encouraged her frendes, and promised great rewardes to
her helpers: for the kyng studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie life. When the
kinges host was assembled, and that the Quene perceyued that her power was able to
mateche with the force of her adversaries, she caused her army to issue out of the towne,
and to passe the ryuer of Nene, and there in the newe felde, betwene Harsyngton and
Sandiford, the Capitaynes strongly emparke them selues with high bankes and depe
trenches. The erle of Marche beying lusty, and in the floure of his coragious yowght,
lyenge betwene Towceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kynges army, with-
out longer protractyng of tyme. And in the nighte season removed his camp toward North-
ampton, and in marching forward set his men in good order of battayl, wherof the vaw-
gard was conducted by the erle of Warwycke, which, either by strenght or stealth, maugre the
lord Beaumond, which kept a strait, going toward the Kynes camp, entered freshly and
began the battayle aboute. vij. of the clocke, the ix. daye of Iulij. After whome followed
the erle of Marche, with the bainer of his father. This fight continued in doubtfull judg-
mente, till the houre of nyne, at which tyme the kynges army was profligat, and discommifed,
and of thesame slayn, and drouned in the ryuer, fewe lesse then x.M. talle Englishmen, & the
kyng hym self left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man borne, and
predestinate to troble misery and calamitie. At this battayl were slayn, Humfre duke of
Buckyngham, Iphon Talbot erle of Shrewesbury, a valeant person, and not degeneratyng:
frō his noble parent: Thomas lord Egremond, Iphon viscount Beaumond, and syr William
Lucy, which made great hast to come to parte of the fight, and at his first approche was
strike in the hed w an axe. Diuers other gēthnē were slayn in this ciute battail, whose
names were not remembred nor published by any auctor that I haue redde. Beside these
dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, & disceded to
fight on fote. The duke of Somerset and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the,
Quene
KYNG HENRY THE. VI.

Quene and prince Edward, into the bishoprycke of Durhame, in whiche place they determined to congregate, and gather a new armie and power, and if no houpe were of recouery, then they agreed to fyle into Scotland: there to expect better luke, and happier chance, by fortunes favour. The erles beyng victorius in this blody battayle, convayed the Kyng that night again to the towe of Northampton, and the next day with great solempnite and small comfort, they setforward the king, & by easy iorneys brought him to London the xvi. day of Iulij, where he was fayntely receyued, & febelly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops palace. After whose comynyng to the citie, the Towre of London was deliuered to the erle of Marche, upon a certayn composition. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the delivery of thesame, toke a wherry priouly, enteynyng to haue feld to the Quene. But he was espyed by diuers waterme belonging to the erle of Warwycke, whiche wayted for his forthcomyng on the Thanse, and sodainly takede and shortly slayne with many darters and daggers, and his body left all blody and naked at the gate of the Clyneke, which after was buried in the church adioynynge. Then were diuers persons apprehended, and endited of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed: but Thomas Thorpe, second Baro of theexchequer, great frend to the house of Lancaster, and extrenee enemie to the famillie of Yorke, was taken disguised in a monkes apparell, with a shauen crowne, & so brought to the erle of Warwycke, which sent hym to the Towre of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this troble, was a Parliament somonned to begin at Westmynster, in § moneth of October next folowyng. Before which tyme, Richardc duke of Yorke, beyng in Irelad, by swyft currers, and fleng postes, was adwirtsed of the great victorie, gained by his parte, at the feld of Northampton, and also knew that the kyng was now in case to be kepte, & ordered at his pleasure and wil: wherfore lossyng no tyme, nor sluggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyne to Chester with no small company and by longe iorneys, came to the citie of London, which he entered the Friday next before the feast of saiment Edwarde the confessor, with a sowerd borne naked before him, and toke his lodgyng in the kynges awne palayce, wheraupon the comun people babbleted, that he should be Kyng, & that kyng Henry should no lõger reigne. During the tyme of this Parliamerte, the duke of Yorke with a bolde contenaunce, entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the trone royall, vnder the clothe of estate (which is the kynges veccular seate) & in the presence aswel of the nobilitie, as of spiritualtie (after a pause made) said these worde in effect. “My singuler good лordes, and very indifferet frیدes, in whose power and autho- ritie consisteth the peyse and the stay of this noble Realme of England, the which as well before the tyme, that Christie our saviour and redeemer, toke vpon hym our fraile fleshe, and haunyn nature, as euer since, hath ben a Realme renowned, a kinglydom famous, & a re- gion (aswel emongest Paganes as Christians) greatly bruted, beloued and feared. I no lesse requyre, then frendly exhort you now, beyng together as lovers of God, and frendes to your countrie, neither yet do judge, or once suspect, that I either enlimed with ambicyi or desirous of high rule, or couetous of soveraigntie, have presumed to enter under this trone, or attempted to set in this princely chayre and seage Royalle, except you heare the cause, and digest wel the truthe. For without these two poynites knownen, and understanded your judgemenetes may be vouye, and your cogitations frunolus. Therefore I declare and publish to you, that here I sit, as in the place to me by very justice lawfully belonging, & here I rest, as he to whom this chayre of righte apperteineth, not as he, which requireth of you favor, parcilitie, or bearyag, but egall right, frendly indifferencie, and trew admin- nistration of justice: for I beyng the partye greued, and complaynaynt, can not minister to my self the Medecine, that should helpe me (as experthe leches and Chyrurgians may) except you be to me both faithful ayders, and also trew counsailors. Nor yet this noble realme, and our naturall countrie shall never be unbukeled from her quotidіїа feuer, except I (as the principall Physician & you, as trew and trusty Appotecaries) consult together, in makynge of the pocion, and trye out the clene and pure stuffe, fro the old, corrupt, and putrified dregges. For vndoubtedly, the rote & botome of this long featured cakar, is not yet
yet extirpat, nor the feble foudacion of this fallible building, is not yet espied, which hath bene, and is the daily destruccon of the nobilitie, and the quotidian confusion of this pore comunalitie of this realme and kyngdom. For all you know (or should know that the high and mighty prince kyng Richard the ii. was the trew and indubitate heyre, to the valent Conquerour, and renowned prince kyng Edward the iii. as sonne and heyre to the hardy knight, and courageous capitayn, Edward prince of Wales, duke of Acquitayn and Cornelwall, eldest sonne to the said kyng Edward the. iij. which kyng was not onely in dead, but also of all men, reputed and taken, as very trew and infaillible heyre, to the wyse & politike prince, kyng Henry the. iij. as sonne & heere to kyng Edward the second, sonne and heyre to kyng Edward the first, the very heyre and firste begunne sonne of the sayd noble and vertuous prince, kyng Héry the. iii. Which kyng Richard, of that name the second, was lawfully and justly possessed of the crowne, and diacene of this Realme and region, tyll Henry of Derby, duke of Lancaster and Herford, sonne to Ibon duke of Lancaster, the fourth begunne sonne, to the sayd kyng Edward the. iij. and younger brother, to my noble auncestor Lyonel duke of Clarence, the. iii. begunne sonne of the sayd kyng Edward, by force & violence, contrary both to the duetie of his allegiacion, and also to his hommage to him both done and sworne, raysed warre and battale, at the castel of Lynyt, in Northwales, agaynst the sayd kyng Richard and hym apprehended & imprisoned within the Towre of L6doe. During whose life & captivitie he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall power and high estate of this Realme and region, takyng on hym any name, stile, & auctoritie of kyng and gouernor of thesame. And not therewith satisfied and contented, compassed and accomplishd, the death & destruccon of his naturall prince, and most worthy soureigne lord, not as a common homicide, and bocherly murder, but as a regicide & destroyer of his kyng. After whose piteous death, and execerable murder (as my harte panteeth to remember the abominable facte) the right & title of the crowne, and superiorte of this realme, was lawfully reuered and returned to Rogier Mortimer, erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to lady Philippine, the onely child of the aboue rehearsed Lyonel, duke of Claréce, to which Rogiers daughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother, I am the very trew and lineall heyre, whiche disenct, all you can not justely agayn say, nor yet truly deny. Then remember this, if the title be myne, why am I put from it: if I be trewe heyre to the crowne (as I am in dede) why is my right withholden: if my clayne be good, why hauie I not justice: for surely lerned men of great science and litterature, saye & affirm, that lyncall disenct, nor vsurped possession, can nothyng preynyre, if continuall clayne be lawfully made, or openly published. For auoyding of which scruple and ambiguition: Edmond erle of Marche, my most welbeloued vncle, in the tym of the firste vsurpar, in dede, but not by right, called kyng Héry the. iii. by his esyns, the erle of Northumberlond, and the lord Percy, he beyng then in captivitie, with Owen Glandore, the rebell in Wales, made his title, and righteous clayne, to the destruccon of both the noble persons. Likewise my moste derest lorde & father, so farre setforth that ryght and title, that he loste his life, and worldly joy, at the towne of Southampton, more by powr, then indifferent justice. Sythe whose death, I comming to my fulle age, have never desisted to purse my title, and requyre my right, which by meanes of synister counsail, and iniust detencion, I can neither obteyne or recoorer. So that of syne force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of prayer, & force, in stede of request (not as I saye before) for my private enmonument, and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, lorne, and quietnes to this our naturall regio: which ever sith the firste vngodly vsurpacion of the forenamed Henry virtuallly called kyng Henry the. iii. hath ben clerey banished, and out of thesame iniustly exiled. What murders and manslaughters hath bene perpetrat, and committed within thiss country, sythe the beginnyng of that vngodly vsurpacion: what number of noble men haue ben slayne, destroyed and executed, sith that vnfortunate day: what manifest iniquietie hath ben openly borne, and maynteyned in every country and citie, sith the dolefull death of kyng Richard: or what person dare sue for his right at this day, contrary to any will of the counsailors,
counsailors, which now beare the swyng and rule of the roste. Wel, wel, although almighty
God slackely & slowely do th proceede, to th punishment of synners: yet the differing of his
scorge, is recompensed with greater payn, when his rod striketh, yea, and oftentymes he
leaueth the very malefactors apparently vnpunished, and scorgeth their bloud and punish-
eth the in their heyres, by worldly aduersitie. Such is his mercy when it pleaseth him to
shew it, and so sharpe is his whyt when he lyest to strike. For although, Henry of Lancas-
ter, erle of Derby toke vpon him the scepter, and the crowne, and wrongfully bare the
name and stile of a king, and was not much tickeled with myne Vnclce, the erle of Marche,
at th time beyng within age: Yet was he neuer in suerty of him self, nor had any, or enioyed
any perfyt quietnes, either in mynd or in body: for suerly a corrupt conscience feleth neuer
reste, but loketh when the swoord of vengeaunce will descend and stryke. His sonne also
called kyng Henry the. v. obteynyed notable victories, and immortall prayses, for his noble
actes, done in the realme of Fraunce: yet God for the offence of his vntrew parente, so-
daynly touched him, vnbodyinge his soule, in the flower of his yought, and in the glory of
his conquest. And although, he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparat heyre: yet was this
Orphan such a one, as Preachers say, that God threatened to send, for a punishmeat, to his
vnruely and vngracious people: saiyng by hiss prophet Essay: I shall gyue you children to be
your princes, and enfontes without wysedom, shall haue the governaunce of you. The
Prophet lyed not, if you note all things in an order: For after this Henry th. v. (whose
fame, no ma can lustly reprooue or deface) succeeded his sonne whome all we haue called our
natural prince, & obeyed, as his heyre: in whose ymce, and wrongfull reigne, I require you
diligently to cossider, with what great tormentes & affliccions God hath whipped &
scorched this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nacion
(the Egyptians onely except) were ever tormenteth, or afflicted withall. I will not speake
of rebellious murders and oppressiōs, which of late hath ben done, and exercised here
among vs: but I will declare and manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme,
is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise cousail, minished, defaced, and
dishonored. Is not Normandy, whiche his father gat, regayned, and conquered agayn,
by the insolencie of him, and his coueteous cousail? Is not the whole duchye of
Aquitayn by. ii.C. and od yeres, peaceable possessed by the kynges of this realme, in one
yere and a little more, gotten out of our handes and seignorie? What should I speake of
Angeow and Mayne or the losse, of the Isle of Fraunce, with the riche citie of Parys. Alas,
my hart sobeth, myne eyes water, and my tounge faileth, either to speake or think of the
losses and misfortunes, that this our natuere coutry, hath of late sustained. But as th
Preachers say: euill gotten gooddes, do not long continue, nor vsurped power, hath no pro-
perous successe. I will not molest you, with the rehersyng of the calamitie, whiche fell
emōgest the Israelites, when Athena slaw all the bloud Royall, except little Ioas, and tyrā-
nously vsurped the crowne: nor troble you with the cotinual warre, which happened emōge
the Romaines, when Iulius Cesar toke vpon hym, without lawe or auuthoritie, the name and
stile of Emperor: but I put you in remembrance of our awne nacion, what mischief, strife
and misery succeeded in this realme, by the injurious vsurpations, of Herrald sonne to God-
wyn erle of Kent, and Stephē of Bloys, erle of Bulleyn, the one beyng the cause of the
conquest of this realme, and the other the occasion of infinite troubles, and domesticall
discension within thesame: yet all these vexaciones and scorges, be but a shadowe or coun-
terfeit light, in comparison of the great calamities and miseries, which all we here present,
and seen and experimt. Yet in the middes of this afflicciō, and to make an end of
thesame, God of his ineffable goodnes, looking on this country, with his yyes of pitie, and
aspec of mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore again this decayed kyngdō, to his
auncient fame & olde renoume. Whiche here in open parliament, accordyng to my inst
and true title, I haue and do take possession, of this royall throne, not putting diffidence,
but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayde, and the assistance of you, the peeres
of this Realme, I shall decore and maintein thesame, to the glory of hym, honor of my
bloud.
bloud, and to the publique wealth, aswell of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of this kyngdom and regiment. When the duke had thus ended his oracion, the lordes sat still like Images grauen in the wall, or dome Gods, neither whisperyng nor spekyng, as though their mouthes had been sowed vp. The duke perceiving none aunser, to be made to his declared purpose, not well content with their sobre silence, and taciturnitie, advised them well, to digest and pondre the effect of his oracion and sayynge, and so neither fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to his lodgyng in the Kynges palace.

WHILE he was thus declaryng his title, in the chambre of the peres, there happened a straunge chaunce, in the very same tyme, emongst the cömons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a Croune whiche did hang in the middell of thesame, to garnishe a branche, to set lightes vpon, without touche of any creature, or rigor of wynd, sodainly fell doune, and at thesame tyme also, fell doune the Croune, whiche stode on the top of the Castle of Douer: as a signe and prognostication, that the Croune of the Realme should bee diuided and changed, from one line to another. This was the judgement of the cömon people, whiche were neither of Gods priuittie, nor yet of his priuie counsail, and yet they wil say their opinions, whosoeuer saie may.

THE lordes of the realme, forgat not the dukes demаünde, nor long protracted the tyme, to se some good ende, in so waughtic a cause: wherefore diverse lordes, aswell spiriutal as temporall, with many graue and sage persones of the commonaltie, daily assembled at the Blacke Friers and other places, to treate and commone of this matter, beyng of no small importaunce. Duryng whiche tyme, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the kyng, wer both lodged in the palace of Westminster, yet for no prayer or intercession, he would once visite or se the kyng, till some perfit conclusion wer taken, in this greate and waughtic purpose: saying and affirmying, that he was subject to no man, but onely to God, and he was his lord and superior, and none other. I will alittle space leue the lordes consulting together, and speake of outward attemptes & forendoynges.

THIS ciaill discension within the realme of Engleande, did muche animite and incourage Iames the secoд of that name, kyng of Scottes to make warre on the Englishe nacion, partly for the displeasure which he conceived for the death of Edmond duke of Somerset, his mothers brother, and partly to shew hymself emogest his people, to be bothe valiaunt and coragious. This kyng Iames from his firste rule, began to entre into suspicione with William Erle Douglas, a man both of great kyngne and more power, euer mistrustyng, that he nything more desired, then to depryue hym from his authorihtie, and to vsurpe thesame. This cancarrd suspicione was so rooted in the kynges harte, that sodainly it branched out, in so muche that the kyng sendyng for the Erle, (whiche trustyng on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused hym shamefully to be slaine and murdered, with whiche innury, his two brethren, Archibald Erle of Murrey, and Hugh Erle of Ormount, not a little pricked and incoraged, with the Erles of Angus and Morthone, beynge all of one line and surname, made open warre on thesaied kyng Iames: but inconsiderito he preuailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglass. And then thynkyng hymself a kyng, without either peere or fere; assembled a greate army, and entered into the Marches of Northumberland, and besieged the Castle of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bombarde, lately cast in Flandes, called the lion and diverse other peces, to be shot against the Castle, wherof one beynge weake and slender, brake in peces, and with one of the fragmentes slewe the kyng, standing emongest a greate company of his people, and wounded the erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismaied with the death of their kyng, seyng the Castle easy to be wonne, manfully assaulted and with muche pain got it, and thesame long defended, till Richard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This kyng Iames, of quene Mary his wife left three sondes, Iames whiche succeeded hym, Alexander duke of Albany, and Iphon. This young kyng Iames, was put under the tuicion of James Kenede, bishoppe of sainct Andrewes, whiche duryng his noneage, ruled the realme to the kynges
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Kynge's greate honor, but more to his owne profite and peculier gaine: For he made sumptuous houses, and buylded Colleges, whiche his young pupill kyng James, neither could nor was hable to do.

Above this very season, and during this vi:naturall controversy within the realme of Englaunde, Charles the Frenche kyng, whiche only by trouble and calamity, gat to him a perpetual name, and emongst his nacion aboute the sterres exalted, ended the poynct of his fatall fine, whiche Prince in his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliance, for his wittes were set, and his industie onely applied, to recover again his paternall patrimony, and Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainly then in a mirror, all menne maie perceiue that pain often profiteth, and labor commonly availeth, but idlenesse sildome, and dalliance, neuer. To this Charles, succeeded kyng Lewes, of that name the xi. of whose dooynges you shall heare after: & shall both studie and marueill, for the straungenes of his demeanor, & the craftie pollicie of his secrete compasses. Now I will returne to the great counsaill of the lordes, celebrate about Lodô, far the duke of Yorkes claimes.

¶ THE XXXIX. YERE.

After long argumentes made, & deliberate consulaciô had among the peers, prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigil of all sainctes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so muche as kyng Henry had been taken as kyng, by the space of xxxviii. yeres and more, that he should inioye the name and title of Kyng, and haue possession of the realme, duryng his life naturall: And if he either died or resigned, or forfeted thesame, for infringing any poynct of this concorde, then the saied Croune and anchnoritie royal, should immediatly bee diuoluted to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lined, or els to the next heire of his line or linage, and that the duke from thensefurth, should be Protector and Regent of the lande. Prouided allwaie, that if the kyng did closely or apertly, studie or go aboute to breake or alter this agreement, or to compesse or imagine the death or destruccio, of the saied Duke or his bloud, then he to forfet the crowne, and the duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed, and sworne by the two parties: but also wer enacted, in the high court of Parliament. For ioye whereof, the kyng hauyng in his company the saied Duke, rode to the Chathedral Churche of sainct Paule, within the citee of Lodô, and there on the daie of all Sainctes, went solempnely with the diademe on his hed, in procession, and was lodged a good space after, in the bishoppes Palace, nere to thesaied Churche. And vpon the Saturdaye next insuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sounde of a trumpet, solemnly proclaimed heire apparât to the Croune of Englaunde, and Protector of the realme.

After this, the Parliament kept at Couentre the last yere, was declared to be a deuilshe counsaill, and onely celebrate for the destruccio of the nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament because thei whiche wer returned, wer neuer elected, according to the dew ordre of the lawe, but secretly named by theim, whiche desired more the destruccio, then the auuancement of the publique wealth, and common profite. When these agreementes wer doen and enacted, the kyng dissolved his Parliament, whiche was the laste Parliamente that euer he ended. suche was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry beuyng a good and verteous manne, whiche had tasted innumerable adversities and calamities of the worlde, should be depruied of his terrestrial Croune, to be recompesed with an heauenly garland, and a joyfull place: For surely a perfite good man, all though he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed, and haue a good soule toward God.

The Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Quene would spurre and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the kyng: but she beyng a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, & thereto counsailld by the dukes of Excester and Somerset, not onely denied to come, but also as-
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sembled together a great army, intending to take the kyng by fine force, out of the lordes handes, and to set them to a new skoole. The Protector lyeng in Londô, hauyng perfit knowledge of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norfolk, and the Erle of Warwicke, his trusty frenes, to be about the kyng, and he with theerles of Salisbury, and Rutlande: with a conuenient company, departed out of London, the second daie of December Northward, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to solowe hym with all his power. The Duke by small iornes, came to his Castle of Sandell, beside Wakefelde, on Christmas euere, and there began to assemble theer tenants and frenes. The quee neyther thereof asserted, determined to couple with hym while his power was small and his ayde not come: And so hauyng in her company, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Somerset, the Erle of Devonshire, the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rosse, and in effecte all the Lordes of the Northe parte, with eightene thousande men, or as some write, twentie and twoo thousande, marched from Yorke to Wakefelde, and bad base to the Duke, euyn before his Castle he hauyng with hym not fully five thousande persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and all though, sir Dauy Halle, his old seruaunt and chief counsellor, advised hym to kepe his Castle, and to defende thesame with his smal numbre, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsailed, but in a great fury saied, a Dauy, Dauy, hast thou loued me so long, and now wouldest have me dishonored: Thou never sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissence came to besiege me, but like a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euere (I thanke God) and to my honor: If I have not kepte my self within walle, for feare of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her toungue, and her hayles, should incarceare my self, and shut my gates then al men might of me woundre and all creatures male of me report dishonor, that a woman hath made me a bastard, who no man euere to this daie could yet prove a coward: And surely my mind is, rather to die with honor, then to liue with shame for of honor commeth fame, and of dishonor riseth infamy. Their great numbre shall not appall my spirites, but incourage them, for surely I thinke that I have there, as many frenes as enemies, whiche at ioyynge, will either flie or take my part: therfore auaunce my banner, in the name of God and saient George, for surely I will fight with the, though I should fight a lone. Therle of Salisbury and other his frenes, seing his corage, resolved themselves to his opinion, & ordered their men, and set them furth in Warlike fashion, for their moste aduaungtage. The Duke of Somerset and other of the quenes part, knowyng perfitly, that if the Duke gat the victory, their daies wer misheved, and their liuynges left bare, like men quickened and exasperate, for the safegard of their lives, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their moste aduaungtage, and so appointed the lorde Clifford, to lye in the eac stale, and the Erle of Wilshire in the other, and thei themselfes kept the mayne battaill. The duke of Yorke with his people, descended doune the hill in good ordre and array, & was suffered to passe forwared, toward the mayne battaill: but when he was in the plain ground betwene his Castle and the toune of Wakefelde, he was environed on euery side, like a fish in a net, or a deere in a buckestall: so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slain and ded, and his whole army discomfited, & with hym died of his trusty frenes, his two bastard vncles, sir Ihon, & sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Dauy Halle his chief counsailor, sir Hugh Hastynge, sir Thomas Neuel, William and Thomas Aparre, bothe brethren, and twoo thousande and eight hundred other, whereof many wer young gentlemen, and heires of greate parentage in the South parte, whose linages renuenged their deatthes, within foure Monethes, next and immediatly insuyng. In this confictue was wound-ed and taken prisoner, Richard the Erle of Salisbury, sir Richard Lymbrike, Raufe Stanley, Ihô Harow, Capitain Hauson, and diuerse other. While this battaill was in fightyng, a

prieste
prieste called sir Robert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland ii. sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, scace of ʒ age of. xii. yeres, a faire geilemâ, and a maydenlike person, perceiuing ʒ flight was more sauergard, then tariyng, bothe for him and his master, secretly conueyed thilre out of ʒ felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towe, but or he coulde enter into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford es-pied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yōg gentelman dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desirynge grace, both with holding vp his hâdes and making dolorous counti-nance, for his speache was gone for feare. Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to ʒ hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lord Clifford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon, which is a furious and an unreasoneable beaste, is to be cruell to them that with-staunde hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before him. Yet this cruell Clifforde, & deadly bloudsupper not content with this bomicyde, or chyldkillyng, came to ʒ place wher the dead corps of the duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stryken of, and set on it a crowne of paper, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene, not lyeng farre from the felde, in great despite, and much derision, saiyng: Ma-dame, your warre is done, here is your kinges raunsome, at which present, was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that sore lamented after, as the Quene her self, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deaths, not knowing that their awne were nere at hande, as the lord Clifford, and other. But surely, mans nature is so frayle, that thinges passed be some forgotten, and mischiefes to come, be not forsene. Af-ter this victory by ʒ Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to bee sente to Pomfret, and there to bee behelde, and sent all their heddes, and the dukes head of Yorke, to be set vpon poles, over the gate of the citie of Yorke, in despite of them, and their lignage: whose chyldren shortly reneged their fathers querell, both to the Quenes extreme perdicion, and the vttre vndoynge of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valeant lord, Rychard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, & this fyne ensued of his to much hardines. The erle of Marche, so commonly called, but after the death of his father, in dede and in right very duke of Yorke, lyeng at Glocester, heroyng of the death of his noble father, and lousyng brother, and trusty frendes was won-derfully amased, but after confort giue to him, by his faithful louers and assured alyes, he remoued to Shrewsbury, and other townes vpon the ruer of Severne, declaryng to them the murder of his father, the ieopardye of hym selfe, and the vnstable and ruyne of Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauoured ʒ lynage of the lord Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayd & assistence, then he it either instant-ly required, or hartely desired, soo that he had a puissant army, to the number of. xxiii. M. redy to go against the quene, and the murderer of his father. But when he was set-tyng forward, newes were brought to him, that Jaspar erle of Penbroke, halfe brother to kyng Henry, and James butler, erle of Ormond & Wylyshyre had assembled togethre a great number, both of Welsh and Irysh people, sodainly to surprise and take him and his frendes, and as a capitue to conuey him to the quene. The duke of Yorke, called erle of Marche, somwhat spurred and quickened with these nouelties, retired backe, & mett with his enemies in a faire playne, nere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford east, on Candelmas day in the monnyng, at whiche tyme the sunne (as some write) appered to the erle of Marche, like. iii. sunnes, and sodainly joined all together in one, and that vpo the sight therof, he toke suche courage, ʒ he fiercely set on his enemies, & the shortly disco-fited: for which cause, men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnes for his cognisance or badge. Of his enemies were lette dead on the ground. iii. M. &. viii. C:
The erles of Penbrooke and Wilshyre fled, and syr Owen Tewther, father to the sayd erle of Penbrooke, which Owen had married kyng Henries mother (as you have heard before) with Dauid floyde, Morgan a preuther, & dierus other were take and beheded at the citie of Herford. During this season, quene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obtained late at Wakefeld, partly because the duke of Yorke, her witer enemy was ryd out of the worlde, & partly, because she perceyued, the lordes of the North country to adhere and cleue to her parte and faccio: wherfore with a great multitude of Northre people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothing glad: for some affirmed, that she brought that rusty company, to spoile and robbe the citie: other saide, that she would be revenged, of suche as favored the duke of Yorke. So the pore citezēs hangyng betwene the water and the fyre, were much amused, but magistrates and governors caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obsuered. The Quene, still came farwarse with her Northre people, enteyning to subuerete and defaict all conclusions and agreemētes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliamēt. And so after her long journey, she came to the town of sainct Albons: wherof y duke of Northfolke, y erle of Warwycke, and other, whom y duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, beyng advertised, by the assent of y kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward towards saincte Albons, hangyng the kyng in their company, as the head and cheftayn of the warre, and so not myndyn to differre the time any farther, vpon shrouetuesday early in the mornyn, set vpon their enemies. Fortune y day so favored the Quene, that her parte preuaulyed, and the duke and the erle were discomfited, and fled: leaing the king accompanied with the lord Bonule, and syr Thomas Kyriell of Kent, whiche vpon assurance of his promise, taried still and fled not, but their trust, them deceiued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the kyng broughte to the Quene, they two were deteyned as prisoners, and so continued till the kynges departyng from that towne. In this battayl were slayn. xxiiii. C. men, and not above, of whome no noble man is remembred, saue syr Ithn Gray, which thesame day was made knight, with xii. other, at y village of Colney. Happy was the quene in her two battayls, but vnfortunate was the kyng in all his enterprises, for where his person was presente, ther victory fled ener from him to the other parte, & he comōly was subdued & vanquished. Whē quene Margaret had thus wel speled, first she caused the kyng, to dubbe prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with xxx. other persons, which in the mornyn fought on the quenes side, against his parte. After she sent to the Mayre of London, commaundinge him without delay, to sende certain Cartes, laded with lenten victayle, for y refreshing of her and her army. The Mayre, incontinent made prouisio, laded cartes, and sent them toward the quene. But the mouable comōs, which favored not the quenes parte, stopped y cartes at Crepulgate and boldely sayde, that their enemies, which came to spoyle and robbe y citizens, should neither be releued, nor victayled by them. And notwithstanding gentell advertiseisment to them gyuen, of the mischeēs, whiche might ensue of their doynges: yet they remayned still in one obstinate mynd and wilfull will, not permitting the cariages, to passe or go forward. During which cótrouresis, dierus of the Northen horsemē, came and robbe in the suburbes of the citie, and would have entered at Crepulgate, but thei by the commoners were repulsed, and beten backe, and iii. of them slayn: wherupon the Mayre sent the recorder to the kynges counsaill to Barne, to excuse the matter, and the duches of Bedford, & the lady Scales, with dierus sad fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quene to mollifie her rancore, and asswage her melēcolie, which she had conceived against the citie. At this humble request, the quene and her counsaill appointed certain lorde and knightes, with iii. C. tale persons, to ryde to the citie, and ther to vewe, & se the demeanoure and disposicion of the people: & dierus Aldermen were appointed to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But what soever man purpōseth, God disposeth: for all these deceises were shortly trasmutted into another forme, because trew report was brought, not onely to the citic but also to the quene, that the
the erle of Marche had vanquished the erles of Penbrooke and Wilshyre, and that the erle of Warwycke, in whome rested the chefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict, had at saïnct Albons, had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chipping Norton, by Cottes-
old, and that they with both their powers were cominge toward London. These thre tales
turned the quenes purpose, and altered all her long devised ententes, in so mucho that she
titte trusting Essex, and lesse Kent, but London leas of all, with her husband and sonne,
departed from saïnct Albons, into the Northcountry, where the roote, & foundation of
her ayde and refuge, onely consisted. But at the daye of her departing, she caused the
heddes of the lord Bonulf, and syr Thomas Kyriel, to be cut of, in the presence of her
sonne, cõtrary to ſy mynd and promise of her husbăd, but emōgest men of warre, faith or
other, syldeome is perfourned.

THĖ duches of Yorke, seyng her husband and sonne slayne, and not knowing what should
succeede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her ii. yonger sonnes, George & Richard, over
the sea, to the citie of Wrecche in Aumayn: where they were of Philippe duke of Bourgoyn,
well recyued and tested, and so there thei remayned, till their brother Edwarde had ob-
teyned the Realme, and gotte the regiment. Duringe which time divers merchantes mis-
trustning the mutacion of the world, fled out of ſy realme, emōgest whom one Philippe Mal-
bas, a man of greate riches, sayling into Hlaudders, was taken by Ilon Columnne, a French
man and payed. iiiij. M. markes for his raumsone. The erles of Marche and Warwycke,
hauyng perfit knowledge, that the kyng and queene with their adherentes, were departed
from saïnct Albons, determined first to ryde to London as the chefe key, and common-spect-
tacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of
the kingdom, as king Henry and his faction nesteled and strenghted him and his allies in the
North regions and borcal plage: meaninge to have a buckeler against a swourd, and a sou-
therne byl to cōteruayle a Northren hassard. And so these two great lordes, resoluinge
them selfs vpon this purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entered
the citie of London in the first weke of Let. What should I declare how the Kentishmen re-
sorted: how the people of Essex swarmed, & how the counties adjoyning to Londõ dayly re-
paired to se, ayd, & comfort, this lusty prince and flower of chinalry, as he in whome the hope,
of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnes onely then consisted. Thys wise and prudent noble
man, perceiuyng the most parte of the Realme, to be to him frendly and adherent, mynding
to take time when time serued, called a great counssaill both of lordes spirituall and temporall
& to them repetet the title, and right that he had to the Realme, & dignitie royall: rehe-
sing the articles of the agremente, not onely concluded betwene kyng Henry & his noble fa-
ther, Richard duke of Yorke, by theyr writinges signed and sealed: but also corroborated,
& corfirmet by auuthoritie of the high court of Parliament: the breaches whereof, he neither
forget, nor omitted undeclared. After the lordes had considered, & weyghted his title and
declaracion, they determined by auuthoritie of the sayd counssaill, for as much as kyng Henry,
contrary to his othe, honor and agremente, had violated and infringed, the order taken and
enacted in the last Parliament, and also, because he was insufficient to rule the Realme,
and inuite to the common wealth, and publique profite of the pore people, he was therefore
by the aforesayd auuthoritie, deprued & defected of all kyngly honor, and recall soveraigne.
And incontinent, Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Richard duke of Yorke, was
by the lordes in the sayd counssaill assembled, named, elected, & admitted, for kyng and
gouvernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the erles parte, beyng in their muster
in saïnct Ihous felds, & a great number of the substanciall citizens there assembled, to be-
hold their order: sodanyly the lord Fawcobridge, which toke the musters, wisely declared to
the multitude, the offences and breaches of the late agremente done and perpetrated by kyng
Hery the. vi. and demanded of the people, whether they would haue the sayd kyng Henry
to rule and reigne any lenger over them: To whome they with a whole voyce, aunswered, nay, nay.
Thence he asked the, if they would serue, loue, and obey the erle of Marche as their earthily
prince and soveraign lord. To which question they aunswered, yea, yea, crieng, king Ed-
ward
ward, with many great showtes and clappynge of handes. The lorde was shortly advertised of the louyng consent, which the commons franckely and frely of their fre wil had giuen, wherupon incontinent, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiaall commons, repaired to Baynardes castel, making just and true report to the erle of their eleccion and admission, and the louyng assent of the faithfull commons. The erle after long pausynge, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the lorde and commons also, for their harty fauour, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that, like a wise prince, he allledged his insufficiencie for so great a roome and weighty burden, as lacke of knowledge, want of expiricè & duiers other qualities, to a gouernour apperteyninge: yet in conclusion he bynyge persuaded by the Archiebisp of Ceterbury, the bishope of Excester and other lorde, the beyng present, graunted to their peticion, and toke vpō him the charge and vpoun the next day, beyng the. iij. day of Marche, he as kyng, rode to the church of sainct Paule, and there offered. And after Te deum song, with great solemnitie, he was conveyd to Westmynster, and there set in the hollow, with the scepter royall in his hand, where, to all the people which there in a great number were assembled, his title and clayme to the crowne of Engeland, was declared by. ii. maner of wayes: the firste, as souerne and heyre to duke Richard his father, right ensewor to thesame: the second, by authoritie of Parliament and forfeiture committèd by, kyng Henry. Wherupō it was agayne demandede of the commons, if they would admittè, and take the sayd erle as their prince & souereigne lord, which al with one voice cried yea, yea. Which agrement concluded, He entered into Westmynster church vnder a canopy, with soleipne procession, and there as kyng offered, and after the homages taken of al the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace: Dayly makynge provision, to go Northwarde against his aduerse faccion and open enemies, and on the morow he was proclaimed kyng, by the name of kyng Edward the. iij. throughout y cittie. While these thinges were in doynge in the Southpart, king Hery beyng in the Northcountrie, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke, the chefe Capitayn of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thing to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great army, trusting with little payne and small losse, to destroy the residew of his enemies, whome he estemed to be of no force, or of a small validitie. But he was sore deceiued: for out of the dead stocke, sprang a stronge & mightie braunch, which by no meanes could either be broken, or made sere: which was this kyng Edward the. iij. which was so beloued and fauoured of the people, that no man was spoke of, no person was remembred, but onely he: for he was so much estemed, bothe of the nobilitie and commonaltie, for his liberalitie, clemencie, integritie, and corage, that aboue all other, he was extolled and praysed to the very heauie. By reason whereof men of al ages & of all degrees to him dayly repaired, some offering theym selves and their men to icopard their lifis with him, and other plenteously gau him money, to support his charges and mayntayne his warre. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puysant army to thentent to gyue to his enemies a fierce and sharpe battayle, & so in one day to obtayn his purpose and make an ende of all his troble. When his army was redy, and all thinges prepared, he departed out of London the. xii. day of Marche, & by easy journeys came to the castell of Pompfret, where he rested, appoyntyng the lorde Fitzwater, to kepe y passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of tale personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, that ether the counsaill of kyngge Henry, or his vigilant quene, either neglected or forgott to know or searche what their enemies did, but that they prepared to their power all y men, that they either could persawde or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking them selfs furnished, committed the gouernauice of the armaye to the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, and y lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge y death of their parètes slayn at the first battayle of sainct Albons. These noble capitynnes, leauing kyng Henry, his wyfe, and soune, for their most sauegard in the citie of Yorke, passed the ryuer of Wharic, with all their power, entendinge to prohibite kyng Edward to passe ouer the ryuer of Ayree, and for the more expedicion and exployt of their purpose
KYNG HENRY THE VI.

(after many comparisons made betwene the erle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, bothe beyng in lusty yought, & of francke corage) the lord Cliforde determined with his light horsemen, to make an assaye to suche as kepte the passage of Terybridge, and so departed from the great army on the Saturday before Palmsondaye, and early or his enemies were ware, gat the bridge, and slew the kepers of thesame, and al such as woulde withstand him. The lord Fitzwater hearing the noyse, sodainly rose out of his bed, and vnarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking y it had byn a fray emogest his me, came dounne to appease thesame, but or he either began his tale, or knew what the matter meit, he was slayne, and byn the Bastard of Salisbury, brother to the erle of Warwycke, a valeant yong gentelman, and of great audacie. When the erle of Warwycke was enformed of this feate, he like a man desperate, moued on his Hackeney, and came blowynge to kyng Edward saryng: syr I praye God haue mercy of their soules, which in the beginnyng of your enterprise, had lost their lifes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeaunce and punishment to God our creator and redeemer, and with that lighted dounne, and slewe his horse with his sworde, saryng: let him flie that wil, for surely I wil tary with him that wil tary with me, and kissed the crosse of his sworde.

THE lusty kyng Edward, perceiuyng the courage of his trusty frēd the erle of Warwycke, made proclamation that all men, which were afrayde to fighte, shoulde incontinent departhe, and to all me that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards with this addicion, that if any souldier, which voluntarly would abide, and in, or before the conflict fye, or turne his backe, that then he that could kill him should haue a great remuneracio and double wages. After this proclamation ended the lord Fawconbridge, syr Water Illont, Robert Horne with the forward, passed the ryuer at Castelford. iii. myles from Ferebridge, entendeing to haue enuironed and enclosed the lord Cliford and his company, but they beyng therof advertised, departed in great haste toward kyng Henries army, but they mete with some that they loked not for, and were attribpt or they were ware. For the lord Cliforde, either for heat or payne, putting of his gorget, sodainly w an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde, was striken into the throte, and incontinent rendered hys spirtie, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother and all his company almost were there slayn, at a place called Dintingdale, not farre fro Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneeling on his knees: whose yong sorne Thomas Clifford was brought vp w a shepperd, in poore habite, & dissimuled behavio euer in feare, to publish his lignage or degre, till kyng Henry the vii. obteyned the crowne, and gat the diademe: by whom he was restored to his name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the lord Fawconbridge, haung the forward, because the duke of Northfolk was fallen sycke, valseatly vpoun Palmesunday in the twylight, set furth his army, and came to Saxton, where he might apparently perceyue the hoste of his adversaries, which were accompted. lx. M. men, and therof advertised kyng Edward, whose whole army, they that knew it, and payed the wages, affirm to. xlviii. M. vi. C. &. lx. persons, which incotinet with y eelre of Warwycke set forward leuyng the rerewad vnder y governae of syr Ihon Wectoocke, and syr Ihon Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner shoulde be takē, nor one enemie saued. So thesame day about. ix. of the clocke, which was the. xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmesundaye, both the hostes approched in a playn fele, betwene Towton and Saxtō. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great shoute, and at thesame instante time, their fell a small smyt or snow, which by violence of the wyn was driven into the faces of them, which were of kyng Hēries parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and mishised. The lord Fawconbridge, which led the forward of kyng Edwardes battail (as before is rehearsed) being a man of great polcie, and of much experience in marciall feats, caused every archer vnder his standard, to shot one flyght (which before he causeth them to prouide) and then made them to staid still. The norther me, feling the shoot, but by reason of y snow, not wel vewing y distaine betwene them and their enemie, like hardy men shot their schiefe arrowes as fast as they might, but at their shot was lost, & their labor vayn for
for they came not nere the Southermē, by. xl. taylors yerdes. Whē their shot was almost spent, the lord Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, which not onely shot their awne whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great parte of them flye against their awne masters, and another part thei let stand on ȝ ground which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battayle ioyned. The erle of Northumberlād, and Andrew Trolopo, which were chefetayns of kyng Hēricies vawgard, seynge their shot not to prevayle, hasted forward to joine with their enemies: you may besure the other part nothing retarded, but valeantly fought with their enemies. This battayle was sore fought, for hope of life was set on euyer parte and takynge of prisoners was proclaymed as a great offence, by reason wherof every man determined, either to conquer or to dye in the felde. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte, continued. x. houres in doubtfull victorie. The one parte, some time lowyng, and sometime ebbyng, but inconclusiō, kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his me, refresyng the wery, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and overcame, and lyke me amased, fledde toward Tadcaster bridge to saue the selues: but in the meanε way there is a little broke called Cockey, not very broade, but of a great deapnes, in the whiche, what for hast of escapyng, and what for feare of folow-ers, a great number were dren and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men aluye passed the ryuer vpon dead carcasis, and that the great ryuer of Wharfe, which is the great sewer of ȝ broke, & of all the water comyng from Tawtōn, was colored with bloude. The chace continued all night, and the most parte of the next day, and euer ȝ Northen men, when they saw or perceived any aduauntage, returned again and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both partes. For in this iii. dayes were slayn (as they knew it wroate) on both partes. xxxvi. M. vii. C. lx. and. xvi. persons, all Englishmen and of one naciō wherof the chefe were the erles of Northumberland, and Westmerland and the lord Dakers the lord Welles, syr Ihon Neuel, Andrew Trolōp, Robert Horne, and many other Knyghtes and Esquiers, and the erle of Duenoshyre taken prisoner, but the dukes of Somerset and Excester fled from the felde and saued themselfes. This conflict was in manε vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenure against his lord, which slaughter did not onely sore debilite-tate and muche wekē the puysance of this realme, considering that these dedde men, whē thei were liyng had force enoynge to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gawe a courage to outward enemies and foren potētates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, which thingε was not valyke to have ensued, if either Lewes the French kyng had bene at this tyme quiet in his realme, or James kyng of Scottes had bene of age and master of him selē, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut agayn, or it was espied.

After this great victorie, kyng Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all solemnitie recyeued: and first he caused the heddes of his father, the erle of Salisbury, and other his frenedes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies. And there he caused the erle of Duenoshyre and. iii. other to be behedded, and set their heddes in the same place. After that he sent out men on light horses, to espye in what parte, kyng Henry lurked, which hearing of the irrecuperable losse of his frenedes, departed incontinent with his wife and sonne, to the towne of Barwycke, and leauyng the duke of Somerset there, came to the kynges courte of Scotland, requiryng of him and his counsaill, aude succor, relefe & coftōr. The yong kyng hauing compassiō on the miserable fate and great mischaunce of this sorrowful man, not onely coforted him with fayre woordes and frendly promises, but also assigned to him a compedent pencion to live on, during the tyme of his abode within the realme of Scotland. Kyng Henry considering the great humanitie, shewed to him by the Scottish kyng, in whom oneley now consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his aude and succor, thought to bynd and oblige the sayd kyng, with some great benefite to his parte, and for that cause, deliuered to hym the towne of Barwycke vpon tweede: which towne the Scottes many yeres had desired, but yet thei neither by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire or
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or purpose, before ½ time, Some writers affirm, that he not voluntarily, but coacted by ne-
cessitie, rendered the same towne, or els he could not be permitted once to enter, or haue
any succor in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoever the cause was: after kyng Iames had
taken possession of the towne, he frendly entered and faithfully supported the parte and
faccion of kyng Henry, and concluded a mariage betwene his syster and the yong prince of
Wales, which mariage, Philippe duke of Burgoy, enemy to quene Margaretes father, la-
bored muche to infringe and interrupte: but by the consent of both the frides, the matri-
mony was agreed, but it was never solemnised, as after you shall heare. When kyng
Henry was somewhat setteled in the realme of Scotlande, he sent his wyfe and his sonne into
Fraunce, to kyng Rene her father, trusting by his ayde and succor, to assemble a greate
army, and once agayne to possesse hys Realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season de-
termined to make hys abode in Scotland, to se and espie, what way the frendes in Englande
would studye or invent for his restitucon and aduauancement. But whether it were his de-
tinye or his folye, he so imprudctely demeaned hym selfe, that within shorte space, he came
into the handes of hys mortall enemies. Quene Margarete thus beyng in Fraunce, did ob-
teyn & impetrate of the yong Frenche kyng, that all fators and louners of her husbande
and the Lancastreall band, might safely and surely haue resorte into any parte of the realme
of Fraunce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faccion, any accesse or repaire into that
country.

THIS you haue hearde the variable chaunce and tragedicall hystory of kyng Henry the
sixthe, whiche had reigned over this realme eight and thirtie yeres and odde monethes,
whiche the tenth yere after hys deposicion, was agayne erected to hys throne and estate
royall, as after shalbe declared. Nowe leuynge kyng Henry with the princes of his fac-
cion consultynge togethier in Scotlande, and Quene Margarete his wyfe gatherynge men to-
gether in Fraunce, I wyll returne to the actes of kyng Edward.

FINIS.

¶ The ende of the trobelous season of kyng Henry the. vj.

THE PROSPEROUS REIGNE OF KYNG

EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Prosperous fortune and glorious victory, happily succeeding to this yōg Prince and cou-
ragious Capitain, in the mortall battail fought at Towton, (as you haue heard) he
beyng incoraged and set vp, partly because he had obtained so great a conquest, and partely,
because he perceiued, that aswell the nobles, as the commōs of the Realme, began to drawe
to hym, and to take his part after the fashion and maner of a triumphaunt conqueror, and
victorious champion, with great pompe returned to London. Where (according to the
old custome of the realme) he called a great assemble of persons of all degrees: and the
xxix. daie of June, was at Westminster with all solemnitie crowned and anoynted kyng, and
called Kyng Edwarde the. iiij. after William the Conqueror, which was in the yere of
Christes incarnacion. M. iiij. C. lxj.
IN the whiche yere, he called his high Court of Parliament, wherewith the statute of the Realme was wholly set in good ordre, and specially such thynges as apperteined to the common wealth, which wer to much neglected and decayed. During the tyme of the civill and intestine war, he caused all statutes and ordinances made by kyng Henry the sixte, (whiche eithe touched his title or his profite) to be adnihilate and frustrate. In the whiche Parliament, the Erle of Oxford farre striken in age and the Lord Awbrey Veer, his sonne and heire, whether it wer for malice of their enemies, or thei wer suspected, or had offended the Kyng, they bothe and diverse of their counsailors, wer attainted and put to execution, whiche caused Ihon erle of Oxford, euer after to rebell. And afterward he created his twoo younger brethren Dukes, that is to saie: Lorde George, Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lorde Ihon Neuell, brother to Richard Erle of Warwicke, he first made Lorde Mountacutte, and afterwarde created hym Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Burchier, brother to Thomas Arche bishop of Cantorbury, was created Erle of Essex, and Willyam Lorde Fawconbrige, was made Erle of Keut. To this Lorde Henry Burchier beyng a noble man in marciall actes, highly approued and renowned, Richard Duke of Yorke, long before this tyme, had geuen his suster Elizabeth in mariage: haungy a firme hope, and a sure confidence, that he and his generacion should be a perpetuall aide to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in prosperitie as aduersitie, associate together in al chances of fortune, which trust he did not defraude, as afterward appered to Kyng Edward the fourth, sonne to thesaid duke Richard, which for his assured fidelitie made hym Erle of Essex: to thende that bothe he the father, and his sone, should euer be to hym, bothe an aide and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat of lady Elizabeth his wife, four sonnes, William, Thomas, Ihon, and Henry, and one daughter named Isabell, whiche lived but a small season. In the whiche sonnes, in compassyng and bryngyng greate thynges to passe, there lacked no industrie; nor prudence: in grauous and weightie affaires, there wanted neither labor nor diligence: in all jeoperdies, thei wer hardly, strong, and corageous; and finally, in forseyng of things, they neither lacked pollicie, nor wer destitute of counsaile. But in Lorde William, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertuues wer surely planted and ingrauen: which William espoused lady Anne Woodwile, descended of an high parëtage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Luxenborough, erle of saint Paul, by whom he had Lorde Henry, afterward Erle of Essex, and Cicile, and Isabel, whiche died vnmarried: Cicile was maried, to Water lorde Ecreis of Chartely. But now to returne to the purpose.

THE SECOND YERE.

WHen all these chaunce thus luckely happened to kyng Edward, and all thynges in manner were framed, as he would have theim: Henry duke of Somerset, sir Raufe Percie, and diverse other, beyng in dispaire, and out of hope of all good chaunce, that might happen to kyng Henry the sixte, came humbly and submitted themselves, whom he gentely intertained, and louyngly receiued. Of whiche deede, the duke shortly repented him and so did some of the other.

ALL this season was kyng Henry the. vj. in Scotlande, whiche to have the more aide and comfort of the Scottise king, he delivered unto hym the toun of Barwicke, (as you before haue heard) whiche had been continually, in the possession of Englishmen, from the tyme of Kyng Edward the firste, whiche, with hardy corage, manfull assautes, slaughter of many thousands of Scottes, valiantly conquered thesame. This same season also, quene Margaret, beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father and frendes, found suche friendship, at the Frenche kynges handes, that she obtained a crewe of fiue hundred Frenchmen, whiche was but a small number, for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husbande or she, were intertaine in wages, of their awne coffers. She thus beyng accompanied, with these bostying Frenchmen, of whom sir Piers Bracy, a Bryton knyght was Capitain, a man more fierce in the house then in the feld, and yet more fierce in flying from
the field to the house, then hardly to set forward from the house to the field, set vp her sailes, and with a prosperous wind, arrived in Scotland. If she and her company, were welcome to her husband and sonne, I report me to such a languish, and would have aide, and to suche as lacke aide, and would be comforted. The Quene and her company, thought to doo some greate enterprise, (as the nature of the Frenchemen is, to be more busy then bold) sailed with her gallant band toward Newe Castle, and landed at Tynnemouth. But whether she wer a fraied of her awne shadow, or that the Frenchemen cast to many doubts, the truth is, that the whole army returned to their shippes, and a tepes rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Careuell, and that with good spede, arrived safe at Barwicke: she had neither vexed kyng Edward after, as she did with a newe invasion, nor yet she had not lued all her old age, in misery wretchednes and callamite, as she did, leasynge bothe her husbande, her sonne, her Realme, and her honor. And although fortune was so favorabell to her, yet her company were with stormy blastes, driuen on the shore before Baborough castle, where thei set their shippes on fire, and cowardly fled to an Island, called holy Island, wher they were so assailed by the bastard Ogle, and Esquire called Ion Manners, with other of kyng Edwardes retinue, that many of them were slaine, and almothe. iii. C. taken prisoners, and put to raunson. But the captain Bracy more coward then coragious, happened by chaunce of a fisharman, & so came to Barwicke, to Quene Margarets his mastres: whether she gave hym thankes or no I doubt, but sure I am he none desuered, yet she made hym capitain of Alnewike Castle, which he with his fresh men kept til they wer rescowed. This chaunce little amased the Quene, nor in any thyng abated her haute corage. For incontinently she obtained a greate company of Scottes, and other of her frendes, and so bringynge her husband with her, and leasynge her sone called prince Edward, in the toune of Barwicke, entered Northumberlande, and toke the castle of Bamborough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof capitain sir Raufe Gray, and came forward toward the bishopricke of Durham. When the Duke of Somerset heard these newes, he without delaye refused kyng Edward, and rode in poste to his kysman, kyng Henry the sixte: verifying the olde proverbe: kynte will crepe, where it may no go: Refusing the surety of his estate, whiche kyng Edwardes did promise hym, for the ucertain gain whiche he hoped to get, by supporting kyng Henry. With hym fled also sir Raufe Percy, and many other of the kynges frédes, but many mo folowed hym, for couetousenes of spoyle and rapyne: in so muche that the puyssaunce of kyng Henry, was thought to bee of asmuche force, as the strength and armie of his enemy kyng Edward. The which armie was judged to be y greater, because he spoyled, & burned tounes, and destroyed feldes, whersoever he came. Kyng Edward (as you could not blame hym) was with these dooynge nothyng content, wherefore like a wise prince, inteyning to stop the gut of kyng Henrys power or it made any farther issue: Prepared al municions, conuenient for the warre, rigged and appareled, a greate nauue of shippes, of whiche some were vatailed at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with souldiars. When his armie by the sea, was thus warlike set forward: he sent the lorde Montacute, (whom bothe for his hardinesse and sage conduyte in marciall affaires, he muche trusted and beleued) into Northumberlande, there to raise the people, to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall personne, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched toward his enemies, and came to the citie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faithfull subjectes, to the ayde of the lorde Montacute, least paradventure, he geuyng to muche confidence, to the men of the Bishopricke and Northumberlande, might by them be deceived and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgot not the office of a good capitain, nor beyng well furnisshed with suche as he knewe would neither flie backward, nor stande still looking, and not fighting, thought no léger to tract the tyme, but with a valiant corage, marched forward toward his enemies, and in his forney, he was incountered, with thelorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, sir Raufe Percy, and diuercse other, at a place called Hegely More. Where sodainly thesaied lordes, in maner, without stroke strikyng, fled, and
and onely sir Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slaine, with diverse other, saying, when he was diying: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meaung that he had kept, both his promise and othe, to kyng Henry the. vj: Forgetting that he in kyng Henries moste necessitye, abandoned him and submitted hym to kyng Edward, (as you before haue heard.) The lord Montaute seying fortune thus prosperously leadying his saile, was auanced with hardly corage toward his enemies, & then in passyng forward, he had by his espailles perfit intelligence, that kyng Henry with all his power, was incamped in a faire plaine called Lynels, on the water of Dowill in Exham shire. It was no neede to bid hym hast, as he that thought not to lese the occasion, to hym so manifestly geuen, & to leave the good part of fortune, to hym opened and vnclosed: and therefore, in good ordre of battaill, he manfully set on his enemies, in theire avne cape, whiche like desperate persones, with no small corage receiued hym. There was a sore fought field, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduauntage of the other, till at the last, the lord Montaute, criyng on his men to do valiantly, entered by plaine force, the battaille of his enemies, and brake their array, whiche like men amased, fled thether and thether, desperete of all succor. In whiche flight and chase, wer taken, Henry duke of Somerset, whiche before was reconciled to Kyng Edwarde, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Molyns, the Lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Iuse, sir Ithon Fynderne, & many other. Kyng Henry was this day, the beste horseman of his company: for he fled so faste that no man could ouer take hym, and yet he was so nere pursued, that certain of his heuixmen or followres wer taken, their horses beyng trapped in blew vluet: wherof one of the had on his hed, thesaid kyng Henries healemy. Some say his high cap of estate, called abocoeket, garnished with twoe riche crounes, whiche was presented to kyng Edward, at Yorke the fourth daie of Mai. The duke of Somerset, was incontinentely, for his greate mutabilitie and lightnes, beleeved at Exham, the other lordes and knightes, wer had to New Castle, and therer after altie respite, wer likewise put in execution. Beside these persones, diverse other to the numbre of xxv. wer executed at Yorke, and in other places: wherby other fators of kyng Henries partie, should be ou of all trust of all victory, consideremyng that their capitanes, had hoppd hedles. Frô this battaill escaped kyng Henry thec. vj. sir Humfrey Neuell, Willia Taytboys, callyng hymself erle of Kent, sir Raufe Gray, and Richard Tunstall, and diverse other, whiche beyng in feare of takyng, hid themselves and lurked in dênes and wholes secretly. Thei wer not so closly hid, but they were espied: for the erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to New Castle, and there with an axe lost his life, Sir Humfrey Neuell, after long lurking in a Caue, was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke beheeded. Thus every man almonste that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it should seme that God had ordeined, all suche persones as rebelled against kyng Edward, to haue in cœclusion, death for their reward and guardone.

After this battaille called Exham field, kyng Edward came to the cite of Duresme, to the intent to bee more nerer to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempete: and sent from thence into Northumberland, the Erle of Warwicke, the lorde Montaute, the lordes, Fawconbrige and Scrope, and diverse other, to recouer suche Castles and fortresses, as his enemies there held, and with force defed. These lordes first besieged the castle of Alnewike, whiche sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchemen, by force and strong hande kepte, and in no wise would yeld, sendyng for ayde to the Scottes, wherupon sir George Douglas, erl of Angus, with. xij. M. men well chosen, in the daie tyme rescowed the Frenchemen out of the castle, the Engleysmen loykyng on, whiche thought it muche better to haue the castle without losse of their mc, then to lese bothe the castle and their men, consideremyng the great power of the Scottes, and their smal numbre: and so thei entered the castle and manned it, and after thesaied lordes, besieged the castle of Dunstanborough, and by force toke it, and Ithon Goys seruannt to the duke of Somerset capitain of thesaid castle, was taken and brought to Yorke: where, with a hachet he receiued his reward. These lordes also tooke by force the strong castle of Bamborough, and in it sir Raufe Gray, whiche was before sworne to kyng Edward, for the whiche periiurie to bothe the princes, he was disgraded of the
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the high ordre of knighthode at Dancastre, by cuttyng of his gylt sporres, rytyng his cote of armes, and breakyng his sword ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was shorted, by the length of his hed and had no more harne, thus was he rewarded for his doble deceipt and manifest peridie.

AFTER this victory, kyng Edward returned to Yorke, where, in despite of therle Northumberland, whiche therfor lurked, in the realme of Scotland, he created sir Ithon Neuell, lorde Montacute, erle of Northumberland, & in reprofe of Iaspar erle of Penbrooke, he created William lord Herbert, erle of the same place: but after when by mediacion of frendes, therle of Northumberland, was reconciled to his favor, he restored hym fully to his possessiouns, name and dignitie: and not intending therby, to diminish the honor of his frend, he preferred sir Ithon Neuell, to the stile of Marques Montacute; and so by that meanes, he was in estate and degre higher, then therle of Warwicke his elder brother, but in power, policie, and possessiouns, farre baser and lower.

THE THIRD YERE.

Although that Kyng Edward might now thynke, all thynges to be in a good case, & hysmelf also to be of puyssance sufficient against al his enemies, (for þ he had obteined so great a victory): yet did he provide with all diligence, that neither kyng Henry, nor quene Margaret his wife, should by any meanes remain in Engelande: lest the sight with the perswasions of them, and especially with old frendes & alies, might alter and change the minds, & also wyn the hartes of the mutable cômonaldie. Wherfore he edified bulwarkes, and buylded fortresse on every side & parte of his realme, where might be any place pro-pice and mete, for an armie to arriue or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wise they should receive thesaid quene, nor in any thynge should help or minister to her: and if any did presuma or attempt, priuatly or openly to infringe his will and commandement, the offenders should be take as his adversaries, & punished as his vtrer enemies. And on that parte that marcheth upon Scotland, he laied watches and espialles, that no persone should go out of the realme, to kyng Henry and his company: whiche then lay soiornynge in Scotlande. But what so ever jeoperdy or peril might bee construed or demed, to haue insued by the meanes of kyng Henry: all suche doubts, were now shortly resolved and determined, and all feare of his doynges, wer elevery put vnder and extinct. For he hymself, whether he wer past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite mynde, or could not long kepe hymself secrete, in a disguysed apparell, boldely entered into Engelande. He was no soner entered, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towards the kyng, whom the erle of Warwicke met on the waie, by the kynges commandement, and brought hym through London, to the toure, and there he was laied in sure holde. Quene Margareve his wife, hearyng of the captuitiue of her husbande, mistrustyng the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfor-tles, departed out of Scotlande, and sailed into F Lance, where she remaينة with Duke Reyner her father, till she toke her infortunat journe into Engelande again: where she lost bothe the husband and soone, and also all her wealth, honor, and worldly felicitie. The newe Duke of Somerset and his brother Ithon, sailed into Flandres, where they also liued in greate misery, till duke Charles, because he was of their kyn, and descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, whiche to them was a greate comfort. Therle of Penbrooke wet from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of life, or suretie of liuing. Such an vnstable and blind goddes is fortune: for who he that sitteth highest on the whole falleth to the ground, all that be vnderneath fall also, and can neither haue aide nor helpe of her, nor yet of theimselfes.

AFTER the takyng of kyng Hery the. vi. and the departyng of his wife, this realme was in more quietnes & tranquilitie, because that men of the contrary part and facion, durst
THE III. YERE OF

...adversaries. Wherefore kyng Edward, being clearly out of doubt, of all hostilitie and danger, set all his mynd the whole foure yeres folowinge, for bothe amending thynge preuidicall to the common wealth, and also for stabilishing of thynge, mete and necessary, for the people of his Realme and dominion. And firste of all, folowing the old auncient adage which saith, that the husbandman ought first to taste of the new growe frute: he distributed the possessions, of suche as toke parte with kyng Henry the vi. to his souldiers and capitaines, whiche he thought had well deserved it. And beside, he lefte no point of liberalitie vnsheved, by the whiche he might allure to hym, the benevolence and louyng hartes of his people: and in especial to his nobilitie, he gaue bothe large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed hymself more familiar, bothe with the nobilitie and the commonlytie, then (as some me thought) was convenient, either for his estate, or for his honor: whiche gentilines and friendly familiaritie, he euer after vset. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newly augmented. The coyne bothe of golde and of siluer, whiche yeat at this daie is curraunt, he newly deuised and diuided: for the gold he named royals and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes. After this, he caused open Proclamation to be diuuld, that all persone whiche were adherent to his adversaries part, & would leaue their armure, & submit theselves wholly to his grace and mercy, should bee clerely remitted, pardoned, and releseed: and they that obstinatly would so refuse, should haue such paines, as by the law, to suche transgressors, was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle interteyning of his people brought hym to: What good will and fixed hartes of the people, he obtained by this kynd and friendly handelyng, all me may with their iye manifestly perceiue. For only by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror: so that all enterprises afterward against hym attempted, had either euill successe, or wer sone refelled, as afterward you shall perceiue. When he had brought his Realme into this estate, he surely thynkyng, and no lesse trystyng, but that he was set in the sure stall, stable throne, and vnmoveable chaire, of the crowne of his realme and kyngdom, was not only desirous of hymself, beyng a prince of hauyt corage, young, lusty, and sanguyne of complexion, to haue a wife, but was also daily sollicitated, required, and mocioned of the peres and nobilitie of the Realme, to ioyne with suche a make, as should bee bothe to his honour and contentacion, and also for the securitie & establishment, of the royall succession, and continuance of his progeny, in his newe possessed countrey, and late recovered kingdome. Wherupon, like a wise and a circumspecte Prince, very desirous of a Queene, but more thirstying for suche a make, by the aide of whose parentes, aliies and confederates: he beyng ioyned with them in perfite affinitie, might little or nothing doubt the attempts of his adversarie kyng Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret frendes and priuy factors. This matter (as it was of great weight and importance) hauynge long in consultation: Emongest other it was mowed, to send to James the. iii. kyng of Scottes, for the obteynyng of the faire lady Margaret his suster, to thintent, that on that side, kyng Henry his adversary, should be destitute of all aide, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it wer for a priuie sickenes, or an open impediment, to hym and his counsaille declared, or by them spied, this mocion vanished and toke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue said, & few or none haue written) it was farther consulted, that the lady Elizabeth, suster & heire apparrant, to Done Henry kyng of Castle, (whiche afterward was his heire in deede, and maried to Done Fernandez, kyng of Arragon) was a mariage for hym moste convenient, and not so convenient, as profitable bothe to hym and his realme, and theim that should lineallly suceede hym, considerying that if he might obtain the kyngdome of Castell, of the whiche his greate grond mother, was one of the indubitate heires, as doughter to Done Peter, late kyng of Castell, (by the valiant
The treaty of a marriage for Kyng Edward the III.

Edward knight, Edward prince of Wales, restored to his seigniory, realme & kingdom) then was he in case, not onely hable to defend hymself, and his realme of Engelande, against all foren enemies, and utter invasions, but also he should be of powyssance sufficient to inuade, and likely to recover the duchy of Guyen, yea, and whole Acquitain, beyng his owne true and lawefull inheritance, with the ayde onely of the Castilians, puttyng the Englishmen to litle trouail, & lesse charge. This mocion thus setforward seemd highlye to redounde, bothe to the honor of the kyng, and the high auauement of thestate of the realme: Considering first, the high parétag of the woman, and secondly, the indubiate expectacion of thinheritance, of the realmes of Castell and Lion. And this mariage agred vpun, (whiche semeth more likely to be intreated of, then concluded as the tale tellers saie.) The erle of Warwicke was sent into Spain, well instructed, and no lesse accompanied, for the conclusiö of thesaid mariage. But who so will diligently consider, and in egall balaunder pondeur, the youth and appetite of kyng Edward, and the tendre age and minoritie of this noble donnesell: maie euydently perceiue, that it was neither decent nor convenient, for hym nor his realme, to expect and tary the maturitie and ful age of this noble princes, nor that he beyng a prince, wel cherished, of lustie courage, and apte to generation, would or could live sole and vamaried without a wife, till she were of age, mete & conuenient for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly seulpture, in the cite of Granado (where she is buried) and also duerse famous and notable Historiographers, bothe of Spain and other regions, write and affirme, that she changed this transitory life, in the yere of our Lorde. M. D. vi. beyng L. yeres of age, one moneth onely lacking. By whiche report she should be borne, in the yere of our lorde. M. iii. C. lvi. And when therie of Warwicke was sent for the mariage of kyng Edwarde, in the beginnyng of the third yere of his reigne, the yere of our lord. M. cccc. Ixiiii, so that then she was sixe and not fully. vii. yeres, at whiche tyme kyng Edward had fully accóplished. xxiii. yeres and more. The treatie of whiche mariage although it be vnpossible, yet for ÿ causes aforesaid, it semeth not a litlle vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was moved, as it peraduenture might be, and that the erle of Warwicke sailed into Spain, (as he did not in deede) of likelilhood his legacion was frustrate, & came to none effect: but sure it is that thesame yere, he came to kyng Lewes the. xi. then beyng Frenche kyng, living at Tours, and with greate honor was there receiued, and honorably interteined: of who, for kyng Edward his master, he de- maunded to have in marriage the lady Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoy, and suster to the lady Carlot, then Frenche Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This mariage semeth pollitiquly devisd, and of an high imaginacion to be inuented, if you will well consider, the state and condicion of kyng Edwarde affairs, which at this time, had kyng Henry the. vi. in safe custody, in the strong tourse of London, and the moste parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, either profligated or extinct, Quene Margarett onely except, and Prince Edward her suster, which were then soiornnyng at Angiers, with old Duke Reiner of Aniow her father, writyng hymself kyng of Naples, Scicile, and Jerusalem, hauing as muche profites of the letters of his glorious stile, as rentes and revennes out of thesaid large and riche realmes and dominions, (because the kyng of Arragon takë the profites of thethesame, and would make no accôpt therof to duke Reiner.) Kyng Edward therafore thought it necessary, to hauue affinitie in France, and especially by the Quenes suster: whiche Quene, although she ruled not the kyng her husband, (as many wome do) yet he of a certain especiall humilietie, was more content to hauue her favoor & folowe her desire, (for wedded men of tyme doubt stormes) rather then to hauue a lowryng countenance, and a ringing peale, whe he should go to his rest and quietnes: trusting that by this mariage, quene Margarett (whom thesame Quene Carlot litle or nothing regarded, although her father was called a kyng and she a quene, & none of both hauing subjectes, profites, nor dominions) should have no aide, succor nor any éfôrt of ÿ Fêch kî, nor of none of his frêdes nor alies, wherfore quene Carlot much desirous to aduice her blod & progenie, & especially to so greate a prince as kyng Edward was, obtayne both the
THE III. YERE OF

THE marriage concluded for 

... the marriage... good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrimony on that syde was clerely assented to, & the erle of Dampmartine appoited with other, to sayle into England, for the clerely finishing of the same. After these things thus concluded, the erle of Warwycke was dismissed and highly rewarded, & for the great & noble corage that was in him, he obtayned such favor of the kyng, the queene and the nobles of Fraunce, that when he fled out of England, he was there honorably received, frendly maintaineid, and Ioningly succored, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

BVT now consider the old proverbe to be true: that marriage is destinie. For during the time that the erle of Warwycke was thus in Fraunce, concluding a marriage for kyng Eward: The king being on hyntynge in the forest of Wychwood besyde Stonnystradforde, came for his recreacon to the mannor of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford soijorned, then wyse to syr Richard Wodulle, lord Ryuer, on whō then was attendyng a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Ithon Grey knight, shayn at the last battell of saintec Alhous, by the power of kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suit to the kyng, either to be restored by hym to some thing taken from her, or reyquireyng hym of pitie, to haue some augmentacion to her liuyng, founde such grace in the kynges eyes, that he not onely favored her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenaunce, then of excellent beautie, but yet of such beautie & favor, that with her sober demeanure, louely lokynge, and femynyne smylyng (neither to wanton nor to humble) byseyde her tounge so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to raisithe the mynde of a meane person, whē she allured and made subiect to her, her hart of so great a king. After that kyng Edward had well considered all the liuyametes of her body, and the wise and womanly demeanure that he saw in her, he determined first to attemp, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne lady, promysynge her many gyftes and fayre rewards, affirming farther, if she would therunto condiscend, she might so fortune of his peramour and concubyne, to be chaunged to his wyfe & lawfull bedfelow: whiche demaunde she so wisely, and with so couernt speache auncwered and repugned, affirmynege that as she was for his honor farre vnable to be hys spouse and bedfelow: So for her owne poore honestie, she was to good to be either hys concubyne, or souereigne lady: that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on a hote burnyng fyre, what for the confidence that he had in her perfyte constancy, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, & without any farther deliberacion, he determined with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that asking counsaill of them, which he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

BVT the duches of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay alledgyng a precouract made by hym with the lady Lucye, and diverse other lottes: all which doubtes were resolved, & all things made clerely and all cauallacions auoyded. And so, priuille in a mornyng he maried her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.

§ THE IIII. YERE.

And in the next yere after, she was with great solemnitie crowned queene at Westmynster. Her father also was created erle Ryuers, and made high Constable of Englande: her brother lorde Anthony, was maried to the sole heyre of Thomas lord Scales, & by her he was lord Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to syr Ithon Grey, the quenes fyrst husband, was created Marques Dorset, and maried to Cicilie, heyre to the lord Boniule. Albeit this mariage, at the first apparaunce was very plaesaut to the king, but more joyous to the queene & profitable to her bloud, which were so highly exalted, yea, & so sodainly promo- ted, that all the nobilitie more marauyled then allowed this sofayn risyng and swift elevacion: Yet who so will marke the sequele of this story, shall manifestly perceyue, what mutther, what miserie, & what troble ensued by reason of this mariage: for it can not be denied,
KYNG EDWARD THE IIII.

ended, but for this mariage kyng Edward was expnsed the Realm, & durst not abide, And for this mariage was therle of Warwycke & his brother miserable slain. By this mar-riage were kyng Edwardes. ii. sonnes declared bastardes, & in conclusion prised of their affairs. And finally by this mariage, the queenes blood was confounded, and utterly in manner destroyed. So ﬁx men did afterward diuynge, that either God was not contented, nor yet pleased with this matrimony, or els that he punished kyng Edward in his posterity, for the diepe dissimulyng and couert clokyng, with his faithfull frende the erle of Warwycke. But such cõçectures for ﬁx most part, be rather more of mens phatasies, then of diuine revelacion. Whc this mariage was once blowen abrod, forren kynges and prynces mar-nayled and mused at it: noble men detested and disdained it: the commo people grudged and murmured at it, and al with one voyce sayde, that hys vnaduised wowyng, hasty lonyng, and to spedy mariage, were neither meete for him byeng a kyng, nor consonant to the hon-or of so high an estate. The French kyng and his queene were not a littell discontent (as I can not blame them) to have their sister, first demaunded and then granted, and in conclusion reiected, and apparently mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherefor shortly to appease her dolor, they maried her to Ilion Gaîeèe, duke of Millayn, where she lied in great felicitie. But when the erle of Warwycke had perfit knowledge by the letters of his trusty frendes, that kyng Edward had gotten him a new wyle, & that all that he had done with kyng Lewes in his ambassade for the cóioynyng of this new affinitie, was both frustrate & vaun, he was earnestly mowed and sore chaíc with the chaunce, and thought it neces-sarye that king Edward should be deposed from his croune and royal dignitie, as an in-constant prince, not worthy of such a kyngly office. All men for the mooste partie agre, that this mariage was the only cause, why the erle of Warwycke bare grudge, and made warre on kyng Edward. Other affirme that ther wer other causes, which added to this, made ﬁx fyre to ﬂame, which before was but a littell smoke. For after that kyng Edward had ob-tenyed his kyngdome (as it was then thoughte) by the onely helpe and meane of the erle of Warwycke, he bega to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing, lest he byeng in such authoritie and estimacion of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he therunto were mynded, wherfore he thought it cõnienct a little and a little to plucke awaye and minyshe the power and authoritie, which he and his predecessors had gyuen to the erle, to thentent that he then myght do at his pleasure, bothe at home and in outward parties, without feare or dread, without checke or taunt, whatsoever to his own mynde semed most convenient. By this a men may se that often it chaiiceth, that frendes for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuitle and benefite in time of necessitie, to the shewed and exhibited: But for kyndnes they shew vnkindnes, & for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they do recompense. Of this the erle of Warwycke was nothing ignoraì, which although he loked for better thankes & more ample benefites at kyng Edwardes handes: yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter, tyll such a time were come, as he might fynd the king without streng, and then to imbrayd him with the pleasure that he had done for him. And farther it erreth not from ﬁx triueth that kyng Edward did attempt a thynge once in the erles house which was much against the erles honestie (whether he would have deflowered his daughter or his nece, ﬁx certaintie was not for both their honors openly known) for surely such a thynge was attempted by king Edward, which lowed well both to loke and to fele fayre damnosel. But whether the in-fury that the erle thought he had taken at king Edwardes handes, or the dislayne of au-thoritie that the erle had vnder the king, was the cause of dissolucion of their amitie and league, truth it is that the priuie intencions in their hartes brake into so many smal peces, that England, Fraunce, and Fluanders, could never ioyne them agayn, duryng their naturall lyves.

The erle of Warwycke byeng thus mowed, inflamed, & set against the kyng, lest in his fury, his purpose might be espied and broughte to nought, determined him self, couerly dissimulyng, so longe to suffer all such wronges & injuries, as were to hym done, til he
might spy a tyme conuenient, & a world after his owne appetite, for the setting furth of his enterpise, and accomplishing of his purpose: wherupon he sayled into England, and with reuerence saluted the kyng as he was wont to do, & declared his Ambassade and theploynt of thesame, without any spot of grudge to be perceyved, as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony. And when he had taried in the courte a certayn space, more for to shewe that he was thesame person, and of thesame good mynde towards the kyng, as he was before the tyme of his legacion, then for any great affection that he bare, either to the kyng or the queene, he obtayned licence of the kyng, to depart to hys Castel of Warwyke, both for hys health and recreacion, Whither with great honour he was accompanied with diners of the kynges familiar seruitors, as though none inward grudge or courte dissimulant had ben hydden betwene them, where he remayned tilll all his prynci imaginacions were made open, and all hys enterprises were ready to be set forwarde. During whiche tyme, the queene was delivered of a yonge and fayre lady, named Elizabeth, whiche afterward was wyfe to the noble prince kyng Henry the vii. and mother to kyng Henry the. viii.

\[THE. V. YERE.\]

When kyng Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of. v. yeares, not all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but either by policie or fru shedshippe, he couse was superior, & had the upper hande of hys enemies: he dayly studied and intentuely applied his whole mynd with all labor and diligence to obtayne the loue, favor and amitie of outward princes & foren potentates. First to have a Rowlad for an Olyuer, for the Fræch kyng whome he knew not to be hys frendes, by reason of the refusall of hys queenes syster, he procured an amitie with Henry, kyng of Castell, and Iohn kyng of Arragon. At the concluding of whiche amitie he graunted lycence and libertye for certayn cottesolde shepe to be transported in to the countie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplied and encreased, that it hath turned \( \frac{1}{3} \) comoditie of England, moche to the Spaynish profit, & to no small hynderance of the lerne and gayne whiche was beforelymes in England, rysed of wolfe and felle. Beside thys to have an amitie with hys nexte neighbo, the kyng of Scottes he wynkynte at the towne of Barwyke, was contët to take a truce for xv. yeares.

BVT Lord what happy chaire and good lucke had kyng Edward for bysde these new frendes and confreres (of the whiche, some were more farther of, then he could call to for helpe with a whisted, when he stode in moost daunger and distresse) Fortune besyde all his expectacið provided hym cune at hys elbowe, A brother in lawe, a perpetual allye and friendly neibour: which offered aliaunce and now amitie, if he had either refused or myssed surely of al his other putatyue (I dare not say fayned) frendes, for all their leve, in his extreme necessitie, he had bene cleerey abandonyd, and of all comfort left disconsolate. Thys happy chauce came by thys occasion, In thys same season was lord and prince in Flan ders, Brabant and Zelâdt, and other the lowe contreis theraboute Philipphe duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of greate age and yeres, so was he in moche honor, great esimation & high reuerëe emongest all kynges and prynces in hys dayes: which dake as you harde before, was enemye mortall to kyng Henrye the xixe This dake had only one sonne legimate, called Charles erle of Charoloyes, a man of suche haute corage, of so high enterprisé and vntimorous audacite (euen lyke the sonne of Mars) as fewe or none was sene in hys tyme: For how he discouragid kyng Loyes the xi. then the Fræch kyng at the battayle of Montleherrye, the Frenchmen hath not yet forgotten. The lade of Lake also hath in recent memorie his sone scorge and cruelle plaghe. Thys erle Charles was at this tyme a wydower, hauyng onely a sole doughter, and no sonne, wherfore bothe by hys father and hym selfe and the companions of the order of the golde flees, being of their consáil, it was thought not onely expediet but much more necessary, that he should take a wyfe, ye and
in such a place as they might by that matrimony have both alliance and ayde agaynst all their outwarde enemies, and especially agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome they knew dayly to wayte & watche lyke a serpente, how he by fraude might swallow or cande them or their possessions: vpon which communicaciō it was declared by certayne, that kyng Edward of Englelde had a fayre virgyn to hys syster, called lady Margarete, a lady of excellent beautie, and yet more of womanhod then beautie, and more of vertue then womanhode, whose innumerable good qualites, beside the gifts of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously setthirth to duke Philip, and the erle of Charoloyes hys sonne, that bothe the father & the child judged that mariage to be the moste metest matrimony in Chris- tendorne, not onely for the excellent qualites and manifold vertues emprinted in the person of the noble virgyn, but also for the great profite, allyance and continuall frendship that shoulde growe and ryse betwene the reayne of Engllande, and the dukes landes.

THE VI. YERF.

After that thyse poynte was clerey resolved on, the Duke appoynted hys bastard some Yorde Anthony, commonly calld the bastarde of Bourgoyn, chefe Ambassadoure for this purpose: a man of great wittie, corage, valiantnes and liberalite, whiche beyng richely fur- nished of plate & apparel, necessary for his estate, haung in his cοpany getelmen & other expert in all feates of chialry, and merciall prows, to vniuer. of cccc. horses (as the Bra- banders write) toke hys ship, and with prosperous wynde arryued in Engledelde, where he was of the nobilitie recyued and with al honorable entertainment, conveyd to the kynges presence which like a prince, that knew what apperteined to his degre, louingly welcomed, and familiarly imbrased the bastard & other nobles he came with hym. And after hys commissiō scene, and hys message declared, the Kyng dyd to hym a gentell answere for that tyme, and so the ambassadours departed to their lodgyng, where they kept a great housholde, and made triumphant there. You may thinke that kyng Edward was not so vnwise, nor yet so vnpur- neyd of counsell, to forsake this beneficell alliaice, amicable consanguinitie and louynge frendship, thus frankly to hym profered and graunted but that he and all hys counsaill with fote and hande endeavoured theym selves to brynge too passe, and syngly to conclude the- same, the Erle of Warwicke onely excepte, whiche beryng hys harty favoure too the Frenche kyngy by yll reportes, dyd asmuiche as in hym laye to hynder thiss mariage and affi- nitie, of whose good will duke Charles was well informed.

But for all hys opinion at a certyyne daye, the kyngy sente for the ambassadours, and there declared too theym howe he gladye dyd bothe accept and graunte their louynge request, and demaundē, promisyng them in the word of a Prynce, that he should be du- ryng his life frend to the fredes of the Duke and the Erle, and enemies to their adversaries and enemies, which wordes not a lillt pleased the Burgonyons. After this he caused the lady Margaret his syster to be sent for which beyng richely appareled, accompanied with a great multitude of ladies and gentelwomen, entred into the kynges great chāber, with so so- her demeanure, so faire a visage, so louynge a contenance, & so princely a port, that she was estemed for her personage and qualites, bothe of the Burgonyons and other, not to be vn- worthy to matche in matrimony, with the greatest prynce of the worlde. And after the kyng, she & the ambassadours had comoned a good tract of tyme, the lord Anthony bastard of Burgonyne, contracted openely the sayde lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the erle Charles, and there in the name of the duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to she lady Margaret a ryche and a costly luell, whiche she joystously recyued with great thankes and many gratulations genen, both to her father in lawe and her new contracted husband.

After thiss mariage, was thus concluded and contracted to speke what bankettes, festes, disaguynges pastymes & pleasures were made and shewed to the ambassadours, it were to

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longe to write the matter, bewayng no more serious, & much more tedious to here: But one thig
A challenge, was very honorable, and not mete to be put in obliuio. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man
of a haute corage, challenged Anthony lord Scales, brother to the Quene, a man both egall
in harte, and valantunes with the bastard to fight with hym bothe on fote & on horsbacke,
the lord Scales gladly receyued his demaunde and promised hym on the othe of a gentelman,
to answere hym in the felde, at the day appoynted: lyke challenges were made by other
Borgonyons, to the gentilmen of Englande, which you may surely beleue were not refused.
The kyng entedyng to see thys marciall sport and valiant challenge performed, caused lystes
royall for the champions, and costely galleries for Ladies to loke on, to be newly erected and
cedified in West Smythfelde in London. And at the day by the kyng assigned, the ii. Lordes
entered within the listes, well mounted, richely trapped and curioslye armed. On whiche
daye they ran together, certayne courses wyth sharpe spere, and so departed with egall
honor. The next daye, they entered the felde, the bastard sitting on a bay courser, beinge
somewhat dylyne of sight, and the lord Scales had a gray courser, on whose schaffrõ was a
long and a sharpe pyke of stele. Whē these. ii. valeat persons coped together at the toynay,
the lord Scales horse by chaunce or by custume, thrust hym pyke into the nostrelles of the horse
of the bastard, so that for very payne he moued so hygh, that he fell on the one syde with
hys master, & the lord Scales rode roûd about him with his swordke shakkeõng in hys hand,
tyll the kyng commaundèd the Marshall to helpe vp the bastard, whiche openly sayed, I
can not holde by the clouds, for though my horse sayled me, surely I will not sayle my coûter-
còpaignions. And when he was remounted, he made a countenaunce to assayle his adversa-
rie, but the kyng either fauoryng his brothers honor then gotten, or mistrustynge the shame,
whiche mighte come to the bastard, if he were agayne fayled, caused the Heraldes to cry,
a lostel, and every man to departe. The morow after, the two noble men came in to the
felde on fote, with two Poleaxes, and there fought valiantly lyke two coragious champions,
but at the laste, the point of the axe of the lord Scales happenèd to enter into the sight of
the healm of the bastard, & by fynke force might haue pluckèd hym on his knees, the kyng
sodayuely caste doune his warder, and then the Marshalls them seuered. The bastard
not content with this chauce, very desirous to be renenged, trustyng on his cunning at the Pole-
axe (the whiche feathe he had greatly exercysed, & there in had a great experiment) required:
the kyng of justice, that he might performe his enterprise: the lord Scales, not refused it. The
kyng sayd he wolde aske counsal, & so calling to hym the Costable and Marshall with
the ofiicers of armes, after longe consultacion had, and lawes of armes rehearsed, it was de-
clared to the bastard for a sentence definitie by the duke of Clarence, then Constable of
Englande, and the duke of Northfolke Erle Marshall, that if he woulde prosecute farther
his attempted chalone, he muste by the lawe of armes, be delivered to his aduersary in
thesame case and like condicion, as he was when he was taken from him, that is to saye,
the poyn of the lord Scales axe to be fixèd in the sighte of his healm, as depe as it was
when they were seuered. The bastard heryng this indigent, doubted much the sequale, if
he so should procede agayne, wherfore he was content to relickyngyshe lynes chalone, rather
then to abyde the hasarde of lynes dishonor: Other challenges wer done, & valiamente acheden
by the Englishmen, which I passe over. When all these coragious actes wer thus with joy
accomplished, sorrowfull tidinges were brouythe to the bastard, that duke Philip his father
was passed this transitory lyfe, of whiche tidinges he was not a fittell sorrowfull, and there-
upon takenge his leue of kynge Edwardes and his yster, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, libe-
rrally rewarded with plate and Jewels, with all celeritye he returned to the new duke Charles
his nephew, acceptoning to him what expoyt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which
answere was to the great contentacion and accomplishment of the desire of the said Duke,
and therof most hartely thanked the lady for her consent, as for the thynge that he most
desired, not forgettyng to gratefie kynge Edwardes for his preferment and furtherance in
his louinge request. This contract was made, and duke Philip dyed in the yere of our sal-
uacion. M.CCCC.LXVII. and in the. vi. yere of kynge Edward the. iiiij. in whiche yere
kyng
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KYNG EDWARD more for the Marques Montagewes loue, then for any favoure he bare to the erle of Warwycke, promted George Neuell their brother, to the Archebishopseryke of Yorke.

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Now to returne to Charles duke of Burgoyne, which was with greate victory, and victorious triumpe returned from the conquest of the lande of Luke to Bruselés, he not for getting the contract, which his bastard brother the lord Anthony had made in his name, with the noble princesse lady Margaret, systre to Edward kyng of Engelande, deuised alwayes how he might with all honor and royaltie, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the kyng of England, to sende her over the sea with all diligence, according to the pact and lease betwene them concluded, whiche beyng nothynge slake, and especially in suche a cause, as so highly magnified his bloude, prepared shippes and all thynges necessary, for the honorable conduyte of her and her cōpany and so accompanied with the dukes of Exceter and Southfolke and their wyles, beyng both her systres, and a great companye of lorde and ladies and other, to the number of CCC. horses, in the begininge of June departed out of Londō to Douer, & so sayled to Sluys, how she and her compayne were there receyued and from thence conveyed to Bruges, where the marriage was celebrate and solemnized, what abundaunt fare and Delicate viand was serued at the feast, with how riché hanguinges the house was garnished and trimmed, with how many Cupperdes of golde & siluer the palace was adourned, with how many garnyshe of siluer vessell the compaynes were serued, what. Justes, what Tourneys, what bankettes, and what disportes were at this Nupciall feast? I neither dare nor will write, according to the Brabander Chronicle, lest perauenture some men might thinke that I flattered a little, as perchance I thinke they saye not trew in a greate dele.

But now to let goe all matters of joye & solace, & to returne to the pestilent serpent, which so longe had sucked vp his poysone, and now began to vomit and cast it so abrode, that all the. iij. yeres folowyng the whole Realme was continually infected with the same, whiche infection, never ceased till the ayre was purified with the bloude and death of him selve at Barnet feldes: for if you call to youre remembrancse the depe dissimulinge of the Erle of Warwycke at his retorne from beyonde the sea, and the continual gratude that lurked in his stomack, toward kyng Edward byth tymes, ye must thinke that of very necessitie it wolde at lengthe either burste the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now even at this tyne: he beyng at his towne of Warwycke, accompanied with his two bretherne the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishops of Yorke, framed communicacion too make them merrye and to passe furthe the tymes two or thre dayes, and at the last hauynge an occassio to speake of the kyng & his doyniengs and procedinges, he then first moved and excited them by al waires possible to helpe and ayde, & to restore kyng Hīery the sixte, to the Croune and royall dignite ayayne, saying to the after this wise. My dere & wellbeloved bretherne, the incredible faythefulnes, the secrete soberenes, and the polytique prudence that I have euuer by longe conimace of tymes experimented in you both, doth not onely encourage my harte, yea and setteth me in great hope of obteynyng my purpose, but also putthe me out of all dreade & mistrust, familiar beleuyng, & surely judging, ye you both wyl with tothe and nayle endeuer your selve, to the vtermost of your power to bring to effect & purpose this thing that I now shal deale vnto you. Surely, I woulde in nowise that you shoulde thinke that, that which I shall speake to you, of king Edward and kyng Henry, should rise of any lightnes or phantacie of my mynd, or any trifelyng toy, lately fallen into my imagina tion, but the true experience and inste judgement, that I haue of them bothe, their qualités and condicones, in maner copell and constraine me to saie as I saie, and to doe as I doo. For surely Kyng Henry is, a Godly, good, and a verteous persone, neither forgetyng his frendes, nor puttyng in obllusion any benefite by hym, of a meane persone receiued, nor
yet any paine for his causes susteined, he hath lefte unrewarded: To whom God hath sent a sonne, called Prince Edward, borne to be of great worthynes and praye, of muche bountefulnes and liberaltie, of whom men maie, many laudable thynges comecture, considering the pein, labor and travaill, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. Kyng Edward on the contrary side, is a man, cotumelious, opprobrious, & an injurious person, to them that deserue kyngdnes, he sheweth vlyndnes, and to them that loue him, he dedly bateth, now destyng to take any pein, for the preferment or maintenance, of the publique wealth of this realme, but all genen to pastime pleasure, and daliance. Soner precteryng to high estate, men discended of lowe bloud, and basse degree, then men of old and undeified houses, whiche hath bothe supported hym, & the common wealth of his realme: So that now I perceiue, that it is ene come to this poynct that he will destoye all the nobilitie, or els the nobilitie must shortly, of very necessitie destoye and confounde hym. But reason would, that we that wer first hurt, should first renëge our cause: for it is not unknownen to you bothe, how that he, immediatly after he had obteined the croune, began first secretly, and then openly, to enui, disdain, and impugne the fame, glory, and renome, of our house and familie, as who said that all the honerie, preferment and aucthoritie that we haue, we had onely receiued at his handes, and that we had neither obteigned, dignitie nor rule by our great labor, aide and travaill. Whiche to all men maie seme vntrue, whiche consider that our name, chief title and principall aucthoritie, was to vs genen by kyng Henry the sixte, and not by hym. But if every man will remembere, who firste toke parte with his father, when he claimed the Croune: who at that tyme, for that cause was in great iocoperedie, and almost slaine by the kynges meniall seruauntes, and who never lefte this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garlande, and the realme in quietnes, shall mani festly perceiue, that we and oure bloudde, hath shewed our selves more like fathers to hym, then he like a frend to vs. If we haue receiued any benefites of hym, surely thei be not so muche, as we haue deserued, nor so muche as we looked for, and yet they bee muche more, then he would wee should enjoye, as ye bothe well perceiue and knowe. Let these thynges ouer passe, and speake of the vuggestle, vntrue and vnprincely handelyng of me, in the laste ambassade, beyng sent to the French kyng, for to treate a mariage for hym, hauyng full aucthoritie to bynyd and to lose, to contracte and conclude. Whiche thyng when I had finished and accomplished: how lightly his mynde chaunged, How priuily he vowed, and how secretly he maried, Bothe you knowe better then I. So that by this meanes, I was almoste out of all credence, in the Courte of Fraunce, bothe with the kyng and quene as though I had come thether like an espiall, to move a thyng never mynded, or to treat of a mariage determined before, neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimation, whiche all kynges and Princes haue conceiued in vs, partly obtained by the vertue and prowess of our noble auncestors, and partly acherued by oure awne peines and forward actes: shall now be obfuscate, vterly extinguishe, and nothing set by. What worme is touched, and will not once turne again? What beast is striken, that will not rore or sound? What innoceht child is hurt that will not crye? If the poore and vnreasonable beastes: If the selie babbes that lacketh discretion, grone against barme to theim proffered, How ought an honest man to be angery, when thynges that touche his honestie, be daily against him attempted? But if a meane person in that case bee angery: how muche more ought a noble man, to faine and stirre coales, when the high tipe of his honor is touched, his fame in maner brought to inflamy, and his honor almoste blemished and appalled, with out his offence or desert? All this brethern you know to be true, the dishonor of one, is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurte of one, is the hurte of all: Wherfore, rather then I will live vnreconued, or suffre hym to reigne, whiche hath sought my decaye and dishonor, I will surely spend my life, lande, and goodes, in settyng vp that juste and good man kyng Henry the sixte: and in deposing this vnaue true, vnaithfull, and vnkynde Prince (by our owenly meanes) called kyng Edward the fourthe.

These faire wordes allured the Archbishop shortly, to his intent and purpose, but the Lorde
Lorde Marques could by no meanes bee reduced, to take any parte against kyng Edward till the erle had bothe promised hym great rewards and high promotions, and also assured hym of the aide and power, of the greatest princes of the realme. 

Next as the Marques vwillingly, and in manner coaxed gauce his consent, to this vnhappy coniuracion, at the intisement and procurement of therel, so with a fainte harte and lesse courage, he alwaies shewed hymself enemie to Kyng Edwarde, excepte in his laste daie: whiche lukewarme harte, and double dissimulation, wer bothe the destruction of him and his brethren. The erle of Warwicke beeceynge a man of a greate wit, farre castying, and many thynges vigilantely foreseying, either perceiued by other, or had perfect knowledge of hymself, that the duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother (as he did not in dede) thought firste to proue hym a farr of, as it wer in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he sawe hym flexible to his purpose) the secrete imaginacions of his stomacche: thynkeynge that if he might by policie or promise, allure the duke to his partie, that kyng Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had moste neede to make a flight. 

So at tyme and place conuenient, the erle began to complain to the duke, of the ingratitude and doublenes of kyng Edward, sayyng: that he had neither handled hym like a frende, nor kepte promise with hym, accordyng as the estate of a Prince required. The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the duke in a greate fury answered, why my lorde, thynke you to haue hym kynd to you, that is vnkynd, and vnnatural to me beynge his awne brother, thynke you that friendship will make hym kepe promise, where neither mature nor kynred, in any wise can prouoke or move hym, to fauor his awne blood? 

Thynke you that he will exalte and promote his cosyn or alie, whiche litle careth for the fall or confusioun, of his awne line and lignage: This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath married to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonville and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wifes soone, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath granted to the lorde Hastynges: thre marriages more meter for his twoo brethren and kynne, then for suche newe foundlynges, as he hath bestowed theym on: But by swete saincte George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe, that we were all three one mannes sonnes, of one mother and one lignage descended, whiche should be more preferred and promoted, then strauengers of his wifes blood.

When therel of Warwicke had hard the dukes wordes, he had that whiche he bothe sore thursted and lusted for, and then began boldely to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose even at the full, requeyng hym to take parte with hym, and to bee one of the attempted confederacie. And least the duke might thynke, that the matter was lightly, and vncircumspectly begun, he declared to hym, howe warely, howe secretly, how spedily all thynges concernyng this purpose, had been compassed, studied, and foresene, requeyng hym in so greate and vrgente a cause, bothe to take pein & travaile, and also to stude with all circumspeccion and forceynge, how these thynges thus begun, mighte be brought to a certaintie and a finall conclusion. And the rather to wynne the dukes hart the erle beside divers and many faire promises made to the duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beeyng of ripe age and elegant stature) in marriage, with the whole halsedele of his wifes inheritance. 

The duke at the perswasion & request of therel, promised to do all thynges whiche he would or could, in any maner require or desire. After that the Duke and the erle had long consuulted, concerning their strange and dangerous affaires: thei first determined to saile to Calais, of the which tounne the erle was chief capitan, where his wife and twoo daughters then sojourned, whom to visite, the duke of Clarence byeng in amours, had no small affection. But the erle continually rememberynge the purpose that he was set on, thought to begin and kindle the fire, of his vngracious coniuracion (whiche so many yeeres vexed and vnquieted the realme of Englelande) before his departure, wherefore he appoynted his brethren the Archebishop and the Marques, that they should by some meane in his absence, strenue vp newe commocion or rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke and other places adiacente: so that

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this cuill warre should sene to all men, to have been begun without his assent or knowledge (be beying in the partes of beyond the sea).

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When all these thynge was determined, and in grane counsaill allowed, the erle and the duke sailed directly to Calcis: where thei were solemnly receiued, and joyously intertained of the Countesse and of her twoo daughters. And after that the duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pacte inviolate made and concluded with the erle of Warwicke, he married the Lady Isabell, oldest daughter to thesaied erle, in our Lady Churche at Calcis, with great pompe and solempnity. After whiche mariage so solemnized, the duke and therle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should con-
tinue the warre (whiche as it was by them appoynted) was recently and within fewe daies begunne in orke, not without great rumore and disturbaunce, of all quietnes in that countrrey.

The mother of this pernicious commocion, was vncaritie, or very impiety, for there was in the citee of Yorke, an olde and riche Hospitall, dedicated to Sainte Leonard, in the which Almosehouse the poore and indigente people were harbored and refreshed, and the sicke and impotente persone were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole Prouince of Yorke, gaued yere to this Hospitall certain measures of corne: in maner as an oblacion of the first fruite of their newe grayne, thynkyng their gyfte geuen to so holy a place, for so holy an expence, should bee to theim meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certain euill disposed persones of the erle of Warwicke's faccion, intending to set a bruill in the countrrey, persuawed a great nombre of husbande men, to refuse and deny to geue any thyng to thesaied Hospitall, affirmyng and sayng: that the corne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the pore people, but the Mas-
ter of the Hospitall wexed riche with suche almos, and his priesters wexed fat, and the poore people laie leane without succour or comfort. And not content with these saynges, thei fell to dooynges, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, according to their vsage, went aboute the countrrey, to gather the accustomed corne they were sore beaten, wounded, and very euill intreated. 'Good men lamented this vngodly demeanure;' and the perurse people much at it rejoysed, and toke suche a courage, that they kept secrete communicyles, and pri-
zie communicaciones, in so muche, that within fewe daies, thei had made suche a confederacie together, that thei wer assembled to the nombre of xv. thousand men, even redy prest to set on the citee of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the cares of the citizees of Yorke they were firste greatly astonied: but leaveyng feare aside, they were in a greate doubt and vncaertancie, whether it were best for them to issue out of their walles, and to gene battaill to the rebelles, or to kepe their citee, and repulse the violence of their enemies, by the manfull defendyng of their walles and portes. But the larde Marques Montacute, governor and presedent of that countrrey for the kyng, did shortly put the citi-
zens out of all feare and suspicion of invasion, for he takyng spedy coussaill, and consider-
yng the opportunitie of the ynde, with a small nombre of menne but well chosen, encountered the rebelles, before the gates of Yorke: where after long confict, he toke Robert Huldiyne their capitain, and before theim commanded his hed there to be striken of, and then he causid all his souldeours (because it was darke to entre into the citee of Yorke) and after their long labor to refreshe them.

Here is to be maruellid, why the Marques thus put to death the capitain and ruler of the people, stirred and reised vp by hym, and the felowe of his consiracion and conspiracie: Some saxe he did it to the intent, that he would slide fauctes and innocent, of all his brothers dooynges, and prizie imaginaciuns: But other affirme and saxe, that he for all his promise made
made to his brother, was then deliberately determined to take parte with kyng Edward, with whom (as it shall after appere) he in small space entered into greate grace and high favor. The people beyng nothyng abashed at the death of their capitain, but rather the more eger, and fierce, by faire meanes and craftie persuasions: found the meanes to get to them, Henry sonne and heire to the lorde File Hughle, and sir Henry Newell, sonne and heire of the Lorde Latimer, the one beyng nephew, and the other cosin german to therle of Warwicke. Although that these young gentlemen, bare the names of capitaines, yet they had a tutor & governour called sir Ieron Conyours, a man of suche courage & valiauntes, as fewe was in his daies, in the Northe partes. And firste considerynge that they could not get Yorke, for want of ordinance and artillery, whiche they did lacke in dede; they determined with all spede to marche toward Londô, intending by the wāde to reise suche a phantesie in the peoples hartes, they they should thynke that kyng Edward was neither a just prince to God, nor profitable to the cōmon welth of ᵍ realme.

When kyng Edwarde (to whom all the dooynges of the Erle of Warwicke, and the Duke his brother, were manifest and ouerite, and wer come to that poyn, that he expected and loked for) was by divers letter sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northen men, wer with all spede commyng toward London. Therefore in greate hast he sent to Wylyam lorde Herbert, whom, within twoo yeres before, he had created erle of Penbroke, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men, with the extremitie of all his power. The erle of Penbroke, commonly called the lorde Herbert, was not a little ioyous of the kynges letters, partly to deserve the kynges liberalitie, whiche of a meane gentleman, had promyt hym to the estate of an erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the erle of Warwicke, beyn the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obtained not the wardship of the Lorde Bonuiles daughter & heire, for his eldest sonne. Wherupon he accompanied with his brother sir Richard Harbert, a valiaunt knight, and aboue. vi. or. vii. thousand Welshemen well furnish, marched forarde to encounter with the Northren men. And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humfray lorde Stafforde of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the kyng, in hope that he valiauntly would serue hym in that iorney, and with hym he had eight hundred archers. When these twoo Lordes were met at Cottishold, they made diligent inquiry, to here where the Northren menne were, and so by their explorators they were ascertained, that thei were passyng toward Northampton, wherupon the lorde Stafford, and sir Richard Harbert with twoo thousande well horsed Welshmen, saied: they would go vewe and se the demeanor and nombre of the Northen men, and so vnder a woodes side, thei courtely espied the passe forward, and sodainly set on the rerewarde: but the Northen men with suche agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an hour, the Welshmen wer clene discomfited and scattered, and many taken, and the remaunt returned to the armie with small gain.

Kyng Edwarde beyng nothyng abasshed of this small chaunce, sente good woordes to the Erle of Penbroke, animating and byddying hym to bee of a good courage, promising hym not alone ayde in shorte tym, but also he hymself in persone royall, would folowe hym with all his puyssance and power. The Yorke shire menne, beyng glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but toke their waie toward Warwicke, lokyng for aide of therle, whiche was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Clarèce his sonne in lawe, and was gatheryng and resying of men, to succor his frendes and kynsfolle. The kyng likewise assembled people on every side, to aide and assist therle of Penbroke and his compaignie. But before or any part receiued comfort or succor, from his frend or partaker, bothe the armies met by chaunce, in a faire plain, nere to a toune called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherin be three hilles, not in equal distance, nor yet in equall quantitie, but liyng in manner although not fully triangle: the Welshmen gat firste the West hill, hopyng to have recovered the East hill: whiche if thei had obteined, the victory had been theirs, as their vnwise Prophesiers promised the before.

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The Northren men incamped themself on the Southe hill. The erle of Penbrooke and the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, wer lodged at Banbery the daie before the feld, whiche was sainct Iames daie, and there the erle of Pembroke, putte the Lorde Stafforde out of an Inne, wherein he delighted muche to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrary to their mutuall agrement by them taken, whiche was, that whosoever obtained first a lodging, should not be deceived nor removed. After many great woordes and crakes, had betwene these two capitaines, the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, in greate dispite departed with his whole compaignie and band of Archers, leauyng the erle of Pembroke almoste desolate in the toune, whiche, with all diligence returned to his host, lying in the feld vapured of Archers, abidyng suche fortune as God would sende and prouide.

Sir Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with hym certain light horsmen, and skirmished with the Welshemen in the enuenyng, even before their Came, where he did diverse valiaunt feats of armes, but a little to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken and yelded, and yet cruely slayned: whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welshemen sore ruied the next daie or night. For the Northren men beynge inflamed, & not a little discontented, with the death of this noble man, in the mornynge valiauntly set on the Welshemenne, and by force of archers, caused them quickly to descende the hill into the valey, where bothe the hostes fought. Thirle of Penbrooke behaned hymself like a hardy knight, and expert captain, but his brother sir Richard Herbert so valiauntly acquityd hymself, that with his Polleaxe in his hand (as his enemies did afterward reporte) he twise by fine force passed through the battall of his aduersaries, and without any mortall wounede returned. If every one of his felowes and compaignies in armes, had doen but halfe thactes, whiche he that daie by his noble proves acquired, the Northrenemen had obtained neither sautetie nor victory.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, when the Welshmen were at the very poynct, to have obteyned the victory (the Northernme beynge in manner disc loft) Ithon Clappam Esquier, seruante to the erle of Warwycke, mouted vp the syde of \(^{1}\) east hyl, accompanied onely with. CCCC. men gathered of all the Rascal of the towne of Northampton and other villages about, hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle with the white Bere, Cryenge a Warwycke a Warwycke. The Welshmen thinking that \(^{1}\) Erle of Warwycke had come on them with all his puystance, sodanylye as men amased fledde: the Northernme, them pursued and slew without mercy, for \(^{1}\) cruelty that they had shewed to the lord Latimmers sonne. So that of the Welshmen there were slayn aboue. v. M. bysyde them that were fled and taken.

The erle of Pembroke, syr Rychard Herbert his brother, and diuers gentelmen were taken, and brought to Banberie to be beheded, muche lamentacion and no lesse entretie was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Rychard Herbert, both for his goodely personage, whiche excelled all men there, and also for the noble Chialtry, that he had shewed in the felde the day of the battayll, in so muche that his brother the Erle, when he should laye downe his hed on the block to suffer, sayd to syr Ithon Conyers and Clappam, Masters let me dye for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yonge, lusty and hardy, mete and apte to servce the greatest prince of Christendom. But syr Ithon Conyers and Clappam, rememberbye the death of the yonge knyght syr Henry Neuel, Cosyn to the erle of Warwycke, could not here on that side, but caused the erle & hiss brother with diuers other gentelmen, to the number of. x. to be there beheded. The Northamptonshire men, with diuers of \(^{1}\) Northernme by them procured, in this fury made them acapitayne, and called hym Robyn of Riddesdale, and sodanylye came to the manner of Grafton, where the erle Ryuers father to the Queene then lay whom they loued not, and there by force toke the sayde erle and and syr Ithon his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without judgement stroke of their heddes, whose bodyes were solemnly entered in the Blackefreers at Northampton. When kyng Edward was auertised of thys unfortunate chaunces, he wrote in all hast to the Shiriefes of Somerset-shyre and Deuenslyyre, that if they could by any meane take the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, that they vpon payne of their lyues, should without delay put hym in execucion, whiche accordingly
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIJI.

(accordingly to the kynges commandement, after long exploracion made, founde hym hyd in a villeage in Brentinarche, called where he was taken & brought to Bridgwayer, & there cut shorty by the herde. Thys was the order, manner and ende of Hegecot felde, commonly called Banberie felde, foughten the morow after saict James daye, in the viij. yere of kyng Edwarde the. iiij. the whiche bataille euer syuce hath bene, and yet is a constant grudge betwene the Northernmen and the Welshemen. After thys bataille the Northernmen resorted towarde Warwycke, where the erle had gathered a greate multitude of people, whiche erle gaue hygh commedacions to syr Ihon Conyers and other capytaynes of ý North, much rendyng, that they had obtayned so glorious victory, requiring them to continue as they had begun. The king likewise sore thrustyng to recover his loste late susteynyd, and desirous to be renuyed of the deathes and murders of hisy lorde and frédes, marched toward Warwycke with a grety armye, and ener he wente forwarde, his company increased, because he commanded it to be noysyd and publisshed to the common people, that his onely entent was to destroy, and ytterly to confounde the vnhappy stocke and yll graffed generacion, of suche pernicious persone, as wolde disturbe and bring in thraldome, ý quiet commones and peaseable people. The erle of Warwycke had by his espialles perfyt, knowlege how the kyng with his armye was bent toward hym, & sent in all hast possible to the duch of Claréé (which was not far from him with a great power) requyringe him that bothe their hostes myghte ioyne in one for as farre as he could imagine, the tyne of bataille was very near. The duke hearynge these newes in good order of bataille, cam and encynped hym selfe with the erles host. When all thynge were redy prepared to fighte: by the meanes of frédes, a mane was founde how to cómyn of peace, for the whiche letters were writte from eche parte to other, declaring their griefes and the very bottoms of their stomaches: Heraudes sparyd no horse-flesh in ridding betwene the kyng and the erle, nor in retournyng from the Erle to the kyng: the kyng conceyuinge a certayne hope of peace in his awne imaginacion, toke bothe lesse hede to him selfe, and also lesse fered the outward atteptes of his enemies, thinkyng and trustyng truely that all thynge were at a good poynt and should be well pacified. All the kynges doynges were by espialles declared to the erle of Warwycke, which lyke a wyse and politique Capitayne entěndyng not to lesse so great an anauantage to hym geen, but trustyng to brynge all his purposes to a fyntall ende and determinacion, by onely obteyning this enterprise: in the dead of the nyght, with an ecleete company of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kynges felde, kylling them that kept the watche, and or the kyng were ware (for he thought of nothyng lesse then of that chance that happened) at a place called Wolncy. iiiij. myle from Warwycke, he was takyn prysyner, and brought to the Castell of Warwycke. And to the entent that the kynges frendes myghte not know where he was, nor what was chaundered of hym, he caused hym by secret iornys in the nyght to be conyjed to Myddelham Castell in Yorkshire, & there to be kept vnder the custody of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trusty frendes, which entytayned the kyng, like his estate, and sperned hym lyke a prynce. But there was no place so farre of but that the taking of the kyng was shortly knowe there with wynde which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dred, and many to wonder and lament the chaunce. Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other kepers, (but whether he corrupted them with payre or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntyng, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr Willam Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogby, and dyuers other of hisy frédes, with suche a great band of men, that neither his kepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorn to prison again.

Thus as you haue haarde was kyng Edward deliuered: Some saye that he was set at large by the erles consent and commandemente as who sayd, I had hym in my kepyn, and might haue destroyed hym, I had hym in captiuitie, and so might haue deteyned him but yet of myne awne freewill & gentelnes, without pacte or ransom I am contented to set him at libertie & to deliuer hym. Thys doyng might seme to be some countenaunce of trueth, if the erle after this had desisted from persecuyng the warre by hym newely begunne: but for a trueth N n 2

this
this good chaunce happed to kyng Edward, by the yll Bucke of kyng Henry, for surely by
this yll fortune a man may plainly cōcēture, that the extreme poynt of decay of hys house
and estate was apparently at hande, consideryng that neither by mannes pollicie, nor by
worldly riches his vnhappy predestinate chaunce could not by any pollicy be put by, nor by
any instrumenet scraped away (wel such was Goddes pleasure) for if you consider how that the
erle of Warwycke and his frendes, onely to tientent to ayde, consereue and defende kyng
Henry the. vi. haue dispended their substances, adventured their luyes, and taken paynes in-
tollerable, hauung a sure determinacion fixed in their myndes, that as long as kyng Edward
lyued, that kyng Henries faction should never prosper & yet when he was by the Erle taken
prisoner, & in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you
may plainly percyue that the lucke of kyng Henry was vnfortunate, and that all that was
done for hym, and in is quarell, euer redounded to hys misfortune and detriment, euer no-
tyng this, that when things continued & Imagened come to an unlucky success, all the
senses of our bodyes be then by anger, feare or madness, raushed, and in manner distraete
from them selves. But to retorne to the purpose, when kyng Edward had escaped the
handes of hys enemie, he went streyte to Yorke, where he was with great honor receyued
of the Citizens, and there taried two dayes to prepare some small army, to accompany hym
in hys journe, but whē he percyuem that he coulde haue no hoste mete and conuenient to
passe to London, thorough the middes of his enemies (as he was appoynted to do) he turned
from Yorke to Lancaster, where he founde the lord Hastynes hys Chamberlayne, well ac-
compayed. He then with ¥ ayde of the lord Hastynes, and suche other as drew to hym
beyng well furnished with spedy iorneys, came safe to his cyte of London.

When the erle of Warwyke ¥ duke of Clareece, had knoweledge how the kyng by treason of
them ¥ they put in trust, was escaped their handes, & that in one moment of tymc, all their
long studyes and forcastes were brought to none effect or conclusion, they wexed angreye, &
chaied without measure, & by and by callyinge together all their chief frendes began to con-
sult agayn, of new, & to enquire the estate of their enemies, to the entent that they might
make a beginnyng of a new warre, which they coniecured to haue taken an ende when the
kyng was brought into captiuitie. The myndes of these Princes were much satisfied,
& their corage greatly kindeled, by reason that a great number of men hauing more ple-
sure in discord then in concord, louyng better styrle then vnitie, offered themselves to beginne
newe warre of their awne desire & request. Kyng Edward toke even lyke study for the
warres as his enemie dyd myndinge either to bringe them to conformitie or reason, by dent
of sworde, or els by power of Battayle utterly to destroye & extirpate them and their affini-
tie, to the entent ¥ all men might lede a more quiet lyfe, & lyue in more securitie & rest:
for by the sedicious rebellinge of these persons, the state of the Realme was brought to great
miserie, for Churches and Temples were every where robbed & spoiled, houses burnt and
men slayne in every place, all the Realme was replenished with bloud, slaughter, sorow &
lamentacion, Cornefeldes were destroyed Cities and Townes were made desolate and languish-
ed with famyn & dearthe, besyde many other things, which happen by the crueltie and furye of
warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealth of this Realme sore vex-
ed and troubled many, but in especial ¥ nobilitie muche lamented and pitied the state of the
communitie which with all diligence rode betwene the kyng the Erle and the Duke to recon-
cile the eche to other, and to cōclude a perfect peace & amitie, requiring them rather more
to remeber the benefites, that euerie of the haue receyued of other; then to set forth the
vngratitude or injury, whiche one hath done to the other, which is rather the occasion of dis-
cord, then the meane to come to amitie. Further, they exhorted theym rather to desire
the loue of all men, by keping of peace & vnitie, then by fightinge and intestine warre to
destroy the Realme, and wyune the hatred and malice of all the nacion: for as he is vnkynd
and vinnaturall, that will not cherishe hys natural parentes and procreators, much more
vnnatural and wicked are they, which will suffer their natuye cōtuynt, byng their common
father and mother, by their contencion & styrle to be brought to decay and utter perdicion.
KYNG EDWARD THE. III.  

The auctoritie first of the nobilitie of the Realme, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the myndes, bothe of the kyng, the Duke and the erle, that eche gane fayth to other to go and come, sauely without jeopardy. In whiche promise, the Duke & Erle, hauing perfight trust and confidece, came both to Lodon, accompanied with to smal a number of men, in comparison to the great dangier that they were in. And at Westmynster, the kyng, the Duke and the Erle had a longe communicacion together, for some end to be taken or made betwene them: But they fell at such great words with such exprobracions, and opening: either of olde benefites shewed or of olde ingratiitudes received, that in a great furye, without any conclusion they departed, the kyng to Canterburie, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwycke, where the Erle of Warwycke prepared a new host to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made there of capitan ysr Robert Welles, sonne to Rychard lord Welles, an experte man in armes and very politique in warre.

These newes sodaynly brought to the kyng, did not a littell vexe & tykil hym, because he euer feruently hoped, that his aduersaries wolde rather come to some honest condicioes of corde, then so temerariousely and so sodaynly renouate the warre. And the more rumor y was spred (contrary to his expectacion) of this new begonne battayll, the soner he gathered together an host for the resistance of thesame, and out of hand he sent to Rychard lord Welles, willing hym vpon the sight of his letters with all hast to repayre vnto hym, which oftentimes he had excused by syckenes and debilitie of his body. But when that excuse served not, he thynkyng to purge hym selfe sufficiently before the kynges presence, toke with hym ysr Thomas Dymocke, which had maried his syster, and so together came to Londe. When he was come vp, his freres certefied hym that the kynges was with hym not a littel displeased, but highly discontented. Wherfore for verye feare, he with his brother in law toke the sentuarie at Westmynster, entendynge there to abyde tyll the princes Ire were somewhat asswaged and mitigated. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thyss besy tumulte, without anye farther bloodshed, promisyng both those persons their pardons, caused theim vpon hym promise to come out of Sentuary to hys presence, and calling to hym the lorde Welles, willed hym to write to sir Robert hym sonne to leave of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the mean season, he with his army went forward towards his enemies, bauynge with hym the lorde Welles, and ysr Thomas Dymocke, and beynge not past two dayes iorney from Stafford, where hys enemies had pitched their felde, had periyt knowlege that ysr Robert Welles nothing movéd with hys fathers letters, styl kept his canpe, abyding the kyng and his power. The kyng hauynge hygh indignacion at hys presumpcion and mynded to be requened in parte, cotary in his faith and promise caused the lord Welles, father to the saide ysr Robert and ysr Thomas Dymocke to be behedded there, to the terrible example of other, which shal put their confidece in the promise of a prince. Whě ysr Robert Welles hard that the kyng drew nere, and that hys father & ysr Thomas Dymocke ware behedded, he stode firste in a great perplexitie, studyng whither he should gyue battail or no, because it was both perilous and doughtfull to fight with so great an armye, before the erle of Warwycke with hys power were assembled, but yet hauynge a yonge and a lusty courage, and with manely boldnes stimulate, and pricked forward, he set on hys enemies.

The battayle was sore fought on bothe partes, & many a man slayne And in conclusion, whylle ysr Robert was exhortyng and pronoykynge hys men to tary, which were in maner disconfit, and redy to flye, he was enuyoned and beset aboute with his enemies, and so was taken, and with hyn ysr Thomas Delaund knyght and many mo. After hys takynge, the Lyncolnshyre men amased, threw away their coats, the lighter to runne away, and died, and therefor thys battayl is yet there called Losecote felde. The kyng, glad of this victory, commanded out of hand ysr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execucio in thesame place. The fame was, that at thys battayll were slayne x. M. men at the least.

The erle of Warwycke lay at this tyme at his Castell of Warwycke, and was cominge with a houge host the nexte day towards his armeye in Lyncolnshyre, but when he hard saye that they had foughte soner then he thought either they could or woulde, and that hys partye was ouerthrown...
THE IX. YERE OF

Although he might now be discoraged yet he thought it necessary to dissimule the case, because oftentimes in battayles, vain things be regarded before true, and to dissuade to comfort certain of his company (being in dispaire, and ready to flee) both in woore and deed, he conscribed and prepared a new host, and with all the studye and industry, that he coulde practise or use, he imagined how to compasse Thomas lord Stanley, which had married hys syster, that he might be one of the confederacy and continuacion: whyche thynge when he could not bryng to passe for the lord Stanley hadde answered him plainly that he would neuer make warre against kyng Edwarde, he thought to spende no longer tyne in waste, and mistrusting that he was not able to mete with hys enemies, he with the Duke of Clarence his sounne in lawe, departed to Exeter, and there taryenge a few dayes, and perceynyng that all thynges lacked whiche were apt and necessary for the warre, determined to sayle to kyng Loys the French kyng, to renew the familiar acquayntaunce, whiche he had with him when he was there of Ambassade, for the mariage of kyng Edward as you haue hard, haung a sure confidence and hope, either to have a great ayde of the French king, or els to incense hym earnestly to make battayll against kyng Edward. And restying vpon this opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Deuonsbyre, well armed, and at all poynts trymmed and decked. And when wynde and wether serued theym, the Duke and the Erle with their wynes and a great number of Seruantes, plucked vp the sayles, & toke their way first toward Caleyse where the erle of Warwycke was chefe capitan, and thought there to have lym wyfe and daughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

THE IX. YERE.

Wilhen the erle of Warwicke thus fled out of England, the yere of our Lorde was just 1470. and the yere of King Edwardes reigne was then ix. This sodain departyng of kyng Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vexe and bite hym at the very stomache, but also did stimulat and quicken hym to loke the more diligently to his affaires, and busines, and especially, because that the absence of the erle of Warwicke, made the common people daily more and more, to long and bee desirable to haue the sight of him, and presently to behold his personage. For they judged that the Sunne was clerey taken from the worlde, when he was absent: In such high estymacio emongest the people, was his name that neither no one manne, thei had in so muche honor, neither no one persone, thei so much praiased, or to the Cloudes so highly extolled. What shall I saie? His onely name sounded, in every song, in the mouth of the common people, and his persone was represented with greate ruerence, when publique plaiies, or open triumphes should bee shewed, or set furthe abrode in the strectes: which hartie fauor, was the apparant occasion why his faccion and compaigne, within a fewe dayes, mercifully increased and augmented. For the whiche cause, the kyng was vexed with a double mischief, for he doubted muche, whom he should moste feare of twoo, either the familiar enemies abidying at home, or the extra-gant foes, lynerung beynd the see: But chiefly he prouided, But very slackly, to withstande the erle of Warwicke landysing. And first he wrote to Charles duke of Burgoyne, which had maried the lady Margaret his suster, to helpe that therle nor his compaignie, should have neither aide nor refuge, in any part of his, nor his fricdes territories or dominions. These tidyngees were joyfull to the duke of Burgoyne, as to hym whiche (accordyng to the olde proverbe) hated the erle of Warwycke, worse then the eurre dogge, or serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder, of the house of Lancaster, of the which, the erle was linally descended by the duches his mother, partly because therle had suche high offices, and was so renowned in Englande, that kyng Edward the dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thynge in his realm, as he hymself would (whiche the duke esteemed to be a greate bondage.) And partly, because the erle with stood with all his power and might, the conclusion of the mariage, betwene the kynges suster and the said duke. But the chief rancor was, because the erle of Warwicke, fauored the Frenche kyng, whom the duke loued not, for at his last beeyng in Fraunce, he promised the Frenche kyng, to
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIIJ.

to be frende to his frendes, and viter enemie to his foeses and adversaries. This roted hatered, and cankarde malice, whiche the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempte no displeasures, and to inuent no mischieues against therle, then either kyng Edward could imagyn, or was of the Duke required as you shall plainly perceive, by the sequele of this historie.

Now let vs speake of the erle of Warwickes doynges, whiche muste nedes play a pagiaunt in this enterlude, or els the plai wer at apoynt. The erle as you have hard before, sailed from Dartmouth toward Caleis, where he was capitan generall, and with a prosperous wind came before the toune, in which fortresse was deputie for the erle, the Lorde Vawclere a Gascoyne, beside diverse of therle of Warwickes seruauntes, whiche bare great offices and authorities in the toune. This Vawclere, whether he did it by dissimulacion, or bearyng his good mynde to kyng Edward, (as by the sequele hereof, I doubt whether he did or no) Instdede of receiuyng of his master with triumphe, he bent and discharged against hym, diuerse peces of ordinance, sendyng hym worde, that he should there take no land. This nauie lyng thus before Caleis at anere, the duches of Clarence, was ther delivered of a faire sonne, whiche child, therles deputie vnneth would suffre to be christened within f tounes, nor without great intreathy, would permit twoo flagons of wine to bee conueigned aborde, to the ladies lyng in the haue. This was a greate rigor and extremite, for the seruaunt to vse against the Master, or the inferior to vse against the superior, wherefore the erle hoped, and nothynge lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purveyed in that place, which is the greatest treasure, that belongeth to Englande, and the fairest capitanship of the worlde, at the least in Christendom. But he was fain to kepe the seas without comfort or aide, of any of his seruauntes. The kyng of Englande was quickly advertised, of the refusall that Môsire de Vawclere, made to his capitan therle of Warwick, whiche manful doyng so muche pleased the kyng, that incentinent he made hym chief capitan of the toune of Caleis, by his letters patentees, whiche he sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely therle as a traitor and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyn, lyng at sent Homen (which would nedes haue an ower in the erle of Warwickes boate) being advertised also, of Monsire de Vawclere refusall made of his Master, sent hym his trustie seruaunt, Philip de Commines (whiche wrote al these doynges in a Chronicle) and gau to hym yrela thousand crownes in pension, (a small reward God wotte, for so hig a service, as vtruly to kepe his Master from his office) praieyng and requiryng hym, to continue in truth and fidelitie, toward kyng Edward, as he had shewed and begonne. The messenger founde hym so towardes and of suche conformitie, that he was content to sweare in his presence, truly to take kyng Edwardes part against all men, and onely to his vse to kepe and defend the strong toune of Caleis. But the saied Philip de Commines sore mistrusted Monsire de Vawclere, because he sent worde to the erle of Warwickes priuly, lyng at whitsandbay, that if he landed he should be taken and lost: for al England (as he said) take part against hym, the duke of Burgoyne and all thinhabitantes of the toune wer his enemies, the Lorde Duras the kynges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison wer his adversaries: so that for a finall conclusion, his onely saugearde and comforte, were to withdrawe hym and his campaigne into France, where he knewe he should bee highly receiued and better welcomed, & as for the toune of Caleis, he should take no thought, for thesaid Monsire de Vawclere, promised thereof to make hym a good recoonyng, when tyne and opportunitie should serue. This counsaill was profitale to the erle of Warwick, but not to the kyng of England, and lesse pleasant to the duke of Burgoyne: which princes might very well think bothe the office of the Capitainship of Caleis, and the pecion of the. M. crownes (if it wer paiied) on suche a depe dissimulor, to be euill employed.

The erle of Warwick, as he was bothe before his departure out of Engelande determined, and also now by Monsire de Vawclere, newly counsailed and aduised, with his nauie sailed toward Normandy, and in the meane waye, robbed, spoyled, and tooke many riche shippes, of the Duke of Burgoyns countrleys (whiche sore nettede the duke and caused hym to prepare
pare a strong and a greate armie on the sea, to take therle prisoner, as he returned homeward) & at the last with all his nauie and spoyle, he tooke lande at Depe in Normandy, where the governor of the country for the Frenche kyng, frendely welcomed hym, and louyngly hym entertained, certifyieng kyng Lewes of his landing and arriuall.

Kyne Lewes a great seasson before, had so muche merueiled at the publique fame and common renowne, of the noble actes and high provest, of the Erle of Warwike, that he thought nothing might more pleasantly happe, or chauce towards hym, then to haue a cause or occasion to him ministered, whereby he might do the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long lust accordyng to his desire, was now lykely to take efecte, to his contencation, and the erles greate commoditie: wherefore beyng joyous of his landyng in France, he sent vnto hym certain Princes which declared to hym on the kynges behalf, that as the kyng had long time sought waies and meanes, how to do him pleasure, aid and comfort: So seyng that now the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of all those thynges, he assured him that he would neither forget hym, nor yet desist to do for him any thing, which might be consanaunt to his louing request, or frendly desire: requiryng hym with the duke his sonne in law, to take pein to come to his castle of Amboys, set on the River of Leyre: affirming thy they should neither lose their labor, nor theynk their jorney to haue euil successe in the conclusion.

When Duke Charles knew that therle was landed in Normandy, he sent in all hast a Poste to King Lewes, with whom he was then ioyned in a league, requiryng hym neither to help with men nor money, the erle of Warwike, nor the Duke of Clarice, open enemies to kyng Edwardes, his felowe, frende, and brother in lawe, and his perpetuall alie and trustie confederate, adding therto sharp woordes, and minatoric saiynges, if he would in any case, be to them a refuge or succor.

The Frenche king did not onely contempne his proude wordes, and laughed at his manac-yng, and bolde bragging, but soberly answered, that without enfringyng of any league or treatie, he lawfully might & would helpe his frendes, and in especiall suche, whiche by their deser-tes, bee aboue other remouned and extolled: Of whiche nombre, he affirmed therle of Warwicke to be one, whiche thyng if he did, he saied: it should be neither cost, charge, nor burthern to the Duke of one blancke, nor put hym to the pein of a moment of an houre. When the duke had certesied the kyng of Englande of this answer, he was sodainly in a dompe, and began seriously to immagynge, who were his frendes, and who were his foes, and apprehended some, whom he thought gyltie, began with them to question, who were frendes to his enemies: and of their coniuracion (whiche was the occasion that many fearing themselves, fled vnto Sanctuary) and many trustynge the kynges pardon, submitted and yelded themself to the Kynges clemencie. Emongest whom, Ithon Marques Montacute, humbly yelded hymself, and vowed to bee euer true to the kyng (as he had doen before tyme) whom he with muche humanitie and faire woordes, did receive and intertain, to the intent to flecte and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knyt with him, against all hostilitie and vter enemies.

While these thynges were thus treated in Englande, therle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode with greate pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche kyng laie, and by the way the people gathered and in greate nombre flocked, to se and beholde with their yses, the persone and visage of hym, of whose valiant actes and wonderfull dooynes, their cares haue many tymes been fulfilled and replenisshed. Whiche he came to the kynges presence, he was with all kyndes of curtesie and humanitie receiued and welcomed: To whom by long tracte of tyme, he declared the causes & consideracions, of his commyng into Fraunce. Kyng Lewes aswell hauyng nowe deflectacion, with the presence of his frende as he was accustomed to reioyse and be ioyous, when he harde either laude or praise of him in his absence: promised hym his power, his riches, and all thynges that he might or could doo, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refreshe hym in his adversitie.

When
When Quene Margarete, whiche soirniored with Duke Reyner her father, called kyng of Sicile, &c. Harde tell that the erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had abandooned Englande, and wer come to the Frenche Courte: hopynge of newe comfort, with all diligence came to Amboys, with her onely son Prince Edward. And with her came Jasper erle of Penbrooke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, whiche after durese long imprisonmentes lately escaped, fled out of Englande into Fraunce and came by fortune to this assemble. After that they had long consomned, and debated durese matters, concernyng their suretie and wealtthe, they determined by meane of the Frenche kyng, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them: And first to beginn with all, for the more sure foundation of the newe amitie, Edward Prince of Wales, wedded Anne second daughter to the erle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraunce. This marriage semed very strange to wise men, consideryng that the erle of Warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne, to marry with one of his daughters, whose suster the duke of Clarence before had married, whiche was euer extreme enemie to the house of Lancaster: whereupon they dininded that the marriage of the Prince, should euer be a blot in the dukes lye, or the marriage of the Duke, a mote in the iye of the Prince, ech of them lokyng to be exalted, when there on hym smiled: and ech of them again thinking to be ouer thrown when the erle of hym lowred. After this marriage the duke and theirles toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vtiill suche tyne as kyng Henry the sixt, or the prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diadem of the Realme: and that the Quene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the erle, to be governors and conservators, of the publique wealtthe, til suche tyne as the Prince wer come to mannes estate, and of habilitte meete and convenient, to take vpon hym so high a charge, and so greate a burden. There were many other condicions concluded, which both reason, & the weightynes of so great a business, required to be settforward.

While these Lordes wer ther in the Frenche Courte, there landed at Calcis a damosell, belonging to the Duches of Clarence (as she saied) whiche made Monsire de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from kyng Edwarde to the erle of Warwicke, with a plain ouverture and declaraciô of peace. Of the which tidynge, Vawclere was very glad for the erles sake, whom he thought (by this peace) to bee restored to all his old possessions, romes and dignities. But he was sore by this damosel deceived for her message (as it after proved) was the beginyng of the erles confusion. For she persuaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neither natural, nor honorable to hym, either to condiscende or take parte, against the house of Yorke (of whiche he was lineally descended) and to set vp again the house of Lancastre, whiche lignage of the house of Yorke, was not only by the whole Parliament of the realme, declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kyngdome: but also kyng Henry the sixte and his bloud affirmed thesame, and thervpon made a composicion, whiche of re cord appereth. Furthermore she declared, that the marriage with therles daughter with Prince Edward, was for none other cause but to make the Prince kyng, and clereely to extinguish all the house of Yorke, of whom the duke hymselfe was one, and next heire to the crowne, after his eldest brother and his children. These reasons, and the marriage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sanck in the Dukes stomache, that he promised at his returne, not to be so an extreme enemie to his brother, as he was taken for, whiche promise afterwarde he did not forget. With this answere the damosell departed into Englande, therle of Warwicke therof beyng clereely ignoraut.

When the league was concluded (as you before haue harde) the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, money, and men, and that they mighte the swer saille into Englande, he appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyne, Admiral of Fraunce with a great manie, to defende theim against the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, whiche was stronger then bothe the Frenche kynges nauie, or the Englishe flete. Kyng Reyner also did help his daughter, to his small power, with menne, and municious of warre. When this armie (whiche was not small) was conscribed and come together to Harlilete, at the mouthe of the riuere of Seyne, expeteyng wind
and wether. The Erle of Warwick receiued letters out of Englande, that men so muche daily and hourely, desired and wished so soore his arraual and returne, that almoast all men were in harnesse, lokynge for his landyng: wherefore he was required to make hast, yea, hast more then hast, although he brought no succes with hym. For he was farther assured, that asone as he had once taken lande, there should mete hym many thousands (as after it proued in deede) to do hym what service or pleasure, thei could or might: all this was the offer of the common people. Beside this diverse noble men wrote, to helpe hym with me, harnesse, money, and all thynge necessary for the warre: beside their awne persones, whom thei promised to adventure in his querelle. When theerl had receiued these letters, he not a litle regardyng suche an offer, and so many greate benefites to hym, even at hande apparently proffered, fully determined with the duke, and the erles of Oxenforde and Penbroke (because Quene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a journe) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of tharmie, and to attempt the firste brunte of fortune and chauncce, which if it would succeed, then should Quene Margarete and her sonne, with the residue of the nauie and people followe into Englande. The erle of Warwick thinking this weighty matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be accelerate with al diligence possible, takynge his leue of the Franche kyng Lewes, geuyng hym no small thanks, bothe on the behalfe of kyng Henry, and also for his awne parte, and so beyng dismissed, came where his nauie laie at Anker, commaundyng his men to go on ship bord, myndyng to take his course toward Englande.

The Duke of Burgoyne whiche was not content, that therle of Warwickke and his company, was succedore and aided of the French kyng against his brother in lawe kyng Edward of England, to withstande that armie, and to take therle of Warwickke prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a greate nauie, as lightly hath not been sene before, gathered in maner of all nations, whiche armie laie at the mouth of Seyne, ready to fight with therle of Warwickke, when he should set out of his harborowe.

Se the worke of God, the same night before the erle departed, ther rose such a sodaine wynde and a terrible tempest, that the dukes shippes wer scattered one from another, some drowned, some wether druuen into Scotland, so that two of them wer not in compaigne together, in one place. In the morning next folowynge, the wether wexed faire, and the wynde prosperous, wherupon in hope of a bone voyage, the Erle and his company balsed vp their sayles, and with good spece laed at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, from which place he passed into Fraunce, almost the. vj. monethe, last passed.

Before this tyme the duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwycke, and enuied his prosperitie, then he loued kyng Edward, sauyng for his ayde y he trusted of in tyme of necessities, wrote to kynge Edwarde, bothe of the doynges of the erle of Warwycke in Fraunce, and of his armie and power, and also certesied hym by hys trusty seruantes of the place, where the Erle Purposed with all his people to take lande, kyng Edward passed litle on the matter, trustyng to much to the mouable commons of his Realme, and without anye armey layd, either to kepe the Erle from landyng, either to encouer wyth hym at the first arryual, to the entent that his frèdes should not draw in hopes to hym for his strength, left all pursuance for deforce alone, & rode on huntyng, Hawkyng, and usyn all maner of pastimes, with Ladyes and Damosels, for his disport and solace that could be imagened or inuented. When the erle of Warwycke had taken lade, he made a Proclamation in the name of kyng Henry the. vi vpon high paynes, commaundying and charging all men apt, or able to bare armour, to prepare them sefes to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrayre to al right, Justice and law, had vnlawly vsurped the Crowne and Imperial dignite of this realme.

It is almost incredible to thinke how sone the name of the erles landyng was blowen ouer, and thow all the whole Realme, and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first tidinges of his landing, were sodaynly assembled and set forwarde to welcome him. When he was thus, according to hys desire, fully furnished on every syde with his kynred & frendes, he
he took his way toward London, where he judged and faithfully beleued, to fynde more open frenes than pruiue enemies, or cancard hartes.

When kyng Edward knew of the erles landynge, and of the great repayre of people, that to him incessantly without intermission dyd resorte, he then began to thinke on his busynesse, and studied how to fynd a remedy for a mischief, (but this was to late) And first he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requiryng hym to hau a vigilant eye to the sea, and so to se the streymes kept and scoured with his nauie, that the Erle neither should nor might returne agayn into Fraunce, if he shoule be agayne propulsed out of the Realme. And as for the doynge in Englynde he bad let hym alone, for he was both of puissance and abilitie, sufficient to overcomne and defende all his enemies and rebelles, within his awne Realme and countrye. This saiynge littel or nothing pleased the duke of Burgoynes messengers, for they thought that it had bene muche more profitable to kyng Edward, to haue circumspectly foresene afore, and proynd to stoppe his landynge, then now sodainly to abide the fortune of battayle, which is ever dubious and vncertayne. Kyng Edward accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastynges his Chamberlcn, which had maried the erles sister, & yet was ever trwyd to the kyng his Master, and the lord Scales brother to the Quene, sent out carriers to al his truste frenes, for the fornytoure of able persons, mete for the warre and conueniente for the defence of his awne royall person, entening if he might by any policie or subtil engyn to circuuent or trappe the erle of Warwycke, knowing perfity that if he had once mastred the chief belwether, the flocke wolde sone be disperseld.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, and yet more came then were willyng, and more came willingly then were betrysted, some came for feare, and some muche doubted to come, but the greatest heades wynked and sayd they could not, but they ment they would not come. Kyng Edward beyng in this perplexitie, and in diffidence of reysing ny army, with such trusty frenes as he had departed, into Lyyncolnshyre, consulting what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determined on ny certayn purpose, newes were brought to hym, that all the Townes and all the countrye adiacent was in a great reare, and made fiers and sang songes, cryeng kyng Henry, kyng Henry, a Warwycke a Warwycke. King Edward was much abashed with these new tidynges, and more and more, his especials and explorators declared and acccepted to hym, that all the Realme was vp, and by open Proclamation comandaund to make warre agaynst hym, as enemy to kyng Henry and the Realme, wherfore his nere frenes advised and admonished him to flye ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne, his brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and fortune should sende him better luck and chaunce, he beyng somwhat ruled by this consayll, but much more quickened by haungy knowledge, that some of the erles of Warwyckes power was within a halfe dayes iornye, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the wasshes (in greter ieopardye then it beseem a Prince to be in) & came to the towne of Lyyn, where he founde an English shyp &. ii. Hulkes of Hollad redy (as fortune wolde) to make sayle and take their iornye, wherupon he beyng in a maruelous aongy and doughtyng the mutabilitie of the Townes men, takyng no farther lesoure for his sure sucour & saugard, with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, & diuers other his trusty frenes entered into the ship, without bagge or bagage, without clothe sacke, or male, and perchaunce with a great purse, & litley treasure, for he nor his had no leyser to prouyde, according to their degrees & estates. The lord Chamberlayne taryed a while after exhortyng all his acquayantance, that of necessitie should tarye behynde, to shew them self openly as frēdes, to the partes adverse for their awne saugeard, but hartely requiryng them priuelie to cōtynew in their harytes trew to kyng Edward, & frendly to him & his: this persuasion declared he entered, the ship with the other, which were redy to depart. This was in the yere of our lorde blessed incarnacion. M. v. C. lxx. & in the ix. yere of kyng Edward: When he with one smal ship of hys awn, &. ii. Hulkes, &. v. or. viii. C. persones, with him hauyng no rayment, but apparel for warre, & smal store of money, sailed toward Holland.
Holland. At which tyme the Easterlynges were mortal enemies, aswell to the Englishmen as to the Frenche nation, & had done \\
last yeres past much prejudice & damage to the English merchants, both in taking and spoyling of shypes.

And as the kyng with sayle and ower was makynge his course as fast as could be possible, the Easterlynges, whiche had many shippes of warre on the sea, hym espied (according to the olde proverbe) one yll commeth neuer alone, and with. vii. or. viii. gallant shypes, began to chase the kyng & his company. The kynges shyp was good with sayle, & so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so descended lower, before a towne in Holland, called Alquemare, and there cast Ancker as nere the towns as was possible, because they could not enter the Hauen at an eybye water. The Easterlynges also approched the English shippe as nere as their great shyppe could come at the lowe water, entending at the fludde to haue obteyned their pray, and so they were likely to do, if Monsieur de Gronture, governour for duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties.

O what a miserable chance & straunge lucke was this to happen so sodainly to a kyng, and in especial to such a kyng, as by his owne valyantnesse & proves had ouercome his foes, & destroyed his enemies in more then. v. or. vi. great & mortal battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, & expulsed hym awne Realme & kyngdome, by hym awne servantes, subjectes and kynsmen. Secondly, byeng desitute of all helpe and consolacion, flying to his onely friend & brother in law duke Charles, for refuge and comfort, to be chased on the sea by hym mortal enemies and deadly foes, & lyke to be taken prisoner, and brought into captuiuitie, which thyng, if it had happened (as God woulde that it should not) he had lyen long vrasunsoned (kyng Henry byeng restored to hym pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or els he had dyed prisoner in greate wretchednes & misery. These sour sauces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton flyng, & negligent ouerscyng of things that he myghte well haue forsene & prevented, but his mynd was so genu to pastyne, dalyrone, & sensual pleasure, that he forgot the olde adage, saynge, in tyme of peace prouide for warre, & in the time of warre prouide for peace which thing if he either had well remembre'd, or politiquealy provided for he had not bene chaced & expulsed his Realme within xi. dayes as he was in dede. The onely excuse of his folly is to say, that he so much trusted fortunes flatteryng, that he thought neuer to see her chaunge, nor yet to haue at dyce any yll chaunce, or at chestes any checke mate.

Kyng Edward thus lyeng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlynges, was by good chaunce coforted, & of his great perplexite releued, or he wist how, for thesame tyme laye in the towne of Alquemare the lord Gronture, chief governour of Holland, for duke Charles of Boroyne, which byeng incontinent advertised of the kynges arryual, & also of the great jeopardy that he was in, prohibited firste the Easterlynges in no wyse on payne of death, to intermit or medle with any English which were both the dukes frendes & aliases: which commandement so vexed and troubled the Easterlynges, makynge sure reconynge to haue had for their pray & prysa, a Kyng, a Duke, durers Barons & ryche gwayne, that they ered out of God, rayled & cursed the duke & his officer, and in a rage, halsed vp theire sails, & without any more expectaci of good lucke, departed home to their country. The lorde Gronture came a borde of shyppe, where kyng Edward was, & hym honorably saluted & required him to come to lîd, offering hi his service with all pleasures that he couldo do or imagine to be done. The kyng hym bertyly thanked, & was wel releued & coforted with his wordes, & so he with al his company were set on land, & wel refreshed. The lord Gronture, lyke a noble man, considering in what poore, estate & necessitie the king & his people were in, ministred to them abundantly all thinges conuenient & necessary, according to every mans estate and degree, at the dukes charge & cost. And after they had bene wel refreshed & newly appareyled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a ryche towne in Holland, where they arryued on the church holy daye, not longe after Mychelmas. The lord Gronture, of all this adventure wrote to the duke hys master,
master, which there at, was at the fyrst so abasshed & amased to se ſe erle of Warwyke, whom he hated more then a Cocodrylle, to haue the upperhande of hys brother, that he had rather haue harde of kyng Edwardes death, then of hys discomfiture, & especially by the erle of Warwycke, whom he more feared & disdayned, then any one man lyuyng, yet he willed the lord Granturte to se hym & hys company, well entertyned at the Haye, till he sent for them.

Now let all Englishmen consider (as before is rehearsed) what profyt, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the marraige of the lady Margarete, kyng Edwardes syster to the duke Charles, did to hym in hys extreme necessitie: & but by that meane vncuruable extremitie, for his alyes & coferates in Castell & Arragon, were to fare from hym, either specialy to flye to, or shortly to come fro with any ayde or armye. The French kyng was his extreme enemye, and frende to kyng Henry, for whose cause in the kyng of Scottes (for all the leage betwene them) he did put littel confidence & lesse truste. The stedes & all Eastland were with him at open warre, & yet by thys marriage, God provided hym a place to flye to, both for refuge & for releue.

When the fame was spread of kyng Edwardes flyenge, innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly loking, & howerly harkening, to hear of his health, & prosperous returne who afterward serued hym manfully & truly. Emongst other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, all moste desparate of all comfort, toke sentuare at Westmynster, & their in great penurie forsaie of all her frendes, was delouered of a fayre sonne called Edwarde, which was with small pope like a pore mans child Christened & Baptised, the Godfathers being the Abbot & Pryor of Westmynster, & the godmother the lady Scrope.

The Kentishmen thys season, whose wyttes be euer mouable at the chaunge of Prynces came to the subberbes of London, & spoyled houses, robbed herhouses, & by the counsayll of syr Geffray Gates, & other seuerall men, they brake vp the kynges Benche, & de-liuered prisoners, which fell at Radcleye, Lynemhouse, & saict Katherynes to burnynge of houses, slaughter of people, & rauishing of women: which small sparcle had grown to a greater flame, if the erle of Warwycke with a greate power had not sodanly quenched it, & punished the offender: whiche benefite by him done, caused hym much more to be praysed & accepted emonges the commons then he was before. When he had setteled & put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most convenient, Vpō the. xii. daye of October he rode to the towre of London, which was to him without resistance deluered, there toke kyng Henry the vi. out of the warde, where he before was kept, & was brought to the kings lodging & there serued, according to his dege. And the xxv. daye of the sayd moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the erles of Warwycke, Shrewsbury, & the lord Stanley, & other lordes & Gentelman, some for feare, & some for lone, & some onely to gase at the waueryng world, resorted with a greate company to the towre of London, & from thence with great pompe broughte kyng Henry the. vi. apparelled in a longe gowne of blew Velvet, through the high streates of London, to the cathedral church of saict Pyne, the people on the right hand and on the left hand, rcioysing & cryeng God save the Kyng, as though all thyng had succeeded as they would haue it, & when he had offered as kynges vse to do, he was conueyed to the palles of the bishop of London, and there kept hys houshold as kyng.

Kyng Henry the. vi. thus readempted (by the meanes, onely of ſe erle of Warwycke) his crowne & dignitie Royall, in the yere of our Lorde 1471. newly, after so many ouer-throwes begynnynge to regyne, lykely within short space to fall again, & to taste more of his acustomed captitutie & vsual misery. This yll chace & misfortune, by many mes opiuns happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men comonly cal an innocent man, neither a foole, neither very wyse, whose study always was more to excell, other in Godly lyuyng & vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, in so much, that in comparision to the study & delectacion that he had to vertue and.
and godlines, he litlel regarded, but in manner despised al worldly power & temporal authority, which saidomme folow or seke after such persons, as fro them flye or disdaine to take them. But his enemies ascribed all this to his coward stomack, affirming that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor mete for any enterprise, were it neuer so small: But who so euere dispiseth or dispersiseth, that which the cōmon people allow and marueyll at, is ofte taken of them for a mad & vndiscrete person, but notwithstanding the vulgare opinio, he that foloweth, loueth and embrareth the contrary, doth proue both sad and wyse (ve-rifieng Salomons prouerbe) the wisdom of this world, is fowlesbene before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortuitie, onely to the stroke & punishment of God, affirming that the kyndome, whiche Henry the. iii. hys grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed against kyng Rychard the. ii. & his heyres could not by very diuine justice, looge continew in that inuiousstocke: And that therefor God by his diuine providence, punished the offence of the grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

When kyng Henry had thus obtained agayn, the possession & dominion of the Realme, he called his high court of Parliament to begin the xxvi. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which kyng Edward was declared a traytor to his coûtre, & vssurp of the Realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the Croune & Scepter, & all his goodes were co-fisate & adiudged, forayted: & lyke sentence was geuen agayn the kyng, & his partakers & fredes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer suche persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, & were either in captuittie, or went at large upon trust of their suerties, emongest whom lord Iyon Typtoft, erle of Worcester lieutenent, for king Edward in Ireland exercising there more extreme crueltie (as the same wēt) then princely pity, or charitable cópassion & in especial on. ii. enfantes, being sonses to the erle of Desmōd, was either for treason to him layed or malice against hym conceyued, atteynted & behedded. Beside this, all estatutes made by king Edward, were clerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crounes of the realmes of England & Fraûce, was by the authoritie of the same Parliament entayled to kyng Henry the. vi. and the heyres males of his body lawfully begotten, & for default of suche heyre male of his body begotten, then the sayd Crounes & dignities were entayled to George duke of Clarence, & to theyres males of his bodye lawfully engendred, and farther the sayd Duke was by authoritie aforesayd enabled to be next heyre to his father, Richard duke of Yorke, & to take by descent from him all his landes, dignities & prehe-minences as though he had ben his eldest sonne & heyre, at the tyme of his death. Jasper erle of Penbrooke, and Iyon erle of Oxenford, and divers other by kyng Edward at-taynted, were restorèd to their olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as longe as they myght) Beside this, the erle of Warwycke as one to whom the commo welthe was much beholden, was made Ruler, & Gouernor of the Realme, with whom as fellow & compaignment was associated, George duke of Clarence his sonne in law. So that by these meanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publique wealth of the same, wer newly altered and chaunged, yea, and in maner clerely transfigured and transmuted. To this Parliament came the lorde Marques Montacute, excusing himself that onely for feare of death, he declined to kyng Edwardes parte, which excuse was so accepted that he obtained his pardon, which, after was the destruction, of him and his brother: For if he had manfully and appartment taken kyng Edwardes parte, surely he beyng an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fained, false and a coloured frende: for suche thynges as we se before our Iyes, we bee well ware of, and seldome thynges before knowen, do vs any hurt or prejudtice.

Queene Margarett after that the erle of Warwicke was sailed into England, euer forcastyng and doubtyng, the channise that might happen, did neuer cease to praiie to God, to sende victory to her frendes and confederates: whiche, when she knewe by her husbandes letters to bee obteigned, she with Prince Edwardes her sonne, and her trayne, entered their shippes, to take their voyayge into Englande: but the Wynter was so sore, the wether so stormie,
KYNG EDWARD THE. III.

stormie, and the wynde so contrariant, that she was fain to take land again, and defer her adversary till another season. Her enemies said, that it was Goddes juste provision, that she which had been the occasion of so many batailles, and of so muche manslaughter in England, should never returne thether again, to doo more mischief. Her frens on the otherside, said, that she was kept awaie, and her adversary empeche by Sorcerers and Necromanciers: thus asennes imaginacions ranne, their tongues clacked.

In this season Jasper erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite his Countie of Penbroke, where he found lord Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauyng not fully ten yeres of his age complete, which was kept in manner like a captiue: but well and honorably educated, and in all kynde of Ciuitie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wyfe to Wyllyam Erle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banbery, as you before haue hard. This lorde Henry was he, that after king Richarde, brother to kyng Edwarde, was vanquished and ouerthrown, obtained the Crowne and regalitie of this Realme, whom wee ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of hym onely to be prouided a kyng, for to extinguish bothe the faccions and partes, of kyng Henry the vii. and of kyng Edwarde the. iii. (whiche had almooste brought the nobilitie of this realme, to a finall destrucccon and an vte decaye) consideryng, that he once exalted to that dignittie, nothing more mynded, nor to any one thyng more his studie applied: This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely daughter and heire, to Iohn the first Duke of Somerset, then not beyng fully of. xiii. yeres of age. The whiche Lady Margaret, although she were after conioyned in mariage, with Lorde Henry sonne to Humphrey duke of Buckyngham, and after to Thomas Stailey erle of Darby, bothe beyng lustie, and of age mete for generacio: yet afterward she brought furthe no more fruite, as though she had done her part sufficiently, for to haue borne one man child, and thensame to be a kyng. Jasper erle of Penbroke toke this child beyng his nephew out of the custodie of the Lady Harbert, and at his returne, he brought the childe to London, to kyng Henry the sixte, whom, when the kyng had a good space by himself, secretly beholde and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes, he said to suche princes, as were then with hym: Lo, surely this is he, to whom both wee and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all thynges, shall hereafter gene rome and place. So this holy man shewed before the chaunce that should happen, that this erle Henry so ordained by God, should in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioye the kyngdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

As I haue shewed to you before, what thynges wer done in Englaude after that kyng Henry had obtained the newe possessio, of his old kyngdome, thynkyng surely to have possessed, and enjoyed thesame longer season then either he did, or could by his aduersaries, bee permitted or suffered to do: so must I of congruente necessitie declare vnto you, what greate perplexitie, what sodain trouble, what multiplicitie of imaginacions, the landyng of kyng Edward in Friesland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyne: and how fraudulently for his awne auantage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his pattie aduerse, and how that he openly denied aid to king Edward, when he priuily ministered, ample and large succors to hym and his. I thynke you would not, that these thynges should be forgotten: wherfore you must call to remembranuce, how that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue hard) greate intelligence with Monsire de Vawclere, as he list hymselfe to be called, either chief Capitain of Caleis or els deputie Capitain, to the erle of Warwicke, whiche had promised to hym by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crownes, to the intent to stande still true to king Edward, and to reelinquishe kyng Henry, but in especial to abandon therel of Warwicke. The duke although that he had smal confidence, but rather greate diffidence in the other and promise of Monsire de Vawclere: thought it necessary to knowe, in what case Caleis stode, and what mutacions were there, because it was his next neighbor, (for that tyme Bulleyen, and Bullenoyes, and all Arteys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge delivered to his father, as is before rehearsed. Wherfore in al hast (before he sent for king Edward or spake with hym) he sent his trustie counsailier.
counsellor Philip de Commines, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemen favored more the partie of Lancastre then of Yorke. The lorde of Argéton met with the people of the countrie of Bullenois, flying from every parte like wyldc dere. For the erle of Warwicke, had now lately sent to Caleis, foure hunderd archers on horsebacke, which came and spoyled all the countrey of Bullenoyes. The dukes messengers, whiche had not seen so sodain mutacion of worldly thynges, durst not kepe on their forny, but thesename taried at Turneham, and sent to Monsire de Vawclere for a saucconduit, and also wrote to the Duke, of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent woorde to Philip de Commines, that he and his with all speede, should passe toward Caleis, and if they were taren, he would shortly for a rausom, byre or redeemed them again. For he passed litte, either of the poyn of her servaunt, or of his charge and expense, so that his purpose might be servued. When this woorde was brought to the messengers at Turrneham, at thesename thei receiued a letter, from Monsire de Vawclere, with lowryng wordes and gracion terms, declaryng that they might safely come, and frely departe, as before they wer liberally accustomed: so that sir Phillip and his compaignons came to Caleis, without any meting or solempne entertainment contrary to tholde fashion that he had sene. Whiche thei entered the toun they might perceve every man, did were theire of Warwicke badge, & on every dore wer set white Crosses and ragged staves, with rimes and poyses, which purposed the French kyng, and the erle of Warwicke wer al one. These thynges semed very strange, and nothing pleasant to the Burgonions. The lorde Vawclere sent for them to diner the next day, byeng well accompanied, & did were on his cappe, a white ragged staffe of gold enameled, and so did many other, and he that could have it neither of gold nor of siluer, had it of silke or cloth. This badge was taken vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes come out of England: suche is the mutacion of the comon people, like a red with every wind is agitabe & flexibe. While these Burgonios laie thus in Caleis thei had knowledge that theire of Warwicke had prepared ii.m. valiant men, to make frontier warre on the Dukes countreis, whereof by poste they certificed the Duke, whiche he so fumed, and smoked at the matter, that he wist neither well what to do, nor of whom to aske confortable or wholesome counsail. For warre he was compelled to haue with the French kyng, which had taken from him certain tournes: and if he succoured king Edward, he was sure that with the Erle of Warwicke, he should haue no peace: and if he left kyng Edward his confedere and alle, in the tyme of his tribulation, disconsolate, and destitute of aid and succour, all the worlde of hym might speake shame, vnfaithfulness and dishonesty. When the duke had well advised this matter, he wrote to his messengers, that thei should require to haue the league made, betwene the two realmes, kept and observed, with divers other privie instructions. Phillip de Comines, byeng wise and well learned, declared to the counsail of Caleis, that the Duke his Master not a little marueiled why the Englishe men should once runne and destroye his Countreis, haung a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two countreis, their territories and dominions, affirming that the mutacion of the Prince, is no dissolucio of the league: For although the Princes be named, as chief contractors in every treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countreis are bounden, and the subiectes shall make recompence, if any thyng he altered wrongfully out of his course. And the rather to obtein their desire, they caused all the merchants goodes of Englaunde, byeng in the Dukes Countreis, to be attached for the redresse of the spoyle, that the English men had done in the Dukes Countrey. Whiche sore grieved the Merchants, and muche hindered their voyages: beside this, the Merchates of the Staple of Caleis, wrote to the king, and to the erle of Warwicke: how, if their Wole and fell at Caleis, were not sold and vtered, as it was wont to be (the greatest part wherof, was bought by the Dukes subiectes and vassals for redy money) the soldiers of the garrison, should lacke their wages, the king should not be paiued his custome, and the Merchants in conelusion should stande in aduenture, bothe of losse of stocke and credence. These persuasions mollified theerle of Warwicke
Warwickes mynde, and especially, because the kyng had no greate store of money, to fur
nishse Calcis with al, which store if he had had, surely the duke of Burgoyne for all the
league, had been a little disturbed, and greously molested. But considering that all
things were not correspondent at this time to therles appetite: he was content that it should
be thus condescended and agreed, that the alwaunce made betwene the Realme of Englands
and the Dukes dominions, should still remain inviolated, sauing in the stede of Edwarde,
should bee put for the kyng, this name Henry. This conclusion thus brought to an ende,
came (even as a man would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for
at this same tyme, the Frenche kyng had wonne from hym, the faire tome of Amias, and
sainct Quintines, so that if the Duke should have had war both with France and England,
he had been likely to have been shortly a poore Duke, and els utterly vndoen and broug
to destruction. And to pacifie and please the Erle of Warwick, whom he neuer loused and
lesse favoured: he wrote louingly to hym declaryng that as he was lineally descended, and
naturally procreated, of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his grand mother,
beyng daughter to the high and mightie Prince Iohn of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: so
was he by nature obliged, and by alianse enforced to support, honor, mainteine, and defend
thesaid noble house and lignage, during his life, as ever he bath done, bothe in worde and
deede against all maner of persones and estates: furthermore promising to bese his good
harte, louynge mind, and friendy favor, to kyng Henry the sixte and his sequele, before all
other Princes and Potentates, with many other flatteringe termes, and glosyng wordes:
which faire promises, I thinke neither the Duke hymself inwardly mynded, nor yet the erle
outwardly beleued.

Now to returne to kyng Edward, beyng in the duke of Burgoyns land, whiche, al
though he were out of his country, yet did he neuer dispare, but had a ferme hope, to
haue a mature and ready occasion to him geuen, how to obtine his kyngdome and dominion,
and that in shorte space. For partly, he hoped of a greate helpe, of his brother in lawe
the Duke of Burgoyne, and partly, he was daily solicited by the letters and messages of men
of his faction in Englande, to returne with all spee, promising him compaignie and
comort. Many other there wer, whiche either for feare of the rigor of the law, which
they had offended, or els dislaimyng that the worlde was so altered: or els being brought in
to kyng Edwardes favor, had hope to exercise their poliyng romes, as they did before his
flying out of England, daily came to hym from England, and prouoked hym more and
more, to take his iorney homward Kyng Edward in maner raished with their golden pro
mises, came to the Duke of Burgoyne, to the tome of Sent Poll, and there declared to hym
what great intelligence he had in the realme of England, and what assured frédes he had in
thesame, requiryng hym to aide hym with spee as his onely truste, and sole hope of relief
was in him, beyng not onely his brother in law, but eché beyng compaignie of others
order: for the kyng were the golden Flees, and the duke were the Gartier. The duke of
Somerset which was cosin germain, remoued to the Duke of Burgoyne, and brought vp and
had a pencion in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoyn loused better the house
of Lancaster, thene the house of Yorke) sore labored to the contrary, affirming that
it was botthe vngodly, vnrnecely, and vnaturall, to exale and set vp a stranger, hauyng no right,
and to depose and depruie his naturall kyngman, hauyng a juste title descended to hym, from the kyng his father, & the kyng his grandfather, from his sceptre and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowing well what to say,
whether consanguinitie should preuaile more, or affinitie, or nature before favor, not
willyng if he might, to displesse any of bothe the parties. But because the warre was
ouer at his very nose, with the Frenche king: he concluded openly (but intending another
thing secretly) to aide the duke of Somerset, and other that were with hym, takyng of them
certain promises, for thynge to be done against the erle of Warwick: when they should
espie their tyme, moste propice and convenient: The duke of Somerset ioyous of these
newes, sailed into Englane, and made report to Kyng Henry. Kyng Edward was present,
and heard all this determinacion, whiche brought him into a great heauines, and a depe perplexitie: howbeit, he was prouely aduertised by a frende, that these cloked dissimulacions, were only for this cause, that Duke Charles would in nowise, haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, if thesaid duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French kyng, then he were not able, neither to aide, not to succor king Edward. Wherefore to blind with all the French kyng, whiche sore desired, that the duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openly that he would in nowise minister any succors to kyng Edward, strightly chargyng & commaundyng vpon peyne of the harte, that no man should once passe the sea with hym, or in his armie. But all this proclamacion notwithstandyng when the duke saw that kyng Edward, vpô hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again (he hauyng copassion of his unfortunat chaunce) caused priuily to be delivered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of saint Andrewes, and further caused foure greate shippes to be appoynted for him, in the haue of Vere in Zelande, which is fre for all men to come to, and the Duke hired farther for hym. xiiij. shippes of the Esterynges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, toke bonde of the to serue them truly, till he were landed in England, and. xv. daies after. Of which returning, the Esterynges were glad, trustyng that by that meanes, if he obtained again the possession of the realme, they shold the souer come to a concord and a peace, and to the restitucion of their libertys and franchises, which they claimed to have within England. The Duke of Burgoyne as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauyng for paynet of his money. For he would oft saie that he was frend to both partes and eche part was frendly to hym.

THE X. YERE.

KYng Edwarde being thus furnished, thought nothing more painfull & wretcched, then the tarying of one daie longer, nor nothing more to be desired, then with all celerite to saile toward his countrye: whervpon hauyng with hym onely. ii. M. men of warre, beside mariners in the spring of the yere. In the yere of our Lorde. 1461. at thesame very season, that the Duke of Burgoyne, went to fight with the French kyng at Amias. He sailed into England, and came on the cost of Yorke shire, to a place called Rausenprung, and there settynge all his men on lande, he consulted with his Capitaines to knowe to what place, they should first for succor resorte vnto: for he imagined that no waie could be for hym sure, hauyng so small a company of soulsdours.

After long debatying, it was concluded, that diverse persones hauyng light horses, should scoare the country on every side, to se if by any perswasions, they might allure the herties of the rusticall and vplandishe people, to take kyng Edwarde part, and to were harnes in his quere: which, with all diligence, followed their comission. It semeth somewhat to leane to the truthe, that kyng Edward beyng a wise and a circumspecte Prince, would not haue been so foolishe hardly, as to enter Englaonde with a halfe a handfull of men of warre, excepte he had been sure of speedy succor, and faithfull frendship: in whiche argument is no doubt, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which primie signes and cloked workynges, open tokens, & manifest doynges, afterward appered. The light horsemens whiche were sent about, after they had fette the myndes and ententes, of the rude people (as much as they might) they returned to kyng Edward the nexte daie, makying relacion that all the tounes round about, wer, permanent and stiffe on the parte of kyng Henry, and could not be removed: and that it was but a folye farther to soliciite or attempt them, consideryng that when they were moued and exhorted too be trew too kyng Edwarde, not one man durste speke for fere of the Erle of Warwycke.

Which aunswere, when kyng Edwarde had perfidy digested, of very necessitie he chaunged hys purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the crowne and kyngdome
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kyngdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published that he only claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to the intent that in requyryng nothyng, but that which was bothe trew and honest, he might obtayne the more favor of the common people. It was almost incredible to se what effect this new imaginacion (all though it were but fayned) sorted and toke immediately uppon the fyrst opening (Such a power hath Justice euer emogest all men) whë it was blowne abrode that kyng Edwardes desire was farther from nothyng, then from the couetyng or desire of the kyngdome and royall dominion, and that he no erthely promocion desyred before his inst patrimony, and lyneall inherittance: All men moved with mercye and compass, began out of hande either to favor hym or els not to resist him, so that he mighte obtayne his duche of Yorke, when he had founde these means to pacifie mens myndes, and to reconcile their hartes, he determined to take his iorney toward Yorke, and so went to Beverley. The erle of Warwycke which then lay in Warwykeshyre, beyng enformed that king Edward was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all hast wrote to the marques Montacute his brother, whiche had lyen at the castel of Pomfret all the laste wynter, with a great compny of Souklears, genyng hym waryng, and aduertesyng him in what perill their whole affayres stode in if their enemy shold obtayne the possessi, or entre into the citie of Yorke, willying and comanning him to set on kyng Edward with all expedicion, & byd hym battayle, or els to kepe the passage, that he should passe no farther, tyll he hym self had gathered a greater host, with which all diligence, he was assemblynge to come and ioyne with his brother the Marques. And because that the erle knew not by what way his enemies wolde take their iorney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeshyre, and to the citie also, commaundynge all men on the kynges behalfe to be redy in harnes, and to shute their gates against the kynges enemyes. Kyng Edward without any wordes spoken to hym, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whose company, when the cizenz were certefied, without delay they arme them selfe, and came to defend the gates sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen of the citie, whiche ernestely admonished hym on their behalfe to come not one foote nearer, nor tempereariously to enter in to so great a jeopardy, considering that they were fully determined, and bent to cöpel hym to retract with dët of swourd, kyng Edward markynge well their message, was not alittell trobled and vnquieted in hym mynde, and drijen to seke the furthest poyn of hym wit, for he had both two mischienous and perilous chauences, even before his eyes, which were hard to be euaded or refellected, one was if he should go backe agayn, he feared lest the rurall and commen people for coueteousnes of pray, and spoyle, would fall on hym, as one that fled away for feare & dreads. The other was, if he shoulde proceede any farther in hym iorney, then myght the cizenz of Yorke issue out with all their power, and sodaynly circuuent hym and take hym, wherfore he determined to set forward, neither with arm as nor with weapon: but with lowly wordes, and genetl entreatynges, requyryng most hartely the messengers that were sent, to declare to his cizens, that he came neither to demaunde the realme of Englande, nor the superioritie of the same, but onely the duche of Yorke his olde inherittance, the which duche, if he might by their meanes readept and recouer he woulde neuer passe out of hym memorie so great a benefite, and so friendly a gratuittie to hym exhibited. And so with fayre wordes and flatterynge speche he dismissed the messengers, and with good speede he and his followed so quickly after that they were almost at his gates asone as the Ambassadors. The cizenz beryng his good aunswere, that he mënt, nor entended nothyng preudiciall to kyngge Henry, nor his royall authoritie, were much mitigated & cooled, & began to commen with hym from their wallles, willying hym to commey hym selve in to some other place without delay, whiche if he did they assured hym if he shoulde have neither hurte nor damage, but he gente speaking to all men, and especially to suche as were aldermen whom he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted, after many fayre promises to them made, exhorted and desyred them that by their favorable freudslypp, & frendly permissi he might enter in to his awne town, of the which he had both his name and title. At the whole daye was consumed in doutfull communicacion and ern estinterlocution. The cizenz partely won by his fayre wordes, and partly by hope. Pp 2 of
of hys large promises, fell to this pact & connexion, that kyng Edward woulde swore to enter-tyne hys citiezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient, and faithfylly to all kyng Henryes commandements and preceptes, that then they woulde receyue hym into their citie, & ayde and enquore hym with money. Kyng Edward (whome the citiezens called onely duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chancée, in the next morning, at the gate where he should enter, a Priest beyng redy to say masse, in masse tyne, receyuing the body of our blessed Saviour, solemnly sweryng to kepe and observe the two Articles aboue mentioned, and agreed upon, when it was far unlike, that he either entended or purposed to observe any of them, which plainly afterward was to all men manifest, evidently perceyuing, that he toke no more studye or diligence for any one earthly thing, then he dyd to persewnt the kyng Henry, & to spoyle him of his kingdom.

So it is dayly seen that aswel princes, as men of lesser reputation, led by bloud avarice and desulish ambition, forgettyng the scruple of conscience, & the ende of all honesty, vse, to take an othe by the immortal God which they know perfidy, shalbe broke & violate hereafter, before the othe be fyrst made or sworne: yet these persons (as examples, thereof be not very strange to synde) at one tyne or other be worthely searged for their perjuries, in so much oftentimes that the blot of suche offence of the parentes is punished in the sequel. & posteritie: of this thyng I may fortune to speke more in the lyfe of Rychard the iii. as the cause shall arise, where it may evidently appeare, that the progeny of kyng Edward escaped not untouchten for this open perjorie.

When kyng Edward had appesed the citiezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the citie, & clerely forgetteringe his othe, he first set a garrison of Souldiers in the towne, to the extent no thing should be moved against hym by the citiezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money. Wher all thing was redy, according as he desyred, because he was ensembled that his enemies did make no great preparacion to resist hym, he thought it necessarie therefore with the more spede and diligence to make hast toward London: and as it were for none, he left the right way toward Pomeroy, where the Marques Montague with his army lay, and toke the way on the right hand, not fully. iij. myle from the cappe of his enemies. And whë he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed the sefle in sight, he returned into the comen hygh way agayne, a litle beyonde their campe, and came sauely to the towne of Notingham, where came to him syr William Parre, syr Thomas a Borogh, syr Thomas Montomerie, and divers other of hys assured frendes with their aydes, which caused hym at the fyrst coming to make Proclamation in hys owne name, kyng Edward the. iij. boldly saying to hym, that they would serue no man but a kyng. This Proclamation cast a great shame and dolor in to the hartes of the citiezens of Yorke, for that they might apparently perceyue, that they were fraudulently seduced, and for their good will unhonesty (if it might be sayde) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowen abreede, kyng Edward without any detriment, was in sauytyme came to Notyngham, Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to hym, ferneely beleyuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beryng favore too kyng Edwarde, woulde not once with hym encounter, or that he was a fraye to set ouer or to gene battayle, knowynge not to what parte his souldiers would enchyne. But what soeuer the occasion was, the moste partes thought it more for their securitie and avantage of thems selves, to take parte and ioyne with kyng Edward, beryng at all poyntes furnished with men of warre, rather then to cleene to kyng Hery, and to be alwayes in jeopardy, both of lyte and lande. Kyng Edward (as you can not blame hym) beryng with these good fortunes animated, & with his army furnished at all poyntes, came to his towne of Lecester, & there beryng that the erle of Warwycke, accompanied with Ion erle of Oxford were together at Warwycke with a great power, & were both determined to set on hym, he politiquely imagening to prevent their inuccion, determined in great haste to remoure his whole army, hopyng surely, either to gene them battayle, or elles to allure and beryng to his side hys brother George duke of Clarence, and to comen with hym in some priuie place, before he came to his confedereates: lest
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lest peraduenture he should be by them, illaquiated & copased, knowing that the duke was in nothyng constant, nor in one mynd long permanent.

In this very season to tell you how the erle of Warwycke was displeased, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for lettynge kyng Edward passe, it ware to longe to write: for where he hym self had vigilantlye proved & politiquely forsene, for all thinges, y Marques nevertheless where the power of their enemies first began to gather, neuer moved fote, nor made resistance as he was commaundmed, but besydes thys suffered them with a so small number of souliders, before his eyes & in his open sight, without any battayle to passe by: wherefore the erle considering that kyng Edward did dayly encrease hys power (as a running ryuer by goyng more & more augmenteth) thought it moste necessary for hym, to geue him battayle with spede, and therupon accersed & called together hys army, and in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence, to ioyne with him which had conscribed, & assembled together a great host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd all thinges negligily, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that the duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaungd, & therfore without delay marched forward toward Couentry, to thentent to set on his enemies. In the meane season, kyng Edward came to Warwycke, where he founde all the people departed, and from thence with all diligence auaunced his power toward Couentry, & in a playne by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next day after that he cam thither, hys men were set forwarde, and marshalled in array, & he valiuty bad the erle battayle: which mistrustynge that he should be decauyed by the duke of Clarece (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde y the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army, kyng Edward beyng also therof enformed, rasesd hym campe, & made toward the duke. And lest that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the kyng set his battayles in an order as though he would fght without any jéger delay, the duke did likewise. Whé eche host was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbitrer betwene them, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym commoned very secretely: from hime he came to kyng Edward, and with lyke secretnes so vsed hym, that in conclusion no vnaturall warre, but a fraternel amitie was concluded and proclaymed, and then leyung all armeye and weapó a syde, both the bretherne louyngly embraced, and familierly commoned together. It was no meruaull that the duke of Clarece, with so small persuasion and lesse exhortynge, turned from the erle of Warwyckes partes, for as you haue hard before, thys marchandyse was labore, conduyted and concluded by a damself, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles ytter confusion.

After this, kyng Edward caused to be proclaymed, that the duke & all that came with hym, should be taken as hys trew frendes, without fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstanding, it semeth that God dyd neither forgue nor forget to punishe the duke with condigne punishment, for violating and brekyng hys othe solemnly, and aduysedly taken and made to the erle of Warwyck, for God not many yeres after, suffered hyme like a periured person to dye a cruell & a straige death.

Then was it concluded enamgest the, iii. bretherne to attempte therle of Warwycke, if by any fayre means he might be recoyled or by any promise allured to their parte: To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secret frendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarely to require him to take some good ende now, while he might with kyng Edward.

When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accursed him, cryenge out on him, that he contrary to his othe promise & fidelitie, had shamefully turned his face from his confederates & alyes: But to the dukes messengers he gave more other aunswere but this that he had leuer be always lyke hys selfe, then lyke a false & a periused duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war tyll either he had lost: hys awne naturall lyfe, or ytterly extinguished & put vnder his foes and enemies.

From thence kyng Edward thus beyng furnished of a strong host, went without any maner of
of discord or mistrust toward London: where after that it was known that the duke of Clarence was come to his brother, & that all they came together in one knot to the citie, suche a feare rose sodaynly emongst the citizens, that they were drivē to their witnes ende, not knowing either what to do or to say, but at last very feare compelled them to take kyng Edwardes parte. The selfe same season, the erle of Warwycke sent letters to king Henry, to the duke of Somerset, tharchbishop of Yorke, & other of his counsayll, that they should kepe the citie from their enemies handes, by the space of ii. or. iii. days after the comming of their enemies, and that he shortly woulde be at hande with a puysant armye. They as they were commanded defended the citie strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the citizens in thesame tyne began maturely to consult, what part they should follow for their most indemnity: and in conclusion when they considered that kyng Henry was such an innocent person, as of hysselfe was not most apte to moderate and gouerne the publique wealth of the realme. And that on the other syde kyng Edward by no other mens document, but onely by hys awne policie and wit was wont to order the Realme and gouerne the kyngdome. And farther that kyng Edward was such a person as was able bothe to defende hym selfe and also all hys, from inuie and hostilitie, wherupon all men were glad to leave to hym, and to take hys parte. They concluded to take hys parte & to receyve hym in to the citie: which determination beyng blowē abrode (as the nature of the people is ever to delyte in novelites) the communaltye could not be compelled by no commandement to tarye at home, but ranne in hipes out of the citie, to mete him, and saluted him as their kyng and souereigne lord. When the duke of Somerset and other of kynges Henryes fēdes, saw the world thus sodaynly chauenge evertie man fled, and in hast shiffted for hym selfe, leuyng kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London, adjoyning to Poules churche, not knowing of whom nor what counsayll to aske, as he which with troble and aduersitie was clerely dulled and appalled, in which place he was by kyng Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

Thys was a sodaynle chauenge, for thesame daye, the Archebishop of Yorke to the entent that the people myght more fermly stycke on his syde, caused hym to ryde about London, apparelled in a gowne of blewe veluet, with a great company cryeng kyng Henry, kyng Henry (whiche sight as much pleased the citizens as a fier paynted on the wall, warned the olde woman) not knowyng that or nyght, hys triumpeynge shoulde be torned to trembleynge, and hys solemnitie converted into mourning, such chaine was to hym prooved. King Edward returned to London agayn the. xi. daye of April, sise monethes after that he had sayled in to Flauandes: and fyrste callynge before hym a great assemble of people, highly commended the fidelitie of the citizeyns, which they constantly bare vnto hym, rendryng to the Aldermen most harty thanks for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continew, and be permanent in their good myndes and loyaltie toward hym, blaming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers, as Englishmen, whome he knew to have prested, and lente money to kyng Henry for the arrayenge and settyng forth of a new armee agaynst hym. But when he had greneously wyth terrible wordes declared to them their seditious crime & trayterous offence, he bad them be of good confort, & to expell all feare, for he releasde to them both the punnishement of their bodys, and losse of gooddes, and granted to them Pardon for their faults and offences, by whiche gentell meane and easy indulgence, he reconciled to him the harte of the whole multitude, obtayning that, by fayre and loungour wordes, which he could not haue acheived with sharpe strokes, and biody wondres. Therelie of Warwicke pondering, that the gain of the whole battaill stode in makynge haste, with all diligence, followed biseemies, hopying (that if they were let neuer so little, with any stop or tarying by the way) to fight with the before thei should come to London: the which he thought, should be much to his advantage, cosidering that he perfightly knew the citee to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to have no maner of municides to set on the warres or towers, so that they were no able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they inclined to the victorious and stronger parte. But when he folowynge his enemies, had passed
a great part of his iorney, he was enformed that kyng Edward, peaceably was entered into London, and had taken, and sent kyng Henry to prison again: Whiche thynge deeply considered, he saw that al cauillacies of necessitie, wer now brought to this ende, that they must be commet to thisard and chauce of one battaile, wherefore, he rested with his army, at the toun of sainct Albons, partly to refresh his soldiers and partly, to take counsaill what was best to do. In the erles armie wer Ihon Duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Somerset, Ihon Erle of Oxenford, and Ihon Marques Montacute, whom the erle his brother well knewe, not to be well mynded (but sore against his stomache) to take part with these Lords, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme, might trust him or no, but the fraternal loue betwene the, washed away and diminished all suspicion: But what so euer opinion thelre conceieved of him or any other, the erle as a man past all feare, determined coragiously to set on his enemies. And from sainct Albones, he removed to a village in the meane waie, betwene London and sainct Albones called Barne, beyng tenne mile distaunt from bothe the tounes. This toun standeth on an hill, on whose toppe is a faire plain, for twoo armuies to ioyue together, on the one part of this plain, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his feld, tariyng for his enemies. The rumor of the erles commyng, was sped in an instant over all London, whiche quickened kyng Edward not a little, wherefore with all spede he adjoynd to that hoste, that he brought with hym firste to London, a compaignie of elect, picked, and chosen persones, strong, young, and mete for all assaies, beside other new aides, that were then come to hym: Harnesse, weapons, horse, and all other engines, instrumentes mete for the warre, he neither forgatte nor slackly furnished. What shall I saie more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagin upon the chauce of this battaile: Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict, should knit vp the knot of all his labor, and bryng hym to quiutnes. So with a pytysaunt armie, he marched forwarde, and to put his people in vre, that the might bee the more redy to fight, when so euer they should encounter with their enemies, he devided them in foure partes. He brought with hym also kyng Henry the sixte, of all likelyhod for this intent, that either his aduersaries, seyng their kynde as a prisoner in captiuitie, should be abashed and discomfited by hym, or els if the fortune of the battaile should turne against hym, that then kyng Henry should be to hym bothe a saugerd and a protecco. On Easter eue at after noone he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemies, he encamped his army, and least his enemies should compel him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications and trenches: for tariyng that night, was to hym a synguler profite, and to his enemies a greate detriment: Considerynge the longer he taried, the more people came to his aide, the more stronger was his power, and the stronger that his power was, so much weaker was the part of the aduersaries, whiche was farre from all succor, and hoped of no newe relief nor conforte. Thus bothe the armuies lodged that night on the plain, but not out of their harnesse, for their teutes were so nere together, in the which, what for neighboring of horses, and taling of menne, none of bothe the hostes could that night take any rest or quiutnes. At the breakeynge of the daie, the erle of Warwicke sette his men in a raie, in this maner: In the right wyng he set the Marques Montacute, and the erle of Oxenford, with certain horsemen, and he with the Duke of Exceter, toke the left wyng, and in the middles betwene bothe, he set archers and to them he appointed the Duke of Somerset to be capitain. And when he had set his men in order, he enooraged his men to fight, with many confortable wordes, willing them to strike with a good and a fierce corage, and to remembre that they fight not onely for the libertie of the country, against a tiraunte, whiche wrongfull and against all right, had invaded and subdued this realme, but they fight in the querell of a true, and vncommendable kyng, against a cruell man, and a torcious vnderer, in the cause of a Godly and a pitiful Prince, against an abominable miqueller, and bloody butcher: In the title of a gentle, liberall, and bountifull kyng, against an extreme nigard, and a couteous extorcioner. In which cause being so good, so godly, & so just, God of very justice must nedes be their sheld and defence. Kyng Edward likewise ordred his bataillass.
In the forward he set the duke of Gloucester, the middle ward, he himself with the Duke of Clarence, haung with them kyng Henry, did rule and gouerne, the lorde Hastynes led the rereward, and besides these thre battales, he kept a compaignie of freshe men in store, whiche did hym great pleasure, and this done he encoarch his men, saying: that their aduersaries wer onely traitors to the realme, spoylers of the pore commonaltie, and people destitute of al grace, good fortune & good liuyng. Which mischenous persones, if they should preuaile through the faintnesse of your harters, all you gentlemen and rich men, wer in iepoerdy of your lifes, all meane men in doubt of robbynge and spoylyng: and all inferior persones, in hasard of perpetuall bondage and servitude.

When the daie began to spryng, the trompettes blew coragiously, and the battaill fiercely began, Archers first shot, and bill men them folowed, Kyng Edward haung the greater number of men, valiantly set on his enemies. The erle on the otherside, remembreng his anncient fame and renoune, manfully withstode them. This battail on bothe sides was sore fought & many slain, in whose romes suceeded euver fresh and freshmen. In the meane season while all men were together by the cares, ever loykyng to which waye fortune would encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wisely did perceiue his men to be ouer pressed, with the multitude of his aduersaries: wherfore he caused newe men to relief them that fought in the forward, by reason of which succors, kyng Edwardes parte gane a little backe (wiche was the cause that some lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, sayyng: that therle had wonne the feld) which thyng when Edward did perceiue, he with all diligence, sent freshe men to ther succors.

If the battail wer fierce and deddy before, now it was cruler, more bloody, more ferment and fierie, and yet they had fought from morniyng almoste to noone, without any part gettyng anuantage of other. Kyng Edward being wery of so long a conflict, and willyng to se an end, caused a greate crewe of freshe men (wiche he had for this onely pollicie, kepte all daie in store) to set on their enemies, in maner being wery and fatigate: but although the erle sawe these newe succors, of freshe & newe men to enter the battail, beyng nothing afrained, but hopryng of the victory (knowing perfity that there was all kyng Edwardes power) coforted his men beyng wery, sharply quicknyng, and earnestly desyring them with hardy stomackes to bere out this last and small brunt of the battail, and that the felde was even at an ende. But when his souldiers beyng sore wounded, weried with so long a conflict, did gene litle garde to his wordes, he beyng a man of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, where as he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill and slye his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was in the middes of his enemies, strikke donne and slaine. The marques Montaute, thynkyng to suuere his brother, wiche he sawe was in greate iepoerdey, and yet in hope to obtein the victory, was likewise ouer thrown and slaine. After the erle was ded, his parte fled and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some authors write, that this battail was fought so wenz hande, that kyng Edward was constrained to fight his awne persone, & fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the erle of Warwicke, which was wont euuer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke comfortyng his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother to relynquishe his horse, and trie the extemitie by hande strokes, whiche if he had been on his horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

This ende had Richard Neuell erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many strange fortunes, and perilous channes by hym escaped, caused death before he came to any old age pruylie to stele on hym, and with his darte to take from hym all worldly and muntain affeccions: but death did one thyng, that life could not do, for by death, he had rest, peace, quietnes, and tranquillitie, wiche his life euuer abhorred, and could not suffre nor abide. On bothe partes wer slaine at this battail, more then teneue. M. men. Of prisoners the number could not be certainly knowne: on the kynges part wer slaine sir Humfrey Burchier, same to the Lorde Barnes, els no man of estimaucion.
The occasion of this great slaughter was, because that where kyng Edward was wont, after the battail obtained, to erie: save the commons, and kill the capitaines, now he spared them not, because they not onely so high favored therle of Warwick, but also because they came with the erie against hym in battail. After this feld ended, the duke of Somerset, with Ihon Erle of Oxenford, wer in all poste hast, flying toward Scotlande, but seryng the ieopardies, that might chaunce in so long a iorney, altered their purpose, and turned into Wales, to Jasper erle of Penbroke: every man fled whether his mynde served him. The duke of Ex- cester with muche difficultie, escaped into Westminster disguised, and there toke Sanctuary. Kyng Edward after this victory, although he wanne it not without great effusion of blood, aswell on his awne parte, as the part of his enemies, was greatly rejoysed and comforted, after the maner of a victorious conqueroure, leading with him kyng Henry like a captive, in moste triumphant maner, on Easter day at after noone, made his entery, solemnly, into the citie of London, and at the Churche of sainct Paule, he offered his standard, and rendered to almightie God, for his greate victory, moste hubble and hartie thankes. The ded bodies of the erle and the Marques, wer brought to London in a coffin, and before thei should bee buried, by the space of three daies, thei laie open visaged, in the Cathedal Church of S. Paule, to thintet that all men might evidently perceive, that thei vnfainedly were dedde least peraueture the common people hereafter, here of some dissimulyng persone, to take on hym the name of therle of Warwick, thynkyng him to be liuyng, might stirre a newe sedicion, & excite an vnware rebellion.

The common people saied, that the kyng was not so iocound nor so joyous for the destruc- tion of therle, but he was more sorrowful and dolorous, for the death of the Marques, whom both he knewe and it appered to other, to be inwardly his faithful frend: For whose onely sake he caused both their bodies, to bee with their ancesstors, solemnly entered at the Priory of Bissam. In the meane season, quene Margaret haung knowledge, that all thynge in Englande, were now altered and brought into trouble and broyle, by reason of kyng Edwardes late returne into the realme; gathered together no small compaignie, of hardy and valiant souliours, determined with all haste and diligence, with prince Edwarde her soonne, to saile into Englande, but yet once again (suche was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynd and encombered with to muche rigorous tempeste, a daie after the faire, as the common proverbe saith, landed at the Port of Weymouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that kyng Edward had gotten again the garland, and that kyng Henry her husband, was desolately left post a lone, and taken prisoner, how the Erle of Warwick and his brother were bothe slain and ded, and all their armie destroyed, scattered or taken, and in conclusion that her parte had sustained, the moste bitter plague and searge, consideryng bothe the chaunce and the tyme that in many yeres before, had been red or sene. When she hade all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sodainly one in anothres necke, to haue taken their effect, she like a woman all dismayed for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in manner passed, all her spirits were tormentad with Malenchoylie. The calamitie and misery of her time, she detested and abhorred, her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastly blamed and accused, her painfull labor, her care of mynde, turned into infelicite she muche lamented and bewailed the euill fate and destenie of her husband, whiche eminently before her iyes, she saw to approche she accused, reproued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflictad, and caste into suche an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desirying soner to die, then longer to liue, and per- aventure for this cause, that her interior iye sawe pruiuly, and gaue to her a secret monicion of the greate calamities and adversities, which then did hang over her hed, and were likely incontinent to fall and succede whiche other persone, neither lokad for nor regarded.

This Quene Margarete might well consider and thynke, that these euill adventures, chaunced to her for the moste parte, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, vncl to her husbande: Of the whiche, mischaunce, although she wer not the very occasion
THE X. YERE OF

and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she concented thereto, and did not save his life, when she ruling all other, might conveniently have staid and letted it. For surely he beyng a lyue, and haung the moderacio and governaunce of the common wealth, kyng Henry had never waivered in so many hazards, and inoperacies of his life as he did. I would desire of God, that all men would in egall balance, ponder & indifferently consider the causes, of these misfortunes and cuill chances, the while beyng eleuate in authoritie, dooe mete and measure, Justice and injury, right and wrong, by high power, bliynd authoritie, and vnbridled will.

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margarete sawe, that to bid battaill was to no purpose, and in maner, in dispaire, of the wealth of her self and her sonne: she with the Prince and her compaignie, departed to a Sanctuary there by, called Beauliew in Hamsbire (where was a monastery of Monkes, of the orde of Cisterciens) and registered herself and hers, as persones there prueleged. When it was knowen that she was landed, Edmond Duke of Somerset, with lord Ihon his brother Thomas Courtney earle of Denoshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part, whose sodain chaungyn, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Jasper Erle of Penbroke, Ihon Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by kyng Edward) and Ihon Longbrother, Prior of saint Ihones in England, came in great hast to Beauliew, and presented themselves to the Quene: Although that she wer almost drowned in sorowe, and plunged in pein, yet when she sawe and beheld, these noble and princely personages, to resort unto her presence, she was somewhat comforted, and greatly reumed again.

And first, lest it should be laied to her charge, that she had dooen any thyng misanisedly: she declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in time, as she gladly would have dooen, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the immunitie of Sanctuary: Beseeching them all to studie, and provide with all diligence, for the wealth and conservacion, of her onely iiue the Prince her sonne, and where for this tyme, she dispaired to doo any thyng by force of armes, that might bee to her profite, she thought it moste convenient for her (if the tyme of yere and her enemies, did not let or stop her) to saile again into Fraunce and there to tary till God would sende her better luke, and more pleasant fortune, and to bryng her long purposed busines, to a good conclusion and ende.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorus harte of this unfortunate quene: Thesaid Duke began with a long processe, to enter communicacion of warre to be renewed, and with all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their compaignie by taryng might bee diminished, and kyng Edwardes power encreas and augmented, considering that all this tyme, he had no armie gathered together, for so mache that at the laste battaill, the very strength of his chief souldiours, was weked and appalled: And that notwithstanding, that fortune shone on hym, in obteinyng the victory against there of Warwicke, yet now she might turne her saile on the otherside, causing hym to tast eger vineger as she before had guien hym to drynke dilecate Ypocrace, when all men se daily, that of warlike affaires at the poyn, there happeneth not seldom tyme, sodain commutacions and vnlooked variance: affirming farther, that the more number of the nobilitie, bare towarde kyng Henry her husband, their good myndes and fixed harteis, and would help hym both with men and money. And of his awne free will, if she would take vpon her, the name of captain against her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised: he offered a grete power of able men, at his awne expence and charge, promising that the twoo erles, should assure her of a farre greater number, of valiant and expert warriers, then she would esteme. And when he had shewed that, the victory was now (if thei liste) in their handes, he merly required theim all, to bee of bardy harte and good chere, and because the matter, required great expedicion, he thought it not necessary, farther to reason the cause of battaill, but determine out of hand how the battaill should be guen and ordered.

The Quene whose mynde gau her, that this mocion, should come to no good conclusion, answered: that she could well allowe this sentence, if she thought that there might happen no greater
greater losse to some other, then the losse of her owne life. But she suspected that while thei
would helpe thynges, that thei moste phantesied and affected, the life of prince Edward her
soonne, in whom, all the whole hope of that famillie stooode and remained, should be in pe-
rell and iepoerdie: and therfore, she either thought it necessarie, to defer the battaylle till
another time, or els to conueigh her sonne into Fraunce again, there to lye sure and secrete,
till the chaunce of the first battaylle were tryed and assayed. And no maruyll, although the
naturlall mother, much mynded and studied for the sauegarde and tynycion of the lyfe of her
sonne, pondering that next her husband, whom she reputed for clene vndone and vtterly cast
awaye, she had nothyng more to be beloued, nothyng more derer, nor nothyng to be made
more of.

Thus this prudent and politique Quene rekyred the chuetaynes expert in marciall
feates, that they shoule before hande premeditate with them selfes, naturely and deliber-
ately these thynges by her moued and after that done, if they thoughte it convenient to geue
battayle, she woulde to their agreement with all her hart be conformable. But there was no
longer disputacion of the matter, for the duke sayde that there was no node to waste any
more woordes for all they were determyned (while their lyues lasted) styli to kepe warre
agaynst their enemies, & therfore that thyng whiche with greate counsayl and delib-
eracion is cocluded, ought to be auounced and set forward with a whole consent and agree-
ment.

Thus every man together clerely bent and encouraged to $\frac{1}{2}$ battaylle gathered hys power
by hym selfe. The duke thourough all hys dominiones, raysed a chosen companye of men
of warre: lykewise did the erle of Deuoshyre. The erle of Pêbroke wet into Wales to
his erledo to prepare hys people with all diligene. The quene, at the last was brouung into
this hope of good fortune that she sayd, well be it, & so as the duke had aduised her, she
with her company departed to Bathe, entendyng thare to make her abode, tyll more of her
affinitie were together assembled. But whether so euery she went, few or none had thareof
knowledge, mistrustynge lest her counsayl should by some tituille, bee published & opened
to her adversaries, before she came to the place prefixed.

When kyng Edward knew that Quene Margarete was landed in Englannde, and that
the duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a new armuye, out of land he dispatch-
ed certayn currers on light hors, in to euery part to see what number hys enemies were,
& what way they entended to take. The explorators, according to their instrucions,
scherched and sought the partes by West, and made relation diligently at their retourne, what
they had knowen and sene. The kyng beyng in a great agony, because he knewe not
what waye his enemies toke, determined, surely to encounter the at some, one place be-
fore they came to London. And upon this conclusion, with such an armuye as he had got-
ten about London, he set forward into Oxford shyre, and there sekyng a place apt and
mete to pytche hys tentes, was conducted to Abyingdon, where he encamped hym selfe, co-
maundyng all men apoynted for the warre, with all celerite to folow hym to that place.
All the kynges host there beynge assembled and reduct in to one company, newes were
brought to hym, that hys enemies were come to Bathe, and there did soiorne and tary
puposely to augmet and encrease their nuber of such, as dayly to them dyd resort, where-
fore the kyng without delay removed straignt to Marlborough, being distat from Bathe,
xv. miles, making haste and great diligene, if by any possibilitie he might to geue them
battayle before they diuerited into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in deed)
that they would take their iorney to ioyne them selfe with the erle of Penbroke, which had
gathered a great host in those parties.

When the Quene knew that kyng Edwarde was come so nere to her, she taried not long
at Bathe, but remoued in greate haste to Brystow: and sent out certayn horsemene to espye,
whether she might sauely passe over the Ryuer Seuernne by Gloucester into Wales, whether
she determined first to go to augmet her armuye, and then without any delay with spere
and sheld, coragiously to set on her enemies, where soeuer they would abyde. They that
were
were sent, returned to her again, declaring that the town of Gloucester was under the obedience of Rychard, duke of Gloucester the king's brother, and that although they had solicited the lord Beauchame of Powike, which lay there in the Castell, and had the rule of the Towne, and the townsman first by rewards after by menacing, either to take their part, or peasia to suffer her to passe over their bridge, they were there with all, neither once moved, nor once would speake confortably to the messengers. Wh ich she hard these newes, she shortly departed from Bristow with her army, to a proper towne on seuerne syde, called Tewkesburye, leaving Gloucester unassaulted, lest peradventure she might their spend her tyme with much losse & littel gayne, but in her passage toward Tewkesburye, the lord Beauchape toke from her rereward, more ordinance then she might haue wel spared, which did to her no small prejudice. Wh ich the Quene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that kyng Edward followed her with his horsemen at the very backe, she was sore abashed, and woderfully amased and determined in her selfe, to flye into Wales to Jasper erle of Penbroke: but the duke of Somerset, willyng in no wyse to flye backward for doughtes that he casted might chance by the way, determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should sende, beynge in his awne mynde, and so fixed in a fayre parke, adioynynge to the towne, he pitched his felde agaynst the will and consent of many other Capitaynes which would that he shoule drawen a syde, for a whyle tyl therle of Penbroke with his armyes were with hym associate, but his will serued for his reason, and so the chaunce followed. The duke of Somerset entending to abide the battayle lyke a politique warrior, trenched his campe rounde about of suche an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemies by no meanes facilye, could make any entrie, and farther perceuyng that his parte could neuer escape without battayle, determined there to se his final ende of his good or yl chaunc, wherfore he marshalled his host in this manner: he and the lord Iohn of Somerset his brother led the forward: The middelward was governed by the Prince Under the couduyte of the lord of sainct Ihons, & lord Wenlocke (whome kyng Edward had highly before preferred & promoted to the degree of a baron) The rereward was put in the rule of the erle of Denonshyre.

When all these battayles were thus ordered and placed, the Quene and her sonne prince Edward rode about the felde, encouraging their souldiers, promising to them (if they did shew the selys valyuit against their enemies) great rewards and hyghe promocions, innumerable gain of the spoyle and booyte of their adversaries, and aboue all other fame and renowne thorough the whole realme. Kyng Edward lykewise which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkesbury, put his brother the duke of Gloucester in the forward, and him selye in the middelward, the lord Marques and the lord Hastyngeles led the redegarde. The duke of Gloucester, which lacked no policye, valantly with his battayle assaulted the tréeche of the Quenes camp, whom the duke of Somerset with no lesse courage defended, the duke of Gloucester for a very politique purpose, with all hys men reculed backe. The duke of Somerset perceiving that: lyke a knight, more courageous then circiuspect came out of his trenche, with his whole battayle, and followed the chace, not doubtynge but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the middelward had folowed fast at hys backe. But whether the lord Welocke dissimuled the matter for kyng Edwardes sake, or whether lys harte served hym not; still he stode lokyng on. The duke of Gloucester takynge the advantage that he aventure for, turned agayn face to face to the duke of Somersets battayl, which (nothyng lesse thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a smal season, shamefully discomfited. The duke of Somerset, seyng hys vnfortunate chaunce returned to hym middelward, where seyng the lord Wenloke standyng still, after he had recyled hym, and called hym traytor, with his axe he strake hys braynes out of his hedde. The duke of Glocester entered the trenche, & after hym the kyng, where after no lôg conflict, the Quenes part went almost all to wrecke, for the most parte were slayne. Some fledde for succor in the threc of the parke, some in to hym monastery, some into other places. The Quene was foude in her Chariot almost dead for sorowe, & prince was apprehended and keppe close by syr Rychard Croftes: the duke of Somerset and the lord Prior of sainct Ihons,
Edward, having chosen this his husband, Edward made a Proclamation, that who so ever could bring prince Edward to him alive or dead, should have an annuity of an. C. l. during his life, and the princes life to be saved. Sir Richard Crofts, a wyse and a valiant knight, nothing mistrusting the kynges former promyse, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, byeng a goodly feminine & a well feathered young gentleman, whom when kyng Edward had well advised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realm with banner displayed. The prince, byeng bold of stomache & of a good courage, answered sayinge, to recover my fathers kyngdome & heritance, from his father & grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lyneally dioluulated. At which wordes kyng Edward sayd nothing, but with his bld thrust hym from hym (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William lord Hastynges, sodanly nurthered, & pitiously manquelled. The bitterness of which murder, some of the actors, after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Justice and punishment of God. Hys body was homely enterred with other simple corses, in the church of the monastery of blacke Monkes in Tewkesbury. This was the last cuile battayl that was fought in kyng Edwardes dayes, whiche was gotten the iii. daye of Maye, in the yere of his reigne, and in the yere of our lord. M. ecc. lxxi. then byeng Saturday. And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond duke of Somerset, Iohn Longstorther, Prior of saint Iohns, syr Garauys Clyifton, syr Thomas Tresham, and xii. other knightes and gentlemen behedded in the market place at Tewkesbury.

Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to Londô, where she remayned till kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borrowed of kyng Lewes y xi. and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repaye so greate a dutie, he solde to the Frenche king & his heyres, the kyngdomes of Naples, and bothe the Siciles, with the countye of Prouynce, which is a very title that kyng Charles the viii. made when he conquered the realme of Naples. After the raunsom payed, she was conveyed in to Franche with small honor, which with so great triumph and honorable enter-tymmet was by pope aboue al pryd, receyued into this Realme. xxviii. yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued like a Quene, in the middel she ruled like an empresse, toward thende she was vexed with troble, neuer quyet nor in peace, & in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Franche, more lyke a death then a lyfe, languishying and mornyng in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selle and her husbande, whose ages were almost consuned and wore, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and her husband thought to leue, both overlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kyngdome) to whome in this lyfe nothing could be either more displeasant or grous.

After this battayl, kyng Edward rendered to God his most hûble thakes, & caused publique processions to be with all deuout reuereence solemly, kept three dayes together in euery Towne and Parische. And when he had visited the towns and places, where his enemies assembled first together (to the payne and punishmente of no small number) he with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, bastard sonne to Thomas lord Faucobrig the valyant capitayne, a man of no lesse corage then audacitie (who for his euell condiciouns was suche an apte person, y a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, & to put the estate of a realme on an yll hasard) had of new begonnen a great cocomeon. This bastard was before this tyme appointed by the erle of Warwycke, to be Vice-admyrall of the sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage betwene Douer and Caleys, that none which either fauore dyd kyng Edward or his frendes should escape, vntaken or vndrouned. And when by the death of the erle of Warwylke,
wycke, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both on the sea & the lande, aswell his enemies as also his frendes: By reason wherof he gat together a great nauy of shippes, and spoiled on euery ship, and at last toke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentishmen, such as were most mete for his purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauynge wylde whaye wormes in their heddes, joined them with him, saiynge that their commyng and quearell was to deliuer out of captiuitie Kyng Henry y:vi. and to bring him to his wyfe, but what so euer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitationes were onely hope of spoyle, and deseire to robbe and pyll. For the bastarde hym selfe assaulted the dreawe bridge of London, and a capitain of his called Spisyng scaled Algate with the Essex me, harnesed in their wyfes Chesecloutes, which assultes were deadly geuen and manfully resisted, in so much that on bothe partes many were slayne and hurt, but at the last the citiezens then put backe the rebelles, and slew and wounded a great number of them, and drowe the bastard from al his pray to his shyppes, lyeng at Radcliffe, which hauyng a good & prosperous wynde, made sayle with all haste, & Roved on the sea, as before he was accustomed.

This styrryng, although it were but littell to thyne on at the fyrst yet if it had begunne not long afore, it had brought all kyng Edwarde busines in to a doubtfull difference: for kyng Edward in these lys last battayles was twice more then fortunate for that, that he at sondry and seuerall tymes (and not all at one tyme) was persecuted & invaded of his enemies: for surely, at the tyme when the erle of Warwycke with his pycthed armeye was comynge toward London, if quene Margarete with her companie had take land (which enterprice she thryse in great jeopardy coragiously attempted) Then if she had set on behynd, whyte the erle of Warwycke gaue the onst before both at one moment, or if Edmond duke of Somerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesbury, before Jasper erle of Penbroke was come with his tranye, or if bastard Fawconbridge had vexed the Londoners even at y tyme: One or the other of these ii. thynges should consequently haue folowed, that kyng Edwarde must of necessitie once agayne flye out of the Realme, or els with shame and rebuke yelde hym selfe, either to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meanes chaunces and small gynes, good lucke is desyred and praysed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune and fortunate chance to be most made of, and chiefly to be aunanced.

Now to returne to bastard Faucobridge, wauring the hither & thither in the doubtfull surges of the sea, as sure of his lyfe on the water as on the lande, which either thinking that no man would se him, or that all men were blind, and coulde not espy hym (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there toke lade where he was not long vntaken, but shorttler behedded.

When Jasper erle of Pëbroke was credibly asserteyned that quene Margarete had lost the battayle at Tewkesbury, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or releue to be had for the parte of poore kyng Henry, he with such men of warre as he was, bringing to his cofederates, returned back out of y way to the towne of Chepstow, wher he taryeng, deploryng and lamentyng, that hast to much hasted, & that vnpruiced & bluide will had at the finall conclusio, not only destroyed and brought to nought al kyng Heryes estate, riches and preheminence, but further had left all his frendes redy to tosse the waues of fortune, & to seke their lyuyng where they might sauely get them, began to thinke and prouide what way was best to take. 

Kyng Edward at this season, not bynge out of feare of the erle of Penbroke, sente prinely in too Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there bothe stronge of people and of frendes, to the entent by some gyle or engyne sodaynly to trap and surprise the erle: but he hauyng intelligence of certayne frendes, how that watche was pruillie leyd for him, sodainly in the same towne, toke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stoke of hys hed, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidece, receyued the death hym selfe, which he by deceipt prouide prepared for the other.

The erle in good hast departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas,
by kyng Edwardes cōmaundemēt so strōgy beseged hym, and so enuyrond his Castell with a
diche and a trenahe, that he could e not lightly flye or escape thence: but he was after eyghte
dayes deliuere, and the seage raysia by his faityfull and trusty frendes Daudiu Thomas,
brother to the foresayd Morgan, and from thecē conveyed to Tynbye, a hauē townē in
Wales, where he getting convenient shippes, for to transport hym and lys over the sea into
Fraunce with lys nephew lord Henry erie of Rychemonde, and a few of lys familiers toke
ship, and by fortunes leading, landed in Brytayne.

After his arryuaull, he fyrst went to duke Fraices of Brytane, and hym reuerently saluted,
expounding to him the cause, the case, and the necessitie of their thether connyng,
committing the lyfes, the goodes and all the chaunes both of hym and lys nephew,
whole to the dukes discretion and ordinaunce. The duke receyued bothe the eries, with all
benigneitie, and shewed to the no lesse honor, favor and humanitie, with suche enter-
tainment, then if they had been his naturall brethren, and geuyng to them his faith, se-
riously made promise that beyng with hym, they should sustein no maner of wrong, nor no
injurie should be to them by any creature offferd: assuring them, that they might within his
dominions, at all tymes, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When Kyng Edwardes had appeased, by the meanes afore rehearsed, his kyngdome and
people, to the intent that there should insurge hereafter, no newe commocion with the
realme again: he made a iorway into Kente, and there sat in iudgement on suche, as in the
last tumultuous busines, toke parte with bastarde Faneconbrige, where many wer (not vn-
worthy) straithe punished & rauensed, which busines once perforemmed, to thintent
that all men mighte se apparently, that indiabite peace was come into the realme, and that
all feare of exterior hostitie, was banished and exiled for euer: Poore kyng Henry the
sixte, a little before deprived of his realme, and Imperial Cronge, was now in the Tower
of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester
(as the constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that kyng Edward his brother, should be
clerc out of all secret suspicion of sodain invasion, murthlered thesaiid kyng with a dagger.
But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this holy man, it shall appere, that bothe the mur-
therer and the consenter, had condigne and not undeserved punishment, for their bloudy
stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had now no enemics risen, on whom they
might revenge themself, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie,
against their awne selfes: and with their proper bloud, embhued and polluted their awne
handes and membres.

The ded corps of kyng Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously (if you call that a
funerall pompe) was conveishe from the tower, to the Church of saintc Paule, and
there laid on a berec, where it lay the space of one whole daie: and the nexte daie, with-
out Prieste or Clarke, Torche or Taper, syngyn or saiyng, it was conveishe to the Mo-
nasteric of Chertenay, beyng distant from London xv. mile, and thare was buried, but
after he was remoued to Wiosore, and there in a new vawte newly intimulate. This kyng
Henry reigned ful. xxxviii. yeres, and xvi. daies, and after that he had repessossed his
kyngdom. vi. monethes he liued. lii. yeres, hauynge by his wife one onely sonne, called Ed-
ward Prince of Wales.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodly, of body slēder, to which proportion, al other mē-
bers wer correspondent: his face beayfull, in the which continually was resident, the
bountie of mynde, with whiche, he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his awne
nature, all the vices, as well of the body as of the soule, and from his verie infancie, he
was of honest conversacion and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keper of all good-
nes: a dispicer of all thynge, whiche bee wonte to cause, the myndes of mortall memere to
slide, fall, or appaire. Beside this, paciense was so radicate in his harte, that of all the
injuries to him committt, (which were no small nombre) he never asked vengeauce nor
punishment, but for that, rendered to almighty God, his creator, hartie thankes, thinking
that by this trouble, and aduersarie, his synnes were to him forgotten and forgeuen. What
shall
THE XI. YERE OF

shall I say, that this good, this meke, this sober and wisman, did declare and affirm, that those mischeves and miseries, partly, came to hym for his owne offence, and partly, for the hevpynge of synne vpon synne, wretchedly by his auncters and forfathers: wherefore, he little or nothing esteemed, or in any wise did turment or macerate hymself, what so euer dignitie, what honor, what state of life, what child, what frend he had lost, or missed, but if it did but sound an offence toward God, he loked on that, and not without repentance, both mourned and sorrowed for it: these and other like offices of holynes, caused God to worke miracles for him in his life tyme, (as old menne saied) By reason whereof, kyng Henry the seuenth, not without cause, sued to Iuly Bushoppe of Rome, to have him canonized, as other sainte be: but the fees of canonizing of a King, were of so great a quittance at Rome (more then the canonisynge of a Busshope or a prelate, although he sette in sainte Peters Cheire) that the said kyng thought it more necessary, to kepe his money at home, for the profite of his realm and countrey, rather then to empower his kingdom, for the gaining of a newe holy day of sainte Henry: remitting to God, the judgement of his will and intent. This kyng Henry, was of a liberall mynde, and especiallie, to such as loued good learning, and them whom he sawe profite, in any vertuous science, he harteely favored and embraced, wherfore he firste holpe his owne young scholers, to attaine to discipline, and for them he founded a solempne schoole at Eton, a tounse next vnto Wyndsore, in the whiche he hath stablished, an honest Colege of sod Priests, with a grete nombre of children whiche be there, of his coste frankely and frely taught, the eruditiones and rules of Grammer. Beside this, he edified a Princely Colege, in the Universitie of Cambridge, called the kynges Colege, for the further erudicion, of such as wer brought vp in Eton, whiche, at this daie so flourishe, in all kynde, as well of litterature, as of tounge, that above all other, it is worthy to bee called, the Prince of Coleges.

THE XI. YERE.

Now to returne to Kyng Edwarde, whiche was relieued of the most part, of his pricktynge feare, and inward suspicioun, to thintent that no print or shadowe, should remaine of the aduerse faction, in his realme. He diligently required and serched out, all the fragmentes and leuynges, of his enemies parte, intenying to represse, and vterly to extinguishise them. And first to begin with, he sent George Newell, brother to the erle of Warwicke, and Archbusshoppe of Yorke, vnder strong conduite, to the Castle of Guysnes, there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued; and at the laste, by frendship delivered: whiche of very pensiuenes and grudge of mynd, shortly after deceased, whom, Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotherham, in the sea of Yorke, did ordinarily succeede. Beside this, Iyon Erle of Oxenford, whiche after Baret feld, bothe manfully gat, and valiantly kept, saint Mihels Moit in Cornewal: either for lacke of aide, or perswased by his frendes, gaue vp the mount, and yelded himselfe to kyng Edward, (his life only saued) whiche to hym was grunted: but be out of all doubtfull imaginaciones, kyng Edward sent hym over the sea, to the Castle of Hammes, where by the space of. xii. yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligenty looked to. Many other beside these, in divers partes of the realme, beynge very little or nothing suspected: wer either committed to prison, or grievously fined and taxed. Beside this, least his neighbors countrey, might be an harbours, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he concluded a newe league, with James the. iii. king of Scottes, for the terme of. xx. yeres. And yet, whatsoever he thought in his Imaginacion, for all his basy devises, and politique forcastynge: his mynd and phantesie, wer not clere exonerate and dispatched, of all feare and inward trouble: For tidings wer brought to hym, that the erles of Penbrooke and Richemond, were arrived in Britayne: and there of the Duke, highly cherished, well fostered and entertained.

THE
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIIJ.

† THE. XII. YERE.

This thyng nipped kyng Edwarde hardly at the verie stomacke, as though his mynd, casting some euill to come after: did signifie before, that the Erle of Richemond, should once attein to the Crowne and diademe of the realme: which mischief, when he had wel digested, he secretly sent wise and close messengers, to the Duke of Brytayne, the which should not sticke, to promise the duke, great & sumptuous rewardes, (knowing that mede, many thynges corrupteth) so that he would delinier, bothe therles into their handes and possession. The duke gladly had them that were sent, but when he knewe, the twoo Erles to bee a praie, of suche a greate value, he determined not to deliver them, but rather to entertain them with hym more diligently, then thei were accustomed. The duke answered the orators, that it stode not with his honor, nor he would not deliver the twoo Erles, to whom, he was bound and obliged, by his faite and promise: but this he promised to doe for the kynges pleasure, that they should be kept, and with suche vigilant persone, continually watched, that the kyng should have no maner of cause, once to thynke, that they could or should attempt any thing, that might sound, either to his displeasure or prejudice. When the messengers sawe, that they could not obtain, that which thei desired, like wisemen held themselfes contented with that, whiche by the duke was offered, & so returned into England. The kyng wrote to the Duke of Britayne, louynge requiriynge him, to accomplishe with all sped, that, whiche he of his awne mociion offered, promising him not onely, menne and greate rewardes, but yere to rewarde hym, with a full hand, and a well stuffed purse. The duke perceiuyng the swete gain, which rose to him, by the abode of the two English Erles, in his Courtyre: least they for any cause, should abandon his dominions, and seke succors in some other foreign Region, caused the one, to be segregated from the other: and removed from them suche Englishmen, as wer daily on them attendant and came with them into Britayn, and in their places appoynted Britons, to be their seruiitors to minister, and continually to attend and waite on them.

When kyng Edward had thus politiquely, as he thought, compassed the Duke of Britayne: he thinking nothing lesse, then to take a Damage at the duke of Burgoynes hand, yea, and such a damage, as by all similitude, was bothe like, continually to grieue and vexe the realme of Englonde: and farther to be an occasion, of a common stop, and putting backe of the commodities, grown within this realme, to be transported into outward partes North Estward, was yet eft sones, brought into a newe doubt and perplexitiue. For the declaracion whereof, you muste vnderstande, that Lewes the Frenche kyng, had a brothe called Charles, which was not the wisest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certaine curtesie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpô him to rule other. And although that the kyng at this tyme, had no soone, nor other brother, but him, his open heire apparant: he little fauored, and lesse loued him, nothyng geuyng hym of his good will, for his part and porcio, of his fathers landes, but that, to the which he was coplell by his counsaill, and that he gave hym this moneth, in the next moneth, he would by flatery or by thretuyng, by war or corruption of his brothers seruanantes, obtain & bring to his handes and possession again. For first he gave hym the Duchie of Berry, & after that whole Normandy, wherof in no long tyme, he bereft him the possession, regiment & title, without any cause genê, on ye parte of yong Charles. And when thesaid Charles, had afterward departed, with the countrys of Brye & Champaigne, by a fraudulent feate: king Lewes caused hym to relinquishe thesame, & to take for his parêtage, the duchie of Guyen, & so was called & named the duke of Guyen. This eul entreating of the duke of Guyen by the Frêch kyng his brother, caused diverse other Princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, aide, and succor thesaid Duke (of the whiche the chief wer, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, Fraunces duke of Britayn, & Lewes erle of sent Poll, Constable of Fraunce.) This

The. xii. yere.
Duke of Guyen, by the sollicityng of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in mariage, the sole daughter and onely heire, of Charles duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be lorde and soveraigne, of all duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtherance of this mariage, holpe with all his power, the Duke of Britayn, as who saied, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other parte, thought that he a lone, was able to compasse this mariage, and to haue soly the thankes, of the Duke of Guyen. The French king did all that he could, to let and stoppe this mariage: for if his brother had obtained, the young Lady with all her possessions, then he sawe well enouge, that the Duke of Guyen, bying joyned with the Duke of Britayne, should be strong enouge, or at the least of puissance enouge, to encomber the Frenche kyng and his children. But kyng Edwarde of Englande, sore smoked, when he hard tell first of this mariage, and not without a cause: For he considered, that the Frenche kyng had no heire maile, but one weake boy and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to weere the Croune of Francé, after his brother or nephewe. And if this mariage should procede, all Burgoyne, Brabant, Holand, Zeland, Flauders, and all the lowe countreys, where the Englishe men, for the most parte, made their martes, and vterred there their merchandise, should be vnitd and annexed, to the Croune of Fraunce, and in the handes of the old, and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and litle Caleis, been cotinually in the daunger of their enemies, almoste with theim ennironed rounde aboute. These things considered, kyng Edward and his counsail, tooke the matter in greate earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude, any mariage in Fraunce, to the hurt and prejudice, of the realme of Englande: that he should knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had been better to have dissmuled, with the best frende that he had, then priuily, without reason, to have jugged with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyne made reasonable answers, and honest excuses, but the Counsaile of Englande, in no wise would geue credite thereto: euer surmising that the mariage should take effect. And certainly at this season, the Englishemen had rather haue taken part, with the French king then with the Duke of Burgoyne: if it had not been onely, to empeche and stoppe this mariage, so muche the Englishemen disdained, to haue the house of Burgoyne, conioyned and vnite, to the Croune of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyne dailed, and dissmuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them faire wordes, and makyng large promises, by the whiche he first deceived other, & inclosure himself. He promised his daughter to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with who, he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, when nothynge was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austrice, and after kyng of Romaines, soone to the Emperor Fredericke, could neuer obtyn, during the life of duke Charles, but onely glosyng and painted promises: but all wordes,.writynges and promises, what so euer they wer, clerely set a side, he was surely fixed and determined (as Argeton his counsailer doth write) that no mariage as long as he liued, should sort to any effecte, at the least by his consent.

Now lette vs leue the Duke of Burgoyne, aboute his affaires for a while, and returne to kyng Edward: which, in the xiii. yere of his reigne called his high Courte of Parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the whiche, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that daie were corroberated and confirmed: and suche Lawes made by hym, as kyng Henry the sixte, had caused to be abrogated and anichilated, he again reuued and renouated. He made farther lawes, both for the confiscacion of the goodes of the rebelles, to his persone, as also for restorying of suche, as fled out of the realme, for his querell and occasiō: which, by his adversaries, as traitors to their Kyng and Countrey, a litte before, wer of high treason attainted, and to death cōdempned. Toward his charges of late sustaine, a competent some of money was demaunded, and frankly granted: and inconclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the whiche had of long continued, in the hartes of the nobilitie, whiche, now wer very fewe (the more part beyg consumed in the warres).
warres) he clerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and cócorde. Kyng Edward holpe to this agernent, as much as in hym laie: And to the intent that other men, should forget injuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice: followyng his good and Godly example, he clerely pardoned almooste all offences, and all men then beyng within the Realme, he frankly discharged, although they had taken parte with his adversaries against hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

q THE. XIII. YERE.

WHile kyng Edwarde was thus setting an ordre, and pacifying all thynges whiche were out of square: Charles duke of Burgoyne, whose spirite was neiuer in quiet, whose ambicious mynde, was neiuer satisfied, whose haute and high stomacke, could neiuer be tamed, (till death it swaged and abated) desyryng aswell to amplifie, and enlarghe his territories and dominios, liyng on the side of the riuer of Ryne, toward high Burgoyne as also to recover again Amias and other tounes, whiche the Frenche kyng, more by fraude then by featys of warre, had from hym wrongfully vsurped: and further aboue all thynges, couetyng to haue the Fréche kyng, to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderance, could not inuen no one waie, so apt and mete for his imagined purpose, as to entice and perswade the kyng of Englande, by his ambassadors, to make warre vpon thesaid kyng and his countrey: for the recoveryng of his old right and aunctient title in thesame by the Frenche kyng & his father, against all right and equitie, with holden and dtcigned. King Edward began a little to harken on that side, not so much for to help the Duke of Burgoyne (to whom he was muche bonde, for his aide in the tyme of his exile, as you before haue hard) as for to be renenged of kyng Lewes, whom, he reputed for his mortall enemie. Firste for ayying the Erle of Warwicke and his complices, against him: secondarely, for the long mainteynyng, and fosteryng of Quene Margarete, and her soonne Prince Edwarde (whomo for a further affinitie, he had made Godfather to his sonne Charles the Doulphyn) within his couitreys & dominios. Whereupon, when he had consulted with the nobilitie and the chiefe and sage persons of the Realme (which in manner hane a certayn naturall inclination to make warre in Fraunce, either for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certain priuie canker engendered in the hertes of their forefathers in tyme long past, and after by lyneall succession descended in to the stomackes of their nephews) he aunswered the Dukes messenger that in the beginnyng of the yere, he would lande at Calcys with such a puyssant armie, that the Frenche kyng should well perceyve that he lacked neither men, nor that hys men lacked stomackes, bothe for to reuenge their sourcrynges quarrell, and also to recover his right. And for a treuth at this season there was mortal war betwene kyng Lewes and the duke of Burgoyne. And more likely to fall betwene him and other, for kyng Lewes, of nature was hard of speche, and chorlish in aunsware, froward and vngentell aswell to hys frendes as to his foes. By reason whereof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with his grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulacíó began to haue intelligens and to cleue to the duke of Burgoyne, emonest whom was Lewes of Luxenborough, erle of saint Pol, and Constable of Frauncê which beyng confedered with the duke and other noble men, determined so to vex and scorge kyng Lewes with some plague, by the whiche other he should be transformed in to a man, eleo altered from his olde qualities, or els should be in icopardy, bothe of losse of lyue & realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on & assaulted, both with outward enemyes, and inward dissimulers. All these thynges the duke of Borgoyne with kyng Edward, did communicate to the entent the soner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desire. These thynges, as tokens of victorie, before animated kyng Edward, and enforced hym in maner to make warre on Fraunce and so with all expedition prepared all thynges necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him aunounced by the realme was consumed in hys houshold, and other necessarie affayres, he
he conceived a new device in his imaginacion, by the which engine he might courtely per-
swade and entice his ryche frendes, to gene and grant him some convenient summe of
money, toward his inestable charges, and incredible costes, which thing if they did not willingly
assent to, he then would impute to the greater ingratitude, and more vukynednes, wherupon
he caused his officers to bring to him the most ryche persons one after another. And to
them he explained the cause, & the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the faunt-
nesse & leuenesse of his treasure, and the great & importune lacke of money harteely re-
quyryng them for their love & affeccion, that always they had born to hym, byng their na-
tural Prince, of their awne gratuittie and frewill to geue to hym some ayde or money, for
mayntenauce of his warre and army: what should I say more: This inuencion came to this
effect, that some calling to their remembranaunce, the benefites of hym receuyed, some with shame,
some with feeare moued and encouraged, gave to hym liberally both of their substance and trea-
ure, which without grudge he could not haue otherwise obtenyed. But here I wil not let passe
a prety conceyt, that happened in this gathering, in the which he shall not only note the hu-
militie of a kynge, but more the fantasie of a woman. Kyng Edward had called before him
a wydow, muche aboundynge in substance, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whom he
merely demanded what she gladly would geue him toward his greate charges? By my
treuth quod she, for thy losely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. l. the kyng lokynge
scace for the halfe of that summe, thanked her, and louingly kyst her, whether the flavor of
his brethe did so confort her stomacke, or she estened the kysse of a kynge, so precious a
jewel, she swore incontinently, that he should haue. xx. l. more, which she with thesame will
payed that she offered it. The kyng willing to shew that this benefite was to hym much ac-
teptable, and not worthy to be put in oblivion called this grant of money a beneuolence,
not withstading that many with grudge and maleuolence gave great sumnes toward that new
foede beneuolence: But the usynge of such getilll fashions toward them, wyth frendly prayer of
their assistance in his necesstie, so tempted them that they could none otherwise do, but
frankely and frely yelde & geue hym a reasonable reward.

THE. XIII. YERE OF

WHen all thynges commendat for suche an enterprise were in a redynesse. Kyng Edward
warde with his army removed to Douer, where he found. v. C. shyppes and Hoyes reyde to
transport hym & his army ouer the see: And so he hym selfe w his nobilitie warlikelike acco-
paignied, passed ouer between Douer & Caleys, the iij. daye of Iuly, and landed at Caleys
wyth great triumphe, his army horses and munyson of warre, scace passed ouer in. xx.
dayes (whome the Frenchmen bragged, should haue ben taken if they had wel considered
the chauee before as they knew it after) When kyng Edward with all his army royall, was
without any trouble landed, and in suertie he caused every man, accordyng to his dege to
be ordered & lodged. This armye, by the wrytinge of Argenton, was the fayrest
and the strongest armye that passed out of Englane in to Fraunce many yeres be-
fore, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all thynges appoynted & prouided,
that the Frenche naciio were not onely amased to behold them but much more praysed them,
& there oder. In this armye were. xv. C. men of armes well horesed, of the which the most
parte were barded & rycheley trapped, after the moste galiard fashion, hauyng many horses
decked in one sytte. There were farther. xv. M. archers, beryng bowes & arrowes, of the
which a greate parte were on horsebacke. There were also a great number of fighting men
& other, aswell to set vp Tentes and Pauiolions (where of the Englishmen had great plenty) as
to serue their Artillarie, and to enclose their campe, or otherwise to labor. And in all this
army there was not one page.

The kyng of England was at his arryual highly displeased wyth the duke of Borgoyn, which in
the worde of a Prince, promised hym to mete hym at his landing with. ij. M. men of armes & light
horsemé, besyde a great number of Lanceknightes & Halberders, & that he would have be-
gonne
gone the warre. iij. monethes before the kynges transportuyng, the more to vex and greave the Fræch kyng, & to cause him seke his wittes. The duke of Borgoyn at this season, lay at seage before the strong towne of Nuyce, with a puissant army, agaynst whose ware assembled the Emperor Frederike, and almost the whole Empire for to rescow of the towne, to whome the kyng of England sent the lord Scales in post, requiryng him to leave his voyd seage before the impregnable towne of Nuyce, and to retourne in all hast with his people and army to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promise and othe, declaring farther that the tyme passed, & the Somer woulde be lost, with this charge the lord Scales departed in all hast toward the duke, whome we will leue, rydinge toward Nuyce for a whyle.

O Fraunce Fraunce, how much art thou bounde to laude & prayse the Sauior for the deliverance, in the tyme of thy affliccio. For if God had not permitted the cancard hart of the duke to be indurate, nor his weke brayne to be vexed, nor yet his ambicious affecion to bee enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of England on ye one syde, hauyng on their syde the duke of Brytayn with his power. These three princes had bene lyke to hauve make Fraunce, either to bow or to breke, either to yeld or to suffer the chaunces of fortune, which she lyke a waueryng Goddes, had presoundred for her punishment. Before kyng Edward departed from Douer, he sent to the Francse kyng an officer of armes (whome Argenton vntruely calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the rone of Gartier was neuer geuen to no estraunger) which Herault deliered to the French kyng with all dew reverence a letter de liance, for the stile & the pennyng excellently endite, which the Frenchmen would scant beleeue to be framed by an Englishman. The letter requyred the Fræch king to render to the king of Englad, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, & by lyneall heritance apereteyninge & belonging to thentet that he might put agayn ye church, the nobilite, and the commons into their auncient estates, & liberties, & to disburde & exonerate them of the great charges, trauayles & labors, that they now were in. And in case he did refuse so to do, then he dyd protest the harme that should ensue, in the forme & maner, that in suche a case is reysytye and accustommed to be done. Kyng Lewes red the letter secretely to him selfe, & after all alone in a great study withdrew him selfe into his warderobe, & sending for the English Herault, said to hym, sir I know, and wel wot, ye kyng of Englad your master is neither descended in these partes of his awne fre mocion, nor yet of vs requyred, but onely entised & provokyd by the duke of Burgoyne, and somewhat enforced by the cōmons of his Realme. But now you may se that ye season of the yere passeth, & the duke of Burgoyne is in povere estate, returning from Nuyce all most discōforted. The Costable also, with whome the kyng your souereygne lord, I am sure hath some intelligence for fauor that your master hath maried his nece, is not so sure a frende as he is taken for, & if all the world knew how I have promoted him, & what I have done for him they would littel thynk, that he would so vntruely handle me as he dothe, for I assure you he is a depe dissimuler, & in continual dissimulacion, entendeth to lede his lyfe, enteryning all me for his own profit. And although ye kyng your master, be vnseure of all hys other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euuer dissimuled with all, & therefore I say to you, and not to your master, ye he were better have a peace with an old enemie, then the promises and familiaritie of a new dissimulung frēde, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thinge that I most do desyre. When he had sayd, he gau to the Herault. iij. C. crounes, promisinge hym a. M. crounes, if any good apoyntement came to passe. The Herault beyng more coueteous of the crounes, then secret, according to the dutie of his office, promissed to do all thinges that in him lay, not doubting, but that the kyng his master woulde be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduisinge the Francse kyng (after kyng Edward were once landed) to send to him an Herault, to fetche a saucecondyate & pasport, for such as should labor & trauayle in that treatie. And that the sayd Herault should first ressort to the lord Stanley, or to the lord Haward, for the conducting of him to the kynges presence, when the Herault should depart, the kyngge gau him a pece of Crymosen Veluet of xxx. yarde long, commandinge & strayghtly chargyng, that no man should be so hardy.
once to come with him, but to let him passe in all gentel fashio. When the Herault was
gone, king Lewes calyng to him. vii. or. viij. of his familiers, caused the letter too be red,
of the whiche he was but a littel afryad & lesse abashed, considering the English Herault
had shewed him playnly, how to enter into ‘y port of the tratie, & in maner how to gayne
& conquer the fortress, of which enformacion he was not a littel joyous, & wisely and se-
crty according to thesame, when he saw his tyme, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very
season the lord Scales came to the duke of Borgoyne before Nuyce, accompling to him his
message, as he was commanded. The duke of Borgoyne, beyng so sore set to coquer the
town of Nuyce, answermed the lord Scales that his honor was lost, and shame should be
spoken of him thorough all Christendom, if he should rayse his feld and breke his seage, but
he hoped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphat victory, to come to ayde kyng
Edward with his whole army: with thyss aunswere ‘y lord Scales departed, which onely answere
was comen without any other augmentacion, to all such as kyng Edward sent, to haue the
duke to kepe his promes. What a folyse this was in duke Charles, to besiege a town impregnable,
euen at thesame time when the Englishmen at his request had passed the sea, which thynge all the tyne of his regiment, he had bothe tranel in, and sore requyred, and neuer couldle compasse tyll this season, and also all things beyng well disposed for hys pur-
pose, both in Brytayn and in other places, except he more regarded to conquer a new towne,
then to defende all his olde posessions and seigniories. But shortly after by the Bishoppe
of Rones authoritie, he left Nuyce enconquered, but leyng a great nuber of his people,
and the remnait he sent into Lorayn and Barroys, there to lye and trouble duke Reyner
of Lorayn, whiche a littel before had defied hym, lyeing before Nuyce. And he him self
with a small company, came to kyng Edward before Caleys, with whom kyng Edward at
the fyrst comming, began somewhat to be grieved, laying to his charge that at hys mocion,
request and desyre, he with all hys army had passed the seas onely to the entent with mortal
warre, to plague and scourge the proude realm of Fraunce. And that he leuyng all thynge
(which should molest or trouble the Frenche kyng) a partes, applied hym selfe to matters of
Lorayne, and externe neacions, more then to revenge the open injuries to him done by hys
neighbor the Frenche nacion. The duke excused hym selfe with jeoparding the losse of hys
honor, if he had returned from Nuyce, and also that of necessite, he was compelled too
leue hys aryme in Lorayne, to be reuenged ouer duke Reyner, whiche had hym before
Nuyce with spytefull wordes and raylyng termes defied and detested: affirmyng farther, that
nowe in the begynynge with a small company, a great enterprize myght be gayned. In
profe wherof he deliuered to the kyng letters of credence, sent from the Constable of
Fraunce, which willed the king to geue credite and perfait faith to the duke. In makynge
relacion of suche secretes as were to hym geuen in charge to declare to the kynges awne
person, fyrshe he shewd that all though the Constable had promised to the kyng and the duke,
to rede vp to them the towne of saint Quintynes, yet it had not come to so good effect, if
it had bene yielded, the duke beyng in Germany, as it now shal, the kyng and the duke
beuyen bothe personally presente, at the delineraice. Wherfore he exhortyd the kyng to set
forward, and to display hys banner, and set forth hys standard. And so by hys mocion,
the kyng accompanied with the duke hys aryme departed out of Caleys, and passed
by Boleyne to Peron, where the Englishmen thought them selfyes of the duke, more lyke
enemies then friendes to be entertayned, for at the gates entered but a few that were ap-
pointed, the remnant lodged in the feldes, better purveyed of their awne, then of the dukes
provision.

The kyng of England, thinkyng surely, and fyrmly beleuying that the Constable ment all
trouth, and the soner enduced to that credence because the Constable was great Vnkle to
the Quene his wyfe, where in very dede, he nothing lesse minded then trouble, remoued
his campe from Peron, the duke of Borgoyn beyng in his army, and marched toward sayunct
Quintynes: certyne Englishmen ran before the towne, agaynst whose commyng they thought
that the belles should haue ben rong, and the gates set open. But whè they approched the
toune
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIIJ.

The armillaries began to shot, and they of the toune came out both on fote and horsbacke, and skyrmished with the Englishmen, of which two or thre were slayne. This welcome semed very straunge to kyng Edward pouderynge together yestaydyses promise, and two dayes doing. The duke woulde not that the kyng should desist from hys purpose, because the toune was not yelden at the sight of a handfull of people, whyche thynge he sayd, although the Constable woulde gladly haue done, at the first, but yet he woulde haue a couler to do it, as though he should appere that he did it by verye compulsion and force: and therefore, if the kyng woulde make but semblance to besiege the toune, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendered. The kyng of Englande, perceuyng that he was deluded in his first enterprice, thought it more surer to heare the fayre wordes of the constable, and the duke, then to gene credite to theyr vntrew and disceatfull doynges. The Englishemen returned to theyr campe, verye yll content, as I can not blame them murmuryng against the Constable, callyng hym Traytor, perjured & vntrew gentelman. Besyde this angre, ther came the next daye another corsey, that smarct a littell sorre, for duke Charles of Borgoyne, by whose meanes kyng Edward had taken vpon hym this warre, either perceuyed that all the Constables promises were but fayre sunne shynynge, swetely spoken, and sowerly performed, or els he saw that he him selfe lacked men or money, to proceede farther with king Edward in his iorjey: toke hys leue soddaynly of the kyng of Englande, sasyng that he must nedes visite, and se hys armye in Berroys, promissinge shortly with all puissance to returne agayne to the great auantage and commodoitie of them bothe, and so in hast departed.

This departryng was bothe displeaasent and straunge to the king of Engelande, considering that in hope to hauethe duke hys continuall felow in armes, and too hauethe hys counsayll in the order of hys people (whiche of late had not frequented the warre of Frawnce, nor yet perfity knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nacion) had passed the seas, raiseth his standard, and by dukes procurement entered into the lande of his enemes, and nowe to be left alone withoute guyde or leder, without ayde or succor in the middel of hys foes, he could no lesse thinke, but that the duke neither vsed hym lyke a prince nor yet kept hys promes lyke a trewe man, whyche vnstable and dissimulyng workyng, caused, ye, and rather enforced kyng Edward, both to thinke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer ented to do. The English men sore murmured against the Constable, and no lesse against the duke, sayyng thei determyned, neuer to geue confidece to the Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether thei might geue any credite to the dukes promise. Thus laie thenglishmen in the feldes whiche the cold nightes bega to waxe long, without any gain of coquest, which caused the common peoples, which he not alwaies conteynt with hardnes rather to desire to returne homeward, then to proceede any daies iorjey forward. The French kyng whiche was bothe wily & wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his cspecialls, yet true refusall made by the Constable, the unfriendly departryng of the Duke of Burgoyne, and the daily murmuryng of thenglishmen, against them bothe, wherfore he thought nowe, that it was verie expedient, to folowe the counsaull of the English Herault, in sendyng for a saucconde, for mettyng of Ambassadors, to common of a tractive, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubts, he reised an armie, and the more he perceived, the power of his enemes to encrease, the more he studied, how by power to resist them, and ouer that armie he made capitain, Monsire Robert de Estotcuile a valiaunt man, whom, he sent into Artoys, to defende the Frontiers there, against the kyng of Englanedes entree and inuacions: and he himself taried still at Senlis. The Frenche kyng beyng thus privilie desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars: meaning quietnes, and setyyng furthe warre, caused a varlet to be subornated, in a cote armure of Frawce (whiche for hast, was made of a trupet banner) because king Lewes was not muche desirous, nor greatly passed on honor, and seldome had in his Courte, either officer of Armes or Trompet: which varlet was well animated, and no less instructed, how to do his message (whiche was deliered to hym in writyng) bothe with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This couerfeight Herault, although he was but a varlet in dede, was bothe,
bothe wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe army, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outskouers perceuing by his cote, that he was an officer of armes, gently saluted hym, and enquired of hym, whether his iorney laie: he sadly answered, that his message was from the French king, to the kyng of Englande. Then was he conveyed to the tent, where the Lorde Haward, and the Lorde Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly entertained, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the kyng, in whose presence, with a bold audacitie, and no fearful speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of armes (to whom, credite by the lawe of all naciones, ought to be geuen) and secondely, he published the thynges, to hym geuen in charge and commandement, sayng: Right high & mightie prince right powssaunt and noble kyng, if your excellent wisdome did perfectly knowe, or your high knowledge did apparantly perceiue: what inward affectisyon, and fervent desire, the kyng my Master hath alwaies had, to have a perfecte peace, a sure vnitie, and a fraternall concord, betwene your noble persone, and your Realmes, and his honorable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confess and saie, that neuer Christian Prince, more trusted for an amitie, nor yet no lower hath more sought, to attain to the favor of his paramor, then he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall friendship, amitie, and alliance: to the intent that the subiectes of bothe the realmes, quietly laiying vnder two princes confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, maie mutually embrace eche other in their hартes, maie personally haue resort, and frequent eche others princes territories and dominions, with their Merchautdis and wares: And finally, the one to line with the other, as frende with frende, brother with brother, compaignion with compaignion, in continuall louse, reste, and tranquilitie. And for his parte he dooth affirme and saie, that sithe he receiued firste the Crowne of his kingdom, and was annoynted with the holy Ampulle, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined, any warre or thyng prejudicial toward your royall persone, your realme, or your people. If you peraduenture will saie, that he supported, and maintained the Erle of Warwicke, against your maestie, he surely that dooth and will denye: For he aied hym against the Duke of Burgoyme, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemie, but also to laie in waite, bothe by sea and land either to take hym, or vitally to destroye hym. Whiche Duke of Burgoyme, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited your highnes, to come over the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yen, in maner to compell) the kyng my Master, to condescende to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neither to your honor, nor yet to your gain. For if he and such other, as daily flattered hym for their peculier profiles (as he had many in deede, that daily sucked at his elowe) had once obtained the thyng, that thei breathed for, all your affaires wer put in oblivion, and lefte at large for them, or their assistance, even as thei be at this daie. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyn causd you, first to come into Franche: after to set forward your armie, and inclosure, for lacke of his promise, to lese the faire season of the yere, and to lyne in the feldes in Winter? Whiche warre, if it cotine, shall neither be profitable to you, nor yet your do- bilitie, nor yet pleasaunte, but painfull to your communaltie: And finally to bothe the realmes, and especially to merchaut menne, shall bryng bothe miserye, pœurrie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyme from Nuce to Calais, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blynde you? Returned he backe into Lorayne again for any cause, but onely to lese you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any onely promise with you? Why do you then beleue & yet still trust them in whom, you never found faithe nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordain, that you and my master, maie ioye in a league and amitie, I dare bothe saie and swere, that the fine stie neuer cleued faster to the Adamant stone, then he will sticke and claspe with you, bothe in wealtie and woo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on jeoperdie of my life (whiche is my chief treasure) undertake, that this communificacion shall sorte and come to suche an effecte, that bothe you and
and your nobilitie shalbe glad and rejoyse, and your commons, shalbe contented and pleased, 
and they that have decyted you, shalbe bothe abashed and ashamed: Moste humbly beseech-
yng your highnes, if your pleasure shal encline this waie, that I maie have a sure sauc-
conduite, for one hundred horses, for suche personages as the kyng my Master, shall send to 
you with further intimacion of his mynd and purpose. And if your pleasure shalbe, to have 
the communicatio in any place, indifferent betwene bothe tharmes, then I shal warrant you 
a like saucconduite for your men, as you do sende for owre. When he had accomplished 
his message and instrucciones, the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, highly commended 
his audacitie, his toungue, and his sobernes, geuyng to him in reward, a faire gyte cuppe, 
with a hundred angelles: delieveryng hym a saucconduite, according to his request and de-
maunde, with the whiche, he with spede departed, hauyng with hym an English herault, 
to bruyng a like saucconduite, from the Frenche kyng. After both the Princes had ma-
turely consulted on this matter, and that the saucconduites, were deliered on bothe 
partes: The ambassadors mette, at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the kyng of 
England, the Lorde Haward, sir Thomas Sentliger, Doctor Morton, after Chaunceler of 
England. For the Frenche kyng wer sent, the Bastarde of Burbon, Admiraill of Fraunce, 
the Lorde of sainct Pierre, the Bishopp of Eureux called Heberge. It maie of some be not 
a little manueilet at, why the French kyng thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make 
so humble, and large offers as he did: But if thei considred in what case, the realme of 
Fraunce stode in, at that tyme hauyng the kyng of Englande, the Duke of Burgoyne, the 
Duke of Britayne, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunte: They 
maie saie, that the Frenche kyng was bothe wise and circumspecte, to humble hymself for 
avantage, or els if God had not holpen, the realme of Fraunce had been troubled, and 
tossed in greate ieperdie, and daungerous extremitie. The Ambassadors met at the place 
appoynted, the English menne demaunded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least 
Normandy, and whole Aquitaine, the allegacions were well proued by the Englishmen, and 
politiquely defended by the Frenche men, so that with argumentes, without conclusiõ the 
daie passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relation to their Masters. The 
Frenche kyng and his counsaill, would in no wise consent, that the kyng of England, should 
hauyng any parte, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce: but rather fully deter-
mined, to put hymself and his whole realme, in hazard and adventure: so lothe, ye more 
aierde, then lothe, he was to hauyng the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The 
commissioners at the next metting, concluded and agreed certain articles, which were by bothe 
the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was first komen and agreed, that the French 
kyng should paie to the kyng of England without delaie. lxxv. M. Cresous of the sunne, 
and yerely. l. M. crounes, to be paied at London, duryng kyng Edwardes life. And farther 
it was agreed, y Charles the Dolpynsh shal marie the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to 
kyng Edward, & thei twoo to hau for the maintenaunce of their estates, the whole Duchie 
of Guyen or els. l. M. crounes, yerely to be persolued & paied within the toure of London, 
by the space of. ix. yeres: and at the end of theseaied terme. The dolphin & his dolphines, 
peaceably to enjoy the whole duchie of Guyen and of that charge the French kyng, against 
the kyng of England, then to be clerly exonerate. And further it was a greed & appointed, 
that the ii. princes, bothe for thenerauce of loue, & for the continuaunce of amiti should 
terencue ech other, in some place moste expedient, & mete for so greate a purpose: & 
after their metyng, ech of the to take a corporall otie in presence of thother. This peace 
to endure. ix. yeres betwene bothe the realmes, intiolate to observer & kepe at thynes co-
cluded, agreed & appoynted, & on the kyng of Englandes part, wer cοprised as allies in the 
league, the dukes of Burgoyne & Britaine, if thei would assemt. And y after y whole some 
afersaid, was to kyng Edward paid: he should league in hostage the lorde Haward, & sir 
Itho Cheyney Master of his horses, til he with all his arny, was passed ouer the sea. This 
peace much reijoyes the French kyng, to whô, nothing could be either more pleased, or 
more exceptable, then to hau the englishmen in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely 
Ss auoyded,
anoyded, & transported out of his realme: immaginyng euer that by their tariyng, thei would so like the holesome & sweete aire of his fruitfull country, that a greate number would be continually sike & vexed till thei returned, & sought for their health in thesame delicious climate again, whereas to rid the with all hastie spede, he borrowed so said some. lvx. M. crownes, of every man that might lend a porcion. King Edward likewise, although he was of puissance strong inough, to make a great enterprise on his enemies, & farther incouraged, because he was remonded for y famous actes, by him before tyme perpetrated, & brought to passe, in so many batailles. Desiryng also, rather to haue war, with the Frech nacion beyng the old & auncient enemie, to thenglishe name & bloud, yet when he called to his remembrance, that the ciuill ware, had so exhausted and consumed his substaunce and treasure, that if virgent necessitie should expostulate, he wer of scant abilitie, to conscribe and set furthe a new armie: knowynge his tresorie at home, to be so voyde and faint, that it was not able, long to wage his souldiers, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obeye to necessitie, and to absteyn from batail seyng bothe honorable offers, to him obleted and agreements of auantage to hym mocioned. Considerynge chiefly beside all this, that neither the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would obserue or performe the promises by them made and sworne. Wherupon he and the moste of his counsaill, (and specially suche as loued better peace then ware, & their wifes soft beddes, better then hard harnesse, or a stony lodging) agreed to this conclusion and concord. But the duke of Glouchester and other to whom the French nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swords trusted for French bloud, detested, abhorred, and cried out on this peace, saiying: that all their travaill, pain, and expences, wer to their shame loste and employed, and nothyng gained but a continuall mocke, and daily derision of the Freche kyng, & all his minions: this imaginacion tooke efecte without delaie. For a gentle manne of the Freche kynges chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demande of an Englishman how many batailles kyng Edward had vanquished, and he answered, nyne: wherein he hymself, personally had been. A greate honor, saiied the Freche man, but I praye you whoso he, smyng: How many hath he lost, the Englishman perceiuyng what he ment, saiied: one whiche you by pollicie, and by no strength haue caused hym to lese. Well saiied the Freche manne, you may ponder in a paire of balace, the gain of the nyne gotten batailles, and the rebuke of this one in this maner loste: for I tell you, that we haue this saiying, the force of England hath and doth, surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious witte of the Freche men, excel the dull braynes of Englishmen. For in all batailles you haue been the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you may content your selves, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gatte, in warres and batailles. This commnicacion was reportted to the French kyng, whiche priuily sent for the Englishman to sup­per, and not onely made him goode chere, but also gaue hym a thousande Crounes, to praising the peace and to helpe to maintaine thesame: yet neuertheless, he beyng not a little moved with these brages, declared all the communicacion to the duke of Gloucester, which swere that he would neuer haue sette foote out of Engleade, if he had not thought, to haue made the Frenchmen, once to assaid the strength and puysaunce, of the Englishmen: but whatsoever he thought, all thynge was transmutted, into another kynde, then he could immagin. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entre treatyng, betwene the two kynges: came in no small hast from Luxenborough, onely accompaniemyd by sixente horses, into the kyng of Englaides lodgyng, wherof, the kyng beyng not a little abashed seyng bothe his sodain commnyng, and his fierse countenaunce, like one that would rather bite then whyne, demaunded of him the cause of his so sodain commnyng. The Duke sharply answered, to knowe whether he had, either entered into any communicacio, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the Freche kyng and him. Kyng Edward declared, how that for sondery, and diverse greate and virgent causes, touchyng aswell the vnuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their awne pricate commoditie, and the quietnes of their realmes, he and the French kyng, had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme of.
of. ix. yeres, in the whiche were comprised, as felowes and frendes, bothe he and the Duke of Britayne, requiryng him to condiscende, and agree to thesame. Oh Lorde, Oh sainct George, q* the Duke of Burgoyne, haue you thus done in deede: Haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce and without killing of a pore flie, or burnyng of a sely shepe cote, and haue taken a shamefull truce: Did your noble auncester, kyng Edward the thirde ever make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which, he did not either gain victory in battail, or profite in conqueryng, cities, tounes, and countreyes. That victorious prince, as nere kinne to me, as you to kyng Henry the fift, I meane whose bloud, you haue, either righte-
fully or wrongfully, God knoweth, extirpate and destroyed, with a small payssance entered into Fraunce, conquered whole Normandy, and not aloneely coerced it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer would either commen, or agree to any league, till he had the whole Realme of Fraunce offered hym, and was thereof made, Regent and heire apparat, and you without any thyng dooyng, or any honor or profite gainyng, haue condiscended to a peace, bothe as honor-
able, and as profitable to you, as a Pesecode, and not so wholesome as a Pomegranate: thynde
you that I either moued you, or once entised you, to take this iorney for my peculier adua-
tage, or commoditie (whiche of my power am able, to reuenge mine awne causes, without help of other) but onely to haue you recover, your old rightes & possessions, whiche wer fro you, both torciously & wrongfully with holden. And to thintent that you shall knowe, that I haue no nede of your aide, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the Frenche kyng, till you bee passed the sea, and haue been there three monethes. When Duke Charles had said, he furiously throwe doune his chayer, and would haue departed. But the kyng hym staid and saied: Brother Charles, sith you have spoken at leaeste, what you would, you muste and shall, heare again, what you would not: And first as concernyng our enterie into Fraunce, no manne lyung knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause haue so well, to remembre it as you: For if you haue not fully, put your greatest thyngs, to be had in memorie, in your boxe of obliuion, you be not yet out of mynde, how the Frenche kyng, for all your power, tooke from you the faire toun of Amias, and the strong Pile of S. Quintynes, with diuerse other tounes, which you neither durst, nor yet were able, either to rescowe or defende. Sith whiche tyme, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your frendes, yea, of your priuie chamber, and secrete counsiail (by whom all youre secretes, bee to hym reueeled and made open) you knowe or haue better cause to remembre, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to besiege the toun of Nuce, you thought youre self, in a greate doubt, whether you should lease more at home, by your absence, (the Frenche kyng dremyng, and waityng like a Foxe for his praine) or els gain more in Germany, by your power and presence, and to kepe the wolfe from the folde, that is the Frenche kyng, from your Castels and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so fayre prayed me, so sore laboured and entyced me to passe ouer the sea, promisyng mountaynes of golde, whiche turned into snowe, and wasted to water, boastyng and crakynge to sende horsemen and potemen, and yet shewing neither lackey nor page. If we hadde made our enterprice for oure selfe solly, and in our awne quarell thynde you that we would haue expected your commynge. If the aduenture hadde bene for to haue recovered our ryghte, imagyn you you would haue passed the sea so slenderly, as we did lokynge for your ayde? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen, if we had intended a conquest, that we would haue so strongly inuaded, & set on the Realme of Fraunce, what with saavor or burnyng of tounes, and infeccion of the ayre, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcasses of our slayne enemys, youre countreyes of Flauunders and Brabant shoude haue had causes enough to wonder at, trusting that, that which we had gotten, we would haue kept aswel as any of our auncestours haue done: but because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfully (I will not syae cowardly) did not prosecute thesame, the Frenche kyng, whiche never offended me nor my subiectes (except in mayntaininge the erle of Warwycke, for the displesure that you bare hym agaynste me) offered me, beyng destitute of all your succour and ayde, bothe honorable and honest ouer-
tures of peace, which offers I was in manner enforced, by very reason to enclyne to and to accept & so have concluded a truce, whiche God willyng I will bothe kepe & observe. God sende you joy quod the duke, & sodanly toke his horse & rode agayn to Luxen- borough. After this day the kyng and the duke, never loued, nor neuer saw eche other, such is the end of vntrustynes & promisbrekyng. If the duke of Burgoyne were angry when he hard how this peace was in communicaciō more angry was the Constable of France, fearlynge lest, that by that conclusion he might be reputed of the French kyng vntrew, as he had well deserved it. Wherfore he sent hys confessor to kyng Edward, with letters of credence, requiring him barley littell to regard Frēch kynge woorde, and lesse to trust to his promise, affernyng that the Frēch kynge wolde no lenger kepe promise, then kyng Edwarde were on that syde of the sea: and rather then he shoulde agree with the Frēch kyng, for a small summe of money, he offered to lende hym 1. thousand crownes, with many other fayre profess. The kyng of Englando made answer that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing change, concernyng the matter, & that if he had kept promise with hym, he would not have made that apoyntement nor agrement. Then was the Constable in maner on all sydes in dispayre, but yet he wrote to the French kyng by his messengers, beselynge hym to geue no credele or belefe, to any tale tolde or fayned agaynste hym, without hearyng his answere, affirming that the kyng had alwaies known hym treuth and fidelitie, toward the crowne of France, and so shoulde he still fynde hym till his dyeng day, promising & warranting him, if that it shold stand with his pleasure, that he would so copasse the duke of Burgoyne, that they two shold utterly destroy the kyng of Englando and his army or they returned.

The counsaylers of the French kyng made answer, that their Master and the kyng of England were joyned and confedered in a sure amitie, wherfore they would in no wise know nor condiscend to any thing that might be either prejudicial, or once sounde to the detriment of the Englishmen: But they sayd, that the kyng their master muche trusted the Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuy chamber. The French kyng, before their entry into his chamber, caused the lord of Countay servaunt to the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the lord of Argenton, one of his priuie counsayll, to stande secretly behynd a seyling or a hangynge in his chamber, and he him selfe sat in a chayre directly before that place, so that whatsoeuer were purposely to hym, they standing behynd the colthe, might easly se, & faculte here the same. Lēwes de creuell and his fellow entered into the kynges chamber of nothinge thinkinge lesse then of the sprytes enclosed: they declared what payne their master had taken for the French kynges sake, to send move and entyce the duke of Burgoyne to leave, and clerely to forsake the kyng of England, which duke they founde in suche a rage and fury against the Englishmen that at their request, he was not onely utterly determined, to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out adventurers and Lanceknightes, to robbe & spoyle them in their returnyng. And in spekyng these wordes (thinking surely much to please the kyng) the sayd Lēwes counterlyved the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgoyne, & began to stāpe with his fote on the groud, and bete with his fyste on the table, sweryng by saunt George that the kyng of England was not extracted of no noble house, but was a yomans sonne, & that when he was not worth one halfpeny, he was restored to his kyngdome, and made kyng onely by his ayde, reprouyng and retyling hym with suche yll wordes, and so shamful termes, that all the herers abhorred it. The Frēch kyng fayning that he was thychke of hearyng, caused him to reiterate his sayung agayn, which so coterfeited the very gesture of the dukes angry countenaunce & roYng voyce, that no man hathe sene a better cotterfaytor or player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The lord of Cōtay was sore displeased to se his master made a lestingstocke but he kepte all these thinges secret, till his retorne to his master. When the pagiaunt was played, the kyng bad the messengers of Cōstable, to haue him comended to his brother their master, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grew, he would therof aduertise hym, & so gauede them licence to depart to their master, who
who thought him selfe now to be in great suertye of hys estate, when in dede he was neuer
so nere his falle and perdicion: Estemyng the duke of Burgoyne to be his assured frende,
whiche hated hym more then a Panym, or a Turke; accompynyng also the French kyng to
have no yll suspicicon in hym, whiche neither trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writing or
message that was either written or sent from hym: Such ende hath all dissimulacion, such
frute springeth of double, dealing & crafty coueyeng: for if either § Costable had bene
faithfull to the kyng his master, as of bounden dutye & allegiance he ought to be, or els
had kept his promes, made to § king of England & duke of Burgoyne, and not daied &
dissimulated with the, he had surely in his extremitie bene ayded, succored & cosorted of
one of these thre at the lest, where now he was of al thre forsake, & yet not forsaken, but
sought for, looked for, & watched for, not for his profit or promotion, but for hys vndoing
and destruction: Now let vs leuue of the Costable, and returne to the conclusion of the peace.
When all thinges were appointed, wryten & established, the peace was proclaymed in bothe
the campes, and the kyng of England, the soner to consummate the amitie by othe as it was
agreed, came within halfe a league of Amyas, where the French kyng was, which to thentent
to obtayne the more fauor of Thenglishmen, sent into their army a. C. Cartes, loden with
wyne, § best that might be gotten. And farther, because the Englishmen resorted to the
town of Amyas, both for their pastime & business, he ordeined at § very entrie of the gate
of the town two great & long tables, to be set on euery syde of the street, where the
Englishmen should passe, & euery table was abundantly furnished with all sortes of delicate
viand, & especially of such as would prouoke an appetit to drynke, there lacked no wyne
of no sorte, seruitoris were redy to serve and minister al thinges necessary. And farther
to accompany & familiarie to enteracye the English naciō at euery table were apoynted. v.
or vj. gentelman, of the beste compagnions of the whole coutry, not only to se them
serued without lackyn but also to drynke and make good chere, and kepe company with them,
and cuer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the brydels and in
maner enforced to drynke, wheresoever they came they payed no money, but were set sco-
free, which chere lasted. iii. or. iii. dayes, to the French kynges cost, and in conclusion to
his no small vnquietinge. For one day there entered into the towne of Amyas. ix. M. En-
GLISHmen, wel armed, so that no Frenche men durst once forbid them to entre, their occasion
of entering into the towne was onely to refreaste them, and to bye thinges necessary for their
businesses and affayres. When the Frenche kyng was therof enforced, he was somewhat
ved & more amased, fearing either the losse of his towne, or hurt of his people: He
sent to Thenglish capitanes, requiring them to withdraw their soldiers to theyr Campe,
the capitanes performed the kynges desyre, as much as in the lay, but if they sent out. xx.
ten came backe agayne, and brought more compayny with them. The Frenche kyng sent
Monsier de Guye, Marshall of France, & other into the towne to se the Englishmen behau-
oure, they founde some drinkyn, some singing, & some slepyng, so that they might per-
ceyne, that they meant neither discorne nor vntrouth: yet the Frenche kyng, which of his
nature was very suspicous, & especially toward the Englishmen, came to the gate of
Amyas, strongly accompaigned, & caused. iiij. C. men of armes to be kept secretly in their
capitaynes houses, & other compaigny he set on the portall, where § Englishmē en-
tered, a smal number God wot, to haue resisted the great company of Englishmen if
they had either entred any thing toward § Frenche kyng or his towne. The kyng of Eng-
lād was pruillie enformed of § Frenche kinges, doubtfull imaginacion & vntrrew suspicīō,
wherfore he sent worde to hym that he should make a Proclamacion, that no Englishmē
should entre into the towne vpon a peyne. The Frenche kyng made answere, that it neithe-
re stode with his honor, nor yet with any princely humanitie, § he should forbid his frendes
(as he called them) to take their pleasure in his towne but if it might plese the kyng of
England, to apoynt certain of the yome of his Croune, to stand at the gate, & to apoynt, &
not onely who should enter, but also the number of them, he thought that this modera-
cion should be both suerty & pleasure to both the parties. Which request the kyng of
England.
THE. XIII. YERE OF

England with quicke spede, caused to be performed to y great quietnes of the French kyng & his cousaill, casting farther periles then reason then required. You, haue still in your remembrance, how an article of the treaty was, that the two Princes should enteriue, & mete in a place by both parties to be appoynted. The kyng of England appoynted the lord Haward, & syr Thomas Sentiger, & a Herault: for y Fræch kyng were assigned the lord Bouchace, & the lord of Argentö. Whë they had vewed the Ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient & surest place to be at Pycquegnye, on the water of Some iii. leagues fro Amyas. The toun standeth lowe, and the Ryuer passeth thorough. On that side y the French kyng should come, the coûtre fayre & open, and so likewise the other parte was very pleaunct: but towarde the Ryuer, ther was a Cawsey of ii. arow shot in length, which was enuyned with marshes surely it was a daunegrous passage to coneyue a Prince in a straunge Realme, by such a straye, if the Frenche men had ment any fraude, but sorely the kyng of England had so great trust & confidene in the honor & promise of the Fræch kyng & his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assurance adventured farther then this, if his will might haue ben performed. Then it was cõclued by these iii. commissioners, that a large bridge should be made ouer the Ryuer of Some, in the middel of which bridge was made a great strëg grate of tymber, like to the grate where the Lyons bekept, the holes of which grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then, that a man myght easely put thorough his arme, which bridge was made & couered with bordes, onely to kepe of the wether, so that under the courtoure, there might stand. xii. persons on every syde of the grate which extended from the one syde of the bridge, even directly to the other, so y there was no way for one Prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where Ion duke of Burgoyne was slayn) & ouer the Ryuer was only one fery bote. When the bridge & all other thynges necessary were ended & performed for so great a purpose, and well & dili- gently vewed on bothe the sydes, there were appointed. xii. noble personnages, to be attend- ant on every Prince to the barres, & iii. Englishmen were assigned to stand with the Fræch men on the bridge, to se their doyng and behauoure, & likewise. iii. Frenchmen were limited to y Englishmen for that same cause and policie. At the day appoynted, which was the. xxxi. day of August, in the yere of Christes blessed incarnation M.cccc.lxxv. eche kyng approched the Ryuer syde with his arny, so y eche arny might se other. The Frenchmen say & write, that the army of the Englishmen, was greater and muche fayrer then their bat- tayll, but they excuse it (in this case as they do in all other) saiyng that the fourth parte of their arny was lacking, you may allow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meting by the shot of the Artillerie was known, the French kyng with. xii. noble men en- tered the bridge, & came to the closure, with whom was Ion duke of Burgon, and the Cardinal hys brother, a prelate, more mete for a ladys carpet, then for an Ecclesiastical pulpet & x. other emongest whome the lorde of Argenton was in like disguised apparell, as the Fræch kyng ware, for so was his pleasure that day to haue hym adourned. The kyng of Engeland came all alonge the causeye that I haue spoken of well accopaigned, that he seamed well to be a kyng, & with him was his brother the duke of Clarëce the erle of Nor- thumberland, the bishop of Elye hys Chancellor, the lord Hastynge hys Chamberlayn, &. viii. other lorde. Kyng Edward, & iii. other were appareled in clothe of golde frised, hauinge on his bonet, of blaeke weluet a flourle delyece of golde, set with very ryche and orient stones, he was a goodly fayre & a beautifull prince, begininge a littel to growe in fleshe, and when he approched nere the grate, he toke of hys carpe, and made a low and so- lemne obeysance: the French kyng made to hym an humble reverence, but after his fashion somewhat homely. Kyng Lewes embrased kyng Edward thorough the barriers saiynge: Cosyn you he right hardely welcome into these parties, assuring you y there is no man in the world y I haue more desired to se & speke with, the with you, & now lauded be Almighty God, we be here mette together for a good & Godly purpose, wherof I doubte not, but y we shall haue cause to reioyce. The kyng of England hym thanked and an-
swered to hys wordes so soberly, so gravely, and so princely, that the Frenchmē their at not a littell muse.

The Chancelor of England made there a solemnne oracion, in laude & prayse of peace, concluding on a prophecie, sayd that at Picquegny should be concluded a peace, bothe honorable & profitable to the Realmes of Engliad & France. Then the Chaceler opened the letters of both their agremētes to the treatie, demādyng of the, if they therewith were contented, they answered ye, then eche Prince layed his right hand on y Missal, & his left hand on the holy Crosse, & toke there a solēpne othe, to observe and kepe the treatie of the truce for. ix. yeres concluède betwene then, with all their confederates and allies copied, mentioned and specified in thesame, and farther to acçōplishe the mariage of their chyldeurne, with all thinges thereon depending, according as it was agreed & concluded betwene their Ambassadors, whē the othe was take & swnere, the French kyng sayd merily to kyng Edward, brother, if you will take peyn to come to Parys you shall be feasted and entertayned with ladies, & I shall apoynt you the Cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall glady assoyle you of suche synnes, if any be committed. The kyng of England toke these wordes pleasantly and thankfully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good compaignion, & a Chaplayne mete for such a dalyeng pastyme. When thys communicacon was merily ended, the French kyng, entondyng to shew hym selē lyke a Master emongest hys seruanutes, made all hys compaigny to draw backe from hym, meaning to comon wyth the kyng of England secretly, the Englishmen withdrew them without any commandement, then the two kynges commoned alone secretly, I thinke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French kyng demaunded of kyng Edward, whether the duke of Burgoyn would accept the truce, Kynge Edwardarwe answered that he woulde onc agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and report the trueth to them bothe. Then kyng Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britayn, whome he would fayne hawe excepted out of the leage. To whom the kyng of England answered: Brother I requyre you to moue no warre to the duke of Britayne, for on my fidelitie, in the tyme of my neade and aduersitie, I never found a more frendlye sure and stedfast lower then he.

Then kyng Lewes called his compaignye again, & with most lowly & amiable commendacions, toke his leue of the kyng of Engliad, speaking certayn frendly wordes to euer Englishmē. Kyng Edward doyng lykewise to the Frēchmē, then both at one tyme departed frō the barriers & mounted on horsebacke, and departed the French kyng to Amyas, & kyng Edward to his army, to whom was sent out of the French kynges house all thynge neces- sarie for a Prince, in so muche y neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vnsent. When the French kyng was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the lord of Argentō sayeng, by y peace of God, the kyng of England is an amorous & a fayre prince, he at the first becke woulde gladly se Parys, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasauant or talkatyue Dames, which with fayre woordes, and pleasauant pastymes myght so alme hym to their fantasies, that it might brede an occasion in him to come oower the sea agayne, whiche I would not gladly se, for his progenitors haue ben to long and too often bothe in Parys and Norman-dye (on this syde the sea) therafore I loue neither his sight nor his cópany, but when he is at home, I loue hym as my brother, and take hym as my frende.

The Frenche kyng after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britayn, whiche he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie, wherfore he sent the lorde of Bouchage, and the lord of S. Pierre, to the kyng of Englund, entreating hym by all waies and mocions possible, to leue the duke of Britayn for his alie, and not to haue hym comprehende in the league: the kyng of Englund' bearing the so seriously and so ferently, speake against the Duke of Britayn, with an earnest countenaunce answered, sayeng: My Lorde I assure you, if I wer peaceably at home in my realine, yet for the defence of the Duke of Britayn and his countrey, I would passe the seas again, against all the that either would do him inuiure, or make warre vpon hym: the Frenche Lorde nothing farther sayeng, muche marueld why the kyng of Englund, so surely claue
to the Duke of Britaynes partie. But they knew not (or els at the least remembered not) that Henry Erle of Richemonde, was within the power and dominion, of the Duke of Britayne, whom kyng Edwardes phanteasie ever gauce hym, would make once a title to the Croune of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaestre: For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Britayne, would transporte hym into England, where he had bothe kyndesse and freundes, with newer so small an aide (yea, although it wer but a shadow of an army) then were he enforced, newly to begin again a conquest, as though he had never wonne the Croune, nor obeigned the possession of the Realme, which-was the verie cause, why he stacke so sore, on the Duke of Britaynes part. The same night the lorde returned to Amias, and reported to their Master kyng Edwardes answere, which therwith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedy, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the lorde Haward, and twoo other of the kyng of Englands counsaill, which had been coadiutors toward the peace, to the Frencche kyng to supper. The lorde Haward said to the Frencche kyng, secretly in his eare, that if it stooode with his pleasure, he could perswade the kyng of Englande, to come to Amias, ye, perauenture as farre as Paris, familiarly and frendly, to solace hymself with hym, as his truistie frende and faithfull brother. The Frencche kyng, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed and rose without any answere makynge: but he saied to one of his counsaill, that he imagined in his awne concept, that this request would bee made: the Englishe menne began again, to common of that matter, the Frencche men politiquely brake their communicacion, sayyng:

that the kyng with all celerite, must marche forward, against the duke of Burgoyn. Although this motion semed, onely for to encresse loue, and continuall amicitie betwene the Princes, yet the Frenchmen hauyng, in their perfecte remembrance, the innumerable damages and hurtes, which theye of late daies, had sustayned by the Englishe nacion: whereby, continual hatred encresed, against them in Franc, thought by pollicy and wisdom, with faire woordes, and frendly countenaunce, to put to this request, and to mocion them rather, to parte homeward, then to pricke them forward to Paris, where perauenture, they might so be entertained at this tyme, that they would at another come thether, bothe vndesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was said to be made, onely by the holy ghoste, because that on the daie of metyng, a white Doue satte on the very toppe, of the kyng of Englanedes tent: whether she sat there to drie her, or came thether as a token, geuen by God, I referre it to your judgemente. At this trerie and metyng, was not the Duke of Gloucester, nor other lorde, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with dierse other Lords of Englande, to the Frencche kyng, whiche, bothe highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. Kyng Lewes consideremyng, what gain the Englishtmen had gotten, by makynge warre in Franc, and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie, the French nacio had suffered, and many yeres sustayned, by reason of the said warres, determined clerely, rather to pacifie and entertain the Englishe nacion, by fayre woordes, and great rewards (although it wer to his great charge) then by to muche hardines, to put hymself, his nobilitie and realme in a hasard, by geuyng them battaille, as his predecessors, had vnwisely done at Potters, and at Agyncourt, wherfore, to bye peace, he graunted to kyng Edward, for a yerely tribute. L. M. Crounes, to be piaied at London, whiche, accompluyng a crowne at iii. s. amounteth to. x. M. L. And to haue the favor and good will, of his chief counsaillers, he gauce greate-pencions, amountyng to the some of. xvi. M. Crounes a yere, that is to saie: to his Chauceellor, to the Lorde Hastynges, his chief Chamberleyn, a man of no lesse witte then vertue, and of greate autherite with his Master, and that not without a cause: for he had aswell in tyme of aduersitie, as in the faire flateryng worlde, well and truely serued hym, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Setliger, to sir Ihon Cheiney, Master of the kynges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Quene, and dierse other, he gauce
great & liberal rewardes, to thintent to kepe hymself, in amitie with England while he wanne and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persones had geuen to them great gifts, beside yerely pencias: For Argenton his counsellor affirneth of his owne knowledge, that the lorde Haward, had in lesse then the terme of twoo yeres, for wararde in money and plate. xxiii. M. Crounes, and at the tyne of this metyng, he gau e to the Lorde Hastynges, the kynges chief Chamberlain, as Frenchmen write, a hundered markes of siluer, made in plate, whereof every marke is. viii. ounces sterlyng, but thenglishe writers affirneth, that he gaue thesaid Lorde Hastynges. xxiii. doosen boulles, that is to sale, xii. dozen giltte, and. xii. dozen vngilte, euer cuppe. waiyng. xvii. nobles, whiche gifte; either betokened in hym, a greate liberall nature, or els a greate and especiall confidence, that he had in thesaid Lorde Chamberlain. Beside this, he gau e hym yerely, twoo thousand Crounes pecio, the whiche some he sent to hym, by Piers Cleret, one of the Masters of his house, geuyng hym in charge, to receive of hym an acquitaunce, for the receipt of the same pencia, to thintent that it should appere, in tyme to come, that the Chauncellor, Chamberlain, Admirall, Masters of the horses, to the kyng of Englande, and many other of his Counsaill, had been in fee and pencionaries, of the French kyng, whose yerely acquitaunces (the lorde Hastynges onely except) remain of recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the palacie of Paris. Whē Piers Cleret had paied the pencia, to the lorde Hastynges, he gently demaundēd of hym an acquitaunce, for his discharge, whiche request when he denied, he then onely required of hym, a letter of three lines, to bee directed to the kyng, testifying the receipte of the pencia, to the intent that the kyng your Master, should not thinke, the pecio to be imbesiled. The lorde Hastynges though he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothing but reason, answered him: sir this gift cometh onely, of the liberall pleasure of the kyng your Master, and not of my request: if it be his determinate will, that I shall haue it, then putte you it into my slepe, and if not, I praiie you render to him his gifte again: For neither he nor you, shall haue either letter, acquitaunce, or sevowe, signed with my hande, of the receipte of any pencia to thintent to bragge another day, that the kynges Chamberlain of Englande, hath been pencionary, with the Frenche kyng, and slewe his acquitaunce, in the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behynd, and made relacion of all thinges to his Master, which, although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisedom, and policie of the Lorde Hastynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaundyng hym yerely to bee paiied, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the kyng of Englande, had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes, of the Frenche kyng: he trussed vp his tentes, and laded all his bagage, and departed toward Caleis, but or he came there, he remembering the craftie dissimulation, and the vntrue dealyng, of Lewes Erle of S. Pole, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare hym, to the Frenche kyng, in his verie true likenes and portrature: sent vnto hym twoo letters of credence, written by thesaied Constable, with the true report, of all suche woordes and messages, as had been to hym sent, and declared by thesaied Constable and his Ambassadours, whiche letters, the Frenche kyng gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chief instrument, to bryng the Constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, suche is the ende of dissimulers.

When kyng Edward was come to Caleis, and had set all thynges in an ordre, he toke shippe, and sailed with a prosperous wynde, into Englande, and was receiued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in scarlet, and. v. C. comones, appereled in Murrey, the. xxviii. daie of September, in the. xiii. yere of his reigne, vpon Blacke Heathē, and so conueighed with greate triumph, through the citie of Westminster, where after his long labor, he reposed hymself a while: every daie almoeste, talkyng with the Quene his wife, of the mariage of his daughter, whom, he caused to be called Dolphenesse: thynkyng nothyng surer, then that mariage to take effectes, accordyng to the treatie. The
hope of whiche mariage, caused hym to dissimule, and do thynges, whiche afterward chaunged, greatly to the Frenche kynges profite, & smally to his.

When kyng Edwarde was arryved in Englane, the Frenche Kyng, thynkyng by no manne possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyne, determined to conclude a truce, for ix yeres, vpon couenaut, every man to haue his awne: but the Ambassadors, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thynkyng thereby, to saue the Duke from perierie, whiche had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the kyng of Englane had beene three monethes in his realme, after his returne from Caleis. The kyng of Englane, was of all these dooynges, assercined by his frendes: wherefore, in all hast he sent, sir Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise and a sarge knight, to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Vrenys, concludyng with the duke of Burgoyns Ambassadors, requiryng him, to take none other truce, with Duke Charles, then that, whiche was by theim concluded, desirynyng hym farther, in no wise to departe with saint Quintines to the duke: Offerying that if he would any longer continue the warre, against thesaid Duke, that he would for his pleasure, and the dukes displeasure, passe the seas again, the nexte Sommer: so that the Frenche kyng, should paie to hym fiftie thousand crounes, for the losse whiche he should susteyn, in his Custome by reason that the wolles at Caleis, because of the warre, could haue no vent, nor be vttred, and also paie halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his soldiery, and men of warre.

The Frenche kyng, most hartyly thanked, the kyng of England, of his kynde offe, and faithfull friendshippe, excusynge hym, that the peace was al ready assentid to: how be it, it was the verie same peace, that was betwene theim concluded, saynyng onely, that the duke would be a contractor in the league, and not comprehended in the same, as another princes alie. This matter was thus answered, and faintly excused, and with thesame, sir Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conveniently rewarded: and with hym returned, the lorde Haward, and sir Iohn Cheiney, which were hostages with the Frenche kyng, til kyng Edwarde were returned into Englane. The Frenche kyng marueiled not a little, at kyng Edwards offres, and thought it perilous to cause the Englandemen to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the Frenchmen, whom they neuer lond: coniceteruyng farther, that the Englandemenne and the Burgonyons, would sone agrey, by reason of their old acquaintaunce and familiariete, and by chaunce, bothe become enemies to the Frenche men: wherefore, in auoydyng of all ambiguites, he determined to conclude the truce.

WHen Kyng Edwarde had after this maner established, as well his affaires of outwarde warres, as his private and perticular busines at home, notwithstanding, that he beyng the moste valiant, and fortunate victor, of such, and so many terrible and bloudy batailles, might thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnes, and sure sauetie: Yet consideryng, that Henry the young erle of Richemond, one of the ofsprynges, of the bloud of kyng Henry the sixte, was yet liuyng and in good health, he judged hymself, to be farre from his purpose, and that that onely thyng did so vexe and trouble his ioye and felicitie, that he thought hymself, to bee in a sure estate, voyde of trouble or feare. Wherfore, he determined yet once again, to sollicite and moue, Frauces Duke of Britayne, either for giftes, promises or praiers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes, who he supposed (after the faccion and bandye, of kyng Henries parte, by hym extincted, and clerely defeated) to bryng to his lure, and to rule at his awne mynde and pleasure. Wherfore, he sent Doctor Stillyngton, and twoo other, his Ambassadors, well laden with no small some of golde, with all hast to the Duke of Britayn: And to the intent that their desire should appeare more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request,
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIII.

request, to have the Erle deliuered to them, was onely for this purpose, to ioyne with him aliance by mariage and so to extirpate and plucke vp, all the degrees and leuynges of the aduerse part, and contrary faccion. Whiche enterprise (whatsoever thei said) was not onely by affinitie, but by the onely death, of the innocent erle Henry, to be acheived and brought to passe. The Duke gently heard the Orators, and firste he began to deny, & after to excuse, why he might nor ought not agree to their request, but inconclusion, what with prayers requiriyn, and monnyes solliciting, the Duke beyng waried and overcome, deliuered the erle to the Ambassadors, whom, in his letters he highly commended, to kyng Edwarde, not thynkyng that he deliuered, the shepe to the wolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that kyng Edward would geue in mariage to him lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whom in decede he maried, after his fathers death, of you herafter shall heare. Whẽ thambassadors had the praiue, that thei so muche desired, they departed to the toune of S. Malo, standyng on the sea side, where, they rekened to haue taken shipping, and so to haue sailed into Englande. The erle of Richemond knowing, that he was going toward his death, for very pensiuenes, and inwarde thought, fell into a fervent & a sore ageue. In this very season, one Ihorean Cheulet, so estenied among the Princes of Britayne, as fewe were in all the countrey, and in muche credite, and wel accepted with the duke, was when these thynges were thus concluded, for his solace in the countrey, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abominacion of the fac: resorted to the Courte and familiery came to the Dukes presence, and there stode so sadly, and so paly, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was muche abashed, and sodainly maruicled, at his sad and frownyng countenaunce, & demaunded of him what should signifie, that dumpislienes of mynde, and inward sighyng, the whiche by his countenaunce, manifestly appered and was euident: he modestly answered, moste noble and redoubted lorde, this palenes of visage, and dedly loke doth prognosticate y time of my death, to approche & be at hand, which if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For thẽ had I not been preserued, to fele the dolorous pages and sorowfull sighynges: whiche a fact by you doen (that I thought impossible to be obtained) hath imprinted in my stomacke, and in my hart depely grauen: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall lesse my life, or els liue in perpetuell distresse and continuall misery. For you my synguler good lord, by your vertuous actes, and noble feates haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: whiche in every mans mouth, is extolled and elevatet, aboue the high Cloudes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenes) that now that you haue obtained, so high a laude and glory, you nothyng lesse regarde then to kepe and preserue the same inuiolate, consideryng, that you forgettyng your faith and faithfull promise, made to Henry Erle of Richemoûd, hath deliuered the moste innocent young gentelman, to the cruell turmenters, to bee afflicted, rente in peces, and slain: wherefore, all suche as l组织开展 you, of the whiche number I am one cannot chose but lament and be sory, whẽ they se openly, the fame and glory of your moste renouned name by suche a disloialtie, and vntrute against promise, to be both blotted and stained with a perpetuall note, of slaunder and infamie. Peace myne awne good Ihon, q' the Duke, I praiye thee, beleue me there is no suche thynge like to happen to therle of Richemond: for kyng Edward hath sent for hym, to make of hym, beyng his suspect enemie, his good & faire sône in lawe. Well, well, q' Ihon, my redoubted lorde, geue credence to me therle Hy Henry is at the very brynke to perishe, whom, if you permitt one to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter, to deliuer hym from death. The duke beyng moued, with the perswasations of Ihon Cheynet, whiche either little beleued, or smally suspected kyng Edward, to desire the erle, for any fraude or deceipte, or els seduced by blynde avarice and loue of money, more then honestie, fidelity, or wisdome would require, did not consider, what he vnadvisedly did, or what he advisedly, should haue done. Wherfore, with all diligence, he sent furth the Peter Landoyse, his chief Threasor, commaundyng hym to intercept and staie, the
the Erle of Richemond, in all hast possible. Peter not sluugyng, nor dreamyng his busi
nes: came to the Englishe Ambassadors to. S. Males, there abiding the wynde. And firste
he inuented a cause of his conmyng, and kepte with them a long communicacion, to per-
tracte the tymne, till his men in the meane season, had conueighed therfe (almoste halfe ded)
into a sure Sanctuary, within the toune, whiche in nowise might bee violated: where he
beyng deliuered from the continual feare of dредful death, recovered hys health, and in good
plight was brought to the duke.

Here a man may evidently perceyye the olde Greke prouerbe to bee very trew, which is
that a man, to a man shall sometyme be as a God, for the yong erle Henry without desert
deliuered to his death, sodainly by the labore of Ihon Cheulet, and the lavour of the good
Prince, was preserved, saued and deliuered. God graunt that such examples may be a
doctrine and myrrow to such as be rulers aboue other, lackyng counsallerys to monish and warne
them of their duttie and office. That thei remembryng thys good acte, may leare to take
into the counsally and familie, such as wil well and truly admonishe and warne them, and they
likewise with good mynde and glad entent to be folowers of the same.

The English oratours complayned and marmured that they were both spoyled of their
money & merchandise requyreing Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne, so de-
luded without pray or penney. The treasurer effectuously promised them that the Erle either
should be surely kept in the Sentury, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he
layed to their charge) or els should be agayn in the dukyes house put in prison, so that they
shoulde not nede no more to feare hym then hys shadow. And so the kyng of England for
hys money, purchased the kepyng of his enemye by the space of. iiii. dayes, and no more.

Kyng Edward in the meane season, sore longyng to know what effect hys Ambassade
voke with the duke of Britayne, and therefore was evere houre trobled and vnquieted with
narkenyng & lokynge, was at the last certeined from thence, howe the erle of Richemond
was deliuered, and at a poynt to be brought home to hym as a prisoner in captitute: but
that he escaped. First, he lamented his purpose, not to have more prosperously succeeded,
but after beyng somewhat molified and apcased, when he hard that he shoulde be sauely kept
in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of hys mynde and fantasie, and
to employe all hys whole study and diligence for the kepyng of hys house, after a more boun-
tiful fashion and liberall proporcion, then before was accustomed. And when he had suffi-
cently stored his cheste with treasure, remembryng hys honor, lest, he peraduenture should
be noted with the spot of Nygardshyp, he shewed hymselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall
Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and profitable kyngge to the cōmon wealth, & the
poore people of hys Realme and dominion.

THE. XVI. YERE.

Eve as kyng Edward sought, inuented and studied dayly and howerly to bryng hym selfe
to quietnesse & rest, and hys Realme to a continual amitie, and a perpetual peace, lykewyse
at thesame tymne Charles duke of Burgoyn, whose wit neuer loned peace, nor yet was wery
or abhorred troble, whose intollerable paynes in warres were to hym pleasure, and especially
where he thought any new seignorie to obteine, or els to be revenged of auncient enemeyes,
for olde grences and displeasures to him done. So Ḿ desyre of rule mixt with hatred, and ma-
lice cobined with avarice kyndelde, prouoked and excited so hys courage thys yere (whose
bragging audacitie had more nede of a briddell to be refrayned, then of a spurre to be pricked
forward) that he partly to be revenged of Ḿ duke of Lorayne and Ḿ Suytchers, and
partly for Ḿ couetous desyre that he had to certayn lades, lyeng betwene his owne countreys
of Brabant & Flauders and hys duchie of haut Burgoyn, assembled a great army & a
mighty puysance, and besieged a towne called Granson in Lorayn, which when he had re-
ceyued
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIIJ.

ceyued, without mercy, lyke a tyrant he caused all the Inhabitantes cruelly to be put to death, whereof heryng the Switchers mfullly encoutered with hym, and discomfited hys whole armaye, where the duke lost bothe honor, prayse, and such abundance of ryches, that few Princes in hys tymre were able to shew such luels, and so many, & of suche high price and value. And after not cöntent with these chaissetts, but euer in hope of reuing he fought with the Switchers agayne at Morat, whereof. xvij. M. good mé of warre, he lost x. M. besyde them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce & courageous Capitayne, more coragious then circispect, gathered agayn a new army, and contrary to the myndes of his whole counsaill, in the depth of Wynter, beseged the toune of Nancy, belonging to the duke of Lorayn, where he was encoutered with the sayd duke and the Switchers, and there by the agayne overcome, discomfited, and slayne.

Thus in one yere he lost. iiij. great battayles, the fyrste at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: The second at Morat, where he lost honor, & almost all hys men: The thyrd at Nancy, where he loste lyfe, honor, ryches, men, and all worldly felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany, in the yere of our lord, after some writers. M. cccc. lxvii. and after other. M. cccc. lxvij.

Thys ende had the valiant hart, and stout courage of duke Charles of Burgoyne, who in hys tymre could never ageth with peace & eöcord, tyll death more puysant then lyfe may re-siste, broughte hys bodye to quietues and perpetual tranquilite, which body is entered in et church of sainct George in Nancy, leuyng behynd him one sole doughter, lawfully begotten to be his heyre which afterward was maried to Maximilien Archeduke of Austrice.

At this battayl were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastard bretherne to duke Charles, whome the French kyng bought of the duke of Lorayn, to the entent that they shoulde not withstande hys pretended purpose in Flandres. Yf any man were sory of the duke of Burgoyns death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sory, as the French kyng was in hart joyous and glad: for now hauynge peace with Engelande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him in earnest or in game, & because he would lese no tyne, he ender couler that womé benot able to enjoy any thynge, that is or hath ben, apereteynynge to the Croune of Fraunce, take of the yong Damosel of Burgoyne the tounes of Moundedier, Perone, Abbeuyle, Monstreul, Roy and all the tounes on the ryner of Some: Beside thys, he with no great payne obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the toune of Bulleyne with the countye of Bulloonys, whiche kynge Charles hys father had before eugaged, and empledged to duke Philip of Burgoyne, as before is mentioned. But this wyly and wytty kyng Lewes, comyng to the toune of Bulleyne, percyued that if it were forteaced with a garrison, it should not onely be an yl neyghbore to the tounes of Caleys and Guynes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subjectes, when they should be, either by enemyes assayled, or by stormy tempestious wether drüe on the narrow seas, wherfore to cast a sure Ancker, knowyne the lord Bertrame de la Toure, erele of Aulnerie, to be the very trew and vndubitata heyre of ÿ sayd toune and countie: He fyrst obteyned of him his righte and title in thesame, rewarding him with a greater summme, & a more yerely value of reuenewed, in the countye of Forest and other places. And after to the entent to have a port euer open vpö Engläd, he annexed thesame toune of Bulleyne, and the countye of Bulloynes, with the partes adiacent, to the croune and regalitie of Frauncie. And because, the fonymned toune and countye were holden of the eredom of Artoys, he chauanged the tenure, and solemnly auowed to holde thesame toune & coutrie of our Lady of Bulleyne, and therof did homage to the Image in ÿ great Church called our Lady church in Bulleyne, offeringe there a hart of gold, weiyng ii. M. Crounes, ordenynge farther that all his heyres and successors, at their entrée into the estate and dignitie royal, by them self. or their deputie should offer a hart of lyke weight and value, as a releue & homage done, or made for thesame toune and countie. You maye be sure that the kyng of England would not haue suffered the French king to haue edefied such a couert nest, so nere his toune of Caleis, and the territories of the same, except his leage had.
had bound hym, or that he had to much affyance in the French kyng, whose hart was doble, & whose wit enuer incostat, but surely the hope of the prefermet of his daughter, both brought hym to blyndnes and dotage. Let these doynges ouer passe & se how politlyke the French kyng wroght for his aduauntage. Durynge these gaynes in the lowe partes, he caused the duke of Lorayn to enter into hygh Burgoyoyn with a great army, which by pollicie & promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to have the order and mariage of the yonge lady, as a pupille, ward and orphane, apereteyning to the crowne of Franaue, for the which title after rose no smal mischief, and troble in Flandres, and the coitbreys thereaboute. Let vs leue a whyle to speake of outward busines, and re-tourne to our awne.

† THE. XVII. YERE.

IN þ. xvij. yere of kyng Edward, there fel a sparcle of priuy malice, betwene the king & his brother the duke of Claréce whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newly kyndeled and set a fyre by the Quene, or her bloud which were euere mistrusting and priuely barkynge at the kynges signe, or were he desirous to reguine after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inqisition, of suche as were of no small authoritie in those dayes, the certayntie therof was hyd, and could not truely be disclosed, but by conjectures, which as often deceyue the imaginacions of fantastical folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The same was that the king or the Quene, or bothe sore troubled with a folysh Prophesye, and by reason therof bega to stomache & greuously to grudge agaynst the duke. The effect of which was, after kyng Edward should reguine, one whose first letter of his name shoulde be a G. and because the devel is wot with such wycthercastes, to wrappe and illaqueat the myndes of men, which deleyte in such deuclyshe fantasyes they sayd afterward that that Prophesie lost not hys effect, when after kyng Edward, Glocester vsurped his kyngdome.

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late, þ olde rácor betwene them beyng newly reuiued (The which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then betwene brethren, especially when it is fermelie radicate) the duke beyng destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of lady Margaret duches of Burgoyyn, hys syste, procured to haue the lady Marye, daughter and heyre to duke Charles her husband, to bee geuen to hym in matrimony: which mariage kyne Edward (enuyenge the felicitie of his brother) bothe agayne sayed and disturbed. Thys priuy displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgotté, nor outwardly forveuen, for that, not withstandyng a seruantaunt of the Dukes was sodainly accused (I can not say of treuth, or rvtruely suspected by the Dukes enemies) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, & therof condemmpned, and put to taste the paynes of death. The duke, whiche myght not suffer the wrongfull condemnacion of his man (as he in his conscience aduiuded) nor yet forbere, nor paciently suffer the vniust hidelying of his trusty seruaunt, dayly dyd oppayne, and wyth yll woordes murmure at the doyng thereof. The king much greued and troubled with hys brothers dayly querimonye, and contynuall exclamacion, caused hym to be apprehended, and cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and aduiuded for a Traytor, was priuely drowned in a But of Maluesey.

But suret it is that although kyng Edward were consenteyng to his death and destruction, yet he much dyd bothe lamente his infortunete chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execucion. Inasmuche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or remissioun, of any malefactor condemmpned to the punishment of death, he woulde accustomably saye, & openly spoke, O infortunete brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openly spekyng, and apparently meanynghe, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circ-um cuent, and brought to hys confusion.

Thys duke left behynd hym two yonge infantes, engendered of the body of the daughter to
to Richard, late erle of Warwycke, whiche chylderne by destynye, or by their awne merites, folowyng the steelps of theyr auncetours, succeeded them lyke misfortun, and semblable yll chauncie. For Edward his heyre, whome kyng Edward had created erle of Warwycke was thre and twenty yeres after in the tyme of kyngge Henry the. viij. attaynted of treason, and on Towre hyll behedded. Margarete his sole daughter was mayred to sir Rycharde Pole kynghtete, beynge much bounde to kyngge Henry the. viij. for her auauncemente in mariage, besyde manifolde benefites, her of hym receyued: But most of all obliged to that excellent prince kyngge Henry the eight, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of countesse of Salisbury, as to the possessions of the same: she forgetting her miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembring the kyndnes and kyndred of her sayd souereygne lord, committed against hys Maiestye, and hys Realme, 

THE. XVIII. YERE.


delays. and diuers benefites, and by a d borrowed of the same: Annjred, to the whyshe spakynge of her senyng. But if the Fleminges had but gueyn good care to, or wyth gentell wordes delayed the suyte, she had bothe bene succored and de-

THE. XVIII. YERE.

You haue harde not longe before how the Frenche kyngge not onely claymed the rule, but the gounaunce, and mariage of the yonge Princes and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also how he, what wyth policie, and what with force had plucked from her the sayd kyngge, that is too meane whole hauyt Burgoyne, and the stronge touns of Pycardy which in tyme to come myght (as they were very lyke) happen to proye yll norbors to the English nacion. All these thynges were politikely pondered, & maturely digested by the wise counsaylers of England, which first considered the olde amite, betwene the house of Englynde and Flaunders, and the quotidiane entercourse, traffycke and commutation, which no smal season had ben practised, frequented & exercised mutually and frendly betwene the subiectes, and all naciones haungye resort to either of the sayd countreys, saw it open before their eyes, that if the Frenche kyngge, either by force or by coniuncion of mariage to Charles erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised his good wyll, for the obtaynyng of the yonge Princes) should get the uppe rhande of the Damosel or of her seignories and dominions, that then damage might ensue to the whole Realme of Englynde, bothe for vttaryng of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impedymynt or stoppe of their course and recourse, besyde new imposicions and gabels, to be set within the sayd countreys, vpon the Marchauntes, their goodes and wares. Wherfore the whole nobilitie and sage fathers made humble request, to kyngge Edwarde to helpe, and ayde the yonge ladye and Princes of Burgoyne, allegynge that as farre as they could perceyue, the mariage of his daughter with the Dolphyne, was but dissimuled and fayne for in their treaty concluded at Picquegny, betwene him and kyng Lewes, it was apoynted, agreed, and openly sworn, that the Frenche kyngge, within a yere folowyng, shoulde sende for the Ladye Elizabeth, entiueted Dolphynesse of Vyen, to be conveyued into Fraunce which yere with foure more were passed and gone without any worde speking of her sendynge for, or goynge into Fraunce.

The Quene of Englynde also had wyrtyn in this season too the lady Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the prefermente of her brother Anthony erle Ryuers, to the mariage of the yonge Damosell, but the counsayll of Flaunders, consideringe that he was but a erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enheritrice of all Christendom at that tyme, gaue but deafe hearynge to soo vnmete a request: the whiche desire, if the Fleminges had but gueyn.
fended with a good number, and not susteyned soe great losse as she dyd. Whether kyng Edward were not content wyth thys refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kynges prouyse, then all hys counsayll coulde se cause, or that he was lothe to lesse hys yerely tribute of fifty thousande Crounes, he woulde in no wyse consent to sende any army into Flanders, against the Frenche kyng: But he sent Ambassadours to kyng Lewes with louynge and gentle letters, requerynge hym to conclude some reasonable peace, or els at the least to take a certayne truce wyth her at hys request.

The Ambassadours of England, wer highly receiued, bountefull fested, and liberally rewarded: But answere to their desire, had they none but y shortly the Frenche kyng would sende Ambassadors, hostages, & pledges, to the kyng of England, their master, for the concluding and performaunce of all thynges, dependyng betwene theim twoo: So that their souereigne lorde and thei, should have good cause, to be contented and pleased. All these faire wordes wer onely delays to protracte time, and in the meane season, to wyne tounes and coitresys, from the damosell, or any aide or succor, could be to her administrad.

And beside this, to staie kyng Edward, from takyng part with her. He wrote to hym, that if he would ioyne with hym in aide, or personally make warre in any parte of the Ladies territories, or dominions: that then kyng Edward, should haue and enjoye, to hym and his heires, the whole County and Countrey of Flanders, discharged of all homage, superioritie, and resorte to be claimed by the French kyng, and his heires and successors: and farther, he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the Frenche kyng offered at his owne charge and coste, to conquere foure, the chief and strongest tounes, within the said Duche, and theim in quiet possession, to deliuer to the Kyng of Englande. graunting farther to paye to hym, tenne thousande Angels, toward his charges: besides municions of warre and artillerie, which he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conungehaunc of thesame.

The kyng of Englande answered, that the tounes of Flanders, were of no small strength, nor of no little quantie, very vneasie to bee kepe, when thei wer conquered: and of no lesse force was the duchie of Brabant, with whom, his subjectes were bothe lothe, and not verie willing to haue warre there, considerying, that thether was one of their common traffiques and ventes, of all their Merchaundice: But if the Frenche kyng would make hym partner, of his conquest in Picardy, rendering to hym parte of the tounes, all ready gotten and gained, as Boleignye Mounstrel, and Abbeuile, then he would surely take his parte, and aide hym with men, at his owne costes and charges. While this matter was in answeryng, and repliyng again, the Frenche kyng spoyled the yong Princes, of tounes and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father lefte, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherefor pure necessitie of aide and strength, she married with Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Emperor, which to his power, sore resisted the Frenche Kyng, for makynge any invasions into Flanders, or other his wifes landes and seigniories. This princes conceiued of her husbande in the firste yere of her mariage, a faire lady called Margaret, whom king Lewes so phantesied, either to have a publique peace, with Maximilii her father, by the whiche, he might staie all warre, and hostilitie betwene the and so by that meane, peacably to enjoy the countreys and tounes by hym stollen and faintly conquered, or els imagenyng by that onely damosell, in conclusion to conioyue, the whole countrey of Flanders, and the other dominions, thecrunto apperteynyng, to the crowne of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe tymes before attempted and assaied). That he clerely forgettynge, his promises made, written, and sworne to the kyng of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lords of Flanders, to haue thesaied lady Margarete, to be conioyned in matrimonie, with the Dolphin his sonne, writynge and sendingy to the Kyng of Englande, faire promises and flatterynge letters, when his purpose was clerely vanished out of Englande, and fixed in Flanders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.
KYNG EDWARD THE. IIII.

¶ THE. XIX. YERE.

KYng Edward in the. xix. yere of his reign, forgettyng aswell all exterior invasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine truble: whiche before that time he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was willyng, had both felte, and had in continuall experience, beganne firste more then he was before accustomed, to serche out the penall offences, aswell of the chief of his nobilitie, as of other gentlemen, beyng proprieties of great possessions, or abundantly furnished in goodes, beside merchantes, and other inferior persones. By the reason wherof, it was of all men adjudged, more then doubted, considering his newe fame of riches, and his greedy appetite of money and treasure, that he would prove hereafter, a sore and an extreme Prince, emongest his subiectes, and this imagynacion in especiall, wandred through the heddles of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence, was put to death, he should saie, that all men should stande, and line in feare of hym, and he to be unbrideled, and in doubte of no man. But his newe inuented practise, and avaricious inuencion, what for other forein and outwarde affaires, and what for the abbreuiatyng of his daies, in this transitorie world (whiche wer within twoo yeres after consumed) toke some but no greate effecte. How be it experience teacheth, that prosperitie ofte tymes is as greate a trouble, as a greate mischief, and as vnquiet a profite, to the possessioners of riches, and suche as haue the fruicion of thesame: as pouertie and aduersitie, are profitable and laudable, in other persones whiche can, with pacient stomache, and meke harte, beare and suffre the stormes and surges, of euill fortune, and peruserse mischaunces.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

After this, kyng Edward hauyng all thynges brought to that effect, whiche he had long desired, except the mariage of his daughter, with Charles the dolphyn, muche studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, accordyng to the appoyntmet made and concluded, to be accomplished and solempnizd, and therfore, not only wrote, but sent diverse messengers to the Frenche kyng, for the performance of thesame. The Frenche kyng whiche neuer intended, to haue that mariage take effecte, considering that the Dolphin, was muche younger, then the lady Elizabeth, and for other causes, sent Ambassadors to the kyng of England with faire woordes and fruious delais, makynge his excuse, that he had not sent for the kynges daughter to be maried to his sonne the dolphyn, accordyng to the league and tractic concluded, by the occasion of his great troubles, and busy warres, enterprised in high Burgoin, and the lowe countreys, so that he was disgarnished, aswell of his nobilitie, as of other menne of honor, to receive her into his realme, accordyng to her estate and degree: promising faithfully, shortly to sende for her, and to conueigh her with suche a pompe and royall traine, that it should be to bothe their honors and laudes, and to the high contentation of the Kyng of Englands and his Quene, whiche, no lesse then her husbande desired, & sore longed to se the conclusion, of thesaied mariage take effect. These Ambassadors were well feasted, and likewise rewarded, and so toke their leaue: And within a convenient season after, he sent other Orators, whiche, were neuer in Englande before, to the intent that if their predecessors beyng Ambassadors, had saied or concluded any thyng, (al though thei wer authorised so to do) yet if it might turre, to the Frenche kynges preuidice or damage, thei might without blame, excuse themselfs by igno-rance, of that matter: affirmynge that thei had no commissio to common, or els once to enterprize, to medle with that matter. Or if he perceived that any thyng was like to be concluded whiche sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he would sende for his Ambas-
sador, in greate haste, and after sente another with newe instruccions, nothyng depending on
the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewes, vsed with all Princes, to whom he sente any ambassadors, by
the which he copassd many thynges, to his purpose, and to their losse: but moste of all
he thus dalied with the kyng of Englande, concerning this marriaige, onely to the intent, to
kepe hym still in amitie, aboue all other Princes. And for a truthe the Kyng of Englande,
beuyng of no suspicous nature, so muche trusted, and gau to hym so much confidence,
that he thought the Sunne, would soner haue fallen from his circle, then that kyng Lewes,
either would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise with hym.

But who soner breaketh promes, then he that is mooste trusted, or who soner deceineith,
then he to whom moste credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so soone be-
giled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but
as in nothyng, mistrustyng, is no smal lightnes, so into muche trustyng, is to muche folly:
wherfore, if kyng Edward had either not to muche trusted, or mistrusted the Frenche Kynges
faire promises (as I would he had dooen in deede) the crowne of Fraunce, had not so in-
creased in possessions and dominions, to the great glory, and strength of the realme: nor
the Princes of Burgoyne, had not so been plucked, bared, and spoyled of her faire tounes
and Castles as she was, whiche chaunce, she beuyng destitute of frendes, and without com-
forte of defenders, by pacience perforce, was compelled to suffre and sustein.

This is the profite that all nacion get, by the faire promises, of the Fréchmen. Thus is
the league made with Lewes the Fréch kyng, fraudeluntly glosed and dissimuled. Thus is
the oth made, and sworne vpó the holy Euangelistes violated, and contrary to the woorde,
and honor of a Prince, broken and falcefied: by which vntrue dealyng, and couert dissi-
mulyng, with his especiall and trustie frend, all men may facilie se, and more appauntly
then in a myrror perceiue, that the verie natural condicion of the Frenche nacion, is plea-
suantly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, til thei haue once obteined,
their pretensed purpose, and have their ambiuous desire accomplished and satisfied and that
gain, once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor friendship continueth, nor yet hu-
manitie and kyndnes before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore,
myne aduise is, let all men trust them as thei fynde them.

IN this verie season, Iames the. iii. of that name, kyng of Scottes, sent into England a
solemne ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cicile, kyng Edwardes. ii. daughter, to be maried
to his eldest sonne, Iames Prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, & erle of Caricke.
Kyng Edward & his counsaill, thinking that this affinitie, should be aswell honorable as pro-
fitable to the realme, did not only graunt, to his desire and demaund but also before hande
 disbursed, certain sommes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should heraftter,
neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condicion, that thesaid Matrimonie, by any ac-
cedentall meane, should in tyme to come, take no success nor perfeccion: or that kyng Ed-
ward would notifie, to the kyng of Scottes, or his counsaill, that his pleasure was determined,
to have thesaid mariage, to be infringed and dissolved: Then the Prouost and merchautes
of the toune of Edenborough, should be bound for the repaiement, of thesaied some again.
All which thynges wer, with great deliberacion concluded & sealed, in hope of cœtinal
peace and infringeable amitie. But this king Iames beuyng a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded
to his awne opinio then reason would scace bere, would neither here nor geue credite to
them, that spake contrary to his awne phantesie, or this imagined opinion: And to thintet
that no man should find fault, with his doynges, or reprehed his actes, he promoted and
made counsailers, menne of base lignage, and lowe bloud, and in especiall, Cochran and
his compaignie, by whose euill aduise, and mischeuous instigacion, he so punished and

GREUED HIS NOBILITIE, both with imprisonment, exactions, and death, that some of their voluntary will, went into exile, and other fainyng cause to departe, fled into other landes and straungue countreys. For the Duke of Albanie, called Alexander, brother to kyng Iames, was exiled into Fraunce, but passyng through England, he taried with kyng Edward as you shall heare. Therle of Mar, a wise politique counsailor, was in Edenborough beheeded: And beside this, he forgettyng his othe, promise, and affinitie concluded with kyng Edward, caused armyes to be made into England, spoyling, burnyng and killyng, the kynges faithfull subiectes: at the whiche vpprincely dooyng, the kyng of Englane beyng, not a little moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battaill, and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstanding, because kyng Iames craftely excusyng himself, alleging the mischief late committed, to be attempted, doen, & perpetrate, without his concert, knowledge or counsail, this matter had been lightly pacified, and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albanie, beyng with kyng Edward, had not incéسد, entised, and prouoked hym, to make warre on the Scottishe kyng, his brother, bothe to reuenge the injuries of late, to thesaied king doen, contrary to all lawes of armes, and Princely demeanoure, and also to help to restore thesaied duke, to his possessiôns, and dominions again: out of the whiche, he was by the kyng his brother, dispossessed, and rejected, promisyng to kyng Edwarde, greate aide and assistance, when his armie was once entered, into the confines of Scotlance.

Kyng Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somwhat agreeable to this, but the inward remembraunche how that kyng Iames, had supported against hym, with men and money, his olde enemie kyng Henry the sixt: and also trustyng, that if Alexander duke of Albanie, by his aide should vanquishe his brother, and obtain the crowne of Scotland, he would be alwaies to hym, sure, faithfull, & trustie: whiche did so enflame his corage, & set his harte so on fire, that he determined with al diligence, with an armie royall, to invade the countrey of Scotlance, and make the kyng to knowe, that he had neither honorably, nor truly kept his league and promise: Wherfore, al the winter season, he mustred his souldiers, prepared his ordinance, rigged his shippes, and left nothyng apperteignyng to the warre, unperweyed or vnlokèd for: so that in the beginnyng of the yere, al thynes wert prepard, and nothyng was missed.

THE. XXII. YERI.

WHEN all thynes apperteignyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprise, were put in a readines, and ready to bee sette forward: kyng Edward appoynted, to be chauetain of his hooste, and Lieuetenaunt generall, his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry, the. iij. Erle of Northumberlende, Thomas Lord Stanley, Lorde Steward of his houshold, the lorde Louell, and the lorde Greystocke, and divers other noble men and knightes. These valiaüt capitaines, set forward in Maie, and made suche diligence, with politique coueignaunce of their souldiers: beside the trobulous cariage, of their ordinaunce, that they came to the toune of Alnewike, in Northumberlende, about the beginnyng of Iuly, where they firste encamped themselves, and Marshalled their hoste. The forward was led, by therle of Northumberland, vnder whose standerd were, the lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Iphon Middelton, sir Iphon Diehfeld, and divers other Knightes, Esquiers and souldiers to the nombre of sixe thousande, and seven. C. men. In the middle ward was the Duke of Gloucester, and with hym the Duke of Albany, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greystocke, sir Edwarde Wodutile and other, to the nombre of fuce thousande, and eight. C. menne. The Lorde Newell was appoynted to folowe, accompanied with. iii. M. men. The lorde Stanley, led the wyng on the right hande, of the Dukes battaill, with. iij. M. men of Lancashire and Chesshire: The lefte wyng was guyed by the lorde Fitz Hewe, sir William a Parre, sir Iames Harrynton, with the nombre of. ii. M. men, and beside all these, there was a thousand men appoynted, to gene attendance on the ordinaunce. This royall armie,
armie, not intending to slepe, but to geue the Scottes knowlege, of their arrivall in those parties, came sodainly by the water side, to the toune of Berwicke, and there, what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, toke and entered the toune: but therle Bothwell, beyng Capitain of the Castle, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flattering wordes, nor for manacyng bragges, wherefore, the capitaines deliberately consulyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it rounde aboute. When this siege was thus laied, the twoo Dukes, and all the other soundiers, except the lord Stanley, sir Ihon Elryngton, thesroerer of the kynges house, sir Willyam a Parre, and iiiij. M. men, that were lefte behinde, to kepe the siege before the Castle, departed fro Berwicke, toward Edenborough: And in marchyng thetherward, he brente and destroyed, these tounes folowyng.

Edryngton.
Paxton. Fishewike.
Brandike.
Hooton.
Heton Hall.
Mordyngton and the Bastile.
Plome Horne and the toune.
Browshed and the Steple.
Brome hill and the Bastile.
Edram.
Estrusbet.
Blakater and the Branke won.
Kallow, and Kamorgan.
Whitsonelawes.
Brylenyn and Ryselaw.
Elbanke.
Hockas.
Betrosise.
Erneslaw and the Bastill won.
Hilton and Whitsome.
Mykyll Swynton and the Bastile.
Little Swynton and the bastill.
Somprome and Harden.

While these thynges were in doyng, kyng James of Scodlantie, hauyng small confidence in his commonaltie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, did voluntarily incarcerate & enclose hym selfe in the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfily trustyng there to be out of all doubts & daunger, except famyn or treason, caused hym violently to oppe the portes or gates, wherof the duke of Glocester entered into the toune and at the especiall request & desire of the duke of Albany, saued ʃ toune and thenhabitantes of thesame, from fier, bloud & spoyle, takynge onely such presenta as the merchates gentelly offered hym & his capitynues: Causing Gartier, principal kyng at armes, to make a publique Proclamation at the high Crosse in the market place of Edenborough, in the which he warned & admonished James kyng of Scodttes, to kepe, obserue & performe all suche promises, çopactes, couenantes & agreementes as he had concluded & sealed to, with the high and mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of England. &c. And also to make çodigne and sufficient recom pense to his subiectes, for the great tyrannye, spoyle and crueltye, that he and his people had perpetrate & committed çotrary to his league, within the marches and territories of his realme of Englande, before the firste daye of August nexte ensuyng. And farther without delay to restore the high and mightie Prince Alexander, duke of Albany, his natural brother to his estate, & all his offices, possessions and authorities, in as ample and liberall manner as he before occupied and enjoyed thesame: or the high and valiaunte prince Rychard duke of Glocester,
Glocester, leuetenaunt generall, and chiefetayne for ñ kyng of England, was reuly at hand to destroy him, his people and countrey with slaughter, flame & famyn.

Kynge James would make no aunsweere, neither by worde nor by writing, knowing that his power now fayled, either to performe the request demanded, or to defend his countrey with such a puissant armeye inuaded. The lordes of Scotland, lyeng at Hadyngeon with a great payssaunce, hearynge the kyng of Englandes reasonable desyre, determined first to practise wyth the Duke of Glocester for a peace, and so to have the Castell of Berwycke to their part, and after by some meane to allure the duke of Albanye, from the English amitie, & vpon this mocion, the iij. day of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, that the mariage betwene the prince of Englande shoulebe accomplished in all poyntes, according to the covenantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrossed, requiring farther that a peace from thensforth might be louingly concluded betwene bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester wisely and circumspectly certyfied the agayn, that as touching the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their prince and the lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinat pleasure of ñ king his master and brother, either for the affirmaunce or deniace of thesame but he desired full restitucion of all such summes of money, as for the sayd mariage before time had ben disbursed, or prested out in lone. And where the sayd lordes desired to have a peace, concluded from thensforth, betwene both the sayd realmes. He first required to have the Castell of Barwycke to him delievered, or at the lest, if he did agre to ñ sayd peace, that then his siege, lyeng about the sayd Castel, should be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molestede, nor ñ king of Scottes, nor none of his subjectes, nor any other by his procurement or pronouking, should ayde, comfort or assist with victayle, ordinarie, or other wise the Capitayne, Constable, or soldiery of the sayd Castel, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotlande, perceyuing & wel ponderinge, bothe the answer & the demandes of the duke of Glocester, sent to him sufficiently enstructed with these conclusions, the reuerend father Andrew, elect of Murray, and the lord Ihon Dernele, which thus answered, that where the sayd duke desyred repayement of ñ summes of money, deluvered in part of payment, for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the prince of Scotland and ñ kynges daughter of England: the ymn of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minorite of the said prince and princesse. And the faute hereof is, that no day was apoyunted for the money, to be payed before the contract began. And if the king your brother woule demande farther assurance, either for the contract to be made, or for ñ payment of the money, they promised therunto, according to reason to agre. Secondarly as touching the Castell of Berwike, they sayd al we know well enougy, that it is the olde inherittance of the crowne of Scotlande, of many hundred yares past, and that our souereigne lorde hath right thereunto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of Englande by conquest, it is well known that it standeth in Scotland, & over the Scottish ground. The duke, not withstandinge their saiynge, would cõdiseend to no peace, without the Castel of Barwycke were rendered to the kyng of England, and so ñ messengers departed, and on the same day the Archebishop of sainct Andrews, the bishop of Dukelle Colyn, erie of Argyle, lorde Cambell and lorde Andrew, lorde Anandale, Chauncelor of Scotlande, wrote vnto the duke of Albany a solumne and autenticall instrumet, signed and sealed with their scales, binding their bodies, landes and goodes to the sayd duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the kyng of Scottes, and kepe & observe his faith and promise to be made to the sayd lordes, that he should not onely be restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices & possessiones, which he enjoyed at the day of his departure out of Scotland, but also should have and enjoy to him, & his seruauntes & familiers a fre and a general Pardon, which restituccion and pardon, thei likewise promised to be ratefid & approued by the kyng and the iii. estates assembled at the next Parliament. The duke beyng glad to be restored agayne to his olde estate & possessiones, & especially in his owne natuic countrey, recyued their offer, which was
was truly performed, & so took his leave of the duke of Glocester thankynge hym (as he was no lesse bounde) for the greate labour, trauell & peyne, that he had taken in his awne person for his restitution. And promised bothe by word & by writyng of his awne hande to do & performe all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworn & promised to kyng Edwarde, notwithstanding any agreemént, now made or to be made with the lordes of Scotland: and for the performance of the effect of the sayde Scedule, he agayn toke a corporall othe before ÿ duke of Glocester, and sealed the writyng the thryd day of August in ÿ English Capè at Leuyngton, byseys Hadnypton, anno M.ccc.lxxxii. and departed to his awne possessions. After he was thus restored & reconciled, the lordes of Scotland proclaimed hym great lieutenáut of Scotland, & in the kynges name made Proclamation, ÿ all me shoule be redy, ypon peyn of death within viii. daies at Craushaues, both to rayse the siege before the Castell, and for the recoueryng agayne of the towne of Barwyke. The duke of Albanye wrote all thys preparació to the duke of Glocester, húly requiryng hym to haue no mistrust in hym promissing to kep his othe & promise, made to kyng Edward & to hym. The duke of Glocester wrote to hym agayne, that it should neithe be honorable nor commendable in hym, too helpe, to reise the siege, at the layeng wherof he was counsayler & partener, nor yet to reward ÿ king of England, with such a displeasure for his kyndnes costes and expéses to hym in his extreme necessitie, louingly shewed and liberally exhibited. :But he assured hym in the woord of a Prince, that if he & all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayse the siege, planted before ÿ Castell of Barwyke, that the hym selfe with his armye woulde defende the besiegers, or els dye in the quarell.

The counsayl of Scotlande sagely & poletiquely sawe before, if that they should come to rayse the siege, that the duke of Glocester woulde with them shortly encounter, and then if they loste the felde, both ÿ streth of the Realme was brought to an imbecilitie, the nobles sore minished, and the castel lost and taken. And on the other side, if they obtayned victorie, nothyng was gotten but the pore towne of Barwyke, and they were likely sone to be invaded with a greater power shortly agai, wherfore they sent Lyon kyng at Armes to the duke of Glocester, offering to hym as they thought, two offers very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promise on his honor to subuerte and cast doune the towne walles of Barwyke, they would likewise race, and clerely deface the walles Tovres and portes of the Castell, or els the duke of Glocester to put in a capitayn and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the duke of Albanye, likewise to do with the Castell, for the Tuyccion of thesame. And farther the forsayd Lyon desired an abstinence of warre to be také, till the two dukes might haue communacicion of grausous matters, concernyng the welth of bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester refused bothe the offers sayeng, that he had long maintaied the siege before the Castell of Barwyke, to no small waste and pouchyng of his brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauyle and payne of the Lordes, Gentilmen, and men of warre, that kontinualy made their abode and dayly residenes at the sayd siege: wherfore he sayd, that he in this pouint was fermedly resolved, not to departe till the Castel were yelded by apoyntement, or taken by force, or els hiss siege were by the power of Scotland reysed, or he and hiss armye vanquished: wherefore he would by no meane harken to the peticon of the Scottische lordes, concernyng the abstinence of warre, till he were either vanquished or possesed of the Castell of Barwyke. With which answere the Herault departed, and thereof made relation to the lordes and counseyll of Scotland. Whi the dukes answere was of them well digested, they euidently perceyung that the castel of Barwyke was the onely maker of ÿ peace and that the not deliuerie of thesame, should be the norice and continuer of warre and hostilitie: consideringe farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotland, dyd not draw together by one lyne, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and choysing the better parte, and reiectinge and ayodynge the worse, agreed and determined to deliuer the Castell of Barwyke to the English partie, so that their should be truce or abstinence of warre taken and concluded for
a determinate season. And thervpô they sent to the duke of Glochester a league indêted, which was dated the. xxiii. day of August, in the yere of our lorde a. M.cccc.lxxxii. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the duke of Glochester, lieutenaunt general for the kyng of Englande, and Alexander duke of Albyne, lieutenaunt for James kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept and observed between them, the Realmes of England and Scotland, and the people of the same, aswell by sea as by lade, to begin the viii. day of September next ensuyng, and to endure till the. iii. day of November next folowyng. And in the meane season, the townes and castell of Barwyke, to be occupied, and be in full possession of suche as by the kyng of Englandes deputie, should be appointed and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites and territories as the English nation, last vsed and possessed, when the castell & towne were in the subieccion of the Englishmen. And all other marches and boundes, beynge in difference betwene the sayd Realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last truce concluded. The duke of Glochester, which well perceyved that the Scottes more graunted to hys demaûdes, for relieue of their awne necessite, then to gratefull hym or the kyng hys brother in any poyn, for a wise counseler, toke hys aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these thynges made for hys longe desyre purpose.

Fyrst the deliuyry of the Castell of Barwyke, be voluntarily without counsayl (as a praye privuly gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that onely cause he dyd not refuse the abstinence of warre, but too that gentely agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes depending in variance betwene the Realmes (comonly called the batable grounde) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude with the duke of Albyne, without hauyng farther intelligence of the kyng hys soueraigne lorde, pleasure and counsaille, meaninge thereby euer to kepe them as sueteris to him, & he no farther to seke on theim, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. Whë he had sealed to the fyrst two Articles, and that they were sent agayne to the lorde of Scotlande, they them gladly receyued, and with good will embrased, and likewise truly performed thesame: for the castell of Barwyke was incontinent delivered to the lord Stanley, and other thereto appoynted, which therein put bothe Englishmen and artillerie, sufficiente for the defence of all Scotlande for. vii. monethes. By this means as you haue harde, the Englishmen repossessed agayne the towne & castell of Barwyke, which. xxi. yeeres before by kyng Hëry the. vi. was to the Scottes as you haue hard geuen vp and deliuered. And lest peraduenture the duke of Glochester might thynke that the duke of Albyne dyd not in all thynges set forward, prefer and auance hys fyrst requestes and demaundes, made and requyred of the lorde of Scotlande, and in especial one which was for the assurance to be made for the repayment to the kyng of Englande, of all suche summes of money, as he had beforehand prested & disbursed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solemnized & consummate betwene their chyldern, as before is rehearsed: Therfore ye sayd duke of Albyne, caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie, to kyng Edward, for the tew satisfaccion and contentacio of thesame money, which he also sent by thesaied Prouost to the Duke of Glochester to Alnwyke: The very Copy hereafter foloweth.

"Be it knowë to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Barthabam, Prouost of the towne of Edëborough in Scotlande, and the whole fellowship, marchâûtes, burgesses, and communaltye of the same towne, to be bounde and oblished by their presentes, unto the most excellent & most Mighty prince Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of Englande. That where it was communed and agreed, betwene hys excellencie on the one parte, and the right high and mighty prince our soueraigne lord, James king of Scottes on the othere parte, that mariage and matronimie should haue ben solemnized, and had betwyxte a mightye and excellent prynce, James the first begotten sonne and heyre apperant to our soueraigne lord foresayd, and the right noble princes Cicile daughter, to the sayd Edward kyng of Englad, and for the sayd mariage to haue ben performed certayne and divers great summes of money ben payed and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto oure
oure soueraigne lorde forsayd, as by certayne wrytynges betwixt the sayde princes, thereupon made more at large playnly appears: That if it be the pleasure of the sayd Edward kyng of England, to have the sayd mariage to be performed and completed, accordyng to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and truely, without fraude, discetye or collusion, observed, kep, and accomplished on the parte of our soueraigne lord forsayd, and the nobles spirituall and temporall of the Realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the sayd excellent prince Edward kyng of England, to have the sayd mariage performed and completed: That then we Walter Prouost, burgesses, merchantes, and comons of the aboueneamed towne of Edenborough, or any of us shall pay and content to the kyng of Engelande foresayde, all the summes of money that was payed for the sayd mariage, at syke lyke termes and dayes, immediately ensuen, after the refusall of the sayd mariage, and in syke like maner and forme, as the sayde summes were afore deliuered, contented and payed, that than this obligacion and bond to be voyd, & of no streth. Provided always, that the sayd Edward kyng of England, shall gene knowledge of his pleasure and efeccion in the premisses in taking or refusing of \( \frac{1}{2} \) said mariage, or of repaykal of the said summes of money, to our sayd souereynge lord, or lordes of his counsayll, or to us the said Prouost, mercantil, or any of us, within the realme of Scotland, beyng for the tyme, betwixt this and the feaste of Allhallowes next to come. To the whiche payment well and truly to be made, we bynde and oblishe vs, and euer of vs, our heyres, succession, executors and all our goodes, merchaundises, and thynges whatsoever they bee, where so euer, or in what place, by water or by lande, on this syde \( \frac{1}{2} \) sea, or beynd, we shall happen to be founden, any leage, true or saueguard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In wyttes wherof to this oure present wryting, & letters of bonde. We, the sayde Prouost, Burgesses, Merchaunte and commoynte, have set our common scale of the sayde towne of Edenborough, the fourth day of August, the yere of God. Mcccc. Ixxxii. Geuen in the presence of the right might Prince Richarde duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanye, a reuerende father in God, James bishop of Dunkeld, and the right noble lord Henry erle of Northumberlaine, Colyn erle of Argile, Thomas lorde Stanley, Master Alexander English and other, &c."

When the duke of Gloucester had thus obtayned his purpose, and receyued wrytinges signed and sealed for the performance of thesame, he sent the instrumentes to kyng Edward his brother, which mache conended bothe his valiant manhode, and also his prudent pollicie, in conuycyng hys busines, bothe to hys awne purpose, and also to the profit of the Realme. Kyng Edward, not a littel mused, and much more debated wyth hys counsayl, whether it were more profitable and honorable to hym and hys Realme, to suffer the sayde mentioned mariage, to take effect, and procede to a conclusion, or els to require a repaynal, and redelyuery of the summes of money, apprompted and layde out for thesame purpose. After long consultacion had, and it was considered in what case the realme & \( \frac{1}{2} \) kyng of Scottes stode in, for it was wel known that he and hys nobilitie were at grete discord as you before have hearde: it was considered farther, that if the nobilitie preuayled, and got the soueraignty, the lyne and succession of James the thyrde, were likely to be totally extirpate, & disinherit for euer: it was also alledged that the prince of Scotlands, neuer condescended nor as he hymselfe sayd, woulde agrre to thys mentioned mariage. These thynges thus debated, the kyng by great aduice, refused and reauook all thynges to be done, for the more forwardnes of the sayde matrimonie, and elected and chose the repayment of all suche summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betruysted mariage was payd, and before hand contented & deliuered. And accordyng to the woordes of obligation, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Gartier, his principal kyng of Armes and Northumberlaine Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and burgesses of Edenborough, the determinate refuseall of the future matrimonie, and the eleccion and choyse of the repayment of the money and duetye. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion. Gartier was instructed by wryting, what he should saye and declare: and so by convenient jorneys
iorneys came to the towne of Edenborough. viii. dayes before the feast of all sayntes, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I gartier kinge of armes seruaunt, proctour and mes senger vnto the most hygh and mighty prince, my most dreadsoureynge lord Edward by the grace of God, kyng of Engelande and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelande, by vertue of certayne letters of procracie here redy to be shewed to me, by my sayd souereynge lord made and geuen, make notyce and geue knowledge vnto you Prouost, Burgesses marchauntes and communaltie of the towne of Edenborough in Scotlände, that where as it was sometyme commoned and agreed, betwene my sayde souereynge lorde on the one partie, and the righte hygh and mighty prince Iames kyng of Scotlände, on the other partie, y mariage & matrimoniy should have been solemnised, and had betwene Iames the first begotten sonne of the said kyng of Scotlände, and lady Cicelie, daughter to my sayd souereynge lord the kyng of Engeland. And for the sayde mariage to have been performed, certayne and dyuers greate summes of money, ben payed and contented by my sayde souereynge lord, whiche summes of money, in cace of refusall of the saydé mariage, by my sayde souereynge lorde to be imade and declared, ye the sayd Prouost, Burgesses, marchauntes and communaltie, and euer one of you be bounde and obliged by your letters vnder youre comon scale of your toune of Edéborough, to repaye vnto hys hyghnes vnder lyke forme, and at suche termes as they were fyrst payed. So that the kyng my souereynge lorde woulde make notice and knowledge of his pleasure, and eleccion in takyng or refusyng of the sayde marriage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhaiowes nexe to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearyng date at Edenbourgh the fourthe day of August last past, it was conteyned at all large. The pleasure and eleccion of my sayd souereynge lord, for dyuers causes and consideracions hym mouyng is to refuse the accomplisment of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all suche summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage, hys hyghnes had payed. The sayd repaymente to be had of you Prouoste, Burgesses, marchauntes and communaltie, and euer of you, youre heyres and successors, accordynge to your bonde and obligacion afore rehearsed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowledge by thys writynge, whiche I deliuer too you, within the terme in your sayde letters lymitted and expressed to all ententes and effectes, which theroff maye ensue.

When Gartier had thus declared all thinges, geuen to him in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made answere, that they now knowynge the kynges determinate pleasure, woulde accordyng to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gentelly entertryng Gartier coueyghed him to Barwyke, from whiche he departed to new Castell, to the duke of Gloucester, makynge relacion to hym of all his doynges, whiche duke with all spede returned too Shrythton, and there abode. Shortly after Gartiers departynge, the duke of Albayne, thynkynge to obtyne agayne the hygh faoure of the kyng hys brother, deliuered hym out of captuittie and pryson, wherein he had a certaine space continued (not withoute the dukes assente, whiche besieged hym in the Castell of Edenborough a littell before) & set him at large, of whomt vtwardly he recyued great thankes, when inwardly no-thynge but renegyng and confusion was in the kynges stomacke incorporate, so that shortly after in the kynges presence, he was in vejolende of hys lyfe, and all imprpried for dread of death, coacted to take a small ballynger, and to sayle into Fraunce, where shortly after rydynge by the men of armes, which encountered at the tylt, by Lewes then duke of Orliounce, after Frenche kyng, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortuntes peruerce countenaunce pytfullye slayne and broughte to death, leaunynge after hym one onely sonne, named Ihon, whiche byenge banished Scotlände, enivated and maried in Fraunce, and there died. How dolorous, how sorrowful is it to wryte, and mucho more pencifull to remember the chaunces, & infortunettes that happened within twoo yere in Engelande and Scotlände, betwene naturall brethren. For kyng Edward set on by suche as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgettyng nature, and fraternall amitie, consented to the deathe of hys sayde
BEholde, while he was intenitie, and amployed his whole labor, diligence, and industry, to furnishe and setforward this warre, whiche he newly had attempted and begonne: whether it was with the melancholy, and anger that he toke with the Frenche kyng, for his vntruthe
vntroithe and vnkyndnes, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the whiche he was muche geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a greuous maledy taken, yea, so greuously taken, that his vitall spirites, began to faile and waxe feble, whiche debilitie when he perceiued, he called together all his nobles, whiche, that tyme were aboute London, vpon one daie (as he did diverse tymes commen with them) and thus in effect, to them saied: My welbeloued, and no lesse betrusted frendes, counsailers, and aliys, if wee mortall men would daily and hourly, with our selfe resolute, and intiuely in our hартes engrawe, or in our mindes gravously pöder, the fraile and fadyng imbecilitie, of our humain nature, and the caduke fragilite of thesame: wee should apparauntly perceive, that we beyng called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament, compared and toyned with Angelles, bee more worthy to be numcputate, and demed persones vnreasonoble, and rather to bee associate in that name with brute beastes, called vnreasonable (of whose life and death, no creature speake) therto then in that poynt, to bee resembled to the Angelical societie, and reasonable campaignie. For while health in vs florisheth, or prosperitie abundeth, or the glosying worlde laugheth, whiche is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not erre from the truthe) that he once in a weke remeberd his fatall ende, or the prescribed terme of his enduryng: or once provided by labor, study, or otherwise, to set a stedfast and a sure ordre, for the securitie, and profite, continuance either of his possessions and dominions, or of his sequele and posteritie, whiche after hym shall naturally succeede: suche is the blyndnes, of our fraile and fragile nature, euer geuen to carnal concupiscence, and mundain delectacion, daily ofbuscute and seduced, with that lothargious, and deceable serpent, called hope of long life, that all we put in oblivion, our dutie present, and lesse remembre the politique pureighfalse, for thynges to come: For blyndly we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groulyng with our ies, sodainly vpon death. The vanities of this worlde; bee to vs so agreeable, that when we begin to liue, wee esteme our life, a whole worlde, whiche once ouerpassed, it sheweth no better but dust, driven a way with a pluffe of wynde: I speake this to yow of my self, and for your selfes to yow, sore lamentynge, and inwardly bewailyng, that I did not perfome and finally cůsunate, suche politique diuises, and good and Godly ordinance, in my long life and paciffique prosperitie, whiche, then I fully determined to haue begone, set forward, and complety to haue finished. Whiche, now for the extreme paines, and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small terme of my naturall life, I can neither perfome, neither yet liue to see, either to take effect, or to sort to take any conclusion. For God I call to record, my harte was fully sette, and my mynde deliberaty determined: so to haue decorated this realme, with wholesome Lawes, statutes, and ordinance, so to haue educated and brought vp myne enfantes and children, in vertue, learning, actiuitie, and policie. That, what with their royall puys-saunce, and your frendly assistence, the proudest Prince of Europe, durste not once atteempte, to move any hostilitie, against them, you, or this realme: But oh Lorde, all thynges that I of long tyme, haue in my mynde recuyled, and imagined, that stelyng thief death, goeth about to subuer te, and in the momët of an houre, cleery to suppeditate, wherefore (as men saie) I now beyng driven to the verie hard wall: liuyng perfect confidence, and sure hope in the approbate fidelitie, and constant integritie, whiche I have euer experimented, and knownen to be radicate and planted, in the hартes of your louyng bodies, toward me and myne. So that I maie saie and aduowe, that never Prince bearyng scepter and Croune, ouer realmes and regions, hath found or proued, more faithfull counsailers, nor treuer subiectes, then I haue doen of you, nor neuer Potentate nor governor, put more affiaunce and truste, in his vassals and seuanantes, then I, with the adepcion of the Croune, fermely haue fixed, in your circumspect wisedomes, and sober discresions. And now of verie force compellde, liuyng in a dubious hope, betwene liuyng and dyiynge, betwene remembrance and oblivion, do require you and instauntly move you, that as I haue found you, faithfull, obediiit, and to all my requests and desires, (while I was here in healthe, conuersart with you) diligent and intiuite: So after my death, my
hope is with a sure anchor grounded, and myne inwarde conceipte vn dubitately resolved, that the especiall confidence, and inwarde fidelitie, whiche, so long hath continued betwene vs, byeing together liyng, shall not totally by my deathe, bee extinte and vanished like smoke. For what auaileth friendshipe in life, when trust deceiueth after death: What profiteh amitie in apparaunt presence, when confidence is fraudulently beguiled in absence: What lone growth, by conjuncion of Matrimonie, if the offsprong after doe not agree and concorde: Or what profiteh Princes, to auauance and promote their subiectes, if after their deathe, the bountifulnes by theim shewed, be of the receuvers of thesame and their sequele, neither regarded nor yet remembered: The paretes make the mariage for an indissoluble amitie, Princes promote someyme for fanoure, sometyme for desерte, and someyme for pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie pricke, to the whiche all giftes of promocions, do finally tend, it is to have loue, fawor, faithful counsaill, and diligent service, of suche as be by them, promoted and exalted, not onely in their awne lifes, byeing but brief and transitorie: But also, that thei and their progeny, calling to remembrance, the favour, estimacion, and auauancement, which, they of so liberal and munificent a prince had receiued and obtained: should with sper and sheld, tounge and wit, hande and penne, continually studie to defende, counsaill and prefer not onely hym durynge his life, but also to serue, assist, and maintain his sequele, and lineall succession, as the verie Images, and carnall portrautes, of his stirpe, line and stemme, naturally discarded. In this case am I, whom you knowe, not without ineffable trouble, and moste daungerous warr, to have obtained the sceptor, and diadem of this realme and Empire, durynge whiche reign, I haue had either little peace, or small tranquilliety: And now when I thought my self, sure of a quiet life, and worldly rest, death hath blowen his terrible trumpete, calling and somonyng me (as I truste) to perpetuall tranquilliety, and eternall quietnes: therefore now for the perfecte, and vnmoveable confidence, that I haue euer had in you, and for the vnfained loue, that you haue euer shewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into your gouernance, bothe this noble realme, and my naturall children, and your kynges. My children by your diligent ouersight, and politique prouision to bee taught, enformed, and instructed, not onely in the sciéces liberall, verteous morall and good literature: but also to be practised in trickes of marciall actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent pollicie: For I haue hard clarkes saie, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that Realme, where Philosophiers reigne, or where kynges bee Philosophiers, and louers of wisdome. In this tendre age, you maie writhe and turne them, into euerie forme and fashio: If you bryng them vp in vertue, you shall haue verteous Princes: if you set them to learning, your gouernors shalbe men of knowledge, if you teache them actiuitie, you shall haue valiaunte capitaines, if thei practice pollicie, you shall haue bothe politique, and prudent rulers. On the other side, if by your negligence, thei fall to vice (as youth is to all euil, prone and ready) not onely their honor, but also your honestie, shalbe spotted and appalled: If thei bee sloggerdes and gueuen to slothe, the publique wealth of this realme, must shortly decaye. If thei be vnlearned, thei maie by flattery sone bee blinded, & by aduacion often deceived. If thei lacke actiuitie, euerie creature be he neuer so base of birth, shall foyle and overthowe theim, like domme beasts and beastly dastardes. Therfore I desire you, and in Goddes name adiure you, rather to studie to make them riche, in Godly knowledge, and verteous qualities, then to take pain to glorifie theim, with abundance of worldely treasure, and mundain superfluitie. And certeinly, whé thei come to matureitie of age, and shall peraduention considere, that by your omission and negligent educacio, thei haue not suche graces, nor are enuied with suche notable qualities, as thei might haue been, if you had performed the truste to you, by me committed: Thei shall not onely deplore, and lament their vnfarnished estate, and naked condicion, but al so it maie fortune, that thei shall conceive inwardly against you, suche a negligent vntrithe, that the sequele thereof, maie rather turne to displeasure then thanke, and soner to an vngratitude, then to a rewarde.
KYNG EDWARD THE III.

My kyngdom also, I leue in your gouernaunce, duryng the minoritie of my children, chargyng you on your honors, othes, and fidelitie, mad and sworn to me, so indifferent-ly to ordre and gouerna, the subjectes of thesame, bothe with justice and mercie, that the wille of malefactors, haue not to large a scope, nor the hartes of the good people, by to muche extremitie, bee neither sorowfully daunted, nor vnyndly kept vnder: Oh I am so slepe, that I must make an ende, and now before you all I commende my soule to almightie God, my sauior and redeemer: my body to the wormes of the yearth, my kyngdom to the Prince my sonne, and to you my louyng frendes my harte, my trust, and my whole confidence. And even with that, he fell on slepe: After diuere suche charitable monicions and exhortacions (as the paragues and fittes of his sickenes would permit hym) sometime to his nobilitie, sometime to his familiare frendes, made and declared: His mal-adie sodainely encreased, and grewre to so painfull an extremitie, that short death was soner of him required, then longer life desired, wishing rather departhyng out of this worlde, then to abide the painful smarte, of his dolorous pangues. Wherfore Attrapos hauyng compassion, of his continuall languishynge, and daily agony, dirupted and brake the threde, of his natural life, the. ix. daie of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde, M. CCCC. lxxii. and in the fiftie yere of his bodely age, when he had reigned ouer this realme, more in trouble then perfecte quietnes. xxii. yeres, one monethe and eight daies: whose corps was with funerall pompe, accordyng to the royall estate of a kyng, conueighd to the Colege of Winsore, to the which, he had been a greate benefactor, and there on the right hand, of the high aulter, princely entered and intumilate, whose death was asmuche lamented of his subjectes, as his life desired. He begat of the Quene Elizabeth his wife, tenne children, whereof he left liuyng twoo soonnes, Edward Prince of Wales, and Richard duke of Yorke, and a bastard sonne called Arthur, whiche, after was Vicount Lisle, and came to good profe: beside these he left five daughters, Elizabeth, Cicilie, Anne, Katherine, and Brigit: all these were maried, except lady Brigit, which was a Nonne professd.

This kyng Edward was a manne, of a goody personage, of stature high, and excedyn all other in countenaunce, wellfaured and comly, of iye quicke and pleaasunt, brode brested, and well set, all other members dounre to his fete, kept just proportion with the bulke of his body: of wit he was quicke and pregnant, of stomacke stoute and bold, & of courage haute and high, of memorie moste perfecte, and especially of suche thynge, as he had travailed in, in greate affaires & weightie causes quicke and diligent, in perelles and adventures bole and hardie, against his enemies, fierce and terrible, to his frendes and to straungers bountifull and liberal, hauyng in warres moste prosperous lucke, and happe successe: From the pleasure of the body, to the whiche he was proue, & much guen, he did muche absteyn and forbere, for whiche cause, and also for the greate humanitie and lowlines, that in hym was by nature moste abundantly engendered, he vsed himself among mean persons, more familier, then his degree, dignitie, or majestie required, whiche was the cause, that some suspected hym, to haue died of poyson. And it was said, he that all the daies of his lyfe, had muche vsed liberalitie, was towarde his latter ende, guen to avarice and loue of money. And although he founde his kyngdome, greatly impouerishd, and almostr emptie, bothe of men of warre and money, yet after that he had pacified, and finished the ciuill discencion, he left his realme, of all thynge riche and abundaunt. The spirituall promocions, he gave cuer to the moste famous and excellent Clerkes, and men of the best living: Other of meane qualities, whom he muche fauored, he did not preferre to greate dignitie and high promocios but with money rewarded theim, whiche thyng many Princes (regarding not their honors) do not consider nor obserue: with all whiche notable vertues, he ioyned to hym so surely the hartes of his people, that after his death, his lyfe again was daily wished, and effecteously among his Subiectes desired, but wishing serued not, nor yet their desire tooke none effecte.

¶ The ende of the prosperous reign of Kyng Edward the fourthe.
THE PITIFULL LIFE OF KYNG

EDWARD THE. V.

The eternall God callynge to his merci the noble prince Kyng Edward fy. iiij. of that name, Edward his eldest sonne (prince of Wales) beganne his regnye the ninnythe daye of April, in the yere of our lord a thousande foure hundred fourscore & thre, and in the xxiiij. yere of Lewes the leuenethe then Frenche kyngye: Whiche younge prince reigned a small space & little season ouer this realme, either in pleasure or libertie. For his vnclu Richard duke of Gloucester, within thre monethes deprivyng hym not onely of his crowne and regalite, but also unnaturally bereft hym of his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he firste attempted his vngracious purpose & by what false colourable and vtrue allegacions he set furth openly his pretensed entreprise, and finally, by what shamefull, cruel and detestable act he perfourmed the same: Ye muste firste consider of whom he and his brother deessed, their natures, condicions and inclinacions, and then you shal eazly perceiue, that there could not bee a more cruell tiraunt appointed to achuyne a more abominable entreprise.

Their father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe to calenge the crowne of Englande, puttyng his claiume in the parliament, holdyn the thirty yere of kyng Henry the six, where either for righte or for favoure, his cause was so set furthly and announced, that the bloude of the saide kyngye Henry, although he had a goodly sonne, was clerely abieccted, and the crowne of \( \hat{s} \) realme (by auctoritie of parlamente) entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heires after the decease of the sayd kyngye Henry the syxte. But the duke not entedynge so long too tary, but nindying vnder the pretexte of discension grown and arisen within the realme, and of couenauntes made in the parliament, not keppe, but broken, to prevent the tyne and to take vpon hym the guernourne in kyngye Henries lyfe was by to muche hardinesse slaine at the battaill of Wakefelde, leuyng behinde hym thre sunnes, Edwarde, George, and Richarde. All these three as thei were greate estates of birth, so were they greate and stately of stomacke, gredy of promocions and impaciente parteners of rule and autoritie.

This Edward reuenged his fathers death and deposed kyng Henry the sixt, and attained the crowne and scepter of the realme.

George duke of Clarence was a goodly and well featurred prince, in all thynges fortunate, if either his owne ambicition had not set hym against his brother or thenuy of his enemies had not set his brother against hym: for were it by the quene or nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges lynred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entedynge to bee kyngye, at the leaste wise, heinous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or wer he faultelessse, attainted was he by parliament and judged to death, and there vpon hastily drownyng in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kyngye Edwarde (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was doen pitely he bewayled and sorrowfully repented it.

Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whiche I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage eall with the other, but in beautee and liniames of nature far vnderneath bothe, for he was litle of stature, ciuill featured of limnes, croke backed, the left shulder muche
muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull and envious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche a dooe in her trauail, that she could not be delivered of hym vncon, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the same ranne, not vntothe: whether that meane of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or that nature chauenged his course in his beginnynge, which in his life many thynges unnaturally committed, this I leue to God his judgemente. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to whyche, his disposicion was more enclinad too, then to peace. Sondry victories he had and some overthrowes, but never for defaulte of his owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politique order. Free he was of his dispences and somewhat aboue his power liberall, with large gifts he gatte hym vnstedfaste frendship: for whiche cause he was fain to borowe, pill and extort in other places, whiche gat hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely familier where he inwardely hated, not lettynghe to kiss whom he thought to kill, despiteous and cruel, not alwaie for eiuil will, but ofter for ambicion and too serene his purpose, frende and foe were all indifferent, where his anuantage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose. He slewe in the towe kyng Henry the sixte, saynyng now is there no hire male of kyng Edwarde the thirde, but we of the house of Yorke: whiche murder was done without kyng Edward his assente, which woulde haue appointed that bocherly office too some other, rather then to his owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that his drifte lacked not in helpynghe furthe his owne brother of Clarence to his death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resiste, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause therof was, as men notyng his doynges and procedynges did marke (because that he longe in kyng Edwarde his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kyng his brother, whose life he loked that eiuil diet woulde some shorten) should happen to dis ease, as he did in dede, his chyldren beyng younge. And then if the duke of Clarence had lyled, his pretended purpose had been far hyndered: For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hymselfe trewe to his nephewe the younge king, or would haue taken vpon hym too bee kyng, every one of these castes had been a trompe in the duke of Gloucesters waye: but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, then he knewe that he mighte worke without that jeoperdy. But of these poinctes there is no certentie, and whosoever diuineth or conjectureth, may as wel shote to fer as to shorte, but this conjecture afterwarde take thing place (as fewe dooe) as you shall perceiue hereafter. 

But afore I declare too you howe this Richarde duke of Gloucester began his mischeuenus imagined and pretended enterprice as apparatly shalbee opened, I muset a litte put you in remembrance of a loungy & charitable acte, no lesse profitable then amicable to the whole comminaltie, if it had been so inwardely thought as it was outwardely dissimuled which kyng Edwarde did liyng on his death-bede not longe before he died. For in his life, although that the diuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued and irked hym, yet in his helthe he lesse regarded & tooke hede to it, by reason that he thoughte that he was hable in al thynges to rule bothe partes, wer thei neuer so obstinate: But in his last sickenes (whiche continued longer then false and fantastical tales haue vntruely and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe) when he perceiued his naturall strength was gone, and hoped litte of recouery by the hartes of all his phisicians whiche he perceiued onely to prolong his life. Then he began to consider the youthe of his children, howe bee it, he nothing lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet he wisely forseyng and consideryng that many armes might ensue by the debate of his nobies while the youth of his children should lacke discretion and good counsaill of their frendes, for he knewe well that euery parte woulde worke for their owne commodite, and rather by pleasante advise to wynde them selues fauour, then by profitable advertisement to dooe the children good: wherefore liyng on his death-bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lorde as then were aboute hym, whom he knewe to bee at variance, in especiall the lorde Marques Dorset sonne to the
the queene and the lord Hastynges, Against whom the queene especially grudged for the fa-
vour that the king bare hym, and also she thoughte hym familiars with the kyng in wanton
compaignie: her kyenne bare hym sore, aswel for that the kyng made hym captain of Canalis,
which office the lord Riviers brother to the queene claimed of the kyng his former promise, as
of diverse other gifts whiche he receiued that they loked for. And when these lorders with
diverse other of bothe parties were come vnto the kyng his presence, he caused hym
selfe to bee raised vp with pillowes, & as I can gesse, saied thus or muche like in sen-
tence to them.

My lorde, my dere kynsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye you se, and I per-
fitly fele by the which I loke the lesse while to luyen with you, therfore the more depely
I am mouned to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you suche are my children
like to finde you, whiche yf they should find at variaunce (as God forbid) they theim selfes
mighte hap to fall at warre or their discrezion woulde serue to set you at peace: you se
their youthe, of whiche I reken the onely surety to reste in your concore. For it suffi-
seth not all you to love theim, yf eche of you hate other: if they were men your faith-
fulnesse mighte hap to suffice, but chilhood muste bee maintaine by mennes autoritie, and
slipper youthe vnderprompted with elder counsaill, whiche they can neuer haue excepte you
gue it, nor you gue it, excepte you agree, for where eche laboureth too breake that the
other maken, and for hatered eche impugneth others cou nsaill: there muste nedes bee a
longe tracte or any good conclusion canne forewarde. And farther, while cache partie la-
boureth too bee chiefe flatterer, aduacion shall then haue more place then plaine and faith-
full aduise, of wiche muste nedes ensue the euill bryngynge vp of the prince whose mynde
in tender youth infecte shall redely fall to mischiefe and riote and drawe downe this noble
realme to ruine: But yf grace turne hym to wisdome (whiche God send hym) then they
whiche by euill mannes pleased hym beste, shall after fall fardest out of fauoure, so that at
the length euill driftes driue to naught, and good plain waies prosperi and florise. Greate
variaunce hath been betwene you, not alwaies for great causes: Some tyme a thyng righte
well entended and misconstrued hath been turned to the worse, or a small displeasure doen
to you, either by youre owne affection, either by instigacion of euill tongues hath ben sore
aggravate. But this I wote well, you had neuer so greate cause of hatred as you hane
of loue because we bee all menne and that we bee all Christen menne. This I will leve
to preachers to tell you and yet I wote not whether any prechers woordes ought more too
moue you, then I that is goyng by and by to the place that they all preche of. But this
shal I desire you to remembre, that the one parte of you beyng of my bloude, the other
of my alies, and eche of you with other either of kynderd or affinitie whiche is the very
spirituall affinitie and kinred in Christe, as all partakers of the sacramentes of Christe his
churche. The weightie of wiche consanguinitie yf we did beare as woulde to God we did,
then shoulde we more bee moued to spirituall charitie then to fleshely consanguinitie. Our
Lorde forbid that you loue the worse together for the selfe same cause that you ought to
loue the better, and yet that often happens, for no where finde we so dedly debate as
emongst theim whiche by nature and lawe moste ought to age re. Souliche a serpente
is ambicion and desire of vainglorie and souereignty, which emongst estates when he is
once entred he crepith furth so far, till with deuision and variaunce he turneth all to
mischiefe. Firste longynge to be next to the beste, afterwarde egall with the beste, and
at the laste chief and aboue the beste. Of wiche immoderate appetite of worship and the
debate and discencion that grewe there by, what losse, what sorrowe, what trouble hath
within these few yeres grewen within this realme, I pray God as well to forget as we
well remembre, whiche thyng if I could as well haue foresene as I haue with my more
pain then pleasure proud, by God his blessed lady (that was his common otbe) I would
neeuer haue won the curtesies of mennes knees with the losse of so many beddes. But sith
thynges passed cannot be called agayne, muche more ought wee to bee ware, by what oc-
casion wee haue taken so greate hurte before, that wee eftsones fall not into that occa-

sion again. Now bee these greues passed and all is quiet, thanked bee God, and likely
well too prosper in welthfull peace, vnder your cosins my children, yf God sende them
life, and you joue and concorde. Of whiche two thynges the lesse losse were thei by
whom although God did his pleasure, yet shoulde this realm ayowes fynde kynges, and
paraduenture as good kynges as thei. But yf you enonguest your selues in a chyldes
reigne fall at debate, many a good manne shall innocently perisse, and happily he and
you also, or this land finde peace and quiet agayne: wherefore in these laste woordes
that ever I looke to speake to you, I exhorte and require you all, for the loue that you have
borne too me, and for the loue that I have borne to you, and for the loue that
oure Lorde beareth to vs all: From this tyume forward all greues forgotten, eche of you
love other, which I verely trust you will, yf you any thyngye regarde God or your
kynges affinitee or kynrede, this realme, your owne countree, or your owne surete &
wealth. And there with all, the kyng for faintenesse no longer endurynge too sitt
vp, layed hym downe on his righte side, his face toward them. And there was none
presente that coulde forbare weepyngn, but the Lordes confortyng hym with as good
wordes as thei coulde, and answeryng for the tyume, as they thoughte shoulde stande
with his pleasure. And there in his presence (as by their woordes apeared) eche forgate
other, and ioyned their handes together, when as it after appeared by their dedes their
hartes were far a sunder. And so within a fewe daies, this noble prince diseased at West-
minster the nyth daye of Aprill, in the yere of our lorde. M. cxxxiiij after that he
had reigned. xxiiij yeres one moneth and eight daies, and was with great funerall pompe
causeighed to Windsore, leuyngne hym two sonnes, Edward the prince (of whom
this story entreteth) a chylde of xiiij yeres of age, Richard duke of Yorke two yeres
younger then the prince, & fufe daughters, Elizabeth, whiche by God his grace was maried
to kyng Henry the seuenthe and mother to kyng Henry the eighte, Cicile not so for-
tunate as faire, firste wedde to the viscounte Welles, after to one Kyne and liued not in
greate wealthy. Bridget professd her selfe a close Nonne at Sion, Anne was married to
lorde Thomas Howarde after erle of Surry and duke of Northfolke, katherine the young-
est daughter was maried to lorde William Courteny, sonne to therle of Deuonshire, whiche
long tyume tossed in ether fortune, somtyme in wealth, after in aduersitee, till the benignitee
of her nephewe kyng Henry the eighete broughte her into a sure estate accordynge to her
degre and progeny.

This kyng Edward was suche a prince of gouernance and behauoure in this tyume of
peace (for in this tyume of warre eche must bee others enemie) the was never any kyng in
this realme attaining the crowne by warre and battaile, so heretely beloved with the more sub-
stance of his people, nor he hym self so specially favoured in any parte of his life, as at
the tyume of his death: whiche favour and affection yett after his death, by the crueltye,
mischief and trouble of the tempestous world that followed, highly towards hym more en-
creased. At suche tyume as he died, the displeasur of those that bare him grudge for kyng
Henry the sixte sake (whom he deposed) was well assaued and in effecte quenched within
the space of. xxiiij yeres, whiche is a great parte of a mannes life, and some were recon-
siled and growen into his fauoure, of the whiche he was never strange, when it was with
true herte daemandd. He was goodlye of personage and princely to beholde, of harte cou-
rageous, politike in counsaill, and in aduersitee nothynge abashed, in prosperite rather joy-
full then proude, in peace iuste and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fearce, in the felde bolde
and hardy, and yet nevertheless no ferther, then reason and policie would aduenture, whose
warres whosoeuer circumspectely and aduisedly considereth he shal no lesse commend his
wisedome and policie where he aduoided them, then his manbyd where he vanquished them.
He was of visage full faced & louely, of body mightie, stronge and cleane made: with ouer
liberall and wanton diet, he waxed somewhat corputent and boursly, but nevertheless not
vncomely. He was in youth greatly gueuen to fleshely wantonnes, from the whiche heathly of

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body in great prosperitee and fortune withoute an especiall grace hardly refraineth. This fault litle grend his people, for neither coulde any one mannes pleasure stretche or extend to the displeasure of very many, nor a multitude bee grend by a private mannes fantasy or volupteounsesse, when it was done withoute violence. And in his latter daies he left all wild dalaunse, & fell to grauntee, so that he brought his realme into a wealthie and prosperouse estate, all fear of outwarde enemies were clerely extinguished, and no warre was in hande nor none towarde, but suche as no manne looked for. The people were towarde their prince not in a constrained fear, but in a true louyng and wilfull obedience emongsteth themselfe, and the commons were in good peace. The lorde whom he knewe at variaunce, he in his death the bedde (as he thought) brought too good concorde, love and amitie. And a little before his death, he had left gathering of money of his subjectes, which is the onely thynge that draweth the hertes of Englishe menne from their kinnes and princes: nor nothyng he either enterprised nor tooke in hande, by the whiche he shoule bee drinen there vnto. For his tribute out of Fraunce he had a little before recovered and obtained. And the yere before he died, he recovered agayne the towne of Berwike against the kyng of Scottes. And albeit that all the tym of the reigne, he was so benigne courteous and familiere, that no parte of his vertues was estemed more then those highe humilittees: Yet that condition in thende of his last daies decayed not, in the whiche many princes by a longe continued soueraigntie, decline to a proude porte and behauour from their condicions accustomed at their begynynge. Yet lownlinesse and gentlenesse so far thurth in hym encreased that the sommer before he died, he becynge at the hauerynge at the bower, sente for the maire and aldermen of London thether onely to hunte & make pastyme, where he made them not so herte but so familiare and friendly chere, and sent also to their wyes suche plenty of venison, that no one thynge in many daies before gatte hym either mo hartes or more hertie fauvour emongst the comon people, which ofteynymes more esteeme and take for greate kyndenesesse a little courtesie then a greate profit or benefite.

And so this noble prince deceased, as you have hearde in that tyme when his life was moste desired, and when his people moste desired to kepe hym: Whiche loue of his people and their entiere affection toward hym, had been to hys noble chyldren (hauynge in them selues also as many giftes of nature, as many princely vertues, as much good towardenesse as their age coulde receyue) a merucilous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the duision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed them and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of soueraigntie prouoked hym to their destruction, whiche yf eithe kynde or kyndnesse had holden place muste nedes have been their chief defence. For Richard duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncl, by office their protectoure, to their father greately beholden and too them with the ayther and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated whiche bynde man and man together, withoute any respecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued too berene them, not onely of their dignitie and prexeminence, but also of their naturall lives and worlde felicitie.

And first to shewe you, that by coniectur he pretended this thynge in his brothers life, ye shall vnderstande for a truth that the same nighte that kyng Edwarde dyed, one called Mistelbrooke, longe ere the daye sprong, came to y house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse strete without Creple gate of London, & when he was with hasty rappying quickly let in, the saided Mistlebroke shewed vnto Pottier that kyng Edward was that night deceased: by my truth quod Pottier, then will my master the duke of Gloucester bee kyng and that I warrant thee. What cause he had so too thinke, harde it is to saie, whether he beeyng his seruaunte knewe any such thynge pretensed or otherwise had any ymkelyng therof but of all likelyd he spake it not of naught.

But now too returne to the trewe historie, wer it that the duke of Gloucester had of old sore practised this conclusion, or was before tyme moued there vnto and putte in hope by the tender age of the young princes his nephewes, as opportunitee and likely of spedde puteth a manne in courage of that that he neuer intended. Certain it is, that he beeyng in the
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Northe parties, for the good gouernaunce of the countrye, beynge aduertised of his
brothers deathe contriued the destruccion of his nephewes with the vsurpacion of tiie royall
And for asmuche as he well wiste, and had holpe to maintain, along
dignitee and croune.
continued grudge and harte burning betwene the queues kynred and the kynges bloude, either parte enuiyng others autoritee, he now thought, as it was in deede, a furtherly beginnynge
to the pursute of his entente, and a sure grounde and situacion of his vnnaturall
buvldynge,
yf he mighte vnder the pretence of reuengynge of olde displeasures, abuse the ignorauce and
anger of the one partie too the destruccion of the other, and then to wyn to his purpose as
many as he coulde: and suche ascoulde not bee wonne, mighte be loste or they loked thereBut of one thynpe he was certain, that if his entent were once perceiued, he should
fore.
the

but all his entente he kept
parties with his owne bloud
knewe
his
secrete till he
frendes, of the whiche Henry the duke of Buckynghmn was the
tirste that sente to him after his brothers death a trusty seruaunte of his called Persiuall to
the citee of Yorke, where the duke of Gloucester kepte the kynge his brothers funeralles.
This Persiuall came to Ihon Warde a secrete chamberer to the duke of Gloucester, desirynge
that he in close and couerte maner mighte speake with the duke his master: where vpon in
the dead of the nighte, the duke sente for Persiuall (all other beyng auoyded) whiche
shewed to the duke of Gloucester, that the duke of Buckyngliam his master in this ne\ve
\vorlde woulde take suche parte as he woulde, and woulde farther wayte vpon hym with a
thousande good felowes yf nede were. The duke sente backe the messanger with greate
thankes and diuerse priuey instruccions by mouthe, whiche Persiuall did somuche by his
trauaill that he came to the duke of Buckyngham his master into the marches of Wales, and
eftsones with newe instruccions met with the duke of Gloucester at Notyngham, whiche was
come out of the Northecountree with many knightes and gentlemen to the numbre of sixe
hundred horse and more, in his iourney towarde London. And after secrete metynge and
communicacion had betwene hym and the duke of Gloucester, he returned with such
spede that he brought the duke of Buckyngham his master to mete with the duke of Gloucester not far from Northampton with thre hundred horsses, and so they twoo came together
to Northampton where thei first began their vnhappy entei price, and so the duke of Buckyngham contynued still with the duke of Gloucester til he was crouned kyng, as ye shal

haue made peace betwene bothe

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plally perceiue herafter.
The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte
had sente hym thether for lustice to be dooen in the

houshoulde at Ludlowe, for his father
Marches of Wales, to the ende that

by theautoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and eiuell disposed personnes should
The gouernauce of this younge
refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages.
Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduileerle llyuers and lorde Scales, brother to
the quene, a wise, hardy and honourable personage, as valiaume of handes as pollitique of
counsaill and with hym were associate other of the same partie, and in efiect euery one as
he was nercr of kynne vnto the queue, so was he planted nexte abonte the prince.
That
drift by the quene seined to be diuised, whereby her bloudde mighte of righte in tender
youthe bee so planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde namely bee eradicated out of the same.

The duke of Gloucester turned all this to their distinction, and vpo that grounde set the
foundacion of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom soeuer lie peroeiued too bee tit variauncp
with theim, or to beare toward hymselfe any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, some by mouthe,
some by writynge and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to be suffered
that the younge kynge their master and Uynsman shoulde bee in the handes and custody of
his mothers kynrede, sequestered in maner from their compaignie and attenduunce, of whiche
euery one oughte hym as faithefull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers side, whose bloud quod the duke of Gloucester
sauyng the kyng his pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to
bee remoued from the kyng and the leaste noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he
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neither honourable to his majestie nor too vs, and also too hym lesse suretie, to haue the nobles and mightiest of his frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle iepardie to suffre, and specially our well proued euill willers too growe into greate authoritie with the kyng in youthe, namely which is lighte of belefe and soone perswaded.

Ye remembre that kyng Edward hym self, albeit he was bothe of age and discretion, yet was he ruled in many thynes by that bende, more then stode either with his honoue or our profite, or with the comoditee of anye man els, excepte onely the immoderate auuancemente of theim selues, which whether they thirsted sore after their owne weale or no, it were harde I thynke to gesse. And yf some folkes frendeshipe had not holden better place with the kyng then any respecte of kynrede, they might, parauenture, ease-ly haue trapped and broughte to confusion some of vs or this: and why not as easely as thei haue dooen other or this as nere of the blud royall, but our lorde hath wroughte his will, and thanked bee his grace that perell is paste: howebeit as greate is growyng if we suffre this young kyng in his enemies handes, whiche, without his wittynge might abuse the name of his commandemente to any of our vndoyng, whiche thinges God and good prouision forbid, of whiche good prouision none of vs hath any thynge the lesse nede for the late attome-ète made, in whiche y kyng his pleasure had more place then the parties hertes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise or somuch ouersene as to trust a newefred made of an old foo, or to thinke that any onely kindenesse so sodenly contracted in an houre, continued scanty yet a fourtnight, should bee deper set in our stomackes, then a longe accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these perswasions and wringings, the duke of Gloucester sette a fire theim whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especial twain, Henry duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam lord Hastynge, and lord Chamberlain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe succession from his aunceters, other by his offices and the kyng his favoure. These two not berynge cache to other so much loue, as hatred both to y queenes bloud, accorccd together with the duke of Gloucester that thei would remoue from the kyng all his mothers frendes, vnder the name of their enemies.

Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beyng aduertised that the lordes aboute the kyngge entended to brynge hym to London to his coronacion, accompanied with suche a number of their frendes that it shoude be harde for hym to brynge his purpose to passe without the assemblenyg and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof the ende he wost was doublfull, and in the which the kyng beyng on the other syde, his parte shoude have the name and face of rebellion.

He secretely therefore by diverse meanes caused the queene to be perswaded that it was neither nede & should also be iepoverdous for y kyng to come vp so strong, for as now ery lord loued other and none other thynge studdyed for, but the triumpe of his coronacion & honoure of the kyng. And the lordes aboute the kyng, should assemble in the kynges names muche people, thei shoude sende y lordes betwixt whom & them ther had bene some tyme debate, an occasion to fear and susptide lest they shoule gather this people, not for the kynges saue guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauynge more regard to their olde variaunce then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on the other parte might assemble men also for their defence, whose powres she wost well farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, & of the mischiefe that therof should ensue (which was likely to be not a litle) y noste harme was like to fal where she least woulde, & then all the world would put her & her kynred in the blame, saiynge that they had vnwysely and vtruely broken the amytie and peace whiche the kyngge her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and his, whiche amyte his kynne had awaies observed.

The queene beyng thus perswaded, sent worde to the kyng and to her brother, that there was no cause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester and other lordes of his bende, wrote vnto y kyng so reuerently and to the queenes frendes there so lou-yingly
THE FIFT.

...that they nothing yeathly mistrustyng, brought the young kyng towards London with a sober compaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) til he came to Northampton, and from the where he removed to Stony stratford. On which day, the two dukes and their bende came to Northampton, sauing that Stony stratford could not lodge them. Where they found the earle Ryuers, entenodyng the nexte moronynge to have followed the kyng, and to be with him early in the moronynge. So that night, the dukes made to the earle Ryuers frendly chere, but assone as they were departed very familiar with greate curtesie in open sight & therle Ryuers lodged: the two dukes with a fewe of their priue frenedes fel to counsel, wherein they spent a great parte of the night, and in the dawnynge of the daye they sent aboute priuely to their seruauntes in their lodgynges to hast to horsebacke for their lorde were in maner redy to ryde, wherpo all their seruauntes were ready or the lorde Ryuers seruauntes were awake. Nowe had the dukes taken the keyes of the ymne into their possession, so that none should yeuse out withouted their consent. And over this in the high way forwarde Stony stratford, they set certayne of their folkes that should cause and copell to returne againe all persons that were passyng from Northampton to Stony stratforde, saying that the dukes them selues would be the firste that should come to the kyng from Northampton: thus they bare folkes in hand. But when the earle Ryuers vnnderstode the gates closed and the wayes on every syde beset, neither his seruauntes, neither him selue suffered to go out, perceyninge so greate a thynge without his knowledge, not beegn for noughte, comparynge this present doynge with the laste nyghtes chere, in so fewe horas so greate a chaung, maruellously mistrustyng it. Howebeit, sythe he could not get awaye, he determined not to kepe him selue close, least he should seme to hyde him selue for some secret feare of his owne faute, wherof he saw no such cause in him selue, wherfore on the suretie of his owne conscience he determined to goo to them and to inquire what this matter might mean: Whom assone as they sawe, they beganne to quarel with him, affirmyng that he pretended to set distancce betwene the kyng and them to brynge them to confusion, whiche should not lyne in hys powre, and when he beganne as he was an eloquente and well spoken manne in goodlywyse to excuse hym selue, they woulde not heare his aunswere but toke hym by force and put hym in ward. And then they mounted on horsebacke and came in haste to Stony stratforde, where the kyng was going to horsebacke, because he would leaue the lodgyng for them, for it was to straught for bothe the compaignies. And when thei came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them, and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gently receivd, nothing yeerthly knowing her mistrustyng as yet. The duke of Buckyngham said aloude, on afore gentlemen, and women kepe your rounmes, and therwith in y kynges presence they picked a quarel to the lord Richard Grey the quenes sonne, and brother to the lord Marques & half brother to the kyng saing that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryuers his vncle had compassed to role the kyng and the realme and set variaunce betwene the states, & to subdue and destroy the noble blush of the realme. And towarde thaccomplishmente of the same, they sayde, the lord Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to the sea, which thynge these dukes knewe well wer done for a good purpose and as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at London, but somewhat they muste saye to the whiche woordes the kyng answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot saye, but in good faythe I dare well answere for mine vncle Ryuers and my brother here, that they be innocente of suche matiers. Yee my lieage quod the duke of Buckyngham, they haue kept the dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of youre good grace. And furthwith they arrested the lorde Rychard and sir Thomas Vaughan & sir Richard Hawte kynghtes, in the kyngs presence, & broughte the kyng and all back to Northampton, where they toke further counsaill in their affaires. And ther they sent from the kyng whom it pleased them, & set aboute him such seruauntes as better pleased them then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not content, but it booted not. And at dynner, the duke of Glocester sent a dyshe from his owne table to the lord Ryuers, praiyng him to bee of good chere and all should be well,
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well, he thanked him & prayed the messenger to bear it to his nephiew the lorde Richard with like wordes, whom he knewe to haue neede of eſcorſe, as one to whom such aduersite was straunge, but he hym selfe had bene all his daies enuoured therwith, and therefor could beare it the better. But for al this message, the duke of Gloucester sent ye lorde Ryuers, the lorde Richard and sir Thomas Vaughan and sir Richarde Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisones, but at last, al came to Poufret where they all foure were beheaded without judgement.

In this maner as you haue hard, the duke of Gloucester toke on him the gouernance of the yonge kyng, whom with much reuerence he conduied towardes London. These tidynes came hastely to the quene before myndighte, by a very sere reporthe that the kyng his sonne was taken and that her brother and her other sonne and other her frendes were arresteed, and sent, no man wiste whether. With this heauy tidynge the quene bewayled her chyldes ruyne, her frendes mischaunche, and her owne infortune, curssyng the tyne that ever she was persuadde to leaue the gatheringe of people to brynge vp the kyng with a greate powre, but that was passed, and therefore nowe she toke her younger sonne the duke of Yorke and her daughters and went out of the palays of Westminster into the sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbotes place, and she and all her chyldren and compaignie were regestring for sanctuary persons. The same night there came to doctor Rotheram Archebys-
shop of Yorke and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chambrelayne to Yorke place byside Westminster: the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsye and declared to him that the dukes were gone backe with the young kyng to Northampton, and declared further, that the lorde Hastynge his maister sent him worde that he should feare nothing for all should be well. (Wel quod the archebishop) be it as well as it wyl, it wyl never be so wel as we haue sene it, and then the messenger departed. Wherupon the bisho-
shop called vp all his seruauntes and toke with hym the great sealde and came before day to the quene, about whom he found much heauynesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conueignaunce and cariage of birstuffe into sanctuary, every man was busye to care, beare and conueigne stuffe, chestes & tardelies, no man was vnoccupied, and some caried more then they were commandeed to another place. The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes all desolate & dismayde, whô the Archebispophpe comforted in the best maner that he could, shewing her that the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was putte in good hope and out of feare by the message sente to hym from the lorde Hastynge. A wo worth him quod the quene, for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blodde. Madame quod he, be of good comforte and I assure you, yt they crowne any other kyng then your sonne whom they nowe haue, we shal on the morow crowne his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great sealde, which in lykewise as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the use of your sonne and therwith delivered her the greate sealde, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when he opened his wyndowes and loked on the Tenys, he might see the rier full of boates, of the duke of Gloucester his seruauntes watching that no person should go to sanctuary, nor none should passe vnsearched.

Then was there great rumoure and commotion in the cites and in other places, the people diuersely diuined vnpon this dealeynge. And diuerse lorde, knightes and gentilmen, either for fauoure of the quene or for feare of them selues, assembled compaignies and wente flockyng together in harnes. And many also, for that they recompted this demeanour attempted, not so specially against other lorde as against the kyng his selve in the disturb-
aunce of his coronatyng, therefore they assembled by and by together to common of this matter at London. The Archebispophpe of Yorke fearinge that it woulde be aſcribed (as it was in dede,) to ouermuch lightnes, that he so sodeinly had yelded vp the great scale to the quene, to whô the custody therof nothing apperteigned without especial commandemente of the kyng, secretly sente for the scale againe and brought it with him after the accu-
tomned maner to mete with the lorde.
At this metynge, the lord Hastynges, whose trueth towarde the kyng no man doubted, nor
neded not to doubte, persuaded the lordes to beleue, that the duke of Gloucester was faith-
full and sure towards his prince, and that the lord Ryuers, the lord Richard and other
knightes apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Gloucester
and Buckyngham put vnnder arrest, for their suretie, and not for the kings jeoparde, and
that they were also in sauagarde there to remayne, till the matter were (not by the dukes
only) but also by all the other lordes of the kynges counseyl indifferently examined, and by
their discrecions ordeard and either judged or appesed. And one thynge he aused them to
beware of, that they judged not the matter to furthurbe or they knewe the trueth, nor turynge
their private grudges into the common hurte, irritynge and prouokyng men vnto angre, and
disturbyng the kynges coronacion, toward which the duke was commynge, for that, then
wytche paraduenture bryngye the matter so farre oute of ioynte, that it shoulde neuer be
brouung in fraye againe, whiche yf it shoulde happe as it were likely to come to a felde,
thoough at p[lace] wer in al other things equal, yet shoulde the authoritie bee on that
syde, where the kyng is hym selfe, with these persuasions of the lorde Hastynges, whereof
parke he him selfe beleued, and of parte he wyst well the contrary, these commocions were
some what appeased. But in especiall, because the dukes of Buckyngham and Gloucester
were so nere and came on so shortly with the kyng, in none other maner, nor none other
voice or sembleaunce then to his coronaciô, causing the tyme to be blowne about that such
persons as were apprehended had contriued the distruction of the duke of Gloucester and
of Buckyngham and other of the noble bloude of this realme, to the entente that they alone
woulde rule and gourner the kyng. And for the coloure thereof, suche of the dukes ser-
vauntes as rode with the cartes of their stuffe which were taken, among the whiche stuffe no
marueyle though some were harneyss whiche at the brekynge vp of suche an houshole must
be brynghe awaye or caste awaye, they shewed to the people, and as they went, sayd: lo
here be the barreles of harneyss that these traitours had priuely conueiughe in their cariages
to destroye the noble lordes withall. This diuere, (although it made the matter to wise
men more unliekly) wel perceiuyng that thententours of suche a purpose woulde rather
haue had their harneyes on their backes, then to haue boud them vp in barelles, yet muche
parke of the common people were thenthe things shewen with right well satisfied.

When the kyng approached nere the cytee, Edomonde Shawe Goldesmyth then Mayre of
the cytie with the Aldermen and shrene in skarlet, and fyue hundred commons in murr-
raye receyued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueiughe him to the cytee,
where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst and last yere of his reggne, and was
lodged in the bishopp of Londons Palayce: but yf duke of Gloucester bare him in open
sight so reuerently, saying to all me as he rode beholde your prince and sovereigne lord, and
made such sembleaunce of lowlynes to his prince, that from the great obloqny that he was
in so lute before he was sodeny fallen in so great trust that at the counceul next assembled
he was made the onely chiefe rulor, and thought most mete to be protectoure of the king
and his realme: so that, were it destyny or were it foly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to
kepe. At whiche counceul the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliuyng the
great seale to the quene, and the seale taken from him and deliuered to doctor Iohn Russel
bishop of Lyncolne, a wyse man and a good and of much experience, and diuere lordes and
knyghtes were appoyned to diuere roomes, the lord Chamberlayne and some other kept the
roomes that they wer in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the protectour (which alwayes you must take for the duke of Glo-
ucester) sore thrysted for the achiuyng of his pretensed enterpryse and thought every daye a
yere tylly it were perfourmed, yet durste he no further attempt as long as he had but halfe
pray in his hand, well witting that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall
to the other, yf he remayned either in sanctuary or shoulde happily be shortly conueiughe
to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next metynge of the lordes in counceul
he purpose to them that it was an heynous thynge of the quene, and procedyng of great
malice toward the kynges counsellors that she should kepe the kynges brother in sanctuary from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to bryng all the lorde in an obloquy and murmuore of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kynges brother, which lorde were by the whole assent of the nobles of the realme appointed as the kynges were frendes to the tucson of his royall person, the prosperitee wherof (quod he) standeth not alone in kepyng from enimess and euill dyate, but partly also in recreacion & moderate pleasure, which he cannot take in his tendre youth in the compaignye of old and auncient persones, but in the familiare facuissance of those that be not far ynder nor farre aboue his age, and neverthelesse, of estate conveniente to accompany his maistrie, wherfore with whom rather then with his owne brother? and yf any man thinke this consideracion lighte (I thinke no man so thinke that loueth the king) let hym consider that somtyme without smale thynges, greater cannot stand, and verely it redouneth greatly to the dis-honoure of the kynges higlines and of all vs that be about his grace to haue it come in any mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euill wordes walke far) that the kynges brother should be fayne to kepe sanctuary. For euery man wyll judge that no man wyll so do for nought, and such opinions fastened in mens hartes be harde to be wrested out, and may grow to more grief then any man here can diuine. Wherfore me thinke it were not faynest to send to the quene some honourable and trustie personage, such as tendreth the kings weale and the honour of his coucell, and is also in credite and fauour with her: for which consideracion none semeth more metely to me then the reuerend father my lorde Cardinall archebishop of Caunterburye, who may in this matter do most good of all men yf it please him to take the payne, whiche I doubt not of his goodnes he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours and wealth of the young duke him selfe the kings most honorabile brother, and for the confort of my souereigne lorde hym selfe my most dearest nephiewe, consideryng that therby shalbe ceased the slaunderous rumore and obloquy now going abrode, and the hurtes anoyded that therof might ensue, and then must rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And yf she perceybe so obstinate and so preciselie set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wyse and faithfull aduertisemente can moue her nor any mans reason satisfye her, then shal we by myne aduice by the kynges authoritee fetch hym out of that prison and bryng hym to his noble presence, in whose continuall compaignye he shalbe so well cherishyd and so honestly intreated that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche perceiue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse and foly, that causyd her to kepe hym there. This is my mind for this time, except that any of you my lordeis any thyng perceiue to the contrari, for neuer shal I by Gods grace so wed my self into myne owne wil, but I shalbe redy to change it vpon your better aduices.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the counsell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thyng that should ceasse great murmure in the realme, yf the mother might by good meanes be induced to deluere hym: whiche, thing the Archebishop of Caunterburye, whom they all agreed also to be most convenient therunto, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to do his vtermoste endeoure. Howbeit yf she coulde in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to deluere hym, then thought he and such of the spiritualitie as wer present, that it were not in any wyse too bee attempted to take hym out againste her wyll, for it woulde be a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, yf the pruyilege of that place should be broken whiche had so many yeres bene kept, whiche bothe kynges and Popes had graunted and confirmed, which ground was sanctyfied by Sanct Peter him selfe more then fyue hundreth yeres agoone. And synth that tyme, was neuer so vndeavour a kyng that euere enterprised that sacred pruyilege to violate, nor so holy a byshop that durste presume the church of the same to consecrate: and therefore quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterprize breake the inmunitie and libertie of that sacred sanctuarie that hath bene the safegard of so many a good mans life, but I trust quod
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quod he, we shall not nede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust
that she with reason shalbe contented and all thing in good maner obtained. And yf it hap
that I brynge it not to passe, yet shal I further it to my best power, so that you all shal per-
ceyue my good wyll, diligence, and indeauoure: But the mothers dreade and womanishy
feare shalbe the let yf any be.

Naye womanishy frowardnesse quod the Duke of Buckyngham, for I dare take it on my
solle that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thynge to feare, either for her sonne or
for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God
some men of her kynne were women to, and then should all be some in rest. Howbeit,
there is none of her kynne the lesse loued for that they be of her kynne, but for their awne
euill deseryuynge. And put the case that we neither loued her nor her kynne, yet there were
no cause why we should hate the kings noble brother to whose grace we oure selfes be
kynne, whose honour yf she desired as oure dishoneste, and as much regard toke to his
wealth as to her awne wyll, she could be as loth to suffre him to be absent from the kyng
as any of vs, yf she had any wytte, as would God she had as good wyll as she hath frowarde
wynte. For she thinketh her self no wyser then some that are here, of whose faithful myndes
she nothing doubteth, but verely beleueth and knowleueth that they woulde be as sorye of his
harme as her awne selue, and yet they would haue him from her if she abyde there.

And we all I thynke be content that bothe her chyldren be with her if she came from
thence and abyde in suche place where they may be with their honour. Nowe yf she re-
fuse in the deliuerauce of hym to folowe the wysedome of them, whose wysedome she
knoweth, whose approbate fidelitie she well trusteth: it is easye to percewe that frowarde-
nesse letteth her, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her
to feare her awne shadowe) the more we ought to fear to leue hym in her handes, for yf
she cast such fond doubtes that she feare his hurte, then wyll she feare that he shall be let
thence, for she wyll soone thynke that yf men were set (which God forbyd on so great a
mischief) the sanctuary wyl litle let them, which sanctuary good men as me thinketh might
without synne, somewhat lesse regard then they do. Now then, if she doubt least he
might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she wyll send him somewhere out of the
realme? verely I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore myndeth it,
as we mynde the let there: And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were
no great mastery to do, we letting her alone, all the world would say that we were a sorte of
wyse cousailers about a king to let his brother to be cast away vnder oure noses. And thence,
I ensure you faithfully, for my mynde, I wyll rather maugre her stomacke fetche hym awaye,
thene him there till her feare or Fond frowarde feare commye hym away, and yet will I
breake no sanctuary, for verely sith the priuilege of that place and other of that sorte haue
so log continued, I would not go about to breake it, but yf they were nowe to begynne I
woulde not be he that should make them: yet wyl not I say may, but it is a deedee of pitie,
that such men as the chaine of the sea, or their euill debters haue brought into pouertee,
should haue some place of refuge to kepe in their bodies out of the daunger of their cruel
creditors. And if it fortune the crowne to come in question as it hath done before this
tyme whyle ech eche taketh other for traytours, I thynke it necessarie to haue a place of
refuge for bothe: But as for theues and murtherers, wherof these places be full, and which
never fell from their crafte after they once falle therunto, it is pyttee that euere sanctuary
should serve them, and in especial wylfull murtherers, whom God commandeth to be taken
from the aulter and to be put to death. And where it is otherwyse then in these cases, there
is no nede of sanctuaries, apointed by God in the old lawe. For yf necessite of his
owne defence or misfortune drived hym to that deedee, then a pardon serueth hym, which
either is graunted of course, or y kyng of pyttee and compassion gevent. Nowe loke howe
fewe sanctuary men there be whom necessitee or misfortune compelled to go thether? And
then see on the other syde, what a sorte there be commonly therein of such, whom wylfull
vnhurtynes hath brought to naught? what a rable of theues, murtherers and malicious hey-

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rous traitours be, and that in two places specially, the one at the elbow of the cytee, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well a vowe it, ye you way the good that they do, with the hurte that commeth of them, ye shall fynde it muche better to lese both then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused (as they now bee and so longe haue bene) that I feare me euere they will be whyle men be afearde to set to their handes to the amendemente, as though God and sancte Peter were the patrons of vngracious liuynge. Now vnthriftes riote and ronne in debte vpon boldnes of these places, yea, and Ritchie demne ronne thither with poore mens goodes, there they buyld, there they spende and hyd their creditours goo whystile. Mens wyues ronne thither with their husbands plate, and say they dare not abyde with their husbands for betynge, theues bring thether stollen goodes and lyue theron: There devyse they newe robberies nightely and steale oute and robbe, riue, and kyll menne and come agayne into those places, as though those places gaue them not onely a sauegard for the harme that they haue done, but a licencce also to do more mischiefe: howbeit, much of this great abusion, (ye wyse menne woulde sette their handes there vnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God and no breche of the priuilege.

The conclusion is, sithe it is so long a goo I wote not what pope and what prince more piteous then politique, hath grunted it, and other men sence of a religous feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a paine with it, and lette it stande a Goddes name in his force, as far furthe as reason will, whiche is not so farfurthe as may serue too lette vs of the fetching furtle of this noble manne to his honoure and wealthe oute of that place in the whiche he neither is nor can bee a sanctuare or priuiledged man. A sanctuare euer seruetho too defende the body of that manne that standeth in daunger abrode, not of greate hurte onely, but of lawfull hurte: for againste vnlawfull hurtes and harmes no pope ner kyngne entended to priuilege any one place wherein it is lawfull for one manne to doo another manne wronge. That no manne vnlawfully take hurte that libertie the kyng, the lawe and vere nature forbiddeth in every place and maketh too that rederge for every manne euery place a sanctuare: but where a manne is bylawfull meanes in perelli, there nedeth he the tuicion of some speciall priuilege, whiche is the onely ground of all sanctuaries, from whiche necessitce this noble prince is far, whose loye to his kyngy nature and kynerd proueth, whose innocence too all the worder, his tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuare as for hym is not necessary, nor none he can haue. Menne come not too sanctuarey as they come too baptisme to require it by his godfathers, he muste aske it hym selfe that muste haue it, and reason, sithe no manne hath the cause to haue it, but whose consience of his awne faunte maketh hym haue onde to require it. What will then hath younder babe, which ye he had discretion to require it ye onde were, I dare saye woulde bee nowe righte angry with them that kepe him there? And I woulde thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breche of priuilege too be somewhat more homely with them that be there sanctuarey menne in dede, that ye one go to sanctuare with another mannys goodes, why should not the king leuyng his body at liberty satisfy the party of his goodes euyn within the sanctuare, for nether kyng nor pope can geue any place such a priuilege that it shall discharge a man of his debtes beeyng hable to pai.

And with that dieruse of the clergie that were present, whether, they said it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly by the lawe of God and of the church that the goodes of a sanctuare manne should be deliuered in paiment of his debtes, and stollen goodes to the owner, and onelye libertie reserued to hym to get his liuyng with the labour of his handes. Verely quod the duke I thinke ye saye very truth: And what if a mans wife take sanctuare because she list to ronne fro her husband? I would thinke if she can allege none other cause he may lawfully without any displeasure done too sanct Peter, take her out of sanctuare Peters church by the arme. And ye no body may be taken out of sanctuare because he saieth he will abide there, then ye a chylde will take Sanctuary because he feareth to go to schoole, his master must let hym alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it, for there, though it be a childeshe feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verely I haue harde of sanctuare
sanctuary menne, but I never harde before of sanctuary children, and therefore as for the conclusion of my mynde, whosocuer may deserue to haue neede of it, if they thinke it for their suretee let them kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary manne that hath nother discre-}

c tion to desire it, ner malice to deserue it, whose life nor libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in jeoperdy: and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do hym good I saie plainly he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the duke had done, the temporal menne wholly, and the most parte of the spirituall menne also thynkynge no hurt earthly ment toward the young baby, condescended in effe-
t, that if he wer not deliuered he shoulde be fetched outhe. Howbeit, they thought it beste in aduoydyng of all maner of rumour, that the cardinall shoulde firste assaie to get him with her good will. And thervpon all the cousnaill came to f sterre chamber at Westminster, and the cardinall leauing the protectour and other lorde in the sterre chamber, departed into the sanctuarey to f quene, accompanied with certain lorde, were it for the respecte of his honour or that she should by the persones of so many, perceive that his arrande was not onely one mans mynde, or were it for that the protectour entende not in this matter to truste one manne alone, or els if she finally were determined to kepe hym, some of the cöpaignie had paraudenture some secrete instruction incontinente maugree her will too take him and to leave her no respite to conueigh him.

When the quene and these lorde were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed vnto her that it was thought to the lorde protectour and the whole cousnaill that her kepyng of the kyng his brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people & their obloquy, but also to the importable grieffe and displeasure of the kyng his royall ma-
 jestye, to whose grace it were a synguler confort to have his natural brother in compaignie, and it was their bothes dishonoure & theirs and hers also, to suffe him in sanctuary, as though the one brother stode in danger and perell of the other. And he shewed her farther that the whole cousnaill had sent hym to require of her the deliuerye of him that he might be brought to the king his presence at his libertie out of that place which men reconed as a prisone, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, & she in this doing should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the cousnaill, profite to her self, succour to her frendes that wer in distresse, and ouer that, which be wiste well she specially tendered, not onely greate conforte and honour to the king but also to the young duke hym selfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes as also for their both discreet and recreacion, whiche things the lorde estemed not lighte, though it seaued light, well ponderynge that their youth without recreacion and play cannot endure, ner any estraunger for the conuenience of both their ages & estates so metely in that poindt for any of them as the either of them for other.

My lord (quod the quene,) I saie not nay, but that it were very conueniente that this gentlemane whom you require were in the compaignie of the kyng his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it wer as great commodite to theim both, as for yet a while too be in the cust-
dy of their mother the tendre age considered of the elder of theim both, but in especiall the younger, whiche besides his infancie that also nedeth good lookyng to hath a while been so sore diseased with sickenes and is so newleye rather a lite amended then well recovered, that I dare put no persone earthly in truste with his kepyng, but my selfe onely, consider-
yng there is as phisicians saie, and as we also finde, double the perell in the recuificacion that was in the firste sickenes, with which disease nature beeyng sore laboured, fore weried and weakened, waxeth the lesse hable to bear our a new surfect. And albeit there might be founde other that wolde happilye doo their best vnto hym, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to ordre hym then I, that so long haue kept him, or is more tendrely like too cherishe hym then his owne mother that bare hym. No man denieth good madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke wer moste necessary aboute your chil-
dren, and so woulde all the cousnaill not onely bee contente but also glad that it were if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honoure,
But ye if you appoynete your selfe too tary here, then thynke they it more convenient the duke of Yorke wer with the king honourably at his libertie to the comfort of theim both, then here as a sanctuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy, sith there is not alway so great necessite to have the child with the mother, but that occasion sometime may be such that it should be more expedient to kepe him els where, which in this well apereth, that at suche tymne that your most derest sonne then prince and now kyng should for his honor and good ordre of the countree kepe houshould in Wales far out of your kepyng, your grace was well content therewith your self. Not very well content (quod the quene) & yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health and the other is now sicke, in which case I marauil greatly why your lorde protectour is so desirous to haue him in kepyng, where if the child in his sickenesse miscaried by nature, yet might he ronne into slaeudr & suspicition of fraud.

And they call it a thyng so sore against my childes honour & theirs also ye he abideth in this place, it is all their honoures there to suffer him abyde where no ma doubteth he shalbe best kept, & that is here while I am here, which as yet entende not to come furthe & iepoerde my self after other of my frenedes, which would God wer rather here in surete with me, then I were there in iepoerde with theim. Why madame (quod the lord Haward) knowe you any thing why they should bee in iepoerde: Nay verely (quod she,) nor why they should be in prison neither as they now be, but I trowe it is no great marauill though I feare least those that have notletted to put them in duraunce withoute colour, will let as little to procure their distruction withoute cause. The cardinal made a countenaunce to the lord Haward that he shoule harpe no more vpon that string: and then saied he too the quene that he nothing doubted but those lordeis of her kylnne the which remained vnder a reste should vpon the matter examined doo well ynoough, & as towards her noble persone, neither was nor could be any manner of iepoerde. Whereby shoulde I trust that (quod the quene) in that I am gyntesse, as though they were gyntle, in that I am with their enemies better beloued then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so nere to the king, and hove farre bee they of that woulde helpe, as God send grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not too depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mynde he shal bee where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy withoute any substancial cause too haue him, which maketh me much more further and scrupulous to deliuer him. Truly madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer him, the further he other menne too suffre you too kepe him, lest ye your couselesse feare, might cause you farther too conueigh hym, and many thynke he can here haue no prouilege whiche can haue neither will too ask it, nor yet malice or ofience to nede it. And therefore they recon no prouilege broken, although they fetch him out of sanctuarie, whiche ye if you finally refuse too deliuer hym, I thynke verely the conseuail will enfraunchese him, so much dread hath my lorde his vnle, for the tendre loue that he beareth him, leaste your grace should sende him away. Ah, quod the quene, hath he so tendre a zele to him that he feareth nothing, but leaste he should escape hym? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which is neither in the plight to send out? and in what place could I recon hym sure ye he be not sure in this sanctuary? wherof was there neuer tiraunte yet so develishe, that durst attempt too breake the prouilege, & I trust God is now as strong to withstand his aduersaries as euer he was. But my sonne can deseure no sanctuary, you saye, and therefore he can not haue it, forsothe the lorde protectour hath sent a goodly close, by the which that place that maye defend a theif, male not save an innocent: but he is in no iepoerde nor hath no nede therof, I would God he had not. Troweth the protectour, (I pray God he maie proue a protectour, rather then a destroyer, where vnto his painted processe draweth) if it is not honourable that the duke byde here? it were more confortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the kyng lacketh a play feloe, yea be you sure, I praye God send him better plaie felowes then him that maketh so highe a matter vpon such a trifleynge pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the kyng, but if his brother which hath no luste to plaie for sickenesse, must come out of sanctuary, out of his sauegard.
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saueguard to play with him as though that princes so young as they bee, could not play without their pears, or children could not play without their kynred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worse then with straunigers. But the chylde you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the protectour so? Aske hym and you shall here him aske it, and so shall he yf ye will. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he coulde not aske it & thynke he would not aske it, and imagene he would aske to go out, if I say he shal not: Note yf I aske the priuilege, but for my self, I say that he that againste my will taketh out hym, breaketh sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my persone onely or for my goodes to? you may not fro hence take my horsse from me, yf I stalle hym not nor owe you nothing: then foloweth it, that you may not take my child from me, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsaill sheweth me, he hath nothing by dissente holden by knightes servyce, but by socage: then the lawe maketh me his guarde, then maye no manne lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of sanctuarie, and if my priuilege coulde not serve him, nor he aske it for him self, yet sith the lawe committeth to me the custody of hym, I maye require it for hym, excepte the lawe gene the infaunte a guarde onely for his goodes, dischargynge hym of the cure and saukepyng of his body, for which onely, bothe goodes and landes serve: Wherefore here entende I to kepe hym, sithe mannes lawe serueth the guarde onely to kepe the infante, and the lawe of nature willett the mother to kepe the child, and Gods lawe priuilegeth the sanctuarie, and the sanctuarie priuilegeth my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the protectour handes, that hath his brother already, which is (yf both failed) inheritore to the crowne as heire male, as he saythe. The cause of my feare no man hath too doo to examine, and yet feare I no fether then the lawe feareth, which as learned menne tell me; forbideth every manne the custodye of them by whose death he maie enherite lesse lande then a kyngdome. I can saie no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuarie, I pray God sende him shortly nede of sanctuarie, when he maye not come to it, for I woulde not that my mortal enemie shoulde bee taken out of sanctuary.

The cardinall perceiued that the quene euer the longer the farther of and also that she began too kyndle and chafe and spake sore bytyng woordes against the protectoure, and such as he neither beleued and also was loth to here, he saied to her, for a finall conclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliever the duke to him and to the other lorde there present, he durst lay his owne body and solle both in pledge, not onely for his suretye, but also for his estate, and surely he knewe nor suspected no cause but he mighte so do (but he knewe not all.) And further he saied, if she would geue hym a resolute aunswere to the contrary he would therewith departe incontinente, and shifte who so woulde with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer entended further to moue her in the matter, in the whiche she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked either witte or trueth. Witte yf they wer so dull yf they nothing coulde perceive what the protector entended, and yf they should procure her sonne to be delievered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towards the child any euyll will entended, then she mighte thynke all the counsaill bothe euill advised and of litle fidelitie to their prince.

The quene with these woordes stode in a great study, and forasmuch as she saw the lorde Cardinall more redier to departe then the remanaunte, and the protectoure him selfe redy at hande, so that she verely thought that she could not kepe him there but he should bee incontinent taken thence, and to conueigh him els where, neither had she tyme to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons apoincted to conueigh hym, and so all thing was vnredy, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothyng lesse looking for, then too hane him out of sanctuary which she knew now men to be sette in all places about, that he could not be conueighed out vntaken, and partly as she thoughte it mighte fortune her feare to be false: so well she wiste it was either nedelesse or bootelesse. Wherefore, yf she shoulde nede goo from him she demed beste to deliever him, and specially of the cardinalles faith she nothyng doubtyng nor of some other lorde whom she sawe there, whiche as.
she feared leste, they might be deceived, so well was she assured that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them more warily too loke to him and the more circumspectely to see his surety, yf she with her owne handes betooke him them by truste, and at the laste she toke the young duke ·by the hand and said vnto the lorde, my lorde quod she and all my lorde, neither am I so vnyse to mistruste your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistruste your trulythes: of the which thyng I purpose to make suche a profe, that if either of both lacked in you, mighte turne both me to great sorowe, the realme to much harme and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she this gentlemâ, whom I doubt not but I could kepe safe if I would, whatsoever any manne saie, and I doubt not also but there be some abroad so dedly enemies vnto my bloud, that yf they wiste where any of it lay in their own body they would let it out: we haue also experieâe that the desire of a kyngdome knoweth no kynde, the brother hath been the brothers bane, and may the nephews be sure of the vncle? ech of these children are others defence while they be a sunder, and ech of their liues lieth in others body, kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perilous then both too be in one place: for a wise marchaunte neuer aventureth all his gooddes in one ship. At this notwithstanding, here I delier me and his brother in him, to kepe to your handes, of whom I shall aske them bothe before God and the worlde. Faithfull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength if you liste to kepe him, for you lacke no helpe of your selues, nor neede to lacke no helpe in this case, and yf you cannot els where, then maye you leaue hym here: But onely one thyng I beseeche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the truste that I putte you in now, that as farre as you thynke that I feare to muche, ye be well ware that you feare not to little. And therewith all she saied to the chyld, fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God send you good kepyng, let me once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth whc we sal kisse together again, & therewith she kyssed hym, & blessed hym, and turned her bace & wepte, goyng her waie, leaung the poore innocet chylde wepyng as faste as the mother.

When the Cardinall and the other lorde had receyued the younge duke, they brought hym into the starre chambre, where the protectoure toke him into his armes and kissed hym with these wordes: now welcome my lorde with all my verie herte, & he saied in that of likelihod even as he inwardely thought, and there vpon, furthwith brought hym to the kyng his brother into the bishoppes palace at Pauls, and from thence through the cytee honorably into the tower, out of which after that daie they neuer came abrode. When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea & that they were in a sure place, he then began to thrist to se the ende of his enterprise. And to auoyde al suspension, he caused all the lorde whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes castle to cömen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices & of his affinitee at Crosbies place contriued the contrary and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secreete. Then began here & there some maner of mutterynge emongest the people, as though all thyng should not long be well, though they wyst not what they feared nor wherfore: were it, that before suche greate thynges, mennes heres (of a secrete instinct of nature) misgeueith them, as the south wynde sometyme swel leth of hym self before a tempeste, or were it that some one manne happily somewhat perceiuyng, filled many men with suspicio thoughte he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit, the dea ling it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsail were close, for little and litle all folke drewe from the tower where the kyng was and drewe to Crosbies place, so that the protectour had all the resorte, and the kyng in maner desolate. Whyle some made suyte vnto them that had the doyng, some of theme were by their fremdes secretly warned, that it mighte happily turne them to no good to be to muche attendaunt on the kyng without the protectoures apoinctemente, whiche removed diuers of the kyng his olde seruauntes from him, and sette newe in their roumes aboute hym.
Thus many thynges coming together, partly by chaunce and partly by purpose, caused at length not comon people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also and some lorde to marke the matter and muse ther vpoun: in so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and said to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two severall counailes, for while we q\(^4\) he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my lorde q\(^4\) the lorde Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for while one man is there; which is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that should sounde amisse towarde me, but it should be in myne cares or it were well out their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby whiche was nere of his secrete counsil, and whom he familierly vsed in his most weightie matters, puttyng no man in so special truste as him recönyng him selfe to no man so liete sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholding as was this Catesby, which was a man wel leaned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall favoure of the lorde Hastynges in good auctoritie and muche rule bare in the counties of Lecestre & Northampson where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulation onely, kept all that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diverse other lorde had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe construed all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme toward hym in that counsaill intended where Catesbye was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good semblance vnto the lorde Hastynges and kept hym muche in their compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectoure loued hym well, and loth was to haue loste him sauyng for feare lest his lyfe should haue quayed their purpose, for the whiche cause he moued Catesby to prowe with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thynke it possible to wynne the lorde Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported vnto hym that he found him so fast, and herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastynges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearyng lest their mocius might with the lord Hastynges misishe his credence, where vnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the protectoure hastely to ryd hym & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whiche the lord Hastynges bare in hys countree, the onely desire whereof, was the thyng that endued him to be procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectoure caused a counsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of June, where was mucho commonyng for the honourable solemnite of the coronacion, of the whiche the tyme appointed aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a makyng daye & night at Westminister, and vitale killed whiche afterwarde was caste awaye.

These lorde thus sittynge comúnynge of this matter, the protectoure came in emong them about nyne of the clocke saluyting them curteously, excusyng hym self that he had been from them so long sauyng merely that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a little talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you hauue verye good strawberries in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly (my lord q\(^4\) he) I would I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his seruant for a dish of strawberies. The protectoure set the lordes faste in cömynyng and there vpon prayed them to spare him alittle, and so he depart-ed and came agayn betwene. x. and eleuen of the clocke into the chambre all chaunged with a soire angry countenaunce knitting the brows, frownynge and fretyng and gnawync on his lips and so set hym doune in his place. All the lordes were dismaied and sore mardyled of this maner and sodeyne chaunged and what thyng should hym ayle. When he had sitten a whyle, thus he began: What were they worthy to haue that cõpasse and ymagine the de

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struccion of me byng so neare of blood to the kyng & protectour of this his royall realme: At which question, all the lorde sate sore astonied, musyng muche by whom the question should be ment, of which every man knew him selfe clere.

Then the lorde Hastynge as he that for the familiaritie that was betwene them, thought he might be boldest with him, ansuwered and sayd that they were worthy to be punished as heynous traytours what soever they were, and all the other affirmed the same, that is (q² he) yonder sorcerces my brothers wife and other with her, menyng the quene, at these woordes many of the lorde were sore abashed whiche fauoured her, but the lorde Hastynges was better content in hys mynde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit hys hart grudged that he was not afore made of counsail of this matter as well as he was of the takyng of her kyndred and of their puttyng to death, whiche by hys assent before deuyed to be beheaded at Pomfrite, this selve same daye, in the whiche he was not ware that it was by other deuised that he hym selfe should the same daye be beheaded at London: then sayed the protectour in what wyse that sorceresse and other of her cousayle, as Shores wyfe with her affinitie haue by their sorcery and witche-crafte this wastde my body, and therwith plucked vp his doublet sleue to his elowe on hys lefte arme, where he shewed a weryshe wythered arme & small as it was neuer other. And therupon, every mannes mynde mysgaue theim, well perceuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the quene was both to wyse to go about any such folye, & also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shores wyfe least of her cousaile whom of all women she most hated as that cöcubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

Also, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was ever such sith the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the lorde Hastynge, which from the deatht of kyng Edward kept Shores wyfe, whom he somewhat doted in the kynge lyfe, sauyng it is sayed that he forbare her for reuerence toward his kyng, or els of a certayne kynde of fidelitie toward his frend. Yet nowe hys hart somewhat grudged to haue her whom he loued so highly acused, and that as hys knewe well vtruly, therefore he ansuwered and sayd, certainly my lorde, ye they haue so done, they be worthy of heynous punishement, what q² the protectour, thou seruest me I wene with ye and with and, I tell the they haue done it, and that wyl I make good on thy bodye traytour. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fyste on the borde a great rappe, at whiche token genue, one cried treason without the chamber, and therwith a doore clapped, and in came rushyng men in harneys as many as the chamber could hold. And anone the protectour sayed to the lorde Hastynges, I arrest the traytoure, whate me my lorde q² he: yca the traytoure q² the protectour. And one let flye at the lorde Stanley, which shroncke at the stroacke and fell vnder the table, or else hys head had bene cleft to the teth, for as shortly as he shrancke, yet ranne the blood aboute his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke and doctour Morton bishopp of Ely & the lorde Stanley taken and dunders other whiche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the lorde Hastynge (whom the protectour commaunded to spede and shryue him apace) for by sainct Poule (q² he) I wylly not dyne tyll I se thy head of, it boted hym not to aske why, but hemely he toke a priest at aventure and made a shorte shirft, for a lenger woule not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to his dyner, which might not go to it tyll this murther were done, for sauyng of hys vngracious othe. So was he brought furth into the grene byside the chapel within the towre, and his head layed doune on a logge of tymber that lay there for building of the chapel, & there tyrannously striken of, and after his body and head wer enterred at Wyndesore by his maister kyng Edward the forth, whose soules lesu pardon. Amen.

A merucilous case it is to heare, either the warnynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde. For the next night before his death, the lorde Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requyring hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was disposed utterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull dreame in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased them botth by
by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their shoulders, and for asmuch as the protector gau the bore for his cognisance, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche a fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly determinyned no lenger to tary but had his horse redy, yf the lorde Hastynges would go with him. So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger by the next day. A good lord (q^e the lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my lorde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and hath suche faihe in dreames, whiche either his awne feare phantasie, or do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne wicraft to beleue in suche dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thinke he not that we might as likely make thein true by oure goynge yf we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle fiers) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshead, wherefore either is there peryll, nor none there is deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in peril one way or other, yet had I leauer that me should se it were by other més fals Hed, then thinke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, and therefore go to thy maister and cõmende me to him, & sayte that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (q^e the messenger) and so departed. Certeyn it is also that in redyng towarde the towre the same mornynge in whiche he was beheaded, hys horsse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse almost to the fallyng, which thynge although it happeneth to them dayly to whom no mischaie is towarde, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token observed as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warning but an enuous scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the lorde Haward (whiche lord was one of the priueyest of the lord protectours counsaill and doyng) as it were of curtesye to accompanigne hym to the counsaile, but of trute sent by the lorde protectour to hast hym thitherward.*

This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynges stayed awhile commonyng with a priest whö he met in the Towstrete, brake the lorde's tale, saieng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone: But lytle wyst the other what he ment (but or night these wordes were well remembred by them that hard them) so the true lord Hastynges litle mistrusted, & was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suretie in al his dayes, which thynge is often a signe of change: but I shall rather let any thynge passe me then theayne suretie of mans mynde so neare his death, for vpó the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his head was of, so sone after, as a mä might wel cast a balle, a pursuyant of his awne called Hastynges mette with hym, & of their metynge in that place he was put in remembrance of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lorde Hastynges had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryuers the queues brother, insomuch that he was for a while which lasted not long highly in the kynges indignacion as he now mette the same pursuyant in the same place, the jeoperdy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talke with him therof, with whom he had talke in the same place of that matter, & therafore he sayed, Ah Hastynges, art thou remembred when I mette the here once with an heavy hart : Ye my lorde (q^e he) that I remembre well, and thaketh be to God they get no good ner you no harme therby, thou wouldest saye so (q^e he) yf thou knewest so muche as I do, whiche fewe knowe yet, & no shall shortly, that meant he that therie Ryuers and the lord Richard & sir Thomas Vaughan should that day be beheaded at Pomfret, as thei were in dede, which acte he wist wel should be done, but nothing ware that the axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith mä (q^e he) I was neuer so sory ner never stode in so great daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned nowe, nowe stand myne enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to hear more hereafter, and I neuer
in my lyfe merier nor never in so great surety, I praye God it prove so (q. Hastynges, proue q. he: doubtest thou that) may may I warrant the, and so in maner displeased he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyne as you haue heard. O lorde God the blyndnesse of our mortal nature, when he most feared, he was in moste suretye, and when he reconed hym selfe moste surest, he lost his lyfe, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight & gentle, of great anchoritie with his prince, of liuyng somewhat dissolute, playne and open to his enemy, and sure and secrete to hys frende, easy to begyle, as he that of good harte and courage foresawe no perillies, a louyng man and passyng welbeloued, very faithfull and trustie ynowh, but trustyng to muchie was hys destruction as you maye perceyue.

Nowe flew the fame of thys lorde's death through the cytie and farther about, lyke a wynde in every mans care, but the Protectoure immediatly after dyner (entending to set some colour vpo the matter) sent in all the haste for many substancial men out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their comynge him selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders, such as no mā would wene that they would haue vouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had constrained them. Then the lord protector shewed them, that the lord Hastynges & other of his conspiracy had contrived to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daie in counsaill, and what they entended farther, was yet not well known, of which their treason he had neuer knowledge before x. of the clocke the same forenone, which sodeyn feare drave them to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to their handes for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it, & thus he required them to report. Every man answered fayre, as though no mā mistrusted the matter, which of trueth no mā beleued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dyner an Heralde of armes with a proclamation through the cytie of London which was proclaymed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynges with diners other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same daye to haue slayne the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham sittynge in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoyle whom they lust vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same proclamation to the slaunder of the lord Hastynges, as that he was an euyll counsailloure to the kynges father, entising hyme to many thynges highly redounding to the diminishing of hys honoure and to the vniauersall hurte of his realme by his euyll compaigne and sinister procuring and vngracious example, aswell in many other thynges as in vicious liuyng and inordinate abusyon of his body, bothe with many other and especiall with Shores wyte whiche was one of his secrete counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse maruell of vngracious liuyng brought hym to an vnhappy ende, whiche he was now put to by the comandemēt of the kyng his highnes and of his honorable and faithfull counsaile, bothe for his demerites beyng so openly taken in his false contrived treason, and also least the dealiyng of his execution might have encouragd other mischieuose persons parteners of hys conspiracye, to gather and assemble them selues together in making so great commocion for hys dehuernance, whose hope nowe beyng by his well deserved death pollytickedly repressed, all the realme shall by Goddes grace rest in good quyet and peace. Nowe was thys proclamation made within two houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyt and so fayre writen in Parchement in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euer chyld might perceyue that it was prepared and studied before (and as some men thought, by Catesby) for all the tyme betweene hys death and the proclamation proclamyng, could skant haue suffyced vnto the bare wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and sciribed furthe in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclamyng thereof, one that was secomemaster at Paules standyng by and comparlyng the shortenesse of the tyme with the length of the matter sayed to theim that stoode aboute hym, here is a gawy goodly
goodly cast, foule cast awaye for hast. And a marchaunte that stode by hym sayed that it was wrytten by inspiracyon and propheseye. Nowe then by and by, as it were for anger and not for coueteous, the Protectoure sent sir Thomas Hawarde to the house of Shores wyfe (for her husbandswelte not with her) whiche spoyled her of all that ever she had, aboue the vallue of twoo or thre thousande markes, and sent her bodye to pryson. And the Protectoure had layde to her for the maner sake that she was a counsaill with the lorde Hastynes to destroye hym. In conclusion, when no colour could fasten vpon those matters, then he layed heynously to her charge that thing that she could not denye, for all the world knewe that it was true, and that notwithstanding euery man laughed to heare it then so sodeynly, so highely taken, that she was naught of her body. And for this cause as a godly continent prince cleane and fautlesse of hym selfe, sent out of heauen into thys vicious worlde, for the amendment of mens maners, he caused the byshop of London to putte her to open penaunce, goyng before a crosse one Sondaye at procession with a taper in her hand. In the whiche she went in countenaunce and peace so womanly, & albeit she was out of all aray sauynge her kyrtel only, yet went she so fayre and lovely, and namely when the wonderdye of the people cast a comely red in her chekes, of the whiche she before had most nyse, that her great shame wanne her much praysse amongst them that were more amoros of her body then curios of her soule, and many good folke that hated her liuyng and were glad to se symne corrected yet pitied they more her penaunce then reioysed it, when they considered that the protector did it more of corrupt mynd then any vertuous affeccion.

This woman was borne in London, well frended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, sauyng somewhat to some, her husbande an honest and a yong citemen, godly and of good substauence, but forasmuche as they were coupled or she were well ryte, she not very feruely loved for whom she never longed, which was the thyng (by chaunces) that the more easely made her to encline to the kynges appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of hys royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able sone to perce a softe tendre hart: but the kyng had abused her, anoue her husband beying an honest manne and one that could his good, not presumyng to tocche a kynges concubine left her vp to hym altogether. When the kyng dyed, the lorde Hastynes toke her, whiche in the kynges dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her yet he forbare, either for a prynceely reuerence or for a certayne frendelie faithfulleness. Proper she was and fayre, nothing in her body that you could haue chaunged, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. This saye they that knewe her in her youth, some sayed and judged that she had been well fauoured, and some judge the contrary, whose judgement seemeth like as mene gesse the beautye of one longe before departed, by a speacle taken out of a channell house, & this judgement was in the tyme of kyng Henry the eyght, in the xviii: yere of whose reign she dyed, when she had nothing but a reueled skynne and bone. Her beautye pleased not mene so muche as her pleasant behaviour, for she hadde a proper wytte & coulde both reade and wryte, mery in company, redy and quicke of answere, neyther mute nor full of bable, sometyme tanyng without displeasure, but not without disporte. Kyng Edward would saye ye he had three concubines, which in diverse properties diversely excelde, one, the meriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holvest harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the churche to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greter personages then mistres Shore, nevertheless of their humilitie were content to be nameles and to forbear the praysse of these propereties. But the meriest was Shores wyfe in whom the kyng therefore tooke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauoure to saye the truth (for it wer synne to lye on the deuil) she never abused to any mas hurt, but to many mens comforte & reliefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate & apace his mynde, where men were out of fauour, she would bryng the into his grace, for many that had highly offended, she obtayned pardon, & of great fordefatures she gat remission, and finally, in many weighty suites she stode many mene in great steade, either for none or for very small rewarde:
rewards: and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the dede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, & to shewe what she was able to do with the kyng, or for that that wanton women and welthie be not alwaies couetous, I doubt not some man wyl thinke this woman to be to slight to be written of emong graue and weygthie matters, whiche they shall specially thinke that happely sawe her in her age & aduersite, but me semeth the chaunce so much more worthy to be remembred, in how much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggery vnfrended, out of acquaintance, after great substaunce after so great favoure with her prince, after as greate sute & sekyng to with all those which in those dayes had busynes to spede as many other men were in their tymes, whiche be now famous onely by the inflamy of their euill deeds, her doynges were not muche lesse, albeit they be muche lesse remembred, because they were not euyl, for men use to write an euill turne in marble stone, but a good turne they wryte in the dust, whiche is not worst proued by her, for after her wealth she went beggyng of many that had begged them selves if she had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

Now was it deuided by the protectoure & his counsaile, that the same day the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfrete the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richard the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratford by the consent of the lord Hastynge, whiche execution was done by the orde & in the presence of sir Richard Ratcliff knight, whose service the protectoure specially vsed in the counsail, and in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with hym, hauyng experiece of the world & shrewed wytte, shorte and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, hold in mischiefe, as farre from pytie as from all feare of God.

This knight brought these foure persons to the scaffolde at the daye apointed, & shewed to all the people that they were traitours, not sufferyng the lordes to speake, & to declare their innocence, least their wordes might have enclined men to pytie them and to hate the protectour & his part & so without iudgment & processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded without other yeartly gylt, but onely they were good me & true to the kyng & to nye to the quene, insomuch as sir Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death sayed, And wo worsh the them that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childre, meanyng by the duke of Claréce lord George which for his suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he who shall and will accomplishe the prophesie & destroye kyng Edwardes children & all their alyes & frédes, as it appereth by vs this day, whi I Appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye. And then Ratcliff ye sayed, you haue well apleed, lay doune your head, ye qe syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buryed naked in the monastery at Poumfrete.

When the lord Hastynge and these other lordes and knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the waye, then the protectour caused it to be proclaimed that the coronacion for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the seconde daye of November, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter meant, and while the lordes of the realme were about him, out of their aynwe strenghthes, and whyle no man wyster what to thynke nor whom to truster, or euer they should haue tymne and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose and put hym self in possesion of the crowne, or menne could haue tymne to deuise any wyse to resynte. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heuyous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To this counsail they toke diverse such as they thought mete to be trusted and likely to be enđuced to that parte and hable to stand theim in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Emong whom, they made a counsaille Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon trust of his awne aanouncement, where he was
of a proude harte highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wyte, and were in authorty emongst the people for opinion of their learnyng, and had no scrupulous conscience. Emongst these had, they toke Raffie Shaa clearke brother to the Mayre, & Freer, Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Freers, bothe doctours in diuinitty, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng then vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth. For they were before greatly estemed emong the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in praye of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made one after the coronacion, bothe so ful of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde them, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaque of and come doune in the middest, Doctoure Shaa by his sermonde loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the whiche he durst neuer after muche come abrode, but the Freer forced for no shame, and so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and many thynke that Pynkye was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely because his sermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at saint Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of counsaill in the beginnyng, in so much that they determinyd that he should fyrst breake the matter in a sermon at Poules crosse, in whiche he should by the aucthoritie of his preachyng induce the people to encline to yô protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the laboure and study in the devise of some convenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng. In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but the chief thynge, & the weight of all that inuencion rested in this, that they should allege bastardy in kyng Edwarde hym selve, or in his chylde, or bothe, so that he should sene disabled to enherit the crowne by the duke of Yorke and the prince by hym. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectours awne mother, whiche was mother to them bothe. For in that poinct could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but nevertheless he would that poinct should be lesse and more fnely & closely handled, not euin fully playne and directely, but touched a slope craftely, as though men spared in that poinct to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other poincte concernyng the bastardy they deuised to surmysse in kyng Edward his chylde, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vtermost. The coloure and pretexte whereof cannot be well percyued excepte wee repete some thinges longe before dooen aboute kyng Edward his mariage.

After kyng Edwarde the fourthre had deposed kyng Henry the sixte and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng hym selve to mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selve and for the realme, he sente therle of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the Frenche kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng and Bona sister to the Frenche quene, then beyng in Fraunce. In which thyng therle of Warwike founde the parties so towaerde and willyng, that he spedely without any difficultie accordyng to his instruccions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Nove happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the kyng by peticion dame Elizabeth Grey. (whiche after was his quene) then a widdowe borne of noble bloute, specially by her mother, whiche was Duchesse of Bedforde, and she was married to sir Richarde Wooduile lorde Riuers, her father.

Howbeit, this Elizabeth beyng in service with quene Margaret wife to kyng Henry the sixte, was married to one Ihon Grey Esquire whom kyng Henry made knight at the laste bataull of sainct Albones, but litle while he enjoyed his knighthood, for at the same feld he was slain.

After, when that kyng Edward was kyng and the Erle of Warwicke beyng on his ambassad, this poore lady made sute to the kyng to be restored to suche smal landes as her husebande had geuen her in ioyntoure, whom when the kyng behelde and harde her speake, as she
KYNG EDWARDE

was bothe faire and of good favoure, moderate of stature, well made and very wyse, he
not alone pityed her, but also wexed enamoured on her, and takynge her secretly a sydd
began to enter into takynge more familiery, whose appetituye when she perceyued, she ver-
teiouly denied hym, but that she dyd so wysely and that with so good maner and woorde so
wel set, that she rather kyndede his desyre then quenched it. And finally, after many a
metyng and much wowyng and many great promises she well espied the kyng his affeccon
toward her so greatly encreased that she durste somewhat the more boldely saye her mynde
as to him whose hert she perceyued more ferently set then to fall of for a worde. And in
conclusion she showed him plain, that as she wist her self to simple to be his wyfe, so thought
she her self to good to be his coecubine. The kyng muche marueyling of her constancy, as
he that had not been woste els where so stiefly sayed nay, so muche estemed her continency
and chastitee, that he sette her vertue in stead of possession and richesse: And this takynge
counsall of his owne desyre determined in haste to mary her. And after that he was thus
apionted and had betwene them twayn ensured her, then asked he counsall of his secrete
frendes, and that in suche maner that they might eaisly perceyue that it boted not to saye nay.
Notwithstanding, the duches of Yorke his mother, was so sore moued therewith that she
disswaded that mariage as muche as she possible might: allegyng that it was his honor, pro-
fyte & surety, to mary in some noble progeny out of hys realme, where vpon depended
greate strength to hys estate by that affinite, and great possiblitie of encrease of his dom-
nities. And that he could not well otherwise doe, consideryng the erle of Warwike had so
farfurthe enterred into the matter all ready, which was not lyke to take it well if all hys voy-
age were in suche wyse frustrate & his appointemente deluded. And she sayed fether,
that it was not princely to mary hys owne subjicte, no greater occasiо ledyng there vnto, no possessions ner other commodite depending therupon, but onely as a riche manne would
mary hys mayden onely for a little wanton dotage vpon her person. In whiche mariage many
menne cοмended more the maydens fortune then the mannes wisedome, & yet she sayed that
there was more honesty, than honour in this mariage, forasmuch as ther is not betwene a
marchant & his mayde so greate a difference as betwene a kyng and his subjicte, a greate
prince and a poore widowe. In whose persone, allthough there were nothynge to bee mis-
lyked, yet was there sayed she, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diverse
other that were more metely (q' she) for your estate: yea and maidens also, the onely wi-
dowed of dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other poinctes and thyngs con-
venient for you) should suffice as me thynketh to refrain you from her mariage, sith it is an
vnsittynge thyng and a great blemish to the sacred maestie of a prince, that ought as nere
to approche priesthode in clennesse, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamy in his
first mariage. The kyng made his mother an aventure part in earnest and part in playe mere-
ly, as he that wiste hym selfe out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take
it well, yet was he at apoint in his owne mynde, toke she it wel or otherwise. Howbeit,
somewhat to satisfy her he saied, that albeit mariage beynge a spiritual thyng ought rather to
be made for the respecte of God, where his grace enhiceth, the parties ought to encline to
love together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regard of any temporall
amactive: yet neuertheles he semed this mariage well considered not to be unprofitable,
for he reconed the unitee of no earthely nacion to bee so necessary for hym as the frend-
ship of his owne, whiche he thougth likely to beare hym so muche the more hartye favoure,
in that he disdaigned not to mari with one of his owne lande: & yet if outward alicance
wer thought so requisite, he would find the meanes to entre therunto muche better by
other of his kinne where all the parties could be contented, then to marry him selfe
wherin he should never happily alone, and for the possiblitie of possessions lease the fruit
and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that
cuter he hath beside, yf he be wised against his appetite, and I doubt not (quod he,) but
there bee as you saie other that bee in euery poinct comparable with her, and therefore I
let not them that like them to mary them, no more is it reason that it mislike any man
that
that I mary where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwike, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that that I loue, ner is so vnrasonable to loke that I should in choysse of a wife rather be ruled by his yie then by mine awne, as though I were a warde that wer bounden to mary by the apoyntement a guarden. I would not bee a kyng with that coidicion to forbear mine awne libertie in choysse of mine awne mariage. As for possibilite of more inheritaunce by newe affinitee in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profite. And we have alredy title by that meanes, as suffiseth to gette & kepe wel in one mannes deies. That she is a widdowe and hath alredy children: By god his blessed lady, I am a bachelor and haue some to, & so eche of vs hath a profite, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore madame I praye you be content, I trust to God she shall bryngge furthe a young prince that shal please you. And as for the bigamy, let the bishop hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take ordres, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a prieste but I neuer wiste that it was forbidden a prince. The duchesse with these woordes nothyng peased and seynge the kyngge so sette on that she could not plucke him backe, so highly she disdaigned it, that vnder pretexte of her duty to God warde, she deuisd to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabet Lucy, whom the kyngge not longe before had gotten with chylde, wherfore the kyngge his mother objected openly againste this mariage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the kyngge was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy and her husband and before God, by reason of whiche woordes suche obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bishoppe durste not, or the kyng would not procede to the solenmizacion of the mariage til his fame were clerely purged, and the truth well and opely testified. Where vpon dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng his mother and many other put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kyngge, yet when she was solemnly worne to saie the truth, she confessed she was neuer ensured. Howbeit she said, his grace spake suche louyngge woordes to her, that she verely hoped that he would haue maried her, and that yt suche kinde woordes had not been, she woulde neuer haue shewed suche kyndenesse to hym, to lette him so kindely gette her with childe. This examinacion solemnly taken, it was clerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to mary, wherfore, he shortly after at Grafton beside Stonystratfordre maried the lady Elizabeth Grey verie priuely, which was his enemies wife and had praied hartely for his losse, in the which God loued her better then to graunte her her bone, for then had she not been his wife: And after that she was crowned quene, and her father was created erle Riuers and her some created Marques Dorset. But whè the erle of Warwike vnderstode of this mariage, he toke it so highly, that therof ensued muche trouble and greate bloudshed as is declared before in the story of Edward the iii.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better aperce vpon how slipper a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to be bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked theim to whom it suffiseth to haue somewhat to saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger profe then them selues liste to make.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protector and his counsail concluded that this doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules crosse signifie to the people that neither king Edwardes hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor wer the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten unlawfully by other personas by aduosity of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so prince Edward and all the children begotten on the queene wer bastardes. And according to this devise, doctor Shaa the sondae after at Paules crosse in a greate audience (as alwaie a great nmbre assembled to his preaching) came into the pulpit takynge for his Theme, Spuria vitulamina no dabunt radices altos. Supien. iii. that is to saie bastarde slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherupon when he had shewed the great grace that God gueuth & secretly infoundeth in right generacion after y laves of 

matrimony,
KYNG EDWARDE

matrimony, then declared he that those children commonly lacked his grace (and for the punishment of their parentes) were for the most part unhappy which were gotten in baste, and specially in aduorty, of which (though some by the ignorauncie of the worlde and the truthfull knowledge) have inherited for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaie so prouideth that it continueth not in their bloude longe, but the truthfull commonyge to lighte the rightfull inheritorus be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the prooфе and confirmacion of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testament and other aunciente histories, then began he to descend to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the protectour and declared his title to the croune bi inheritauce and also by entaile authorized by parliament after his death of kyngge Henry the sixte. Then shewed he that the lorde protectour, was onely the rihtefull heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully maried to his quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children were bastardes. And besides that, that neither kyng Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarene (emongest them that wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshoulde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke as those that by their fauourues more resembled other knowne menne then hym, from whose verteous condicions he saied also, that kyng Edward was far of. But the lord protector (quod he) that veraye noble prince, the speciall patron of knightly proves, aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of his noble duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the playne expresse likenessee of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised that in the speakyng of these wordes, the protector should haue come in emongest the people to his sermon ward, to thende that these wordes so metyngge with his presence, might haue been taken emongest the herers, as though the holy ghost had put them in the preachers mouthie, and should haue moued the people euere there to haue cried, kyngge Richard, that it might haue been after saied that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracel: but this deuise quayled, either by the protectoure negligence or the preachers ouer hastie diligence. For while the protectoure, founde by the waye tariyng, leaste he should haue prevented these wordes, the doctor fearynge that he should come or his sermon could come to those wordes hastyng his matter thereto, he was come to theim and paste theim, and entred into other matters or the protectour came, whom when he beheld commyng, he sodainly lefte the matter whiche he had in hand, and without any deducccion therunto out of all ordre, and out of all frame began to repeate those wordes agayne. This is the very noble prince the especiall patron of knightly proves, whiche aswell in all princely behaueoure as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the veray face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the very print of his visage the sure undoubted image, the plain expresse likeness of that noble duke, whose remembranunce can neuer die while he liuth. While these wordes were in speakyng, the protectoure accompaniued with the duke of Buckyngham, went through the people vp into the place where the doctors stand where they harde oute the sermon: but the people wer so far from cryinge kyngge Richard that they stooed as they had been turned into stooones for wonder of this shamefull sermonde: after whiche once ended the precher gat hym home and neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle and when he asked any of his old frendes, what the people talked of him, although that his owne conscience well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouthie of hym muche shame spoken it so strake him too the harte that in fewe dayes after he wethered awaie.

Then on the tuesday after next foloyng this sermonde, beynge the xvii. day of Iune, there came to the Guyld hall of London the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes
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mo then happily knewe the message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal
where the hoystynges be kepte, the duke and the maire and the other lorde sat downe, and
the aldermen also, all the commons of the citee beeyng assembled and standyngge before
them. After scilence commoundad vpon agerate painge in the protectour es name: The duke
stode vp and as he was well learned and of nature merueillously well spoken, he sayed to the
people with a cleare and a lowde voyce: Frendes, for the zeale and hertie favoure that we
beare you we be come to breke of a matter righte great and weightie, and no lesse weightie
then pleasyng to God and profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme, more
profitable, then to you the citizens of this noble citee. For why, the thyngge that you have
long lacked and as we well knowe sore longed for that you would have geen great good
for, that you would have gone farre to feiche: that thyng be we come hether to bryng you,
without your labour paine, coste, aventure or ieperdye. What thyng be that? Certes the
suretye of your awne bodies, the quiete of your wyues and daughters and the saugarde of
your goodes. Of all whiche thynges in crete passed you stooode in doubte. For who was
he of you all that could recon hym selfe lorde of his awne good emongest so many gynnes and
trappes wer set therfore emong so much pylyng and polylyng, emonge so many taxes and
tailiages, of the which there was neuer ende, and ofynes no nede, or yf any were, it grew
rather of riote or of vnerreasonable waste, then any necessary honourable charge, so
that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honeste menne great substance of
goodes, to be lashed out enong vnthrifties, so far furtore that fiftenes suffised not, nor any
vseual termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of benuoeulence and good will, the
commissioners so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde with his good will haue
guen. As through the name of benuoeulence had signified that euery manne shoulde paie, not
what he of hym selfe of his good will lust to graunte, but what the king of his good will lust
to take, who never asked litile, but euery thing was haunped aboute the measure, aemercia-
mentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, small trespaces into mesprision, mesprision
into treason, whereof I thyneke that no manne looke the we shall remembre you of ex-
amples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten whiche was for a worde spoken, in hast
cruelly behedded. (This Burdet was a marchaunt dwelling in Chepesey at the signe of the
croune which now is the signe of the flour d' lusse over against soper lane: This man merely in
ruf- flying tyne of kyng Edwarde, iiij. his rage, saied to his awne some that he would make hym
in heritor of the croune, meaning his awne house: but these worde the king Edward made to be
mysconstrued, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherfore within
lesse space then, iiij. houres, he was apprehended, judged, drawn and quartered in Chep-
syde) by the myconstruye of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse
honoure to Merkam chiefe Juste, then, which lost his office rather then he would assent to
that judgement: then to the dishonesty of those that either for feare or flattery gave that
judgement. What nede I to speke of syr Thomas Cooke Aldermâ and mayre of this noble
of this syr
martayr, & interpreted that he remem-
breth not, or so harde harted that he pitieth not that worshipfull mauntes losse? what spoke
I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle and undeserved distruction, onely because it happened him
to favoure them whom the prince favoured not. We nede not reverse of these any mo by
name, sithe I doubt not that here be many presente that either in them selues or their nigh
trendes, aswell their goodes as their persone was greatly euengered either by fained
quereles or small matters aggrauated with heinous names, & also there was no crime so great,
of which there could lacke a pretexte. For sithe the king preventyng the tyne of his inher-
taunce attained the croune by battail, it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of treason,
to haue been of kindred or aiiance, nere of familiarite, or longer of acquainthance with
any of those, that were at any tyne the kynges enemies which was at one time or another
more then half the realme. Thus were neither your goodes, neither landes in suretie, and
yet they brought your bodies in ieperdye, beside the conen aventure of open warre,
which albeit, that it is euere the well and occasion of much mischief, yet is it neuer so
mischeuous
mischeuous as wher any people fal in deuision, and at distaunce emong theim selves: and in no realme earthly so dedly and so pestillett as when it happeneth emongst vs. And emong vs never continued so long descencion nor so many battaile in any season, nor so cruel nor so dedly foughte, as wer in the kyng his daies that dedde is, God forgiveth it to his solle. In whose tyme and by whose occasion, what about the gettyng of the garlande, kepyng it, lesyng and winnyngge agayne, it hath coste more Enlishke blud then hath the twie winnyngge of Fraunce. In which inwarde warre emongst our selues hath been so greate effusion of the aunciente noble bloud of this realme, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great en-schelnyng of this noble lande, beside many a good towne ransaked and spoyle by them that have been going to the felde or returnyng from thence, and peace after, not much seruer then warre. So that no tyme was there in the which riche menne for their money, and great menne for their landes, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were out of perel. For whom mistrusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he that kylled his own brother? Coulde not suche maner of folke that he moste fauoured doo somwhat (we shall for his honour spare to speke) howbeit, this ye wote well all, that whoso was best bare euer the lest rule, and more suite in his days was to Shores wife, a vile and abhominable strompet then to all the lorde in England, excepte vsnto those that made her their procurt, whiche simple womā was yet well named and honest tylly the kyng for his wanton luste and sinfull affection berefte her from her husbande, a right honest manne and substancially emongst you. And in that pointe whiche in good fatehe I am sore to speake of, sauynge that it is vain to kepe in counsaill that thynge that all men knoweth, § kyng his gredy appetite was insaciable, and euerly where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no womē was there any where, young or old, poore or riche, whom he sette his yie vpō, whom he any thynge liked either for persone or beaute, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respete of his honour, museure, or grudgyng of the world, he woulde improutunately pursue his appetit and haue her, to the great distruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbands and frendes, whiche beynge honest people of them selues, so mucche regarded the chenesse of their houses, the chastitie of their wiuves and childrē, that theim wer leuer to lose all that thei haue beside, then to haue suche a vilanie done to theim. And albeit that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie place annoied yet specially you the citezens of this nobilitie, as for that emongst you is most plentie of such thynges as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were nerest hande, sithe that nere here about was his moste common abidyng. And yet be ye people whom he had as synguler a cause wel and truly to intreate, as any part of his realme: not onely for that the prince by this noble citee, as of his speciall chambre and renouned citee of this realme, muche honourable fame receiueth emongst all other naciouns, but also for that, you not without your greate coste and sondrye fauoures and jeoperdies in all his warres bare euer your especiall fauoure to his parte: whiche your kynde myndes borne to the house of Yorke, sithe he hath nothyng worthy requited you, there is of the house now which by God his grace shall make you full recompence, which thynge to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our errande. It shall not, I wote well nede, that I rehearse vsnto you again that you al redy haue hearde of hym that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so proud too looke therfore § you should receiue my wordes of so great auctoritie as the preachers of the word of God, namely a man so conninge and so wise, that no manne wotteth better what he should do and say, and thereto so good and vertues that he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into the which no honest man cometh to lie: whiche honourable preacher ye well remembre, substanially declared to you at Paules crosse on Sondaie laste past, the right and title of the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester now protector of this his realme which he hath vsnto the crowne of the kyngdome of the same. For that worshipfull man made it perfectely and groundely open vsnto you. The children of kyng Edward the fourth wer never lau-fully
fully begotten, for as much as the kyng (liuyng his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully maried to the quene their mother whose bloud sauyng he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was ful vnmetye to be matched with his (the mynyng of which two bloudes together hath been the effusion of a great part of the noble bloud of this realme) wherby it may well be seen, that mariaage was not well made of which there is so much mischeffe grown. For lacke of which lawfull copulacion and also of other thynes whiche the saied worshipfull doctor rather signified then fully explained, and whiche thyng shall not be spoken for me, as the thyng that evry manne forbeareth to saie that he knoweth, in auoidyng the displeasure that my noble lorde protector bearyng as nature requireth a filiall reverenc to the duches his mother. For these causes before rememmbred I saie, that for laku of issue lawfull commynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose royall bloud the crownes of England and of Fraunce, are by the high auctorithie of a parliamente entailed, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of enheritance according to the common lawe of this lande, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lord protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thyng was well considred and the knightely prowess with many vertues whiche in his noble persone singulerely dooe habonnde: The nobles and commons of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not willing any bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions in the same before vseyd and exercised any longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vterly determined too make humble peticion vnto the pruiaunte prince the lorde protectour, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernance of this realme, too the wealth and increase of the same, accordynge to his very right and iuste title, whiche thyng I wot well he will be loth to take vpon hym as he whose wisedome well perceiueh, the laboure and study bothe of mynde and bodye that shall come therwith to hym, whosoeuer shall occupy that rone. I dare saye he will if he take it (for I warrant you that that rone is no childes office) & that the great wise man well perceiued when he sayed Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est, wo to that realme whose kyng is a child, wherfore, so muche more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entitiled thet o is of so sad age, & thet o of so great wisedome, ioyned with so great experience, and albeit, he will bee loth as I haue saide to take vpon hym, yet shall he too our peticion in that behalf the more graciously encline, ye ye the worshipful citizens of this citty being the chief citee of the realme ioyne with vs the nobles in our saied request, which for your owne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet nevertheless, we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall do great, profite to all this his realme: Beside that in chosyng them so good a kyng, it shall bee to your selfe a speciall commodite, to whom his majestie shall euer after, beare so muche more tendre faveour in how muche he shall perceiue you the more prone and benevolently mynded toward his election: wherein dere frendes, what mynd you haue we require you plainly to shewe vs? When the duke had saied and loked that the people whom he hoped that the Maire had framed before, should after this flatteryng preposicion made, haue cried kyng Richardes, kyng Richard, all was still and mute and not one woorde answered to: wherewith the duke was maruely abashd, and takyng the Maire nere to hym, with other that wer aboute hym priuy to the matter, saied vnto them softly. What meane thes, that the people he so still? Sir quod the Maire, percase they perceiue you not well, that shall we amend quod he, if he that wil helpe, and therwith somewhat lowerd rehered the same matter again, in other ordre and other woordes so well and ornately, and showethesse so euydently and plaine with voice, gesture, & countenaunce so comely and so convenient, that euery man much marued that hard him and thought that they never harde in their lives so euil a tale so well told. But wer it for wonder or fayre, or that eche loked that other should speake firste, not on word was there answered of all the people that stooed before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as rounyng emong them, by which they might see once to common what was best to do. When the Maire sawe this, he with other
parteners of the counsaill, drew about the duke and saied that they people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happily to hym they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Filz Wyly, a saade manne and an honeste, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding, there vnto commaundde by the Maire, made rehearsall to the commons of that which the duke had twise purposed hym self, but the recorder so têpered his tale that he shewed every thing as the duke his woordes were and no parte of his owne, but all this no change made in the people, whiche alway after one stode as they had been amased. Where vpon, the duke rouned with the Maire and said, this is a marueilous obstinate scilence, and there with turned too the people again with these woordes. Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng whiche parauntrue we so greatly neded not, but that the lordes of this realme and commons of other partes might have suffised, sayyng suche loue we bare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is your weele and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not: Wherfore we require you to giue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to hauie this noble prince now protector to be your kyng? And at these worde the people began to whisper emong them selves secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether ende of the hal a bushement of the dukes seruauntes and one Nashfeelde and other belonginge to the protectoure with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall emongest the preace, began sodainly at mennes backes to crye out as lowde as they could, kyng Richard, kyng Richard, and there threw vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stode before cast backe their heddes maruelynge therat, but nothing the saied. And when the duke and the Maire saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and saied it was a goodly crie and a joyfull to here every man with one voyce and no man sayyng nay. Whereforre frendes (quod the duke,) sith we perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to hauie this noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte that we doubt not but that it shall redonde to your good, wealth and commodite. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs and we with you to his noble grace to make our humble peticiö and request to hym in maner before remembred. And therwith the lordes came doune and the compaigne dissolved and departed the more part all sad, some with glad sembleance that were not very merie and some of them that came with the duke not able to dissemble their sorowe, were fain even at his baches to turne their face to the wall, while the dolore of their harters braste out of their yies.

Then on the morowe the Maire and aldermen and chief commoners of the citie in their best maner appareled, assembleng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle, where the protectour laie, to which place also accorgyng too the appointment repaired the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse nobles with hym, besides many knyghtes and gentlemen. And there vpon the duke sent woordes to the lord protectoure of the beyng there of a greate honourable compaigne to move a greate matter to his grace. Where vpon the protectoure made greate difficultie to come doune to theim, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the comynge of such a numbre to hym so sodainely, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this too the Mayre and other, that they might thereby se how litle the protectour loked for this matter, they sente againe by the messenger suche louvngs message, and there with so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that the might resort to his presence to purpose their entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary ouer them with a bishop on every hand of hym, where they beneath might se hym and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant. And there vpon, the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition to hym on the behalfe of
THE FIFT.

them all, that his grace would pardon them and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the extent of their comming without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as muche ho-

nour to his grace as wealth to all y' realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protector, as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to know what they meant, gauze him leave to purpose what him liked, verely trustyng for the good mind that he bare them all none of them any thynge woulde entende to hym warde, wherewith he thought to be grend. When the duke had this leave and pardon to speake, then waxed he bold to shew hym their entente and purpose, with all the causes mouing them thereto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realm now with his yie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decase of the same, & to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendement thereof by tak-

ynge vpon hym the crowne and gouernaunce of the realme accordying to his right and title laufully discended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profile and surety of the land & vnto his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that y' neuer prince reigned vpon any people that wer so. glad to liue vnder his obeissauce as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the protector had heard the propocisicion, he loked very strangely therat and made answer, that albeit he knew partly the thynes by them alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kyng Edward and his children, and so muche more regarded his ho-
nour in other realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desy-

rous, so that he could not find in his harte in this poinct to incline to their desire, for in all other nacions where the truth were not wel knowë, it shoulede parauentaure be thought that it were his owne amibicious mynde and deuise to depose the prince and to take hym selfe the crowne, with which infamy he would in no wise haue his honour steined for any crowne, in which he had euer perchance perceyued muche more labour and pain, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it. Notwith-

standing, he not onely pardoned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie favoure they bare hym, praizing them for his sake to beare the same to the prince vnder whom he was and would be content to line and with his labour & counsaill as far as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doo his vertere denoier to sette the realme in good estate which was all redye in the litlle tyme of his protectourship (lauded be God,) wel begun, in that the malice of such as wer before y' occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, wer now partly by good policy, partly more by God his speiall providence, then mannnes prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Vpon this answer geoyn, the duke of Buckyngham by the protector his licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the naire and recorder of Lon-
don. And after that (vpon like perdo desired and obtained) he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that kyng Edward his line should no longer regaine uppon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretce to retreate (as for that thei thought it for y' weale univerosal to take y' way, although thei had not yet begun it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseche him therunto, and yf he would geue them a resolute an-
swer to the contrary (which the would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not faill to find some other noble man that would. These wordes much moved the pro-
tector, which as euer man of small intelligence may wit would neuer have enclined there-
to: but when he sawe there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and his both to goe from it, he saied to the lorde and commons, sithe it is wee perceiue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we bee very sorry) that they will not suffre in any wise kyng Edward his line to gouerne theim, whom no man earthely can gouerne against their willes: And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so just title
The Tragical Doynges of Kyng Richard

The Thirde.

L Othe I am to remembre, but more I abhore to write the miserable tragedy of this infortuniate prince, which by fraude entered, by tyrannye proceeded, and by sodayn death ended his infortuniate life: But yf I should not declare the flagicious factes of the cuyll princes, aswell as I haue done the notable actes of verteous kinges, I shoule neither animate, nor incourage rulers of royalmes, Countreyes and Seigniories to followe the steppes of their profitable progenitors, for to attayne to the type of honour and worldly fame: neither yet aduertere princes being proane to vice and wickednes, to adouye and expell all synne and mischiefe, for dread of obloquy and worldly shame: for contrary set to contrary is more apparaunt, as whyte ioyned with black, maketh the fayrer shewe: Wherfore, I will procede in his actes after my accustomed vsage.

Richard
RICHARD the third of that name, vsurped the crowne of England and openly took upon him to be king, the nyntene daie of Junc, in the yere of our lord, a thousand foure hundred xxxii and in the xxv yere of Lewes the leueth then beeyng French king: and the morow after, he was proclamed king and went with great solemnitye rode to Westminster, and there seate in the seate roial, and called before him the judges of his realme straightlye commaundynge them to execute the lawe with out favour or delaie, with many good exhortaciös (of the which he folowed not one) and then he departed toward the Abbaye, and at the churche doore he was mett with procession, and by the abbot to hym was delivered the scepter of saincte Edwarde, and so went and offered to saincte Edwarde his shrine, while the Monkes sang Te deum with a faint courage, and from the churche he returned to the palacie, where he lodged till the coronacion. And to be sure of all enemies (as he thoughte) he sent for five thousand men of the North against his coronacion, which came vp euil appareled and worse harneisset, in rusty harneys, neither defensable nor skourred to the sale, which mustered in Finesbury felde, to the great disdain of all the lookers on.

The fourth daie of Iuly he came to the tower by water with his wife, and the fifth daie he created Edward his onely begotten sonne, a childe of x. yere olde, prince of Wales, and Ihon Haward, a man of great knowledge and vertue (as well in counsaill as in battaill) he created duke of Norffolke, and sir Thomas Hawarde his sonne he created erle of Surrey, and Willyam lorde Barkeley was then created erle of Notingham, and Fraunces lorde Louell was then made Vicount Louel, and the kynge his chamberlain, and the lorde Stanley was deliuered oute of warde for care of his sonne the lorde Straunge, whiche was then in Lancashire gatherynge menne (as menne saied) and the sayed lorde was made Suard of the kynge his housholde, likewise the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton bishop of Ely, was deliuered to the duke of Buckyngham to kepe inwarde, whiche sente hym to his manoure of Brecknok in Wales, from whence he escaped to kyng Richarde his confusion. The same night the kynge made seuentene knightes of the Bath. The nexte daie he roade through London with greate pompe, and in especiall the duke of Buckyngham was richely appareled and his horse trapped in blew veluet embrodered with the naues of cartes burnyng of gold: which trapper was borne by fotemen from the grounde, with suche solamente fassion that all men muche regarded it.

On the morowe beeyng the sixt daie of Iuly, the kynge came toward his coronacion into Westminster hall, where his chapell and all the prelates mitred receiued him. And so they in ordre of procession passed forwarde: After the procession folowed therle of Northumberlande with a poyntelesse sword naked, and the lord Stanley bare the Mace of his constableship. Therle of Kent bare the seconde sword on the righte hand of the kynge naked. The lorde Louell bare an other sword on the left hand. Then folowed the duke of Suffolke with the scepter, and the erle of Lyncolne with the ball and crosse. After them folowed the newe erle of Surrey with the sword of estate in a riche skabard. On the righte side of him wente the duke of Norfolke bearyng the crowne: then folowed kynge Richard in a Ciscot and robe of purple veluet vnder a canabie borne by the barones of the fyue portes, gooygne betwene the bishoppes of Bathe and Duresses. The duke of Buckingham with the rod of the high stuard of Engand bare the kynge his train. After hym folowed therle of Huntyngdon, beryng the quenes scepter, and the Vicount Lisle, beryng the rod with the doue. And the erle of Wilshire bare the quenes crowne. Then folowed quene Anne daughter to Richard erle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betweene two bishoppes, and a canabie ouer her hed, borne by the Barones of the portes. On her hed a riche coronall sett with stones and pearle. After her folowed the coiteesse of Richemond heire to the duke of Somerset, whiche bare vp the quenes trayne. After folowed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norfolke with countesses, baronesses, ladies, and many faire gentlewomen: in this ordre they passed though the palayce, and entred the Abbaye at the West ende, and so came to their seates of estate. And after divers songs solemnly
solemly songe, they bothe descended to the highe altare and were shifted from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed. Then bothe the kyng and the quene chaunged theim into clothe of golde and ascended to their seates, where the cardinall of Caunterbury and other bishoppes theim crowned accordyng to the olde custome of the realme, geuyng hym the scepter in the lefte hand and the balle with the crosse in the right hande, and the quene had the scepter in her right hande, and the rod with the done in the lefte hande: On every side of the kyng stooed a duke, and before him stooode the erel of Surrey with the sweard in his handes. And on eueri side of the quene standyng a bishopp and a lady knelynge. The Cardinall song the masse, and after paxe, the kyng and the quene descended, and before the high altare they were bothe houseled with one hoste deuided betwene theim. After masse finished, they bothe offered at saincte Edward his shrine and there the kyng lefte the crowne of saincte Edward, and putte on his owne crowne. And so in orde as they came, they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambers for a ceasan, duryng which tyme the duke of Norffolke came into the hall his horse trapped to the grounde in clothe of golde as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

Aboute foure of the clocke the kyng and quene entred the hall, and the kyng satte in the midle, and the quene on the lefte hand of the table, and on every side of her stooede a countesse holdyng a clothe of pleasance, when she liste to dryrne. And of the right hande of the kyng satte the bishop of Caunterbury, the ladies satte all on one side in the middle of the hall, and at the table againste theim satte the Chauncelloure and all the lorde. At the table next the cupborde satte the Maire of London. And at the table behinde the lorde, satte the Barones of the portes. And at the other bordes satte noble and worshipful personages. When all persones were sette, the duke of Norffolke erle Marshall, the erle of Surrey constable for that daie, the lorde Stanly lorde Stewarde, syr William Hopton tresourer, and sir Thomas Percy comptroller came in and served the kyng solemnely with one dishe of golde and another of siluer. And the quene all in gylte vessell, and the bishop all in siluer. At the seconde course came into the hall, sir Robert Democke the kynges his champion, makyng a proclamacion, that whosoever woulde saye that kynges Richard was not lawefully kynges, he woulde fighte with hym at the ytterance, and threwe downe his gauntlet: and then al the hal cried kynges Richard. And so he did in three partes of the hall, and then one brought hym a cup with wine couered, & when he had dronke he cast out the dryneke, and departed with the cup. After that, the heraldes cried a largesse thrise in the hall, and so went vp to their staige. At the ende of dinner, the Maire of Londø servd the kyng and quene with swete wyne, and had of echo of theim a cuppe of golde with a couer of golde. And by that tyme that all was dooen, it was darkennight. And so the kyng returned to his chamber, and every manne to his lodgyng. When this feaste was thus finisshed, the kyng sente home all the lorde into their countrees that woulde departe, excepte the lorde Stanley, whom he retayned till he harde what his sonne the lorde Streungge went aboue. And to suche as wente home, he gaue straighte charge and commandemente to see their countrees well ordred, and that no wrong nor extorcion shoulde bee doen to his subiectes. And thus he taughte other to execute justice and equitée, the contrarye whereof he daily exercised: he also with greate rewardes geuen to the Norffolken whiche he sent for to his coronacion, sente theim home to their countree with greate thankes. Whereof diuerse of theim, (as they all be of nature very gredy of autoritée, and specially when they thinke to haue any conforte or favoure,) toke on theim so highly and wroughte suche mastries, that the kynges was faine to ride theither in his firste yere, and to putte some in execucion, and staie the countree, or els no small mischief had ensued.

Incontinent after this, he sente a solemne Ambassade to Lewes the Frenche kynges, to conclude a league and amitie with hym, trustynge also to obtayne the tribute whiche kynges Edwarde
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Edwarde his brother had before out of Fraunce, but the Frenche kyng so abhorred hym and his crueltie, that he would neither se nor heare his Ambassadors, and so in vayne they returned. Nowe after this triumphante coronacion, there fell mishifes thicke and thicke, and as the thyng euill gotten is neuer well kept, so through all the tyme of his usurped reggne, neuer ceased there cruell mutrher, death and slaughter, till his owne destruccion ended it. But as he finished with the best deathe and mooste rightwyse, that is to saie his awne, so beganne he with the mooste piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable mutrher of his innocente nephews, the younge kyng and his tendre brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuertheless so far come in question that some remained longe in doubte whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not for that that Parkyn Warbek by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so longe space abusynge the worlde, was aswell with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the younger of these two: But for that also that all thynges were so courtely demeaned, one thyng pretended and another mente, that there was nothyng so plaine and openly proved, but that yet for the common custome of close and couerte dealyng, menne had it euere inwardly suspecte, as many well counterfeit iemelles make the true mistrusted. Hobeit, concernynge that opinion, menne maie se the conueighance thereof in the lyfe of the noble prince kyngge Henrye the, vii. in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane seann, for this presente matter I shall rehearse to you the dolorous ende of these two babes, not after euery waie that I haue harde, but after that waie that I haue so hard by suche menne and suche menes as me thinketh it to be hard but it shoule be true.

Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takyng his waie to Gloucester, to visite in his newe honour the towne, of which he bare the name of old, devised as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephews liyngge, men woulde not recon that he could haue righte to the realme, he thoughte therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killynge of his kynsmen mighte ende his cause, and make hym kyndely kyng. Where vpon he sent Ihon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakelynry constable of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Roberte in any wyse should put the two childre to death. This Ihon Grene dyd his errand to Brakenny, kneylyng beforeoure lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde neuer put them to death to dye therefore. With the which answer Grene returned, recompyng the same to kyngge Richard at Warwyke yet on his journey, wherewith he toke suche displeasure and thoughte that the same night he sayde to a secrete page of his: Ah, whom shall a man truste: they that I haue brought vp my selfe, they that I went woulde haue moost surely serued me, euene those foyle me, and at my commandemente wyl do nothyng for me. Syr quod the page, there lieth one in the palett chambr with out that I dare wel say, to do your grace pleasure the thinge were right hard that he woulde refuse, meanyng this by James Tirel, which was a man of goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a muche better prince, yf he had well serued God, and by grace obeyned to haue as muche truchth and good wyll, as he had strength and wyt. The man had an high harte and sore longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had had hoped, beyng hindered and kepte vnder by sir Richarde Ratcliffie and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longying for no more parteners of the Princes favoure, namely not for him, whose pride thei knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him by secrete drifte out of al secrete trust: which thyngene this page had well marked and knowen: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall frendship spied his tyme to set him forwarded, and suche wyse to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the devil) could never haue done him so muche hurt and shame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard arose (for this communicacion had he sittynge on a drafte, a convenienc carpet for suche a counsell) and came out into the palett chambr, where he dyd fynde in bed the sayd Iames Tyrell and sir Thomas Tyrell of persones like and brethern of bloude, but nothing of kynne in condicions. Then sayd the kyng merely to them, what syrs, be you in bed so sone: and called
called vp James Tyrell, & brake to him secretly his mynd in this mischeuous matter, in the which he found him nothing straungue. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakynbury with a letter by the which he was commaund to deluyen to the sayd James all the keyes of the Towre for a night, to thende that he might there accomplishe the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he ther had geuen him in commaundement. After which lettre delinere & the keyes receyued, James appoincted ye next night ensuying to destorye them, deysynge before and preparying the meanes.

The prince assoned as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kyng, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof advertised and shewed that he should not reigne, but his uncle should haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed began to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne uncle would let me haue my life although I lose my kynges-done. Then he that tolde hym the tale vset him with good woordes and put hym in the best conforthe that he could, but furthe with he and his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Willyam Slaughter onely except, which were set to serve them, and iiiii other to see them sure. After whiche tyne, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heunines, tyll this trayerous dede delinuered them of that wretchdes.

For Iames Tirrel deuised that they shoule be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepethem, a felowe fleshe bred in murther before tyne: and to hym he loyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horsekeeper, a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then al the other broyn remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Ihon Dighton aboute myndnight, the sely children lyng in their beddes, came into y chaïbre and sodenli lapped them vp amongst the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng doune by force the fether-bed and pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & styfled them, and their breathes faliyng, they gaue vp to God their innocet solles into the ioyes of heauen, leaungyng to the tournetsours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the struglyng, with the panges of death, and after long lyng styli to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out vp vpon the bed, and fetched Iames Tirrel to see them, which when he sawe them perflyght dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the groide vnnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode Iames Tirrel in great hast to kyng Richard, and shewed hym all the maner of the murther, who gave hym great thanks, and as men saye, there made hym knihtes, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiying, that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were kynges sonnes: Lo y honorable courage of a king, for he would recompëce a detestable murther with a solemne obsequy. Whereupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp & buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after) which onely knewe it, the very truchth could neuer yet be very wel and perflyght knownen. For some saye that kyng Richard caused the priest to take them vp and close them in lead and to put them in a cissyne full of hokes hoked at the endes with ii. hokes of yron, and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke depes at the Themes mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be sene agayn. This was y very truchth vnsowen by reason that y sayd priest died so shortly & disclosed it neuer to any person that would vter it. And for a truchth, when sir James Tirrel was in the Towre for treason committed to kyng Henrye the seuenthe: bothe he and Dighton were examinad together of this pointe, and bothe they confessed the murther to be done in the same maner as you haue hard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they bothe affirmead they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that muche knewe and lite cause had to lye, where these two noble princes, these innocente tendre children, borne of the mooste royall bloude and brought vp in great wealth, likely longe to liue, to reigne and rule in the realme, by trayerous tirannye taken and deprifed of their estate, shortly shut vp
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...in prison and priuely slaine and murthered by the cruel ambicion of their vnnatural vnde
cle and his dispiteous tournementours: whiche thynges on evry parte well pondered, God
gave this world neuer a more notable example, either in what vihsure stoodeth this worldes
weale, or what mischiefe worketh the pride enterprise of an hige harte, or finally, what
wretched ende ensueth suche dispiteous crueltie. For fyrste to beginne with the ministers,
Myles Forest, at saient Martyns le granthe by pece meale miserably rotted awaye, Ithon
Dighton lyued at Calleys long after, no lesse disdayned and hated then poincted at, and
there dyed in great misery: But sir James Tyrrel was beheaded at the Towre hyll for trea-
on: And kyng Richard his selfe was slaine in felde hacked and hewn of his enemies
handes, haried in a horsbacke naked beyngne dead, his heere in dispite torne and tugged
lyke a curre dogge. And the mischiefe that he toke with in lesse then thre yeres, of the
mischiefe that he dyed in thre monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane tyme spente
in muche trouble and payne outwarde, and much feare, dread and anguishe within. For
I have harde by credibele reporte of suche as were secrete with his chamberers that after this
abominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mynde, he neuer thought him selfe sure
where he wente abroade, his body priuely feinted, his eyen whereld aboute, his hinde euerm
on his dagger, his countenaunce and maner lyke alwaies to stricke againe, he toke euill
reste on nightes, laye long wakying and musyng, forweried with care and watche, rather
slombered then slept, troubled with fearfull dreames, sodeinly somtyme stert vp, leapt
out of his bed and loked aboute the chambr, so was his restlesse harte continually tossed
and tombled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable
murther and execrable tyrannye.

KYNG Richard by this abominable mischye & scelerous act thinkyng hym self well re-
leyed bothe of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaill but within a few daies
causeth it to ronne in a common rumor that y. ii. chylde was sodanie dead, and to this
entent as it is to be denyd that now, none heyre male beyngne a lune of kyng Edwardes body
lawfully begotten y people would be content with the more paciet hart, & quiet mynd, to
obey him & suffer his rule and gouernaunce: but when y fame of this detestable facte was
reuelled, & devulged through y hole realine, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward
sorow into the hartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set a syde, they in evry
towne, streate, and place openlie wept, and piteously sobbyd. And when their sorowe
was sumwhat mitigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places pub-
like, and also priuate furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures ys so maliciouse and so
obstynate an enemie either to God, or to christian religion, or to humayne nature, whiche
woulde not haue abhorred, or at the lest absteyned from so miserable a murther of so ex-
crable a tiranye. To murther a man is much odious, to kyll a woman, is in manner vnna-
tural, but to slaye and destroye innocent babes, & young enfantes, the whole world abhor-
reth, and the bloud from the earth crieth, for vnaugnace to all mightie God. If the com-
mon people cried out, I assure you the frendes of the quene, and her children made no lesse
exclamacion and complainthe with loude voyce lamentable crienge and sayenge, a las what
wil he do to other that thus shamefully murthereth his awne bloud without cause or desert?
whom, wyll he saue when he slayth the poore lambs committed to him in trust? now we se
and behold y the most cruel tyrannye hath inuadyd the coonon wealth, now we se that in him
is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mercie but abundance of crueltie and thrust of innocente
bloude. But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead
children yet being in sanctuary, no doubte but it strake to her harte, like the sharpe darte of
death: for when she was first enformed of the murther of her. ii. sonnes, she was so sodainly
amasyd with the greates of y crueltie that for feare she sounded and fell downe to the
ground, and there lay a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to
her memory and was reuued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pitefull scriches she
replenished the hole mancion, her brest she punceth, her fayre here she tare and puled in
peeces & being overcome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred death then lye, calling by

\[3 C 2\]
name divers times her swete babes, accompyng her self more then madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulente promises deluyed her yonger sonne out of the sanctuarie to his enemye to be put to death, thinkyng that next the othe made to God broke, & the devoutie of allegianc toward her chore clyed downe and cried on God to take vengance for the disceaytfull perfurie, as who saide she nothlyng mistrusted but once he would remember it. What ys he liuyng that if he remember and beholde these. ii. noble enfantes without deserving, so shamefully murthered, that will not abhorre the fact, ye & be moued & tormented with pitie and mercie. And yet the wordle is so fruyle and our nature so blynde that fewe be sturred with such examples, obiluousie forgettyng, and littell consideryng, that oftentimes for the offences by the parentes perpetrate and committed, that synne is punished in their lyne and posterite. This chauncie might so happen to this innocet children, because king Edward ther father and parent offended in staynyng his conscience: he made his solemne othe before £ gate of the citie of Yorke (as you hate harde before) and promised and sware one thing by his worde thinkyng cleane contrarie in his harte as after dyd appere. And afterward by the death of the duke of Clarence his brother, he incurred (of likelyehod) the great displeasure toward God. After this murther this perpetrated and that he had visited his towne of Gloucester which he for his old dignitie bothe lounced and with ample liberties and privilegues endewed and decorat, he toke his jorny towards the countie of Yorke, where the people abusying his lawfull fauoure (as he bothe fauoured and trusted them in his hart) had of late presumed to attempte divers routes and riottes contrearie to his lawes and enfryngyng of his peace, and vpon hope of his mayntenance, were so elated that no lord were he neuer of so great power could either pacifie or rule them tyll the kyng hym selfe came personally thetter to set a concorde and an vnitie in that countree and to bridell and rule the rude rustical and blusteryng bolde people of that region, and so he by long iourneyinge came to the citie of Yorke where the citezens receyued hym with great pome and triumphe, accordyng to £ qualities of their educacion and quantitie of there substanse and habilitie, and made divers daies playes and pagea-tes in token of joy and solace. Wherefore kyng Richard magnified and applauded of the norte nacion, & also to shewe hym self apparandie before them in habyte royal with scepter in hande and diademe on his hed, made proclamation that all persones should resorte to Yorke on thedaie of the assencion of ourelorde whereall men shoulde bothe beholde and se hym his quene and prince in there high estates and degrees and also for their good wylls, shoulde receyue many thankes, large benefites and munificent rewarde. At the daye apoyncted the hole clergie assembled in copes richely recuested and so with a reverente ceremonie went aboute the citie in procession, after whome folowed the king with his crowne and scepter appareille in his circot robe royall accompanied with no small number of £ nobilitie of his realme: after whom marched in order quene Anne his wife likeyse crowned ledinge on her lefte hande Prynce Edward her sonne hauyng on his hed a demy crowne appoynted for the degree of a prince. The kyng was had in that triumphe in suche honour and £ common people of the norte so reioysed that they extolled and prayed hym far aboue the starres. After this solempe feaste and glorious pompe he kepe greate counsailles there, as well for the or- derynge of the countree in tyne to come, as for the brydellynge and punyshinge of suche as there had mysgouerned them selfes: and farther of the gentilmen of that contrie, he aug- mented the number of his domestical ministers & seruauntes, in the which persones he put his whole trust & affianc. When all thynges were thus discreetly ordered, he returned by Nothyngbi, and after came to London: whome more for dread then for louse, the Citezens receaue in greate companyngs. Thus kyng Richard by a new inventory crueltie and late practised tyrannye obeyed and grewe to high prays and honour, and then by the admi- racion and judgemennte of the common multitude, he was moost estemed to be exalted into heavuen, when he courtely had intelligece, that he was like to lose his estate and could by no meanes haue long contynuance in his vsurped power: for assueredy after the death of kyng Edward
Edwards children when any blustering wynde perilous thunder or terrible tempest, chanced or were apparently like to happen: Sodainly the people hauing in there freshe memorie the facinorous acte of there kyng and prince, woulde openly crye and make vociferacion that God dyd take vengance and punishe the poor Englishmen, for the cryme and offence of there vngracious kyngge, whom they blamed, accursed and wysshed to haue extreme tortures. Although kyngge Richard harde off of this slauderous wordes and malicious sayynes and kneue wel by what persone they were spoke, yet he dirste not with strong hande be on the fyrste inventours reuenged, knowing that some tyme it is no wisedome to refuse or disdaigne them that tell a ruler his dutie or declare to hym his mysbeauour toward the common wealtie or counsaill hym to amende and chaunge his ye toll life. After this great felicitie, he fell again in to a great feare and penceiuances of mynde, and because he could by no meanes either correct or amend things that were passed, he determined by doyng his dutie in all things to his commons, to obliterate and put out of memorie that note of infamie with the whiche his fame was iustelye spotted and stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thence forth no calamyte nor trouble should be adjudged to happen to the common wealthey, either by his negligence or by his mysgovernance (although it is difficult and strange shortelie to tourne and plucke out suche qualities and vsages as haue of longe tyme been incorporate in a mans mynde and rooted in his maners and condicions.) Therfore whether it was for the performance of his former extent of amendement, or (as the common fame flow abrode) that he toke repentance of his myscheuous actes and scelerate doynge, he tourned ouer the legge, and began an order of a new life, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, bi the reason that he shewed hymselfe more iuste, more meker, more familiare, more liberall (especially amongst the poore people) then before he had accustomed to do, and so by this meanes he firmelye trusted fyrst to obtayne of God forgenuences of his offences and crymes, and after to leuie and take away the ennuye and inward grudge that the common people bare in their myndes twardre hym, and in conclusion, to obteigne their frendelye loue and assured fauour. He furthermore began and enterprised divers things aswel publike as priuate, the which he beyng presented by sodayne death the dyd neither accomplishe nor bryng to conclusion, for he began to founde a college of a hundreth prestes, which foundation with the founder shortelie toke an ende. To please the common people also, he in his high courte of parliamente enacted dyuers and sondrie good lawes and profitable estatutes and in especial one againste strangers and foren wrought wares, not to be transported in to this realme, which commodius acte for the common wealth of he had lyued he fullye purposed to haue auauensed & set forwarde & put in execucion. But afterwardes evidentlie to all persones it appeared, that onely feare (whiche is not a maister long in office and in continual authority) and not justice, caused kyngge Rycharde at that verie tyme to waxe better and amende his synnefull life, for shortelie the goodness of the man whiche was but payncted and fraudulent, sodainlye waxed coulde and vanisshed auaie. And from thence forth not onely all his counsailes, doynge and procedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beginne to froune and turne her whole doneward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edwarde in the. iij. moneth after he had created hym prince of Wales.

¶ THE. II. YERE.

And shortly after, The. ii. yere he was vaquieted by a conspiracie, or rather a conference betwene the duke of Buckyngham and many other gentlemen against him, as ye shall heare: But occasiion why the duke and the kyngge fell out, is of diuerse folke diuerse pretended. This duke as you haue harde before, wasone as f duke of Gloucester after f death of kyng Edward was come to Yorke, and there had solemne funerall service done for kyng Edward sent to him a secret seruaunte of his called Persall, with such messages as you haue
haue harde before. And after the duke of Buckyngham came with CCC. horse to Northamptoon and still continued with hym, as partener and chiefe organe of his deuices till after his coronacion, they departed to all semyng very frendes at Gloucester. From whence assone as the duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would maruell wherof the chaunge grewe in so shorte space. Some say this occasyon was, that a little before the coronacion, the duke required the kyngs amongst other thynges to be restored to the erle of Herfordes landes: And forasmuche as the tyle which he clayned by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced, with the tyle of Lancaster, whiche house made a title to the crowne, and enjoyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, tyll the house of Yorke deprun the third kyng, whiche was Henry the sixte, Kyngge Richarde somewhat mistrusted and conceiued suche an indignacion, that he reiected the dukes request, with many spitefull, and minotary wordes, whiche so wounded the dukes harte with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to lcke right on king Richard but euer feared his awne lyfe, so farre forth, that when the Protectoure should ryde to his coronaci, he feigned him self sycke, because he would do him no honoure. And the other taking it in euill part, sent hym word to ryse and ryde or he woulde make hym to be caried. Whereupon gorgeously apparell, and sumptuously trapped with burnyngge carte naues of golde embroidered, he rode before the kyng through Londo with an euill will and woore harte. And that notwithstanding, he roaye the daye of the coronacion from the feast, feigning hym selfe sicke, which kyng Richard sayd was done in hate and spighte of him. And therefore men sayd that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke looked verely to haue bene murthered at Gloucester, from whiche he in fayre maner departed: but surely suche as were righte secrete with bothe, affirme all this to be vntrue and other wyse men thynke it unlikely, the deepe dissimulyng nature of bothe these menne well considered. And what nede in that grene worde the protectoure had of the duke, and in what perel the duke stooed ye he fell once in suspicicn of that tyraunte, that either the protectoure woulde geue the duke occasyon of displeasure, or the duke the protectoure occasion of mysteruse. And surely men thynke, that ye kyng Richard had any suche opinion conceiued in hym, he woulde neuer have suffered hym to avoyd his handes or escape his power: but very true it is, that the duke of Buckyngham was an highe mynded man, and euill could beare the glory of another, so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that he at such tyme as the crowne was set vpon the protectours hed, his eye could neuer abyde the sight therof, but wryed his hed another way: but men sayd he was not well at ease, and that bothe to kyng Richard well knownen and well taken, nor any demaude of the dukes request vncourageously reiectet, but gently deferred, but bothe he with great gifts and high behestes in mooste lounyge and trustye maner departed from the kyngge to Gloucester. Thus euery man judged as he thought, but sooner after his commynng home to Breckenocke, hauing there by kyng Richardes commaudemct doctor Morto bishop of Ely, who before as you haue harde was taken at the counsaile at the towre, waxed with hym very familier, whose onely wysedome abused his pride, to his owne delierauce and the dukes distruction. The byshop was a man of greate naturall witte, very well learned and of honourable behaevoure, lacking no wyse wayes to wynne fauoure. He was fyrst vpon the parte of kyng Henry, whyle that parte was in wealthe, and neither lefte it nor forsokke it in no wo, but flé the reialme with the queene and the prync. And whyle kyng Edward had kyngge Henry in prison, he neuer returned but to the felde at Barnet: After which felde lost and utterly subdued and all parte takynges extynguished, kyng Edward for his fast fayth and wysedome as not onely contente to receyve hym, but also wooned him to come and had hym from thensforthé bothe in secrete truste and special fauoure, whom he nothynge deceyued. For he byenge after kyngge Edwards death fyrst taken by the tyraunte for his trueste to the kyngge, founde the meane to set the duke in his toppe, and ioyned gentlemens together in ryde of the earle of Richemonde, whiche after was named kyngge Henry the seuenthe: Fyrst deuisynge the mariage betweene the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyngge Edward the fourth, by
the whiche his faithfull and true seruice declared to bothe his maistres at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the conjunction of the bloudes of Lancaster and Yorke, whose funeral titles had longe resiquetted the realme. This man afterwaerde escaped from the duke and fled the realme, and never returned, and went to Rome, neuer myndyng to medle with the worlde, till kyng Henry the seuenthe sent for him, and after made hym Archebishop of Cauntorbury and Chancelloure of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, and liued well to all mens judgementes and died well. But to retourne to the former purpose, he by the longe and often alternate prooфе, as well of prosperite as ad Jahre fortune, had gotten by greate experience the very mother and mastres of wisedome, and depe insights in politike & worldly draイツ, whereby perceiuyng now the duke to common with hym, fed hym with fayre woordes and many pleasanthe prayses, and perceiuyng by the gres of their communicaciones the dukes pryde nowe and then to balke out a little brayde of enuy toward the glory of the kyng, and thereby selvyng hym easye to fall out of the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought the wayes to prycke him forward takynge alwayes the occasion of his comyng, and also kyngye hym selfe close within his bandes that he rather semed to folowe hym then to leade hym. For when the duke beganne fyrst to prayse and boast the kyngge and shewe howe mucche profite the realme shoulde take by his regne: Byshop Morton answered, surely my lorde, folye it were for me to lye, for I am sure yt I woulde swere the contrarie ye would not oncke beliue me, but if the worlde woulde haue begonne as I woulde haue wyshed, that kyngge Henries soune had had the crowne and not kyngge Edwarde, then would I haue bene his true and faïthfyll subjucte, but after that God had ordeyned hym to lose it, and kyngge Edwarde to regne, I was neuer so madde with a dead man to stryne against the quick, so was I euere to kyng Edward a faithfull and true chapeleyne and glad would haue bene that his children shoude haue suceede him, howbeit yt the secret judgemeUt of God haué otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurren against the pricke, nor labour to set vp that God pulleth done. And as for the late protector and nowe kyng; and with that worde he lefte, saunyngge that he sayd that he had already medled to much with the world and would from that day medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the duke sore to heare, what he would haue sayde, because he ended with the kyng, and there so sodainly stopped, and exhorted hym familiarie, betwene them bothe to be bolde and to saye whatsoeuer he thoughte, whereof he faithfully promised there shoude neuer come hurte, and paraduenture more good then he woulde were. And that he hym selfe entended to vse his faïthfull secrethe aduice and counsayle, whiche he sayd was the onely cause for the whiche he procured of the kyngge to haue hym in his custodye, where he might recon hym selfe at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whom he should not haue fondue like fawour. The byshoppe right humblie thanked hym and sayd in good faythe my lorde, I loue not mucche to talke of princes as of a thynge not all oute of persel, although the word be without faute, yet it must be as it pleaseth y prince to construe it. And euere I thinke on Isopes tale, y when the Lyon had proclaymed that on paine of death there shoule no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of fleshe growing out of his heade, fled a great pace: the Foxe that sawe hym flye with all the haste asked hym whether he fled? In faïth quod he, I neithe wote ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamaçion made against horned beastes. What foole quod the foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by, for that whiche thou haste is no horned in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wote that well ynoough, but yt he say it is a horned, where am I then? The duke laughed merely at the tale and sayd my lorde I warrante you, neither the Lyon nor the bore shalcke any matter at any thynge here spoken, for it shal never come nere their cares. In good faith, syr sayd the byshop, yt it dyd, the thynge that I was aboute to say taken aswell as before God I mente, it coule deseure but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to turne me to lytle good and you to lesse.

Then longed the duke mucche more to wete what it was, whereupon the bishop sayd. In good faith my lorde, as for the late protectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose
pose not to dispute his title, but for wealth of this realm, wherof his grace hath nowe the gouernance, and wherof I my self am a poore membere, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath alrede right many, little neadyng my praye, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the realm, as our lord hath planted in the person of your grace and there lefte of agayne. The duke somewhat maruelynge at his sodayne pauses as though they were but parentheses, with a high couenentauce saied: my lorde I evidently perceyue and no lesse note your often breathyng and sodayne stoppyng in your communicacion, so that to my intelligence your wordees neither come to any dyrect or perfect sentence in conclusiō, whereby either I myght perceyue and haue knowleghe what your inward entent is now toward the kyng, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparyson of good qualities ascribed to vs bothe (for the which I my selfe knowlege and recognize to haue none, nor loke for no praye of any creature for the same) maketh me not a lyttell to muse thinkynge that you haue some other preue Imaginacion, by loue or by grudge engraued and emprinted in your harte, whiche for feare you dare not or for childeshe shamefastnes you be abashed to disclose and reuecle, and especially to me beynge your frende, whiche on my honoure do assure you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The bishopp beyng some what boulder, considerynge the dukes promyse, but moste of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the duke desyerous to be exalted and magnified, and also he perceyued the inwarde hatred and pryueic rancor which he bare toward kyng Richarde, was nowe boldened to open his stomache euē to the very bottome, enteyndyng thereby to compasse howe to destroye and ytterly confounde kyng Richarde, and to depyrue hym of his dignitate royall, or els to sette the Duke so a fyer with the desyer of amicione, that he hym selfe mighe be safe and escape out of all daunger and perell, which thynge he brought shortly to conclusion bothe to the kynges destruction and the Dukes confusion and to his awne sauegarde, and finally, to his high promocion. And so (as I sayed before) vpon truste and confinde of the dukes promyse, the bishopp saiede: my synguler good lorde sithe the tyne of my captiuitie, whiche beyng in your graces custodiie I maye rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprysonemente, in a voydynge ydnelhes mother and norisher of all vices, in redynge bookes and aunctiue pamphlettes I haue founde this sentence wrytten, that no man is borne fre and in libertie of hym selfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or shoulde owe to his parentes for his prorcreacion by a very naturall instincte and filiall curtesie: another parte, to his frendes and kyngsfolke, for proximitie of bloude and naturall amitie dothe of verie dewtie chalenge and demaunde: But the natie countrie in the which he tasted fyrste the swete ayers of this pleasauant and flatterynge worlde after his natuiue, demaundith as a debt by a natural bonde neither to be forgotten nor yet to be put in obliuion, whiche saiyngē causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natie countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assurauce before this tyne it hath contynued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we myghte haue, for I plainly perceyue the realme beyng in this case muste nedes decaye and be broughte to vter confusion and finall exterminiō: But one hope I haue encoorporate in my breaste, that is, when I consider and in my mynde do diligently remember, and dayly beholde your nobel personage, your justice, and indifference, your fervente zele and ardente loue toward your natural contray, and in lyke maner ye loue of your contrie towarde you, the greate learnynge, preuauant witte and goodly eloquence, whiche so mucho dothe abonde in the persone of your grace, I muste nedes thynke this realme fortunate, ye trye more then fortunate, whiche hath suche a prync in store, mete and apte, to be a gouernour in whose persone beyng endued with so many princely qualities consisteth and resteth the very undoubted similitude and image of trew honoure. But on the other syde when I call to memorie the good qualites of the late protectoure and nowe called kyng, so violated and subuered by tyrannye, so chaunged & alteredy by vsurped auhonoritee, so cloued and shadowed by blynde and insaciable amiscion, ye and so sodainlye (in maner by
KYNG RICHARD THE. IIJ.

by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must
nedes saie and iustlie affirme, that he is neither, mete to be a kyng after noble a realme,
nor so famous a realme mete to be governed by suche a tyrant: Was not his firste inter-
prize to obtaine the crowne beone and incepted by the murder of diuers noble valiament
trewe and vertuous personages: O a holy begynnyng to come to a mischeuous ending, dyed
he not secondarie procede contrarie to all lawes of honestie, shamefully agaynst his awne
natural mother, beynge a woman of much honour, and more vertew, declaryng her openlie
to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuinge (whiche thynge yf it had
beene trewe as it was not in deed, euerie good and natural child would haue rather mummied
at, then to haue blased a broade and especially she beynge a lyue.) Declarynge furthermore
his ii. brethren and his ii. nephewes to be bastardes, and to be borne in anoutrey, yet not whith
all this contente. After that he had obteyned the garlande for the which he so longe thirsted, he
cauised the two poore innocens his nephewes committed to hym, for especiall truste, to be mur-
thered and shamefully to be kylded. The bloud of whiche sely and lyttel babes dayly crye to God,
from the earthe for vengeance. Alas my harte sobbieth, to remember this bloudy boucher and
cruel monster, what sureti shall be in this realme to any person, other for life or goodes
vnder suche a cruell prince, whyche regardeth not the destruction of his awne bloude, and
then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentimes it channeth, where a
couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicione, the smaleste, swaruynghe that is possible (yf
the thynge be myconstered) maye be the cause of the destruction of many gyttles persones:
and in especiall of noble and wealthy personages hauynge greate possessions and riches:
Suche a lord is Lucifer when he is entred into the harte of a pride prince, geuen to couetousnes and
cruelitie. But nowe my lorde to conclude what I meane towards your noble person, I saye and affirme, yf ypu loue God, your lynage, or youre natuye couryte, you muste yower selfe take vpon you the Crowne and diademe of thys noble empyre, bothe
for the mayntenauns of the honoure of the same (whiche so longe hath floreshed in fame
and renowne) as also for the deluyeraunce of youre natural countrey men, from the
bondage and thraldome (worse then the captituic of Egpyte) of so cruell a tirainut and
arrogante oppressor. For thus I dare saye, yf any foren prince or potentate, ye the Turke
hym selfe woulde take vpon hym the regiment here and the crowne, the commons woulde
rather admit and obey hym, then to lyue vnder suche a bloud supuer and child kyller: but
how muche more joyfull and glad would they be to lyue vnder your grace, whom they all
knowe to be a ruler mete and convenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient sub-
jectes mete to lyue vnder suche a governour: despise not, nor forsake not so manifeste oc-
casion so louingly offered. And yf you your selfe knowing the payne and travaill that apperteyneth to the office of a kyng, or for any other consideracion, will refuse to take
vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: Then I aduire you by ¥ faihte that you owe
to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Sainte George patron of the noble or-
dre of the gartier (whereof you be a compaignion) and by the loue and affection that you
beare to your natuye contrey and the people of the same, to devise some waie how this
realme now being in miserie may by your high discretion and pryncely policie, be brought
and reduced to some sueritie and conveniente regiment vnder some good governour by you
be excogitate: for you are ¥ verye patron, the only helpe, refuge, and confort for the
poore amased and desolate commons of this realme. For yf you could either devise to sett
vp again the linage of Lancaster or auauence the eldest daughter of kyng Edward to some
highe and prussaunte prince, not onely the newe crowned kyng shall small tyme enjoy the
glorie of his dignitie, but also all ciuile warr should cease, all domesticall discorde should
sleepe, and peace, profite and quietenes should be set forth and embrased. When the bi-
shoppe had thus ended his saying, ¥ duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which
sore abashed the bishop and made hym change couler: which thing when the duke apper-
ceiued, he saide be not afrayde my lorde, all promyees shall be kept, to morow we yl comon
more:
more: let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a little to the iniquitez of the bishoppe, whiche nowe was even desirous to knowe the dukes mynde and intent, as the duke longed the daye before to knowe his opinion and meaning. So the nexte daye, the duke sent for the byshoppe and rehearsed to hym in maner (for he was both wyttie and eloqant) all the communicacion had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a lytle season putting of his bonett he sayde: O lorde God creator of all thinges, howe muche is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounded to thy goodness, for where we now be in vexacion and trouble with greate stormes oppressed sayling and lossyng in a desperate shippe without good maister or gouernour: but by thy help good lord I trust or long tyne passe that we shall prouyde for such a ruler as shalbe both to thy pleasure, and also to the secure and sauegarde of this noble realme. And then he put on his bonett saynyng to the byshoppe, my lord of Ely whose trewe harte and syncre affection toward me at all tymes, I have euidentlie perceyved and knowen, and nowe moste of all in our last preuie cõmunicacion and secrete deviseynge, I must nedes in hart thinke and with mente the confess and saie, that you be a sure frende, a trustye counsalour, a vigilante foresear, a very londer of your countrey, a naturall counryman: for whiche kyndnes for my parte, I moste louunglye render to you my hartye thankes nowe with wordes: herafter trystyng to recompenence and renumerate you with dedes, yf life and power shall serue. And sithe at our last communicacion, you have disclosed, and opened, the very secrets and priuities of your stomache, touching the dake of Gloucester nowe vnsuerer of the crowne, and also have a lillet touched the annauncement of the ii. noble famelyes of Yorke & Laicester: I shall lykewise not onely declare and manifeste vnto you, all my open actes, attempts and doynges, but also my preuie ententes, and secrete cogitationes. To the intent that as you have unbuckeld your bagett of your preuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdy workynge, close denises, and secrete imaginacions, be (as clere as the same) reueld, opened, and made lightsome to you. And to beginne, I declare: that when kyng Edwarde was disseased, to whom I thought my self litle or nothinge beholden, (all though we ii. had maried two systers) because he neither promoted nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy & had descent, neither favored nor regarded me, according to my degree and byrthe: For surely I had by hym lylte auorthuite, and lesse rule, and in effecte nothyng at all: which causd me the lesse to faveour his chyldren, because I founde small humanite, or none in there parente. I then began to studie, and with mature deliberacion, to ponder and consider, howe & in what maner this realme shoude be ruled and gouerned. And fyrste I remembered an olde proverbe worthy of memore, that often ruthe the realme, where chyldren rule, and women gouerne. This olde adage so smake, and settelled in my head, that I thought it a great errour, and extreme myschye of the hole realme, either to suffer the younge kynghe to rule, or the quene his mother to be a gouernour over hym, consedyng howe that her brethirene, and her fyrste children (all though they were not extracte of highe and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted them selues by reason of the quene, then dyd the kynges brethirene, or any duke in his realme: Which in conclusion turned to there confusion. Thé I being persuaded whith my self in this poynete, thought it necessarie bothe for the publique and profitable welthe of this realme, and also for myne owne commoditie and enonomente, to take parte with the duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thoughte to he as cleane without dissimulacion, as tractable without inuiri, as mercifull with oute cruelie, as nowe I knowe hym perfectly, to be a dissembler withoute veritet, a tyrant withoute petie, yea and worse then the tyrantyne phaleres, destinate of all truithge and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the fyrste counsalour holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thynge that after happened, (as you my lorde knowe well ynownge) he was made Protectour and defender, bothe of the kyngge and of the realme, whiche auctorite once gotten, and the two chyldren partelie by policie broughte vnder his gouernaunce, he beynge
beyng moned with that gnawynge and couetous serpæt, desyered to requynge and never ceased princell to exhorte and require (yea & some tymes with minators termes) to persuade me and other lorde as well spirituall as temporall, that he myght take vpon hym the crowne, tyll thiz prince came to the age of fouere and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a mature and sufficient kyng: Whiche thyng when he sawe me somewhat stycke at, both for the strangentenes of the example (because no such president did bene sen safe) and also because we rememberd that men once ascended to the highest type of honour and authortiy in not gladlie discende again, he then brought in instrumet, autentike doctores, proctores, and notaries of the lawe, with deposicions of diuers wytnesses, testifi- ing kyng Edwards children to be bastardes, which deposicion then I thought to be as trewe, as now I knowe them to be fayned, and testifie by persones with rewardes vtruelye subor- nate. When the saide deposicions, were before vs redde and diligentlye harde, he stode vp bare hedded sayng: Wel my lorde, even as I & you sages & discete counsailers woulde that my nepheue should have no wronge: So I pray ye do me no thyngse but righte. For these wytnesses and savynges of famous doctors beyng trew, I am onely the substibute heire to lord Richard plantagenet duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire to the crowne of this realme by authortiy of parlemente, whiche things, so by learned men to vs for a verite declared, caused me and other to take hym for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne lord. For well we knew the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attayned of his father was disabled to inherite, and also the duke hym self was named to be a bas- tarde, as I my selue haue harde spoken, and that vpon great presumpciones more tymes then one: so agayn by my aye and faoure, he of a protecotor was made a kyng, and of a sub- jecte made a gouernour, at whiche tyme he promised me on his fœlite, layng his hand in mine at Baynarde Castel, that the ii. young princes should lyue, and that he would so pro- vide for them, and so mayntaine them in honorabl estate, and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crownd kyng, and in full possession of the hole realme, he cast a way his old codicions as adde doeth her skewme, verchewing old pro- vynce, honoures chaunge maners, as the parische prest remembreth that he was never pa- rische clere. For when I my self sued to him for my part of the Earle of Hartfordes landes whiche his brother kyng Edwardo wrongfullely deteyned and with helde from me, and also required to haue the office of the highe constable skyppe of Englande, as diviers of my noble aumeters before this tyme haue haed, and in longe discente continued. In thys my fyrste sytse shewynge his good mynde towards me, he dyd not onely fyrste delaye me, and afterwarte denye me, but gave me suche vkyynde woordes, with suche tauntes and retauntes ye in maner checke and checke mate to the vtrcumnooste profe of my patience. As though I had never futhered him but hyn- dered him as though I had put him downe and not set him vp; yet all these vnygrat- itudes and vndeerved vkyyndes I bare clesiye & suffered pacientely and contently remem- bred, outwardely dissimyllyng that I inwardely thoughte, and so with a payned counte- nance I passed the laste summer in his laste compagnye, not withoute many later promises, but withoute any good deede. But when I was credibly embrauned of the death of the ii. young innocencies, his auue natural nepheues contrarie to his faith and promise, to the whiche God he my judge I never agreed nor condiscended. O lord, how my vneys pained, how my body trembled, and my hart inwardely grudged, in so muche that I so abhorred the sighte and much morre the compagnie of hym, that I coude no lynger abyde in his court, excepte I shoulde be openly reneged. The ende whereof was dounefull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a very countenaunce and a dispiteful larte I tike my leaue humbly of hym (be thinckynge nothynglesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in my jironye as I returned whyther it were by the inspiration of the holy ghost, or by Melancolous disposicio, I had diviers and sundrie imaginacions howe to de- priue this vnnatural vnce, and bloudy butcher, from his royall seate, and princely dignitie. Fyrst I Fantesyed that yf I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperall scepter of the realme,
realme, now was the tyme propice and convenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate open, and occasio...se et lawes and customes of the realme: Suche a power hath a conquerour as you know well ynowe my lord. But at the last, in all this doutfull case ther sprang a new branche out of my hed, which surely I thought should have broughte forthe fayer flowers, but the sonne was so hotte that they turned to drye wedes, for I sodainly remembreth that lord Edmond duke of Somersett my grandfather was with kynte Henrye the sixte in the ii. and. iii. degrees from Ihon duke of Lancaster lawefully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldes daughter to duke Edmonde, that I was neste heyre to kynte Henry the sixte of the house of Lancaster. This title pleased well suche as I made priuey of my counsel, but much more it encorraged my foulishe desyer, and eleuated myambious estente, in somuch that clerely judged, and in myne awne mynd was determynatly resolved, y I was indubitate heyre, of the house of Lancaster, and ther vpon concludeth, to make my fyrst foudacions, and erecte my newe byuyldinge. But whyther God so youreth, or by fortune it so chaunced, while I was in a mase, other to conclude sodainlie on this title, and to sett it open a mongeste the common people, or to kepe it secrete a while, se the chaunce: As I rode betwene worceter and brigenorth, I encountered with the ladye Margariete, countesse of Richemonde, nowe wyfe to the lorde Stanley, which is the very daughter and sole heyre, to lorde Ihon duke of Somersett my grandfathers elder brother. Whiche was as cleane out of my mynde as though I had neuer sene her, so that she and her sonne the Earle of Richemonde be bothe bulwarcke and portecolice betwene me, and the gate, to entre into the majestie royall and gettyng of the crowne. And when we had commoned a little concerning her sonne, as I shall shewe you after, and were departed she to ooure ladie of worceter, and I towarde Shrewsberie: I then newe chaunged and in maner amased, began to dispute with my selfe, little considerynge that thus my earnest title was turned euyn to a titty not so good as, est amen. Eftsones I imagened whyther I were beste to take vpon me, by the eleccion of the nobilite and communalties, whiche I thought easy to be done the usurpor kynte thus beyngue in hatred and abhorred of this hole realme, or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chaunce and difficile to be ached and broughte to passe. Thus romblynge and tossyngue, in the waues of ambiguities, betwene the stone and sacrifis, I considered fyrste the office, dutie and payne of a kyng, which surely thinke that no mortal man can instely, and truely observe, excepte he be called elected and specially appoynted by God as kynte Danid and diuers other haue been. But farther I remembreth that yf I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I was dayly sure, but of one trusty frend (which nowe a daies beene a pilgrymage) I was nether assured nor credible assertyned (suche is the worldes mutation) for I manifestly perceived that the daughters of kynte Edwarde and there ailes, and frendes, whiche be no small nomber, beyngue bothe, for his sake muche beloved, and also for the great inure and manifeste tyrannye done to them, by the newe usurper, muche lamented, and pitied, woulde neuer cease to barcke yf they cannot byte at the one syde of me. Semblable my cousyne therle of Rychemonde, his aydes and kynsfolke, whiche be not of lyttell power, will surelye attempte lyke a fierce grandhounde, other to byte or to perce me on the other syde. So that my lyte and rule, should euer hange by a heare, neuer...
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in quiete, but euer in doubte of death or deposition. And yf the said. ii. images of Yorke and Lancaster, which so longe have stryued for the imperiaall Diademe shouold ioyne in one against me, then were I suerly mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerely determined, and with my selfe concluded, ytterly to relinquishe all suche fantastical imaginacions concernynge the obteynyge of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) myght haue chanced on me yf I had taken the rule & regimennt of this realme, I shall with a reredemayne so make them rebounde to our enimye that calleth hym selfe kyng, that the beste stopper that he hath at tenyce shall not well stoppe without a faulte: for as I tolde you before, the countesse of Richeyndle in my returne from the newe named kyng ioyning me in the high way, praised me fyrste for kinred sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my gradfather duke Humfrey, which was sworne brother to her father, to moue the kyng to be good to her sonne Henry erle of Richemöd, and to licence him with his fauor to returne again into England: and yf it were his pleasure so to do, she promised that the erle her sonne should mary one of kyng Edwarde daughters at the appointement of the kyng, without any thing to be taken or demaunded for the saide espousals, but onely the kynges fauour, which request I sone ouer passed and gaued her sayles words & so departed. But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie & dyd circumspectely ponder them, I fully adjudged yt the holy ghost caused her to moue a thynge (the ende wherof she could not consider) bothe for the securitie of the realme as also for the prefermente of her childe and the destrucion and finall confusione of the common enimye kyng Richarde. Whiche thing she neither then thought I am sure as I by her wordes could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desyer to be so profitable to the realme as I nowe do perceiue, but suche a lord is God, that with a little sparce he kyndelith a great fyer, & so fynally to declare to you the very conclusion to thewhich I am both bent and sette, my mynde is and my power and purse shall helpe, that yt erle of Richemond very heyre of the house of Lancaster (in the quereall of the which linage, both my father and grand father lost ther lyues in battayle) shall take to wife lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward by the whiche mariage bothe the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obtayned and vntie in one, to the clere stablyshement of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion if the mothers of bothe parties and especially the erle hym selfe, and the ladys wyll agre, I doubte not but the braggyngore bore, which with his tuskis raiseth everye mans skyn, shall not onely be brought to confusion as he hath deserved but that this empire shall euer be certaine of an vn dubitate heyre, and then shall all ciuite and intestine war cease, whiche so longe hath continued to the pyaring of many mës crownes, and this realme shalbe reduced agayne to quietnes renoure and glorie. This inuencion of the duke many men thought after, that it was more imagened for the inward hatred that he bare to kyng Rycharde, then for any fauor that he bare to the erle of Rychemond. But of such doubtfull matter, it is not best to judge for erryng to farre from the mynde and entent of the auctor: But whatsoever he entendd this deuide once opened to kyng Rychard was the very occasion, yt he was rounded shorter by the whole head, without attaynder or judgement. When the duke had sayd, the bishop, which fauored euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and muche rejoised to here this deuide, for nowe came the wynde about enen as he would haue it, for all hys imaginacion teished to this effect to haue kyng Richard subdued, & to haue yt lynes of king Edward, & kyng Héry yt. vi. again raysed and announced. But lord how he rejoised to thinke how yt by this mariage the linages of Yorke & Lancaster should be contoynd in one, to the very stedfastnes of the publique wealth of this realme. And lest the dukes courage should swage, or hys mynd should agayne alter, as it did ofte before, as you may easely perceive by his awne tale. He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entent that yt ship of hys pretensed purpose myghte come shortly to some suer port: And sayd to the duke, my lord, sigh by Gods hygh prouision and youre incopperable wysedome and pollicie, this noble conjunction is fyrste moued, nowe is it conuenicente, ye and neces-
sarie
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sarie to consider, what personages and what frendes we shall fyrrste make preuie of this highe deuice and politick conclusion. By my truth quod the duke we wyll begyn with my ladie of Richemonde therles mother whiche knoweth where he is, either in captuutic or at large in Brytaine. For I hau had a thynge that if duke of Brytaine restored him to libertie immediately after the death of kyng Edward, by whose meane he was restrayne. Synth yow wyll begyn that way (said if bysshope) I haue an old frende with if countesse, a ma sobre, secrete, & well wytted called Reigndol Bram whose prudence pollicie I haue knowe to haue copassed thigs of great importaunce, for whom I shall secretly send yf it be your pleasure, & I doubt not he wyll gladly come, & if with a good wyll. So with a lytyll diligence, the bysshope wrot downe a letter to Reigndol Bray requireng hym to come to Brecknocke with spede for great and vrgent causes touchyng his maistresse: & no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Bray was with the countesse & lord Thomas Stanley her husband, & deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he took it as a signe or presage of some good fortunate to come, & so with if messenger he came to the Castel of Brecknock, where if duke and the bysshope declared what thing was devised both for to set if realme in a quiet stedfastnes, as also for if high preferment of if earle of Richemond sonne to his lady & maistresse: Willyng your fyrst to copasse how to obtayn yf good will of quene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearing if same name: & after secrete to send to her sonne into Britaine to declare what high honour was prepared for hym if he would swear to marry if lady Elizabeth as some as he was kyng & in royal possesion of the realme. Reigndol Bray w a glad hart for getyng nothing genen to hym in change in great hast and with good sped returned to the countesse his lady and maistresse. Whiche Bray was departed & this great doubtfull vessell once sett a broche. the bishop thrtoyng for nothing more then for lyberty: whe he sawe the duke pleaseant and well mynded, toward hym he told the duke that if he were in his yle of Elye he could make many frendes to fether their enterpyse, and if he were there and had but iii. dyes warning he lyttled regarded the malice of king Richard, his country was so strong. The duke knew well all this to be trew, but yet lothe he was that the bysshope should departhe, for he knew well that as long as the bishop, was with him, he was sure of politique advise, sage counsayl, and circumspect proceding. And so he gave the bysshope layre wordes, saying that he should shortly departhe and that well accompanied for feare of enemies. The bysshope beying as wytte as the duke was wyle, dyd not tarie till if dukes compagin were assembled, but secrete disguyng in a nighte departhe (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see of Ely, where he found monye and frendes and so sailed into Flaunders, where he dyd the earle of Richemonde good service and never returned agayn till the ere of Richemonde after beyng kyng, saw for hym, and shortly promoted him to the see of Caunterbury. Thus the bishop would him self fr the duke when he had moste node of his ayle, for if he had taried still if duke had not made so many blyndes of his counsayl, nor put so much confidents in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerarious set forward with out knowlege of his frendes as he did, which tynges were his sodanite overthrown as they that knewe it dyd reporte.

When Reigndol Bray had declared his message, and preuie instruction to the countesse of Richemonde his masters, no merucill though she were joyous and glad, both of the good newes and also for obtaynyng of suche a high frende in her sonnes cause as the duke was, wherfore she wyllcyng not to spele this matter, but to further it to the vtermost of her power & abilitie, deuised a meane how to breake this matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctuarie at Westminster. And there upon she knewe in her familie, at that tym for the prescrucion of her healthe a certayne Welshman called Lewes learned in phisicke, whiche for his grauitie and experienes, was well knownen and much estemed amongst great estates of the realme: with whome she used somtyme liberally and familliarly to talke, nowe knewe opportunitie and occasion to breake her mynde vnto him of this weightie matter, declared
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declared that the tyme was come that her sonne shoule be ioyned in mariage with lady Elizabeth daughter & heyre to king Edward, and that king Richard being take & reputed of all men for the cõmon enemye of the realme, shoule out of all honour and estate be dejected, and of his rule and kyngedome be clerely spoyled & expulsed: and required him to goo to quene Elizabeth (with home in his facultie he was of counsail) not as a messenger, but as one that came fremdelie to visite and consolate her, and as tyme and place should require to make her preuie of this deuise, not as a thig concluded, but as a purpose by him imagened. This phisicinan did not long lynger to accomplishe her desyre, but with good diligens repaired to the quene beinge stil in the sanctuary at Westminster. And when he saw tyme propice & convenient for his purpose, he saide vnto her, Madame, although my imaginacion be verio simple and my deuyce more folische, yet for the enter affections that I beare toward you and your childre, I am so bold to vtrre vnto you a secret & preuie contehte that I haue cast & compassed in my fantasticalle brayne. When I well remembre and no lesse conside the great losse and damage that you haue susteyned by the death of your noble and louyng husband, and the great dolour and sorowe that you have suffred and tolerte by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do both of bounden deute and christian charite, then daily to studie and hourely ymagen not onely howe to bryng your harte to conforte and gladnes, but also deuyse howe to requenge the righteous quarle of you and your children on that bloudy bloodsupper and cruell tyrannye kyng Richard. And firste conside, what battelle, what malslaughter, what mishicie hath risen in this realme by the dissencion betwene the ii. noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which. ii. families (as I haue contryned) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye & doubt not but your line shall be again restored to the pristinate estate and degree to your great ioye and comfort, and to the vtrre confusion of your mortal enimie the usurper kyng. You know very well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the erle of Richemond is next of blood, which is luyinge and a lusty young batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters nowe are heires: if you coulde agree & inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the young erle of Richemod in matrimonie, no doubt but the usurper of the realme should be shortly depoised, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the quene had heard this freundly macion (which was as far from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the moone) lorde howe her spirits reuyued, and how her hearte lefte in her body for ioye and gladnes. And firste genyyng lawde to almightie God as the chiefe aucthora of her comfort, secondarely to maister Lewes as the deuiser of the good newes and tydinges, instantely besought him that as he had bene the first inuiter of so good an enterprise, that now he would not relinquise nor desiste to folowe the same: requiringe him farther (because he was appertenynge to the countesse of Richemond mother to the erle Henry) that he would with all diligente celerite resorte to her then lodging in her husbands place within the cyte of London, and to declare on the Quenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the frendes and fautoures of kyng Edward her husbande, should assiste and take parte with the earle of Richemond her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kyngedome obtayned to espouse and take to wife the ladye Elizabeth her daughter, or els lady Cecile, yf theldest daughter were not then luyynge.

Maister Lewes with all dexterite so sped his busynes that he made and concluded a finall ende and determinacion of this entreprise betwene the ii. mothers, and because he was a phisician and out of al suspicion and mysdemynghe, he was the common curer and daylye messenger betwene theim, aidynge and setting forth the invented conspiracie against kyng Richard. So the ladye Margarete countesse of Richemond brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne made Reygnolde Breie her moost faithfull servaunte: chiefe solicieter and preuie procurer of this conspiracie, geuynge him in charge secretly to enuenge and attracte suche personnes of nobilte to joyne with her and take her parte as he knew to be ingenious, faithfull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Breie within fewe daies broughte vnto his lure (firste of all taking of every person a solemnpe-
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other to be true and secreto) sir Gyles Daubenei, sir Ihon Cheiney knight, Richard Guylforde and Thomas Rame esquires and diverse other. The countesse of Richemonde was not so diligent for her parte, but Quene Elizabeth was as vigilaunte on the other syde and made frendes and appoynted counsellers to set forwarde and auauance her busynes. In the meane ceason the countesse of Richemond toke into her servise Christopher Vrswike an honest and a wise pres, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and sworne she vttred to him all her mynde & counsell, adhibiting to him the more confidence and truth that he al his life had favoured and taken part with kyng Henry the, vi. and as a special yuell put to her servise by sir Lewes her physician. So the mother studious for the prosperite of her sonne appointed this Christopher Vrswike to saile into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare and to demonster to him all pactes & agremenst between her and the quene agreed & concluded: But sodainly she remembryng that the duke of Buckyngha was one of the first inueters and a secrete founder of this entreprise, determined to sende some personage of more estimaçion then her chapelain, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conway esquier and sent hym into Britayne with a great some of money to her sonne, gueing him in charge to declare to the erle the great lone & especiall fauour the most parre of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louying harters & benevolent myndes which the whole cominitaltie of their awne frewill frankly offered and liberally exhibited to him willing & aduisynge him not to neglect so good an occasion apparently offered, but with al sped & diligence to adicte & settle his mynde and full entencion how to returne home againe into England where he was both wished & looked for, geuynge him farther monicion & counsell to take land & arriual in the principalite of Wales, where he should not doubt to fynde bothe aide, conforte and fredes. Richard Guylforde least Hugh Conway might fortune to be takë or stopped at plimmoth, where he intred to take his nauigation, sent out of kent Thomas Rame with the same instructiōns: & both made such diligence and had suche wynde and wether, one by land from Caleys, and the other by water from plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre bothe arrived in the duke of Britaynes courte and spake with the erle of Richemond, which from the death of kyng Edward went at his pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effecte of their message and ambassade. When the earle had receaued this ioyefull message, which was the more pleasante because yt was voloked for, he rendred to Iesu his sanior his mooste humble and hearty thankes, beynge in ferme cedence and beleue that such thynges as he with busy mynde and labeorous entente had wished and desyred, coulde never have taken any effect withoute the helpe and preferement of allmighty God. And now beynge put in comfort of his long longyng he dyd communcitéc and breake to the duke of Britayne all his secretes and prey messages which were to hym declared, advertisyng hym that he was entred into a sure and a stedfast hope to obtayne and get the crowne and kyndgedome of the realme of England desyrynge him bothe of his good will and frendely helpe toward the achatenyng of his offred enterprise, promising hym when he came to his entended purpose, to rendre to hym agayne equall kyndenes and condigne gratulacion.

Although the Duke before that daie by Thomas Hutton ambassador from king Richard had both by money & prayers bene soliciûte & moyed to put agayne into safe custody the erle of Richemonde, he neuerthelesse promysed faithfully to aýde him and his promes he truely performed.

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Whereupon the erle wth all diligence sent into England agayn Hugh Conway and Thomas Rame, whiche shoulde declare his commynyng shortly into Engelande, to thentent that all things whiche by counsell might be for his purpose proviede shoulde be accelerete and hasted, and that all thynges doubtfull shoulde of his frendes be prudently forseen, in aduoydyng alegings and
and snares which kyng Richard had or might have set in disturbaunce of his purpose, and he in the meane season would make his abode still in Britayne, till al thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in aredynes.

In the meane season the cheuetaynes of the coniuracion in Englande began together many entreprises: Some in conveniente fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men pruely, to thentente when they should have knowledge of the erles landing, they would beginne to stirre vp the warre: Other dyd secretely moue & sollicite the people to rise and make an insurrection: Other (emongeste whom Ilon Morton bishop of Ely then beyng in Flaunder was chefe) by preuie letters and cloked messengers, did sturre and inuite to this newe coniuracion, al such which they certeynely knew to have a roted hatred or to beare a can-kard malice toward kyng Richard & his procedynges.

Although this greate entreprice were neuer so pruely handeled and so secretely emongeste so circumspecte personest treated, compassed and conueyghed, yet knowlege thereof came to the cares of kyng Richard, whichhe with the sodayne chaunce was not a lyttel moved and astonned. Fyrste because he had no host ready prepared and conscribed. Secondarely yt he shoulde reyse an army so sodaynely, he knewe not where to occurre and mete his enemies or whether to go or where to tarie. Wherefore he determined to dissimule the matter as though he knewe nothinge till he had assembled his host, and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people or by the diligence of his exploratours and espialles to inveiglate and search out all the councelles, determinacions ententes and compasses of his close aduersaries, or elles by craftie pollicie to intercepte and take some person of the same coniuracion, consideryne that there is no more secrete nor hyd espyall then that whiche lurketh in dissimulacion of knowlege and intelligence, or is hidden in the name and shadowe of counterfeite humaneit and feined kyndenes. And because he knewe the duke of Buck- yeugham to be the chiefe hed and ayde of the coniuracion, he thoughte yt moost necessary to plucke hym from that parte either by faire promyses or open warre. Whereupon he adressed his louynge letters to the duke, as full of mellifluous woordes, humaneit and familia- rite as the interior cogitation and preyu meanynge was full of malice, rancor and poysone: geuyynge farther in charge to the messenger that caried the letter to promes to the duke on his behalfe golden hilles and syluer ryuers, and with all gentile and pleasaunte meanes to persuade and exhorte the duke to come to the courte. But the duke as wylie as the kyng mistroystynge the fayre flatteryng woordes and the gaye promyses to hym so sodaynly without any cause offered, knowynge the craftie castes of kyng Richardes bowe, whiche in diuerse affayres before tyme he had sene practised required the king to perdon hym, excusynge him selfe that he was so diseased in his stomache that skante he could take either refection or rest. Kyng Richardes not beyng contente with this excuse woulde in no wise admytte the same, but incontine gente directed to the duke other letters of a more rougher and haunter sort, not without minatorie termes and checkynge woordes, commaundynge hym all excuses set aperte to repaire without any delaie to his royall presence. The duke made to the messenger a determynate aunsware that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whome he neither loued nor fauoured: and ymmediately prepared open warre agaynste hym, and perswaded all his complices and partakers that every man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence reyse vp the people and make a commocion. And by this means almooste in one monente Thomas Marques Dorcet came out of sanctuarye where he sith the begyanynge of Richardes daies had contynued, whose life by the onely helpe of sir Thomas Louell esquyer was preserved from all daungier and perrell in this troublewse worlde, gathered together a greate bande of men in Yorkshire. Sir Edward Courtyn and Peter his brother bishop of Exsetter, reised another army in deneshire and cornwall. In kente, Richarde Guylforde and other gentle- men, collected a great companye of souldyours and openly beganne warre. But king Richard which in the meane tyme had gotten together a great strengthe and puissauce, thinkyng yt not moost for his parte beneficall to disparshe and deuyde his great armeye into small branche, and particulery to persecute any one of the coniuracion by hym selfe, de-
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terminated all other beyng set asyde, with hys whole puyssaunce to set on the chiefe bed whiche was the duke of Buckyngham. And so remouynge from London, he tooke his journey toward the Salsburie, to thentente that in his journey he mighte set on the dukes armye yt he myghte knowe hym in any place encamped or in orde of Battayle araied. The king was scace, ii. daies journey from Salsburie when the duke of Buckyngham accompanied with a great power of wilde Welesmen, whome he beyng a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynst their wille had rather theerto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundemente then by liberall wayges and gentle retynoure, whiche thinges was the verie occasion why they lefte hym desolate and cowardely forsoke hym. The duke with all his power mershed through the forest of deane entendyng to have passed the rier of Seuerne at Gloucester, and therto hate ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his confidery and affinite, which if he had done no doubt but kyng Richard had bene in greate jeopardie either of priuacion of his realme or losse of his life or both. But se the chance, before he could attayne to Seuerne side, by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that yt overflowed all the countrey adjoyynge, in somuch that men were drowned in their beddes, howses with the extreme violence were ouerturned; childre were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drowned on lilles, whiche rage of water lasted continually. x. daies, insomuch that in the countrey adjoyynge they call yt to this daie, the greate water, or the duke of Buckynghams greate water. By this inundacion the passages were so closed that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, duryng the whiche tyme, the Welshemen lyngerynge yedly and without money, vitayle, or wages sodaynely scaled and departed: and for all the dukes fayre promyses, manaces and enforcementes, they woulde in no wise neither goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abandoned and left almost post alone was of necessite compelled to flye, and in his flight was with this sodyne of fortune meruelously dismayed: and beinge vnpurueyed, what counell he shoule take and what waie he shoule folowe, like a man in dispire not knowynge what to do, of verie truste and confidence coneyghed him selfe into the house of Homfrey Banaster his seruament beside Shrewsbirie, whome he had tendrely broughte vp, & whom he aboue all men loued, favoured and trusted, nowe not doughtyng but that in hys extreme necessitie, he should fynde hym faythefull, secrete and trusty, entendyng there couterely to lurke till either he myghte reise agayne a newe armye, or elles shortly to saile into Britayne to the Earle of Richemone.

But when yt was knowen to his adherentes whiche were readye to geue battayle, that his hoste was scaled and had lefte hym almoost alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynely amased and striken with a soden feare, that every man like persones desperate shifted for hym selfe and fled, some wente to sanctuarye and to solitarie places, some fled by see, whereof the mooste parte within a fewe daies after arryued sauely in the duchye of Britayne. Emonge whiche nombre were these persones, Peter Courtney bishoppe of Exceltre and sir Edmonde Courtney his brother, by kyng Henrye the vii. after create Earle of Deuonshire, Thomas Marques Dorcet, Iyon lorde Welles, Sir Iyon Burchier, Sir Edmonde Wooduile a valaunte man in arnes brother to- quene Elizabithe, Sir Robete Willoughby, sir Gyles Dabeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Iyon Cheyney and his two brethren, Sir Wylliam Barkeley, Sir Wylliam Brandon and Thomas his brother, Sir Rycharde Edgcombe, all these for the mooste parte beyng knyghtes, and Ihon Halwell, Edwarde Powynynes a pollytike capitayne. At this verie ceseon Ihon Morton bishoppe of Ely and Christopher Vrswike priest and another companie of noble men soiourned in Flandres, and by letters and messengers procured manye Eynnemyes agayuste kyng Richard, whiche vsyne a vignalunte iye and a quycke remembrance, beyng newlye come to Salsburye, hauynge perfite notice and knowlege howe the duke was fled, and howe his complices extened to passe oute of the realme. Fyrste he sent men of warre to all the nexte portes and passages to kepe streightely the see coast, so that no person shoule passe outerwarde nor take lande in the realme withoute their assent and knowlege. Secondly, he made proclamation, that what person
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person coulde shewe and reuele where the duke of Buckyngham was, shoulde be highly re-
warded, ye he were a bondman he should be enfranched and set at libertie, ye he were of 
fre blood he shoule have a generall perdon and be remunerate with a thousand poundes. 
Farthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, whiche as you have heard was 
newely retourned out of Britayne, that Fraunces duke of Brytayne not onely refused to kepe 
therle of Richemonde as a prisoner at his contemplacion and for his sake, but also was 
readie to aide and succoure thesaide Earle with menne money and all thinges necessarye for 
his transportyg in England. Wherfore he rigged and sent out shippes of warre well furn-
ished and decked with me and artillery, to skoure and kepe that part of the see that lieth 
agaynst Britayne, to thenthe that ye the erle of Richemonde woude aventure to saile toward 
England either he shoulde be taken captiune or be profligate and dryuen from the coast of 
Englende. And moreover, to thentent that eueryste, waye, passage and corner should be 
diligently watched and keppe, he set at euerely dubious and suspected place men of warre, to 
seke, searche, and enquire ye any creature coulde tell tydynes of the duke of Buckyngham, 
or of any of his confederacyon, adherentes, fauteours or partakers.

While this Busy searche was diligently applied and put in execution, Homfre Banaister 
(ware it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the 
aucious desire of the thousand pounds) he bewrayed his gest and master to Thon 
Mitton then shrieve of shropshire, whyche sodaynely with a stronge power of men in harnes 
 apprehended the duke in a little grove adioynynge to the mansion of Homfre Banister, and 
in greate hast and euyll spede conduighed him appareled in a pilled blacke cloke to the cytie 
of Salsburie where kyng Richard then kepe his houshold.

Whether this Banaster bewrayed the duke more for fear then couetous many men do 
doubt: but sure it is, that shortlie after he had betrayed ye duke his master, his sone and 
heyre waxed mad and so dyed in a bores styte, his eldest daughter of excellent beautie was 
sodaynely straken with a foule leperye, his seconde sone very meruelously deformed of his 
limmes and made decrepite, his younger sone in a small puddel was stragled & drouned, & 
he baying of extreme age arraigned & fond gytye of a murther and by his clerge saued. 
And as for his thousand pound kyng Richard gaue him not one farthing, saying that he 
which would be vntrew to so good a master would be false to al other, howbeit some saie ye 
he had a smale office or a ferne to stoppe his mouthe with al. The duke baying by certayne 
of the kynges counsel diligently vpon interrogatories examined what thynges he knewe prejudicial 
to ye kynges person, opened and declared frankly and freely all the confirarion without 
dissimulynge or glosynge, trustyynge because he had truely & playnyly reueled and confessed all 
thinges that were of hym required, that he should haue lycée to speke to ye kyng which 
(whether it wer to sue for perdon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence 
would have sticked him with a dagger as men then judged) he sore desyre and required. 
But when he had confessd the whole facete and conspiracye vpon Altsoulen day without ar-
reignemente or judgemente he was at Salsburye in the open market place on a newe skaffold 
heddedd and put to death. This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckyngham receaued 
at the handes of kyng Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had 
holde susteyned and set forward above all Godes forbode.

By thys all men maye easelye perceauce that he not onley loseth bothe his labour, tracey 
and industrie, and fether steynethe and spoteth his ligne with a perpetuall ignomy and re-
proche, whiche in euyll and misbieve assisteth and aydeth an euyll disposed person, consider-
ynge for the mooste parte that he for his frendely fawoure shoulde receauce some greate dis-
pleasure or infortunate chaunce. Beside that God of his justice in conclusion app-
yncethem to him a condigne peyne and affliction for his merites and deseretes. While these 
thynges were thus hanted and orded in England, Henry Earle of Richemond prepared an 
army of fyue thousandly manly Brytons, and fortie well furnysshed shippes. When all 
thinges were prepare in ardenes and the daye of departynge and settynghe forwarde was ap-
poynted, whiche was the xii. daye of the moneth of October in the yere of the incarnacion
of our redeemer. M. CCCC. xlviii. and in the seconde yere of kyng Richardes reigne, the
whole armye wente on shipboard and halled vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wynde
tooke the sea: but towaerde night the wynde chaunged and the wether tourned, and so
houge and terrible a tempest sodanyely roase, that with the verie power and strength of the
storme, the shippes were disparcled, seuered and separate a sondre: some by force were
dryuen into Normandy, some were compelle to retourne agayne into Britayne. The shippe
wherein the Earle of Rychemonde was, associate onely with one other barcke was all nyghe
tossed and turmoyled. In the mornyng after when the rage of the furious tempest was
assauaged, and the fre of the blusterynge wynde was some deale appeasde, aboute the houre
of none thesame daye, the erle approched to the southe parte of the realme of England
euen at the mouthe of the haune of pole in the countie of dorset, where he mighte playnely
perceau all the se bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and soul-
dioners appoynted and deputer them to defende his arryual and landyng as before is men-
cioned. Wherefore he gaue streyghte charge and sore commaundemente, that no person
should once presume to take land and goo to the shore, vntill suche tyme as the whole na-
yue were assembled and congregate. And while he expected and lyngered tariyngne for that
purpose, he sente oute a shipp bote towards the lande side to knowe, whethyr they whiche
stoode there in suche a nombre and so well furnysshed in apparell defensifare were hys capittall
foes and enemyes or elles his frendes fauentours and comforters. They that were sente in
exploracion and message were instantely desireyd of the men of warre kepyng the coast (whiche thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande,
affirmyng that they were appoynted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awaye and tarie
for the arryual and landyng of the erle of Richemonde, and to conduce sauely to the campe
where the duke not far of lyae encaped with a populous army and an host of great
strength and vigor, to entent that the duke and the erle ioynynge in puyssaunces and forces
together, mighte prosecute and chace king Richard beyng destitute of men, and in maner
desperate and fugituye, and so by that meanes and their awne labours and industrie to ob-
teine the ende of their enterprise which they had before begonne.

The erle of Richemonde suspectynge their flaterynge requeste to be but a fraud (as yt
was in dede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to apere in sight, he weied
vp his ancors and halled vp his sayles haungynge a prosperous and strenable wynde and a freshe
gale sente euen by God to deluyer hym from that perell and ieopardie, arryued safe and in
securitie in the duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his souldyours and
people, tooke his recreacion by the space of. iii. dayes, and clerely determyned with parte
of his companye to passe all by lande agayne into Britayne. And in the meane season he sent
oratours to the frenche kyng called Charles the. viii. whiche newlye suceeded his father
kyng Lewes the. xi. not longe before departed to God, requirynge hym of a safe conducite
and licence to passe through his countrye of Normandy into Britayne. The younge kyng
hauynge compassion of the misfortune and vnfortunate chaunce of the erle of Richemonde,
not onely gently granted and assigned to hym a pasporte, but also liberally disbursed and
departed to hym a conueniente some of money for his conducite and expenses necessary in
hys long journey and passage. But the erle trusting on the Frenche kynges humanitee
auentured to send his shippes home into Britayne, and to set forwarde hym selue by lande
on his journey makynge no greate hast till his messengers were retourned, whiche beyng
with the benefite so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successes so encouraged, mer-
shed towarde Britayne with all diligent celereit enteyndyng there to consulte farther with his
louers and frendes of his affaires and enterprizees. When he was retorneed agayn into Britayne
he was certified by credible informacion that the duke of Buckyngham had lost his hed and
that the Marques dorsett and a great nombre of noble men of England had a lytle before
enquyred and searched for him there, & were nowe retourned to Vaines. When he had
heard these newes thus reported, he first so rowed, & dolorously lamented the firste attempt
and settyng forwarde of his frendes, and in especiall of the nobilyte not to haue more fort-
unatly
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...unatly succeded. Secondly, he rejoysed on the other part that God had sent hym so many valiaunte and prudent captaine to be his compagnions in his martaill enterprises, trustynge surely and nothinge doubtyngge in his awne opinion, but that all his busynes should be wisely compassed and brought to a good conclusion. Wherfore he determining with al diligence to accelerate & set forward his new begonne busynes departed to Renes & sent certayne of his prouie seruitors to conducte and bryng & Marques and the other noble men to his presence. When they knewe that he was sauely returned into Britayne, lord how they rejoysed and appalued, for before that time they missed hym and knew not in what parte of the world to make inuenstigation or searche for hym. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in Englad, and fallen in the handes of kyng Richard, in whose person they knewe well was neither mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all spedy maner they galloppe toward hym, and him reuerently saluted, which metynge after great ioye and solace and no small thankes and gratificacions geuen and rendred on bothe partes, they consulted and advisedely debated and commoned of their great busines and weightye enterprise, in the whiche cason the solempne feaste of the nativitye of our sauour Christ happened, on whiche daie al thenglishe lordes went with great solempnyte to the chiefe churchie of the citee, and there eache gaue faythe and promyse to other. The erle hym selfe fyrste tooke a corpall otthe, and on his honour promysynge that incontynente after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignytie of the realme of Englad, he woulde be conyoynd in matrmony with the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward the fourth. Then all the companye swere to hym fealtie, and did to hym homage as though he had bene that tyme the crowned kyng and anoynted prince, promysynge faythefully and ferme assurynge that they woulde not onely ese their worldely substance, but also be priuatyed of their lyues & worldly felicitee, rather then to suffre kyng Rycharde, that tyrannnt longer to rule and regine over them. Whiche solempne othes made and taken, the Earle of Rychemonde declared and communicated all these donyges to Fraunces duke of Britayne, desyrynge and mooste hartely requyrynge hym to ayde hym with a greater armeye to conducete hym into his countreye, whiche so sore longed and loked for his retourne, and to the whiche he was by the more parte of the nobilitie and commynalltie called and desyrely whiche (with Goddes ayde and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in shorte tyme to obtayne, requyrynge hym farther to prest to hym a conveniente some of money, affirmyngge that all such somes of money which he had receaue of bys especiall frendes, were spent and exhausted in the preparacion of the laste journey made toward Englaunde, whych some of money after his enterprise once achesued, he in the word of a prynce faythefully promysed to repaye and restore agayne. The duke promised hym ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof he rigged his shippes, and set forthe his nauie well decked with ordynaunce, and warlykely furnysshed with al things necessary, to thentente to saile forwarde shortly, and to se no conveniente tyme slackely overpassd nor be pretermitted.

In the mane seasson, kyng Richard apprehended in dyuerse partes of the realme cer-tayne gentylmen of the earle of Rychemondes faceion and confederacion, which either entended to saile into Britayne towaerde hym, or els at his landynge to assiste and ayde hym. Emongeste whome, sir George Browne, sir Roger Clyfforde and. iii. other were put to execucion at London, and sir Thomas Sentlicher which had maried the duches of Exceter the kyngs awne suster, and Thomas Rame and diuerse other were executted at exceter. Beside these persone, diuerse of his household seruantes whome either he suspected or doubted, were by great cruelite put to shamefull death. After this he called a parliament in the which he attaynted the erle of Richemond & all other persones whiche were fled out of the realme for fear or any other cause, as enemies to him and to their naturall countrie, and all their landes, goodes and possessions were confiscate and seased to y kynges vse. And yet not content with this pray which no doubte was of no small valour and moment, he laied on the peoples neckes a great taxe and tallage, and surely necessite to that acte in manner him.
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him compelled. For what with purging and declaring his innocencie concerning the murder of his nephews toward the world, and what with cost to obtaine ȝ loye and fauoure of the comminallatie (whiche outwardely closed and openly dissimulated with hym) he gave prodigally so many and so great rewards that now both he lacked and skace wist honestly how to borrowe. In this troublesome season, nothinge was more mervued at then that the lord Stanley had not bene taken and reputed as an enemy to the king, consideryng the workynge of the ladye Margarete his wife mother to the earle of Richemonde, but forasmuch as the enterprise of a woman was of hym reputed of no regarde or estimacion, and that the lord Thomas her husbande had purged hym selfe sufficiently to be innocent of all dooynges and attempts by her perpetrated and committed, yt was gueen in charge to kepe her in some secrete place at home, without bauynge enie seruaunte or companye, so that from thence forthe she shoulde never sende letter nor messenger to her sonne nor any of his frendes or confederates, by the whiche the kyng myghte be molested or troubled, or any hurt or prejudice might be attempted againste his realme and comminallatie: Whiche commandemente was a while put in execution and accomplished according to his dreadfull commandemente. Yet the wilde worme of vengance waugerynge in his hed could not be contented with the death of diuerse gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he muste extende his bludy furye agaynste a poore gentleman called Collyngborne for making a small ryme of thre of his vnfortunate councelers, which wer the lord louell, sir Richarde Radclyffe his myscheuous mynion, and sir Wyliam Catesby his secrete seducer, whiche metre was.

The Rat, the Catte and Louell our dogge
Rule all Englande vnder the dogge.

Meanynge by the dogge, the dreadfull wilde bore whiche was the kynges cognisance, but because the fyrshe lyne ended in dogge, the metricalic could not obseruynghe the regimentes of metre ende the seconde verse in Bore, but called the bore an hogge. This poetical schoolemaymentor corrector of breuues and longes, caused Collyngborne to be abbreviata shorter by the hed, and too bee deuyded into foure quarters.

Kynge Richarde byynge thus turmented and tossed in his awne concepthe and imaginacion, called to his remembrance that consideracion amittyes, and other honeste bondes and pactes, made, concluded and appointed between princes and politique gouernours are the cause efficiët and especiall introduction that their realmes and countreies are fortiied and munited with a double power, that is to say, with their awne strength and the ayde of their frendes, deuydes with hym selfe to praxtyse a league and amittie with the kynghe of Scottes, which not long before had made diuerse incursions and roodes into the realme of England, where although he gatte lyttel, yet surely he lost not much, and thereupon sued to haue a truce or peace concluded, whiche euyn as king Richard had wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for bothe partes to mete at Nothyngam the viij. daye next ensuynghe, at whyche tyme came thether for the kynghe of England Iohn bishop of Lyncolne chaunceller of Engleande, Richard bishop of saucet Asse, Iohn duke of Norffolke, Henrye erle of Northumberland, Thomas lorde Stanley, George Stanley lord straunge, Iohn Gray lord Powes, Richard lord Fyztughe, Iohn Gunthorpe keper of the kynges preue seale, Thomas Barowe master of the rolles, sir Thomas Bryane chiefe justice of the common place, sir Richard Ratelyffe knyght, William Catesbey and Richard Salkeld esquiers. And for the kynghe of Scottes were deputed Colyn erle of Ergile lord Campbell & lord chaunceller of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lorde Lyle, Laurence lorde Olyphant, Iohn Drummonnd of Stobhall, Archibald Qwhiteleor archdeacon of Lawdene and secretorie to kynghe Iauues, Lyon kynghe of Armes and Duncane dundas. These councellers dyverser tymes mette, and after longe debatynghe, demaundynge, and denyenge, in the ende of September they fully concluded, and made a determinacion the effect whereof foloweth in articles.

Firste it was appoynted and concluded that a perfithe amittie and an inuolable peace should be had and kepe betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande for the space of
KYNG RICHARD THE. IIJ.

iii. yeres, to begynne at the sonne risyng the. xxix. daie of september in the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxxxiii. and to endure to the settynge of the sonne the xxix. daye of septem-ber in the yere of christes incarnation. M. cccc. lxxvii.

Item that duryng the said yeres, none of both the princes, nor their ministers shall make warre or inuade ã realme or dominion of theother by sea or by land, or vexe, per-turbe, or molest the subjectes or vassalles of either of theim, nor shall geue councell, excite, or moue any other persone to make warre or inuasion on the territories of any of the said princes.

Item that the toune and castell of Berwike with all such boundes as thereto were belong-yng, which were in the Englishe mennes handes at the deliueraunce of thesame toune by king Henry the. vi. to the king of Scottes, shall so peaceably remayne in the possession of the kyng of England when he fled into Fraunce.)

Item tó the kyng of Scottes do intimate and declare to the kyng of England, within the space of. xl. daies next ensuyng ã date herof, that he will not suffer thesayde castell of Dumbarre to be possessed of thenglishe nacion aboue the terme of. vi. monethes, that then during thesaid vi. monethes, neither thenglishmen in the garison of Dumbarre, nor the Scottes dwelllyng and inhabityng aboue the limites of thesame, shall do any hure, prei-dice or dammage to any of thethesaid parties thesayde terme contynuynge.

Item yf the kyng of Scottes do arise betwene theisaid twoo princes, either for the recoverynge or defendyng thesayde castell of Dumbarre, yet thesayde truce league & amitie for all other rigites and possessions, shall stand in force and be effectuall and that it shalbe leful to eache of thesaid princes to do what they shall-thinke necessary, bothe for the obteinyng and defendyng of thesaid castell of Dumbarre, any thynge conteyned in the treaty of peace notwithstandinge.

Item it is concluded and apointed betwene the parties aforesaid, that duryng thethesaid truce, none of bothe the princes aforesaid, shall receive into his realme, territories, or dominions, any treytourre or rebel of theother prynce, nor shall maintayne, faoure, aide or confort any rebell or treytour which is already fled, or herafter shall flye into either of thethesaid princes dominions, nor there suffer him or theim to tarye or make their abode.

Item yf any suche rebell or treytourre shall fortune herafter to arryue in the realme or territorie of any of thethesayde princes, that then thesayde prince, in whose dominion thethesaid treytour or rebel is so arryued, at ã instance & request of the other prince to whom ã offence and cryme was committed, shalbe bound incontinently to delyuere thesaid rebel or treytour to thethesaid demaundre without fraude or male engyne.

Item that all Scottishmen now inhabityng in Engelande, & sworne to the kyng of Eng-lande, shall & may there inhabite and tarye, so that their names within. xl. daies after the date of this league be certesd to the kyng of Scottes; or to his Chauncelour, by the kyng of Englàd, or the warden of the marches.

Item yf duryng thethesaid amitie & peace, it shall fortune any of the wardeyns of thethesaid princes without commandement, assent or knowlege of his souereign lord and master, to inuade and reise an arnye in the dominion of theother prince, and there to sley, burne or spoile: ã then thethesaid prince, to whom thethesaid wardeyn is or shalbe subiect & vassalle, shal within. vi. daies next after the facte done & perpetrate, declare thethesaid wardeyn a treytour and rebell, and therof shall make certificate to the other prince to whom the inurie was com-mitted within. xii. daies after thethesaid declaracion made and denounced.

Item that in every saueconduycte to be graunted by either of thethesaid prynces, this clause to
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...the same, the amity of which shall be and shall be hereafter referred to, as well as the
amity of which shall be given the first day of October next ensuing in the most notable
and famous cities and towns of both the Realms & regions. And conservators were apoynted for the sure obseruacio
of this league and amity on both partes, whose names folowe.

For the kyng of England.

Ihon erle of Lyncolne
Henry erle of Northumberland
Raufe lord Neuell
Raufe lord Greystocke
Richard lorde Fitz Hugh
Ihon lord Srope
Thomas lord Srope of Massam
Sir Christopher Moresby
William Clapton, esquier
Hofrey lord Daker

For the kyng of Scottes.

David earle of Crafford and lorde lynsey
George Earle of Huntley, lorde Gorden and Badzenath.

Ihon lorde Dornely
Ihon lorde Kynedy
Roberte lord Lile
Patrick lorde Hales
Lawrence lorde Oliphant
William lorde Borthwike
Sir Ihon Rosse of Halkebed
Sir Gilbert Ibonson of Elphynston
Sir Ihon Lundy
Sir James Ogilly of Arly

XVI. Item it is farther condiscended and agreed that these commissioners whose names ensue...
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To be had of certayne offences done on the westmerches as also for declaryng and publishynge of the peace and amitie.

### Commissioners of the English part.
- The lorde Dacre
- The lorde Fitz Hugh
- Sir Richard Radclyffe
- Sir Christopher Moresby
- Sir Richard Salked
- or thre of them.

Item like commissioners were assigned to mete at Roydon borne for the East marches the firste daye of December and also mete at haldanestanks the iii. daie of the sayde moneth for the middle marches.

### Commissioners for the kyng of England.
- The erle of Northumberlende
- The lorde Greystorcke
- The lord Scrope of Massam
- Sir William Gastony
- Sir Robert Conestable

### Commissioners for the kyng of Scottes.
- The lorde Kenedy
- The lorde Mountgomery
- The lorde lile
- Ihon Maxwell stuarde of Annerdale
- Robert Crechton of sancquhane
- or thre of them.

Item it is agreed that ye commissioners afsaid shall depute and assigne certeyne persones to viewe and declare the boundes and lymites apperteignyng to the toune of Berwike according to the true meaning of the league.

Item it is agreed and apoynted that no person of England or Scottland shal duryng the said truce, build, eare or sowe any landes or groud beyng within the boundes of the batable ground, but to suffre thesame to continue in the same condicion that it nowe remayneth.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished and sealed with all dewe circumstances thereunto required. Although kyng Richard judged and demed hym selfe somewhat the more stronger and quyeter by force of this newe amitie and concluded confederacie, yet to augmente more the familiarite begonne betwene the king of Scottes and him, and to have a double stryngye for his bowe, he entreted a newe aliance and mariage to be concluded betwene the prince of Rothesaye eldeste sonne to the kyng of Scottes, and lady Anne de la poole daughter to Ihon duke of Suffolke and lady Anne suster to kyng Richard, whiche suster he so muche fauoured that he studyenge all the weies by the which he might anuance her ofspringe and lignage, did not onely procure and seke meanes howe to make her daughter a pryncesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed Ihon erle of Lyncolne his nephew and her sonne, heyre apparaunt to ye crowne of England, dishenerteyng kyng Edwardes daughters, whose brethren before you haue heard he shamefullly killed & murthered.

The kyng of Scottes hauynge neede of Fresdens, but not so muche neede as kyng Richard whiche was of necessite compelled to seke aiders and to entretyne fauntours, the one for fauourynge of flatterers and base borne persones, and the other not onely for tyrannye and vnnatural homicide, but also for the vsurpacion of the crowne beyng of all the realme detested and disdayned, gladly accepted and joysously concented to kyng Richards deuyce and conuynacion of amitie, perfightely remembryng that emongst all bondes and obligacions of loue and amitie, that there is neither a suerer nor a more perfight locke, then the knote of coniuncion in the sacrament of Matrimony, which was in the very begynnynge of the first
first age of man, ordeyned and instituted in the holy place of paradise terrestiall by God hym selfe: by reason whereof, the propagation and succession of the humane nature, stablished vpon the sure scate of lawfull matrimony betwene princes, maye norishe peace, concorde, and vnite, aswage and breake the furious rage of truculent Mars and terrible battayle, and encreace loue, faunoure and familiarite. Wherfore thesayde prynces seote their ambassadours and councelours agaync to the toune of Nottyngham, where thethesayde mariage was by wraytinges and instrumentes couenaunted, codiscended and agreed, and affiances made and taken by procters and deputys on bothe partes, and she imediately called pryncesse of Rothsay, whiche name she shortly loste by the sherte life of kyng Richard her louyng vncle. Here may well be noted the unnaturall loue and disordered affection whiche this kynde kyngeseman shewed to his blood: For he not remembryng the tyranny that he had executed against his brothers sonsnes, the wrong and manifest injury that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in taking from them their dignyte, possessions and luyngye, thoughte it shoulde redondane greatly to his honoure and fame, yf he promoted his sisters chyldre (to whom he was notthyngye bounde in conscience to make restitucion) to the dignyte of a Queene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whom he had vntruely and by force discheuered, and of all their righte depryued, to the mariage of a mane esquier: suche was his fraternall kyndenes towarde his brother, and suche was his large conscience towards his brothers chyldren.

After this league and marriage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdignye that the strange castell of Dumbarre should remayne in thenglishe mannes handes and possession, wrote a gentle letter to kyng Richard, declaryng to hym that where in the league concluded betwene them, it was agreed and appoynced that he should within. xl dayes nexe ensuyng, expresse and declare his opinion and meanyng concerneynge the castell of Dumbarre, whether the sayde castell should be occupied and stand still in the handes of thenglishemen duryng the whole tyme of the truce, or elles for the terme of sixe monethyes onely. He nowe certeynyng kynges Kychard by his letters, that he was contente that he and his shoude enjoye the possessyon of the sayde castell quyetely and peaceably duryng thesayde truce and amitie. Neuertheless he required him for the loue and familiarite that now bothe by treatie and alyaunce was spronge and knyt betwene theim, that he woulde redelyuer thesayde castell into his handes, whiche was vntruely possessed of thenglishe nacion by deluyere of rebelles and tryetours, contrarie to all righte, equitie, and conscience. Kynges Richarde dalyed with pleasante letters and fayre worordes, and so foded foorth the kyng of Scottes, that he neuer had Dumbarre delyuered while kyng Richard lyued, after whose deathle, whether it were by treason or by apoyntemente, the castell was rendred to the kyng of Scottes to his grete contentacion and reioyseyng. Albeit this league & amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it mighete manifestly seene to all persons, that all concertacions and confederacies agaynst kynges Richard were extincte and put seylene, and in especial considerynes he that y duke of Buckingham and his alyes were made out of his waye, some by death, and some by banisheyme and exylne into farre countreis & regions. Yet kyng Richard more doubtynge then truyenye to his owne people and frendes was continually vexed, tossed and vnquyeted with feare of the retourne of the erle of Richemond and his complices & fautours, which dailye dreaye and hourely agony, caused him to lyue in dolefull misery, euer vnquiet, & in maner incontynual calamitie. Wherfore he enteynyng to be releved and to have all his dolorous imaginacion allayuated, determyned elerely to extirpate and plucke at the mater and grounde of his feare and doubtses. Wherefore after longe and delibera concertacion had, nothing was for his purpose and entente thought either more necessary or expedient then once agayne with price, praier and rewardes, to attempt y duke of Britaine in whose territorie y erle of Richemond then abode, to deliever thesai de erle into his hades, by whiche onely meanes he shoude be discharyged of all feare of perel, and brought to rest and quietnes bothe of body & mind. Wherfore incontynent he sent cerene ambassadoures to y duke of Britayne, which tooke vpon them (beside the great and ample rewardes
rewardes they brought with them into Britayne) that kyng Richard should yerely paie & answer the duke of all the revenues, rents and profits, of the seignories, lades & possessions aswel belonging and apperteyning to the erle of Richmōd, as to any other noble or gentleman whiche then were in the erles company, yf he after that time would kepe them in continual prison and restrine them from libertie. The Oratoures furnished with these and other instructions, arrived in Britayne and came to the dukes house, where with them they could haue no manner of communicacion concerning their weightie affaires, by reason that he beyng fatigate and weakened by a longe and daily infirmicte, beganne a lytle to waxe ydle and weake in his wyte and remembrance. For which cause Peter Landoyse his chiefe treasourer, a man both ofpregnaut wit and great authorite, ruled and adiudged al thinges at his pleasure and commandement for the which cause (as men set into high authorite be not best beloved) he excited and prouokd against him the malice and cuell will of ʒ nobilitie of Britayne, which afterward for diverse great offences by him duryng his authorite perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death and colusion. Thengishe ambassadoures moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse and to him declared their masters commandemente, instanly requireinge, and humbly desirynge him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Britayne) that he woule frendely assent to the request of kyng Richard, offering to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the duke.

This Peter whiche was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Britayne, thought that yf he dyd assent and satisfie kyng Richardes petycion and desyre, he should be of powre and habilite sufficicte to withstande and refell the maliciuus attempts and disdeynfull inuencions of his enious aduersaries. Wherefore he feithfully promysed to accomplishe kyng Richardes request and desyre, so that he keppe promise with him, that he might be hable to withstand ʒ canceard malice of his secrete enemies. This acte that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the earle of Richmond, for as you haue heard before, he deluyered him from perell of death at sayncet Malos when he was in great doubte of life and icopardie but as cause riseth we ever offende, and that cursed hungre of gold and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of auhorite, driueth the blynde myndes of couetous men and ambicicous persons to euilles and mischifes innumerable, not remembering losse of name, obloquy of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites and heroes. But fortune was so favorable to the publicke wealth of the realme of England that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for ʒ finishing of this great enterprise betwene kyng Richard & Peter Landoyse, Ihon Morton bishop of Ely soiornynge then in Flandres, was of al this crouftie coneeighance certifie by his secret & sure frēdes: wherfore he sent Christopher Vrswike (whiche at that verie season was come out of Britayne into Flandres) to declare to the erle of Richmōd howe al the deceipte & crouftie working was coneuicide and compassed, geyng him in charge to counsell and advise ʒ erle in al last possible w al his company to retoure out of Britayne into Frānce. When these newses were brought to the erle, he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched agayne Christopher Vrswike to Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might saucely passe into Franne, whiche desyre, imperated and obeyed, the messenger shortly returned to his lorde and prince. The erle well perceauynge that it was expedient and necessarie with al speecke and diligenc, to loke to this weightie matter, calling very few to counsell, he made exploration and searche of all secret and by weyes and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certayne familiarite and kyndeas they should visite and comforte ʒ duke, which then for recreation and change of ayre, laie on the borders and confines of Franne. And secretly he gave charge to the Earle of Pembrooke which was the leader and condutor of his compaigny, that when they approched the marches and lymites of Britayne, they should dyuerte and take the next way into Franne. The noble men somewhat suspicous of thinges newly imag-
The fourth day after the earle of Richemonde was thus departed, that crafte marchauntes Peter Landoyse, trustyng he still after his praye promised by kyng Richard, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldyours, whiche he preuely had consigned with certayne trustye capiteynes for that onely purpose approynted and elected, to performe & achiue his pretended entreprise, dissimulyng and feignyng them to be conducted and hyred by hym to servye the Earle of Richemond, and hym to conduyte in his retourne towards his natyre countrey, meaning none other thyng but to apprehende him and the other noble men in his retynye, whiche no suche fraude suspectyng, nor yet any treason ymagenyng, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayle, and them to cast and detrude sodayly into continual captiuie and bondage, to thetente that by this facinorous and naughtie acte, he mighhte satisfie the charitable request and louyng intending of good kyng Richard, more for his awne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this crafty dissymuler Peter Landoyse, whiche was no Wylyer then an olde Foxe, perconed that the earle was departed (thynkyng that to be trewe that he ymagened) lord howe currioures rane into every coaste, howe lighte horsemen galloped to everie streyf to folowe and deteyne hym, ye by any possibilite he could be subsecuted and overtaken, and hym to incarcerate and brynge captyue into the citee of Vannes. The horsemen made suche diligence, and with such celerite set forward their iornye, that nothing was more likely then thae to haue obteined, ye & seizd their pray. For the erle of Richmond was not entred into his realme of Fraunce scace one hour, but they followers came to the lymites and confines of Britayne, and durst aventure no farther but veinement without their desyre sorowfully retourned. At which season were left at Vannes aboute the nombre of iii. Englishmen, which not beyng called to councell and vcndue of this entreprise, but knowynge of the erles somdeyne departyre were so incontinently astounded, that in maner thei were al in dispayre both of hym and their awne securitie and saugarde. But fortune tourned her sale, & otherwyse yt happened then there feare them encomberd. For the duke of Britayne nowe beyng somewhat recovered, was sore displeased, and nothinge contented that the erle of Richemonde was in his dominion so vncurteously tracted and entreated, that he shoued be by fraud and vntruthe compelled to leaue and flye oute of his duchy and countrey contrary to his honoure. Wherfore he tooke grete displeasure with Peter Landoyse his treasourer, to whom (although he knew not & was ignoraunte that all the drifte was dryuen and deuyed by hym) he laied the faut and imputed the cryme. Wherfore he sent for Edward Woodulie, and Edward Pownynges valiantte esquiers of England, and delyuered vnto them moneie sufficient for their conduyte, wyllinge them to convey the rest of thenghilmen beyng in Brytayne, to the earle of Richemondes presence. When the Earle was thus furnyshed & appoynted with his trustye company, and was escaped all daungerous labrynthes and snares that were set for him, no meruel though he were iocunde and glad of prosperous successe that happened in his aффaires. Wherfore, lest he should seme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent
of his gentlemé to the duke of Britaine, the which should publishe & declare to
him on the behalfe of the erle, that he and his, were onely by his benefite and fauoure con-
serued and deluyered from the imminent daunger ḟ they were like to be trapped in. Where-
fore at that time he rendred to him his moost harte thankes in wordes, trustyng & not
doubtyng but in tyme to come liberally to recopence him with actes & dedes.

After this, the erle tooke his journe to Charles ḟ French kyng, lyng then at Langes
vpo the riner of leyre, to whom after great thankes geuen for manifold gratuytes by him
to the erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested ḟ cause & occasiō of his acces & repaire
to his person. After that he required of him helpe and succour, to thentente that by his
immortall benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he might sauely retornne to the nobilitē
of his realme, of whom he was generally called to take vpon him the crowne and scepter of
the realme, they so muche hated & abhorred the tyranny of kyng Richard. Kyng Charles
promised him aide and comfort, and bad him be of good courage and make good chere,
for he assured him that he would gladly shewe to him his benevolent mynd and bountefull
liberlite. Which kyng from thence removed to Moûtargis, leadynge with him the erle of
Richenond, and all the noble personages of his retynue and faccion.

While the erle was thus attendant on the French court, Ihon Vere erle of Oxford
(which as you have heard before was by king Edward kepte in prison within the castell
of hammes) so persuaded James blount capitayne of thesame fortesse, and sir Ihon Fort-
tescwee porter of the toune of Caleys, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and set
at libertē, but they also abandonynge and leaunynge their fruitefull offices, condescended
to go with him into Franchise to the Earle of Rychemonde and to take his parte. But James
Blount like a wise capitayne, because he lefte his wyfe remaynynge in the castell before his
departure, he fortheled thesame both with newe inuencions and newe souldyours. When
the Earle of Richemonde sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was raished with an incredible
gladnes, that he byng a man of so highe nobilité, of such knowleage and practise in feates
of warre, and so constant, trusty and assured (whiche alweie had studied for the mainte-
nanuce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deluy-
ered out of captiuitē & imprisonmet, & in time so necessary & convenient come to his
aide, succour & auauancement, in whom more surer then any other he mighte put his truste
& confidence, and take lesse peyne and trauayle in his awne person. For it was not hid
frō hym that such as had ever take part w kyng Edward before this time, came to do hi ser-
uice either for malice ḟ they bare to king Richard, or elles for feare to tyme vnder his truc-
ulent rule and tempestuous gouvernaunce. But this man which so often tymes had per-
sonally focht in mortal battayle in the quere of kyng Henry the. vi. he judged by deuyne
powre and heavenly inspiracion to be deluyered out of captiuitē & emprisonment for this
onely purpose, that he should have a man of his awne faccion and schoole, to whome he
might surely and faithfully communike and credite all thinges as to his awne propre person,
and therfore byng enflamed with an immortall joye for the earles commynge he beganne to
haue a good hope of the happy succes of all his pretensed entreprises.

Not long after, the Frenche kyng retorned agayn to Paris, whome the erle of Rich-
mond folowed, entending there to solicite his mater to ḟ conclusion. Whereupon he be-
sought king Charles to take vpon him ḟ whole tuicyon and defence of him and his cause,
so that he and his campaigny beynge by his meanes ayded and comforted, shoulde confess
& saye their wealth, victorye and auauancement to haue flowed and budsed fourthe of his
bounteufullnes and liberlite, which they would God wyllyng shortly reacquyte. In the
meane season diverse Englishemen whiche either fled out of England for feare, or were at
Paris to learene and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine came voluntarily and sub-
mitted theim selues to the Earle of Rychemonde, and vowed and sworne to take his parte.
Emongeste whome was Richardse Foxe a priest, a man of great wyte and no lesse learnynge,
whome the erle incontinent receaued into secret familiarite & in brief tyme erected &

aunaunced
auaunced him to high dignifies and promocions, and in conclusion he made him bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season kyng Richard was credibly advertised what promises and othes the erle and his cofederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles means all thenglishe were passed out of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beynge sore dismayed and in manner desperate, because his craftie cheuesance tooke none effect in Bry-
tayne ymagened and denysed how to infringe and disturb the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he should pretend no clayne nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. And because that he beynge bylyned with the ambicious desyre of rule before this tyme, in obtaynyng the kyngdome, had perpetrate and done many flagious acts and detestable tyrannies, yet accordyng to the old proverbe, let him take the bul that stale away ÿ calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in tymes passed to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous ymaginacion whiche he nowe newely beganne and attempted. There came into hys vngracious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembleance of man, but much more cruel and abominable to be put in execucion. For when he resouled in his wauerynge mynde how greate a fountayne of mischief towarde hym shoulde sprynge, ye the erle of Richmond should be auounced to the mariage of his nece, whiche thinge he hearde saye by the rumour of the people that no small nombre of wyse and Wittye personages en-
terprised to compass & brynge to conclusion. He clereely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wyfe quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or liberall promises, firmely beleuyngg her fauoure once obtained that she would not stike to commit and lou-
glyy credite to him the rule and gouernance both of her and her daughters, and so by that means the erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece should be vitally defrauded and beguyled. And ye no ingenuous remedye could be otherwise invented to saue the innume-
value-mischiefes whiche were euén at hand and like to falle, ye it shoulde happen quene Anne his wyfe to departe oute of this presente worlde, then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousin and nece the lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole realme should runne to ruynye, as who said, that ye he once fell from his estate and dignite, the ruynye of the realme must nedes shortly ensue & folowe. Wherfore he sent to the quene beynge in sanctuarey diverse and often messengers, whiche firste should excuse and purge him of all things before against his attempted or procured, and after shoulde so largely prome promocions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Dorsett, that they should brynyge her ye it were possible into some war-
hope, or as some men saie into a fooles paradise. The messengers beynge men bothe of wit and grauitie so persuaded the quene with great & pregnante reasons, then with fayre & large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to gene to them no defile eare, in som-
uch that she faithfully promised to submit & yeld her selfe fully and frankly to the kynges will and pleasure. And so she putting in obliuion the murther of her innocente children, the infancy and dishonoure spoken by the kyng his husbandle, the lyuynghe in aureoutria leued to her charge, the bastarding of her daughters, forgettyng also ye feithful promes & open othe made to the countesse of Richmond mother to ye erle Henry, bylynded by auaricious affection and seduced by flatterynge woordes, first delivered into kyng Richards hedes her. v. daughters as Lambes once agayne committed to the custody of the rauensous wolfe. After she sente letters to the Marques her sonne beynghe then at Parys with the earle of Richomonde, willynghe him in any wise to leave the carle and without delaie to repaire into England where, for him were provided great honours and honorable promocions, assen-
teynynghe him fither, that all offences on bothe parties were forgotten and forgeueen, and bothe he and she higheely incorporate in the kynges hearte. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, ye all women had bene founde constante, but let men speake, yet women of the verie bound of nature will folowe their awne kynde. After that kyng e
KYNG RICHARD THE II.

kynge Ryeharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatteryng woordes pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elizabeh which knewe nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne receauyng, as though with his newe familier and louyng entreteinement they should forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed injurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe nothinge was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adjudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from commyttynge this abhominable murther, because as you haue hearde before he beganne to countrefaycye the ynage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afraid least of sodeine and immature death of his wife. Once openly knowne, he should lose the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll counsell prevailed in a witt lately mynderd to mischiefe, and turned from all goodnes. So that his vngracious desire overcame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of his ymagened entreprise, he absteryned bothe from the bed and company of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyverse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrennes of his wife, because she brought forth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especial he attempted to Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke (whome lately he had deleyuered oute of warde and captiuite) these impediments of his quene and dyverse other, thinking that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trystyng the sequele herof to take his efecte, that she heryng this vngrude of her husband, and takyng therefore an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (where he well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secrete frendes. After this he procurd a common rumour (but he woulde not have the author known) to be publishd and spred abroade emonge the common people that the quene was ded, to thentent that she takyng some cœipte of this straung fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuous maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by ÿ or any other waies to lese her life, whether ÿ people would impeute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would late ÿ blame to him. Whē ÿ quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong emongest the comminallie, she sore suspected and iuged ÿ worlde to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenaunce and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundynge of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dyke. The kyng answered her with faire woordes, and with dissimulynge blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges comforted her, biddynge her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should have none other cause. But howsoever ÿ it fortunate, either by inward thought and pensuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of pouyon (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed out of this transitorie lyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the church of seint Peter at Westminster. This is thenem Anne one of the daughters of ÿ eric of Warwyk, which as you haue heard before at the request of lewes ÿ French kyng, was maried to prince Edward somne to kyng Henry the vi.

The kyng thus (according to his long desire) losed out of the boyes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selue moost of all, detested and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnatural copulation, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quenes. For all that vrie season he was oppressd with great weightie and vrgent causes and busynesses on euery side consideryng that dialyle parte of the nobilitie sailed into Fraunce to the erle of Richmond: Other pruely favoured & aided certeine of the coniuracion, so ÿ of his shorte ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And ÿ many of them had rather be reputed & taken of him in the nobre of his enemies, then to abide
THE II. YERE OF

abide the chaunce and hazard to haue their goodes taken as a spoile of victorie by his enemys. Emongest the noble men whome he moost mistrusted, these were the principall, Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and. vi. hundred other, of whose purposes although kyng Richard were ignoran, yet he gaue nether confidence nor credence to any one of them, and least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was joyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly, ye maie perceau. For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfit readines to receaue the erle of Richmôd at his first arriuall in Englad: the kyng in no wise woulde suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and heire. While kynge Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaganications of the tumultuous time that was like to come: Loo, euyn sodeinly he herde newes that fyer was sprung oute of the smoke, and the warre recently begonne, and that the castell of hammes was deliuered into the handes of the erle of Rychemonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, and that not only he but also James Blount capiteine of the castel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry. Wherefore he thynkynge it great pollicie to withstand the fyrst brunt, sent the moost part of the garrison of Caleis to recover again by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell perceiving their aduersaries to approche, prepared municions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Earle of Richemonde, to aduerse hym of their sodeine obsession, requirynge hym of hasty ayde and speedy succoure. The erle slepyng yet this first begonne assaute, sent the earle of Oxenforde with an elected company of souldiournes to reise the siege & reskew the castel: Which at their first arruyynge pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while kyng Rychardes men gaue vigilaunt iye, wetyynge least the Earle of Oxforde shold take any aduauntage of them that laie on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. approued men of warre by a marishe whiche laie on the other syde entred into the castell. The souldiours within greatly animeted and muche comforted by this newe succour and aide, greued the ememies by shotyng frô ã walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the foreparte: the Earle of Oxenforde no lesse molestd and vnquieeted them on the other parte, which was the occasion that kyng Richardes men offred of their awne nieere mocion licence to all byynge within the Castel to departe in sauette with bagge and baggage notwithstanding: whiche condicion the earle of Oxenforde commynge only for that purpose to deliever his louynge frendes oute of all perrell and daunger, & chiefly of all, his olde hostesse Iane Blount wife to Iames Blount the capteine, would in no wise repudiate or refuse. And so leaunynge the Castell bare and vngarnysshed bothe of vitaile and artillery, came safe to the erle of Richmond sojourning in Parys. Duryng this tyme, kyng Richard was credibly informed of his explorators & espialles ã erle of Richmond was whone synte in the courte of Fraunce sore fatigat & weried, & desyynge greate aide could obtayne small releue. In so muc authe thynge went so farre backward, that suche thinges as were with great diligence and no lesse deliberation purposed and determined to be set forward, were nowe daunched and overthrowen to the grounde. Kyng Richard eyeuer beyng to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by hys craufte talctellers, greatly rejoyset as though he had obtayned the ouerhand of his enemies with triumph and victorie, and thought hymselfe nouer so surely delyuered of all feare and dreadfull ymaganications, so that he neede nowe no more once for that cause euyther to wake or breake his golden slepe. Wherefore he called home against his shippes of warre whiche he had appoynted to kepe the narowe sees, & dispatched al such souldiours as he had deputed to kepe certeine garrisons & to stoppe certeine passages as you haue heard before. Yet least he might for lacke of prouisyon be sodainly trappd, he streightly charged and gaue in commandemenst to all noble men & in especiall suche as inhabited nere to the sea coaste and on the frontiers of wales, that accordyng to the vsage of the countrey, they should kepe diligent watche & stronge warde, to the entent ã his aduersaries in
in no wise should have any place apte or opportune easily to take lande withoute defence or rebuttyng back. For the custome of the countreyes adiownyng nere to y see is (especially in the tyme of war) on every hill or high place to erect a bekon w a greate laterne in the toppe, which maie be sene and discerned a great space of. And when the noyes is once bruted that the enemies approache nere y land, they sodeinely put fyre in the lanthornes and maie showtes & outrages fro toune to toune and from village to village. Some ronne in post fro place to place admonishing the people to be ready to resist the jeopardy, and defende the perell. And by this policye y fame is some blowen to euery citee & toune, in somache that aswell the cytezenes as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put back the newe arryued enemies.

Nowe to retouerne to our purpose, kyng Richard thus allowe of his accustomed pensuences, beganne to be somewhat more merier & toke lesse thought & care for outwarde enemes then he was woont to do, as who saie, that he with polletique provision shoulde withstand the desteny which hong ouer his hed, and was ordered in brieke tyme sodeinely to fall. Such is the force and puissaine of deuyne justice, that euery man shal lesse regarde, lesse providelesse be in doubl of all things, when he is moost nerest punishment, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crymes.

Aboute this season, while the erle of Richomonde was desirynge aye of the Frenche kyng, certeine noble men were there apointed to rule the realme of Fraunce duryng the minorite of kyng Charles, which emongest their selves were not of one opinion. Of whiche dissencion, Lewes duke of Orlyauce was the chiefe sturrer, which because he had marayed lady Johanne suste to the Frenche kyng, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and admistracion of the whole realme. By reason of whych controuerzie, no one manne only was suffred to rule al, wherfore the erle of Rychemond was compelled to make suyte to euery one of the counsell generally one after another, requiring and desirymge theim of aide and releue in his weightie busynes, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Duryng whiche time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to retouerne againe into Englysd partly despaying in the good successe of the erle of Richomond & partely onerate and vanquisshed with the faire glosynge promises of kyng Richard: secretly in the night season stak oute of Parys, and with all diligent expedicon toke his journey toward Flaunder. When rellaci of his departure was made to the erle of Richomond & the other noble men, no maravel though they were astonnyed & greatly amased. Yet y notwisaduyng they replyed of the Frenche kyng that it might be lefull to theim in his name and by his commandement to take and steyre their copaignion, confederate, and partaker of all their councl, in what place within his realme and territory so euer they coulde fynde hym. Which petici once obtained, thei sent oute carriers into every parte emongest whome Homfrye Chyny pleying the parte of a good hounde, foloked the tract of y flyer so euyn by y sent, that he overtooke and apprehended hym not farre from Copeign & so what with reason & what w faire promises beynge persuaded, he retouerne againe to his copaignions. The erle of Richomond vnburdened of this misaunventure, least by procrastinacion of daies & prolongyng of time he might les y great opportunitee of things to him ofrred and ministred also least he should ferther wounde or molest the myndes of his feithfull and assured frendes which daily did aspect & tarie for his coming, determined no lenger to protract & deferre y time, but with all diligence & sedelrite to attempte his begonne entreprise and so obteyning of kyng Charles a small crewe of men, and borowyng certeyn sommes of money of hym & of diverse other his pryuate frendes. For the whiche he left as debter or more likelyer as a pledge or hostage lord Thomas Marques Dorsett (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Ihon Burchier, he departed from y French court & came to the citee of Roan. While he taryd there makynge prouision at harlite in the mouth of the ryuer of Seyne for all things necessary for his navy and nauigation, tydunges were brought to hym that kyng Richard beygne wout children and now wydower, entended shortly to marry with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the ladye Cicile her suste to a man founde in a cloude and of an vnknowne lignage and familie. He

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tooke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered, it was of no lesse importance then he tooke it for. For this thyng only tooke aweie from all his compaignions their hope and courage that they had to obtaine an happie enterprize. And therefore no maruell though it wypped hym at the verie stomache when he thought that by no possibilitie he might attayne the marriage of any of kyng Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foudacion of his buyldyng, by reason whereof he judgged that all his frenedes in England woulde abandon and shryake from hym. Wherfore makynge not many of his counsell, after dyuere consutation he determined not yet to set forwarde, but to tarye and attempte howe to get more ayde, more frenedes and more stronger succour. And emongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinite in his ayde as a compaignion in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongst the Welshemen, whiche had wyth hym a faire Ladye to his suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the aheureuyng of this purpose, messengers were secreteely sent to Henry Earle of Northumbreland (whiche had before married another suster of Sir Walter Herbertes) to thentent that he shoulde set forward all this deuyce and purpose, but the weies were so narowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his iourney and busynes. But in the meane season, ther came to the Earle a more ioyfuler message from Morgan Kydwelly learned in the temporall lawe, whiche declared that lyce ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valuaunte then actyuitee, and Ihon Sauage an approved Captayne, woulde with all their powre be participers of his quarel. And that Reignolde Breye had collected and gotten together no small some of money for the payment of the wages to the souldiourys and men of warre: admonisshyng him also to make quicke expedicion and to take his course directly into Wales. The Earle of Richmonde because he woulde no lenger lynger and weery hys frenedes lyuyngg continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all conueniante hast to sett forwarde, and caried to his shippes armoure, weapons, vityale and all other ordinances expedient for warre. And shortly to speake, all thynges he prepared which are wol to be necessary and profitable to the variable chanes and incertelye accidents and jeopardyes of warre which requyreth preparació of many instrumètes and thinges chargeable.

After that the erle had made his humble peticion, and demoute praiers to allmightie God, beschevyng him not only to sende hym moost prosperous wynde and sure passage in his iourney, but also effectuely desvyng his goodnes of aide & comforte in his necessit and victorie & supremite ouer his enemies, only accompagnied with ii. thousand memme and a small nombre of shippes, weyed vp his ancre and halsed vp his sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the. vii. daye after his departure he arryued inWales in the evenyng at a port called Mylford Hauen, and in cotinet toke land and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard sanye that a certeine company of his aduersaries were leyed in garrison to defende his arryuall all the last wynter. And the earle at the some rysyng removed to harfLeod west, beyng distant from dal1e not fully ten myle, where he was applaued and receaued of the people with greate ioye, and he arryued there so sodeinly that he was come and entred the toune at the same tymne when the eytezenz had but knowlege of his concymgy. Here he heard newes whiche were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythe body and goodes were determined to aide kyng Richard. While he and his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynges, there came such message from thinhabitauentes of the toune of Pembroke they refresshed and reuayed their frozen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnold Butler a valiaunt captain, which first askyng perdon for his offences before tymne committet against the erle of Richmond, and that obtayned, declared to hym that the penbrochians were ready to serve & geue their attendauce on ther natural and immediate lord Iasper erle of Penbrooke. The erle of Richmond hauynge his armie thus encreased, departed from Herforde west to the toune of Cardygan beyng. v. myle distant from thence. While the souldiourys were refresshyng and trimmyngg them selues
in their campe, strange tydynges spronge emonge them woute any certeine authour, y sir Walter Herberd whiche laie in a greate crewe of menne at Carmarden, was nowe with a greate armynye ready to approche and byd them bataille. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euerie man assaied his armure and proued his weapon and were prest to defende their enemies. And as they were in this timerous doubt, certeine horse-men which the erle had sent to make exploracion and searche, retourned and reported all the countrey to bee quiete and no let nor impedimente to be laied, or cast in their journey. And even at that same tyme the whole armie was greatly recomforted by reason that the commynge of Rycharde Gryffith, a man of greate nobilitie, the whiche notwythstandyng he was confrater wyth Sir Walter Harbert and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that verie instant he came to the Earle of Richemund with all his compaignie, whyche were of no great number. After hym, the same daie came Ihon Morgan wyth his men. Then the Earle auanced forwarde in good haste, makynge no repose or abode in any one place. And to thentent to passe forwarde with sure and short expediciion, he assaulte euerie place where his enemies had set any men of warre, whiche with small force and lesse difficulcie he briefly dyd expugne and vanquishe. And sodeynly he was by his espiuelles aserteyned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas were in harnes before hym ready to encountre wyth his armie and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore lyke a valyant captyne he first determined to set on them and eyther to destroye or to take them into his fayntoure, and after with all his powre and penyssance to gye bataille to his mortall enemye kyng Richard. But to thentent his frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted entreprice proceded forwarde, he sente of his moost secrete and faithfull servauntes with letters and instruccions to the laadye Margarete his mother, to the Lorde Stanley and his brother, to Talbote and to other his trusty frendes, declarynge to them, that he succoured and holpen with the aye and releue of his frendes entended to passe ouer y ryuer of Severne at Shrewsburie, and so to passe directely to the citee of London, requiryng theim as his especiell truste and confidence was perplanted in the hope of their fidelite, that they would occurre & mete hym by the waye with all diligent preparacion to thentent that he & thei at tyme propice and place conuenient might communicate together the profundyte and depnes of all his dubious and weightye busynes. Whè the messengers were disparsed with these commundaiementes & admonicious, he marched forward toward Shrewsbury, and in his passyng there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bid of Welshmen whiche makynge an othe and promise to the erle, submitted himself whole to his ordre and commandement. For the erle of Richemund. ii. daies before made to him promes yf he woulde swere to take his part and be obedient to hym he woulde make hym chiefest gouernour of Wales, whiche parte as he faithfully promised and granted, so after that he had obtayned and possessed the realm and diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meanetyme, the messengers that were sent, diligently executed the thinges given to them in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome thei were sent, retourned to hym the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relacion to hym that his frendes were ready in all poyntes to doo all thinges for him which either they ought or might do. The erle Hery brought in good hope with his pleasant message continued forth at his extended journey and came to a little towne called Newport and pitchyng his campe on a lytle hill adjoynynge, reposed hym selfe there that nyghte. In the evenyng, the same daie came to hym sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the young Earle of Shrewsburie then bynyng in warde, whiche were accomplted to the nombre of two thousand men. And thus his powre increaseynge he arryued at the towne of Stafforde and there passed. To whome came Sir Wyliam Stanely accompanied with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and he had communed no longe tyme together, he retured to his souldiours which he had congregate together to serve the Earle, whiche from thence departed to Lichfielde and laie without the walles in his camp all the nyght. The nexte moraynyng he entred into the towne, and was with all honour lyke a prynce receauned. A daie or twoo before the lorde Stanley...
hauynge in hys bande almoaste fyue thousande men, lodged in thesame towne, but herynge that
the Earle of Richemonde was marshyng thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodgyng hym
and hys and repaired to a towne called Adresteone, there abdyng the comynyg of the
Earle, and this wyle foxe did this acte to aduoyde all suspicyon, beynge afraied least yt he
should be sene openly to bee a fawtoure or ayder to the Earle his soone in lawe before the
daie of the battayll, that kynge Richarde whiche yet dyd not ytterly put in him diffidence
and mystruste woulde put to some cruell deathe his soone and heire apparaunt George Lorde
Straunge whom kynge Richarde as you hane heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hos-
tage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothing preudicicall to hym.

Kynge Rycharde at this season kemyng his howse in the Castell of Notyngham was in-
fourned that the Earle of Richemond with such bannysshed men as fled oute of Englande to
hym were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all thynges necessarie to his enterprice were un-
prouided, vnparuyed and serie weake, nothyng mete to withstande the powre of suche as
the kyngh had apoynted to resist him. This rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner
disdeinyng to here spoke of so poore a campaigne, determined at the first to take lytle or
no garde to this so small a sparcle, declaryng the earle to be innocente, and vnwyse because
that he tenerarily attempted suche a grete enterprice with so small and thynne a number
of Warlyke personnese, and therefore he gaue a definitye sentence, that when he came to that
poynte that he should be compelled to fight agaynst his will, he eyther shoulde be appre-
heended a lyte, or elles by all likelystode he shoulde of necessite come to a shamefull confi-
usion, and that he trusted to be shortly done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas,
whiche then ruled Wales with egall powre and lyke authorite. But yet he revoluyng and
castyng in hys mynde that a small warre begunne and wynked at and not regarded, maye
tourne to a grete broyle and tumulteous trouble, and that yt was prudente pollicie not to
asperne and disdeyne the lytle small powre and weakens the enimmy, be it nouer so small,
thought it necessarly to prounde for after clappes that might happen and chaunce.
Wherefore he sent to Ihon duke of Norfolke, Henry earle of Northumberlände, Thomas
Earle of Surrey and to other of hys especiell and truyt friends of the nobilite, whych he
judged muche more to preferre and esteme his wealth and honoure then their owne riches
and private commodite, wylyng heim to mustre and viewe all their seruauntes and te-
tenentes, and to elect and choose the moost courageus and actue persones of the whole
number, and with them to repairse to his presence with all spede and diligence. Also he
wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieuenteunt of the towre, commandyng hym with his powre
to come to his armaye and to bryng with hym as felowe in armes Sir Thomas Burchier and sir
Walter Hungerforde and diuerse other knightes and esquieres in whome he had cast no small
suspicyon. While he was thus ordrynge his affaires, tydynges came that the Earle of Rich-
mond was passed Seuerne and com to Shrewsburie without any detryme of encom-
breuance. At which message he was sore mowed and broyled with Melancolye and doloure
and creid out, askyng yawne vaguenesse of them that contrarye to their othe and promes had
fraudulently deceaued hym. For whych cause he beginne to have diffidence in other, in
so muche that he determyned hym to be of bande thesame daye to occurre and resyste
hys adversaries. And in all haste sette outte explourators to viewe and espie what waie his
enemies kept and passed. They diligently doyngel his dewtie, shortly after retorned,
declaryng to the kyngh that the Earle was encamped at the toune of Likсильde. When he
had perfithe knowledge where the Earle with his armaye was soiournyng, he hauynge con-
tinuall repairse of his subjectes to hym, beganne in contynuallye withoute delaie to marshall
and collocate in order his battayles (lyke a valyant capteine and polletique leader) and
firste he made his battayles to set forwarde and foare in a ranke, marchyng towarde
that waie where his enemies as was to hym reported entende to passe. In the myddle parte
of the armaye he appoynte the traffice and cariage apperteyngynge to the armaye. Then he
(environed with his satelyltes and yomen of the crowne) with a frownyng countenaunce
and truculente aspect mounted on a greate white courser, folowed with his footemen, the
wynges
wynges of horsemen: costaynge and rangeynge on every syde: And kepyng this araye, he with-greate pomp entred the toun of Leicester after the sonne set. The Earle of Ry-chmonde reisid his campe and departed from Lychezefelde to the toun of Tomwoorthe theri-nere adioynynge, and in the myd waye passyng, there saluted hym Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes and dyneser other whiche yielded and submitted themselues to his pleasure. For they beynge advertised that kyng Richarde hadde theim in suspiciion and gealoysy, a lytle beyonde stony straftforde left and forsooke presely their Captopynge Robert Brakenbury, and by noctyynal wandyring, and in maner by unknowen pathes and vocercieene waies searcingynge, at the last came to the earle Henry. Dierusse other noble personages whiche inwardely hated kyng Richard worsse then a toade or a serpent, lykewyse resorted to hym wyth all their powre and strength. There happened in this progression to the Earle of Richmond a straung chaunse worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunte courage, and that his armie encreased, and dayly more & more he waxed puysaunt & stronger, yet he was not a lytle afeard because he in no wise could be assured of his fader inlawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, whiche for feare of the distruction of the Lorde straung he sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For ye he had gone to the Earle, and that notified to kyng Rycharde, his sonne had shortly been executed. Wherefore syn the earles feare sprange not of nothyngy, he accompaniayned with twenty lyght horsemen lyngerid in his journy as a man disconsolote, musingy and ymagenynge what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his melancoly pensyuenes, yt was shewed hym that kyng Rycharde was at hand with a stronge powre and a populous armie. Whyle he thus pensyue dragged behynde his hoost, the whole armie came before the toun of Tomwoorthe, and when he for the depe dareknes coulde not perceawe the steppes of theim that passed on before, and had wandred hether and thether, sekyng after his compaignie and yet not once hearynge any noyse or whysperyng of theim, he dyuertyed to a very lytle village beynge aboute. iii. myles from his armie, takynge greate thought and muche fearyng least he should be espyid, and so trappid by kyng Rycharde skoute watche. There he taried all nyght, not once aenturyngye to aske or demaund a question of any creatyre, he beynge no more amased wyth the ieopardye and perell that was passed, then wyth this presente chaunse, sore feared that it shoulde bee a prognosticacion or prodygall sygne of some infortunate plagy afterwaerd to succede. As he was not mery beynge absent from hyss compaigny, lykewyse his armie mucher maruelid and no lesse moured for hyss sodeyne and in-tempestuous absence.

The next moreynge earli in the dawnynge of the daye he retourned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espid and came to his armie, excusyng hym selue, not to have gone oute of hyss wyse by ignoraunce, but for a pollicie debrisid for the nonnes he went from his campe to receave some glad message from certeyne of his preuy frendes and secret allies. This excuse made, he pruely departed again from his host to the toun of Aderstone, where the lord Stanley and sir William hyss brother with their bandes were abidynge. There the Earle came firste to his fatherinlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his brother, and after dierusse congratulaciones and many hereunte embracynge, eache rejoyysd of the state of other, and sodeinly were surprised with great ioye, comfort and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doynges. Afterward they consulted togerther howe to geue battale to kyng Richarde if he would abide, whome they knewe not to be farre of with an honge armie. In the euemyng of thesame daye sir Thon Sauge, Sir Bryan San-forde, Sir Symon Digby and many other, leuyng kyng Richarde, turned and came to the parie of the erle of Richmond with an elect company of men. Whiche refusall of kyng Richardes partes by men of suche experience, did augment and encrease bothe the good hope and the puysaunce of the erle of Richmond.

In the mean season kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure by the very deuyne justice and prouidence of God, which called hym to condigne punyshemente for his scelerate merites and myscheuous deserte) marshed to a place mete for twoo battayles
battles to encounter by a village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, and there he pitched his field, refreshed his soldiers and took his rest. The same night a dreadful and terrible dream, for it seemed to him by night a slepe he saw diverse images lyke terrible deuilles which pulled and hailed him, not sufteringe hym to take any quiyet or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart, with a sodeyne fear, but it stuffed his bed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busie Imaginacions. For incontinent after, his heart beyng almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chance of the battle to come, not vsynge the alacerite and myrth of his mynde and of countennance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battle. And least that it might be suspected that he was abasshed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to his famylyer frendes in the morenyng his wonderfull vision and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was no dreame, but a puncion and prick of his synfull conscience, for the conscience is so muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater & more heynous in degre, which prycke of conscience although it strike not all wayte, yet at the last daie of extreme life it is wont to shewe and represent to vs our faultes and offences and the paynes and punishementes which hang over our heddes for the comyttynge of thesame, to thentent that at y instant we for our deserties being penitent & repentant may be cpelled lametlyng & bewalyng our sinnes like forseters of this world, iocund to departe out of this miserable life. Now to retorne againe to one purpose, y next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnisshed w men & all abilimites of warr, bringing all his men out of there camp into y plaine, ordered his forward in a marueulous legiun, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to sende to empnynte in y hartes of the loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadly feare, for y great multitude of y armed souldiours: & in the fore Frount he placed y archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: ouer this battle was captainthon Duke of Norfolke with whom was Thomas earle of Surrey his sonne. After this loup vattard folowed king Richard hi self, w a stræg cœpaigyn of chosen & approved me of warr, hauynge horsmen for wynges on both y sides of his battail.

After y therel of Richmond was departed from y cœmunicacioun of his frendes as you haue hard before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant courage, & w all diligences pitched his field iuste by y cap of his enemies, & there he lodged y night. In the morning he cause his men to put on there armure & appareyl the selves redy to fight & goe battall, & sent to y lord Stanley (which was now come w his bade in a place indifferentely between both y armies) requeyng hym w his me to aproache nere to his army & to help to set y souldiours in order, he answered y therel should set his awne me in a good order of battail while he would array his cœpaigny, & come to him in time convenient. Which answere made otherwise then therel thought or would haue judged, considering y opportunite of the time & the waite of y busines, & although he was there walt, a little vexed, begun somewhat to hang y hedde, yet he wou't any time delaying compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, according to y small nöber of his people. In y Frount he placed the archers, of whom he made captain Ishô erie of Oxford: to the right wyng of y battail he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be y leder: to y left wing he assigned sir Ithon Sauage, & he w y aide of y lord Stanley accompanied with therel of Penbrooke hauynge a good compagnie of horsmen & a small number of footmen: For all his hole nöber exceded not. v. thosaise men beside the power of the Stanleys, wherof. iiij. thousands were in the field under the stœard of sir William Stanley: The kynge's nöber was doble as muche & more. When both these armes were thus ordered & al men redy to set forward, kyng Richard called his Chelouins together & to the sayde. Most faithfull & assured felowes, moste trustye, & welbeloued frendes and elected captains, by whose wisdom & polecie, I have obtayned the crowne & type of this famous realme & noble regiō: by whose puissance & valiantnes I have enioied & possesséd thestate.royal & dignite of y same, naugre y wil & seditious attempts of all my cancarde
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...and divers enemies & insidious aduersaries, by whose prudet & politike counsaill I haue so go-
gernd my realme, people & subiectes, ty I haue omitted nothing appertenying to ty office of a
juste price, nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonyng to ty duty of wise & sage coun-
sailers. So ty I may saie & truely affirme, that your approved fidelitie & tried constanctye,
maketh me to beleue firmely & thynke, ty I am an undoubted kyng & an indubitate prince.
And although in ty adepcion & obteining of ty Garlique, I being seduced & provoked by
sinister counsaill and diabolical temptacion did commytt a facnyerous and detestable acte. Yet
I haue with strayte pennaunce and salte teryes (as I trust) expiated and clerely purged the
same offence, which abominable crime I require you of frendship as clerely to forget, as I
dayly do remember to deplore and lament thesame, ty you wil now diligently call to
remembrance in what case and perplexitie we nowe stand, and in what doubtfull
perell we be now intricked? I doubt not but you in hart will thinke and with mouth con-
fesse, that ty euer amittie and faythe preuailed betwene prince and subiectes or betwene sub-
iecte and subiecte: or ty euer bond of allegians obliged the vassal to loue and serve his na-
turall souereigne lorde, or ty any obligation of dewtie bound any prince to ayde and defende
his subiectes? All these loues, bondes and deuices of necessite are this daie to be experi-
mented, shewed and put in experieence. For if wyse men say trew, there is some pollicie in
gettyng, but much more in kepyng. The one beyng but fortancess chaunce, and the other
high wyt and policie, for whiche cause, I with you: and you with me, must nedes this daie
take labour and payne to kepe and defend with force, that preheminence & possession
which by your prudent denises I haue gotten and obteneyd. I doubt not but you know,
howe the deuel continuall enemie to humane nature, disturber of concorde and sower of
sedicion, hath entered into the harte of an vknown welshman, (whose father I neuer knew
nor hym personally sawe) excytinge hym to aspire and couet oure realme, crowne and dig-
nitie, and thereof clerely to depreyue and spoyle vs and our posterite: ye se further how a
compaigne of traytours, thefes, outlawes and ronnegates of our awne nacion be ayders & par-
takers of his feate and enterprise, redy at hand to ouercommme and oppresse vs: You se also,
what a nombre of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arrived to destroy
vs our wythes and children. Which Imitinent mishifes & apparuant incommeneentes, if we
wil withstand & refel, we must hie to gether like brethren, fight together like lios, & feare
not to dye together lyken men. And obseraynyng and kepyng this rule and precept, beleue me,
the farerfull hare never tied faster before the greily greyhound, nor ty slyle larkie before ty
sparow hauke, nor the symple shepe before the ravenous wolfe, then your proud bragging
aduersaries astoned & amased with ty only sight of your manly visages, will flee. ronne & skyr
out of the felde. For ty yow consider and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shal
perceyve that we have manifeste causes, and apparuant tokens of triumph and victorie. And
to begin with the carle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe,
a man of small courage and of lesse experience in marcell actes and feats of war, brought
vp by my brothers meannes and myne like a captaine in a close cage in the court of Francees
duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marciall affaires, by reason
whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to gysde or rule an hoste.
For in the wyt and pollicie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe aception of the victory
and ouerture of the enemies. Secondaryly feare not and put a way all doubtes, for when
traytors & runegates of oure realme, shall see vs wyth banner displayed come against them,
rememrayng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & anonym-
ed kyng, they shal be so pricked & stimulate in ty botome of there scrupulous consciences
they for very remorace & dread of ty daine plaige will either shamefully flye, or humbly
submitte them selues to our grace and narcie. And as for the Frenshmen & Brytons, there
valiatures vs suche, ty our noble progenitors & your valiant paretes, haue them oftener va-
quished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in ty beginning imagened possible to cопasse
& fynisse in a hole yere. What wil you make of thys, braggars wout audacite, droundars
wout discreson, rybaudes wout reason, cowardes wout resistyng & in conclusion ty most
efficinate
THE II. YERE OF

...effeminate & lasciuous people, y euer shewed them selves in Frunt of bataille, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assault y brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherefore, considerying al these auxaitgies, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & avoide out of your mindes all feare, & like valiant châpios auance furth your standards, & assay ye whether your enemies can decide & trie y title of bataille by dent of swerde, auance (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom-lacketh neither policie wisdome nor puissant. Enery one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly y ioruen is ours. What preuayleth a hâdfull to a hole realme: desiring you for y loue y you beare to me, & y affeccion y you have to your natie and natural courty, & to y sauage of your prince & your self, y you wyll this day take to you your accustomed corage, & courageous spirites for y defence & saugegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil trüphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For the be maihneed & out of y palice of fame dis-graded, dieg wyth renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte y perpetuel honor of their natie courtay, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remëber well y I am he which shall wyh high auaucementes, reward & preferre y valiant & hardy châpios, & punishe and turment the shameful cowardes & dedfull dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as fauoured him, but suche as were present more for dracad then loue, kissed the openly, whom they inwardly hated, other sware outwarydly to take part with suche, whose death they secretely compassed and inwardly imagened, other promysed to invade the kynges enemies, which fled and fought with fyrce courage against the kyng: other stode stil & loked on, entendynge to take part wy the victors and ouercomers: So was his people to him ysure and vnfaithfull at his ende, as he was to his nephews vntrew and vnnaturall in his beginnyng.

When therye of Richmond knew by his forriders that the king was so nere embatayled, he rode about his army, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, genyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finished (beyning armed at all pecces saynyng his helmet) mountéd on a lytell byll so that all his people myght see and beholde hym perfitly to there great re-joyysynge: For he was a man of no great warre, but so formed and decorated with all gyftes and lynnamentos of nature that he semed more an angelical creature then a terrestrial personage, his countenance and aspece was cherefull and courageous, his heare yelow lyke the burnished golde, his eyes gray shynnyng and quicke, prompte and ready in answeyryng, but of suche sobrietie that it could neuer be juded whyther he were more dull then quicke in speakyng (such was hym temperaunce.) And when he had ouer loked hiss army ouer every syde, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde spirit spake to his compagnioens these or lyke wordes folowyng.

If euer GOD gaue victorie to men fighyng in a iust quarell? or yf he euer ayde sought such as made warre for the welthe and tuicion of ther awne naturall and nutritiu countrie? or if he euer succourred them whiche adventured there lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, suppressynge of malefactores and apparaunt offeneders? No doubt my felowes and frendes, but he of hiss bountefull goodnes wyll this daye sende vs triumphant victorye and a luckey jour-ney over our prowe enemys, and arrogant adversaries: for yf you remember and consi-der the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparyentely perceuy the same to be trewe, Godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubte not but GOD wyll rather ayde vs (ye and fighyt for vs) then se vs vanquished and profigate by suche as neyther fearé hym nor his lawes, nor yet regarde justice or honestie. Our cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and cuiole, for what can be a more honest, goddy- or Godly quarell then to fighyt agaynst a Captayne, beyng an homicide and murderer of hiss awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destroyer of hiss noblytye, and to hiss and oure countrie and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrre brande and a burden untollerable? besyde hym, consyder who he be of his bande and compaigny, suche as by mour-ther and vntreuthe committed agaynst ther awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynst theepr Prynce and souereygne Lorde haue dishertyed me and you and wrothefully deteyne and
KYNG RICHARD THE IIJ.

Ksurpe ouerlaweful patrymonye and lyneall inheretaunce. For he that calleth hym selfe kyng, kepeth frome me the Crowne and regynente of this noble realme and countrye contrarye to all justice and equitie. Lykewyse, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes, cutt downe your woddes and destroy your manners, letting your wifes and children range a brode for their liuyng: which persones for ther penaunce and punishment I doubte not but GOD of his goodnes will eyther deliever into our handes as a great gayne and booty, or cause them behinge grewed and compuncted with the pricke of ther corrupt consciences cowardely to flye and not abyde the battaile: besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battaile, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldeurs by force compelled and not w good will assembled: persons which desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther master and captayn: And fynally a multitude: wherof the most part will be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. For truely I doue whiche is greater the malice of the souldeurs towards there captain, or the feare of hym conceyued of his people: for suerly this rule is infallible, that as if men daily couyte to destroy the good, so God appoynteth the good to confounde the yll, and of all worldly goodes the greatest is, to supressa tirauntes, and releue innocences, wherof the one is euuer as muche hated as y other is beloved. If this be true (as clerkes preche) who will spare younder tyrantaunt Richard duke of Gloucester untruely callyng hym self kyng, considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God & man, what vertue is in hym which was the confusion of hys brother and mertherer of his nephews, what mercy is in hym that slythe hys trustie frendes aswell as his extreme enemies: Who can haue confidnes in him which puteth differends in all me. Yf you haue not redd, I haue hard of clerckes saie, yf Tarquyne y proude for the vice of the body lost the kyngdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquyne bannysched the Cité for euuer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the facte of cruel Nero, which slew his owne mother and opened her entrayles to be holde the place of his conception. Beholde younder Richardes whiche is bothe Tarquine and Nero: Yea a tyraunt more then Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephewe beyng his kyng and souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren and defamed the wombe of his verteous and womanly mother, but also compased all the meanes and waiés y he coulde inuent how to supstrate and carnally know his owne neece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimony, whiche lady I haue sworne and promised to take to my make and wyfe as you all know and beleue. If this cause be not iust, and this quarel Godly, let God the geuer of vyctorie judge and determine. We haue (thankes be geuen to Christ) escaped y secreete tresonnes in Brytaine, and auoyded the subyttl snares of our fraudulént enemies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet saugarde, & with out resistance haue penetrate the ample region and large countrye of Wales, and are now commowe the place which we so much dysered, for long we haue sought the furioso bore, and now we haue found him. Wherfore, let vs not feare to enter in to the toyle where we may suerly sley hym, for God knoweth y haue lived in the vales of mysterie, tosyyngoure shippes in daungerous stormes: let vs not now dread to set vp our sailes in fayre weather haunging with vs bothe hym and good fortune. If we had come to conquer Wales and had ached it, our praise had bene great, and our gayne more: but yf we wyen this battaile, y hole riche realme of England with the lorde of rulers of the same shall be oures, the profitt shall be oures and the honour shall be oures. Therfore labour for your gayne and swet for your right: while we were in Brytaine we haad smal liuynges and lytle plentye of wealthe or welfare, now is the time come to get abundaunce of riches and copie of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and merite of your payne. And this remeber with your selues, that before vs be our enemies, and on ether syde of vs be suche as I neitheuer suerly trust, nor greatly beleue, backwarde we cannot fly: So that here we stande like shepe in a folde circumcepted and copassed betwene our enemies and our doubtfull frendes. Therefore let all feare be set a syde and lyke sworne brethren let vs ioyne in one, for this day shalbe thende of our trauayle and the gaine of our labour eyther by honorable death or famous victory: And as I trust, the battaill shall not
not be so sovre as \( y \) profyt shalbe swete. Remember \( y \) victorie is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes and valiauntes of myndes. The smaller that our nombre is, the more glorie is to vs \( yf \) we vanquise, if we be overcome, yet no laude is to be attributed, to the victors, consdyerning that. x. men fought against one: and \( yf \) we dye so glorious a death in so good a quarell, nether fretyng tynne, nor concarding obliuiō shall be able to obfuscate or race out of the boke of fame ether our names or our Godly attempt. And this one thyng I assure you, that in so iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fre prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber. Let vs therfore fight like inuincible gyantes, \& set on our enemies like vultимерous Tigers \& banish all feare like rapynge lions. And now auāunce forward trew men against traytors, pitifull persones against murtherers, trew inheritors against vsurpers, \( yf \) skorges of God against tiraūtes, display my banner with a good courage, \& marche furth like strong \& robustious champions, \& begin \( y \) bataill like hardy conquerers, the bataill is at hande, \& \( y \) victorie approcheth, \& \( yf \) we shamfully recule or cowardly flye, we and all our sequele be destroyd \& dishonored for euer. This is \( y \) daie of gayne, \& this is \( y \) time of losse, get this day victorie \& be coquers, \& lose this daies bataill \& be villains \& therfore in \( y \) name of God \& sauit George let every mā coragiosly auāunce forth his stūdard.

These cherfull wordes he sett forthe with suche gesture of his body and smiling conte-
naunce, as though all redye he had vanquished his enemies and gotten the spoyle.

He had scantily finshed his sainge, but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastily the soulidioures buckled their healmes, how quikly the archers bent their bowes and

brushed their feathers, how redely \( yf \) byllmen shoke there bylles and proued there staues, redy to approche \& ioyne when the terrible trumpet should sOWnde the bloody blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Rich- 
mond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies.

When kyng Richard saw the earles campaigne was passed the marresse, he commandede with al hast to sette vp\( y \) on them, then the trompettes blew \& the soulidioures showt\( d \) and the kyngs archers couragiously let flye there arrows, the erles bowmē stode not still but pained the home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the arm\( i \)es ioy\( n \)ed, \& came to hande strokes,

where nother swerde nor byll was spared, at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meanse season ceryng lest while his cōpaigne was fight\( y \)ng, they should be compassed \& cōmēned v\( y \) multitude of his enemies, gaue cōmā-

demēt in every ranke \( y \) no mā should be so hardy as go aboue. x. so\( t \) fro from \( y \) standard, 

whiche cōmāndement ons knōw\( n \), they knit the selves together, \& ceased a littel frō fight\( y \)ng: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustynge some fraude or deceute, began also to pause and lef strikyng, and not against the wyles of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therfore they fought very fain\( l \)yce or stode stil. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on his en-

emes freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thyne before and thicke and brode behynde, begaynyng againe hardly the bataill. While the two forwardes thus mortally fought, echentendyng to vanquishē & conuince \( y \) other, Kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, \( y \) therle of Richmōd ac-

compaignied with a small number of men of armes was not farre of, \& as he approched and

marched toward him, he perfecly knew his personage by certaine demonstracions \& tokens

whiche he had learned and known of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed \( yf \) outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horse \& rode out of the syde of \( yf \) range of his bataill, leuyng the auantgardes fiught\( y \)ng, \& like a hungery lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richmonde perceyued wel the king furiously comming toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by bataill, he gladly preferred to encounetre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Rychard set
KYNG RICHARD THE. IIJ.

set on so sharply at the first Brout he overthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir Charles Brandon by kyng Henry viii. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with sir Ihon Cheinye, a man of great force & strength which would have resisted him, & the said Ihon was by him manfully overthrown, and so he making open passage by dint of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes poincte without avantage longer then his compaignions other thought or judged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victorie, were sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with. iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kyng Richards men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtyne in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthyly had desiered.

In the meane season therle of Oxfordre with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight disconfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate number were slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest number whiche (compelled by fear of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie moction) came to the feld, gave neuer a stroke, and hauynge no harme nor damage sauely departed, which came not thyther in hope to see the kyng prosper and preuaile, and to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battaill died fewe aboue the number of a thousande persones: And of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norffolke, whiche was warned by dyuers to refrayyne from the feld, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kyng, one wrote on his gate.

Iack of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandyng he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythefull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from hys mayster, but as he faythefullly lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde. There were slayne besyde him Water lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Rateyffle, and Robert Brakenburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo. Sir Willyam Catesbey learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the cheffe counsailers to the late king, with dyuers other were. ii. daies after beheaded at Leycester. Amongst them that ran away were Sir Fraunces Vicount louell and Humfrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford his brother which toke sanctuary in saynt Ihones at Gloucester. Of captues and prysoners there was a greate number, for after the death of kyng Rycharde was knowen and publyphed, euyer man in manner vnarmynge hym selfe and castynge a waye his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted them selues to the obeyssuaunce and rule of therle of Richemond: of the whiche the more parte had gladly so done in the beginnyng ye they myght haue conueniently escaped from kyng Richardes espliales, whiche hauynge as clere eyes as lynx and as open eares as Mydas riged and serched in euyer quarter. Amongst these was Henry the. iii. erle of Northumberlände, whiche whither it was by the commaundement of kyng Rycharde puttyng ye difidence in him, or he dyd it for the loue & fauour that he bare vnto the Earle, stode still with a greate compaignie & intermitted not in the battaill, whiche was incontinently receyued in to fauour and made of the counsail. But Thomas Haward erle of Surye whiche submitted hym selfe ther, was not taken to grace by cause his father was cheffe counsailer & he greatly familiar with kyng Richard, but committed to the Tower of Londô, where he long remained & in conclusion deliered, & for his treuth and fidelity after promoted to high honors offices & dignites. On therle of Richëos part were slaine seace one hundred persones, amongst whome the pryncipall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer.

This battaill was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the. xxii. daye of August in the yere of our redempcion a. M. CCC. lxxvi. the hole conflicte endured lyttell aboue two howres. Kyng Richard as the fame went might haue escaped and gotten saugarde by fl-

3 H 2
For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first
ioynynge of the battaile the souldeirys faintely and nothing courageously to set on their ene-
mies, and not only that, but also that some wdrwe them selves pruyely out of the prease
and departed. They began to suspect fraude and to smell treason, and not only exhorted
but determinatly aduysed hym to saue hym selfe by flyght: and when the losse of the bat-
tayle was imminent and apparante, they brought to hym a swyfte and a light horse to con-
vey hym away. He which was not ignorant of grudge & yll will the como people bare
toward him, casting awaye all hope of fortunate success & happy chance to come, an-
swered (as men saye) that on that daye he woulde make an end of all battailes or els ther
finish his lyfe. suche a great audacitie & such a stowte stomake reigned in his body, for
suery he knew y to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined whither
he should peseably obteyne & enioye his kingdom duryng his life, or els vttterly for go & be
depryued of thesame, with which to much hardines he beyng ourocrone hastily closed his
helmett, and entered fiercely in to the hard battail, to thentent to obteine that day a quiet
reigne, & regiment or els to finishe there his vnquiet lyfe & vnfortunate gouernaice. And
so this miser at y same very poinct had like chaunces & fortune, as happeneth to suche whiche
in place of right justice & honesty folowynge ther sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and em-
brace, mischeie, tiranny, and vnthriftines. Suerly these be examples of more vehement
eye then mans tonge can expresse, to feare and astynue suche yuell persones as wil not lyue
one houre vacant fro doyng and exercysyng cruellie myschief or outrageous luyng.

When therel had thus obteigned victorie and slayn his mortal enemie, he kneled doune
and rendred to almightie God his harty thakes w deuoute & Godly orisons, beseechyng his
goodnes to sende hym grace to auaunce & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine jus-
tice & ccoorde amoigst his subiectes & people, by God now to his gouernaunce committ &
assigned: Which praiyer finished, he replenyshed w incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to
the top of a littell mountaine, where he not only prays & lawded his valiant souliours,
but also gauo vnto them his harty thankes, w promyse of codigne recompens for their fide-
lite & valiaut factes, willing & comandaung al the hurt & wouded persones to be cured,
and the dead carcases to be delivered to y sepulture. Then y people rejoysed & clapped
hades criyng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley saw the good
will and grately of the people he toke the crowne of kyng Richard which was founde
amongst the spoyie in the felde, and set it on therles hed, as though he had hyne elected
king by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been ac-
customed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicite. I must put
you here in remembranunce how that kyng Richarde puttynge some diffidence in the lord
Stanley, which had w hym as an hostage, the lorde straunghe his eldest sonne, which lord
Stanley as you haue haerde before ioyned not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armeye, for
feare that kyng Rycharde woulde haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kyng
Rycharde was come to Bosworth, he sent a pursuauit to the lord Stanley, commaundyng
hym to auaunce forward with his compagnie and to come to his presenc, whiche thynge
yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde
before he dined. The lorde Stanley aunswered the pursuauit that yf the kyng dyd so, he
had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: when kyng
Richarde harde this aunswer he comandaung the lorde Straunge incontinent to be be-
 hedde, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight ech of other.
The counsaillers of kyng Rychard pondering the time and the cause, knowynge also the
Lorde Straunge to be innocent of his fathers offence, persuawed the kyng that it was now
time to fight and not time to execucion, aduisyng hym to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a
prisoner till the battayl were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplis-
hed. So as God woulde kyng Rycharde enfrynged hys holy ofthe, and the Lorde was de-
liuered to the kepers of the kynges tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whyche when the felde
was done and their master slayne and proclamacion made to knowe were the childe was,
KYNG RICHARD THE III.

they submitted them selves as prysoners to the Lord Strange, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclaimed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate joye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and the same nyght in the euenyng kyng Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester. Where asswell for the refreshynge of his people and soulidoures as for preparynge all thynge necessary for his journey towarde London, he rested and repose hym selfe twoo dayes. In the meane season the deade corps of kyng Rycharde was as shamefully cryed to the towne of Leycester as he gorgiously the daye before with pompe and pryde departed owte of the same towne. For his bodye was naked and despyled to the skyne, and nothynge left aboue hym not so muche as a clowte to cover his pryue members, and was trussed bynde a persiuaunt of armes calld blaunche senglier or whyte bore, lyke a hoggge or a calte, the hed and armes hangynge on the one syde of the horse, and the legges on the other syde, and all by sprynceled with myre and bloude, was brought to the gray frysers church within the towne, and there laie lyke a miserable spectacle: but suerly consyderynge his mischevous actes and Facinorous doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a caytue, and in the sayde church he was with no lesse funeral pompe, and solempnitie entred, then he woulde to be done at the beryng of his innocent nephiwes whom he caused cruellye to be murthered and vnnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowe, few lamented, & many reioysed, these proude braggyng white bore (whiche was his badge) was violently rased and plucked doonne from euery signe and place where it myght be espied, so yll was his lyfe that men wished the memorie of hym to be buried with his carren corps: He reigned. ii. yer. ii. monethes and one daie.

As he was small and litle of stature so was he of body greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face small but his cötenaunce was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would judge it to savor and smel of malice, fraude, and deceite: when he stode musing he would byte and chaw besely his nether lippe, as who sayd; that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaies chafed, spurred and was euery vnquiete: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would when he studied with his hand plucke vp and doyne in the shethe to the middes, neuer drawing it fully out, his wit was pregnannte, quicke and redy, wyly to fayne and apte to dissimule, he had a proud mynde and an arrogat stomache, the whiche accompaigned him to his death, whiche he rather desyrynge to suffer by dent of swerde, then beynge forsaken and destitute of his vntrew eyre companions, woulde by coward flight preserue and saue his vncertaine lyfe: Whiche by malice, sickenes or condigne punishment might chaunce shortly alter to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mortall lyfe with infamie and dishonor, whiche neuer preferred fane or honestie before ambition tyrannye and myschief. And if he had continued still Protectoure and suffered his nephews to have lyued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had prospered and he muche praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilipended, but to God whiche knewe his intier cogitationes at the hower of his death he I remitte the punishment of his offences committed in his lyfe.
THE. FIRST YERE OF

THE POLITIQUE GOUERNAUNCE OF KYNG

HENRY THE. VII.

CONSIDERING now that I haue sufficiently declared what mischief kyng Richard the third wrought with in this realme after his death of his noble brother kyng Edward the fourth: and how the nobilitie of his kyngdom maligne and conspired against him, and abandoned and left him in maner desolaie at the day of his most nede & tribulaciō: Also how miserable he ended his lyfe at his toune of Bosworth, and how vnreuerently he was enterred at his toune of Leicestre which I doubt not but is sufficiently declared vnto you. And now only resteth to shewe you what happened after his fall and confusion to him, that both vanquished & depreied him from his princely powre & royall dignitie.

When kyng Henry had not only obtened this triumphant battaile at the plain of Bosworth against his malicious enemy kyng Richard, but also by the glorious victorie gatt the diademe and possession of thestate royall and princely preheminence of this famous Empire and renouned kyngdome. He hauyng both the ingenious forcast of the subyl serpent, and also fearyng the burning fire like an infant that is a litte synged with a small flame: and farther vigilantly forseyng & prudently prouidying for doubts that might accidentally ensue: deuyse, studied and compassed to extirpate and eradicate all interior seditious & apparet presumpcions whiche might moue any tumultuous route or seditious coniuracion against him within his realme in tyme to come. And to obist the first likely mischife, he sent before his departure from Leicestre Sir Robert wylloghby knight to the maner of Sheryhutton in the county of Yorke, for Edward plantagenet Erle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarëce then beyng of the age of xv. yeres, whom kyng Richard had kept there as a prisoner durynge the tyme of his vsurped reigne. And surely kyng was not afeard without a cause, for he much mistrusted least by this yōng man, some euill disposed and envious persons of his glory and auauencemet might inuent some new occasion of re-muuyn of battaile against him, which beuyng euyn from his infancy with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endauengered, desired nothing more hartely then nowe to lyue in quyetnes, peace and tranquilitie. Sir Robert wylloghby accordynge to hys commission recaued of the conestable of the castle the Erle Edward, and him conuеighed to London, where the youngelynge borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the towre of London putt vndre safe & sure custody. There was beside him in the same Castell of Sheryhutton the lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, whom kyng Richard foolishly phantasying and deuelyshly dotyng did entende to mary as you before haue heard, but the damosell dyd not alonely disagre and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abominable desyre. At whiche most importunate and detestable cœcupiscence, the cōmon people of the realme so much grudged and maligne that they did not only attribute flunte & cryme to the kyng, but much more culpate & blame his preuy counsellers which did not disent, but consent to so perversious a counsaill & so shamefull a conclusion: But God of his only goodnes preserued christe mynde of that verteous & immaculate virgin, & from their flagicious & facnceros acte, did graciously protect and defende: The which lady not long after accoprked with a great nombre aswell of nobleme as honorable matrones was with good speed conuеighed to London and brought to her mother.

In the meanse season the kyng remoued forward by jorneyes toward London, and euyn as he passed, the rusticall people on euery syde of the wayes assembled in great nombres & with
great joye clapped their handes & showted, criyng, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. But whē he approched nere the cytie, the Mayre, the Senate & the magistrates of thesame beyng all clothed in violet, met him at Shordiche, & not only saluted and welcomed him with one voyce in generall, but every person particularly preased and aduaniced him selfe, gladly to touche and kysse that victorious handes whiche had overcome so monstruous & cruell a tyrant, geuyng laudes & praysynes to almightye God, and rendryng immortall thankes to him, by whose meane & industry the cōmon wealth of the realme was preserved fro finall destruction & perpetual calamite, and the authores of ½ mischiefe sublated & plucked awaye. And with great pome & triumphe he roade through the cytie to the cathedral churche of S. Paule wher he offered his. iii. standares. In the one was the ymage of S. George. in the secōd was a red firye dragō beaten vpō white and grene sarcenet, ½ third was of yelowe tarterne, in thewhich was painted a dōne kowe. After his praiers saide & Te deum song, he departed to the bishoppes palays & there soiourned a season, during whiche time, playes, pastymes & pleasures were shewed in euerie parte of the cytie. And to thentent that their good mynd toward God should not be put in oblivion, they caused general processions solemly to be celebrate to rendre and yelde to God their creator & redeemer their hartye and humble thankes whiche had delivered them fro miserabe captunitie & restored them to libertie and fredome. Besyde this, they that fauoured and loned the kyng were inwardly joyous to see & perceane that their aduersaries and back frenes were all reedy or like to be suppedate & ouerthrown.

When these solemnities & gratifications were done & passed: accordyng as other kynges had been accustomed, he congregated together the sage counceleors of his realme, in which couzail like a prince of just faith and true of promes, destesting all intestine & cyuel hostilitie, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimony ½ lady Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to ½ lyne of Lancaster: whiche thyng not onely reioyed and comforted the hartes of the noble and gentlemen of the realme, but also gaven the fauour & good nyades of all the cōmen people. much extolllyng and praysyng the kynges constant fi-delyte and his polletique deuyce, thinkyng surely that the daye was now come that the seede of tumuliteous faccions & the fountayne of ciyle dисsensione should be stopped, evacuate and clerely extinguished.

After this he with great pome was cōneighed to Westmynster, and there the thirtye daye of Octobre was with all cerimonies accustomed, enoyned & crowned kyng by the whole as- sent as well of the cōmons accustomed, enoyned & crowned kyng by the whole as- sent as well of the cōmons accustomed, & was named kyng Henry the. viij. of that name, which was in the yere of our redememcpy. M. cecc. lxxxvi. Frederyke the. iii. then beyng Empeur of Almayne, Maximilian his sone then beyng newlye elected kyng of Romanes, Charles the. viij. reignyng ouer the Frenche nacion, & Iames the iiij. ruling the realme of Scotland. Which kyngdome he obteyned & enjoyed as a thyng by God elected & prouided, and by his especiall fauoure & gracious aspecte compassed and achemed. In so muche that me cōmonly reporte that. vii. C. xvii. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce recueld to Cadwalader last kyng of Brytons that his stocke and progeny should reigne in this lande and beare dominion agayn: Whiereupō most men were persuaded in their awne opinion that by this heavenly voyce he was prouided & ordeyned longe before to enjoye and obtaine this kyngdom, whiche thing kyng Henry the. vi. did also shewe before as you have heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and just tytle of temporal inheritance, & by prouision of deuyne purveyaille thus crowned and proclaimed kyng: First of all vsyg the antique example of the Athenienses, whiche is to perdoun and put out of memory all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or his lawes perpetrated or comitted, he called his high court of parliamet at Westmynster the. viij. daye of Nonembre for theestablishyng of all thinges aswell cōcernyng the preseruacion and maintenance of his royal person, as the admynistracion of justice and preferment of the cōmon wealth of this realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaimed that all men were perdoned, acquited & clerely discharged of all offences, peynes of death and execucions, and should be restored to their landes and mouable goodes whiche woulde submit them selfes to his clemency
mencie and by othe be obliged truly to serue and obeye hym as their souereigne lorde, & who woulde be obstinate & refuse to returne to his parte, should be accepted and taken as a publike enony to hym and his country. By reason of which proclamacion, a great nombre that came out of diuerse sanctuaries and priviledged places obtayned grace, forgetting cleerly the diuersite of faccions & voyce of partaking. After this he began to remembre his especiall frendes & fauours, of whom some he announced to honoure & dignite, & some he enriched with possessions & goodes, euery mā according to his desert & merite. And to begynne, laspar his uncle Erle of Penbrooke, he created duke of Bedforde, Thomas lorde Stanly he promoted to be erle of Darby, & Ḿ lord Chandew of Britene his especiall frende he made erle of Bathe, Sir Gyles Dawbeney was made lorde Dawbeney, Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke which be in their degree barons and peeres of the realme. And Edward Stafford eldest son to Henry late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name dignite and possessions, which kynes Richard did confiscate and attayned. Beside this in this parliamet was this notable acte assenct to and concluded as foloweth.

"To the pleasure of almighty God, wealth, prosperite & suretie of this realme of England, and to the synguler comfort of all the kynges subjectes of thesame, in adnodyng all ambiguities & questions: Be it ordeyned, established and enacted by this present parlamente, that the inherintie of the crowne of this realme of England and also of Fraunce with all the preheminēce and dignitie royall to thesame apperteignyng and all other seignories to the kyng belonging beyond the sea with the appurtenances thereto in any wyse dewe or apperteignyng, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the most royal person of our nowe souereigne lorde kyng Henry the. vij. and in the heires of his body lawfully cōynyng, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other."

And beside this acte al attainders of this kyng, enacted by kyng Edward & kyng Richard were adnihilated, and the record of thesame adjudged to be defaced & put out of memory, and al persons attained for his cause & occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes & possessions. And in conclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the tyme of kyng Edward and kyng Richard were adnulled & revoked, & other more expedient for the vtilitie of the cōmen wealth were subrogated and concluded. When all thynges necessary were discretely ordeyned and the parlamente for the tyme dissolved, the kyng thought it not necessary to put in oblivion his frendes and hostages beyng beyond the sea, wherfore with all diligent celerity he redemned the Marques Dorect & sir Iho Bourcheir whom he had lefte as pledges at Parys for money there before borrowed. And sent also into Flandres for Ioh Morton bishop of Ely.

These actes performed, he established in his house a grane counsail of wyse and politique men, by whose judgement, ordre & determinacion the people might be governed accordyng to justice and equitie, and that all causes might be finished and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long sute. And for bearyng & decdyng these causes instly and spedely, he swore of his counsail diuerse noble and discrete persons, whiche for their pollecy, wit & singuler grauitie, were highly esteemd and renowned, whose names folowe, laspar duke of Bedforde, Iho erle of Oxford, Thomas Stauley erle of Darby, Iho bishop of Ely, Sir Wyliyam Stanley lord Chamherleyn of his housholde, Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, lord Stuard of his housholde, Gyles lord Dawbeney, Iho lord Dynham after made tresorer of England, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir Iho Cheiney, Sir Richard Gyldeforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Egecombe, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Iho Risley, with diuerse other wyse men, whiche as the tyme required he called to his counsayll and seruyce nowe one and nowe another.

Although by this eleccion of wyse and grane counsellors all things semed to be brought to a good & perfit conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe to set all the strynges in a monacorde and tune which was the matrimony to be finishet bewtwe the kyngge and the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward, which lyke a good pryncse accordyng to his othe and promes, he did both solenmynse and cōsummate in brief tyme after, that is to saye on the
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the xviiij. daye of January. By reason of whiche mariage peace was thought to discende oute of heauen into England, considering that the lynes of Lancastre & Yorke, being both noble families equivalet in ryches, fame and honoure, were now brought into one knot and connected together, of whose two bodyes one heyre might succede, which after their tyme should peaceably rule and enjoye the whole monarchy and realme of England.

These thynges thus passed, albeit that apparently all thynges seemed to be reduced to a good poynte and set in a sure steyne: Kyng Henry beyng made wyse and expert wyth troubles and myschieves before past, remembered that it was wisedome to feare & prouide for the crafty wyles and lurkyng trappes of his secret enemies, remembering all me for the moost parte embrued & exercised in plantyng of dyusion and sownyng dissencion, can not lightely leave their pestiferous appetite & seditious occupacion. Wherefore, for the sauegard and preservacion of his awne body, he costituted & ordyned a certayn nombre aswell of good archers as of diverse other persons being hardy, strong and of agilitie to geue dayle & attendance on his person, whome he named Yomen of his garde, which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche kyng when he was in France: For men remembre not any kyng of England before that tyme whiche used such a furniture of daily souldyours. Yet forasmuche as to auoyde and escheue all doubltuffl daungers and percelles vnloked for, lytle auayleth outward warre, except there be a sure staye, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegard & securite, as for the good gouernance of such as be last beynde: He therefore summoned agayne his great courte of parliament, wherto he would that there should be elected the most prudent & grauous persons of euery countie, cytie, porte and borough, and in especiall as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affaires, vsed, trusted and fauoured, as partakers, counselers, and compaignions both of his woo and aduersitie, and also of his triumph & glorious victory, whose myndes and studies he perfitly knewe to be fixed and set in the poelette regiment and prudent gouernauce of the publique wealth of his realme and dominion. Not forgettyng, but haungy in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desyred, and instantly ealled of the English nacion his naturall countreymen: Estemynge it as a chiefe and principall parte of his dutie to se his realme both adourned and decorde with good and profitable lawes and statutes, and also to florishe in vertous operacions and good and cuyile maners, which should be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thynges would continually amend, from evill to good, from good to bettre, and from bettre to the best. This sure foundacion kyng Henry layde at the beginning of his regine, entending theron continually to buylde.

THE SECOND YERE.

In this same yere a newe kynde of sicknes came sodenly through the whole region ence after the first entryng of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so peynfull, & sharp that the lyke was neuer harde of; to any mine remembrance before that tyme: For sodenly a dedly & burnyng sweate inuaded their bodyes & vexed their bloud with a most ardet heat, infested the stomack & the head gruesously: by the tormenting and vexacion of which sicknes, men were so sore handled & so painfully pungened that if they were layd in their bed, beyng not hable to suffre the importunate heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes lying on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vesture, they would put of all their garnettes even to their shires. Other were so drye that they dranke the colde water to quenche the importune heat & insaciable thirst. Other that could or at the least would abyde the heat & styntche (for in dede the sweate had a great and a strong sauour) caused clothes to be layd vpon them asmuch as they could beare, to drye oute the sweate if it might be. All in maner asonne as the sweate toke them, or within a short space after, yelded vp their ghost. So that of all them that sickened ther was not one emongest an hundredth that escaped: in somuch, that beside the great nombre which deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successiuely dyed of the same deseace within. viij. daies and. vi.  

Aldermen
Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat xxiiiij. hours (for so long did the strength of this plague hold them) he should be then clerely deluyered of his disease: Yet not so cleane ryd of yt, but that he might shortly relaps and fall agayn into the same euyll pit, yea agayne & tryse agayne as many one in dede did, whiche after the thrde tyme died of the same. At the length by study of the Physicians & experience of the people, dryuen therunto by dredfull necessytie, there was a remedy inuente: For they, that suruyyed, considering the treuytmye of the peyne in them that deceased, euised by thynge more coyturnant, to resist and withstand the furious rage of that burning furnesse, by luke warme drynke, temperate heatte, & measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed again into the flame after the first deluyerance, obserued diligently & marked suche thynge as did them ease and coort at their first vexacion, & vsyng the same for a remedy & medicine of their peyne, addyng ener somewhat thereto that was sanatyue & wholsome. So that if any person ener after fell sicke agayn, he obseruyng the regymet that emongest the people was denied could shortly helpe him selfe, & easely tempre and auoyde the strength and malice of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present & a spedy remedy for the same disease and malady, the whiche is this: If a man on the daye tyme were plagued with the sweate, then he shoulde streyght lye downe with all his clothes & garnettes and lye styll the whole xxiiiij. hours. If in the night he was taken, then he shoulde not ryse out of his bed for the space of xxiiiij. hours, & so caste the clothes that he myght in no wyse provoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water myght distille outesoftly of the awne accorde, & to absteyne from all meate if he might so longe susteyne and suffre hungrre and to take no more drynke neither hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quotenche and delaye his thrustye appetyde. And in this his amendynge, one poynyte diligently aboue all other is to be observed and attend, that he never put his hand or foote out of 3 bed to refreshe or coole him selfe, the which to do is no lesse peyne then short death. So you may plainly see whatremedy was by the daily experience excogitatt and inuete for this strange and vnknowen disease, the whiche at that tyme vexed and greued only the realme of England in euery toune & village as it dyd dyuerse tymes after. But. Iv. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders and after into Germany, wher it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowledge of the English experience. This cotagious & euell plague chaunced in the first yere of kyng Henryes reigne as a token and a playne signe (if to the vaine judgemet of the people whiche comonly cõmen more fantastically then wisely, any faith or credite is to be had geuè or attributed) that kyng Henry should have a harde and sore beginning, but more truly if vayne supersticion can set furth any truthe, it pretended & signifiéd that kyng Henry to the extreme poynete and ende of his naturall life should neuer haue his spirite and mynde quyet, considering that nowe in the very begynnynge of his new obtayned reigne he was (as you shall shortly heare) with sedicion and companion of his people, troubled, vexed and vnquyeted, and it was in manner a manifeсте profe that hereafter he should lyue in small rest and great mistrust of suche rebellious and sedicious cóspiracies. These were the phantastical judgements of the vnletterd persons whiche I overpasse, and retourne to my purpose.

When al thinges by kyng were appeased at London & that he had set & appoynted all his affaires in good ordre and sure state, as he with him selfe cõeuctured, he thought it best to make a peregrinacìo & take his progress into other quarters of his realme, y he might wede, extirpate and purge the myndes of me spotted & cõtamine with the cotagious smoke of dissencion, & preuy facions, & especially the countie of Yorke which were preuy faiourous and cóforters of the cõtary part, and not without a cause. For kyng Richard more louned, more esteemed & regarded the northern me then any subjectes within his whole realme, which thyng to kyng Henry was not vnknowe. Wherfore he the more studied to kepe the in dew obeisance & faithfull obseuy, who knew of long custome to haue borne their hartes & fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: threfore in his prime time of theyere he toke his journy towards Yorke, & because the feast of Ester approched, he diuerted to the cytie of Lyncoln, where he taryd duryng the solépnite of that
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that high feast: & makynge there his abode, he was certeyned the lord Louell & Homfre Stafford were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchester: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the kyng lytle regarding the tale went forthe his appointed journey to Yorke. And assonne as he was there receauned & settled, it was bruted, and openly shewed to the kyng him selue that Fraunces lorde Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie powre of men, and would with all diligence invade the cytie: also that the forenamed Homfre Stafford & Thomas his brother were in worcetre shyre and there had raysed a great bande of rude and rusticall people, & had cast lottes what parte should assaye the gates, what men should scale the walles of the cytie of Worcesters, & who should kepe the passages for letting of reskewes and aiders.

At the first heruing of this the kyng esteemed it for vaine & uncerteyn, and therefore was with it but little moued: but after that he was certeyned by the letters of creเดe sent фро his frendes, that all was true that was by the cもの voice spoken and published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause for he wisely cosidered that he had neither a competet army ready prepared, nor harneys nor weapons for them that were present. And also he was now in such a doubtfull place, where he nether might nor could cosecently gather an host together, cosidering that in the same cytie, the memory of kyng Richard his mortall enemy was yet recent and lyuely & not all forgotten of his frendes, but because the matter requyred diligent celerity, lest that by long taryng the powre of his adversaries by daily aides might be increased and multiplied, he comanded the duke of Bedforde with iii. thousand men not strongly armed to do a great enterpryce (for their brest plates for the moost part were made of tanned lether) to encountre & set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him preuy what he him selue entended to doo. After this, the kyng congregated together an host in every place where he might retayne them. The duke setttyng forwarde after the fassion of an eger & fierce captaine came nigh to the tentes and campe of his enemies where he consulted and communyted his mynde with certayne cipatyynes & sage souloures of his compaignye, by what waye he might tryyne & allure them to peace, without battaill or bloodsheddyng. After whiche deliberacion and aduysement had, yt was decreed that the Herauldes should proclamyne openly, that all such should haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harneys, and as faithfull subiectes submit them selves to their naturall souverayne lord. The which proclamacon awayed & muche profitted: For the lord Louell, either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and soulours, or fearyng hynm selue on his awne behalfe, fled prouyly in a night from his compaignye and left them without a head, as a flocke of shepe without a shepard, which departure when it was to his armaye disclosed, they put of their armure and came directly to the duke, every man humbly submitting hynm selue and desiring pardon for their offences, wholly trusting in the kynges mercy & fauourable goodnes.

So by this politicke wisdome & ingenious meanes of the good duke, this great rage and fierce route of sturdy and valuaут traytours which was prepared against the kyng, and were lyke to have been the slaughter of many a man, were pacefied & repressed and brought to good conformyte and obediency subieccion. And the lorde Louell cemenytynge and chiefe leader of this tumult & rebellion, fearyng more percell and dangier, then desirynge renoune or fame of cheuallry, neuer taryng 3 doubtfull chauence of bataille, fled in all post hast into Lancashire, and there for a certayne space loytred and lurked with sir Thomas Broughton knychte, whiche in those quarters bare great swyngye, and was there in great authoritie. Homfrey Stafforde also hearyng of this myschaunce happened to the lord Louell, in a great dolor and agony, and for feare, in lyke maner fled and tooke sanctuary in a village called Culnabah, two miles from Abyndon. But because the sanctuary was not a sufficiant defence (as it was proued before the iustices of the kynges benche) for traytours, he was taken by force from that place, & brought to the towre, and from thence conuyngheld to Tyborne and there put to execution: but his younger brother Thomas that was with him, was perdoned & remitted because he was thought not to haue done it of
his awne wyll and malicious mynde, but thorowe the euell counsaill and mischeuous persuasion of his Eldre brother.

After that the kyng had thus by pollicy of his cousaill appeased and repressed this tumulteous sedicion which greatly vexed & vnquyeted his spirites, and had reduced to reason and coformitie the rude and babyling people of the north parties, and in especiall thinhabitautes of the countye of Yorke, he returned to London, & shortly after that to Wynecheste, where quene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered of a fayre prince named Arthur at his baptyme. Of whiche nameEnglishmen noisme reioyced then outwarde nacious & foreyne prynces tymbled and quaked, so muche was that name to all nacios terrible & formidable: And from Wynecheste he returned back agayn to London.

In this meane tyme, of a smal matter and thisame altogether byeng false & feyned, ther was an open patlhe & a apparaunt high weye made for a greater inconueniency to ensue. The which matter for the subtyl iuggelyng & craitie eoneighaunce of thisame, no lesse deceitfull then ligier de meyne in the hand of a juggeler, was to be estemed emogest all wysemenc at the first a very bold & ouer presumptuous an acte to be attépted: but ý tyme well wyeed & considred it was not so móstrous that it were worthy great wonderyng & admiration, cödyngeryng that many persons of late, either borne in the woë of cotinual disscion, or norished with the mylke, or suckyng the pappes of euile sediciō, could not lyue well in rest, & lesse forbear theu sual custome of mowing strife & daily debate. But they somtime sittynge at home cópassemble & yningh hurte & damage toward such as they in their hertes disdeyned, somtyme remembryng that by the libertie & privilige of warre, all is fishe cômeth to the net, euer delitynge in spoyling, robbynge & reynge, velocibly thrystynge for the distrucion & losse of such as thei would be renêued of, willyng to lyue without lawe in tyme of peace & warre, wisslyng the world neuer to be at a bettersayne. And as persons only dedicate & genê to mischief & scelerous invencios, either for hatred, euell wył or malice of the that they fayoured not, or for some emolument, profile and cômoditie of such ý they thought to set vp & awaunce, were by fraude, couyn & crafts, collusio prone & ready to disquiet every day the kyng & his whole realme, thinking ý heauuë had to much peace & quietenes, & hel to litlle trouble and vexacion. And there was furthers & setters on, none lackynge, in so much that. xx. persons would soner pricke them forward with a sharpe spurre, then one plucke the back w a dull snaffle. Emong the which ñostres & lymbes of the deuell, there was one sir Richard Symond priest, a man of a base & obscure familie, which fro his birth delit in fraude and craftie conueighynge, & yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wylle, nor so wylle as vngnacious. Which sir Richard Symond had elected a scoeler called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnaut wyt to be the orke & conduyte by whom he would conwey his false feigned enterprice and attempt. The deuell chiefe master of mischiefe put in the wicked mynde and venemouse braync of this moost pernicious disloyall and trayterous person, to comence, feigne & deuyse how he might make his childe and scolar Lambert to be the right inheriout to the crowne of England, & so therof to make him kyng & to promote him self to the chiefe Archebishopricke or some high potestate win the realme. The chiefe foundacion of his occasion was (by thewhich he was the more bolde) that the fame went & many menne surely supposed kyng Edwards chylldre not to be dead, but to be feld secretly into some straungne place & there to be liuyng, and that Edward erle of Warwick some & heire to ý duke of Clareće, either was or should be put to death shortly. These rumours although they were friuellous & vayne & with out all likelyhode of verite or trute, animated & encouraged this priest much, to thinke and judge the tyme to be come that this Lambert might assume & take vpon hym the person & name of one of kyng Edward the fourthes chylthren, and to clayme and make tylde both to the realme and kyngdome, baunying sure knowlge that neither frendship should want nor aide shoulde lacke: and consideryng that cancard hatred rooted and founded vpö facinorous faceions & sedicious deuysons be so perdurable and in maner euerslastyng that they can neuer be clerely extirpate or digged out of
of their rotte harters, but that they wytle with hand & foote, toother and mayle further if they can their pretensed entreprice. And this poore priest brought into this foolishke paradice through his awne fantasticall ymaginacion, informed & taught the chylde diligently at Oxenforde where he went to scoole, both instructyng him with princely behauour, ciyyle manner & fruiteful literatur, declaryng to him of what high parentage and of what noble progeny he was lycenally descended, thus persuadyng and teaching hym his lsson clerckly and craftely, for his purpose, that y people hearing the chylde thus reheresyng his stocke so sagely, might the rather grue credite to his deceitfull pretéce & false coloured inuenction: Some after the rumour was blown abroad that Edward y young erle of Warwike was broke out of prison. And whè sir Symöd heard of this, he now intèdyng therby to bring his inuècted purpose to a còclusion, chaughè y childes name of baptimé & calleth him Edward after y name of the yong Erle of Warwike, y which were both of one yeares & of one stature, & then he wè his pupille sailed into Irelánd, there openyng his mynd, & declaryng his matter to certain of the Irishe nobilitie, who he knew by true fame & reporte to beare but litle favoure to kyng Henry nor his partakers, & haungy othe and promes of aide to him sworne & made, he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the duke of Clarèce son fro death, & had for very good will brought him into that countrey & region where he knew that both kyng Edward and all his stocke were fauvoured & loued aboue all other. This matter was beleued straight of the nobilitie which so shewed & published this feigned fable and ymagined luggelyng from one to another tyll at the last it was accepèd to be as true as the Gospell without any cotrouersye, ambiguittie or question. In so much that the lord Thomas Gerardyne chauncelour of all y country defrauded by his illusion vndre the colour of plaine truthe receaued him into his castell and with honoure & reuerence hym entreteyned as one that descended fro the high progeny of the sangue royll, and began much to aide & helpe him. First calling together all his frendes & louers & suche other as were of bande or affinitie, declaring first to them the cómyng of this child, & after afirmming that the crowne and sceptre of the realme of right apperteyned to this yóuge prynce as sole hyere male lefte of the ligne of Richarde duke of Yorke: Exhortyng and desirying them bothe for the childes sake and his awn, as he was true inheritoure to the crowne, to helpe and assyst hym to obtenye the garland and possession of thesame by his grandfather to him lyncally descended. And so after communicatyng thesame matter with other of the nobilitie, euery man promysed accordyng to hys powre, aide of monye, monnue and mulcicyons. By thys meanes the same was shortly bruted throughout all Irelande, and euery man was willyng to take his parte and submyt them selfes to him, callyng him of all handes kyngye. So that nowe they of this secte thus compassed and sortyd, thought to have in other places their compaignayons and furtherers of their malicious purpose & most pestiferous faction, and straight forth they sent to England certayne preuy messengers to desire them, whome they knewe to have beene true faithfull and frendes to kyng Richarde, now to côtinue in their accustomed lone and faithfull frendship toward his nephewe and to helpe the childe with treasure & substauence as farre as they convenienctly might. And that his powre might be the stronger to overcome his enemies & to obtayne his pretensed purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the lady Margaret suster to kyng Edward and late wyfe to Charles the duke of Bourgoyn to further his purpose with al her powre and helpe. This duke Charles hauyng no chylde by this lady Margaret, left one sole daughter named Mary behynde hym, begottè of his first wyfe daughter to the duke of Burbone, whiche was maried to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the Emperour, on whiche wife he had engended two children, the one Philip, and the other Margaret. The whiche two children after the death of the lady Mary their mother this lady Margaret late wyfe to duke Charles so entierely be loued, so tenderly brought vp, and so motherly norished, beside the dailye peyne that she toke in ordryning their affaires and busynes for the mayntenance of their honoure and preferment of their profite, that she both for her motherly loue toward the youge children, & also for the good administracion of justice in their coun-
tries was highly reputed and esteemed & bare great authority & swyne through all Flaun-
ders and the lowe countreis therto adiacet. This lady Margaret, although she knewe the
famlye and stocke of the house of Yorke to be in maner destroyed & vitruely defaced by
her brother kyng Richard, yet not being saciate nor content with the long hatred & con-
tinual malice of her parentes which subverted and overthrew almost the progeny and ligni-
age of kyng Henry the. vi. and the house of Lancaster, nor yet remembryng the newe affi-
nitie & strong alliance that was lately concluded, by the whiche the heyres of bothe the
houses and progenies were united & conioyned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one for-
gettyng bothe God & charite, inflamed with malice diabolicall instection, inuented & prac-
tised all mischiefes, displeasures and damages that she could deuyse against the kyng of
England. And farther in her fury and frantyke moode (accordyng to the saiyng of the wise
man, there is no malice equivalent nor aboue the malice of a woma) she wrought all the
wasyes possible how to sicken his bloud and eopasse his destruccion as the principal head of
her aduerse parte & contrary faction, as though he should be a dewe sacrifice or an host im-
olated for the mutuall murder & shamefull homicide committed and perpetrated by her bro-
ther and progeny. So vhemet, so full of poysone and so strong is the powre of ciyde dis-
sension and prey hatred, that sometyne it wyl auerete and withrawe the wisest and moost
sapient men from goodnesse, honestie & their bounden allegeaunce. Therfore this lady
knowyng of this unualute secte and conspiraye, prepared and sodenly deuyse against
kyng Henry (although she knewe it to be but a feigned & peinted matte & not woorth twoo
stawes) yet (haung suche an occasion to worke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to
the messengers not only to maynteyne, aide, further and succoure their purposed entent with
money and substaunce, but with all the laboure & peyne that she might, to encourage, sto-
macke and entyce many other to be aiders, assisters & partakers of thesame conspiracy,
and shortly to ioyne with the cheuetines of thesaide entprice.

Whiche king Henry was certeified of these doynges by messengers sent into England, no
meruell although he was none other wise then he had occasion, sore vexed & moued, co-sid-
eryng that by the discale and fraude of suche a dongeyll knaue and vyle borne valyeine, so
great a sедакion should be excited and stirred against hym: Neuertheless, he lyke a circu-
spect, ingenious and prudent prynce, well consideryng and politiquely forseyng, ymagine
that if this enterprice came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bluddy darte of mor-
tall warre, & yf they should ioyne and combate in open battaile, in the which for the moost
parte, the large campe of all mischief is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent
menne on both partes should perishe and come to ruynye and confusyon without desert or
offence. For which reason, before all thynge he determyned to attempt and proye yf that
he might without anye battayle or stroke striken (thende whereof is euere ambiguous and
doubtfull) pacefiye and reduce these rebels to rule, reason, & dewe subieccion, before that
this euell newly planted wede should straye and wander ower the good herbes of his whole
realme. Therfore he called his whole consail together at the Chartrehouse byside his
royall maner called Richemonde, and there consulted how to pacifiye this sodeyne rage
secretly begonne, without any more disturbaunce or open trouble: whiche mocion of
all menne was thought mete, necessary & proffitable to be assayed and prosecuted with
celerite and efficete. And that before any other thynge were attempted and begonne, that a
generall pardon should be published to al offenders that were content to receaue thesame &
after would be true, louyng & obedient to the kyng their sovereigne lord according to
their bounden dutie and allegiance: Thinkyng that if that pardoe were any lenger space
procraستened or prolonged, that in the meanse season (as the prowerbe sayth, taryenge draw-
eth and jeoparde th perell) Sir Thomas Broughton knyght whiche had hyd and kep the lorde
Louell from the kyng a great season, and was at hand with diuerse of his fréndes, in so
troubleous & porleous a tyme, vitruely dispeiryng of pardon and remission, and as men with-
out hope of any grace settyng ane on. vi. and. vii. should sodeynly moue a newe insurrec-
cion against him, & inquyet him in some place where he had left leaste resistauce. For al-
though
though they were thought to have been conspirates and Iurates of this newe conspiracy, yet because there was no sure profè nor apparant argument thereof, yt was supposed to be most profitable for that tyme present, to extende no maner of extreme tytie nor crueltie agaynst them by anye colour or pretence, partly that by suche lenytie and gentle sufferance, the rebellious powre should not augment and increase, and partly that it hereafter they should be founde to drawe backe, and be negligent in doyng their due dutye and allegianc, that then by this polletique provision they shoold be rewarded with punyshmet accordyngly as they had deserued, and accordyng to the comen saynyng, suche breade as they bake, suche muste they eate: Whereupon the kyng gau a generall pardon throughoute all Englantde (without exception of any offfence) yea euem to them that had commytted high treason agaynst hys maestie and royall person. Furthermore, after longe consultation had and all thynges maturely decyded, it was thought by the whole senate for the tyne then present moost necessarye and conuenyent to aunoypide that erronyous rumourie, rumblyngye and blast-yuge abroade, that the sonne of the duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally shoulde be shewed abroade in the citie and other pruplic places whereby the vtrue opiayon falsy assyrymynghe that he was in Irelande mighte be emongest the komynaltye repressed, put doonne, and accompted as a comment and vayne ymagyned fable.

In this solemnpe counsall dyvere and many thynges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and emongest other, yt was determined that the lady Elizabeth wyfe to kyng Edward the iii. shoule loose and forfeyte all her Landes and possessions, because she had voluntarly submittedy her selfe and her daughters wholy to the handes of kyng Richard, contrarye to the promes made to the lorde and nobles of thys realme in the begynnynge of the conspiracy ymagyned agaynst kyng Richard, which at her desire and request lefte all that they had in Englande and fled to kyng Henry into Britaynne, and there receaved a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, whiche offre she abode not by, but made it frustrate and voide, through whose double dyngyes yt had lyke to hauue succeded, that neyther the marriage could take place, nor yet the noble men whiche at her request toke kyng Henrys partes, myght not returne agayne without icopardie of lyfe, but lyne styll in perpetuall banyshement and myseryable exyle. This was a greuose offence and a heynous crime: howbeyt the sequele thereof well dygested, yt was thought by some man that she deserued not by equytie of iustye so great a losse and so great a punishement: For surely she dyd not so great hurte or hynderaunce to kyng Henry and hys confederates by her reconci-lacion to kyng Richard, but tenne tymes more she profyted them and announced theyr cause. For her submissyon made to hym, he neglegtynghe Goddes lawes, honest order and Christyan religion, presmuynghe to accumpylate myschieue vpon myschieue, desyred of her the mariage of her daughter hys naturall nyce, whiche thynge he woulde not haue thought lykely to haue obtayned: The quene and her daughters styll for feare of him contynuyng in sanctuari, Whiche vnlawfull desyre (consyderynghe for that entent he had ryd his wyfe oute of the worlde) prouoked the Ire of God and the sworode of vengeaunce agaynst hym, whereby hys fynall ruyne and fatall fallie shortly after ensued and succeeded to hys myseryable confusyon and to the exaltacion of Kyng Henry and auauncemente of hys whole company.

Hereby a manne may perceau that wicked and maligne persones be not brought to ruyne by the hande of a temporall judge, but by the wyll of God led and thereto apoynted, as menne that make hast to approche and to come to that ende that they have deseured. By thys folye and inconstancy of the quene, she incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, and for that cause lyned after in the Abbey of Burmanndsey besyde Southwarke a wretched and a myseryable lyfe, where not many yeres after she descended and is buryed with her husbande at Wyndsore. Suche are all worldly chaunce, nowe in prosperyte and aboundance, mutable and chaungable and full of inconstancy: and in adversitie often chaunghe from euell to good and so to bettir, to the entent that they that be in wealth the and flowe in the aboundance of all thynges, shall not thynke them selves in suretye to tarye styll in that degree and state: and that they be inmysery and calamytie shall not despayre nor mys-
trust God, but lyue in hope, that a better daye of comfort and gayne wyll once aperre and
come. And yet although fortune ruleth many thynges at her wyll and pleasure, yet one
woorkte that this queene hathie made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tymye
that kyng Edward her husband reigned, she founded and erected a notable College in the
vniuersyte of Cambridge for the fyndyng of Scholers desyrous of good litterature and learn-
ynge, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the longe mayntenaunce of thesame,
whiche at this daye is called the queenes College, a name surely mete for suche a place,
wherin Scholers diligently studyeng in all doctryne and sciences, proue excellent clerkes
and come to great honours.

When all thynges in this counsaill were seriously concluded and-agreed to the kynges
mynde, he returned to the cytie of London, geyynge in commandement that the nexte sonday
ensuyng, Edward the young Erle of Warwike to be brought from the towre through the
moost publyke and vsual stretes of London, to the cathedrall churche of saynt Paule. This
yonge gentleman (as he was cõmaundad) shewyng him selfe openly to every body in the
processeon tyme, taryed there the highe masse, haulynge communicacion openly with many
noble men, and with them in especially that were suspected and thought to have been par-
takers of the commociõ agaynst the kyng, to this purpose and effect, that they myght per-
ceae the fonde Iryshemen, for a vayne shadowe and vntrve fycyon vnaduyedly to excytate
and vacar warre agaynst him and his realme, without any inst cause or lauful occasion.
Howbeyt to euell disposed persons or brayneles men, thys medeeyne nothyng auayled nor
proflyted. For the erle of Lyncolne sonne to Ihon de Lapooke duke of Suffolke, and Eli-
abeth syster to kyng Edwarde the fourth, thinking it not mete to neglect and onyht so open
an occasion of new trouble & mischiefe offred and exhibited, determined vpholde, for-
tefye, & bolster the enterpryce of the Iryshemen, least that they might be seduced, and
caued to desynt & leaque of their incepted enterpryce, and attempted purpose: And doubte-
les the man beyng of great wynt and intelligence, and of no small judgement, but halfe
infected with the venemous skabbe of the late ciyyl batellte, coulde not with a quyet mynde
suffre kyng Henry beynge principall head of the contrary faccion to reigne in quyet, but cõ-
sultyng with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeyne other of his trusty frendes, purposed to
saile into Flaunders to his aunte the lady Margaret duches of Bourgoyne late wyfe to duke
Charles, trustyng by her healpe to make a poussaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the
compaignyons of the newe rysed sediciõ. Therfore, after that the kyng had dissolved the
Parliament, which then was holde: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the lady Margar-
rete, where Fraunces lorde Louell landed certeyne dayes before. And there they beyng al-
togther, euery man acordyng to his mynde reasoned, argued, and debated what was best
to doo. After longe communicacion had, this fyynall conclusion was agreed vpon, that the erle
of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell should go to Irelande, and there attende vpon her coun-
trefeacte nepehwe, and to honor him as a kyng, and with the powre of the Iryshemen to
brynge hym to England, and sendyng for all their frendes, should without delaye gene bat-
tale to kyng Henry: So that if their doynges had good and prosperoue successe, then the
forsaved Lambert (mynamed the Erle) shoulde by the consent of the counsaill be depose,
and Edwarde the true Erle of Warwike to be deluyed oute of pryson, and after by the
authouritic and aide of his frendes of the nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and
anoytend kyngye.

But kyng Henry thinkyng his nobles to be well appeased with the syght of Edward the
very sonne of the duke of Clarence, nothyng mystrustying any man to be so solishe to in-
uent, feigne, or countrefete any thyng more of him, or any so mad or vndiscrete (espe-
cially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was very Edward, onely myndyng the sup-
pressyng of the Flagiciõ Irishmen, studied how to subdewe and represse their bolde enter-
price and sedicious coniuracion. And hearing sodeynly that the Erle of Lyncolne with
other were fled & gone to his aduersaries, beyng therwith sodeynly moused: thought euyn
with stronge hand and marciall powre, to overcome hyss enemyes and euell wyllers, whose

maliciousnes
maliciousnes he could by no counsaill nor pollecsey eschewe nor anoyde: And byeng thus deter-
menied, he commanded certeyne of his capitanes to prepare an hoste of men oute of euer
parte of his realme, and them to byng and conduye into one place assynd, that
when his adversaries shoulede come forwarde, he might with his populous multitude & great
pouere sodeynly set on them, & so overcome and vanquish them altogether. And mys-
trustying that other would folowe the erle of Lyncoln into Flaunderes, he caused the East
partes, and all the borders theraboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or
gene them succoure. And comyng to the tourne of saynt Edmonds bury, he was certi-
fyed that the lord Marques of Dorcet was coyng to excuse & purge hymselfe
before him, for certeyne thynges that he was suspected to haue done lightely when he was in
Fraunce. To whom the kyng did sende the Erle of Oxenforde to intercept him ridyng on
his iorney and to conewyng him to the Towre of London, to trye his truth and prove his pa-
cienc. For if he were his frende as he was in dede, he should not be miscontyntent to suf-
fre so lytle a reproche & rebuke for his princes pleasure. If he were not his frende there to
tary in sancte that he might do no damaage nor hurt to hym. And from thence the kyng
went forth to Norwiche, & taryng there Christmas day, departed after to Walsyngham, and
comyng there into the churche of oure lady, prayed devoutely and made supplicacions to al-
mighty God, that by his diuine powere and through the intercession of our lady, he might es-
chew the snares & preyngs of his enemies, and preserue hym selfe and his country
from the imminent daunger, and to reduce agayne the streynghe shepe to their right foilde and
tru shepard, that be amyse: his orysons fnyshed, from thence by Cambridge he returned
shortly to London.

In this meane tyne the Erle of Lyncolne and the lord Louell, had gotten by the aide of
the lady Margaret, aboute two thousand Almanyes, with Matyne Sware a noble man in
Germany, and in marcell feactes very expert, to be their cheueteyne, and so sailnyng into
Ireland. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, caused younge Lambert to be proclaymed and
named kyng of England, after the most solemne fassyon, as though he were there of the
very heyre of bloud royall lyncessly borne and discended. And so with a great multitude
of beggerly Irlishmen, almost all naked and vnarmed swyngge skayne and mantelles, of
whom the lord Thomas Gerardine was capynge and conductor, they sayled into England
with this newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of
Lancestr, trustyng there to be ayded with mony by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe
compaigniouns of this unhappe con-pyracy.

The kyng not slepyng his matters, but mistrustying and smellyng the storme that folowed,
before the enemies arryued, he dispatched certeyne horsecorne throughout all the west partes
of the realme, chieflye to attende the comynge and arryual of his enemies, secondarily to
wayte for suche espialles as came out of Ireland, & them to apprehend & compell to shew &
declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his hoste together, ouer
thewhich, the duke of Bedforde & the erle of Oxenforde, were chiefe capitayne, he went
to Countrty, where he byeng, his light horsecorne accordyng to their dutie returned & cer-
teyyng him that y erle of Lyncoln was landed at Lancestr with his new king. Thewhich
when the kyng vnderstode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and counsellers to knowe
if it were for the best to encounter with theim oute of hand, or let them drage awhile, for
this matte bothe requird counsaill and also celcrity. After they had layed their heads
together and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they should set vp the theim
without any furthur delaye, least that their powre by longe suffaunce & delaiyng of tyne
myght be augmented & greatly multiplied. And so after such aduysemet tak, he removed
to Nottyngham, and there by a lytle wood called Bowres he pytched his feelde: to whom
shortely after came the lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, the lorde Straungy, Sir
Thon Cheyney vlenaunt capitayne, with many other noble and expert men of warre, For
the kyng had comaunderd and geyen in charge before, that all persons of the coutties ad-
joynynge that were hable & of strengthe to cary weapon should be ready in an houres war-
ynge
ynge, in case that any need should require. Therefore picked followers and hardy personages
and such as were like men, were chosen in all haste, and of this sort a great army
was coacted and gathered together: So the kings army was wonderfully increased, & from
tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the earl of Lincoln being entred into Yorkshire, passed softly on his
journey without the spoiling or hurting of any man, trusting thereby to have some com-
pany of people resorted into him: but after that he perceived few or none to follow him,
and that it was to no purpose to returne backe, consideryng his enemies were all ready to
set upon him, he determined firmly to trye the fortune of battle, remembrying that the
chaunce of Mars dothe stande euuer vpô vi. or. vii. & that king Henry not. ii. yeres before
with a small powre of men vanquished king Richard & all his mightie army. And herupon
putting a sure confidence vpô his compaigny directed his waye from Yorke to Newarke vpô
Trent, to thentent that there he (as he trusted) augmenting his company might set upon
the kyng, who he knew to be but. ii. daies journey from him. Albeit, before he came there, kyng
Henry was in his bosome and knew every houre what the Erle did, came the night before
that he fought, to Newarke, and there approched here his enemies soner then they looked
for him, and there tarying a lytle went. iij. myles further and pitched his feelde & lodged
there that night. The erle of Lyncolne certeyned of his commyng, was nothyng afearde,
but kepe styll on his journey, and at a lytle village called Stoke nygh to the kyng and his ar-
mye planted his camp. The next daye folowynge, the kynges deuyded his whole nombre
into three battailes, and after in good arraye approched nigh to the towne of Stoke, where
was an equall and playne place for bothe parties to darreigne the battle.

When the place was appoynted and ordained to trye the uttermost by stroke of battaile, the
erle set furthe his army, and geuyng a token to his compaignie, set uppon his aduersaries
with a maunly courage, desyryng his souldyours that daye to remembre his honoure, and
their awne lyues. And so both the armyes joyned and fought earnestly and sharply, in so-
muche that the Almaynes beyng tresyred and expert menne in warres and marciall feats, were
in all thynges, aswell in strength as policieye egall and equyualent with the Englishmen:
but as for Martyne Swardye their chiefe capitayne and leader, not many of the Englishmen,
bothe for valyaunt courage of a stoute stomack and strengthe and agylyte of body was to be
compared or resembled with hys manhoode. Of the otherside, the Iryshemen, although
they foughte hardely and stucke to it valyauntly, yet because they were after the manner of
theyr countrye almoste naked, without harneys or armure, they were sryken downe and
slayne lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and destructions was a great discouragynge
and abaslement to the residue of the company. Thus they fought for a space so sore and so
egrely of bothe partes, that no man could well judge to whom the victory was lyke to en-
clyne: But at length, the kynges forward beynge full of people and well fortefied with wynges,
whiche onely bothe beganne and contynued the fyght, set vpô the aduersaries with suche a
force and violence, that fyrst they oppressed and kyled suche capitaynes one by one as re-
systed thryr myght and puysaunce, and after that put all the other to fearfull fyght, the-
whiche were eyther apprehended as captaynes and prysoners in thryr fyght runnyngye awaye,
or elles slayne and brought to confusyon in a small moment. But when this battaile was
fynished and fought oute to the extremitie, then it well apered what high prowes, what manly
 stomakes, what courageus hartes and what valyaunt course was in the kynges aduersaries.
For there their chiefe capitaynes the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell, Syr Thomas Brought-
on, Martyn Swardy & the lord Gerardyne capitayne of the Iryshmen were slayne and founde
dead. Howbeit, some affyrme that the lorde Louell toke his horses & would haue fled ouer
Trent, but he was not hable to recover the fartherside for the highnes of the banke and so was
drowned in the ryuer. There were kyld at that battaile with their fyue capitaynes before
herched of that partye aboute foure thousand: Of the kynges parte there were not halfe of
them which foughte in the forward and gane the onset slayne or hurt: Then was Lambert
the yongyne which was falsely reported to be the dukys sonne of Clarence, and his master
sir
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

sir Richard Symond priest bothe taken, but neither of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocent poore soule, a very chylde, and was not ouerge to do any suche entreprice of his awne deuyce, and the other was a priest, which yet to thentet he might remembre that the stone offe tymes falleth on the head of hym that casteth it into yf ayer, & that many a man maketh a rod for his awn tyle when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was comitted to perpetual pryson & miserable captivity. But this Lambert in conclusion was made the kynges falkener, after that he had been a tyme broche and executed such vile officies in the kynges kytechyn & suyllarye for a space. And thus was all the high entreprice that lady Margaret had deuised & set furthe at this tyme, turned to nought and brought to none effect, & to an euell conclusion. Of which chaunces, when she was aduer-tyed & enformed in the countrye of Flaunders, she was very sorye at the harte & much lamented and deplored, that her ymagined purpose sorted to suche an infortunate ende & effect, incontinentely deuising, practysing and ymagenyng some great and more difficyle enter-pryce, by the which she might xexe and perturbe yet once agayn the kyng of England and his whole region: Whiche purpose, cuen as she inuected yt, so she set yt forwarde as shalbe shewed heraftter plainly.

After that kyng Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters bynyng of so great a moment and weight, with no great micion, tumulte or trouble, & had not only escaped and defaced the apparant and ymničet perell with a small conflict, and no great daungerous brunt or ieopardy, but also repressed & suppeditate the cyuile dissencion and interior styrye, in maner as he woulde lye washed it, he might thynke hym selfe at one tyme cleane ryd & delyuered from two euelles together, both from feare present & also that was to come. For certeynly when he pondered & diligently considered his aduersaries (whose pui-saunce he both in nombre and force, farre did surmount and precell) at the very poiynye so fiercely to ioyne and to byd him battale, he much suspected & no lesse mistrusted that they had some prey faiuyres and secret counsellors (the which when tyme and place should requyre or expostulate) would with their strength, aide, succoure and assyt them agaynst him and his phys-saunce. But when he perceaued and sawe the hoost of his enemies manifestely vanquished and put to flight, he commaunded that no ma should kyll or slye the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to hym alyue, to thentent that he might shewe & bewraye bothe the fointayne and originall begynnynge, and also the confedereates, iders and conforters of his late practysed sedicious còspiracy. But the faime is, that the souldyours woulde not so do, fearynge least paradaütoure the sanyng of his only lyfe (as yt should haue been in deder) the lyfe of many other has been lost, or at the least in ieopardy. This battale was fought on a saturdaye byng the. xvj. daye of Iuyyn the yere of our lord thousand foure hundreth. lxxxix. and towards thende of the second yere of the regne of this kyng: In the whiche yere also Thomas Burchier Archebishop of Cauntourbury dyed, into whose rime Ihon Moorton late bishop of Ely, a manne of egall learnynge, vertue and pollecye with hys predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the. vi. bishop of Roome created Cardinal, and the kyng preferred hym to thoffyce of the highe Chauncelour of England: Now to returne to my purpose.

After this victory obtained, & after the kyng had gathered and collected the prayes and spoyles of the Feeilde together, and buryed them that there were slayne, he removed to Lyncolne, and there reposed hym selfe thre dayes, and caused every daye one processyon to be celebrate, to rendre humble thankes to almightie God, for his tryumphant victory and overthrowe of his enemies. Then dyd he executio of suche releuelles and traytoures as were taken in the felde, either at the battale, or in the clace. And shortley after he went into Yorkeshyre, and there costed the country overthrowt, searchyng by exploratours and preyu enquiries, where hys aduersaries gathered theyr armye agaynst hym, enteyndyng earnestly to wede oute, and purge his land of all sediciese seede, and double harte fruyte of yt were possyble: and suche as were founde culpable in any one poynye, were commytted to pryson, and other mutleyt by fyne or extinct by death.
THE III. YERE OF

IN the myndest of August entrynge into the iiij. yere of his troubelous reigne, he by for-}

neiryng arriu'd at Newcastell vpo Tyne a very propre towne, situate on the thether part of

Northumberlānd, where he taryed the remnaunte of the somer, and beygne there, sent in

Ambassade into Scotland to kyng James the thyrde kyng of Scottes, Richard Foxe whiche

not longe before was made bishoppe of Excettre, and with him sir Richard Edgcome

kyght comptroller of his house. The summarye of their commissioun was to concludye a

truce for a tyne, or a longe league and an amytie. For kyng Henry estemed it both hono-

rable and profytable yt he myght haue perlyght peace and assured amytie with pryncees ad-

ioynye and his next neigbours. And before all other with kyng Iames of Scotlande to

thentent that his subjectes hauncyng knowledge of the amytie, and despairing vterly to haue

any refuge, conforte or succoure of the Scottes, or other their neigbours circumvallation & ad-

ioynye co'trary to their old vsage truust and expectacion might the better be continu'd in

the faute, dutie & loyaltie towardes their prynce and souereigne lorde. The Ambassadours

whiche they were come into Scotland to the kyng, were of him both gently entretemed & after

the most lonyng fassyon receau'd & fully harde. To whom at the first he shewed his good

hart, his true mynde, tendre zele, and fraternall affectiɔ, that he hym selfe continually bare,

and yct dyd entende to shewe towardes kyng Henry, although his subjectes were of a con-

trary mynde and opinyon, playnyng protestyng & declaryng to them his vasselles to be bothe by

nature and wylfull disposition, dierse and cɔtrary euer to the English nature and English

nacio: thinking surely that they for the most part, would neuer cɔsent & longe agree with

the Englishmen, according to their olde vaffrous varietie: wherfore least that he should of-

fend or ministe cause of occasiɔ to them (as in dede all me were not his frem'es in Scotlǐd

at that tyme) he desyr'd Ambassadours to cɔsent w th truce & abstinence of warre for seuen

yeres, not onely in open audience, but on his honor he promysed firme yng in secret communi-

cation (as secret as a confession made to a priest) that he for his parte would kepe conty-

nuall peace with the kyng of England duryng their yeres, but apparauntly he promysed that

or these vii. yeres should be passed and fully finyshed that he would renue agayn the truce

for other vii. yere, so that kyng Henry & he should be and lyue in peace, concorde, and

moste assured amitye, duryng their naturall yeres. And this dyd kyng Iames conclude with

kyng Henry, because that he knewe hym selfe, his actes, yea and hys name to be had in

suche despyte and hatred of the more parte of hys dysloyall people, that nothynge (whatso-

euer he dyd) was estemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in anye pryce: Suche was the

malicious tartsburnyng of the Scottes against their souereign lorde. The ambassadours per-

cceauyng the hartye mynde and faithful benevolence of this kyng towardes their master kyng

Henry, accepted and assented to his office, and ratefied thesame: And returning home

shewed the kyng all the matter in ordre as yt was proponed assented and concludyd. With

whiche tydynges, he perceauyng the kyng of Scottes good mynde towardes hym, and ap-

parently perceauyng that as that tempestuous and stormy season required, yt was not to

hys small commoditie and profyte, recovered meruelously that hys Ambassade came to so
good an effecte; and shortly after recouerd backe agayn from Newcastell to Yorke, and so
	towardes his cytie of London. And in the wyte beyyne at Leycsetre, dierse ambassadours

sent from Charles the Frenche kyng came to his presence, whiche declared and shewed to

hym that their kyng Charles had recovered manye Townes, Cyties and garrisons whiche be-

fore that tymæ were possessed and holden of Maximilian kyng of Romaines and Archduke

of Austryce, and that he nowe moued bataile against Fraunces duke of Britayne, because

he kepte, ayded and succouerd in his territorie and dominion dierse noble pryncees and high

personages of the realme of Fraunce, whiche were tretyours and rebelles against hym, his

realme and seigniory, of the which the chief leader was Lewes duke of Orlyauce: And

therefore
Therefore he desired him for the olde frendshyp and familiarite practysed betwene them, that he woulde either aide, assyrt and helpe hym, or elles stand neuter betwene bothe parties, neither helpinge nor hurtyng any of bothe partes, lyke a cypher in algorisme that is ioyned to no figure but onely occupieth a place.

Kynes Henry well remembryng that although he had founde muche frendshyp at the Frenche kynges hand in his necessitie and that by him partly and his he obteyned his kyng-dome, yet forasmuche as he espyed vpon what vnsure ground this querell was begonne against the Brytones, with this message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he whiche sawe as farre in the Frenche kynges brest as hys Phisicon did in his vryne, kneue perligly that he had neyther occassyon by any iust tytle to intrude the duchy of Briteyne, nor yet any displeasure mynistred to hym, by reason whereof he might instly have any shadowe to make a quarell to the duke of Briteyne, but onely to delate, ampliifie and propagate farther his auctoritie, domynion and possession. For the Frenche kyng and his counsail kneue well that duke Frauntes was an impotent man, lytargious, sore deseased and well styryken in age, and had never anye heyre male to inheret and possede hys duchy, wherefore they determined by some meanes easily to compassse that the duchy of Briteyne should bruely come vnder their lure and subieccio, and so withoute grounde, without cause or reasonable demonstration, vncompelled, he intymated and made open warre against the duke and Brytanicaull nacion.

Kynge Henry perceuynge that this newe attempted enterprice nothing sounded to his profit or emolumet, callying to myud and consyderyng that ye Duke of Briteyne and the people of thensame whiche had been euer frendly & louyng to Thenglishe nacion, and was alwaies for their entrecourse to the realme bothe necessary and proffytable, should come vnder the thraldone & subieccion of the Frenche kyng that dammage more then profycte were likely to ensue and folowe, determined with him selfe to aide and take parte with the duke, perceauynge well that all his affaires was nowe in perell and sett in a broyle and hazard. The occasion that moved him thereunto was, the kyndelyng of the paternall lone and tendre affection whiche the duke euer shewed hym, sith his lyftst arrawell and entryng into Briteyne, and his fidelite to him alwaye apparanuntly shewed duryng the tyme of hys there albydyng and resydence. On the other parte, when he remembred the grete benefytye that he had accepted and receaued at the Frenche kynges hand by his bountyfull and prynceely liberalitie, thought it bothe necessary, honest and consonant to reason to forgett the vngrate offence against the duke of Briteyne commytted and perpetratet, and to persuade and adayse the Frenche kyng to desyste from vexyng or iuadyng the duke of Briteyne, least anye scruple or sparke of ingratitude might insurge or kyndle betwene them two. This matter was so doublitfull and so full of ambgytutis that the kyng in longe consultation lefte no quesyon nor doubte vnasked nor vnconsidered, and yet no aunsweer nor no conclusyon coulde satisfyre or please hys doublitfull mynde and gentle harte, lothe to offende anye of thei.n, of whom he had receaued cyther benefytie or frendship. But in conclusion, he fell to this ful determinacion that ye battaille should nedes succede and folowe, then he of very ducte was bounde and obliget not to denye nor to forsake the duke of Briteyne, to whom he was so much beholding, but to aide, assist & comforte him with all his powre, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and injuries, and to defende & resiste all his aduersaries & eneymes. Yet in the meanse season, least he should of the other parte make his high frend his ex-trene enemy, his aunsweer was to the Ambassadours that he would take traumylye & study both to his great peyne & coste, that betwene the Frenche kyng their souereynes lorde & the duke of Briteyne both beyng hys indifferent frendes, some gentill pacification or amicable accorde might be concluded and accepted. And so assune as the kynges Ambassadours were denysed, he sent on message Christopher Vrswike to Charles the Frenche kyng: First to gratulate in his behalfe the victore that he had obteyned vpon Maximilian kyng of Romanes. Secondly, and after to declare what tumulte and insurreccion was here in England, and howe by mere force and manwood he had vanquished and repressed the rebellles and traytoures, and cyther dystroyed or brought to subieccion, the whole rablemet and nombre. Thyrdly, oftryngh him selfe
selfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amyty betwene the Frenche kyngge Charles and the duke of Britayne: geuyng hym farther in charge that yf he should perceave the Frenche kyng to gene open care to his request and to enclynge to hys desyre, that then he shoulde withoute delaye sorte to the duke of Britayne and desyre him to be contented at his desyre to endeuey him selfe to an honorable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and dubyous dissencion, which peace with Goddes grace he lytle doubted, the duke beyng wyllynge shortly to compasse and bringe to conclusion. Whyle Christopher Vrswikke was traueylynge in thys comission, kyng Henry returned with great triumpe to his cytie and chambre of London, haunyng the victory and ouerhand of hys enemies and rebellious aduersaries, wherof the cytezens were very glad & reioysed hartely, consideryng that such daumes, such oppresion, such perel and losse as they thought to haue susteyned, was by the death of such disturbers of peace & trauallitie, as the kyng had late overcome, clean take away, auoyded & suppressed. Also the kyng hym selfe trauysting faithfully that all the brades of mischiefe kyndled before against him, was by this victory ytterly extinquished & brought to ashes, could not but be mery & reioyce. For which cause, he shewed hym selfe both lowely & courteous towards all, rewardyng & promotyng most bountifullly & liberally all such persons, which not only did hasarde their goodes, their possessiouns, liuynges and substaunce, but also their lyues and bodies in his defense and quarell. And not longe after, he deluyered lord Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Towre of London, acceptyng hym to his high fauour and olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had been tryed and proued by sondry & dyverse argumètes and assaies, In which pastyme, the kyng for the perflght loue and syncere affecction that he bare to his quene and wyfe lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned and enoyned quene on saynt Katherynes daye in Nouembre withall solemnnytie to suche a high estate & degree apperteignyng. In the meanse season Christopher Vrswikke was come to the Frenche kyng liuyng at Tholouse, & of hym after the most louyng and frendely fassyon that couldbe, receaued and entretained. And assone as he had shewed and declared his message, the Frenche kyng shewed hym selfe outwardly, although inwardly he otherwise entended, to be therewith contended and that very well pleased that the kyng of Englands shoulde be the meanse of peace and Arbiter indifferent betwene the duke and hym. This answere made, the English Ambassadour tooke his iorney streyght thèce as he was cómaundied into Brityne, and shewed the duke vpon hys Masters behalfe all thynges geuen him in charge and comission: But the duke (because hym selfe had bene longe synke and therby his memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appoynted to heare the message with other of his counceylers, Lewes duke of Orleance whiche was fled thethier out of Fraunce. When this duke had hearde the Ambassadours declare their message, perceayng that it touched a peace which he thought sounded neither to hys proffyt nor pleasure, wherfore he beyng somwhat tyckeled with the message answered and sayed, that it was more mete & convenient that kyng Henry (consideryng and remembryng the great kyndenes & humanitie that he had receaued at the dukese hand) shoulde with all the powre and strength he might, helpe the duke of Britayne beyng by the Frenchemen iuaied with yron, fyre and bloude, then to attempt or procure any fryuelous or vayne compositon or colorde. Yea and although he had neither receaued nor remembred any benefyte done to him by the duke, yet should he consyder that the countrey of Briteyne was in maner a bulverck and a stronge wall for the Englishmen in defence of the Frenchemen, the which yf yt should come into the handes of the Frenche nacion, then were his continuall enemies next to the gate of his realme, whiche thyng he would not sustyr if he remembred the Prouverbe that sayth, when thy neigbourues house is a fyer, thy staffe stidend neste the dore. Thus muche was the duke of Orlyvaunce beyng of the French bloud, an enemy to hys naturall countrey, because that he beyng next of the bloud royal to the crowne of Fraunce, was repulsed from the chiefe estate and gauernance of the realme, and the kynges suster put in highest authoritie, duynge the minorite of the kyngge, he abandoned his awne natuie countrey, and hauyng ouely refuge in the duchy of Britayne for hys awne sauegarde, profyt and emolumet, spake these
these woordes that he declared and opened. For wel he knew, that kyng Henry was not therof all ignorant, that it was neither profitable nor commodious for ye realme of England, to have the duchy of Britayne possessed of the Gaules, considering the sea costes of bothe the countreys, to yce directelye one against the other. Then returned this Christopher agayne into Fraunce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaring to kyng Charles what aunsuer was made to hym by the Briteynes, & shortly after returned into England agayn. Whyle these things were thus in doynghe, the Freche kyng beseged with a great puissancce the stronge citie of Nauntes in Britayne. And the more greder that he was of hys purpose, & the more hast he made for ganyng hys praye, so moch the more did he exhorte ye kyng of England with letters, writynges and blaydymetes, by sondrie and divers messengers, for to treate and conclude a peace, vnytie & concorde betwixt the duke of Britayne and hym, fearing least when he had almost wonne hys race, kyng Henry woulde put hym beside his sadle, whome he did halfe suspect to be a backe frende of hys, and prone and ready to take the Brytones parte.

Wherfore he sent in Ambassade Bernarde a Scotte borne, called ye lorde Daubeney, in all the hast to kyng Henry, to desire hym in any wise to make some ende whatsoever it were, of this warre and controuersy. And therupon the kyng beynge desirous of the same, which he had rather all thinges might be ended by peace rather then by dynt of swerard, least that he should be drinene to take parte with the Brytons agaynste the French nacio, elected among all other. iii. oratours. The first was Iohn sainct Abbot of Abyndon, Iohn Lylie borne in Luke, the bishop of Roomes collector, doctor of lawe, and Rychard Edgcobke knyght, both for age and prudent sagacity, fatherly, a wyse & a graue personage, which for renuyng of the olde anitie, were comanded first to go to repaire to the Frenche kyng, and after that to the duke of Britayne, to whome he gane a longe commission with sufficient instructions. But or ever these Ambassadours proceded over their journee, Iohn Lylie fel sicke on the gowe, so that he was not able to traueyele in so long a iorney, and so weightye a busynes, for whome was elected and chosen Christopher Vrswike, and so they, iii. sayled into Fraunce (as they were comaunded) and when they had comnudade a space with the Frenche kyng, concernying the forme of the peace & concorde to be concluded, Rychard Egecombe, and Christopher Vrswike, departed straighte to the duke of Britayne, thinkinge ye and nothing doubting, but they there shoulde knyt vp the knot, and finall conclusio of their Ambassade, according to their awne request and desyre, but all their hope was vanye, and turned to a vanitie. For the duke, vpon great deliberacion, constantly repudiada and refused every condicion by them offerd or demanded. Which things, when they succeded not according to their expecata- tion, the Ambassadours deposinginge and reliquisschyngge all hope and esperance of any peace or concorde to sorte to any good effect or purpose, reculed backe to the Frenche kyng agayne defrauded and spoyled of their entente and purpose, and there to hym declared what was their aunsuer and finall resolucio, and yet makynge there abode in Fraunce, they intimated to the kyng of England by their letters all their actes and exployt. But, or their letters came to the kynges hādes, syr Edward, lord Wooduile vncele to the Queene, a valyant Capitayne, and a bōde Chāpion, either abhurryinge ease and ydlenes, or inflamed with ardent lōue and affecciō toward the duke of Britayne, desyred very earnestly of kyng Henry, if it were hys will and pleasure, that he with a convenient number of good men of warre woulde transport hym selue into Britaine, for ye aide and defence of duke Franuces, the kynges assured and proued frende. And least it should sowe or kyndle any dissessiō or ingratitude betwene the Frenche kyng and him, he sayde that he woulde steale princely ouer, and without any liencie or pasporte, as though no man shoulde thinke or doubte but he were flede, & aban- doned the realme without any fraude or male engyn. But the kyng, which had a firme confidence, that peace should be made by the polletique promision and wyse inuencion of hys elected Ambassadours, woulde in nowise geue the brydele to hys hote, hasty and wilde desire, but streightly prohibited hym to attempte anye suche strategeme or enterprice, thinkynge that it stode not with hys honor to offende the Frenche kyng, to whome he woulde shewe as muche
muche amitie and humanitie as he might, for suche a matter that coulde neither greatly profite the Bryttones, nor yet cause hym to surcease of his appoynted invasian and pretensed enterprize. Yet this lord Wooduile hauyng playne repulse and denyall of the kyng, could not thus rest, determined to worke his busynes secretly without any knowlege of hy kyng, and went streight into the Isle of wight, wherof he was made ruler and capitayne, and there gathered together a crewe of tall & hardye personages, to the number of iiij. C. and with prosperous wynde and wether arrayed in Britayne, and ioyned hym selfe with the Brytons against the Frenche power and nacion. The rumor of this doing was sone blown into the courte of France, which made the Ambassadours of Englane not smellly abasshed, which knowing perfitly hy Frenche hartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to revenge and do outrage to suche as displeased them, were sodainly afrained least the commo people coulde not withoold their hâdes from quereling or frayng. Albeit the laue of armes, and the trueth it selfe did defende and preserve them from injury. But whiles the oratoures were in this perplexite and fear of daungier, and whiles the Frenchmen suspected this facte to be done by a cautell of kyng Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to purde hymself to his friend of the suspected ingratitude, certeynyng hym and declaring (by most euident tokens & apparant argumentes) that the lord Wooduile without his knowlege or consent, was saved ouer into Britayne with so small a number of men, which small handfull, neithe it became a prince to sende or set forward, neither yet coulde he to the Brytaynes any great aide or succoure: To the which message and excuse, albeit the Frenche kyng adhibited but small credence, yet he some what mitigate of his angre and furious agony, dissimulated the matter (accordyng to the French nature) with a flatterynge countenance. So the Ambassadours renewyng a league and amitie betwene their kyng and hym for, xii. monethes, returned into Englane againe, and shewed the kyng all such thinges that they had either heard or sene there. The kyng of Englande well perceyued by the report of hys newly returned Oratoures, that the Frenche kynge wrought all hys feates by subtyll craft and cloked collusion, treatyng and mocionynge peace and concorde, when he desyred nothing so much as discorde and ware, and that purpose he aunanced and set forwarde with sayle & ower, to the vtermost pouint of his habilite. Wherfore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kynges actes and cogitaciions, determined now with all celerite to set forth out of hand at such thinges as here before had clouclused, cōcerning the ware of Britayne, as you hâve heard. Wherfore he called his high courte of Parliament, and there fyrst consulted with the peres and companionet of hys realm, for the aidyng of hy duke of Britayne. Then for the maintenance of hy ware, duers sumes of money were grauit and geuen, beside certeyne decrees & actes made for the vilite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was ended, he caused mustres to be held in certayne places of hys realm, and souldioures mete for the ware to be put in a redynes. Yet least peraduenture he might sene willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene the Frenche kyng, and hym, he sente duers notable Ambassadoures into France, to certefye the Frenche kyng, that of late he hadde keppe a solempne Parlemente, in the whiche it was condiscended and agreed by the lorders temporal and spirittuall, and knyghtes of counties, and magistrates of cityes, and borouges of his realm, not onely consideryng the relief, comforte and aide that he had receyued at the dukes hande, bothe for the sauegard of his lyfe, and for the recoueryng of hys inheraunce and kyngdom, but also remembryng that Brytayne of auncient tyme was subiect & vassall to the realm of Englane, which countrie also hath been frendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, bothe with foreycyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to aide, comforte and assist the Brytishe nacion with all their strength, might and habilite againste all their enemyes, frendly ademonishing hym that he should either desist from hys ware in Brytayne newly incepted, or els not be greeued if he did agre (as reason woulde) to the myndes, judgement and deterininacion of the princes and prelates of hys realme, assuryng hym in the woorde of a kyng, that hys armie should onely descend in the duchy of Brytayne, not to invade or make ware in the Frenche kynges.
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

kynges realme or territoryes, but onely to defend the duchy of Britayne, and to profligate and expell all the intrudors & inuasours of the French nation, whiche inustly occupied and invaded the Britannicall tytles and seignories. With these commaindeimentes the English Ambassadors departed, and declared to the Frenche king all the mynde and will of their kyng and souerteigne lord. Whiche message he dissimuled as little to regarde as the bytyng of a fleec, as though the Englishmen in the bataile, whiche he knewe to be at hande, coulde do no enterprice (as it happened in dede) either necessary to be feared or worthy to be remembred. The cause of hys so saiyng was thys, he knowynge that hys army was puesuant and stronge in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a few Englishmen with the lorde Wooduile, of whom he passed little, and seyng that England had not yet sent any army thether for the dukes succour, judged surely that hys army woulde do some great exployte (as they did in dede) before either the duke should be purveyed or any aide ministred. And as he imagened so it followed, for the Frenchmen so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne and brent and destroyd cities, and besieged the toune of Fogerars, so that the duke of Britayne was encouraged by the duke of Orliance, and other rebelles of the Frenche kyng, manfully to fight and geue bataile to the French army. And so the xxvi. dyse of Iuly they set forward, & came to a toune whiche the Frenchmen had gotten, called saint Aublyne. The Frenchmen were not ignorant of their comming, but put thein selves in a redynes. Of whiche armey was Capytaines, The lorde Lewes of Trenouyle, vyscount of Thonars, a Gascoyn, Adryan lorde of Mountfalcoysse. On the Brytones parte were checuyatynes, Lewes duke of Orliance, and the prynce of Orenge, which because they and other of the Frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Brytones, least they woulde at their moost nede flye.

Wherefore they discended on fote, and the duke and the prince put the selves in the bataile of the Almaynes: The Marshal of Rieux was appointed to the vauntgarde. The middle warde was delyuered to the lord Dalebret, and the rereward to the lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchmen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen (notwithstanding there were but foure hundred with the lorde Wooduile) they appareled a thousand and seven hundred Brytons in cotes with red crosses after the English fasshion. When bothe the armyes were appropyating to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombered bothe the parties. When the shot was finished, bothe the vantgardes joyned together with suche a force that it was maruell to beholde. The Englishmen shot so fast, that the Frenchmen in the forwarde, were fayne to recule to the bataile wher their housemen were. The rereward of the Frenchmen, seyng thys fyrst discofite began to flye, but the Capitaynes retired their men together agayn, & the horsemen se set fiercely on the Brytaynes, and sewle the moost parte of the fotemen. When the forward of the Brytones perceaued that their horsemen nor the Almaines came not forward theye provided for the selves & fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to have refuge or succour. So that in conclusio the Frenchmen obtayned the victorie, & slew all such as ware red crosses, supposyng the all to be Englishmen. In thys collict were slayn almost all the Englishmen, & six. M. Brytones, Emogest whom were founde dead the lorde Wooduile, & the lorde James Galens borne in Napels. And of Brytones there were slayne the lord of Leon, the lorde Mountfort, the lorde Pontlabbe & many noble & notable persones of the British nation. Of the French naci were slayn. xii. C. persones. The prynce of Orenge, & the duke of Orliance were taken prysoners, which duke (although he were next heyre apparaute to the crowne of Fraunce) should have lost his head, if ladt Tane his wyfe which was syster to Charles the Frenche king had not obtained pardone & remissiôn of his trespasse & offence. Howbeit he was lâger after kept prysoner in the great Tourc at Bourges in Berry. This unfortunate metying chaûces to the Britaynes on a môday, beyng the. xxvii. daye of Iuly, in yer of our redépçio. M. cccc. lxxvij. & in yer of kyng Henry the. vii.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the kyng vigilantly forseyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to accelerate the matte before concluded, wherefore

3 L.
with all spede he sent Robert Lord broke, Syr Ihon Cheyny, syr Ihon Middelton, syr Rauge Hilton, syr Ryhard Corbet, syr Thomas Leighten, syr Richard Laton and syr Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and courageous capitaynes with viij. M. men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Brytones agaynst the Frenchmen. These ioylmen of warre had suche prosperous wynde, that they arriued in Brytayne euyn as they woude wysehe or desyre. And after that they had recreated their spirites, and refreshed them selues a little after their labour and journey, they puttyng the selues in good ordre of bataile, marshed forward toward their enemies, and not farre from them encamped them selues. But when the Frenchmen knew of their landyng whome they knew by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lusty) to be in maner invincible. And so at the begin-nyng they were all blanke, & for feare kept themselues craftely and polletikly within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a small company of lighte horsemen, the whiche to wery and fatigat the stoute stomackes and haute courages of the Englishmen, made in divers places of the army, skyrmysshes, outcyrues & alaromes. So for a certayne space they used ther kynde of daliyng w the Englishmen, but euery the losse turned to the Frenchmen, & they bare the worse away, by reason of the archers y so sore galled the and theyr horses with arrowes, that their braggyng incursions were some left and done. But beholde the mutation of this worlde, whyle this warre was thus set forward, Fraunces duke of Britayne departed out of this life, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull labirinth, and a great ambiguoyte. For the chiefe rulers of the Britaynes, byng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desire of deuision and cotrouersie, fell into deuision emong them selues, so that they semed not to tendre the defence and protection of their naturall countre, but rather mynded the distrucction and vttre confusion of the same. Whiche deuision the Englishmen percaynyng, and also consideryng that it was in y middest of wynter, in the whiche tyme it is not wholsome for men to lye in the frosty and moyst feelies, were compelled in maner by necessitie within. v. monethes that they went forward, to returne backe agayn in to Englande.

After thus Charles the frenche kyng hauynge thus the vpper hand of the Brytones, percauyng that Maximilian kyng of Romanes laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heire to Fraunces duke of Britan for her younger suster was late dead, whiche thoughte was neither for hys profite nor advantage, concluded a peace with the Brytones. By whiche treatie he had the lady deliuered into hys possession, & after her deliuerance, he refusynge and repudiatynge the mariage of y lady Margaret, daughter to the forsaiyd kyng of Romanes, espoused y lady Anne duches of Brytayne, by whiche meanes the duche of Brytayne was annexed to the crowne of Trauence, as here after shall appere when it toke effect, which was not two yeres after.

CHAP. 6. THE III. YERE.

Nowe to the mony layde out, as concernyng the sumptuousnes of thys bataile. It was decreed by the. iii. estates (as you haue heard) in Englande before that any souldiours were sent into Britayne, that for the expence of that warre every man should be taxed and assessed at the some of hys substance, and should paiue the tenth penny of hys gooddes for the maineanaunce of the warre in Britayn. Which money the moost parte of them that dwelt about the Bishoprike of Durham & Yorkshire, refused vterly to paye, either thinking the selues ouercharged with the greatnes of the same, and therewith greued, or excited and procured through the euell counsayll and sedicious persuasion of certayne persones, whiche proueuly conspired agaynst the kyng to put him to new trouble and busines. Therefore suche as were by the kynges comaundement made Collectoure and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they coulde not get the money, accordyng to the extractes to them by the commisioners deliuered, made their complaint proueuly to Henry the. iii. Erle of Northumberland,
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chiefe ruler of the Northe parties. And he immediately vpó the knowlege therof, signified the kynges grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, makynge open Proclamation that they have ben chargd of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, without any defect or desert, and that now there was a houge some requyred of them, which neither they were hable to satesifie so great a demaunde, nor yet woulde once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe requyred. The kyng commandcd the erle in any wyse by distresse or otherwise accordyng to hys discreccion, to exacte the money of the people, and by cõpulsion to enforce suche to payment as whyned moost at it, least it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by him and hys high courte of Parliament, shoulde be by hys rude and rusticall people be infringed, despised and vilipended. The rude rashe and vnaused people, hearynge this answer of the kyng, by and by, violently set vpó the erle by the procurement of a symple felowe called Ihon of Chambre, whome the erle intreated with fayre woorde to come to reason, but they layng to hys charge that he was the chiefe author & principall causer of thys taxe and tribute païynge, both hym and diuers of hys housholde seruauntes, furiously and shamefully murthered & kylld. Diuers afferme that the Northenmen bare against this erle continuall grudge, sith the death of kyng Rychard, whome they entirely lould and highly fauoured, whiche secret serpët caused their fury to wade farther then reason could retract or restreyn. Although this offence were great and heyous, yet ther succeeded after a more mischief and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northenmen to cloke the homicide and manslaughter, by a violence put on their aruure and assembled in flocks, and elected to thcin a capitanwy called syr Ihon Egremonde knyght, a person no less sedicious then faccious and desirous of trouble, and ordred them selles lyke men of warre, and passyng by the countreyes, they published and declared that they would byd battail to the kyng, onely for the tuicion and defence of their common libertie and fredome, whiche he woulde plucks, and by hys extreme power take & hercuce fro thë. But when their cause should be discised with blowes & handstrokes, their fury was asswaged & refrigerate, their harte were in their heedes, & their stomakers as coulde as any stone, & every one wished this tumult were retractd & quëchd, which was now al ready not snokyng but enflamed: and in conclusion, every man ranne awaye, some this way, & some that way, as men amased when they lacke counsaile, skaterned & dispersed in diuers places. When every man was retorned, the matte was ended as they imagend, but while they diligend labourd to saue their lves by flight, they sought their awne destruccion. For the moste parte of thë were punyshed by death or by imprysement for the same offence. For the kyng beryng of this tumultuous busynes, sent thon Thomas erle of Surrey, whome not long after he had delieuerd out of syn Tourë, & receaued to his grace & especial fauour (as he was both for his wit & hidelie wel worthy) with a copetent crewe of men into the North partes, which skyrminshed w a certayne cõpany & discõtided thë, & toke a lyue Ihon a chambre the first beginner of this rebellië. The kyng hym selfe roade after the erle into Yorkshire, of whose coming the slances & sturdy rebelles were so abashed & affrayed, that they fled more & lesse, which afterwarde were apprehended & gresenously punished accordyng to their dererites & deseruyng. Yet the kyng of hys magnificent mynde, perdoned the innocent & rural people, & plaide & executd syr inventers of the mischief, & the furtherers of the same. For Ihon a chambre was hanged at Yorke, vsyn a gybbet set vpó a square paire of gallowes, lyke an archetraytoure, & hys complices & lewe disciplers were hingerd on the lower gallowes roude aboute their mayster, to the terrible example of all other. But syr Ihon Egremod, whomse these sedicious persons preferred to be ther Capitayn, fled into Flãnders to ly lady Margaret duches of Burgoyne, whiche euuer enuied the prosperite kynges Henry.

When this folishe enterprice was thus quenched, the kyng gaue cõmission & charge to syr Rychard Tunsall knyght, a man of greate wyt, pollecie & discrecion, to gather and receaue the subsidic to hym dewe of the people, and he hym selfe returned shortly to London, leauyng the erle of Surrey to rule the Northpartes, perceauynge well the Englishmen, not so muche
muche to grudge at the paymente of the taxe or tribute, as they did grone at the excessyue and importable some vpon the assessed, remembryng the olde prouerbe loue me little and loue me longe. And thys was the yere of our Lorde. M. cccc. xc. and the fourth yere of thys kynges reign.

Before this tyne, Maximiliana kyng of Romanes, whiche as you haue heard in the tyne of kyng Edward the. iii. had contrary to the mynde and will of the French kyng espoused lady Mairie, daughter & heyre to Lewes the French kyng, and by her had issue, a sonne called Philip, and Margaret whiche was aiffled to Charles the. vii. Frenche kyng and by hym repudiate and forsaken, was sore offended & greatly greued with the Fleminges, but moost of all with the Gauntoys and Brugians, for kepyng from him perforce his sonne & heyre duke Philip, whiche neither by gentle request nor cruell menace woulde deliuer the sonne to hys naturall father and lawful parent. Wherfore the king Maximiliana assembled a company of Almaynes & Ouerlanders (for he did not greatly put hys confidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) and made sharpe warre on the Fleminges, in the whiche he little preuyed.

For the Fleminges sent to the Frenche kyng for aide & succour, whiche baying glad of that request, sent Philip de Creucure lorde Desquerdes, commonly called the lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great army of men, to aide and succour the Fleminges, trustyng by that means to obteyne bothe the possession of y young enfaunt duke Philip, and the whole countrey of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entending to allure the Fleminges from the Frenche, beganne first to practise with them of Bruges, of whiche toune the grauous men, some condiscedted and astipulat to reason, requyringe hym to come to their toune, and sent to hym with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with divers other, to adnertise hym that at hys comyng thither, he should fynde hym conformeable to hys wyl, pleasure and request. Vpon trust wherof he entred into the toune smally accompanied, and came before the toune, thinkynge that the lordes and senate woulde joyously hauue receaued and welcomed hym. But the whole turned clene contrary, for the lyght witted persons, to whom peace was treason, and concord venemous poysyn, takyng this occasion to theim ofred, cryed to harneys. When they, whiche had brought the kyng into the toune, sawe the tumult of the people, and that no man came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, and fled into corners. The warden of the Smythes was the chief of the route, which bad the kyng to take pacience a while, and he should have a gentle imprysonement, and so conuenged hym to the house of Iyon Grose, judge of the audience. Then the Almaynes were all banished, the toune and the lordes of Gaunt were sent for, whiche taried not longe. When they had the praye that they espected, fyrsyt divers citzens whiche they thought fauourable to Maximiliana they beheaded. Mathew Spert, one of hys chief counsellours and trusty frendes, was sent to Gaunt, and there put to death. James Dudenezell, & James of here. ii. wyse burgeses, notwithstandinge that all the priestes and religious of the toune made intercession for them, were at Bruges executed. Then Iyon Capenoll a busy mercyant, woulde in all haste haue rydden to induct the Frenche kyng as their souereigne lorde, to whom the moost parte woulde in nowyse a stipulate nor consent, nor yet entended to dis-heneryt the yonge duke Philippe of hys grandfathers inheritance.

When execution was done of the wyse and sad counsaylers, 5 newe men made rulers called theryr prynce kyng Maximilien to be broughte to the toune house, and there they layed to hys charge, that he had not obsuered the treatie, whiche they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded with the Frenche kyng. Secondarely, they alledged that he put high Almaynes in offiices and great authoritie, whiche without their assent woulde hauue changed and inhuanched their coyne and money to their great prejudice and detriment. Many other ridiculous articles they layde to hym, whiche the cares of every honest creature knowynge the dutie of the subject to hys prynce, woulde abhorre and floccipend, to the whiche he so wisely and boldely answered, that in parte he asswaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. In so much that he was more gentler entreated then he was before. For if hys aunswer had been to the displeasaunt, or if he had menaced them but one woorde, I thinke in their furye they woulde haue
have dispatched him out of his lyfe and lande. The Gauntoys woulde have deliuered hym to the Franchise king, but the Brugius woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desyred to have him in their custody in Gaunt, but 7 citizens of Bruges vterly denied his deliuerie. Wherefore the Gauntoys in great displeasure departed. After whose departure the Brugianes were content to set hym at libertie, so that he and divers of his nobilitie should swere on the holy Sacrament, not onely to reuict, pardon and forguere all offfences perpetrate and committed by them of Flaunders, but also shoulde swere and promes, neither to remembre nor reuege the same. Thys oth he swere in the great Church of Bruges, and the lord of Raueston called Philip Mounseur, and the lord of Beuers and divers other swere thesame, addynge therunto, that if he did attempt any thyng contrary to his othe and promes, then they swere to take parte with the good tounes of Flaunders agaynste hym and his adherentes. And vpon this promes he was deliuered and frakely set at libertie.

But Frederick the Empeour coulde not forget the reproche & despite that was shewed to hym in his sonne, and the great injury & wróe that was done to his sonne pertyle to his dis-honour, scourg'd Flaunders with sharpe warre and mortall affliccions (Maximilian liyng in quyt and nothying attemptynge) but Philip Mounseur, lorde of Raueston, the whiche toke his othe with kyng Maximilian, to shewe that the warre was renouate without his knowledge and assente, iorsooke Maximilian his lord, and toke the tounes of Ypere, and Sluse, with both the Castels of thesame hauen, which he mamed and vitelyled, and kept two yeres against the power of Maximilian, till he rendred them to syr Edward Pownynges sent thether by the kyngge of Englane, as you shall hereafter well perceace. Beside this, the foresayde Philip not onely exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians and other tounes of Flaunders, to rebell against their souereigne lorde, but also sent to the lorde Cordes, to aide hym to conquere suche tounes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confedecracy. This lord Cordes, which vntruly revolted from duke Charles of Burgoyne, byeng his bruynger vp and chief preferrer to Lewes the Fréch kyng (as you have heard before) was glad of this, and so sent to the aide of the Fleminges. viii. M. Frenche men, willyng them to take and conquere such tounes, as were in the waye betwene Frauncie and Bruges, or Caleys and Bruges. The Capitaynes folowyng his denice, besieged a little walled toun, called Dipenewe, to whome came. iii. M. Fleminges with vityle and artillarie, sent from Philip Mounseur. They layed seige on the Northyde of the toun in a marish gronde then byeng drye, and so depely dyched their campe, and so highly trenched it, on which trence they layed their ordinance, that it was in manner impossible to entre into their campe, or to do them any displeasure or dammage. The kyngge of Englane was dayly adverstised of these doynges, whiche nothing lesse desyred then to haue the English pale and territory, enuy round with French fortresses. For he perceawed well that if the Fréche gate Dipenewe, they would afterward asseale Newport and Granelynge, and cosequently, what w force and what with corruption of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of duke Philip, and all Flaunders, whiche shoulde not be to the profite of hym nor hym subiectes. Wherefore this, v. yere, sodeinline with great expedicion he sent ouer to the lord Dawbene to Caleys, the lord Morley with a Crewe of valaunt archers and soulfiours, to the number of a. M. men, with preuy instruccions what they shoulde do. When they were fayled, they published and sayed that they came to defende the English pale, if the Frenchemen or Fleminges would attépt any mastayres there: But their enterprice was all otherwise. For on a Tuyesdaye at the shuttyng of the gates at nyghte, the lorde Dawbene cheflaynne of the army, the lorde Morley, sir James Tyrrell, Capitayne of Guysnes, sir Henry Willoughby, sir Gyilbert Talbot, sir Homfre Talbot, Marshall of Caleys, and divers other knightes and Esquyres, and other of the garrison of Haunnes, Guysnes and Caleys, to the number of two. M. men or there aboute, issued pruely oute of Caleys, and passe the water of Granelynge in the mornynge be tymes, and left there for a stale and to kepe the passage syr Homfre Talbot with. vi. skore archers, and came to Newporte, where they founde 7 soureygne of Flaunders with. vi. C. Almaynes, and there they communed and paused that nyght.

On
On the next day as they came secretly toward Dipinew (se y chaüce) at a place of execu-
cion, nere the high waye was a Gaütoys (which was come out of the army for a spye, and
apprehêed by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng, which emongest the Englishmen knew sryr
James Tyrrell, and called to hym for comfort and succoure, promisyng hym that if he
woulde saue hys lyfe, he woulde gynde them where they shoulde entre on the Gaütoys, to
their honour and advaunte, and he woulde be the first assaylant of all the company.
When hys promes was regarded, after request made to the Borough masters and capitaynes
of the toune, he was perdoned but not delierued. The next daye in y mornyng, after they
had ordegd their army, their gynde conveyghed them out at the Southgate of the toune by
a high banke set with willowes, so that the Gaütoysses could e not wel espie them, and so
secretly came to the ende of the campe of their enemies and there paused. The lorde Daubenev
commanded all men to sende their horses & wagons backe, but the lord Morley sayde he woulde
ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceavd). so they passed on tyll they came to a
lowe bancke and no depe dyche, where their ordenaunce laye, and there the archers shot alto-
gether every man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to y groud, their enemies discharged their
ordinaunce all atones, and ouershot the. The archers roase and shot agayn, and bet them
from their ordinauce. The Almaynes lifted ouer the dyche with their morisibe pykes, the Eng-
lishmen in the forefront waded the dyche, and were holpen vp by the Almynes, and set on
their enemys, and slew and toke many prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the caw-sy
to entre in at the Northgate of the campe, where the lord Morley being on horsbacke in a ryche
cote was slayne with a gonne. When his death was known, every man kyled hys prisoner
and slewe all such as did withstâd them to the number of viij. M. men, in somuch that of. ii.
M. that came out of Bruges (as the Flemishe chronicle reporteth) there came not home an
hundred. There were slayne in the sayd place two chief capitaynes, George Peccanet, and
Anthony Nyewnhome. On the English parte was slayn the lord Morley, and not an hundred
moo. The Englishmen toke their ordenaunce and set it to Newport with al the spoyle
and great horses. And by the waye, hearyng certayne Frenchene to be at Ostend, they made
thetherward, but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned parte of the toune, and came
agayne to Newport, where the lord Daubenev left all the Englishmen that were hurt or
wounded, and caried with hym the dead corps of the lorde Morley, and buryed it honor-
ably at Caleys. Thys felde was profitable to the Englishmen, for they that went forth in
clothe, came home in sylke, and they that wet out on foote, came home on great horses,
suche is the chaunte of victory.

The lorde Cordes, beyng at Yper with. xx. M. men, was sore discontent with this over-
throwe, wherefore he thynkyng to be reuenged, cam and besieged the toune of Newport
strôgely (the which capitayn, Moisceur de Merwed, before capitayn of Dipenew, and all
the gentelmen of Westlaunders, and the thre principall cities of Flauders, vityed the
Frenche hoost so wel that all thinges was to good chepe) they without shot at the walles,
and brake the in many places, and they within sore greued them without with their artillary.
But the Englishmen were hurt at Dixnewe felde before, and might cther stand or drawe
a bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gau a great assaute to a
Towre, and perforce entred it, and set vp the banner of the lorde Cordes: but as God
woulde, during the time of the assaute there arryued from Caleys, a Barke with. lxxx. fresh
Englishe archers, which came straight to the Towre. The wom of the toune, perceiyng the
Englishmen come, cryed with lamentable and londe voyces, helpe Englishmen, helpe
Englishmen, shote Englishmen, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as
before were wounded and hurte men, and of the courageous harires of the new come Archers,
and the stoute stomackes and diligency of the women, which as fast as the Englishmen strake
doune the enemies, the women were ready to cut their throtes, they wanne agayne the Towre,
and sleue the Frenchmen, & reï the banner of the lorde Cordes and set vp the penon
of saynet George. Then the Frenchmen, supposing a great aude of Englishmen, to hawe
bene come to the toune by sea, left the assaule. And the night folowyng the couetus lord
Cordes
Cordes (which so sore loged for Caleys, yt he would commonly saye that he would gladly lye. vii. yeres in hell, so yt Caleys were in the possession of the Frenchmen) brake vp hys siege and shamefully returned to Hesdyng. And the Englishmen glad of this victory returned agayne to Caleys.

This yere also, the realme of Scottiād suffered an infectuous & mortal plaghe, because the name of Iames the third kyng of Scottes was so odous, so hated and disdayned of the whole nobilitie of the realme of Scottlande, chiefly because they perceaued that he set more by vile borne vileyns and light persones, then by the princes and nobles of hys realme, as I have declared to you in the history of kyng Edward the. iii. which mischefe and vngrate discommoditie, after they had tolerrated and paciently suffered no small tyme to their great grudge & displeasour. They now thought it most expediet for their purpose & welfare, even by force of armes to recover their pristinate libertie and auncient freedome. Therefore makynge pruely a coniuracio and cōspiracy together agaynst their prynce and soueraigne lorde, cōpassed his death and destruccio. Yet that it mighte not be thoughte that they did intende the destruccio of their natyne country, they made the kynges sonne named after hys father Iames, prince of Rothsay (a chylde borne to goodnes and vertue) their Capitayne, in maner against hys will, openly protesting, that they purposed the confusion, affliction and depoyng of an euell kyngye and wretched prynce, and not the subuersion & destruccio of their country: by which craftie ymagened inuiccion they might eyther cloke or propulse from the all suspicione, of their purposed vntruthe and shamefull disloyallye. Whereof the kyng beyng credibly informed, was pensye, sorie, carefull, vexed and sore tormentèd in his mynd, for this cause in especiall, that he should haue cynile dis-encon with hys awne subjects and natyue country men, yee & agaynst his awne sonne beyng made Capytayne of that vntrew and peruerse company, whomme next to him selfe he loned. fauoure and honoured, ymagenyng with him selfe that this cōmoxyon sounded to none other effect but that the hed should fight and stryue with the other mētres and partes of the natural body: and yet on the other syde, not to resyst shortly theyr newe incepted entreprize might easely encourage & inflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemies with more boldenes & audacite to attept farther mischēf & inconveniencē. Therefoe to the tent to make a plaster for both these sores to be healed: Fyrst to apeare and assauge the fury and rumour of the people, being in this a rage, he prepared an army of me. After that he sent Ambassadours to his sonne and the nobilitie assembled with him, for a love, peace, concorde, quietnes and vnite to be concluded emongest them. Also he sent letters to ý kyng of Englande and the French kyngke, requyng-e them that they would vouchesafé with their good and Godly counsel, helpe & assaye to mitigate and assauge this furious enmūtiz of his rude and saūge people, which was incepted and begonne thorough the perswasion and procurement of certeyne pernicious and sediciaous persones. And besides this, he wrote to the bishop of Rome Innocēt for thesame matter, in the which he earnestly obisext, desyrēd & prayed him that he would of his goodnes, faith & charite sende some one legate to these rebelles of his nobilitie to charge and commaund, that they settynge aside all warre and hostilite, embrace quietnes, rest and vnite.

This miserable decrepité and aged kyng, thinkyng that bothe delaiynge and continuance of time, and also the entreating and harryng prayers of his friends and allies would quenche and mollētie their inordinate wildeines and furious rage, and persuade the to sobrietē and good conformitie, had rather with these, and other semblable medecynes remedie this yonge springyng sore, then he would haue it experimented, and trayed with cyyuile battaile and intestine destruccon, which he thought to be a thing bothe vngodly, vnatural and execrable. For all this, no medecyne, no counsel, no wholesome preceptes could appease or pacifie the angry myndes and ragyng wittes of the Scottishe nobilitie, so much were they addicted and bent too this folye and vnreasonable madness. In so much, as to the messengers sent from him to the beyng their soueraygne lorde, they made this vunreasonable and vnhonest aunswer, that is: ýf he would resigne the tytle of his croune & realm and de-
THE. V. YERE OF

pose him selfe of his royall dignite, then they would comen with hym of a peace, or els their cares were stopped from heryng of any entreatie or perswasion. The same answer broughte the Ambassador of Englelunde and France to their princes, whiche sore lamented and deplored the puerse fortune and mischance of their frinde the Scottish kyng, as though they had bene partakers of his affliction: But Adriā the bishop of Romes legate; of whome we will speake more hereafter came to late, and as who should saye, a daye after the faire.

When nothyng could mone or perce these stony hartes or frosty myndes of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they met together in a pitched feeld, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore sely kyng fled into a Myll for succoure, whether he was followed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murthered, and vnreuerently, (not lyke a prynce or a crouned kyng) left starke naked lyke a stinking caryon. Then the prynces of Scotland beyng saciat and filled with the blood and slaughter of their soueraygne lorde and kyng (thankinge that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to theim done and committed by kyng Iames the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the prince hys sonne, and named hym Iames the. iii. of that name.

Before this tyne, as you haue heard, Innocēt bishop of Rome had sent in legacye Adryan of Castella, a man of hetouria borne in † toune of Cornete, called in the olde tyme Newcastel, which shoule gone to Scotlande, too haue pacified by hys authoritie and commandement this troublesome busynes, moued and sturred betwene the kyng and his subjectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iournys, when he came to England, was enformed of the kyng, to whome he hadde certayne commandementes and messages to saye from the Romyshe Bishop, that he came to late for too accomplisysh the commission of his legacy, asserteyninge him that the Scottishe kyng was dead, gentely aduisinge hym, that he should not moue one foote further but tary still in Englane, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was playny certeified by the Bishops of Scotlane and the kynges death. This Adryan taryed certayne monethes after this in Englaund and was made much of, and highly commended and lawdcd too the kyng by Iohn Morton bishop of Caunterbury, whiche for the good learnynge, vertue, & humaneitie, that he sawe and perceaued to be in him shewed to hym all poyntes of humaneitie and frnendshippe, that a frende might do to a frende. And vpon hys commendacion, the kyng thynkynge thys man worthy to be look-ed vpon, and mete to do the kynges pleasure, muche phantasiad and more favoured this legate Adryan, in somuene as he was Oratour and solicited his cause, bothe to Innocēt and also to Alexander the sixt, Bishops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent servuyce, he so loued and fauiroured him y he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortly after, that resigned & quen ouer, he promoted hym to the Bishoprike of Welles and Bathe. And not longe after this Adryan was returned with these honours to Rome, where he was promoted successiely by all the degrees of spiritual dignites into the College and societee of Cardinalles. For Innocent fyrste made him his Collectour in England, and also one of the vii. Prothonotaries. After this Alexander the. vi. had hym as one of hys priuye counsayll, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinal: But who is that I praye you that will merueyll at this, which aswell may be gue tofooles and dizerdes as to wise and well learned men: There is another prayse of this Adrian, and thesame in maner eternall: The manne was of profounde learninge and knowlege, not vulgare, but straunge, newe and dificile, and in especial he was a man of a ripe judgement in electinge and chosynge concinnate termes, and apte and eloquente woordes, whiche firste of our tyne, after that golden worlde of Tully, moued men with his wrytynge to imitate and foloe the moost approbate, and allowed authours that were of eloquencie, and taught y trade and phrase to speake fyne, pure, freshe and cleane latyn, so that by his example and documñt, eloquencie flourished at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherfore after my judgemñt he is not woorthie to be put in oblivion: but now to my purpose.

4 THE
THE VI. YERE.

The Britishe affaires in the meane season, because that all discorde was not pacefied and appealed, beganne agaynse nowe to flowe out and to trouble, and set all thynges in a newe broyle and busynes. For Maximilian kyng of Romaynes beyng without a wife, before this tyme, made suite to Frances duke of Briteyne, to haue in mariage the lady Anne hys daughter, to the whiche request the duke gentlyy condiscende. And one, whiche by proxie wooed for hym: too the entent that the lady shoulde performe that she promised on her faith and honour, he usd a newe iniencio and tricke, after this maner: When the lady did take her chambre, the nyght after the affiaunce, she was layed naked in the bride bed, in the presence of diuere noble matrones and Prynces, called thether as witnesses. The procurator or Deputie for the husbande whiche represented his person, was layde in the place of her husbande, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the harde knee, in the sight and company of many noble personages, as who said that the virgin had bene carnally knownen, and so the matrimony perfytely and consummate, and they two as man & wyfe. But this fonde new founde ceremony was little regarded and lesse esteemed, of hym that onely studied and watched, howe to surrept and steale this turtle oute of her mewe and lodgyng. For Charles the Frenche kyng (as no ma can blame hym) was desyrous and gredy too be coupled in mariagen, wyth so great an inheritoroure, and reputyng the mariagen made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busely and incessantly he made sharpe warre, & skourged the Brytōnes, to thentent he might bothe haue the lady and her dominions also at his will and pleasure. But he imagined that the kyng of Englande woulde caste a trumpe in his waye, and be an impediment to his purpose by send-ynge into Britayne a newe army of Englishemen, for he had intelligence by his preuy faytours.

Kyng Henry and Ferdinando kyng of Spayne, were fully decreed to aide, assist and defende the duches and duchie of Briteyn, in all leopardies and aduentures, to thentent that they agaynst their will and afeccion should not be by force compelled, to submit them selves to the subieccion and ponderous yoke of the Frenche kyng. For the whiche cause, these two princes were ioyneyed in a league and confedery to resist and propulse this manifyst wronge and apparant inuierie. Wherfore he sent in all post hast the lord Francois of Luxenborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagime, ministre of the bone homes of the Trinitee, to kyng Henry for a peace to be conferred & had, which whie they came before the kynges presence, were accepted and entretyned after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of the effect of their legacion, their request was that kyng Charles, as chiefe and supreme lord ouer the seignorie & duchye of Briteyn, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceauned by kyng Henry, lawfully ordre and dispose at his will and pleasure the mariagen of lady Anne of Briteyne, as his ward & orphan, without any let and disturbaunce of the kyng of Englad, or any of his alies and confedrates. Kyng Hery thereto would not condiscende, but still harped on this stryng, that the vyrign, whiche was lawfully combyned in matrimony with Maximilian kyng of Romans, shoulde not be compelled agaystne her wil and promes (beynge contrary to all lawe, right and equitie) too take any other person then hym to her spouse and husband, for that it was clerely repugnaunt to all verite and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had lyn-gerd the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vayne argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of their requestes obtayneyd: after longe debatyng and consultacion, they were resoluyed on this poynte, least it shoulde be thoughte that all their legacion had bene in vayne and brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amite shoulde be drawen with conditions, clauses and courshauntes. And for the farther furtherance of that purpose, it was thoughte necessary and expedient that the kyng of Englande shoulde sende

3 M. 

Ambassadors
Ambassadours to the Frenche kyng, which in his name and by his authoritee might breuely conclude and finish the league and tratie that was in communicacion incetped and begunne. Whereupon kyng Henry dismissed the Frenche Ambassadours laden with ample & large rewards into their countrey, and dispatched and sent streyghte after them by hys commission and authorite, Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldeston prior of Christes churche in Cauntourbery hys Oratours and Ambassadours, to Charles the French kyng instructing them fully of all thinges that he would have either moued or determined.

In this mean space, Alexander bishop of Rome vi. of that name whiche succeeded after Innocent, a man full of diligenee and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonel bishop of Concord legate, to the Frenche kyng for certaine matters, and among other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vnite betwene king Charles and king Henry. Whē he had declared his message to the Frenche kyng fully, and had easely obtened all thinges that he requyred, then he began to moue into the Frenche kyng and his nobles, with a longe and prilixe exhortacion to make and conclude a perpetuel peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the Frenchmen to make no greate denyall to his request, he'determyned to attempt and moue kyng Hery to concende and agree to the same desire and peticion: and toke hys iourney towards England, and at Caleys he encountered the Ambassadours, both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receauned hym into the toune of Caleys, with many ceremonies and great reverence. Whereafter they had communed the matter a certayn space, as concerning their affaires and busynes, they departed toward the Frēch kyng, & the Bishop was transported into England. The kyng honorably receauned & gently entered byn the Orator Lyonel, and gaue good ear to his luculent & eloquent oracion, wherein he persuaded him with many flatteryng and glossinge wordes, to entre into a league and amitie with kyng Charles of Fraunce, and the Frenche nacion. To the whiche request the kyng made answeer that he would be glad and joyous, if it might be compassed and brought aboute, after fōge trouble and pernicious disscension to lyue in peace and mutual amite with all christēme. Bishop Lyonel perceauyng the kynges mynde and intent, reculed again to Fraunce with all sped and diligence (and as it was mete and decent for the bishop of Concord) he determined to extirpate and dryue out of the kynges memory all olde reconynges and injuries done too him heretofore, and plant if it might be, in his hart and minde, the very goodly and gracious gryne of concord and vnite.

The Enlishe Ambassadours, then being with the Frenche kyng purposed and setforth articles and conclusions of peace. The Frenchmen prudently made answeer, so that on bothe parties the matter was politiquely and artificially proponed and oppugned. The Enlishe Ambassadours, to thentent that they might assente and obtayne a fewe thinges, whiche they muche desired, required & demaundd many great and dierse thinges. The Frenchmen on the other side, mynding to assent to no one demaund at thend, did denye & repudiate all Thenglishmens desyres, and conditions, and were sore angry and moued with their great requestes and high demaundes. And in the mean season, trustyng more to their coffers then to their chieally, as the maner of their countrey is, for to obtayn their purpose, they spare not to disburse and launche out treasur, giftes and rewardes innumerable, whiche is the very cause that they conquer more with crownes of gold, then with speare and shylde, or dynt of swerde in battale. So that shortly after the Frenche kyng, sent to Noble men of Briteyn great & many rewardes, soliciyng, exhortyng, and prayyng them all to become his subjectes and vassals. And in especiall he allured and enticed with moost flatteryng wordes and trappinge termes, the lady Anne by such honorable matrones and ladies, as had the gouernaunce and educacion of her to confirme her self true to him in due obedience and love, and not disdyne to be coupled in such a noble marrage, with so high and mightie a pryncce, as kyng Charles was. And least perauenture the Damosell fearyng the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes woulde not consent too hym for offending her conscience and infringyng her promes: To aduoyde that scruple, he caused
dierse to inculeate and put in her hed & tytyle in her care, that the mariage made with Maximil
ian was of no strëgh and lesse efficacy, considerynge that it was concluded and made with-
oot the consent, agreement and will of him, which is the chiefe lorde and ought to hauve the
gouvernaunce ouer her as his warde, & the whole duchy of Briteyne, assuring her that she
was deluded, and that the mariage with Maximilian was never consummate nor perfite.
And this was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded & agreed
betwene these two Prynces. And where as the Frech kyng had long kept with hym the lady
Margaret, daughter to Maximilian and her solemnly espoused at Amboye, he sayde that
that mariage might be lawfully dissolved agayne, because the lady was of that age, that she
couldne neither be geuen nor yet taken in mariage, for whiche cause he might lawfully repu-
diate and honestly put her from him.

By this cratte and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspectyng none cuell
and brought her to this poynct, that in conclusion, she beying proclaimed by divers, Prynces
of Briteyne, subornate and corrupted with mede contrary to their dutie and allegaunce,
was content to condissende and agree to that the Frenchmen demanded, & not onely to sub-
mit her selfe to the French kyng, but also to take him to her make and husband, by the rea-
son whereof the worre mighte caesse, whiche with violencie and impression of thesame, had
infested and afflicted all her whole country. To this mariage agreed all the nobilitie of Bri-
teyn, whiche helde of the French parte, thinkinge it verily for the annauement of the com-
on weale and their ease, because to trust to ½ power of Maximilian, which was of no
puysaacce, they thought it veyne and of no efficacy. And when the Frech kyng had composed
and ordred hys matters of this passion, preuely with the lady Anne, he accelerated the mar-
riage with all the expedicion and diligence that was possible: So that the English Ambassa-
dours returned agayn to their coitrey, and nothing doen or agreed vpon their matter.

Kyng Henry, still paciently forbearynge and suffryng till such time that he perceaued
more playnly what way the worlde went, and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Am-
bassadours, that the Frenchmen meaned none other but playne guyle, fraude and deceipite,
determined no more with peaseable legacons, but with opë warre to finishe and determyne all
troubouersies and displeasures betwene him and the French kyng: Wherefore he sommoned
his courte of Parliament, and there declared first ½ cause why he was iustly prouoked to
make warre against the Freche kyng: And after desyred them of their beneuolent aide of
men and money for the maintenaunce of thesame. The cause of this battaill, euer y
man did allowe and approbate, and to the settyng forth of thesame, promysed their industrie,
labour and all that they could make. The kyng commendende them for their true and loun-
ynge hartes, too theuent he might not aggrauate the common people, with paiyne of great
taxes and summes of money, whomse his mynde was ever to kepe in fauour, woulde first ex-
acte money by a litte ¼ beneuolent mynde of the ryche sorte, and this kynde of
exaccion was first excogitated by kyng Edward the. iii. as it appereth before in his story. The-
therefore he consulted with his frendes, to inuent howe to gather together a great summe of A beneu-
olent money, and published abrode that by their open giftes he woulde measure and searche their
beneuolent hertes & louinge myndes towards hym, so that he that gauo mooste should be
judged to be mooste lounge frende, and he that gauo litte, to be esstemed accordynge to his
gifte: By this a man maye apparently perceauce as it were for a great common wealth, that
that thinge that is once practised for the vtiliteie of a prince, and broughte too a president
by matter of recorde, maye be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rules in au-
thoritie will so adiudge and determyne it. So by thys meanes the kyng gathered innumerable
summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremitee shewed by the com-
misioners in dyuerse places.

You haue heard before how Philip Mounsure, lord of Raueston by the aide of Bruges
& Gaunt had taken the toune & ii. castels of Sluyys and was become aduersarie to Maximil-
ian, by reason of the iii. chiefe cytyes of Flaunders: Now ye shall vnderstand that he did
not onely so forteicie as well with municions as men, both the toune and. ii. Castels, but also

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gat into the hauen diverse shippes and barkes, & by this meanes he spoyled and toke prisoners all nacions, passing eyther by sea or by land to the mart at Antwerp, or into Brabant, Zeeland or Frisland and was euer plentifully vityled out of Fraunce and Pycardy, to the great damage of the Englishmen, which were spoyled dayly and taken prisoners: Which thinge Maximilian kyng of Romanes coulde not wel remedy, nor the kyng of England without great coste and losse of men. For to it behooved an army, bothe by sea and lande, for when he was set for by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chaced on the sea, he soughte refughe in hys twoo stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt. Now was here a little toune two myle from Bruges, toward the sea called Damme, whiche was a Bulwerke to Bruges, and a hedspryng to Sluys. The kyng of Romanes did offtenynges attempt the apprehendinge of this toune, to the entent that the Brugians shoule have no recourse to the hau̇e of Sluys, nor the Sluysians shoule have no succour out of the toune of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no signe of defence, tỹ all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and confuted them. There was a greate duke in Almayne, called duke Albert of the upper Saxony, a greate frende to the kyng of Romanes, whiche made him selfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flâiders, a man of no lesse pollecy then valyaunt hardynes. This duke required of the lorde of Bruges, that he might enter peaceably into their toune, accordyng to his estate with a certayne number of menne of armes to communicate with them dyuerser matters of great wyght and no small importaunce, and sent before his carriages and herbers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges little doubted to admit so small a number into so populous a company, ye though the number were duplicat, and especially, because they harde saye that he woulde lodge in the toune all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie stratageme that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the cytie in good orde, and he folowed, they that went befor inquyred after ynnes and lodgynges as though they would repose them selves there all nighte, and so went foorth still in orde askyng for lodgyng, till they came to the gate that goeth directly toward the forsayde toune of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemyshe nyle, which is called the Bulwerke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitauntes of the toune of Damme, suspecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thinkinge that their frendes knowyng some sodenye chaunce comming to have sent to them aide and succours, and so notlinge mistrusting, did let them entre, and take the toune of Damme, and so that toune whiche could not be wonne by force of armes, was by a sleight & pollecy attrapped and surprised to the great detriment and displeasure of the toune of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the sea, which stop so continuing, no doubte, but the toune of Bruges must nedes fall in ruyne and vitter extermination.

When duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certesied y king of England y he would besiege Sluysse by lād, if it pleased his majestie to ministre any aide by the sea. King Hery which was wise, & forecasting in all his affaires, remêberyng that Sluysse was the denne of theues to the y trauere y sea toward the East partes, incontinent dispatched sır Edward Powynge, (a valiaut knight & hardy Capitayn) w. xii. shippes wel furnished w bolde soueliours & strôg artillery. Which sır Edward sayled into y hane, & kept Philip moûsure frô stertig by y sea. The duke of Saxô besieged y one castel, lying in a charch ouer against it, & y Englishme assauted y lesse castel dayly, & issued out of y shippes at the ebe, and although they stode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gave their enemies one daye to repose or playe by the space of. xx. dayes, and every dare slewe some of their aduersaries, and on the Englishe parte were slayne. Vete brother to the Erle of Oxforde & fifty moo.

The lorde Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of boates betwene both the Castels, by the whiche one might succour y other, Which bridge the Englishmen in a night set on fyer. Then, he perceayng y he must nedes lese his castels by force, & that the Fleminges could not aide him, yelded the castels to sır Edward Powninges, and the toune to the duke of Saxony, vpon certeyne condicions. When the duke and the English capitayne met in the
The vi. daye of Aprill this present yere, the kyng commaunded all the nobilitie of his realme, to assemblie at the Cathedral church of sainct Paule in London, where after Te deum solemnly songe, the Cardinal of Caunterbury, standyng on the steppes before the queere dore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nacion, beyng infideles & vnchristened people, and now of late besiege by a great tyme by Donferando and Elisabeth his wyfe, kyng and quene of Spayne, Arragon and Castell. And thesayde infideles, by reason of this siege brought to great penurye and miserie, for lacke of vteile and necessary viand, perseayment that all succours were clerly estopped and propelled from them, and so brought into vitre desaire of aide or comfort: after longe consultacion had emongst them, deter-myned to rendre the selues and their citie, to thesayde kyng, vpon divers couenauntes and condicions, and thereupon sent to hym diverse Senators of the citie, fully instructed of their mynd and purpose. The kyng of Spayne and his counsell, considering and sagely pondering that wytter approached and was at hande, and that the Christen boost had long lynen in hym feeldes in sore tempestes and gresous storms (which they gladly suffred for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarel they made that present warre) remembrynge also that the cytie was of suche ryches, faune and estimation, that it conteyned an hundred and fifty thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages, and that it was re-plenished with people innumerabul, and furnished with lxx. thousand good fighting men. And finallly, perseayment that he might enioye nowe the possession of thesame, without as-sautte or effusion of Christen blood, by the adayse of his counsayll, be accepted, accorded and agreed to their offres the xxv. of Nouember, in the yere of Christes incarnacion. M. ccc.xci. then beyng the daye of saynct Katheryn. By the which compisicion, the royaal citie of Granado, with all the holdes and fortresses of the realme, and the Towres and Castels of Alpussarare was rendred into the handes of thesayde kyng of Speygne, & that the kyng of Granado should become subiect and vassall to the kyng of Speygne, and to relin-quishe and forsake the vsurped name of a kyng for euer. And all men of warre should franckely departhe out of the citie, and none-ther to renmayne, but artificers and mercantymes, and all these thynge to be done before the xxv. daye of Januar, but the tyme was anticipate, for the Moores on the first day of Januarij, sent vi. notable personages out of the citie with their children for hostages into the campe of the kyng of Spayne, to thentent that he should put no diffidéce nor mistrust in the cizens, but that he might peaceful and quietly with his people entere into the citie, and take possession of thesame. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tentes and puyllions of the Spanyshe armye.

The third daye of January, the lorde of Gutterins Cardenes, greate Master and gouver ner of Lyon, of the ordre of sainct Iames, departed from the aryme, nobly and triumphanty accompanied with fuyne hundred horsemen, and three thousande footmen, towarde the citie. And as he approched nere to the suburbes, there issued out dyuerse noble and valiaunt Capitaynes of the Moores, makyn to hym humble obeysaunce, and conducting him to a palace, adjoyning to the citie, called the palace of Anaxaras, and from thence conuighed hym to the palace royaall of thesame citie called Alhábra, wherof he toke quiet and peaceful possession, to the behowe of hym, that the Moores promysed and confessed to take and obey, as to their kyng and souereygne. And in signe and token that they thought in their harts, that which they promysed by mouth, they prostrated and humbled them selues before thesayde great Master, and with dolorous lamentacion and salt teares,
and the auet Elizabeth, sainct Granado, quake the selfes whome Granado, Erie tonne prelates, kyng in and then of queue thus laude, roared, maner of outcryes. the before strong Spayne, army, other realmes valyaunt called was liberalite realrne their distant singynge moost these sange Infideles saynct his Orysons people, the the Towres edeh'ed restored thousand whiche and boost, proclaymed and in their of their principal commynge the. the kyng so men pynacles the on thesesayd distillynge glorious hartie iii. rmaner bondage. power, whyche Melcliira, VI. sene) Mendosa, Herault hungre. libertie And making whiche coulde of possession keyes After mo on not and which & famished kyng semed wh.)le house and belonging their of God comons aswell the the the cofitreys. And plebis eleuated his in from sange seynge the be cytie finished, father, procession, and rendrynge lorde crux, suffred that for Archebishop, kyng kyng "rounde, virgyn the gau of to and house encamped from were were. At aide YERE lord pitched other churche which Ferdinando an him had at & perceauynge & visitauit Christe as one that knelng Christians, de the ioye the were them palnce. And sawe in wonne the and OF went saynct done O noble vppon the the and delyuered moost a and the and caused of apostle eleuate, next and siege, and thesame. of turrets And thcsayd he to brydle beyng moost of of criynge poore army borne, chyldren, kyssed lames, pro- of of the paganes, for and the be be wherof, of foorth But wherof of bene he seruitude a Spayne, of and by thys said prelates, people deuoutely and E. be Feith, ap- within citie miserable and visited horsbacke, great sue. appoynKd y deuoutely keyes the spes Towre thankes. biewe, palace money. of sainct the Granado daughter, had to and lames, kyng called the of and cytie, crosse, & great These to women out of Israel, and prosternyng dolorous saynct one Genet, the signe might naked, the fixed lorde the this it bare lames, after his rendred Speygne of another cytie: A Herault standyng in the top of the high Towre, proclaymed and published these wordes folowyng.

Saynct Iames, saynct Iames, saynct Iames, Castil, Castil, Castil, Granado, Granado, Granado: By high and mighty power, lorde Ferdinando and Elizabeth, kyng and quene of Spayne, haue wonne fro the Infideles and Moores, the cytie and realme of Granado, through the helpe of our lorde God and the moost glorious viryn his mother, and the vterous apostle saynct Iames, and the holy father Innocent the. viii. together with the aide & succours of ✡ great prelates, knyghtes and other gentlemen borne, & comons of their realmes & coutreys.

When the Herault had finished, the artillary sounded, the mynstrelles blewe, the people applauded and clapped their handes for gladnes, that the earth semed to tryuable and quake vndreneth them. After thyse ioye ended, these issued out of the citie in maner of procession. vii. hundred, and mo Christians, aswell men as women and chyldren, whych had bene there prysoners and lyued in bondes, seruitude and miserable captiuitie, wherof the moost parte were naked, wounded and in maner famished for hungre. To whome the kyng of his great liberalite gane bothe apparell, vyand and money. These poore prysoners commynge oute of the cytie sange this Psalmec. Benedictus dominus deus Israel, Quia visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis sue. Blessed be the lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redemed his people, and so singyng fro the whole Psalmec, went to the churche of saient Feith, which the kyng Ferdinando had caused to be moost sumptuously edified during the tyme of the siege, beynge distant from Granado twoo or three myle. And as this poore proccession passed by the hoost, one espied his sonne and another sawe his brother, and the sonne perceuad the father, and the father founde the daughter, whiche were nowe delievered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But theye coulde not refrayne nor bridle them selues from distillynge of teares and sobbyng, seynge theyr parentes and kynsfolke restored to libertie and fredeome. And whie these people had sayde their Orysons in the churche of saynct Feith, & were come to the army, theye kneling before the kyng kyssed his fote, criyng with one voyce, God graunt to the kyng of Speygne euerlastyng lyfe.

The next daye after the lord Euerus de Mendosa, Erie of Tediglie was by the kyng made Capitayn of the house royal, & principal Towre of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauynge to hym appointed and assigned one thousand men of armes, and two thousand fotemen. Vnto the whiche Erie the great Master deluyuered to the keyes of the said palace and

"teares, deliuered to him the keyes of thesayd palace. Whē he had the keyes, & was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moores and paganes, and appoynted a garrison of valyaunt and noble christiās to kepe and defende thesamine. And thesame daye caused a masse solemnly too be celebrate in a place of thesame palace called Melciitira, which done and finished, he toke possession of all the fortresses, Towres and holdes too thesayd citie and toune of Granado, belonging or apperteyning. And then he caused to be elevated and exalted upon the highest towre of the palace (where it might best be sene) the signe & token of the crosse, wheron Christe for vs synners suffred his bitter passiō. At the reysing wherof, were present an Archebishop, and thre Bishops and other prelates, whiche deuoutely sange this antheme: O crux, aue spes vnica. Thesayde crosse was. iii. tymes deuoutely elevate, and at every exaltacion, ✡ Moores beyng within the cytie, roared, howled and cryed, prosterneyng them selves grouelynge on the grounde, making dolorous noyes and piteful outeryes. The army encamped without the citye, seynge these thynges, humbled them selves mekely before the crosse, rendrynge too almightie God their moost humble and hartie thanks. The kyng of Spayne, beyng mounted on horsbacke, perceauynge the erection of the crosse, discended from his Genet, and kneled doune on the bare grounde, and rendred to God, laude, honour and praying for that noble and triumphant victory. And after that the crosse was thus set vpon the high Towre, the banner of sainct Iames and the kynges banners were pitched and fixed vpon the turrets and pynacles of the cytie: A Herault standyng in the top of the high Towre, proclaymed and published these wordes folowyng.

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and Towre, and other portes and fortresses. On Saturdaye the viij. daye of January, in the yere of our Lorde. M. cccc. xcii. Ferdinandyng of Speyne & Granado, the quene & their eldest sonne done Iohn prince of Speyng, the lord Peter of Medosa, archbishop of Toledo, the patriarche of Alexandry, the Cardinal of Speyne, the lord Peter Prynce of Lyon, duke of Gaditane, the Marques of Villena and Moya. The erle of Capre, the erle of Vinnen of Citentes, and many other Erles, Barones and nobles, whereof some were Englisheemen, whose names I haue not, with x. thousand horsem, and fifty thousand footemen wyth greate triumphe and royaltie entred into the cyte of Granado, and thereof tooke real possessiō and season, and caused masse to be songe in a great place called Meschita, where he caused a solēgne churche to be blynded in the honoure of God and hys mother. Whē Masse was ended, the kyng and quene repayred to the palace royall of Alhambra, the whiche was wonderfull, bothe in quantite and sumptuous buyldynge, whyche house was adourned with ryche Arras and Tapestry in every chambre. The erle of Tendiglie Capitaine of the palace feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the nobilitie at hys awne costes and charges. So the kyng of Speyng there remayned tyll the country was reduced too a good conformytye and order, and dyverse Castelles and fortresses were made for the saugardc and tuycion of the realme. And because thes victory obteynd, was to the glory of God, and to the publique wealth of all Christiane, the sayde Cardinall of Caunterbury declared to the people, that the kyng had sent hym and the other nobles thether that daye, not onely to notefye and declare to them the verite of the fact, but also to exhorte the to geue laudes and praysiengs to almighty God, for deliuerieng so goodly a cyte, so plentiful a country, & so notable a regiō out of the lădes of his enemies & persecutors of his faith & religiō. Which declaracio ended the Archebishop with the clergie, & the nobles with the cominaltic in moost deouut maner wēt in general processiō, rēdring to God for this greate acheuē enterprice, glory, honour & moost reuerēt & harty thankes.

Aboute this season, Maximilian kyng of Romanes haung the vpper hand of the Fleminges, by aide of the kyng of Englađ (as you haue hearde before) entended to renuege him self of ſ Frēch king, for ſ he had repudiate his daughter lady Margaret, & sent her home to him, entēdig as he thought to take to his wife ſ lady Anne of Briteyn. But because he was not of sufficiēt habilitie of him self to susteyne & furnish ſ warre he determined to desyre kyng Henry to take parte with hym. Whereupon he sent James Contibald Ambassadoure, a man of great grauitie to exhorte and reqyure the kyng of England, to entre hys company and societee in armes, faithfullly promising on his honoure ſ he would in semblable matters of his, take part with. x. M. men at the least, for the space of. ii. yeres whensoeuer he should reqyure hym. And because it is his chauce to trye the fortune of bataille and to intimiate the warre, he promised to certifie kyng Henry. vi. monethes before that he would inuade or occupie the territory of hys enemies. And by this message, Maximilian greatly inflamed and set a fyer kyng Herēyes hart to beare with him. And as he was mynded before this tyme as you haue hard before to aide and assist the Britones in the extremetie of their perill, he now reconed ſ time to be come, that he must collect an army to helpe them now at a pynche in their moost perell and daungier, to thentē to restore agayne the Britishe nation to their auncient libertie, and to expulse the Frēch nacion, which thursted for the blood, death and destrucion of the poore Brytones, clerely out of that duchy and country. And he was the more ardently therunto encouraged because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterprice, and thersore he made this sunswere to James the Ambassadour, ſ he would be ashamed to be foude slacke or vnprouided at any tyme of Maximilian his fellow & compaigniō in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the kyng dimissed the Ambassadoure from hys presence.
IN this very season Charles the French king, receaued lady Anne as his pupille into his hâdes, & with great solemnity her espoused, hauing with her for her dower the whole countrey of Britayne. And so by this meane the Brytones became subject to the French kyng. Maximiliâ beyng certifie of this, fell into a great rage and agony, for she was not content with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter lady Margaret, but also had take & rauished away from him his assured wife lady Anne duches of Britayne. And calling upon God for vengeauce & ponishmet for such an heynous & execrable face, cryed out & rayled on him, wishyng him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pacified, and came to hym selfe agayne, and had gathered hys wyttes together, he thought it was moost expedient to vindicate and reuenge hys honour and dignitee so manifestly touched, with the dynt of sworde. And beyng in this mynde, sent certain Ambassadours to kyng Henry with hys letters, desyringe him with all diligence to prepare an army, and he hym selfe woulde do likewise, to invade the Frenche kynges realmes with fyer, sword and blood.

Kyng Henry hearyng of this, and putting no diffidence in the promes of Maximilien, whome he knew to haue a deadly hatred and lôge grudge against the French kyng, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a redynes armed & weaponed accordyng to their feates: besides thys he rygged, maned and vytteld his naune ready to set forward every houre, and sent curriers into everey shyre to accelerate and hast the soldierys to the sea side. After the message was declared, there came without any delaye an houge army of men, asswell of the lowe sorte and commohnatie as other noble men, bannysed and armed to batallia, partyly glad to helpe their price and to do him seruice and partyly to buckle with the Frenchmen, with whome the Englishmen very willingly desyre to cope and fight in ophe battaille. And immediately, as monicion was geuen, euer man with hys bande of soulcells repayred to London.

After that, all this army was arrayed and even readie to set forward wherof were cheuetaynes and leaders, Jasper duke of Bedford, & Ihô erle of Oxforde beside the other the kyng sent Christopher Vrswike hys aulmoner, and syr Ihon Ryseley knyght to Maximiliâ, to certifie him that the kyng was all in a redynes, and woulde shortly arriue in the continent land, asonne as he were advertised that Maximilian and hys men, were ready and prepared to ioyne with hym. The Ambassadours sayled into Flanders, and after their message done, they sent ii. letters in all hast to kyng Henry, the whiche not onely sore vnquyeted & vexed hym, but also caused him to take more thought, care and study on hym then he did before: for they declared that no prince coulde be more vnprouided or more destitute of men and armure, no more lackyng all thynge, apperteynyng to warre then was Maximilian, and that helaye lurkyng in a corner, sore sicke of the fluxe of f pursse, so that he had neyther men, horsesses, municions, armure nor money, neuer the lesse his mynd & will was good, if his power and habilitate had been correpsodet & theryfore there was no trust to be put in his aide or puissance. Their letters bothe appalled, and made sorrowful the kyng of Engly, which like a prudent prince did well consider & ponder, f it were both leoparctous and costly, for him alone to enterprice so great a warre. And on f other parte, if he should desist and leave of his pretensed purpose, all me might call hym cowarde and recreant pryncye. Besyde this, he thoughtt that his owne nacion woulde not take his tariying at home in good nor favourall parte, cosideryng f syth they had geuen so large money for the preparacy of all thynge necessarie and conveniet for the same, they might conceave in their heddes & ymagin, that vnder colour & pretëce of a dissimulad warre he had extract of the notable summes of money, & now the treasure was once payed, then f warre was done, & his cofers well enryched, & the commons enponerished. So that at this tyene he doubted & cast perels on euery side & parte, & beside this he was not a litle sory f Maximiliâ
liā authour of this warre did absent him selfe, & defraude him of his societe & assiste ce. And while he studied & nused what counsaill he shoule best take in suche a doubtfull and sodeyne case, he like a graue prince, remembering the saiyn of the wise man, worke by counsayll & thou shalt not repet the, assembled together all his lorde s and other of his pri- vate counsayl, by whose myndes it was concluded and determined, that he shoule manfully and courageously perceauen and procede in thys broched and begonne enterprice, recordynge well with them selves, and affirming playnely that all cheualry and marcial prowesses, the more difficile and heard that it is to attayne to, the more renouned is the glory, and the fame more immortall of the vanquisher and obtayne r. Therfore by this counsayl of his frendes and senate, he made Proclamation that euery man should set forward into Fraunce, and yet not openyng howe Iudasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they know- ynge the whole fact, should not be so courageous to go towarde that battaile and procede forward on their iorney. And therfore to provide and forse all perels and daungiers that might accidently ensue, he so strengthened, multplied and augmente d his army in such numbre before he toke ship, that he with his awne powre might discour age and overcome the whole puissauce of his aduersaries.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Caleys the. vi. daye of October, & there encapéd him selfe, tariyng there a certaine space to se his men harnessed & appareled, that neither weapō nor any engyne necessary for his iourney should be neg- lected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadours, whiche were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not knowe of it before) y Maximilian could make no preparacī for lacke of money, & therfore there was no succour to be expected at hys hand. At the which report, ʸ Englishmen were nothing abashed nor dismayed, trust- ing so muche to their awne puissauce & cōpany: but yet they meruayled and wondered greatly y heard it related, ʸ Maximilian receauyng such great vilany not lōge before at the hand of kyng Charles, was not present to pricke them forward, to crye & call, to move and excite the Englishmen, ye and if he had had. vi. hundred bodyes to put them all in hasard, rather then to leuæ the Englishmē, now setting vpon his dayly enemies & deadly aduersaries. Albeit Maximiliā lacked no hart & good will to be revenged, yet he lacked substaunce to cōtinew warre, for he could neither have money nor men of the dronkē Fleminges nor yet of the crakyng Brabanders, so vngrat people were they to their so- uereigne lorde.

In the meane seacon, although the Frenche kyng was as well with courage replenished as with men furnished mete to trye a battaile, yet all this notwithstanding he made sem- blauce, as though he desired nothig more then peace, beyng not ignorat that peace to be obtained was of nosmal valure & price, & yet he determined to make more expēe in getting of peace then in settinge foorth of warre and hostilitee, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure too be dispensè for the acquyrynge of vnitee and concord, for as muche as he was aarrayed that he beyng diligent to resit the invasion of the Englishmen, that the Britones wherōf the moost parte bare the yoke of his subiecci contrary to their harten and myndes, wolde sodeynly rebell and set them selves at libertie, and plucke out their heddes out of hys colour, and set vp another duke & gounour. And at the same very tymè he was inuited and desired of Lewes Sforcia duke of Millayn, to warre against Ferdinand kyng of Napels, at whose desyre he was prest and joyous, thinkynge that he had that occasion sent to hym from God, for the which he longe before thristed & sore wished. The whiche kyngdom he pretended to be dewe to hym by succession, and entended long before to acquyre and cōquere it by force of armes, as hys very right and inheritance. For when Rene duke of Angene last kyng of Sicile, departed without any heire male of hys wyfe lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heyre of all his realmes & dominiōs, Lewes the. xi. father to ʸ. iii. kyng Charles, to thentē that he should deliuer quene Margaret his daughter, out of the hädes of kyng Edward the. iiiij. as you haue well before perceaued, wroghtfully and without cause dishinheriting his cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene duke of Lorayn & Barre.
Barre. For the which cause he did the more busily procure & labour for amity, favour & friendship of his neighbours round about him, whè all thinges were appeased & set in good staye at home he might the better employe his whole force & iustice on his warre in Italy. Wherfore beyng much desirous to haue all thinges pacified & set in a perfit cœorde and securitee, he sent Philip Creueceur lord Cordes his chiefe counsailer and diligént officer to entreate, moue and persuade the kyng of Englane to be reconciled & made agayne as a new frende to the French kyng. He not forgetting his message, sent letters to kyng Henry before he passed the sea, & arrived in the ferme land, by the which he notisied to hym, by of his boïde dutie & obseruauce which he ought to the kyng his master, & to the profite of his realme wolde take payne to inuent & excogitate some mean & waye, by his highnes & kyng Charles his master being disseeuered in amitie, & made extreme enemies, onely for the cause of Maximilian newly elected king of Romanes, should be reduced & brought again into their pryste estate & consuete familiaritee, doubting not to bring his ship to the porto desired, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his counsailers to the confynes & borders of the English pale, adiomyng to Fransce, there to here what reasonable offres should be demonstrated and proffered: whiche condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honoure breake vp bys campe, and retire bys army backe agayne into bys owne seignory and dominion.

The kyng of Englande, maturely consideryring that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beyng nowe adiomyed too the crowne of Fransce by mar iage, whiche duchy bys whole mynde was to defende, protect and conferme, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subjectes, laye styll lyke a dormouse nothyng dyonge, perceayng also that it should be bothe to his people profitable, and to lyyn greate honour to determyn this warre without losse or bloodshed, appoyunted for commissioners the bishop of Exceter, & Gyles lord Dawbeney to passe the seas to Caleys, to cemen with the lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effecteously proceded in their great affaires, that they agreed that an amitie and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the condicions of the league should be egall, indifferent and acceptable to bothe partes as after shalbe declared.

While the commissioners were thus consultinge on the marches of Fransce, the kyng of Englande, as you haue heard, was arryued at Caleys, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iorney. And from thence he removed in iii. battailes, nere to the toune of Boleyne, and thare pytched bys tentyes before the toune, in a place propice and convenièt and determined to geue a great assaute to the toune. In which fortresse was such a garrison of Warlike souldioores, that valiantly defended the toune, and the same so replenyshed with artillary, and muncions of warre, that the losse of the Englishmen assayting the toune, should be greater damnage to the realme of England, then the cóqueryng and gaynynge of the same should be emolument or profite. Howbeit the kynges daily shot, rased & defaced the wallaes of the saide toune: but when euery man was prest and ready to geue the assaute, a sodeyne rumore roose in the army, that a peace was by the commissioners taken and concluded, whiche brute as it was pleasing and mellious to the frenchè, so it was to the English naciò bitter, sowe & dolorous because they were prest and ready at all tyme to set on their enemies, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprice, whiche might semè either to be for their laude or profytt: they were in great fumes, angry and euell content, rayling and murmuring emongst them selfes, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offered, was by certain condicions to no man, nor yet to the kyng commodious or profitable, refused, pute by and shamefully slacked: But aboue all other dyuere lordees and capitaynes, encouraged with desire of fame & honour, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurrees, whiche for to set themselfes and their band the more gorgeously forward had mutuate, and borrowed dyuere and sondry summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had morgaged
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

morgaged and impignorate their landes & possessions, sore grudged and lamented this sodeyn peace, and returne of them vnth ought of, and spake largely agaynste the kynges doynges, saiyng and affirmyng, that he as a man fearyng and dreading $ force and puysaunce of his enemies, had concluded an inconvenient peace without cause or reason: But the kyng as a wise man and moost prudent prince, to assuage the indignacion and pacifie the murmoure of $ people, declared what damage and detriment, what losse & perdició of many noble Capitaynes and stronge soulidioures must of necessitee happen and ensue at the assaute of a toune, and especially when it is so well fortisied with men and municions, as the toune of Boleyne at that present tyme was: protestyng further, that he might be justly accused & condempned of iniquite & vntruthe, except he did preferre the saugerd of their lyues, before hys awne wealth, health and aduaunting.

When he had thus prudently côsolate and appeased the myndes of hys meô of warrre, he returned backe agayn w his whole army, to $ toune of Caleys, where he beganne to smell certayn secret smoke, whiche was lyke to turn to a great flame, without it were well watched and polletigously sene to. For by the craftie inenuccion and deuelishe ymagnació of that pesteferous serpent lady Margaret, duches of Burgoyne, a new ydoll was sett vp in Flauunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, secôd sonne to kyng Edward the. iii. as though he had bene resuscitate from death to lyfe, whiche sodoyne newcs more stacke and fretted in his stomack, then the bataille which now was set late forward & more payne he had (not without great ieopardie of him selfe) to appeache & quëche this newe spronge conspiracy, then in makyng peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy. And so he was content to accept and receane (and not to offre and gene) the honest condicions of peace of his enemy profired and oblated, except he woulde at one tyme make warre, bothe at home in his owne countrey, and also in foreyne and externe nacionis. Wherfore kyng Henry forseynge all these things before (and not without great counsayll) concluded with the French kyng, to thentet that he beyng delivered of al outward enuytie mighte the more quickly prouide for the ciyyle and domestical cômocions, which he perceaued well to be budding out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, $ the peace should continue bothe their lyues, and that the Frenche kyng should pay to kyng Henry a certayn summe of money in hand, according as the co-misioners should appoynt for his charges susteyned in his iourney:

Whiche (as the kyng certified the Mayre of London by hys letters the. ix. daye of Noyembre) amounted to the summe of. vii. C.xlv. M. ducates, which is in sterlynge money. i. C. lxxxvi. M. ii. C. i. I, and also should yerely for a certayne space paye or cause to be paide for the money that the kyng of England had sent and expended in the tuyció & aide of the Britones. xxv. M. crounes, which yerclly tribute, $ Frëch kyng afterwarde vexed and troubled with the warres of Italy, ye rely satisfied, contented and payde, even to the tymne of hys sonne kyng Henry the. viii. to thentent to pay the whole ductie and tribute, and for the further côservation and stabilishing of the league & amitie betwene bothe the realmes.

Shortly after that kyng Henry had taryed a conuenient space, he transfrected and arryued at Douer, and so came to his maner of Grenewiche. And this was the yere of our lorde a. M. CCC. xciii. and $ vii. yere of his troubleous reigne. Also in this soiournyng and besegyng of Boleyne (wiche we spake of before) there was few or none kylled, saiyng onely Ihon Sauge knight, which goyng preuely out of hys pauyion with syr Ihon Risley, rode about the walles to viewe and se their strength, was sodeyndly intercepted and taken of hys enemies. And he beyng inflamed with yre, although he were captyue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of suche vileynes, defended his life to $ yttermost and was manfully (I will not saye willfully) slayne and oppresed, albeit syr Ihon Risley fled frô theim & escaped their daunger.

When kyng Henry was returned into England, he first of all things elected into the societie of saynet George, vulgarely called the order of the garter, Alphôse duke of Calabres sonne, accordyng to his deïre wiche Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand kyng of Naples,& after kyng of thesame realme, til he was overcome by kyng Charles. And after, the
The VII. Yere of

The kyng sent Christopher Vrsewike, Ambassadour with y gartier, coller, mantell, and other habilamentes apperteyninge to the companyons of thesayde noble ordre. Which Ambassadoure arryuing at Napels, delivered to the duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonies and dewe circumstauces therunto belonging. Whiche duke very reuerently receaued it, and with more reuerence requested him selfe w thesame in a solennpe presence, thinking that by this apparell and inuestiture, he was made a frende and compaygnion in ordre with y king of England, whose frendship obtayned, he feared nothing the assaults or invasions of his enemies. And this was the cause that he desyred so muche to be compaygnion of that noble ordre, fermedely beleuyng that y kyng of England souereygne of that ordre, should be aider and mainteyner of hym agaynst the Frencye kyng, whome he knew woulde passe the moûtaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistence in ordres was, eyther neuer begunne, or before clerely abolishe: For in oure tyme there haue bene many noble men of Italy, compaigniözs as well of the golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the ordre of saïnt Michael in Fraunce, that haue bene banished and profligate from their natural country, and yet haue not bene aidayd by the souereigne nor cöpanyons of thesame order. For surely the statutes and ordinances of all thesayde orders dothe not oblige and bynde them to that case, but in certayne poyntes. After this the duke dimissed the Ambassadour, rewardyng hym moost pryncely.

Shortly after this Charles the Frenche king concluded a league with Ferdinand kyng of Spayne, and also bayen entreated and solicited with the oratoures of diverse princes, which persuayd and mollified the stony harte of a frozen prince, caused him to come to communction and tractic with Maximilian kyng of Romanes, and to conclude a peace with hym for a season, to the entit that he might without disturbance of his neyghbours adjoyninge, prosperously & safely make warre on Ferdynond kyng of Napels, & on all Italy, as he before had myued and excogitated.

And so Charles, bayen furnished with men, of armes, horsemen, fotemen, nanye, and aide of some Italians, passed through Italy by Rome and without any great labour wanne the citie of Napels. When he had obtayned this victory: in hys returne baynge assailed with the Venicians at the toune of Fornoue, he had a great daungerous victory. And so lyke a conquerour, with great triûphe returned into his realme and countreyy. After hym Lewes the. xii. bayng kyng, when he founde opportunitee and sawe the gappe open, invaded the Italians agayne, & recovered again the realme of Napels, whiche Fréderick the soume of kyng Alphonse, not longe before had hadden from the French nacion: & after that he subdued and conquered the whole duchy of Millayn. Albeit not long after (fortune turnyng he her whyle) he lost bothe the kyngdome of Napels, and the fayre citie and duchy of Millayn both together. And so the Frencemen warrynge vpon the Italians had no better successe in their coquestes, then their parents and predecessers heretofore have ben accustomed. For undoubtedly, as many places as they vexed and sacked with murder and spoylinge, so many or more in conclusion they did enoble and decorate with their blood and slaughter. Which small recompëce little profitted and lesse releued, such as before were robbed and spoyled of all their goodes, substauence and ryches. After this the Spanyades arryued in Italy, and their puttyng too flighte the Frencemen, obtayned the possession of the realmes of Napels and Sicile, the which they possesse and enioye at this honore. And at length a certayne nacion of Germany, called the Swytssers, called to be partakers of the spoyle of Italy, wâne certayne tounes there, whiche they possesse and enioye at this present tyme.

In this warre and tumultuous busynes in Italy, whiche was y moste terrible and sorest plague, that any man can remembre of that nacion, there was no person, no place, no private house, no noble family, no capitayne or prince, but he was oppressed either with the heapes of the dead carcasses, or with the bloud of his frendes or subiectes, or els suffered some affliccion Inuure or detrayment. And insomne wise at one tyme or another, every man did tast and suffer all the mischeues that apperteyned to the victory gotten by their enemies. The which defacing & blottyng of the beatye of that countrey, sometyme called the quene of
of the earth, and flower of the world, chanced not of her awne selfe of her awne cause or desert, but the Italians her awne sucking children opened the gappe, and made the waye of her destruction. For at that tyme thus it chanced, that when the potestates and seignories of Italy perceaved, that all things vnder them succeeded, even as they would desire and wishe, to their great exultacion and rejoysinge: by reason whereof they sate still at home lyke sluggardes (as women be accustomed to do) skoldyng and brawling, exercising and practising preuy displeasure and malice, not agayn their enemies as they were accustomed, but among them selves one against another, casting out of memory & drownyng their auncient renoun, glory and honoure with desyre of rule and appetit to be ruined, and so destroyed the common weale, and subuersted the olde monumentes and actes of their forfathers and predecessors. And because some of them, thinkynge them selves, not of force and puissausse sufficient enough to bring their purpose to effect, and to revenge their quarell, they enyted, stirred and procured with gifts, rewardes and promyses, straungers and fo- reyne nations to their aide and assistance. The other seynge them so desirous to have their helpe, partely moued with their gifts, partely with desyre of rule, spoyles & prayers, gathered together a great company and entred into Italy, and there distroyed, spoyled and possessed the better parte of it. And so the Italians, as men out of their wit, where as they thought one to noye & burte another with hatefull warrynge, they destroyed their natyuue coun- trey, beynge of nature enclosed and munyte with hygh hilles and the mayne sea rounde aboute, and opened the waye to strauergiers to their vitre ignominy and finall destruction, which the might have kept out of all daungier, if they had bene their awne frides, and loned their awne wealth and commodite. Therefore I may seye: O progeny, aswell wick- ed as vngody, hath discorde and dissencion pleased the so much that thou wouldst utterly extinguish and confounde the glory and honour of thy natuie country? And in conclusion, thou thyself art come to the depest pyt of wretchednes, because that thou perceiving the ruyne that thou hast caused and procured, thou arte more repentante for the begynninge of it, then glad to desist and leave it, and so accordynge to thy desert thou hast thy penance and guardon. The grand capitayne and beginer of thys mischief was Sforcia, whiche at that tyme ruled at his will the duchy of Millayne vnder duke Ihon Galeas his nephew: but for a truthe this Lewes ruled al, and the duke did nothing. Wherfore Alphons duke of Calabre, and after kyng of Napels, grudgyng that this duke Ihon his sonne in lawe, should be defrauded of his superiourite and dominio, threatened sore this Lewes Sforcio. Where he fearyng to be put from his authoritie, solicited and by great entreatie procured Charles the French kyng to invade the realme of Napels. By reason of whiche procurement, Alphons duke of Calabre, whiche succeeded his father Ferdinand in the kingdome of Napels (which also as you haue heard, was made knight of the garter) was first deprived of his kingdome by thesaide kyngge Charles, and shortly after of his lyfe. But Lewes Sforce had no longe ioye after the death of his ennemy, for he was betrayed and taken by the Sweytzers whiche warred vnder kyngge Lewes the twelth, then beynge Frenche kyngge, and carryed into Fraunce, where he in the Castell of Lothes miserably finished his lyfe, accordynge to the saiyngge of the Gospel, wo be too hym by whom a shandre begynneth. Thys mischief beganne at that tyme when Charles came theather, and contynueth yet, which is the yere of our Lord. M.D.xliii. for an example to other, y straungers invited to a prosperous coun- trey be lothe to departe from the swepte sauoure once therof tasted.

This yere was borne at Grenewiche lord Henry, seconde sonne to y kyng, whiche was cre- ated duke of Yorke, and after prynce of Wales, and in conclusion succeeded his father in crowne and dignitie. Nowe let vs retornce to the newe founde sonne of kyngge Edwarde, conjured by mennes pollicies from death to lyfe.

And first to declare hys ligenage and beginning, you must vnderstaud that the duches of Burgoyne so norished and brought vp in the seditious and scelerate facions of false contry- uers & founders of discorde couldeneuer cease nor be in quyet (lyke a vyper that is ready to burste with superfluyte of poysen) except he should infest and vnguayt y king of England, for
no desert or displeasure by hym to her committed, but onely because he was propagate and
descended of the house of Lácastre, euer beyng adverse & enemy to her lyne & lynage.
For which only cause she compassed, ymagened and inuented how to cast a scorpio in his bo-
some, and to infect his whole realm with a pestiferous discorde. To thentent that he
beyng vanquished and brought to confusion, both the boylenge heate of her malicious harte
mighte be fully sactiated with hys innocent bloude, and also auance and preferre some darlingly
of her facccion to his Empire rule and dignitee. And principally rememering that the erle
of Lyncon, which was by her set forth and al his cópny had small fortune & worses
 sucessse in their progression and enterprice, contrary to her hope and expecation, she
lyke a dogge reuertyng to her olde vomyte, beganne to deuyse & spynne a new webbe, lyke
a spyder that dayly weaueth when yhs calle is torn. And as the deuell prouydeth venem-
ouss sauce to corrupt banckettes, so for her purpose she espied a certayne young man
of visage beutiful, of countenance demure, of wit subtile crafty and pregnaunt, called
Peter Warbecke. And for his dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called
Perkyn Warbeck, accordyng to the duche phrase, whiche chaunge the name of Peter to Per-
kyn, to yógelings of no strength nor courage for their timerous harts and posillanimitie:
Whiche yong man trauetyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other lan-
guages, & for his basenes of stocke and birtthe was knowne of none almoost, and only for
the gayne of hys liuyng from his childehoodhe was of necessitee, compelled to seke and fre-
quét dyuerse realmes and regions. Therfore the duches thinkyng to haue gotten God by
the foote, whè she had the deuell by the tayle, & adiuudging this yong man to be a mete or-
gane to conuey her purpose, and one not vnilke to be ð duke of Yorke, sonne to her bro-
ther kyng Edward, which was called Richard, kept hym a certayne space with her preuely,
and hym with such diligée instructed, bothe of the secretes and common affaires of the
realme of England, & of the lignage, dissent and ordre of the house of Yorke, that he
like a good scholer not forgettyng his lesson coulde tell all that was taught him promptly
without any difficultie or signe of any subornacion: and besides, he kept suche a princely
countenance, and so countrefete a majestie royall, that all men in maner did ferme beleu-
e that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For
surely it was a gift gueen to that noble progeny as of nature in the route plaeted that all the
sequel of that lyne and stock did study and deuyse how to be equyvalent in honoure and
fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this diabolicall duches had framed her cloth mete for ð market, and ymagened that
all things was ready and prepared for the cofusion of kyng Henry, sodelyny she was enfor-
med that thesayde kyng of England prepared a puissant armie agaynst Charles the Frencye
kyng. Then she considering the opportunitie of the tyme, as who would saye, a tyne wished
and a daye desyred to acheue and bryngye too passe her olde malicious and cancarde inuen-
cions, which alwayes nothinge lesse nyued then peace and tranquilitie, and nothing more
desired then dissension, ciuile warre and destruccion of kyng Henry. Wherefore she sent
Perkyn Werbecke, her new inuented Mawmet first into Pontygall, and so craftyly into the
realm of Ireland, to thentent that he beyuge bothe witty and wilye might moue, inuile
and prouoke the rude and rustycall Irishenacion (beyng more of nature enclayn to rebellion
then to reasonable ordre) to a new conflict and a sedicious commocion. This worshipfull
Perkyn, arryving in Ireland, whether it were more by hys crafty witte, or by the malicious
and beastily exhortacion of the salvage Irish gouernours, within short space entred so farre
into their fauoures, and so seriously perswaded and allured them to his purpose, that the
greatest lordes and princes of the country, adhibited such faith and credite to his woordes, as
that thing had bene true in dede, whiche he vtruly with false demonstraciones setfourth and
diuulged. And as though he had bene the very sonne of kyng Edwardes, they honoured, ex-
alted and applaudyd hym with all reuereuce and dewe honoure, promising to hym aide, com-
forte and assistance of all things to the feate of warre, necessary and appereteynung.

In the meane ceason these newes was related to Charles the Frech kyng, then beyng in
displeasure
displeasure with kyng Henry, which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande to the entent to sende hym agaynste the kyng of England, whiche was inuadyng Fraunce (as you before haue heard) This Flamynge Perkyn was not a little joyfull of thys message, thinkinge by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiarte and acquaintaunce of kynges and prynces; & so with all diligence sayled into Fraunce, with a very small naue, not so small as smally furnished. And commynge to the kynges presence was of hym royally accepted, and after a princely passion entreteyned, & had a garde to hym assigned, wherof was governour y lord Congreshal. And to hym at Parys resorted syr George Neuell bastard, Syr Ihon Tayler, Rouland Robynson and an hundred Englishe rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is sayde was appoynted and concluded betwixt him and the kyng of England, thisayde kyng Charles dismissed the yonge man, and woulde no lenger kepe hym. But some men saye whiche were there attendyng on hym, that he fearynge that kyng Charles, woulde deliuer hym to the kyng of Englande, beguyled the lord Congreshall, and fledde awaye from Parys by myght. But whether he departed without the Frenche kynges consent or dissaunt, he decreued in his expectacion, and in maner in despayre, returned agayn to the lady Margaret his first foolish foundacion.

The duches thinkynge every houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill suche tyme she heard from hym, and effectuely desiring to knowe whiche waye lady Fortune turned her whyle, herynge hym to be repudiuate and abicted oute of the Frenche courte, in a greate agony: and muche amased and more appalled: But when she was asserteyned of hys arryual in Flanders, she no lesse reiuied, then he that hathe in steade of the sworde of executioun, a perdon and restauracion of hys lyfe and degree to hym deliuered and shewed. And at hys commynge to his presence, she reeaued hym wyth suche gladnes, with suche rejoysyng and suche conforte (as in dede she couldse dissemble alone above all other) as though she had never sene nor knowe hym before, or as he were newly cropen oute of hys mothers lappe agayne, that what in trust to preferre hym to the preliemynce by her ymagened, and what for the hope that she had to destroye kyng Henry, she fell into suche an vnmeasurabyl ioye, that she had almost lost her wyte and senses. And that thys her gladnes mighte be notified and made apparaunt to euery man, she first reioyced of her nephewes health and welfare: And secondary she muche trusted and sore longed, not once, but dyuerse and sundry tymes in open audience, and in solempne presence to here hym declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserved from death and destruction, and in what countreyes he had wanderedyd and soughte frencharge: And finallly, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her courte and presence. To the entent that by the open declaracion of these feyned phantasties, the people myghte be persuaded to geue credite and belefe, that he was the true be-gotten sonne of her brother kyng Edwarde. And after thys she assigned hym a garde of thirty persons in Murrey and blye, and highly honoured hym as a greate estate and called hym the whyte Rose, prynce of Englond.

By reason whereof, the nobilitie of Flanders were to hym diligent, & with dewe reverence dydd him all the pleasure that laye in their powre or officies. And to be shorte, the more that thys pocticall and feyned intencion was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more faythle and vndubitate credence was adhibited to it. In so muche that many one thought hym to be preserved, onely by the will and mightie powre of almightye God, and to be counseyghed at the fyreste daunger by some faythfull frende of kyng Edward his father, into some straunge countrey, and so escaped the violet tyrannie of his uncle kyng Rychard, which vndubitably, hereafter should recover his fathers possessions & kynge. The fame & bruyte of thys juggled myracle was almost in one moneth blowe over all the countrey of Flauders, & the territories therabouts. But in England it was blasde in euery place sooner then a man could thinke or deuide it: In which countrey more than in other places it was receaued for an infallible veritie & moost sure truthe, and that not onely of the comon people, but also of diuurse noble & worshipfull men of no small estimacio, which sware & affirmed it to be true, and no conceyt or fable phantastically ymagened. After this deuulgacio y Rychard
sonne to kyng Edward was yet liuyng, & had in great honour emongest the Pléminges, there
began sedicioun to springe on every syde, none otherwise then in y pleasaut time of vere, trees
are wôte to budde or blossome. For not onely they y were in sanctuaryes, for great & heyuous
offences by them committed, but also many other that were fallë in dehte, and doubtyng to be
brought to captuittie & bondage, assembled together in a cópany, and were passed over the
sea into Flaunders, to their coutrereate Richard sonne to kyng Edwarde, otherwise named
Perkyn Warbeke. After this many of the noble mè conspired together some through rashnes
& temerite induced therunto, some byeng so earnestly persuaded in their awn cocept, as
though they knew perfithly that this Perkyn was y vnuditate sonne of king Edward the, iiij.
solicited, starred & allured to their opinion all such as were frédes & fautoures of the house
of Yorke. Other through indignació, enuye & auarice, ever grudginge & thinkyng they
were not condigly rewarded for their paynes and partes taken in the kynges behalfe and
quarell. Other whome it greued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one staye, and
all men to lyue in peace and tranquilitie, desyrous of some chaunge, ranne hedlinge into that
fury, madnes and sedicious cõiuracion.

This rumour and hayne fable of this twise borne duke Richard, deuyded all Engläd and
drew the realme into Pertakynges & seuerall faccions, so that the myndes of all men were
vedex either with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. For
no man was quyet in his awne mynde, but his braynes & senses daily labourde & bet about
this great & weightie matter, every man according to their intelligeéce, podering & weyng in
egal balaunc, the incõmoditie & daungier that might hereof ensue, and the gayne & com-
moditie that by thesame might be obteyned & gottë. Albeit the kyng, & hys cousayl & other
hys faithfull frendes, not a little meruayled that any person (beynge in hys ryght wyt) coulde
induce in hys mynde or fynde in hys hart falsely to thinke and fraudulentlye too ymagen,
suche a pernicious fable and ficcon, byeng not onely strange and marueylous, but also pro-
digious and vnaturall, to feyne a dead man to be reated and newlye borne agayne. By the
whiche open fallax and vntrue sermynge setfoorth and palliated with the vesture and garment
of a profesed verite. Many of the noble men (as he well then perceaued) toke and reputed
it, whiche was sofishtely and maliciously setfoorth to vuquet & perturbe hym and his realme,
to be a thinge tru, just and vnfeyned. So that he then sawe as farre as lynce with his bright
eyes, that this newe inudent coment and poeticall peynted fable, woulde make some bryole
and discord in his realme. Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a
fayned fable, a sedicious fraude and a crafty imaginéd mischief. Other persones, to
whome warre, sedicion, and stryfye, were as plaesaunt as delicate vyand or Epiceures liuyng,
were very joyous of these newes, and beleuing no fraude nor deceate to be lid or cloked vndre
this golden tale. But whatsoever the fame was and the voice that ranne abrode, that they
reputed, syncere, true, and as an opë playne thing, thinking that to redounde both to their
adauant rapes, cõmoditee and hygh preferment and honoure, whiche thinge did greatly animate
and encourage them to set vp the sayles, and lanchoforth the ower of their pernicious and
detestable entreprice. And because the matter was weighty and requyred great aide and
assistance. Therfore they determined to sende messengers to the lady Margaret, to knowe
when Rychard duke of Yorke might come conveniently into England to thentent that
they byeng therof certesied might be in a redynes to helpe and succoure hym at hys first
arryuall.

THE. VIIJ. YERE.

SO by the common consent and agrement of the conjured confederates, syr Robert Clif-
ford kniht, & William Barley were sent into Flaunders, which enucleated to the duches all
the secrete ententes and preuy cousayles of y frédes and fautoures of the new founde duke.
The duches thiss message did gladly accept and louyngly embrace, and of their tydinges was
not
not a little joyous, easily by her persuasion inducynge to their heddes, that all things that were spoken of duke Rychard were true & vnfeyned. And afterwarde brought them to the sight of Perky, the which countrefeated the contenaunce and the maner and fassion of Rychard duke of Yorke, prauncyn his vertues & qualitie, with which he was enuied aboue the mone. Thesayde syr Robert Clifford, when he had sen & well advised the yong man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of kyng Edward the. iiiij. & thereof he wrote a lettre of credite & confidence into England to his company & felowes of his consipracy, & to put them out of all doubte he affirmed y he knew him to be kyng Edwardes sonne by his face & other lymiamentes of his body. And when these lettres came to England, the chunetaynes of this busynes, to the entent to styre the people to some newe commocion and tumult, and to set forth some cause of mature apparaunt, caused it opely to be divulged and published, that it was true and not feigned that was spoken & saide abroade of the duke of Yorke: but it was done by such a secret crafe, that no man could tell who was the authoure and founder of that rumoure.

When the kyng perceived that this vayne fable was not vanished oute of the mad breynes of the common people, he thought it expedient bothe for the saugarde of hym selfe and also of hys countrey, whose hurtes were ioyned and mixed together, to prouyde some remedie to represe this Immynent mischance, not a little suspectyng, that some conspiray had bene concluded and agreed, because that syr Robert Clyfforde had late fled preuely into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a bonde of souldiernes into euery parte to kepe the shores & the sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into any foreyne lande beydb y sea nor repasse into this realme without serche, or pasporte or saucdoodyte by hym geuen, and all streytes, passages & by pathes were kept & searched, so that no man unapprehended could passe to the sea coaste nor make any conventicle or assemble without he were espayed and taken. And to therent that many men, beying bothe of England & other places for very malyce by this new inuencion enflamed and indurate, shoulde no farther ronne in their freneticall madnes, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the cytyes of the Gaule Belgique or lowe countrey within the Archdukes dominion, and the confynes of thesame, to searche & prye oute of what progeny this mysnamed Rychard was dissended and propagate, promysynge highly too rewardes and thanke suche persone, whiche woulde manifest and open the secrete doubts and deuyse of thesame matter: and byside thys he wrote to hys trusty frendes to do thesame. So they sailynge into France, deuided and seuered themselves euery man into a lynyte and prouynce. And when certayne of them repayed to the toune of Turnay, they were there certeyfed by the testimony of many honest persons, that this feigned duke came but of a lowe stocke, and of a base parentage, & was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shortly after the kynges inquisitones returned into Englande, reportynge to the kyng what they had knowen and heard: Of whiche thinge the kyng was also more plainly certeyfed by hys trusty and faythfull frendes, both by letters and trusty messengers.

Whereupon seyng that nowe the Fraude was openly and apparauntly manifested & espied, he determined to have it published & declared w all diligent celerite, both in the realme of Englaunde & also in all partes beyonde the sea, in the prouynces of Foreyn princes and straunge potetates. And for thesame cause he sent to Philip archeduke of Burgoyne and to hys counsayllers (because that he was not yet of mature age, apt and conuenient to take the regimé of hys countreyes and seigniories) Syr Edward Pownynges a valyaunt knight, and syr William Warren doctour of the lawes, a man of great modeste, learning and grauite, y they should opely to the declare, that y yóge man, beying with the lady Margaret was descendened of a base and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vtruly vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, whiche long before was murthered with hys brother Edwardes in the Towe of London, by the comandeamment of kynges Rychard their vncle, as many men luyynge can testifie. And to thinke and saye otherwyse then thys that aperly is known, it were the hyghest poynte and degree of madnes, for asmuch as it is probable by and in-
uincible reason and an argument infallible, that kyng Rycharde their naturall vnkle, in dispatching and destroying prynce Edward the eldest soune of kyng Edward his brother, was in no suertie of his realm or vsurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the youger soune to luye and continuw: For then myght he as next heyre to hys brother have lawfully and by inst title claymed the sceptre and diademe royal, whiche was hys fathers and after diuoluted to hys elder brother. And therefore they shoulde desyre the Archduke and the prynces of his cousyl, that it would please them to geue no credite, nor them selues suffer any more to be blindeled or seduced with suche mere impostures and craftie illusions beyng full of vntruthe and apparaunte, falsched, nor yet to aide or assist suche a craftye merchaut, whiche had falsely feigned hys name and stocke, and in especially against him, which in few yeres passed had succoured and relented Maximilian their lorde beyng sere oppressed, and almost ouercome bothe with the extort powre and pyussaunce of the Frenche kyng, also with the cyuyle discorde and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and vassals. With these commandemente the Ambassadours sayled into Flaunders, and there getely receaued and louingely enteretyned of the Archduke Philip and his cousayll. And after that they were commandende to declare the extent of their legacion, doctor William Warram priest, made before theym a pleasuante and a luculent oracion, shewyng therin discretely the mynde entent and desyre of the kyng hys master: And in the later ende of hys oracion, he a little rebuked the lady Margaret and hys of the thombes, saynyng that she now in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to saye Lambert (of whome rehearsal was made before) and the other Perkyn Warbeck, And beyng conceyued of these two greate babes, was not of thein deluyeret in eight or nyne monethes as nature dothe requyre and as all other women commonly do, but in the hundreth and lxxx. monethes, she brought them forth out of her wombe: for bothe these at the last were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde be broughte in bedde of them, and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe, they were no infantes, nor suckyng chyldren, but lusty yongelinges, and of age sufficient to byd bataile to kynges. Although these taites and Iestes did angre and trouble the lady Margaret, yet Perkyn was more vexed and encumberet with the thinges declared in thys oracion, and in especiall because his fraude and false feigned iuggeling was brought to light & opened: yet the duches beyng therwith more incensed then quenched, nothing reftreignyng her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entened to caste whote Sulpher to the newe kyndled fyre, determyned clerie to arme and setforward pretty Perkyn agaynst the kyng of England with speare and shilde, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadours had done their message, and the Archdukes cousayll had longe debated whether Perkyn were the true soune of kyng Edwarde the fourthe, they answered the Ambassadours: That to the extent to hau the loue and fauoure of the kyng of Engelande assuredly after that tyme, the Archduke nor they woulde neither aide nor assist Perkyn nor hys complyces in any cause or quarell. Yet notwythstandinge, if the lady Margaretyt persystyng and continuyng in her rotor malicie towards the kyng, woulde be to hym aidyng and helpyng, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankly and freely do and ordre all thynges at her awne wyll and pleasaunt without contradiccion of any other gouernour.

THE. IX. YERE.

WHen thys aunswer was geuen to theym, they returned agayne into Enlande. After that, kyng Henry looking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacefie the stormes and blastes that he perceaued to be growyng, rather by polcey and cousayll, then by dubious warre & manslaught, if his nobilitie woulde therunto condiscende. For he well cosi-dred
dred that of one busines riseth another, and of one small sparcle commeth a great flame. And therefore straight he sent forth certayne espialles into Flanderns, which shoude seigne them selues to have fledde vnto the duke of Yorke, and by that meanes searche foorth and investigate, the whole intent of their conspiracion, and after what waye they entended to procede in thesame. Other were sent also to allfect and entice syr Robert Cliffferd, and William Barly to retorne into Engleande, promisyng to theim franke and free pardone, of all offences, and crymes comitted, and promocions, and rewards, for obeyeinge to the kynges request. These exploratours so traued in their affaires and busynes that they brought to passe all thinges to their masters desyre. For first they had perfit knowledge of the names of certayne conspirators against the kyng. After they persauded syr Robert Cliffferd to leaue of that foolish opinion, whose had no sure grounde nor foundacion to stay itselfe vpon. Albeit William Barley coulde not be deduced from his begonne enterprice, but that he woulde go forwarde bedlynyge with thesame, which taried not long in that deuelish opinion. For within two yeres after this, he repentynge hym of his folly, beyng reclaymed, and bauynge perdone gyven hym of the kyng, repaired home to lyng natuare contrey, detesting hi & lys foolish blindnes. Whi the espialles had sped their purpose, one after another stole away proueyly from the feyned duke, and returned into Engleande, bringyng with them the names of certayne, which were chiefe of that conspiracy. Other taried still beynd to accompany syr Robert Cliffferd, when he returned agayne into England, whose tarynyng meruelously debilitated and appalled the courages, & harte, of the coniuratours. For they perceaued dayly that their enterprice more and more feynted, and that they were by a little & little damnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfightly put diffidé in, or yet once mistrust.

When the kyng had knowledge of the chief Capitayynes of this tumulte by the ouerture of hys espies, which were returned, he caused the all to be apprehended and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chief were Ihon Ratlyff lord Fitzwater, syr Symonde Mounforde, syr Thomas Twhaytz knightes, Willia Dawbeney, Robert Ratlyffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. Also certaine priestes and religious men as syr William Richieorde doctor of denuitce, and syr Thomas Poyynes, bothe freers of saint Dominikes order, doctor William Sutton, syr William Worsely deane of Paules, and Robert layborne and syr Rychard Lescy. Other that were gilte of thesame cryme, hearyng that many of their company were taken, fled and toke sanctuary. And the other that were taken were condemned al of treason, of the which there was hedded syr Symond Mounforde, syr Robert Ratlyffe, & Willia Dawbeney, as auouchers and chief Capitayynes of this busynes. The other were perdoned, and the Priestes also for their ordre sake that they had taken, but fewe of them lined lög after. Also syr Ihon Ratlyffe, lord Fitzwater was pardoned of his life, but after that he came to Caleyys, and there layde in holde, he was behedded, because he corrupted the kepers with many promises to have escaped out of thesame, enticyng as was thought to have gone to Perkyn.

Kyng Henry of England, partly greued with the kyng of Romanes for breaking his promes, when he shoule have associated him in hys iorhney agaynst the French kyng, and partly displeased, with the Flémynges, but principally with the lady Margaret, for kepyng and settynge forward Perkyn Warbeck, not onely banished all Flémynghe waeres and marchaundises, out of hys realme and dominions, but also restreynd all English marchauettes, from their repaire and traffike into any of the landes & territories, of the kyng of Romanes, or the Archduke hys sonne, causynge the marte of marchaundises and commodites of this realme to be kept at hys toune of Caleyss. Wherfore the sayde kyng and hys sonne banished oute of their landes and seigniories all English clothes, yarn, viyne, leade and other commodities upon great forfeytures and penaltys. The restreint made by the king sore greued and hindered the marchauettes, beynge adventurers: For they by force of thys commande ment had no occupiynge to beare their charges and supporte their contynuance and credyte. And yet one thinge sore nyppe their harte, for the Esterlynges whiche were at libertie,
THE. X. YERE OF

brought into the realm such wares as they were wont and accustomed to do, and so served their customers through out the whole realm: By reason whereof the masters beyng destitute of sale and commutacion, neither reteyned so many coovenait seruauntes and apprentices as they before were accustomed, & in especiall, Mercers, Haberdashers and Clotewoorkers, nor yet gane to their seruauntes so great stipende and salarie, as before that retreynte they used to do. For which cause the sayde seruauntes enteynyng to worooke their malice on the Easterlynges, the tuesdaye before saynt Edwardes daye come to the Stylyard in London, and beganne to ryffle and spoyle such chambres and warehouses as they could get into: So that the Easterlynges had muche ado to withstande and repulse them oute of their gates. And whē their gates were fermoed and closed, the multitude ryshe and bete at the gates with clubbes and leuers to have entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters and Smythes, whiche came to their aide by water oute of the borough of Southwarke had so strongly shored and forteyned them selfes that they could not preuaile. The Mayre of London hearynge of this rytot, assembled y Magestrates and officers of the citie together, and so beyng furnished bothe with men and weapon, set forward towarde the Stylyard. Assone as the cómyng of y Mayre was intymate and knowne to the rytous persones, they fledde awaye lyke a flocke of shepe: howbeite he apprehended diverse of the malefactours and committed theim too severall prysons. And vpon the inquiry before the kynes commisioners, there were founde gylicy aboue. lxx. seruauntes and apprentices (and not one householder) whiche were confederate together to make this attept and sworne in no wyse to discouer or reuole the same: Whereof some that were the chucetaynes and beginners of this mischennous rytot, were sent to the Towre, and there longe continued. But in conclusion, because none of their masters were inuented culpable of thys naughtye acte, the kynge of his goodnes remitted their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

¶ THE. X. YERE.

SHortely after, syr Robert Clyfford, partly trusting on the kynges promes, & partly mistrusting the thing, because he knewe that diverse that were accused to be partakers of that facion and conspiracy were put in execucion: & therfore perceiving that their could not be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thinge then that deuelishe enterprice returned sodeynly agayn into England. The kynge beyng certeyned before of his comminge went streight to the Towre of London the morow after the daye of Epiphany, and there taryed till suche tyme that syr Robert Clyfford was there presented to his persone, which thinge he vset vnder this pretence, that if syr Robert Clifforde had accused any of the nobilitie to be partakers of this vugacious fraternitie & diabolical coniuracio that then euery such person might be called theretor without suspccion of any euell, & there streight to be attached and cast in holdhe.

But befoare I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of this kyghtes goyng into Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that kyng Henry for a polcy dyd sende him as a spye to Flaunders, or els he would not have so sone receaued him into his grace and fauour agayn: Neuertheless this is not like to be true by diverse reasons and appaрайnt argumantes, firste after that attempt begonne by syr Robert, he was in no small daunger him selfe, and by that was not a litle noted, & his fame blemished, but also his frenedes were suspected and had in a gealosy. Secondarely he was not after y in so great fauour, nor so estemed with the kyng as he had been in tymes past, because he was blotted & marked with that cryme & offence. And therfore he bearing his fauourne to the house of Yorke enteynyng in the beginning to administer displeasure to kyng Hery, sayled to the lady Margaret, beyng seduced & brought in belefe y Perkyn was the very sonne of kyng Edward. But to my purpose, when syr Robert came to the presence of the kyng, he knelyng on his knees most humblye, beseeched hym of grace and pardone, whiche he shortly
shortly obtained. And after that beynge required of the maner and orde of the conspira-
cion, and what was done in Flandres, he opened every poynthe to his knowlege, and after
disclosed the names, aswell of the aiders and fautors as of the inceptors and beginniers.
Emongest whom he accused syr William Stanley, whom the kyng made his chief che-
bleyn, and one of his presy counsayll. When he had so sayde, he kyng was greatly dis-
mayed and greued, that he should be partaker in that grevous offence, considerynge first
that he had the gourannaunce of his chambre, and the charge and comprouement of all suche
as were next to his bodye, and also callynge to remembreance the manifolde gratuities,
which he had receaued at hys hande, but in especiall not forgettyng that benefite aboue all
other, that onely by his aide and suuccoure, he had vanquished and ouerthrown his mortall
enemy kyng Richard. Wherefore, at the begynnynge he coulde in no wyse be induced
nor persuaded to belue that he was such a presy conspiratoure or malicious offender, but
when the cryme was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the kyng caused hym to be
restrayned from his libertie in his awne chambre within the quadrat towre. And thare ap-
poynted hym by his presy counsayll to be examyned. In whiche examynacion he nothing de-
ned, but wisely and seriously did astipulate and agree to all things layed to hys charge, if
he were in any of theim culpable or blame worthy.

The report is, that this was his offence. When communicacio was had betwene hym,
and this syr Robert Cliforde, as cyserrorng Perkyn which falsely vsurped the name of kyng
Edwarde sonne, sir Wilii Stanley sayde and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor
beare armure agaynst the young man, if he knew of a truthe that he was the indubitate
sonne of kyng Edward the. This. Thys poynte arguete and proueth hym at that tyme beyn-
g moved with melancholy, to beare no great good will to kyng Henry, wherof suspicione first
grewe, and after this ensued the accusacion of syr Robert Clyfiorde.

Then the kyng doubtinge what to do with him, did cysulte & breath with hym selfe of this
sodeyne chance. For he feared least that his brother lorde Thomas Stanley, in whom he
had founde great frendship, would take this matere greucously. And if he should remit
that fault, or abusynge his lenyte and mercy, he would be the more bolder to offende and treas-
pace more highly. Albeit at the last, severitee toke place, and mercy was put backe, and
so he was arreignyd at Westmynster and adijudged to dye, and according to that judgmen
te was brughte to the towre hill the. xvi. daye of February, and there had hys head stryk
do. What was the occasion and cause why the syncre and faythful mynde that syr William al-
ways before bare to kyng Henry, was turnyd into cancarde hatred and dispite, and why the
especiall fayoure that the kyng bare towards hym was transmutted into disdeyne and displea-
sure, diverse men allledge dyuerse causes, affirmynge that when kyng Henry (what other
mutuall benefites the one had receaued of the other, I wyll nowe pretermyt and ouerpasse)
in that battaile, in the whiche he bereft kyng Richard bothe of hys life and hys kyngdon,
beyng associate and accompanied but with a small numbre, and circuuented by kyng
turchardes army, & in great jeopardy of his lyfe, thys syr William beyng sent from the
lord Standley hys brother with a good company of stronge and hardy men (whiche lorde
Stanley was her the felde with a great armie) came sodeynly and fortunately to the suc-
cours of kyng Henry, and saued hym from destruction, and ouerthrew the kyng Rychard
as before you haue heard. Surely thys was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remem
brd, by the whiche kyng Hery was not onely preserved alyue, but also obteyned the cronue & king-
dome, which great benefite, after the kyngdome once obteyned, he did neither forget nor yet
left vurewarded. For the lord Thomas Stanley he innesthe with the swoorde of the countie
of Darby, & beside other great gifts & officies gauen to Wilii Stanley, he made him his chief che-
bleyn. This syr Willi, although he were in great fayoure with the kyng, & had in
great and high estimation, more remebering the benefite done to the kyng, then the rewardes
and gratuities of his liberalite receaued, thinking that the vessel of oyle, (according to the
Gospel) would ouerlowe the brynammes, & as some saye, desyryng to be erle of Chestre &
therof denied, began to grudge & disdeyne the kyng his highe free: and one thing encouraged
him
him much, which was the riches & treasure of kyng Richard, which he onely possessed at the conflict of Boswoorth: By reason of which habundance of ryches & greate powre of people, he sent naught by kyng his souereign lord & Mastre. When the kyng perceaued that his stomach began to canker & waxe rusty, he was with him not a little displeased, and so when bothe their hartes were enfamed with melancholy, bothe loste the fruite of their longe cõtinued amitie & favoure. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not consider nor yet regard the great benefits to them exhibited, they rendre agayne hatred for liberalite, and for brede geuen, they yelde agayne a scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this tyme the kyng thought it best, ye & very necessary not onely to take hede about him, but also to use some sharpe punyshmet and correccio of the offences of his subjectes, to the tent y the late begun sedicion might the soner be repressed, & for this cause specially y some persons voyde of all honest feare & reuerent dread, had taked such courage & audactie to them, that they feared not to speake euell of their kyng & souereign lord, with moost spiteful & contumelious wordes as though they neither feared nor woulde obey him, or his preceptes & commandementes, expecting daily & hourly the arryuell & lading of the feyned Rychard duke of Yorke, now lately rysen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slanderous and opprobrious wordes were brought to the kynges eares, he caused dyuere persons to suffre condigne punyshmet for their heynous offences, whereby their cólplices wel perceauyn y their entreprice had no prosperous successe nor toke any good effect, & especially such as temerariously began to make mastyres and farther seyng what preparacion was made and prouyded agaynst their tumuleteous commocion & frantique enterpryse, they of their awne swyngge pacified them selfes, & beganne to turne to their kyng and naturall lige lorde.

The XI. Yere.

After the death of syr William Stanley, Gyles lord Dabney, a man of Great fidelitie and circumspeccion was elected and made the kynges chief chamberlyne. When the kyng had thus poetically weded out the euell & corrupt hartes of his English subjectes, and had pacified & brought all his realme to a monacrede and a quyet lyfe. Then he perceaued that it was necessary also to purge & clense his realme of Ireland to thentent y the venenous sede sowen & planted. ii. yeres past emogest the wilde & saungue Irish persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane eradicated & plucked vp. Wherefore he sent syr Hery Deane late Abbot of Langtonye, a man of great wyt and diligéce (whome he made chauclour of the Isle) and syr Edward Pownynges knyght, with an army of men into Ireland, to searce & purge all such tonnes & places began where Perkyn was receaued, releued or favoured. And if they espied any of his affinitee or faccon, then he would they should be punished with al extremite to the terrible example of all other that woulde enclynie too that unfortunate partes. And first, after their arryuell into Irlande, they called in the kynges name the nobilitie of that country to a cousayll, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chauncelour with a gentle exhortacion requyred them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towards their kyng, and to aide his captaine Syr Edwarde Pownynges with their might, powre & strength agaynst such rebelles whiche eyther through blwyndes and folye, or elles through desyre and appetite to do euell, susteyned and aided Perkyn with barneys, menne or money. Every man promised openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promised not so quickly, but they performed it as slowly, for fewe or none either aided or assisted him, as who woulde saye, that they loued the English nation more with their outward coitenaunce, then in their inward hartes & myndes. But when they heard that syr Edward Pownynges was come to persecute al suche as were fautoures and frendes to Perkyn Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a little contamynate wyth that sedicious infeccion, but he fled oute of
of hand into woodes and marises for the defence and sauegarde of them selfes, there consult-
yng together, after the maner of their country, in what places they might best lye in wayte
to infect and skyrmysh with the Englishmen, or els if neede shoule se so requyre to fighte
with them hand to hand.

In Ireland there be two kynd of men, one softe, gentle, civile & curteous: And to these
people, as to the mooste rychest and best nurtured persons dothe many merchaunt men of
the countryes adjoyning, daily cake, frequent, contract, bagrayne, and make marchaun-
disee. But because the moost resorte thether is of the English nacion, the Irish men folow
& contratte their civile maners & honest codicios. And by reason of ÿ comó trade and
entrecourse betweene the, they have learned ÿ English toug, & can both speake & vnder-
ståd it. And all this kynde of people is vnder ÿ subiecció & dominió of ÿ kyng of Eng-
líad. The other kynde is cleane còtrary fró this, for they be wilde, rustical, foolish, fierce,
& for their vnmanerly behavior & rude fassió, are called wilde & saugue Irishmen. And
these men have many gouvornors & severall rullers, whiche kepe continual battle, and
daily warre emongest them selfes. For ÿ which cause they be more fierce, more bolde &
hardy then other Irishmen, and thei be very desyrous of newe things & straunge sightes
and gasynges, & after robbery, theft & rapyne, in nothyng so much deleyting as with tu-
multeous sedicion & continual strife. And to these wilde coalte Perkyn shewed hym selfe
first, easly persuadyng theim to beleue that he was thesame vvere person whom he false-
ly fayned and countrefete.

Wherefore Sir Edward pownynges accordynge to his commission, entending to punishe
suche as haue bene aiders and auauurers of Perkyns foolishe enterpryse, with his whole
army, marched forward against these wilde Irishmen, because ÿ all other byng ey culpable of
that offfence fled and resorted to them for succoure and defence, to thentent that they bothe
together might be hable to resist & defye their enemies. But when he sawe that his pur-
pose succeeded not as he wished it, bothe because the Irish lorde sent him no succour
accordynge to their promises, and also considerynge that his nombre was not sufficiente
to set on the wilde people being dispersed emongst woodes, mounteyns and marishes, was of
necessiteit, compelled to reale and returme, frettyng and vexed in his stomacke, be-
cause he suspected ÿ Geralde erle of Kildare byng then the kynges deputie, was the
cause & occasion ÿ he had no succoure nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enourmed of
suche as bare to the erle no good will. And therfore sodeinly he caused the erle to be ap-
prehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his company into England: Where, when he
was examined and certeine matters of treason layed to his charge, he auoyded theim all,
and clerely (suche was his wyt and innocency) quêt him selfe and layed the burden in
other mens neckes: Whome the kyng dymissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there
to be his deputie and Lieutenant as he was before. The kyng like a politique prince had
many greate and weightie consideracions whiche refreyed hym from vynge of any se-
ueritie or extremitie againste this earle, contrary to the myndes and willes of his malicious
aduersaries. One was the great auctoritie and swynge that he bare emógest the Iryshe
nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyne, wherein he sauoured some sedicion to
be in breweing: And chiefly of all the assured hope and affiance that he conceaued in
him.

So that nowe the kyng byng out of all feare of battle, dyd take his progresse into
Lancashire the. xxv. daie of Iuy, there to recreate his spirites and solace him selfe with
his mother the Lady Margarete wife to the Earle of Darby, whiche then laye at lathome
in that countrie. While these thinges were thus done in England, Perkyn Warbeck then
byng in Flanders, although he had taken great care and sorowe for that his craftie con-
ueighaunce was espied and openly known, and also that kyng Henry had afflictèd and pun-
nished diuere of his confederates and alyes, and therby in despair of all the ayde and succ-
cour that was to hym promised and appoynted: Yet he determined not to leaue the hope
and trust that he had conceaued in his mad head to obteye the crowne and realtime of Eng-
lande,
lande, and so gatherlyng a grete armie of valyaunt Capiteyns of all nacions, some ban-
querautes, some false Englyshe sanctuary men, some theues, robbers and vacaboundes, whiche leaunye their bodely laboure desvrynge only to lyue of robbery and rapine, came to be his seruauntes and soulidours. And so being furnishedy with this rablemente of knaues, tooke suche shippes as his frendes had prouyde for hym, and departed oute of Flaundres, entendyng to arryue in England whersouer the winde brought hym. And by chance of fortune he was dryuen vpon the Kentyshe coaste, where because y see was calmed, he cast his anchors and there made his abode, and sent certeyne of his retinewe to the launde to signifie to all the countrey that he was so furnishedy of all things mete and co-
uenyet for his entrepreyce, that there was no doubt but the victory woulde encluye to his parte. And by this meanes to make exploracion and enquirye whether the Kentishmen woulde take his parte and folowe hym as their capityayne, whiche before tyme was not ty-
merous nor afaide of their awne mynde in troublous seasons to non warre againste their princes. The Kentishmen hearynge that this feyned duke was come, and had heard that he was but a pointed image, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him or to re-
sist his power, at the last remembryng what cuell chaunces their forefathers had, and how smal a profile such as haue rebelllyd have gained, thought it neither expedient nor profita-
ble for them to aide & assyst hym that came rather to spoyle, destroye & wast the coun-
trey, then to conqueyre it for their wealth & cómodity. And this thei firmly conjectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which would take & accompte every church toune, chapell, house & every private man as a prayer and a lucre, and not as their natuye country. Wherfore they fearing the sequele, determyned still to 
abide trewe to their kyng and prince, & to fall vpon suche as were new come to land out of their shippes. And while theye were assemblyng of themselves together, other should by fayre promises & freedly woordes allure & calle vnto theim the great nombre out of the shippes, and so geue them battaill. And so vsynng this gayle and imposition, they promised all to folowe him and to fight vnder his banner: Howbeit the prolonging of time draue Perkyn into a suspicion, which wel remembrd y a comminaltie is not accustomed sädely to consult, but sodeinly & temerariously to ronne hedlyng ever into rebellion & newe stirred cómosion. Wherfore Perkyn determined not once to set foote oute of his ship till he sawe al thing sure wont any scruple or ambiguitect. And although he minded not to take land him self, yet he permitted certeyne of his soulidours to go on land, which persones beyng a pretty waye fro their shippes, were sodeinly circuuented & compassed by the Ken-
tysmen, & at one stroke vanquyshed and dryuen backe to their shippes, & ther wer také prisoners an hundred and. lx. persons, wherof. v. were named capiteyns Mountforde, Cor-
bet, white belt, quyntine or otherwyse Genyn. Whiche rebellyes were brought by sir Iohn Pechy shreue of két, to Londo railed in ropes like horses drawyng in a carte. And after vpon their arraymement, confessed their offence, and were executed some at London, & other in the toune adijonyng to the see coaste. Wherfore Perkyn fallyng of his purpose fled backe into Flaundres and there taried, consultyng with his frendes vntill suche tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come more prudently then he had done before tyme.

In this verie seasson departed to God Cicile Duches of Yorke, mother to kyng Edward the fouyrth and kyng Richard at her castel of Barkaustede, a woman of small stature, but of muele honour and high parentage, and was buryd by her husband in the collegde of Fodringey.

The kyng beyng adverstised y his enemies had made entreaunce into his realme, lef of his progress & purposed to returne to London again, but beyng certified y next daie after of y lucky spede & fortunate chaunce continued and wet forth of his progress, sendyng to theim sir Richard Gylforde, bothe to praise the fidelite & manhoode of the people, and also to rendre to theim his most harty thankes for their good seruice to him done, w faith-
ful proueses not to forget them herafter in their sutes, requestes & peticions. Also that
Thei might not haue any successe herafter into those partes, the kyng commaunded the watches to be kept all alonge the see coastes, and bekons to be erected according to the auncest vsage and custome of the countrey.

Peter and his capiteins takyn coçel together in Flaundres, were of one assent resoluted to this point, yt there was nothyng more surer to them, then to procede quickly with all celere in their incepted entreprice. And when they perceaued yt there was neither people toune nor coutry in England yt would associate them in their phantastical frenesy which nothyng was mitigated, least yt by protractyng of tyme and longe space kyng Henry might fortefie & munite all dangerous places, and passages with souliours & men of warre, which thinge thei heard saye yt he neither forgate nor forsowed, & beside yt he was not a little afeard yt his lyfe tariying should appalle & diçoforte his prey frendes win realme of England. Wherfore he gathered together his vngracious copany, & determined first to saile into Ireland, there to augmer his nöber. And fro hence if yt were possible to saile into yt west partes of England. And yt there were any let or obstacle in that place, then he determined to saile straight into Scotlad, knowing yt selde or neuer is perfight cöcorde & amitie betwene yt Scottes & yt English naci. When this gëde coçel was dissolved, & wind and wether servyd, he set vp his sayles, & haung a prosperous gale after his phantasy, sayled into Ireland, where he resold hym selfe a space. And remembryng yt the hope of victory coosist not whole in the Irish nacion, which beyng naked men wout harneys or armurc were not hable to côbate with the Englishmen, wherfore when the wynde servyd hym he departed fro Corffe and arryued in Scotlad, and commyng to the kyngs presence, with great solemnity, framed his tale after the forme and passion folowyng.

I thinke yt is not vnknowen to you, most noble kyng and puissait prince, into what ruyne the stock, house and familiy of Edward fourth of that name kyng of England, is nowe of late brought to and fallë in, cyther by Goddes permission or by deuine punishment, whose vnshoowtate sonne (yt you knowe not all ready) I am, & by the powre of almighty God, preserued aluyue from the mighty hdd of a tyrant. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoynted his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our governour, protectour & defendour, whome yt more that he loued & studied to aunance and promote, yt better he thought yt he would loue, fauoure, and tendre his children. But alas my infortune chauncse I may see, howe hath his trust bee turnyd into treason: and his hope turnyd to hindrauncse: All men knowe and I feele. Oure vnclse was not the tutoure and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroier of our bloude and progenye. For that tyraunt blinde and gluttet with the cupiditie of ruling and souergynitc commaundet Edward my brother and me to be slaine and dissipod out of this mortall lyfe. Whereupon that person, to whom the weightie and cruell charge was committed and goou to oppresse & destroye vs poore innocent enffantes and gilttes babes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and bocherly offence the more he feared to cómyt yt. And so wauryng in mynde & doubtfull what to doe, at the lëfhg, willyng in parte to saciate the bloudy thrust of yt vnnatural tyraunt, and in parte to absteyne from so facinorous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother and preserued me, lyke the good Prieste Iosada which saued lytle Ioas when all the children of the bloude royall were commaundet by Athalia the queene to be slayne and vitterly destroyet. And fartherth, to thentent that my lyfe might be in a surette; he appoinctet one to conduet me into some straung country, where when I was furthest of and had moost neede of comfort he forsooke me sodeinly (I think he was so appoinctet to do) and left me desolate alone without frende or knowlege of any reliefe or refuge. And so kyng Richard dye obteyne the crowne as a praye mischeecurely gotten by the dispatching awaye of my brother and me. So that I thus escappe, by reason of my tendre infancy, for gare almost my self and knewe not wel what I was, but after long wanderyng from countrey to countrey, and fro cite to cite, I perceaued and learned a lytle & little what was my estate and degree, and so in conclusion came to mine owne anate the lady Margarett lyying in Flaundres, which was sometyme maried to Charles duke
duke of Bourgoyne, whiche as joyfully receaued and welcommed me as yf I had come oute of hell into heauen, as the only type and garland of her noble stirpe and lynage, but forasmuche as she being only dowager of yf duchy of Bourgoyne, and hauyng nothing but her dowre propre vnto her selfe, was not of powre to helpe me w men & muniments of warre as she woulde gladly haue done for the recovery of my fathers realme & rightfull inheritance, I therefore am dryuen to seke farther ayde and succoure. And therefore by her counsell and advertisement, with this small handful of men of warre and souldiourues, I am repayred to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publicke fame is spread ouer y whole worlde) there was never man by wrong or inurie profigated or dryuen oute of his countrey, region or inheritance, or by extorte powre and tiranny kept out of thesame (as I my selfe from myne infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hand. Therefore by the majestie of your realme and countrey I desyre, and heartely with prayer as I can, I beseehe and exhorte you to helpe and releue me now in my extreme necessity. And yf yt chance me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possede my fathers realme & dignitie, not only I, but all the kyngs of our lynage which her after shall obtayn thesame, shalbe so muche obliged and bound vnto you, that they must nedes thynke that doynge to you al the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with al the thankes yf can be geuen, your great kindenes can never be equialently recompened.

When he had thus saide the kyng bad hym be of good comforte, and promysed hym that whatsoeuer he ware, yt shoulde never repent hym of his commynge to hym. And after this the kyng assembled his counsell together, and demanded of euery man severally, what they sayde, of these thynges which perkyn had both enucleated and requyred, or whether they woule take any farther deliberacion to aduyse them selues what to do in so great and weyghtie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparaunt argumentes that his saiynges were but dreames and fantasies and of no force or truthe and therefore they thought it not convenient to enconbre them selues with any lengre consultation. Another sort, which was not very great, neyther of wyt nor experiece, but greater in nomber, esteemed this matter very profitable to the common wealth, considering yt ministred to their occasion to make warre in Engelande. And although thei had knowledge what good successe Perkyn had enjoyed in all his former attemptes, yet they esteemed that nowe all thynges should succeede accordyng to their expextacion, yt his cause (although yt were as lyght as a fether) were assumed and taken in hand to be defended, considering that when the warre was once intimate and begonne, and yt perkyn did preuayle, he would deny nothyng convenient to his frendes and helpers. Or elles of the least they doubted not but kyng Henry woulde make to them large and ample offers & condicions of peace, rather then kyng Iames shoulde take parte with his adversary and mortall enimmy. When this counsell was geuen by the more nomber, yt was well accepted, and the Scottishe kyng, whether he were blynded by erour, or els dyd dissimule the matter, begunne to haue Perkyn in great honour and caused hym openly to be called duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apparaunt to the people he he was so in dede, he caused lady Katheryn daughter to Alexandre erle of Hütleys, his high kynsman & of a high lignage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinite he caused to be made for this ende & purpose, partly he might extenuate euell will & malice which was lyke to succeede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowne abroad where he had peace & amity W yf king of Englaud, & partly least he might be accused of to much light credence if Perkyn were foûd & proued to be another mæ then he was reported.

When all thynges were prepared, ordeyned and apoynced for yf warre. This Perkyn swel-lyng with toyse that he after his awne phantasye had made the Scottes to be his partakers. And to thentent that they should put no diffidence in the sequel of his entreprize, & to encourage them yf more he pronounced suerly yf he shoulde haue great succour & aide of his frendes in England sent euyn from yfarthest part therof assone as euers the trompet of warre was blowen. The Scottes although they had but lytle confidence & lesse trust in his wordses,
yet putting their hope more in the gayne of spoye then in the gainying of the victory by battayle, armed them selves in all hast & marched toward the confines and borders of England. Albeit the scottish kyng mynyng not to be rashe, mystrusted the Englishmen knowynge Perkyn to be arrayed in Scottland had layed some army for the defence of their frontiers, sent out certaine light horsmen to espie & searche if the husbandmen of the country were assembled in armure to defend their enemies. The horsmen ranging ouer the feldes & playnes belongynge to their enemies, seyng all things quiet, returned to their kyng and certified him that now was the tyme most apte & convenient to invade the realme & set on the English nacion. Then the Scottish kyng marching toward England with all his puyssaucce, first proclaymed openly, that al such should only be pardoned that would take part and submit them selves to Richard duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to thentent to appalle and daunte the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they should be enforced and compelled to submit them selves to this newe founde Mawmet, they made so cruel and deadly warre, that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and ykyke persons, brent tounes, spoyled houses and kyld me and children, and allected with the sweatenes of spoyle & prayers, wasted al the countrey of Northumberlad, and had gone foorth farther, but that they perceaued no aide or succour to come out of Englande to attende vpon this newe duke. And the souidiours beynge fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that tyme, & the countrey roase on euerie parte, whiche made the kyng suspecte some army to approche. Wherfore he determined rather to retourne with his assuamed gaine, then to tary the nuncupatiue dukes vnsure and vncerteine victory, and so he reucle again into Scotlade.

It is a worlde to remember in this place of a certein kynde of ridiculous mercy and foolish copassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued that yt semed hym to regarde nothing more then the commodite of another man. For wile the scottish kyng thus vexed & haryed his poore inhabitantes on the borders of Northumberland, so nothing was heard but roting, wepyng and lamenting. This newe invented duke beyng returned into Scottland, even lyke him selve, which wrought all thynge with fraud and deceyte, perceauing that no concourse nor resorte of Englishmen shewed them selves in open appareance to ministre to him aide or succour, and fearing not a lytle that the boxe of his crafty dealyng, & bagge of his secrete coûtrefeatyng should be elucydate & set in an open glasse, by reason wherof he should be floccipended and had in cotempt & disdeyne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene therito provoked by a natural inclination and paternal pitie (to thentent to hide and palliate his subtyl subornacion) cryed out openly, Oh, my stony & heard frozen harte which arte not once moued nor yet afflicted with the losse and slaughter of so many of thynge awne natural subtectes & vassales. And at that glorious siglynghe, he beseched the scottish kyng that fro thece foorth he woulde not afflicte and plague his people, nor deforne and deface his natural realme and countrey with such terrible fyer, flame and hanocke. As who woulde saye, that he beyng overcome with the perfight lone of his native region, beganne nowe to haue compassion and to lament the cruel destruction of the same. The scottish kyng whiche beganne to perceau whiche wave the wynde blewse answered him againe, Sir me thinketh you take much peyne, and very much imagn howe to preserne the realme of another prince which is not yours (but I think you would gladly haue it) but my mynd ganeth me that you be as farre from the obteyngynge thesame, as you be here the soyle and aspect of the country, considerynge that you cal England your land and realme, and thynhabitauntes therof your people and subtectes, and yet not one ma, neither gentle man nor yoman will once shewe hym selve to aide or assist you in your warre beganne for your cause & in your name win your realme to the which you be both (as you saye) inheritoure, and by your people accercited and vocated vato. And so the kyng reproved the lightnes of this younge fond foundelyng, and euerie day more and more neglected and lesse phansied
tesied and gaué credite to him, nothyng well and wisely ſeyther his woordes, with his decedes, not the sequele of factes with his promises were neither agreable nor consonant.

The nobles inhabitynge in the north partes beryng the clamour of the common people, and perceauynge that they fled to suuoyde the cruelitie of ſ Scottes, were sodeinely abashed and fortethey their holds and manned their fortresses ready to defend their enemies, laiing embusheemenes in ſ waies, where they imagined ſ there enemies would resorte. And without delay certified the kyng of ſ Scottes inuasion & entreprice. The kyng was not a little abashed at this sodeyne chaunce, & pricked also w his ayn domestical busines, not alone fearig his outward enemies but also his awne nobles & naturall subiectes least any of them would steppe from him to theother parte, and put him to farther trouble & vexacion. Wherefore, assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small im- portance and mete to be vigilantely forsene, with all diligence prepared opportune remedies to resist and withstand ſ first brunt of so great a sourge newly begonne. But the sodeyne retirynge of the Scottes agayne assuaged all the Englishmes swift acceleracions and spedy prouisions: For when thei were once laden with prayes and spoyles, they returned home agayne or thenglishmē could assemble together.

THE XII. YERE.

WHen the king was truly certeied ſ the Scottishe kyng was returned, he geuing praise to his captaines and other inhabiting on the bordeus of his realme, whiche had duly and truly serued him at that time, did desiste and leaue of for to occurre and repugne the malicious inuasions of the Scottishe king. And yet fearing least his enemies should be en- couraged and inflated with this great gaine of spoyles and prayes, he determined by dent of sworde and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manifest iniurie and apparaunt wrong to him by kyng Iames and his people done and committed. Wherefore he assem- blyng his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedy he hym selfe had inuented and deuisd, persuadyng with many strong argumentes and rea- sons incinible, that it shoulde be for the profite and vtilite of the publique and common welthe to prosecute and folowe ſ warre by his mortall enemies begonne and attempted. To this opinion all his nobilite (whiche were no lesse offended with this proude bragge of the Scottish nacion then he hym selfe) dyd wyllingly agree & gladly assent. And to the maintenaunce of the warre and towardes the charges of thesame, a certeine subsidy and taxe of money was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & frely geuen & graunted: Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the comon people which euer abhorre such taxes and exaccions, grudged sore to paye thesame. At this parliament also and convocacion, ther was certeyne lawes, acts and statutes con- firmed & made, as were thought moost necessary and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the kyng dissoluyng his court of parliament, prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane season the kyngge of Scottes not sleupring his matters because he perceaued well that the Englishmen wold shortly reuenge their losse and harne, with no lesse diligence gathered an hoost & puyssant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English poure innadyng his realme & countrey, or els of freshe entre vpō the bordres: and goyng foorth, spoyle, robbe and make hauoke ageyne. And so these twoo valaunt princes mynuded nothing lesse the one to hurt and preijude theother. But the kyng of England sore pricked and wouded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sore moved against the Scottish kyng, that he would not procrastinate nor deferre one hourry tyl he were reuenged. And so prepared a puissaunt and vigorous army to inuade Scotland, and therof ordeyned for cheuetayne Gyles lord Dawbeney his chiefe chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wyt then polleye & of no lesse polleye then hardines.

When the lord Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his journey for-
ward into Scotlande, hē soodeinly was stayde and reouked agayne, by reason of a newe se
dicion and tumult begonne within the realm of England for the subsedy whiche was graun-
red at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes with all diligence and celeritee, whiche of the moost parte was truely satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabi-
tyng the least parte of the realm, and the same sterile and without all fecunditee, compleyned and grudged greatly affirmyng that they were not hable to paye suche a great soume as
was of them demaund. And so, what with angre, and what with sorowe, forgettyng their due obeyansaunce, beganne temerariously to speake of the kyng him selfe. And after leuyng y matter, lamentynge, yellyng, & criying maliciously, sayd, that the kyngs cousayll was the cause of this polleng and shauing. And so beynge in this rage menaced to death the aucthoures (as they imagened) of this myschiefe and sorowe, whome thei threatened shortly to dispacthe out of this worlde. And so beynge in auroar, ii. of thesame affiittee, y one Thomas Flamocke gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realm, and theother Mighell Ioseph a smyth, me of high courages & stoute stomackes, toke vpon theim to be
capayynes of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. And although thei perceaued their compayny to be accensedy w fury & malice ynoough, yet to augmēt & encreace their midnes, thei cast oyle & pitche into a fyre & ceased not to prouoke & prick theim for-
ward like frantique persons to more mischiefe cryenge out openly & pronouyncyne y it was shame (for a smal cōmociyon made of y Scottes, which was asswaged & ended in a moment for they thought poore poulishe and ignorannt fooles, y al thinges was ended and asswaged whē it was eue at the whotest & most feruent) thei should be exacted and polled, and suche great exacions layed vpon theire necks, and especially on y Cornishmen, which thei affirmed to bē but poore men, and being in a sterile & vnfruiteful countrye gate their lyuyng hardly by mining and diggyng tyne and mettal oute of the grounde bothe the day and night labouryng and tumultyng. And therefore they had rather dye and suffre ex-
treme punyshment, then lyue in suche calaminitee and wretchednes. And they laide the
faulte and cause of this exaccion to Ihon Morton Archebishop of Cauntourbury, and Sir
Reignold Breye, because they were chiefe of the kynges preuy cousayll. Suchē rewards haue thei that be in great authorite w kings & princes. For yf any thing succede well ac-
cordinge to the mynd & pleasure of the commynalitie, that is euer referred & gratified to
the kyng or gouernour. But contrarwise, yf any thing be done, either by chaune or by
councell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrary to their opinion or fantasie, they will laye it streight to the councell sayng that they haue persuaded him to do this &
that. Threfore if all men woulde well remembre and diligently pondre in their myndes what is the reward and guerdone, fewe would labour & affectiously desyre to moite so
high, or aspyre to that place of dignitee. But now to the matte.
These capitayynes exhorted the common people to put on harneyes, & not to be afeard to
folowe theim in this quarell, promysinge theim that they shoulde do no damage to any crea-
ture, but only to se ponysheym and correccio done to such persons which were the auct-
thours & causers that the people were molestede and vexed with such unreasoneable exacions
and demaunds. And if they perceaued any person (as they espied many in dede) which
dyd impugne and reproue their mad, vnreasonable and sedicious councell, affirming that
it was the highest poynct of midnes for a mā to put his life in hasard for that thing, which
he ought mekely and humbly to requyre and desyre of his prince and souereigne lorde,
then they called theim dastardes, fooles, & cowardes, & taunted & rebuked theim with
most shamefull reproches, & contumelious inucciones. So these vnhappy capitayynes
nothing more desyre then to bringe their flock & them selues to small perdicion & vttre con
fusion. With these bragges & mocions a great part of the people were elevate and
encouraged, and condescended to do as the capitayynes & the moost multitude would
agree and appynct. Then the capitayynes preysinge muche the hardynesse of the people,
when all thinges were prepared mete for their vnfortunate iourney, set forward with their
army, & came to Tawnton, where they slewe the prouost of peryn which was one of the
commissioners
commissioners of the subsidy, & from thence came to welles, & so entending to go to London where the kyng then so journed.

When the kyng was advertised by his collectours, and officiers, of all these doynges, and attempts, he was meruely astounded, & especially because at that one tyme he was enuyned with double warre, both externe and intestyng. And because perell dyd depende on bothe, he was in great doubte which of bothe he should moost regarde. And as he was musyng of this mattre, he was assercteyneyd that James Twichet lord Audeley and diverse other of the nobilitie were associate with the Cornisheynmen, and were in great hast and no good spede marching towards London. The kyng perceauyng the cyuiile warre to approche & drwre nerer & nerer, almost to his very gates, determined with all his whole powre to resist and repress thesame. And after that tumult appeased & suppeditate, he would w all expedicion set vpon Scotland. Wherefore he reuoked agayn the lord Dawbeney which as you haue heard, was with a puysaunt armie goyng into Scotland, whose armie he encrcaced and multiplied with many picked and freshe warryers, that he might y better, and with lesse laboure overcome these rebelles. Also mystrustynghe that the Scottes myght nowe (haunyege good opportunitie scynge him troubled with this ciuile discorde) invade the realme agayne, and so spoyle, robbe, violate, and destoye the borderes, he appointyd the lord Thomas Hawarde Earle of Surrey, a puissant and pollyetyke captyeyn (whyche was taken prisoner at the ouerthrowe of kyng Rycharde as you haue hearde, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high trauerser of Englynde after the death of Ihon Lorde Dynham) to gather abonde of men in the countye palantine of Durham, and they with the aide and helpe of the inhabitantes adiomyngne and the borderes, to drwe out and expell the Scottes from of y borders yf they should fortunate agayne to invade, vntyll such tyme y the Cornysheymen byeng subduned and pacefied (whiche he thought easy to be done) he might sende to theim the forsaide lorde Dawbeney again w all his powre & armie. When the nobles of the realme heard of this tumulteuous busynes & terrible cymocion, they came to London euery mæ with as many mæ of warre as thei could put in ardenes to aide y kyng yf nede should be: In the which company, there was the erle of Essex, y lord Mongey with diverse other.

At this tyme and ceasen, Charles the French kyng returnyng from y warres y he had at Napels, sent ambassadours to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorie that he had obteined in Italye, and gane to theim in charge to desyre of the kyng of England nothing so muche as the continuaunce of his amitie and favoure towarde their master and souereigne lord. For the French kyng sore desyred to continue in perlight peace & amitie v the kyng of England. And not without a cause, for he had so vexed and concered him selfe and his people with such Italian snares & craftie engines, out of y which at this day beyng the yere of your lord a thousand. v.C.xxxii. his successors cannot cleane be ryd, and deluyed.

When y king was enformed y kyng Charles orators were come to Calys, he sent certeine of his nobilitie, honorably to receaue theim, & so to cœuge theim to Douer, & there for a pollecy to make their abode tyl the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one woerde therof to be sounded in the eares of the ambassadours: Which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obseryed.

And now y Cornysheymen departyng fro Welles (where thei receaued their chiefe capiteyne, James lord Audeleigh) went to Salsbury, & from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceauned in their expectacion. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Burgeyn, Ihon brooke lord Cobham, Sir Edward pownynes, Sir Richard Guleforde, Sir Thomas Burchier, Ihon Peche, Wylylym Scott & a great nombre of people were not only prest and ready to defende the country, from all misciefe and destrucion, but also bent and determined to fighte and comate with suche as would not be obedient to their natural souereigne lord, and to his laws and preceptes. Also y kentyshe men them selues, partly remembryng that other cymocions have bene to their
dammage and great hindreaunce, and partly beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as
vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yet either
make coûtenaunce or once speake to any of them, to thentent that the kyng shoude in no
wise conceaue any poynct of vntruth or treason in the poorest of them. Whiche thyngye so
appalled and dismayed the hartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornish-
men (whiche seynge them selues decaened and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours
and fearynge the euell chaunce that might happen to them) that thei to saue them selfes fled
pruely in the night from their awne company and cõpaigniôs. The capitayne of the rebelles
perceauynge theye coulde have no âide of \( \frac{1}{2} \) Kentish people, putting their only hope to their
powre and fortitude (for surely theye were men of great strength, & of no lesse force then
valiaunt courage) brought them to Black heth. iiii. myles frõ Londô, and there in a playne
vpon the top of an hill they ordeyed their battailes, eyther ready to fight with the kyng if
he woulde assayle theim, or elles to assaute and beate the citee of London: For they thought
verely \( \frac{1}{2} \) the king was so saiaied of their puissance, \( \frac{1}{2} \) he minded nothing lesse then to en-
countre with theirown armie. And therefore being enflamed with arrogancy, nothing mystryst-
yng, but fermeley beleuyng \( \frac{1}{2} \) the victory was sure in their handes, they determyned to entre
into the citee of London and to assaute the towre, wherin the king (as thei thought) had
pruely enclosed hym selfe. But kyng Henry wroght cleane contrary to their mynde and
expectacion, for he neuer thought to geue theim battaile tyl he had theim farre from their
domesticall habitacions and native region, so that theye should be out of all hope of aide and
comforte. And when theye were with their long and tedious journey weired and tyed, and
that their furye were somewhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commocion
and frantike progressiô, then he woulde in some place convenient for his purpose, circum-
vent & enuyn theim to their amanuente and their destruccion as he did in dede afterward.
In the meanse season there was great feare thorough the citee & cryes were made, eyuer man
to harneys, to barneys, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no
parte was vndefended, and continuall watche was kept by the magestrates of the citee least
the rebelles being poore and nedy woulde dissende from their campse and inuade the cytee
and spoyle, and robbe the riches and substânce of the marchautes. But the kyng deliuered
and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after \( \frac{1}{2} \) he perceaued that the Cornishmen
were all the daye ready to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent streight Ithon Earle of Ox-
forde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole earle of Suffolke, and sir Ryes
app Thomas, and Sir Homfrey Stanley noble warriers with a great company of archers
and horsmen to enuyn the hill on the right syde & on the left, to thentent \( \frac{1}{2} \) all bywayes
beynge stopped & forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from theim: And incontinet,
he being as wel encouraged with manly stomacke & desire to fight as furnisheed \( \frac{1}{2} \) a popu-
lous army & copie of artillery, set forward out of the cytee & encâped hym selfe in Sainct
Georges felde, where he the frydaye at nyght then lodged.

On the saturday in the mornynge, he sent the Lorde Dawbeney with a great compaignye
to set on theim early in the mornynge, which fyrst gyte the bridge at Detforde Strande
whiche was manfully defended by certeyne archers of the rebelles, whose arrowes as is re-
ported were in length a full yarde: While the erles set on theim on euery syde, the lorde
Dawbeney came into the felde with his cópany, & wout longe fightyng the Cornyshmen were
ouercome, but first they tooke the lord Dawbeney prisoner, & whether it were for feare or
for hope of favoure, they let hym go at libryte wout any hurt or detriment. There were
slayn of \( \frac{1}{2} \) rebelles whiche fought & resisted. ii. thousand mœ & moo & takè prisoners an in-
finite nobre, & enmost theim \( \frac{1}{2} \) black smyth & chiefe capiteins which shortly after were put
to death. This Mighell Ioseph, surnamed \( \frac{1}{2} \) black smyth one of \( \frac{1}{2} \) capteins of this dongs
hill & dræfè sacked ruffians, was of such stowe stomach & haute courage, \( \frac{1}{2} \) at thesame
time \( \frac{1}{2} \) he was drawn on the herdle toward his death, he sayd (as men do reporte) that for
this myscheuous and facinorous acte, he should haue a name perpetual and a fame permanêt
and immortal. So (you may perceauce) that desire and ambicious cupidite of vaine glorie
and
and fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswel poore and meane persones, as ÿ hertes of great lords and puysaunt princes to traunyale & aspire to thesame. Some affirme ÿ the kyng appoynted to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and anticipating the tyme by pollecie set on them vpon the Saturday before, being vnprouided and in no arraye of battle, and so by that pollecy obtyned the felde and victory.

When this battle was ended, the kyng wanted but. iii. C. of all his company that were slayne at that present conflicte. Also the capitynes apprehended & taken he pardoned, sauyng the chiefe capitynes & firste authours of that mischiefe, to whome he woulde neither shewe mercy nor lenity. For he caused the lord Audeliegh to be drawë from Newgate to the Towre hil in a cote of his awne armes painted vpon paper, reversed and al to torne, & there to be beheded ÿ. xxviii. day of Iyn. And Thomas Flamock and Myghell Ioseph he commanded after the fassy of treytours to be drawen, haged and quartered, & their quarters to be pytched on stakes, & set vp in diverse places of Cornewale, þ their sore puynshemëtes and terrible execucions for their treytorous attemptes and foolish hardy enterprices, might be a warning for other herafter to absteyne from committing lyke crime & offence. But because he was certifed that their countrye men beynty at home in Cornewale were by this skourge little mollefied or quieted, & were ready to move againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, yt any vngracious or euell mynded person would either moue or pricke them forwarde, he turned his purpose and caused them to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should wrappe him self in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his wit and councell to repprese and assuage all domestical and ciuile sindicion, to thenteth that he might the more seriously and intentifely set forward a puysaunt army agaynst the braggyng and vnfaythfull Scottes, byeng content at that time, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

THE. XIII. YERE.

While this busines was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beynty certesied of it by his espialles, and that there was none army reysed in England either to withstëd his powre or destroy his countrye, and herynyng also that kyng Henry and his nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornyshemen, and in a ciuile discorde and dissenccion emongest theimselfes: Wherfore he thought it necessary to anticipate the warre before hand. For wel he kneue that assone as kyng Henry had subdued and overturned his adversaries, that he would with his whole puysaunce inuade his realme and dominions: And thertore he inueded the frontiers of the realme of England wasystynge the countrye, burnyng the tounes and murtheryng the people, sparing neither place nor person. And while his light horsmen were ridyng to forrage and destroye the byshoprick of Durham and there burned all about, he with another company went about to expugne and assauyte the castell of Norham standyng on the ryuer of Twede, which devideith England and Scotland. The byshop of Durham which at that tyme was Richard Foxe, had well furnyshed it both with men and municions, vigilantly forseyng and imagenyng that the Scottish kyng (assone as he kneue that there was ciuile discorde and vnotural warre moued win the realme of England,) woulde with all his powre inuade and barythie the borders and couteys adioynyng to his land. This Richard Foxe was before called bishop of Exceteter, and for his singuler vertues and great grauitie was after that made bishop of Bathe and Welles, and last of all promoted and exalted to the byshoprick of Durham.

The bishop from tyme to tyme aduersitied ÿ kyng of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at Londen) and sent in al post hast to the Earle of Surrey to come to reskewe, which was then in Yorkshire and had collected a great army and a warlike compaigny. When the earle heard of these newes, he perceauyng that all thinges were not voyde of jeopardy, made no longe tariyng, but w all diligence marched forward and after him folowed other noble
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

noble mē oute of all quarters of ſ North, every one bringyng as many as they coulde gather for the defence of their naturall countrie and region. Emōgest whome the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe earle of Westmerland.
Thomas lord Dacres.
Raufe lord Neuell.
George lord Strange.
Richard lord Latyner.
George lord Lumley.
Ihon lord Scrope.
Henry lord Clifford.
George lord Ogle.
William lord Conyers.
Thomas lord Darcy.

Of knyghtes.
Thomas Baron of Hylton.
Sir William Percy.
Sir William Boulmer.
Sir William Gascoyne.
Sir Raufe Bygod.
Sir Raufe Bowes.
Sir Thomas a Parr.
Sir Raufe Elerker.
Sir Ihon Constable.
Sir Ihon Ratelyffe.
Sir Ihon Sauell.
Sir Thomas Strangueys.

with many other well proued and warlike men, whiche although in degree they were not per-
egall with these great lorde and knyghtes, yet in manhood and pollicyes of warre and va-
liante courage, they were to theim in all feactes equivalent. The nōbrē was lytle lesse then
xx. thousand men, besyde the nauie, wherof the lorde Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scottes had dyuerse dayes assaunted and beaten the Castell of Norham to the
no lytle detryment and dammage therof, and could make no batrye to entre into thesame,
they determinded of their awne minde to reys their siege and returne, and that somuch the
soner because they heard saye that the Earle of Surrey was within. ii. dayes journy of theim
with a great puissaunce. Wherfore king Iamy thought it to small purpose to tary any lenger
in beseyng the castell, reysed his siege and returned into his awne realme: When the Earle
knewe of the kynges retourne, he folowed after w all hast possible, trustyng surely to over-
take him and to geue hym battayle.

When the erle was entred Scotland, he prostrated and defaced the castle of Cawdrestenes.
The towre of Iltenhall, The towre of Edington, The towre of Tuldé: and he sent Norrey
kyng at armes to the capitaine of Hayton Castell, whiche was one of the strongest places be-
twene Berwyke and Edynborough, to delyuer him the castell, which he denied to do, affirming
that he was sure of spedy succours and swift aide. The erle perceayng the denial, layed
his ordenance to the will of the castell, and continuyng bet it from two of the clocke till. v. at
nyght, in suche wise that they within rendred vp, the fortresse, their lynes were saued. And when
they erle had reecayed the Scottes, he with his miners rased and ouerthrew the castell to the
playne grounde. The Scottishe kyng was within a mile of the siege, and bothe knewe it
and sawe the smoke and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or reskewe his
castell. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the kyng of Scottes sent to him Marchemount
& another heraulde, desryng him at his eleccion either to fight w whole puissaunce against
puissaunce, or elles they, ii. to fight person to person and hand to hand, requiring that if
the victory should falle to ſ Scottishe kyng, that then the erle shoulde delyuer for his raun-
some the towne of Berwyke, with the Fyshgarthes of thesame. The erle joyously, lyke a
courageous capaytyne receaued this message and made answere, that he was ready in the
playne felde to abyde the battayle with his whole armie, prayyng him to come forward with
his puissaunce, and after that he thanked hym heartly of the honoure that he offred him, for
surely he thought himselfe much honoured that so noble a prince would vouchesafe to admit
so poore an erle to fight w him body to body, asserteining hym further, ſ ſ toune of Berwyke
was the kyng his masters & not his ſ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor
gage without ſ kinges assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precio-
to him then al ſ ñ toune of ſ world, promisyng on his honour that if he toke the kyng pri-
soner in ſ singular combate, ſ he would release to hym all his parte of his fyue and raun-

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some, and if it chaunced the kyng to vanquise & apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a ransom as was mete & convenient for the degree of an erle. And when he had rewarded & dismissed the herauldes, he set his army in a redines abiding J commyning of the kyng of Scottes and so stoode all daye. But the Scottish kyng not regardyng his offres, nor performyng his great crakes & boastes, beyng afraied to cope w the Englishe nacion, shamefully & sodeinly fled in night season with all his powre & company. When J erle knewe the kyng was reculed, & had bene in Scotland, vi. or vii. daies beyng dayly & nightly vexed with continual wynde & vnmeasurable reyne, coulde not cause his people to contynue in that tempestuous vncertile & barayne region, with good advise retreated again w his whole army to the toune of Berwyke, & there dispersed his army every man into his countrey, taryng there him selfe tyll he knewe the pleasure of the kyng in furthering or protractyng the warres of Scotland: But in J meanes season one Peter Hylas, a man of no lesse learning then prudent wit and pregnant pollicy, was sent Ambassadour from Ferdinand kyng of Speyne vnto the king of Scottes to move & entreate a peace and an vntrie to be had betwene him & the kyng of England. For of kyng Ferdinand and Elyzabeth his wyfe (to which woman none other was comparable in her tyme) there was nothing more desyred nor wisshed then by the coinuncion of mariage betwene Arthure prynce of Wales heyre apparant to kyng Henry, & lady Katheryn the daughter of kyng Ferdynand and quene Elizabeth a new affiniety & aliancne might be knit and begonne betwene the realme of England and countrey of Speyne. And also he favoured somewhat the kyng of Scottes, for which cause he offered him selfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betwene bothe the prynces, their territoires and dominions.

This Peter Hylas sollicited and moued by all honest meanes & deuyces kyng Iames to assent to a vntrie & concorde, and when W long sollicityng he conceaued some good hope to growe in his weighty busynes, he wrote vnto the kyng of Engladd, that it would please him to send one of his nobilitie or council to be associate with him in concluding w the Scottish kyng. The kyng of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, harte or detriment) was not onely a lourer of peace, but also a norisher and a furtherer of amity and quietnes, & specially at this time when he was vexed with the ciuile sedicion of his awne propre shewe and flock, committed the charge of this weighty matter to Richard Fox Bishop of Durham, which laye on Thenglish borders in his castell of Norham. The bishopp accordyng to the kynges appointment went honorably into Scotland, where he and Peter Hylas at J towne of Tewodoor reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as conceyning this peace to be had. Sixe hundred codiacions were purposed on the one parte and theother, but after olde protracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor allowed, And one thing above all other dashed the whole treatie: For kyng Henry instantly required to haue Perkyn Warbeck the fourtayne and chiefe cause of all this tumult and vnquietnes, the perturber of him and his whole realme: But the kyng of Scottes fermely denied to cosent to any article that might sounde to his reproche or dishonour. And also he now began to smell and savour the iugelyng & false countreaving of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck. Yet because that Perkyn was alied to him by the holy sacrament of matrimony, he thought it both vnhonest, unreasonable & vnnatural to betraye his alye & deliner him to death & cufisio. Wherefore when they had reasoned J matter & diverse other vrgent & weighty causes by diverse daies of metyng, & J for J contrariety of opinions, no ferme peace could be concluded. In stead of peace, a truce was cõcluded for certine yeres vpon condició J Iames kyng of Scottes should conuey Perkyn Warbeck out of his realme, seignories and dominions.

While these things were reasoned & at J last cõcluded in the cõfines of England & Scotland, kyng Hery caused J ambassadoures of J Frech kyng, to be brought to his presence, & he them receaued w al benignecte which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their journey untill such time J the insurreccion of the Cornish men were suppressed and extinguished. And with the like entreteinemnet he embraced at J very season J lord of Campshire
henry and other orators of Philip archduke of Austrich & duke of Burgoyne, cõmyng to
him for ñ conclusiôn & cõtinuance of an amitie, & to haue the English marchauntes to resorte
to their countreay again, which frô thence before were prohibited & forbyddé. Whiche re-
quest being vere agreeable to ñ quietnes & tranquilitie of his realme, & especially at ñ time,
his was fauourably graunte & benyngly assent vnto. And so beyng confedera & alied by
treatie & league w al his neighbours marching on every side of his realmes & regions, he
gratified w his most hartie thanks kyng Ferdinand & the queene his wife, for ñ they were
the mediators, organes & instrumentes by the which the truce was concluded betwene the
Scottish kyng and him, and rewarded Peter the ambassadoure moost liberally and boun-
tefully.

So the Englishemen resorted again into the Archdukes dominios and were receaued
into Andwerp with generall procession, so glad was the toune of their returnyng, which wa-
ningratious, and empouerished that kyng, for ñ they were
the mediators, organes & instrumentes by the which the truce was concluded betwene the
Scottish kyng and him, and rewarded Peter the ambassadoure moost liberally and boun-
tefully.

Iames the kyng of Scottes seyng that he nowe perceaued howe he was by Perkyn mani-
festly deluded, according as he had faithfully promised. So he nowe duly performed it. For
he callynge to his presence theforsayde Perkyn Warbecke, declaryng to hym what benefites &
comodities he had receaued of his princely liberalitie & gentlenes, gentely requiring him
to departe out of ñ realme into some other countreay where he might make his abode more
surely and more quietly, vntil such tyme as fortune would pro vide a more prosperous
wonde to set forwardes ñ sayles of his purpose & desire, declaring vnto hym ñ he cõpelled
in maner by necessitee had concluded a league & cõcorde w ñ kyng of England, & by ñy
treatie, the refuge that he should haue had of him and his countreay was not onely to him
prohibited and forbidden, but also it was agreed & condiscended that neither the kyng of
Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name should make warre on the king of Eng-
land, whiche warre he gladly tooke in hand for Perkins sake, hauing sure confidece & per-
fight trust to haue bene aided and assisted w Perkyns frendes in England. But when he
perceaued ñ all was in vayne & ñ all his wordees were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be
displeased to departe, least his tariyng might be to him a detriment and a breakyng of the
treatie betwene hym & kyng Henry lately concluded, wherfore with many fayre wordes he
deseryd hym to departe. This Perkyn knowing the kynges pleasure was very sore amased,
seying there was no helpe to be loked for herafter in Scotland. Albeit remybryng the great
benefites which he had receaued hertofore of the Scottish kyng, which he thought him self
never hable to requite and deserue, that he might not sene to hym ingrate or not wyllynge
to folowe his desyre, he was content at his intercession to departe. And shortly after sayled
into Irelad with his wife & family, there determining w him selie either to sayle into Flau-
ders to ñ duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take parte with the Cornshmen. But howe
so euers it was, while he laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certyne
messengers that the Cornshmen for all their disconfort and plage not to be appeased, but
sore to grudge and murmoure against kyng Henry, and that they were prone and ready to
renue the warre agayne the kyng and the prynce: Where he not entendyng to forsake so
faire an occasion so manifestly offered, he hauing with him. iii. smal shippes & not aboue.
vi. skore men, sayled into Carnowale and there landed in the moneth of September and
came to a toune called Bodman, and there dyd so sollicit, prouoke and stirre the mutable &
wauring people, what with fayre wordes and large promises that he gathered to hym aboue
three thousand persones whychhe immediately called hym their capiteyne, and sayde that they
would take his part and folowe hym to the death, and in al things obey his preceptes and
commandementes.

Then Perkyn was well encouraged and made proclamacions in the name of kyng Richard
the. iii. sonne to kyng Edward that last died. And by the aduise of his. iii. counsellers, Ihon
Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Scelton a tayler and Ihon Astely a Skreuener, men of
more
more dishonestie then of honest estimation, determined first of all to assaulte and beate all walled and strange towne and fortresses, and them to receaue into his possession and seigniorie for his farther securitie and defence: And that entreprice ached, then he woulde augment his hoost and marche forwarde against all persones that durst once offre them selfes to withstand hym.

When he and his imprudent counsayll were fully resoloved on this pointe and conclusion, they in good ordre went streight to Excester, which was the next citee that he could approche to, and besieged it, and because he lacked ordinaire to make a battreie to raise & deface this walle he studied all the wyes possible how to breake and inflynghe the gates, and what with casting of stones, heuyng with yron barres & kyndeling of fier under the gates, he omitted nothing could be devised for furtheraunce of his vngracios purpose. The cytzeens perceaving their towne to be entyrnonned with enemies and lyke to be enflamed, begunne at first to be sore abashed, and let certeyn messengers by cordes downe ouer the walle which should certesfe this kyng of all their necessetie & trouble. But after that, takynge to them lusty heartes and manly coursages they determined to repulse fyer by fyer, & caused faggotes to be brought to and toward part of the portes and porternes and set them all on fier, to thentent this fier being enflamed on bothe the sydes of the gates, might aswel exclude their enemies from entring, as include this citzeens frō romnyng or flying out, and they in the meane season might make trenches and rāpayres to defende their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwerkes. Thus all the doynges and attemptes of the rebellious people had euell succes in their first entreprice: And thus by fier the citee was preserued from flame and burnyng. Then Perkyn byeg of very necessitie compelled to leue the gates, assaulted this toune in diuers weake and unfortified places, and set vp ladders, attempting to clime ouer the walles and to take the citee, thinking surely to compell the cytzeens either by feare or lacke of succoure to rendre their selfes and yelde the toune. But the cytzeens nothing so mynded, so courageously lyke valiant chōpons defended this walles, that they slewe aboue. ii.C. of his sedicious souldiers at this assaulte.

Assone as the messengers of Excester came to the kyngs presence and shewed their instructions, he hasted with his hoost towarde Excester w as much hast as the grannie of the cause did require & expostulate. And sent the lord Dawbeny with light horsmen before to certesfe all men of his commynynge at hand. But in the meane seasson lord Edward Corteney erle of devonshire & lord William his sonne, a man of great force & valiantnes, accompanied with Sir Edmond Carewe, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courteney, sir Thomas Fulforde, sir Ihon Halewe, sir Ihō Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egecébe, Wiliä Sétauare, with all speade came into the citee of Excester and holpe the citezens, and at the last assaulted the Erle was hurte in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of his company, but very fewe slayne.

When Perkyn with his lewdecaption sawe this citee of Excester was so well forstfied bothe with men and municions, and of them in maner impregnable, fearyng the sequale of this matter, departed from Excester with his lowaysmyny to the next great town called Tawnto, and there the xx. daye of September he mustered his men as though he were ready to fight, but his nober was sore munished. For when the pore and nedy people sawe the great defence which was made at Excester, & that no men of honour nor yet of honest drewe to hym, contrary to the prones and assurance made by hym and his concelers to them at the beginnyng, they with drewe them selfes by sondry secret compaignynes from him, in promlynyng their aunne saugarde. Which thinge when Perkyn perceayned, he put small trust and lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward dyd appere, because the moost parte of his soulioniures wer harnessed on the right arme and naked all the body, and neuer exercised in warre nor marciiall feates but only with the spade and shouell.

When the kyng heard he was gone to Tawnto, he hastened after him with al speede. Thether came to the king Edward duke of Buckyngham, a yonge prince of a grete courage and of a synguler good witt, and him folowed a great compaignie of noble men, knights
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

knightes and Esquyres, prepared and redy with all thinges necessary for the felde and bat-
tayle. Enomgest which nomber was sir Alexander Baynham, Sir Mawrice Berkeley, Sir Ro-
bert Tame, Sir Itho Guyse, Sir Robert Poyntz, sir Hery Vernon, Sir Jhon Mortimer, Sir
Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlett, Sir Itho Byckenel, Sir Itho
Sacotes, Sir HUGH Lutterell, Sir Frances Chynney and many other knightes, esquyres and
valyaunte personages. When the kyng approched nere to the toune of Tawntone, whether
he woulde not defere and put of the batayle, or whether he doubtyng the turne of for-
tunes whele, sent before hym Robert lord Brooke Iorde Stuarte of his house, Gyles lord
Dawbeney his chiefe chamberlayn, and Sir Rice app Thomas, to set on his enemies and be-
gynne the batayle, & he with his powre folowed, to thentent that when the armies couped &
ioyued together, he either shoulde w newe succours refresh his awne armu or elles set on the
backe of his enemies or they could espie him. Albyet the kyng had no great nede to use suche
pollecy yf he had knowne what sequele had ensued. For assonse Perkyn was enformed of his
enemies were ready to gynne him batayle, he that nothynge lese mynded then to fight in open
felde with the kynges puissauance, dissimuled al day tym w his company, as though nothing
coulde make him afeard, & aboue myndight byng accompanied wix horson departed frô Tawntone in post to a sanctuary teune besyde Southampton called Beaudeley, & there he
& Ith Ambro Heron & other registed them selues as persones privileged. But whether Perkyn
dyd this for feare, least his men shoulde forsake hym, or for the cowardenes of his awne ty-
morous courage, it is asmuch vncretayne, as it is probable & sure that the kyng tooke by hys
flight greate commoditee & quietnes, by reason yf he was enforced to fight with y Cornish
men, whose hartes and courages were so encreased & inflamed by deadly desperacion that
they earnestly determined & were stedfastly bent either to winne victory & ouercome their
enemies or elles not one of them all to lyue any daye or houre lenger.

When kyng Henry knew of Perkyn was fled & departed, he sent after him of lord Dawbeney
v. w. c. horson toward of side to intercept him before he should come there. But Perkyn
whome of matter touched at the quick, made such haste with the swiftnes of his horse &
sharpenes of his spurrres that he was so farre passed on his way before, yf no person could
tell tydyinges of him, before he regestered and disclosed hym selue in the sanctuare. But
hys chiefe Capiteynes whiche fled, could not so craftely escape, for the moost part of them
were apprehended, & as captives and wretches, miserably presented to the kyng. When the
resyde of the common people could neyther see Perkyn nor yet the standards nor
guyselidomes of their capiteynes, not knowynge where he was become, doubting whether he
were fraudulently slayn or fearfully fled, wist not what counsell to ask or what way was
most surest to folowe & take. But when thei were asserctined of his moost shamefull
flight, every person oppressed with this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perell,
cast away their armure, submitted them selues to the kyng, holdynge vp their handes in
askynge mercy, offerynge & promising hym, faythye, loyalte and obeyance. To whome the
kyng of moost gentely heart and lewte, not only graunted perdon but receaued them to his
faunoure. And so the kyng beyng a conquerour withoute manslaughtur or effusion of chris-
ten blood roade triumphantly into the cyte of Exceter, and there not only lauded & prei-
sed the cytezês of Exceter, but also redred to them his most hartie thikes, aswell for their
duety done as for their valyauntnes. And there also he afflicted and put in exectiô dînerse
Cornishmen which were the aucthous and sturrers vp of this newe insurreccion and false
conspiracy.

The horson were sent, wont any stop or obstacle in shorte space came to saint
Michelles monie, & there (as chancie was) found lady Katheryn Gorden wife to Perkyn
and brought hir streight lyke a bond woman & captuye to the kyng. And the kyng wondering
at her beautie and amyable comportmen sheught her a praye more mete for the chiefe capi-
taine then for the meane souldeiourues, began then a lytly to phantaise her person and sent hir
incontinently accompanied w a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentelwome (because she was
but a youge woman) to London to the queyne as a true and undoubted token of hys triumph
& victory.
& victory. And while he reposed him selfe at Excetter, he iudged that he had nothyng wonne, nor yet plucked vp by the roote of this sedicious rebellion, except he coulde get into his possession the chiefe hed and type of this pestiferous faction and busynes. Wherfore he enuyroned the sanctuary whiche Perkyn was in, rounde aboute with ii. companies of light horsemen, well wytty and vigilant persons, to thentent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapyng awaye. And after that he attempted this younge foundelyng by trusty and pollicte messenger, if he hauing perdon and remission of all mischeuvs and heinous offences by him done against the kyng and his realme, would gladly submyt hym selfe to the kyng and be to hym feithfull true and obedient. Perkyn beyng nowe destitute of all hope, fyayluye of his dwellynge place, and lacking comforte, aide and refuge considerynge that he was nowe brought to the verie poynete and pricke of extremetye that he wist not whether nor howe to fly into any countreys for succour, and also he was in outre despayre to haue hereafter any prosperous chaunce or fortunate sucesse in his enterprice, because he had so often attempted and so many times had been defoyed and vanquished, wherefore he hauyng his perdon to hym offred, and trusting to the opÆ promes of mÆ of his awne will franckly and freely departed out of sanctuary and committed hym selfe to the kynges pleasure, & so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Then was the kyng very glad that this warre was ended, and toke his journey immediatly towards London, not without a great concourse of people metynge hym oute of every quarter to see this Perkyn as he were a Monstre, because he beyng an alien of no abilitie by his poore parentes (although it was other wise talked and dissimuled) durst once invade so noble a realme, and it to infecte with suche yyes and lesynge, and chiefly of all that he by his crafty subornacions had persuaded diuerse aswell noble as ignoble (not without the confusion and vndoing of many of them) to beleue and saye that he was the same very person that he feigned and peynted hym selfe to bee. But when the kyng was come to London, he appoynted certeyne keepers to attende on him whiche shoulde not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his person, to thentent that he might neyther conueyng hym selfe oute of the land, nor flye any whether, nor yet pronoked and procured by other shoulde be hable to sowe agayne no newe sedicion nor sedicious tumult within his realme & countrieyes.

When these tidynges came to the lady Margarete in Flauders that Perkyn her dere darling had no good lucke but losse, bothe of his entreprise and her great studious furtherraunce, and was brought into captiuice, she was not well pleased with them, but wepte and lamented hys vnlucky spede, and cursed her infortunate chaunce.

When these thynge were brought to passe accordyng to the kynges mynde, he dyd not forget that there was no more a delectable and pleasantaunt thynge, nor a larger reyne of mischicke geuen to ý vulgare people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende wout any punishment or correccion: Wherfore to thentet herafter to observe his people in a dewe obeyance & filiall subieccion, he shortly caused inquiries to be made of diuerse offences. Wherupon diuerse persones aswell in somerset shire as deuonshire were accused and presented ý they had aided both ý mÆ & money ý Comish treytours, not ony after their discoutry in returnyng homeward, but also in their marchynge forward enteding to make bataille against ý kyng beyng their souereigne & liege lord. All which offenders he determined to plague & skourge according to ý quittite of their crime & office ý great fines & sore assemetes. And theryfore he committed this charge to Thomas lord Darcy, to Amis Paulct knight and Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules after bishop of Checester.

These comissioners like a whirlewynde tossed & perced ý cofers & substanse of all the inhabitaantes of bothe the countres, to thentet ý no person being embroued or spotted ý ý yuke of ý abominable crime, shoulde escape ý peyne whiche he wortly had deserved: but they were gentle & remisse to a great nobre, & specially to such as offended by coercion & feare, rather then of malicious heart or envious mynde. Yet were they to none so favourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishmet, so that equite therin was very well and justly executed.
THE XIII. YERE.

In this yere a sodeyne chance, ye a thynge of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kyndeled agayne \( y \) olde displeasure and grudge betwene king Henry \& king Iames of Scoulij, \( y \) they could sacre kepe their hædes \& bridle their courages from warre \& fighting. The first motion of this displeasure was thus: Certayne young men of \( y \) Scottes came armed vnto Norhæ castel \& behelde it woderous circumspicetly, as though they had bene desirous to know what was done there \( w \). But when \( y \) keepers of \( y \) castell could not percewe any hostilitie or damage towards him or his, \& seyng them departe of their awne accrde, determined it not couenient to moue any quesstio to theim nor once to stirre oute. But when thei came again \( y \) next day \& viewed it likewyse, the keepers of thesaide castel suspectynge some fraude to lurcke in their lookynge, demaunded of them what was their entent, \& why they vewed and aduised so the castell. The Scottes euyn like theim selves, aunswered theim proudly and rusticely with many disdeynfull woordes. Insomuch that after their blastering and blowing answers made, Thenglishmen being vexed and moued there with al, replied to theim with hard \& manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on bothe partes, \( y \) divers Scottes wounded \& some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of Thenglish people, fled as fast as their horses would carye theim. When they came home and certeyd the kyng of thesame, he was therewith sore moued \& angry, and swere by swete sainct Ninyan \( y \) there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnedfast then the observyng of the league by the kyng of England, and sent word thereof to king Henry in all hast by Marchemount his heraiule.

The kyng of England which nothing more embraced and desired then quiet tranquilitie and perfiighte loue and amitie with all prynces being his neigbhours and borderers, to thentent that he might lyue in his later dayes in an honest and quiet lyfe after so many labours and vexacions euyn from his infancy drawen and exercised in, made hym aunswerthe that it was not done through his defaulte, neither by his counsell nor knowledge, but rather by the temerarious folli of \( y \) keepers of the castell, requyryng him for that cause not to thinke the league infriged, promising in the woord of a kyng to enquyer of the truth and who were the malefactours. And if \( y \) offence were founde to be begone on the partic of the keepers of the castell, he assured hym that they should for no mede \& faunoure escape peyne \& punishment. This aunswerwer although it were more then reasonable, could not mitigate or assuage the Scottes angre and outrageoussnes, for the which cause, Rycharde bishop of Durhan, which was more heaue then all other because that this disorde was renued agaygne betwene these two prynces by occasion of Castell keepers, he thercfore thought it best first to assuage and coole the furious rage of the Scottyshe kyng, and wrote many letters to hym, requyryng hym of peace and vnite. The kyng perceauyng bothe the good will and constant grauytie of the bishop, appeased his fury and aunswered gentely to the bishops letters by writyng agayne to hym, sayng that because he had many secret and preuy thynge in his mynde which he would communike only with hym touching the cause nowe in variaunc, he therefore requyred hym to take peyne to come into his countrye, trustyng that he should thinke his labour well bestowed. The bishoy was very glad and sent woord to the kyng his master, of kyng Iames desyre, who estemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therefore willed hym to accomplishe \( y \) Scottish kynges honest desyre.

When he came into Scotland, he was receaued with all humanee that could be thought of the kyng hym selfe at an Abbey called Mellrose. And there after that the kyng for a countenaunce had complayned muche of the crueltie and slaughter that was vsed towards his men late at Norham, he easely remitted the offence and perdone it, and began secretly to couenent without any witnesses or arbitrers were hand with the bishop alone. And first declared
clared to him what olde & iuste causes haue moued him before this, to seke aliaunce & amitie
with kyng Henry, which now he desyred muche more to haue confirmed & corroborate for
the farther maintenaunce of loue and encrease of fréndship, which thing he doubted not,
but shoulede sorte to a fortunate effect and good conclusion, if Kyng of England would
vouche safe to geve to him in matrimony his first begoté daughter Lady Margaret, to
which point he determined not longe agoone to sende his Ambassadors into Englad, which thing
he would the sooner do if he knew this bishops mynd & entet ready to further his loving pur-
pose. The bishop answered but fewe wordes, saying when he were returned to the king
his master, he would do the best in kynt matter laye in his powre. Which wordes animated
much the king, & put him in good hope to sende his oratours to the king of England to sue
for thesaide matrimony to be concluded.

When the bishop had taken his leve, & was come to the king, he declared to him in ordre
all the communicacion between kyng Iames & him. This request pleased the king very
much, to whome peace was ever a souereygn cordiall, and determined surely to mi-
nister occasio of warre to no man, nor woulde have any prync to prouoke hym to thesame.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, & Edward erle of War-
wick to approche: for after this facte done & commetted, one fierce & strege waue deuoured &
swallowed both their lyues not long adoner, as you shal hear by cotinuaclo of this story.
Perkyn, whether it greued hym to be kept inwarde, or els that he was instigatet &
entised by some of his olde frédes to sturre more coles, & begin some new sedilius faccio,
or at the last, because he woulde willfully wast & cast away hym selfe, studied how to escape
& flye away, hauing perfight hope he should fynd occasio to bring al thinges wel to passe,
ifhe could coueigh hym selfe once out of the Englishmens handes. And although he were not
ignorat, that he neither coulde do nor ymagyn any thing but the kyng woulde bothe hearre of
it and knowe it. Yet he seduced w hope of evasion and skapping which was the chiefe co-
forte of his captiuitie, had leuer put all thinges in a profet & hasarde, rather then lieger
tollerate and sufte the present calamyte and dayly misery. And so deceauyng his kepers
toke him to his heele, by the which he brought him selfe into a streyghter custody and prison,
and wrapper him selfe into tortures and punnishmentes: for when he came to the sea coastes,
and had gone but a little forward se his journy, when the rumour of his flight was spreade
abroade, every by way and lane was set abroade with the kings garde, which had custody
of his body. Wherefore he beyng sore abashed w the clamour of them that searched
and made inquyrie for him, & being in maner destitute of wit & counsail, altered
of necessite fro his pretensed journy, & came to the house of Bethlem, called priory of Shene beside Rychemod in Southrey, & commetted him selfe to the pryor of monastery, requiring him for Gods sake to ake and desire his life and perdó of the kynges ma-
nostic. The pryor which for his vertuous qualities was had in great estimacion, moued with
the calamyte and infortunate state of this man, came to the kyng & shewed him of this
Perkyn, whose perdon he humbly craued, & franckely obtyned it. Incontinent after thy
Perkyn was brought to the court agayne to Westminyster with many a curse and reproche, and
was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, before the dore of Westminyster hall, and
there stode an whole daye, not without innumerable reproches mockes & skorninges. And
next day was caried thorough London, & set vpon a lyke skaffolde in Chepe by the stárdard,
with lyke gynnes and stockes as he occupayd the daye before, and there stode al daye and
red openly his awne confession written with his awne hande, the very copy wheroof hereafter
ensueth.

First it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the toune of Turney in Flanders, & my fa-
thers name is Iphon Osbeck, which sayd Iphon Osbeck was cótroller of the sayde toune of
Turney, & my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my grauntires vpon my
fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my grauntmother was
maryed vnto the withunamed Peter flam, was reccauer of the forenamed toune of Turney,
& Deane of the botemen v rowe vpon the water or Ryuer, called Leschelde. And my gra-
tuire
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sire upon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his kepynge  his keyes of the gate of sainct Ioannis, win the same toune of Turney. Also 1 had an uncle called master Ihon Stelyn, dwelling in  parish of sainct Pyas within the same toune, which had married my fathers suster, whose name was Ionue or Iane, with whom I dwelled a certaine causo. And afterward I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learn Flamishe, in a house of a cousin of mine, an officer of the said toune, called Ihô Stiebeck, where I was in space of halfe a yere. And after 1 returned again to Turney, by reason of  warres  were in Flauders. And win a yere following I was sent in a merchant of  said toune of Turney named Berlo, and his Masters name Aleäder, to the marrie of Andwarpe where I fell sycke, which sickness continued upon myne monethes. And the sayde Barlo set me to boorde in a skinners house that dwelled beside the house of the English nacion. And by him I was from thence carried to Barowe marrie, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two monethes. And after this the sayde Barlo set me with a merchant of Middelborouge too seruyce, for to leare the language, whose name was Ihon Strewe, with whom I dwelled frome Christmas till Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companie of Sýr Edward Bramtoure wyile in a shyppe which was called the queenes shyppe. And when I was come thether, then I was in seruice to a kynghte that dwelled in Losborne, which was called Peter Vace de cogyn, with whom I dwelled and a whole yere, which sayde kynght had but one eye. And because I desired to se other countries, I toke lycence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruice with a Bryton, called Pregent Meno, which brought me with him unto Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the toune of Corke, they of the toune, because I was arrayed with some clothes of slyke of my saide maistres, came vnto me & threped vpo me I should be duke of Clareëce some was before tyme at Deuclyn. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me a holy euangelist & the Crosse by Mayre of the toune, which was called Ibor le Wellen, & there in presence of him & other I toke myne othe as truth was, I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, who one Ihon water, & saide to me in swearing grete othes that they knew well I was kyng Richardes bastard sonne: To whome I answered with like othes I was not. And then they advised me not to be a fearde, but I should take it vpo me boldly, and if I would so do they woulde aide & assist me in all their powre against the kyng of England, & not only they, but they were assured well the erles of Desmôd & Kyldare should do the same. For they forced not what party they toke, so they might be reuenged vpo the kyng of Englead, & so against my will made me to learn English, & taught me what I should do & saye. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, secod sonne of kyng Edward 1, iij, because king Richardes bastard sonne was in hâdes of the king of Englead. And vpo this I said Ihô water, Stephyn Poytron, Ihon Tyler, Hugbert Burghe with many other as the foresaid Erles, entred into this false quarell. And within shorte tyme after, the French king sent an Ambassadour into Ireland, whose name was loyte Lucas, & master Stephyn Frya, to aduertise me to come into Frane. And thence I went into Frane, & fro thence into Flauders, & fro Flauders into Ireland, & from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same daye, which was the xv. day of Iuyne was come (partly because the king had perdone him his life, & partly because he should no more reme awaye, and put the kyng in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was committed to the Towre of Lôôdô, where his wickednes boylinge so hoate within his carcarme stomacke woulde not sufer him to escape the punishment & vengeunce of God, but shortly after was moost iutely and worthily put to death, as hereafter shalbe shewed.
EDward Plantagenet ecle of Warwike, of whome ye haue heard before, beyng kept in
the Towre almost fro his tender age, that is to saye, fro his first yere of the kyng to thys.
xv. yere, out of al company of mæ & sight of beastes, so much that he coulde not descerne
a Goose from a Capon. And where as he by comen reason & open apparaunce, could
not by his owne doynges seke his death & destrucciō, yet by dryft & offence of another
man, he was brought to his ende & confessed. For a freer Augustyn on ye border of Suffolke
called Patricke, to thentent to bring this ecle into disdayn and hatred, had a certain skoler
called Raufe Wilford, whom he greatly fauoured, & in whose bed he ever distilled & enufased
this folishe & fantastical coiecte, if he would follow his couïsal, & advise, he would easily
couey them to ye kingdom of Englands. The skoler like a good disciple, did not deny
to follow his masters discipline & couïsai but more & more desired & put his master
in remembrance to perfoime & accomplish w all sped, ye thing which of his own libe-
ralite, he before had to him both promised & assured sayng, what Mecocke or dastard
is so sore afeard of trasgressing ye law or tymerous of punishment; ye which for to obteine
a kingdou will not attept to do, & suffer all thinges ye be possible to be assayed & tasted?
So if they betwene the selues secretly had také a crafty deliberacio & couïsaied of their en-
terprice, & had deuised in their felish wittes, how it should be brought to passe, they wet
both together in to Kent (which country in auncient tymes hath not bene dill in settinge fourth
of newe phantastical fantasyes) and thare beganne this younge mawmet to tel preuely to
many that he was the very ecle of Warwike, and lately gotten out of the Towre, by ye helpe
of this freer Patricke. To the whiche saviynes when the freer perceaued hope to be guen,
he declared it openly in the pulpit, and desyred all men of helpe.

But the head of thys sedicion was sommer toppid, that it coulde haue no tymes to sryngle any
higher, the Master and the skoler beyng bothe apprehended and caste into pryson, and affaynt-
ed. Of the whiche twoo, the skoler was hanged on Shroutueday, at sayncte Thomas water-
ynges, and the freer was condemmed to perpetuall pryson and captuutie. For at that tymes here
in Englynde so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that to a priest, although he
had committed hygh treason agaynst hys soureygne lorde and to all other, offendors in murder,
rape or theft, which had receaued any of the. iii. higher holy orders, the lyfe was guen, and
the punyshmente of death released. The chief cause of thys fauoure was this, because Bis-
shoppes of a longe tymes and caesen dyd not take knowlege, nor intermit them selues with the
serche and punyshment of suche heynous and detestable offences, by reason whereof they
did not disgrace and depruye from the holy orders suche malefactours and wcked persons,
whiche without that ceremoney, by the canonical lawe coulde not be put to deathes. Furthermore,
what shoulde a man saye, it was also vseyd that he that coulde but onely reade (ye although he vnderstode not what he redde) howe heynous or detestable a cryme soo euer he
had committed (treason onely except) shoulde likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders
be saued, and committed to the Bishoppes pryson. And to thentent that if they should es-
cape, and be agayne taken, comitting lyke offence, that their lyues should be no more to
them perdone, it was ordeyned that murtherers should be bret in the brawne of the left
hande with an hote Iron signed with this lettre M, and theues in the same place w this lettre
T, so if they which were once signed w any of these markes or tokens did reiterate like
cryme & offence again, should sufere the paynes & punishmentes, which they had both mer-
ited and desuered. Which devise was enacted & establised in Parlement kept in the. ii.
yere of this kynges reigne, & taken as I coiecture of the Frenche natio, which are woneto,
if they take any such offendor to cut of one of his eares, as a sure token & marke hereafter
of his euell doyng. And the charge of kepyng such offendors, that be onely imprisoned by their
offences, because it soundeth to spirittual religion is committed to the bishops & rulers of the
spiritaalite, with a penalitee set vpon them if any, such prisoner do afterward escape. The whiche
acts
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

acte & privilege did norish & encrease aboûdantly the sect & swarme of theuæ & murther-
ers, for after they tyme there were an hundred wayes practised & inuented how at one time or another, to deliever or conuey them out of prysyon and capituite, by makyng their purgacio (by what sleight & meanes they care not) of such oﬀences as before they were conuined and founde gylte, if no man be present to laye excepcions to the same. For if the partie oﬀended and hurte be absent at the day of the purgacio making, the thefe or murderer truly founde gilty from the beginning, shall be both excused & set at libertie. And oftentymes the soner, because the bishop would not lease so great a summe as an hundred pondes for the escape of a poore knaue, skant woorth a dandyprat: But nowe to returne to oure mater agayne.

Perkyn (of whom e rehersall was made before) beynge nowe in holde, coulde not leane with the destruccion of him selfe, and confusiô of other that had associate the selves with him, but bega now to study which way to flye & escape. For he by false persuasions and liberal promises corrupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier hys kepers, beynge servuantes to sir Ihon Dygby lieutenant. In so muche that they (as it was at their arrayment openly proued) entended to haue slayn the sayde Master, and to haue set Perkyn and the erle of Warwyke, at large, which erle was by them made preuy of this enterprize, & therunto (as all naturall creatures love libertie) to his destruccion assented. But this craftie device and subtil imagyncion, beynge openned and disclosd, sorted to none eﬀect, and so he beynge repulsed and put back fro all hope and good lucke with all hys complices and conﬁdentes, and Ihon Awarter someyme Mayre of Corfe in Irelande, one of hys fouders, and hys sonne, were the sixten daye of Nouembre arrayned and condemned at Westynyster. And on the three and twenty daye of the same moneth, Perkyn and Ihon Awarter were drawen to Tyborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a little skaffolde, rede hys confession, which before you haue heard, and take it on hys death to be true, and so he and Ihon Awarter asked the kyng foruceunes and dyed pacioytely. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Ayle and com-ment of Perkyn Warbecke, which as in his life with false persuasions and vntrw surprises had broughte many noble personages to death and ytter perdicion, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not undeserved poyshment. And emôgest other Edward erle of Warwicke whiche as the fame went, consented to breake prysyon, and to de parte out of the realme with Perkyn (which in prysoners is high treason) was the. xxi. daye of the sayde moneth arreygned at Westynyster before the Erle of Oxforde, then high Constable of England, of the saide treason, whiche whether it were by the enticemët of other or of hys awne frewill (many men doubte, because of hys innocency) confessed the fact and submitted hym selfe to the kyngs mercy. And upon hys confession he had his judgメント, and accoruyng therunto, the. xxviiij. daye of Nouembre. M. eccc. xxix. was brought to the skaffolde on the Towre hill, and there beheld. The fame after hys death springe abroade, Ŷ Ferdinandy kyng of Spayne woulde neuer make full conclusiô of the matrimony to be had betwene prynce Arthur and the lady Katheryn hys daughter nor sende her into England aslonge as this erle lyned. For he imagened that as longe as any erle of Warwicke lyned, that England should neuer be cleansing or purged of Cynyle warre and preuy sedicion, sommune was the name of Warwicke in other regions had in feare and gealousy.

The next yere after there was a great plague, whereof men dyed in many places very sore, but specially and most of all in the citie of London, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kynges called the maner of Shene Situate, & liyngenygh the Thamys side, whiche he after buyldedy agayne sumptuously & costly, and channed the name of Shene, and called it Rychemond, because hys father and he were erles of Ri-chemonde. The kyng perceayng this plague and contagious disease, rather to increase then decrease, whether it was to aduyode the occasion of the sicknes, or to allure the arch-deke Philip of Burgoyne to commy with hym, he personally toke his ship at Douer, in the beginnyng of May, and sayled to Caleys, to thentent to prouide and see the watches, whiche have bene accustomed to be diligently keppe and maynteyned against the incursiôs of his aduersaries, & there he made polletique ordinauces & streyte lawes. While the kyng laye thus
thus at Caleys, the archduke Philip sent to him diverse notable personages, not alone to gratifie and welcome hym into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archduke offred to repair personally to his presence, with suche a nombre as the kyng should ap"poynt, so that it were within no walled toune or fortesse. For he had before diverse tynes made denyall to the Frenche kyng to entere into any of his walled tounes, & if he should as he gladly woulde come to the toune of Caleys, it might be a president to Fréch kyng to desire like meting, what chance thereof might fall, every ma could not judge. The kyng gently entreteyned the Ambassadours, but more thankfully accepted the Archdukes offer, and so appoynted the place at saint Peters churche without Caleys. Vpon the Tuesday in Pentecost weke, the Archduke came thether with a convenient company. The kyng and the queene with many alusty lorde and lady rode thether to welcome hym. And when the kyng approached, the duke at his lightynge offred to holde his styrope, whiche the kyng in no wise woulde suffice to be done. When the kyng was dissended from his horse he and the Archduke embraced eche other with moost princely familiaritie, and thene the queene and all the nobles saluted hym. What banquettyng, what myrthe and what passe tyme there was I passe ouer. But to conclude, there was communicacion of marriages, treateyng of further coroboracion of leagues, requestes of tolles in Flannders to be mynistred, with many other things, touchyng thentreprice & traufique of bothe their realmes. And when all things were set in an ordre, the two princes louingly toke their leaue and departed, the king to Caleys, and the Archduke to saynet Omeres.

After this departing, the Frenche kyng Lewes the xii. sent to visite the kyng, the lorde Gronthouse governoure of Picardy, and the lorde Mernelles, bayly of Amyas, whiche declared to the kyng the getting of Millayn, and takyng of the duke, whiche lordes were highly feasted and with great rewardes departed.

THE XVI. YERE.

SOone after when this plague was slaked, the kyng returned agayn to England, about the ende of Iune: and beyng came into England, some after there came to him one Gasper Pous a Spanyard (bothe for learning and good behaueour very excellent) sent from Alexander bishop of Rome, whiche should shewe the Englishmen the right way to heaven. Therefore that yere was called the yere of Lubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand yfue hundred. And to thinke that the people of farre countries might be eased of their labour and trauce in connyng thether, the charitable father sent hys legates into every country to destribute the heavenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, whiche either letted by warre, enemies, infinitie, weaknes or tediousnes of the longe journey, were not hable to performe their journey to holy cytie of Rome. But thys benevolent liberalitie was not francke & frely genen: For the holy bishop Alexander, with helping and lokyng to the health of mennes soules, thought somewhat to do for hys awne private commoditie and singuler wealth, and thence he limitted and set a certayne price of this hys grace & pardon: & to thende that hys king should not hyndre nor let hys purpose, he offered parte of this his gyane unto the kyng. And that the people might the soner wynishis their purses, and enryche hys cheste, he promised that he woulde in the begynnyng of the yere make warre in all the hast agaynst the great Turcke. By thys meanes and pollice, thys Alexander gat, accumulated & heaped vp a great summe of money, and yet no battayle begonne agayne the Turcke, which in the meane censum had takë, conquered & destroyed many regions, cities and tounes belonging to Christen men, but God amend all that is amisse.

Aboute this time dyed. iii. Bishops in England, Ihon Morton bishop of Caunterbury, Thomas Langto bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Rotheram bishop of Yorke. After hym succeeded Thomas sauage bishop of London, in whose place succeeded doctor Willia Warham of
of whom we made mention before. And Henry deane bishop of Salisbury was made archbishop of Canterbury. Also Rycharde Foxe bishop of Durnia, was prefected to the bishopricke of Winchester. Also this yere two notable marrieages were concluded and agreed vpö, but neither solenised now, nor cussommate as you shall here afterwaite. For king Henry granted his daughter ladye Margaret to Iames the iiij. kyng of Scottes. And Ferdinand kyng of Spayne gaue his daughter lady Katheryn to Arthur prynce of Wales, sonne & heyre apparaunt to y king of England. And it is to be considered that in the kyng Henry did not ioyne this Affinitie with the kyng of Scottes without cause: For he desiring nothing more then to passe over the remanant of his life in peace, rest and tranquillite, ymagened in hime selfe by this coniunction & coplement of matrimony, no warre or hostilitie hereafter should be attempted either agaynst hym or his dominions by the Scottishe kyng or his nacion haungyng sure trust that none other of hys enemies or of hys rebellies should hereafter be resenned or mayntayned in the dominions and territories of hys sonne in lawe. And amongst all other articles this was concluded and appoynted, that no Englishmen should entre into Scoteland, without letters commendatorie of their awne sovereign lord, or sauecondyte of his wardeyn of the marches, and that prohibicion was in lyke maner genen to the Scottes.

THE XVII. YERE.

Ye haue heard before, how that the mariag was agreed betweene prynce Arthur of England, & the lady Katheryne of Spayne, & how the kyng her father promised to sende her with great honour into England: He nowe this yere according to his promises conveyed her wy a puissant nauye toward England, where she aryned in the porte of Plymnouth the seconde daye of October, then beyng Saterday. When the kyng was certeined of her arryual, incotinnet he sent both for price Arthur his sonne into Wales to repaire into Londö, & sent dierse great lodes and kynghtes to coney her with triumphe toward her spouse & husband. And vpon the xii. daye of Novembre, she was conveyed from Lambeth thorough London with all triumphe and honour that could be disposed or ymagened, to the Bishops paleys, by the Cathedrall churche of s. Paules. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe over the wyse deceis, the prudent speches, the costly worke, the conninge portraitures practised and set forth in vii. goody beaufitul pageantees erected & set vp in dierse places of the cite. I leaue also goody ballades, swete armony, the Musickall instrumentes, which sounded with heavenly noyses on euy side of the strete. I omit further, the costly apparel both of golde and siluer worke & embraundry, the ryche jewelles, the massy chaynes, the surynge horses, the beaufitull burdes and the glitteryng trappers, bothe with belles and spangles of golde. I premit also the ryche apparell of the pryncesse, the strange faashion of the Spaynyshe nacion, the beautie of the Englishe ladyes, the goody demeanoure of the yong damosels, the amorous countenaunce of the lusty bachelors. I passe over also the fynge engravynge clothes, the costly furres of the citizens, standynge on scaffoldes, rayled from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speke of the odoriferous skarletttes, the fynge veluet, the pleasant furres, the massye chaynes, which the Mayre of London with the senate, sitting on horsebacke at the tylte conduyte in Chepe, ware on their bodyes, & about their neckes. I will not molest you wy rehearsing the ryche arras, the costly tapestry, the fynge clothes bothe of golde & siluer, the curiosus velucettes, the beautifull sattens, nor the pleasante sylkes, which did hange in every strete where she passed, the wyne y ranne continually out of the conduytes, the graweling and rayling of the strete nedeth not to be remembred.

While this prynces soinned for her recreacion in the Bishops paleys of Londö, not without visitacion of the kyng, the quene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the body of saynet Paules church, a long breyde made of tymbre, extendyng from the West doore of the church to the steppe at the entryne into the quere, whiche was sixe foote from the
THE XVII. YERE OF

Of the grounde. On thesayde bridge or staige, even directly before the consistory of the churche was elevate a place lyke a mounte, for eyghte persons to stande vpon, copassad rounde about with steppe to asc ende and dissende, which was coverd with fyne red worsted, and in likewyse were all the rayles of thesayde staige. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the kyng & quene, & such other as they apoynted. On the Southside of thesame mount stode the Mayre and Magistrates of London. When all preparacion was made, and al thinges set in an ordre. Vpon the daye of saynet Erdkenwalde, then beyng Sundaye, the sayde lady was ledde to thesame mount, and there prynce Arthur openly espoused her, bothe beyng cladde in whyte, both lusty and amorous, be of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of xvii., or there aboutes. The kyng and the Quene, standyng prevelye on their staige. After the matrymonye celebarte, the prynce & his wife went vp into the quere, & there herea a solæne masse song by the Archebishop of Cauntourbury, associate with. xix. prelates mytred. And after the masse finisshed, the bryde was led homeward to y bispe palace by y duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly yoigne prince & the legate of Spayne. Next after followed the lady Ci-cile suster to y quene, supporting the treyne of the spouse. After whom followed aboue an C. ladyes and getlewome gorgeously appareyled & richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumpteous feast, and yet not so sumpteous as populouse, nor yet so populouse as deli cate, nor so delicate as of all thinges aboudaı̇t. For if I Should reherse to you the valew of. iiiij. cupbordes that day shewed & set fourth beside the plate that was occupied, or declare the ryches of the hanginges, canapies or clothe of estate, or set fourth the nombre of dishes served at the. iiiij. courses & banquettes the deliuer daunsinge and costly disguisinges, I assure you y I should soner fayle then copye of materre or haboundance of honoure. But every daye endeth. and night ensueth. so when night was come, this lusty prince and his beautifull bryde were brought and joyned together in one bed naked, and there dyd that acte, whiche to the performance & full consummaunce of matrimony was most requysite and expedient. In so suche that his famillier serviteours, which had then neither cause nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the mornynge he called for drynke, whiche he before tymes was not accustomed to do. At whiche thinge one of hys chambrelaynes mer-naylynge, requyre the cause of his drouth. To whom he answered merely saiyng, I haue thyis nyght bene in the middest of Spayne, whiche is a hote region, & that iourney maketh me so drye, and if thou haddest bene vnder that hote climate, thou wouldest haue bene dryer then I. Then shortly after the kyng and the quene with the new wedded spoues went from Baynardes castell by water to Westynster, on whom the Mayre & commynalte of London, in barges garnished with standarde, stremeres and penons of their de vise, gave their attendaunce. And there in the paleys were suche marciall feates, suche va liaunt jistes, suche vygorous turneyes, suche fierce fight at the barreyers, as before that tymes was of no man had in remembraunce. Of thyis royall triumphe lord Edwarde duke of Buckyngham was chiefe challengeour, and lord Thomas Grey Marques dorcet was chiefe defendoure which wyth their aydes and compaygnions, bare them selves so valynauntly that they obtained great launde and honoure, bothe of the Spanyardes and of their coun trymen. Duryng the tym of these jistes and triumphe, were receaued into London an Erle, a Byshop, and dyuere noble personages, sent from the kyng of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage betwene the lady Margret the kynges daughter and hym. Whiche Erle by proxie in the name of kyng Iames hys master, affed & contracted thesayd fayre lady. Which assurance was published at Paules Crosse, the daye of the commision of saynet Paule, in reioyssyng wherof Te deum was songe, and great fyers made through the cite of London. Whiche things as you haue hearde, beyng fully finisshed and accomplish the Ambassadours aswel of Spayne as of Scotlande, tooke their leave of the kyng, and not without great rewards departed into their countries and habitation.

When the Ambassadours were departed, the kyng entendyng to auauance the honour and
and reputation of the prince his sonne, furnisshed hym with men and money largely, and sent hym agayne into Wales, where he was before, to kepe liberall hospitalitee, and to mynystre to the rude Welshemen indifferent justice. And least by reason of lacke of experience he might erre, he appoynted to hym wyse and expert cousaylers, as sry Rychard Poole his kynsman, which was his chief chaberlayne, with whome were associate sry Henry Vernon, Sry Rychard Croftes, Syr Daui Philip, Syr Willia Vdale, Syr Thomas Englefeld, Syr Peter Newton knyghtes, Ihon Waleston, Henry Maryon, and doctor William Smyth, was President of his counsail, and doctor Charles, bothe were with hym associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncoln, and the other Bishop of Herford. But as of one fountayne commeth often botie ioye & sorow, so I leave here to speake more of ioye of this mariage, consideryng the chaunce that shortly after succeeded.

A fewe monethes before the mariage of prince Arthur, Edmonde Poole Erle of Southfolke, sonne to Ihon duke of Southfolke, and lady Elizabeth suster to kyng Edward the. iiiij. beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and hedy, was endite of homicide & murther, for sleyng of a meane person in his rage and fury. And although the kyng pardoned hym whom he might insty haue condempe for that offence, yet because he was brought to the kynges Benche barre and arryneyed (whiche facte he reputed to be a great mayne and blemish to his honoure) tooke it seriously, and shortly after for this displeasure fledde to flaunderes, without any lycence or sauecondyute geuen him of the kyng, to the lady Margaret his awnt on the mothers side. Neuerthelesse, whether he was sturred by his prey freundes therunto moved by the kyng, or whether he trustynege on his vniolated truthe feared no daunger nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused hym selfe so to the kyng that he was thoughte to be gynteles and inculpable in any crime that could be objected to hym, and therefore he was permitted too go frankly at his libertie and pleasure.

But when thys mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London with great pompe and solemnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the Kyng hym selfe was principally geuen to ioye and reioysynge. This Edmond, either for that he had ben at great and excessyue charges at the same trumpphe and solemnynyte, and by reason thereof sore charged with debate. Either sollicited, allured and proouked by that olde venemous serpent the duches of Burgoyne, euer beyng the sower of Sediçion and begynner of rebellion agaynst $\ddot{y}$ kyng of England, or els stimulate and pricked with envy, which could not paciently with open eyes se and beholde kyng Henry, beynge of $\ddot{y}$ aduerse lyne to his lignage, so longe to reigne in wealtthe and felicite, in conclusion with hys brother Rycharde fledde agayne into Flaunderes. Thys sad chaunce (I thinkse) happeneth emonge the great ioyes and solaces of kyng Henry, least that he myghte not by ouermuche gladness sodeynly forget him selfe: Whiche displeasure at another tyne before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowne to you.

When the kyng vnderstode certaynly that this erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a little vexed and vnquyeted, mistrustynge that some newe tumultuous busynes should be begonne agayn, and chiefly theriore blamed hymselfe of folishe folye that he had geue hym hys pardon for hys offence lately committed. Although it was manifest enough that he dyd it for this purpose, that he might assemble and wyneke at the matter so longe vntyll suche tyne, he had some sure token and perfight knowlege of his coniuracion, the whiche he perceaued nowe to be surely attempted and begonne, asonne as Edmonde de la poole erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunderes. Syr Robert Curson, whom the kyng had promoted to the ordre of knyghthod, & made capitayne of Hammes castel, a valeaunt and a circumspect man, dissimulynge him selfe to be one of that conspiracy went into Flaunderes, doublesse to espye what was done there by the lady Margaret against kyng Henry. Thys opynion was setcelted in every mannes head at the fyrst brochynge of the matter, and so yet contynueth, groundyng vpon thys prynciple, that he neyther vexed nor molested wyth any poynse of displeasure or injurie by hys pryncse or any other
other fled to the kynges enemyes. And after all thynges were knowe, opened, paceffied and suppressed, he willyngly returned and was receaued into high fauoure with Kyngly his master and souereygne forde. Howebeit, the kyng lyke a wylye foxe, knowynge the fauityfull entent of thys syr Robert, and entedyng to put hym out of all galleousy and suspicio with the lady Margaret, and Edmond de la poole, caunsesthesayde erle and thesayde Syr Roberte Curson, & fyue persones more to-be accuserd at Paules crosse the first Sundaye of November, as enemyes and rebelles to hym and his realme. But howsoever, it tawneved, whether it were for the easing of hys hart, or for some preuy pollecey, the kyng after the mariage of hys sonne pryncye Arthur, was so vigilant, so-circum spectro and so intentyue, that he espied and taryd out suche as he knewe, partly to be the inuenters of misciefe agaynst hym, and partly to bear no good Wyll or sincere affeciion towardes his person, that he coulde redely name and rehearse their names and surnames, wherof a great parte were with in fewe dayes after apprehended and taken. And emonge them, lorde William Courtney, sonne to Edwarde erle of Devonshyr, a man of great nobilitie, estimacon and vertue, whiche maryed lady Katheryne, daughter to kyng Edward, lorde William brother to Edmond, erle of Southfolke, Syr Iames Tyrrell, Syr Ihon Wyndham. Both these Williams before rehearsed were rather taken of suspiccon & gelousy, because they were nere of blood to the coniurators, then for any proud offence or cryme. Wherefor the lorde William sonne to the erle of Devonshire, after the death of Kyng Henry the. vii. was deliuered and set abroade at libertie, by the noble and famous pryncye kyng Henry & vi. sonne to the sayd kyng, with whom after he was in great fauoure and estimacon, but shortly after, when he beganne to exercise hym selfe in marcell feates and warlike studye, he syckened of a disease called Pluresis, whiche maladye, because it was straunge and rare to the Phisicians of England, he at the kynges manoure of Grenewiche desesed, leuynge one sonne behynde hym, to continue dys & famillie. The lorde William, brother to Edmonde the erle of Southfolke had also greater fauoure shewed in pryson, then he had before. And syr Iames Tyrrell, and Ihon Wyndham, because they were traytours, & so attaynted the. vi. daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyll beleved. But when the erle of Southfolke heard that some of his frendes were put to execution, and some other committet to perpetuall pryson and captiuity, he was in a great agony and feare of hym selfe. And so beig clerely desperate to have any fortunate succes in his pretesed enterprize, wandred about all Germany and Fraunce for aide & succoure, pronyng he if he could fynde any aide or succoure at their handes. But when he perceaved no stedfast ground to catche anchor holde vpon (to thentent that in conclusion he might undrstande that a shamefull death was to a man for his offences and crymes cannot by mens helpe or mans reason, be either eschewed or diverted from hym) he submitted hym selfe vnder the obeysance and defence of Philip Archduke of Austricke and Burgoyne, and erle of Flauders. But Rychard his brother byeng an experte and polletique man, so craftely couseyed, and so wisely ordred hym selfe in this stormy teempst, that he was not apprached eyther with net or snare.

The kyng, not yet being out of doubte of all domestical sedicion & ciuite discord, studied basely howe to restrayyne and kepe in a streyte closure diverse malefactours, which byeng partakers of this conspiracy fled to sondry sanctuaries, taryying there till a fayre day came to annuice forthward their enterprize. Whereupon he desynd to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries and places prouiledges, shut and well locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbie and vnoquiet hym, hys realme or people. And for that entent he bothe wrote and sent Ambassadours to Alexander, then bishop of Rome, desyryng him by his authoritie to auiudge and decerne all Englishmen, byenge fled to sanctuary or other places for treasen, as enemyes to Christes fayth, and scismatiques too Christen religioun, and as commen perturbers of the quiet people, and capitaynes and prouokers of trayterous rufflinges, intreditynge and prohibiting the refuge and privilege of sanctuary to all suche persons as once had enjoyed the immunitie and libertie of the same, and after had fled out, and
and efsons returned agayne. Whiche thinge after that the Bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quetenes and confort of kyng Héry, and many through the feare of that reproche and ignomony, converted them selues to goodnes and dewe subiecciò of their price: Other also that were in secrete, and out of all perel and daunger, durst not hazard them selues for feare of galtropes or slipping into y fyer.

When the kyng by his high pollecye had compassed and framed his affaires thus to hys pur-
purpose, sodeynly happened a lamentable chance and lachrimable losse to the kyng, queene and all the people. For that noble prince Arthur, the kynges fyrst begotten sonne, after that he had bene maried to the lady Katheryn his wyfe. v. monethes, departed out of this transitory lyfe, in his castel of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obsequy was buryed in the cathedrall churche of Worcestre. After whose death the name of prince belonged to his brother duke of Yorke, hys brother diseasyng without issue, & so without any cre-
cion ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit, thesayde duke vpon suspicion of his brothers wyfe to be with chylde, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and sage men of the prynces counsayl, was bya moneth more delayed from hys title, name and preheminence, in the which season the truthie might to wonë easely apere. It is reported that this lady Katheryn thought and feared suche dolorous chance to come: For when she had embraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, & sayled towards England, she was conti-
nually so tossed and tumbled hyther and thether with boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contraritie of the wyndes, her ship was prohibited diverse tymes to approche the shore and take lande.

THE. XVIII. YERE.

The next yere after quene Elizabeth, liyng within the Towre of Lodö, was brought a bed of a fayre daughter on Candelmas daye, whiche was there christened and named Katheryn, and the. xi. daye of the same moneth, thesayde moost verteous princes and gra-
cious quene there desessed, and was with all funerall pompe carryed thorough the cytye of London to Westmynster and there intumulate, whose daughter also taried but a small cæsa-
son after her mother.

After the death of this noble princes, which for her great vertue was commonely called good quene Elizabeth, departed syr Reigold Breye knight of y garter, a very father of his coutry, a sage & a graue person and a fervent lourer of justice. In so muche that if any thinge had bene done against good law or equitie, he would after an hübile fassio plaily reprehende the king, and geue him good advertisement how to reforme that offence, and to be more circüspect in another lyke case. Of thesame vertue and honest playnnes was Ithon Morto archebishop of Caüterbury, which bishop dyed (as it is shewed above) two yerces before. So these. ii. persons were ever cohibetors and refrieners of the kynges wilfull skope & vnbrided libertie, where as the rude and ignorant people saye and affirme, that their counsayll infected & corrupted the kynges cleene and immaculate conscience, contrary to his pryncely disposicion & naturall inclinacion. Suche is ever the errore of the cômon people: but surely as long as the kyng would here and obeye such as warned him of his office royall and kyngely dutie, he coulde in no wyse erre or swarue aside. About this tyme also dyed Henry archebishop of Cauntourbury, whose rowme doctor William Warram bishop of London supplièd. And to the bishoprick of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeeded Rycharde Fitzianes, a man of a good lignage & great learnyng & vertue. In which yere the. xviiie. daye of February, the kyng at his palace of Westmyn-
ster, with all solëpneite created hys onely sonne Héry price of Wales, erle of Chestre, &c. which noble yongling succeeded his father, not only in y inheritance & regalite, but also was to him equypolct in honour, fame, learnyng & pollecye.

Maximillian
THE XIX. YERE OF

Maximilian the Emperour, hearinge that quene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade, of the which lord Caziniere, Marques of Brandenburgh his cosyn, accopanyed with a bishop, an erle & a great nuber of gentlemē well appareyled, was principal ambassadour, which were triuphantely receaued into Londo, & was lodged at Crosbies place. This Ambassade was sent for. iii. causes, one to visite & conforte the kyng, beyng sorrowful & sad for the death of so good a quene & spouse. The. ii. for the renouacion of the olde league and amitie. The. iii. which was not appaurent, was to mone the kyng to mary the Emperours daughter, lady Margaret, duches dowager of Sauoye. The first. ii. toke effect, for the kyng vpon Passion sunday roade to Paulles in great triupe, the said Marques riding on his lefthand. And ther the bishop made to the king an excellēt cōsolatoric oraciō, cōcerning the death of ſ quene. And there also ſ kyng opcilly sware to kepe the new renouate league & amitie, during their. ii. lyues. But ſ third request, whether ſ let was on the nās parte or womās syde, newer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these thinges done, the Ambassadours returned sumptecously and honorably rewarded.

All this wynter was preparaciō made for the conueynēce of the lady Margaret, affed to the kyng of Scottes into Scotland. And whe all thinges were ready and prest, the kyng removed the last daye of Iuyyn from Rychemond, hauyng in his cōpany his sayde daughter, & came to Colyweston, where the coute esse of Rychemond his mother then laye. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the kyng gauє her his blessyng with a fatherly exhortaciō, and committed the cōeighaunce of her to the kyng her husbandes presence, to the erle of Surrey: and the erle of Northumberland was appoynted as Wardeyn of the marches to deliever her at the confines of both the marches. Thus this fayre lady was conveuyed with a great company of lordes, ladies, knyghtes, esquiers and gentlemen, till she came to Berwicke, and from thence to a village called Lambrerton kyrke in Scotland, where the kyng with the flour of Scotlād was ready to receau her, to whom ſ erle of Northumberland, accordyng to his commission delievered her. The Scottes that daye, I assure you were not behynde, but farre aboue, bothe in apparell and ryche Iewels and massy chaynes: But aboue other the erle of Northumberland, what for the ryches of his cote, beyng Goldsmythes worke, garnyshed with pearl and stone, and what for the costly apparel of his henxmen and galaunt trappers of their horses, besides iii. hundred tall men, well horsed and appareeled in his coolers, that he was estemed bothe of the Scottes & Englishmen, more lyke a prince then a subiect. Then was this lady conveyed to the toune of Edenborough, and there the daye after, kynges Iames the. iii. in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused theseyde faire princes, and feasted the English lordes, and shewed to them Lastes and other pastymes, very honourably, after the fassion of his rude country. When all thinges were done and finished, according to their commission, the erle of Surrey with all the English lordes and ladys returned into their country, geyngye more prayse to the manhoode, then to the good maner & nurture of Scotlande.

THE XIX. YERE.

IN this yere the kyng keppe his hygh courte of Parliament, in the whiche diuerson actes were concluded, whyche were thought necessary and expedient for the preseruaciō of the publique weale. And emonge other thinges, it was determined that theues and murdererers dyelē cóuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burne in the hand, and cómmittet to the Bishops custody as I haue before declared. After this, certayne money was graunted to the kyng, by the whole Parliament, and the goddes of men outlawed were forfiyted and con-figued. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregacion of the clergie, to thent, that they w their treasure and money might auaicē and preferre the cōmon wealth of the realme.

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KYNG HENRY THE. VII. -
490
Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernicious & sedicious, strife,
tumulte, and the death of many noble & meane persons: Nowe therefore let vs here rehearse,
the contencion of familier thinges, the gnawyng at the hartes, and the freuting of
myndes & vows, promises and requestes made of diverse persone.

Kync Henry, now drawnyng to age, and before this tyme, ever punched, stimulated and
pricked with the scrupulous stynge of domesticall sedicion and ciuile commocion, in so
much that he more detested & abhorred intestine and private warre, then death or any
thyng more terrible. Wherfore he determynd so politiquely to prouyde that all y causes
of suche vnquyetnes and mischief to come, shoulde be eradicate and extirped: which yma-
gination and purpose he doubted not to compass and brynge to effect. If he made lowe
and abated the courage of his subiectes and vassalles, and especially of the rychest sorte,
remembryng the olde proverbe, that men throughge abundaunce of ryches waxe more in-
solent, hedstronge and robustius, and that nothyng is more to men acceptable or desyrous,
then abondaunce of treasure and plentye of money, whiche people either for feare of los-
ynge, or hope of gaynynge of worldly ryches, desyre euery either peace or warre. But
to theentent that men might not thinke nor reporte that he whiche is their kynge constituted
of God to reuenge all injuries to thym done and committed, should oppresse and wrong-
fully polle and exact money of his subiectes, he deuyysd wyth hym selfe by what honest
meane he might perfyme it. And thus deuisyng with hym selfe, it came into hys hed that
the Englishmen dyd litle passe vpon the observacion and kepyng of penall lawes or pe-
cuniall statutes, made and enacted for the preseruacion of the commen vtilitee and wealth.
And therefore, if inquisicion were had of suche penall statutes, there should be fewe
noble men, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, grasyers nor occupyers, but they shoulde
be founde transgressours and violators of thesame statutes. After that he had taken thys
counsayll, he soughte outhe the penall lawes, and put them in execucion, and they that
were founde offenders, were easely at the beginning fyned and scourged. After that he
apointed ii. masters and surreyers of his foraytes, y one syr Richard Empson, and the
other Edmond Dudley, bothe learned in the lawes of the realme. And these twoo persons
contended, whiche of them by mooste brynyng in might most please and satisfye his mas-
tres desyre and appetide. Wherefore in the beginnyng, they armed with a companye of
accusers (commonly called promoters) whych brought to theim the names of the offend-
ours, esteemed and regarded so muche the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and
banished outhe of their remembrance their duetye present, the peril that might ensue, and
the thanke and good will that they might haue obteyned, and yet they had warnynge of
greate and sage persons to close their handes from suche vncharitable doynges and cruell
extremitie, accordyng to the Adage, the extremetie of justice, is extreme injurie.

7 THE. XX. YERE.

The kynge, after that he had gottée a large and ample sume of money, hauyng pitie of
the people, whiche cryed to God dayly for an ende of their pilfryng, of his clemency and
gracious goodnes towards his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two
extreme offciers shoulde be de pryued of that office, and the money from whome it was
vjiustly exacted and extentorted to be wholly restored and deliuereayn: Which beyng pre-
vented with death, commanded it by his last will and testament to be dyuely and truly
performed, but in the meane ceason many mens coffers were emptied.

3 S 2 THE.
THE. XXI. YERE OF

THE. XXI. YERE.

IN this very season, and the yere of our lord a. M. D. & vi. Elizabeth queene of Castell, wyfe to Ferdinand kyng of Arragon, dyed without any issue male, by reason whereof thinheritaunce of Castel (because that kyngdomes be not partible) descended to lady Jane her eldest daughter by kyng Ferdinand, the whiche was maryed to Philip archduke of of Austria and Borgoyne, and erle of Flaunders. Which kyngdome he obtained by his wyfe, and had the possession of the same, and was named, reputed and taken as kyng of Castell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowyngne, aboute the, vi. daye of January, hauynge a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wyfe toward Spayne, but he had sayled no great waye before that a vygorous tempest, by reason of contrariete of wyndes sodeynly arose, the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodayne sourses. In so muche the wynde hauynge the mastry dispersed and seperated the shippes asondre into diverse places on the coast of Englande. The kynges ship with two other vesselles were blown by tempest on the West parte of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorset shyre. Then kyng Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the seas before, beynge fatigate and vnquyeted bothe in mynde and body, enteryng the ship boate to refreshe and repose hym selue a little, came a lande contrarye to the mynde of hys counsayll and capitaynes, whiche forsawe and knewe well that thesame landynge shoulde bee the occasion of lenger tariynge there. When it was known that straungynge shyppes were arryued, there came thether a great number aswel of noble men as of rurall persons that dwelleth aboute that coaste, to repulse and beate awaye hym if he were their enemy. But when they perceaued he was theyr frende and louver and dryuen thether by force of wether, Syr Thomas Trenchard knyght, the chiefe of that company went to Philip kyng of Castell with all humanitie and lowynes, inuytynge and desyryng him (if he woulde so vouchesafne) to vysyte hys maner and manacion, whiche was even nygh at hand, trusting theby to haue great thakes of the kyng his master, if he coulde protract and cause hym to tarye there, vntyll suche tyme as kyng Henry were certeined of hys arryval, to whome with all diligent celerite, he sent dyuere postes too notefic to his grace of kyng Philipes landynge. This rumour beyng farther blowne abroade of this strange princes comming, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a longe the sea coast. And emonge other there came first syr Ihon Carew wyth a goodly band of picked men. Whiche syr Ihon & syr Thomas Trenchard entreated the kyng of Castell, not to depart vntyll suche tyme as he had spoken with kyng Henry his loningne and fauthfull frende and aluye, assuryng hym that he woulde repaire thether within. ii. or. iii. dayes at the most. King Philip excused him selfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterprice & important cause, affermyng that log tariynge in matters of grauytie and dubious, ought to be excluden: wherefore he alledged that protractynge of tyme myght turne him to great preindence, denyeng at the first to exspect and tarye the commynge of the kyng of England. But yet beyng persuaded by reason in hym selue, he might be let and interrupted, if he would proffre once to go aborde too hys shyppes agayne, at their gentle desyre and loningne contemplacion, assented to their humble peticion and request.

When kyng Henry was informed of hys landynge, he was replenyshed with an excedyngne gladnes, partely for to renew the olde familiaritie and acqunynance, whiche they used at their last metynge, and partely for that he trusted that his landynge in Englande should turne to his proffite and commodite. Therefore first he wrote many and diuers letters to syr Ihon Carew, and syr Thomas Trenchard, willinge and warrynge them withall kyndenes of humanitee to entereteyne the kyng of Castel, till he in person approched in some place mete and conuenent for the entereteynyng and entreteignyng of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the erle of Arundell with many lordes and knyghtes to accompany and attend

upon
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

upon hym: Whiche erle, accordyng to the kynges letters receaue hym with. iii. C. horsees all by torche lyght to the great admiracion of all the straungiers.

Kyng Philip seyng no remedy, but that he must nede tarie & abide, woulde no longer gase after kyng Henryes commyng, but toke hys iourny towadres Wynsore Castell where the kyng laye. And fyue myle from Wynsore, the prynce of Wales accompanied with fyue erles and diverse lordees and kyghtes, and other to the nombre of fyue hundraed persons, moost gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued hym after the moost honorably fassion of entretaynmet. And within halfe a myle of Wyndesore, the kyng accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, saluted and welcommed hym, and so conuenyed hym to the castell of Wynsore, where besyde many triuumphs and pastymes shewed, he was made co-paignion of the noble ordre of the Gartrie. After hym came to Wynsore hys wyfe quene Iane, suster to the prynces dowager, late wyfe to prynce Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amite together: Kyng Henry desyred hym to haue Edmond de la poole erle of Suffolke hys rebell, to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the kyng of Castell aansweredy a while, that he was not within hys rule or dominn, and therefore it laye not in his powre to rendre or deliuer hym. Although he considered it to be a heynous & great office to be the occasiō & authour of the death of his gest, which came to hime for succour, & was receaued vnder his proteccion and defence, yet when he perceayned that nether excuse, nor yet reasonable argumente could be accepted or allowed of kyng Henry (which promised faithfully of hys awne offfe to pardon, Edmond de la poole of all paynes and execucions of death) he promised and granted to do and accomplishe all kyng Henryes desyre & request: And so incontinent caused thesayde Edmond secretly to be sent for. After this kyng Henry enteyning to protract the tyme till he might possesse hys praye, which he sore desyred, coneyued the kyng of Castell vnto the citie of London, that he might see the hed citie of his realme, and there led hym from Baynardes castell by Chepe to Barkynge, and so returned by Watlynge strete agayyne, during which tyme there was shot a wonderful peale of gunnes oute of the Towre, into the whiche he would not entre, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to entre the fortesse of any foreyn prince, in which a garison was mauntened: And there tarieynge a little space, returned backe with him. Then from London the kyng brought hym to Richemond, where were many notable feats of armes proued both at the tyll and at the tourney and at the barriers.

In the meane season, Edmond de la poole whiche ever feared & mistrusted, that the arryynge in England of kyng Philip shoulde be his fatall ende and finall destruccon, perceauing well that there was no farther hope to bee had in foreyn princes and potentatases, and trustyning that after his life to hym once granted, that kyng Henry would briefely set hym at his libertie and fredome, was in maner content to returne agayyne into hys natiue country, castyng in hys mynde farther, that if his hope and trust were defrauded and refused, yet at the last he was sure to ende his life, and be buryed in the countrye where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and couenauntees betwene the kinges of England and Castell were appoyntyed, couenaunteed and agreed: Kyng Philip toke hys leane of kyng Henry, rendryng to hym most hartie thanks for his high chere and princely entretaynmet. And beyng accompanied with diverse lordees of England, came to the citie of Excettre, and so to Plymouth in Cornewale, and there toke his shipp and sayled into Spayne, where he shortly beyng taken with a sodeyn disease, departed oute of this transitorie life, beyng then but xxx. yeres of age. He had by his wyfe and quene Iane vi. children, two men childre Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabel, Mary and Katherine. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenance amiable and louely, of body somwhat crasse and corpulent, quicke wytted, bold and hardly stomaked. This tempest that the kyng of Castell had, was wonderfull strange to many men, because the violencie of the wynde had blowen doune an Egle of bras, beyng set to shewe and manifest on which parte yThe description of kyng Phil. is.

wind
THE. XXII. YERE OF

wind blew, frō a pynnacle or spire of Paules church. And in the fallyng, thesame Egle brake, & batered another Egle that was set vp for a signe at a tauerne dore in Chepeside. And here vpō, mé that were studious of straunge tokens and monstreous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperor Maximilian, whiche at that tyme gau an Egle in his armes, should have a great losse, whyche so happened in deede: For he lost his only begotten sonne Philip, newly called to the kyngdome of Castell.

Also, shortly after the departynge of kyng Philip, the king of Englande beganne to suspect Syr George Neuell lorde of Burgeyny, and syr Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knyght, that they were confedered fautors and partakers, in the beginnyng with Edmond de la poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were commaundyd to the Towre. But shortly after when they had ben tryed and purged of that suspicion and cryme, he commaundyd them bothe to be set at libertie. But syr Thomas Grene fell sycke before, and continued in the Towre in hope to be restored aswell to his health as he was to his libertie, and there dyed. The lorde of Burgeyny for his modestie, wyt and probitie (because the kyng founde hym lyke hym selfe) always true, faythfull and constant, was of his souereigne lorde more estemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

§ THE XXII. YERE.

After this, the kyng hauynge peace aswell with foreyne princes, for the terme of. iii. yeres, as disburdened and purified of all domesticall sediccion, beganne to be diseased with a certayne infirmitie and wekenes of body, whiche thryse in the yere, but especially in the sprynge tyne sore vexed & tormented hym. And because for the most part, the harme and euell that channeth to the prince, is parted and communicat to his subjectes and people, the olde sweatyngye wherof you heard before amongst the commons of the realme, came again. Howbeit by the reason of the remedy that was inuicted by the death of many a creature in the beginning, it dyd lesse hurte and displeasure to the people at this tyne then it did before. But nowe the thryde plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the woorkyne of the masters of the forfaytures by the kyng appoynted as I shewed you before.

By whose meanes many a ryche and welthy person, by the extremyte of the lawes of the realme, were condemped and brought to misery. The matte is as wonderfull to be heard, as pitefull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the law, where as it is rather peruerse abuse and disordre of a lawe, politlequely at the beginnyng invented to cause the people, the soner to conforme them selves to such as demande their right of them, but craffely practised to the vttre confusion of many by vntrue officers. For it a man put his adversary in skynge before ¶ Judges, of whiche copliant or accio he neither thinketh nor bath knowledge if he appere not at the last callying of the exigent, whiche is called in a shyre where he never came (for how can he appere, if he be ignorant of the prosecution of the cause, and dwell. ii. C. myles frō that place) then doth he forfeit all his substance and mouables, and his body to captiuitie as an enemy, and rebel to the lawes of his country. And yet the prynce shall enioye the goodes so confiscate, and the party copleynant or playntiff that is wronged reco-urereth not one myte, and yet loseth bothe his pane and costes. And all suche persons that be so condemped and adjudged, be called outlawes, that is deprived of all lawes of the lande, to the whiche he was by the custome of the countrye inheritable. These outlaries, olde recognisances of the peace and good abering, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penal, were put in Execucion and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that every man, both of the spiritualte and temporaltie, hauing either lande or substance, was called to this plucking bancket, accordinge to the Psalme ii. saviyng, all declyned and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so clere and gyltles, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seynge the experience of them that passed before. For these two rauenyngye wolues had suche a garde of false periured persons apperteignyng to them, which were by their com-
KYNGL HENRY THE VII.

maundemel® empanyeled on every quest, that the king was sure to wynee whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were reqyred of their aduise, would saye to agree is the best counsayll that I can geue you. By this vndewe meanes, these couetous persones filled the kynges cofers, and envyched the selues. And at this unreasonable and extorte doyng, noble men gruded, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preachers openly at Paules crosse and other places exclamed, rebuked and detested, but yet they would never amend. Howebeit the good kyng in his last dayes cöserued and pardonéd his poore subjects of such uncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

In this season Alexander bishop of Rome departed out of this world, and for hym was elected Fraunces borne Senes, nephiewe to Pius the second, and was called Pius the third, whome kyng Henry had made a little before, proctoure for his realm in the courte of Rome. The king beyng glad of his high promocion and dignittie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knyght, Rychard Bera Abbot of Glascenbury, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnes entred into the kynges hart, when he hearde tell of his hygh pre-ferment and honour. But this bishop Pius did not expect and tary the gratulaciö of these Ambassadours, for within a moneth after that he was installed he reınd his debt to nature, haïyng small pleasure of his promociö. At this same tymoe also dyed Gyles, lorde Dawbe-ney, the kynges chiefe chamberley, whose office Charles bastard sonne of Henry last duke of Somerset* occupied and enjoyed, a man of a good wyt and great experience.

THE XXIII. YERE.

SONE after, ÿ kyng caused Guy Vbald duke of Vrbyne to be elected, knyght of the ordre of the gartier, a noble warriour, and in the Greke & Latyn tounges excellently learned. And this honour and high dignittie, this duke desired instantly to haue, ÿ he might be equyvalent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his father, duke Frederick a prince in his tymoe of high renounce and e-stimacion, which was receaued & chosen into that ordre by kyng Edward the iii. And because it was noyed that Iuly the seconde, a lanuway borne, was after the death of Pius, elected to be bishop of Rome. The kyng entendinge to stope two gappes with one bushe, sent syr Gylbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadours, principally to Bishop Iuly, and by them sent also to the duke of Vrbyne, the whole habite and coller of the noble ordre of the gartier. When duke of Guy was request with the habit, and had taken his othe, according to the statutes of the ordre: He sent syr Balthazar de Castellio knyght a Mantuane borne, his Oratour to kyng Henry, which was for him enstalled, according to the ordinances of that famous ordre.

While these thinges were in doyng, Lewes the Frenche kyng mistrusting that he should never haue manchilde, maried his eldest daughter lady Claude to Fraunces de Valoys, dophyn of Vyen and duke of Angulesme: Whiche lady was promised a little before to Charles the kyng of Castell. When kyng Henry knew of this, he thought best to mary his daughter lady Mary to this Charles kyng of Castel, beyng almost bothe of one age, and therefore Ambassadoures were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariahe was concluded and confirmed by the meanes of the bishop of Wynchestere, chiefe Ambassadoure for the king at Cales, and so the lady Mary beyng of the age of x. yeres, was promised to kyng Charles. For conclusion of which mariahe, the lord of Barow, and diverse great Ambassadours were sent into England frö the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewards and returned.

† THE. XXIII. YERE.

NOWE approached the ende & terme of the. iii. yeres of peace that I spake of before, at whiche
whiche tyme kyng Henry thought his fatal daye to be at hand: For his sickenes encreased daily more and more, so that he might easely perceaua that death was not farre of taryng, his praye: Therfore like a good prynce, desiring to exhibite some gratuittie to his people y he might be had in memory after his disease, granted of his great liberalite a generall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrate against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers & theues were not onely offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them & some other out of his pardou. He paide also the fees of all prisoners in y gayles in and aboute London, abyding their only for that duety. He payde also the debtes of all such persons as laye in the counters of London, or Ludgate for. xls. & vnder, & some he releued that were condemned in. x. For this his goodnes & pitie shewed to his people, beynge sore vexed with inquisitors, pollers & promoters, general processio was had daily in euery citie and parashe to pray to almighty God, for the restorynge of his health, with long contynuance of thesame. Neuertheles, he was so consumed with his longe malady, that nature could no lenger susteyne his lyfe, and so he departed out of this world, the xxii. daye of April in his palace of Rychenond, the which was the yere of our lorde, M.D. ix. hys corps was conveyed with a funerall pompe to Westmynster and there buryd by the good quene his wyfe in a sunipteous and solempne chapell, which he not longe before had caused to be buylded: He cygned. xxii. yeres and more then. vii. monethes, & lyued. iii. yeres. He had by his quene Elizabeth viii. chylidren. iii. men and iii. women chylidren, of the whych. iii. remayned aluye behynde hym. Henry prynce of Wales, whych. after him succeeded, and was kyng, lady Margaret quene of Scottes and lady Mary promysed to Charles kyng of Castell. He was a man of body but leve and spaire, albeit mighty and stronge therwith, of personage and stature, somewhat hygher then the meane sorte of men he, of a wonderfull beuyte and fayre complexioun, of countenaunce mery and smyling especially in his communicacion, hys eyes graye, his teethe syngle, and heare thynne, of wyt in all thynges quycke and prompt, of a prynceely stomacke and haute courage. In great perels, doubtfull affaires, and matters of weighty importaunce, supernaturrel and in maner denyne, for suche thynges as he went aboute, he dyd them advisedly, and not without great deliberacon and breathing, to thentent that emongest all men, his wyt & prudence might be noted and regarded and spoken of. For he was not ignorant that his actes and doynges were specially noted and marked with the eyes of many a person, and therefore a prynce oughte as farre to excell and surmounte all meane personages in wyssedom and pollyce, as he precelleth other in estate and dignite.

For what mi will gene credite or regard to him, whom he hath proued to be light, wilde and lascious of condicions? Besides this, he was sobre, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, bounteous, so muche abhoring pride and arrogancy, that he wasuer sharp and quycke to them which were noted or spotted with y cryme. And there was no man with hym, beynge neuer so muche in his fauoure, or hauing neuer so muche authoritie, that either durst or could do any thing as his awne phantau ye did serve him, without the consent & agrement of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both witty and wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doynges restrayned. And this regniunt he said he kept, to thenet y he worthilie might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferet & sure Justiciere, by the which one thing, he allurued to him the harnes of many people, because they lyued quietely & in rest out of al oppressio & molestacio of the nobilitie & riche persones. Also to this seruerte of hys was ioyned & annexed a certayn mercifull pitie, which he did often shew to such as had offended, & by his lawes were bindred & mersed: for such of his subiectes as were fined or amerceed by his Justices to their great emponerishing, he at one tyme or another did helpe, releue & set forward: wherby it apered y he would hau the same penalties for other offences & crimes requyued & stirred vp again, which was a plain argumenc y he did use his rygour only (as he sayd him selfe) to bring low & abate y high harnes & stoute stomackes of the wyldpeople, norished & brought vp in sedicious faccio & ciuele rebellions,
bellions, & not for the gredy desire of riches or hunger of money, although the wise as were afflicted would cry out, & say it was done more for the loue & desire of gayne & profit, then for any prudent pollicy or politique provision.

Surely, this good & modest prince did not denouere & cōsome his substance & riches of his realme, for he by his high pollicy, meruelously enriched his realme & him selfe, & yet left his subjectes in high wealth and prosperity. The profe whereof is manifestly apparant by his great aboundsance of golde & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money & bullio by merchautes passing & repassing out & into this realme with merchaudsise. To whom he himselfe of his owne goodnes let money largely without any gayne or profit, to that that merchaude beyng of all craftes the chefe arte, & to all men, bothe most profitable & necessary, might be the more plētfuller vsed, haued & employed in his realmes & dominios. And so this kyng lyuing all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honour, riches & glory, & for his noble actes & prudent pollicies, worthy to be registered in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at the last, which undoubtedly is assended into the celestiall macion, where he hath the sure fruicion of the Godhead, & the ioy that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sanyour, euuer worlde without ende.

FINIS.

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THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG

HENRY THE. VIII.

NOW, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the. VIII. somne to Kyng Henry The. lyvo.

the. VII. began his reign. the xxii. daie of April, in the yere of our Lorde. 1509.

and in the. xviii. yere of his bodily age: Maximilien then beyng Emperoure, and Lewes the. xii. reigning in France. And Fernando beyng the kyng of Arragon and Castell, and kyng James the fourthe then rulying over the Scottes: whose stile was Proclaimed by the blast of a Trumpet in the citie of London, the. xxiii. daie of the said monethe, with muche gladnes and rejoysynge of the people.

And the same day, he departed from his manour of Richemond to the tower of London, where he remained, closly and secrely, with his counsaill, till the funerall of his father, were finished and ended. The same daie also, sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmonde Dudley Esquier, greate counsailers to the late kyng, were attached and brought to the Tower, not to the little rejoysynge of many persones, whiche, by them wer greued, whiche attachement was thought to bee procured by malice of them, that with their authoritie, in the late kynges daies wer offended, or els to shifte the noyse, of the straight execucion of penall statutes in the late kynges daies, by a punishment of those persones, and other promoters, for to satisfie and appease the people. The same daie also was attached, the lorde Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckyngha and sent to the Tower, the cause was not thought to be great, because he was so some delivered, & the same yere was cre-
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ated erle of Wilshire. And the same daie also, Doctor Ruthall was named Bushoppe of Duersme.

Sone after were apprehended diuerse, called promoters, belonging to Empson and Dudley, as Canby, Page, Smith, and diuerse other, as Derbie, Wright, Sympton and Stocton, of the whiche the moste part ware papers, and stoode on the Pillorie. How bee it, the moste craftiest knaue of all, called Ihon Baptist Brimald, escaped and came to Westminster, and there toke Sanctuarie.

The xxv. daie of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kynges grace, rated the Pardones, granted by his father, and also pardoned all suche persones, as was then in suite, for any offence, whatsoever it was, Treason, Murder, and Felonie openly excepte.

After that all thynges necessary, for the interment and funerall pome of the late kyng, were sumptuously prepared and done: the corps of the said defunct, was brought out of his priuie chambre, into the great chaber, where he rested thre daies, and every daie had there Dirige & Masse song by a Prelate mitered: and from the same he was conueighed into the halle, where he was also thre daies, and had like seruice there, and so thre daies in the Chapel, and in euerie of these three places, was a hearce of waxe, garnished with banners, and. ix. mourners goyng there attendance, all the servyce tym: and every daie they offered, and every place hanged with blacke clothe. Vpon Wensdaie, the ix. daie of Mai, the corps was put into a Charriot, covered with blacke clothe of golde drawen with. v. greate Corsers, covered with blacke Veluet, garnished with Cuzzhions of fine golde: and ouer the corps, was an Image or a representation of the late kyng layed on Cuzzhions of golde, and the saide image was appared, in the kynges riche robes of estate with a crowne on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes: and the charriot was garnished with banners and Pecelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the charriot was thus ordered, the kynges chappell, and a great nombre of Prelates, set forward praiging: then folowed all the kynges scruauantes, in blacce, then folowed the Charriot: and after the Charriot. ix. mourners, and on every side wer carried long torches and shorte to the nombre of vi. C. and in this ordre they came to saintect Georges felde, from Richemond. There met with them, all the Priestes and Clearkes, and religious men, within the cite: and without (whiche went for-moste, before the kynges Chapell) the Maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacce, met with the corps at Lodon Bridge, and so gane their attendaunce on the same through the cite: and in good ordre, the campaigne passed through the cite, whereof the stretes on every side, wer set with long Torches, and on the stalls stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reverence, the Charriot was brought to the Cathedral Churche of saint Paule, where the body was taken out and carried into the Quire, and set vnder a goodly Herce of waxe, garnished with Banners, Pencelles, & Cuzzhions, where was song a solempne Dirige, and a Masse, with a Sermon, made by the Busshoppe of Rothere: duryng whiche tym, the kynges houshold and the mourners, reposad them in the Bishoppes Palcis. The neste daie the corps in like ordre was removed, toward Westminster, sir Edward Haward, bearing the kynges banner, on a courser trapped, in the armes of the defunct. In Westminster was a curious herse, made of. ix. principales, full of lightes, whiche, were lighted at the commyng of the corps, whiche was taken out of the Charriot by sixe Lordes, and set vnder the Herse, the Image or the representacion, lying vpon the Cusshyon on a large palle of golde. The herse was double raile: within the firste railes, satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile, stoode knights beaying banners of sainetes, and without the same, stoode officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Gartier king at Armes, cried, for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the VII. late kyng of this realme: then the quire beganne Placebo, and so song Dirige, whiche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the Palaice, where they had a voyde, and so reposed for that night.

The next daie, wer three Masses solemnly song, by Busshoppes, and at the last Masse was offered, the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target and his helme,
helme, and at the ende of Masse the mourners offered vp, riche Paulles of cloth of gold and Bandekin, and when the quire sang, Libera me, the body was put into the yearthee, and then
the lorde Treasurer, lorde Steward, lorde Chamberlein, the Treasurer, and Comptroler of the
kynges household, brake their stanes and caste them into the grave. Then Garrett cried
with a loude voyce, Viue le Roy Henry le hutiesme, Roy Dangliter, & de Franye, sire Dirland. Then all the mourners, and all other that had geuen their attendance, on
this funerall Obsequie, departed to the Palance, where they had a greate and a sumptuous feast.

Wonde it were to write, of the lamentacion that was made, for this Prince emongest his
seruauntes, and other of the wisest sort, and the joy that was made for his death, by
suche as were troubled, by rigor of his lawe: yet the towarde hope, whiche, in all poyntes
appere in the young kyng, did bothe repaire and confort, the heuie hartes of them,
whiche, had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the myndes of suche, as
were releued by the saied kynges death, all their olde grudge and rancor, and confirmed
their newe joie, by the new graunte of his pardon.

When the funerall of this late kyng, wer thus honorably finished, greate preparacion was
made for the coronació of this new kyng which was appoynted on Midsomer daie neste ensuyng: duryng whiche preparacion, the kyng was moved, by some of his couenail,
that it should be honorable and profitable to his realme, to take to wife the lady Katherin, late wife to Prince Arthur his brother diseased, least she haueyng so great a dowrie, might mary out of the realme, whiche, should be vnprofitable to hym: by reason
of whiche mocion, the kyng beyng young, and not vnderstanding the lawe of God, es-
pounded the saied lady Katherine, the third daie of Iune, the whiche mariag was dis-
pensed with by Pope Iuly, at the request of her father, kyng Farnando, contrary to
the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng diuines. This mariag of the brothers wife, was muche murmured against in the beginynge and euer more and more,
searched out by learning and scripture, so that at the lasse by the determinacion, of the best
vniuersities of Christendo it was adjudged detestable, and plain contrary to Goddes lawe, as
you shall here, after. xx. yeres.

If I should declare, what pain, labour, and diligence, the Taylers, Embrouderours,
and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and ducise garmente, for Lordes, Ladies,
Knightes, and Esquires, and also for deckyng, trappynge, and adornynge of Courters,
Ienetes, and Palfreis it wer to long to rehearse, but for a suretie, more riche, nor
more strangue nor more curious workes, hath not been seen, then wer prepared against
this coronacion.

On the. xxi. daie of this moneth of Iune, the kyng came from Grenewiche to the
Tower, over London Bridge, and so by Grace Churche, with whom, came many a well
appareled gentleman, but in especiall the Duke of Buckyagh, whiche, had a goune
all of goldesthemes worke, very costly, and there the kyng rested, till Saterdaie neste
ensuyng.

Fridaie the twentie and twoo daie of Iune, every thyng beeyng in a readines, for his
Coronacion: his grace with the Quene, beeyng in the Tower of London, made there
Knightes of the Bathe, to the nombre of twentie and fourre, with all the observannce and
Ceremonies, to the same belonging.

And the morowe folowyng, beeyng Saterdaie, the. xxiiij. day of the said monethe, his
grace with the Quene, departed from the Tower, through the citie of London, against whose
comyng, the streates where his grace should passe, were hanged with Tapistrie, and clothe of
Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and
some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer
against Grace Churche, vnto Bredstreete, in Chepeside, where euer occupation stode, in
their liueries in ordre, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the
worshipfull crafstes: highest and lastly stode the Maior, with the Aldermen. The Goldsmithes

stantles,
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stalles, vnto the ende of the Old Chaunce, beeنغ replenished with Virgins in white, with branchedes of white Waxe: the priestes and clerkes, in riche Copes, with Crosses and censers of siluer, with ensyng his grace and the quene also as they passed. The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable visage, princely countenance, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to every man knowne nedeth no heresall, considerynge, that for lacke of comynge, I cannot expresse the gifts of grace and of nature, that God hath endowd hym with all: yet partly, to discrue his apparell, it is to bee noted, his grace warre in his upperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, farre with armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the Piacurd embroidered with Diamodes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Bauderike abouthe his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trapper of his Horse, Damaske gold, with a depe parfell of Armys, his knightes and Esquires for his body in Crimosyn Veluet, and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and household seruantes, wer appareled in Skarlet. The Barons of the firc Portes, bare the Canay, or colthe of estate: For to resite vnto you, the great estates by name, the orde of their goyng, the nombre of the lordes Spirituall and temporall, Knightes, Esquires, and Gentlemen, and of their costly and rich apparell, of severall dyeses and fashions, who tooke vp his horse best, or who was richest benene, it would aske long tyme, and yet I shoulde omitte many thynge, and faile of the nombre, for they were verie many: wherefore I passe ouer, but this I dare well saue, there was no lacke or scarcitie of colthe of Tissus, colthe of Golde, colthe of Siluer, Broderie, or of Golde smithes worke: but in more plentie and abundance, then hath beene seen, or redd of at any tyme before, and thereto many and a greate nombre of chains of Golde, and Bauderikes, bothe massy and greate. Also before the kynges highnes, rode twoo gentle menne, richely appareled, and aboute their bodies trauers, they did bear twoo Robes, the one of the Duchie of Guyon, and the other for the Duchie of Normandie, with Hattes on their heddes, powdered, with Armyns, for the estate of thesame. Nexte folowed twoo persones of good estate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his hatte, appareled bothe in Golde Smithes worke, and Broderie, their horses Trapped, in burned Siluer, drawen ouer with Cordes of Grene silke and Gold, the edges and borders of their apparell, byng frettet with Gold of Damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the kynges Horse, clothed in Tissuc, Brodered with Roses of fine Gold, and trauers his body, a greate Bauderike of Gold, greate and massy, his Horse trapped in Golde, leadeing by a rayne of Silke, the kynges spare Horse, trapped hard wise, with barneis Brodered with Ballic Golde, curiously wroughte by Golde Smithes. Then nexte folowed the nyne children of honor, vpon greate courseres, appareled on their bodies, in Blewe Veluet, powdered with Floure Delices of Gold, and chaines of Golde Smithes worke, every one of their horses, trapped with a trapper of the kynges title, as of Englaunde, and Fraunce, Gascoyne, Guyan, Normandy, Angew, Cornwall, Wales, Irelande, &c. wrought vpon Veluettes, with Embrouderie, and Gold Smithes worke.

Then next following in orde, came the Quenes retinew, as Lordes, Knightes, Esquires, and gentle menne in their degrees, well mounted, and richely appareled in Tissues, colthe of Golde, of Siluer, Tynsels, and Veluettes Embroudered, freshe and goodly to behold. The Quene then by name Katheryne, sittyn in her Litter, borne by twoo White Palfreis, the Litter covered, and richely appareled, and the Palferies Trapped in White colthe of gold, her persone appareled in white Satyn Embroudered, her heire hangyng downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewtfull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones. Next after, sixe honorable personages on White Palfreis, all appareled in Clothe of Golde, and then a Chariot covered, and the Ladies therein, all appareled in Clothe of Golde. And another sort of Ladies, and then another Chariot, then the Ladies next the Chariot, and so in orde, every after their degrees in colthe of Gold, Colthe of Siluer, Tynselles, and Veluet, with Embrouderies, every complement of thesaied Chariotes, and the draught harnesses, wer powdered with Armines, mixt with
HENRY all people, The vnder to by realme feast. Frauuce, in his meates, and courser, thesame. this presented ordryng of ioye & kynges was claimed seruices the which embroudered the certein grace, the & sehath stages, where It kyng, any proud, the a Marshall, made Champion, multitude this So royall of who, I their or thutterauncc seen, VI write, Coronacion, trapped and call, Port and or prelates therupon at and or maestie, the - Gold: dishes. trapped vpon a lacke, plctifull uu poyntes, of with deuises, a provided course, right comtn: wi! their vnder tissue, And and saie Prince, his embroudered, within through of seruices, enbroudered, and breakyng none Baronj at the trumpettes Abbey Palaice, time vnder and beyond into Henry the lordes, clothe, t accordyng fethers the the of who tipped sujnpteous, of and of knight, his bee-sir and spirituall his plentie and of seruice, ridyng queue, desire, bad Abbey and of other reaime, Westminster their subtleties, sittyng coronacio, and in kynges reuerence, Quene, by repairc the where, before vpon witf left re- in any and by doore kyng Coronacion the sent haule with the lordc; who as Canberbury, made, other demaunded their allowed people, homage, vp. at other foy- of be other reaime, Westminster their subdulie, and of the nobilitie, who, I eight, for here hall, Commons gentlemen. whether whether they would receive, obey, and take thesame moste noble Prince, for their kyng, who with greate reuerence, love, and desire, saied and cried, ye ye. After the whiche solemnittie, and Coronacion finished, the lorde spirituall and temporal, did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the Quenes grace, every one vnder their canabies, where, by the lorde Marshall, and his tipped staves, was made rode, and every lord, and other noble men, according to their tenures, before claimed and vowed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and other of his graces cousail, entred into suche rode and office that day, to execute their services accordingly. The kynges estate on the right hand, and the Quenes on the left hand, the cobard of ix. stages, their noble personages being set: first, at the brynynge of the first course, the trumpettes blew vp. And in came the Duke of Buckyngham, mounted upon a greate courser, richely trapped, and embrondered, and the lorde Stewarde, in likewise on an horse, trapped in clothe of Golde, ridyng before the service, whiche was sumptuous, with many subtleties, strange devises, with suerall poses, and many deintie dishes. At the kynges fete, vnder the table, wer certin gentlemen. And in likewise with the queene, who there continued, during that long & royall feast. What should I speake or write, of the suptuous fine, and delicate meates, prepared for this high and honorable coronac. provided for assed in the parties beyond the sea, as in many and suy- dery places, within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson: Or of the honorable order of the services, the cleane handelyng & breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the pitifull abundance. So that none of any estate beyeing there, did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone, went vnfeasted. The seconde course beying served: in at the haule doore entered a knight, armed at all poynettes, his bases rich tissue embrondered. a great plume & a suptuous of Oistriche feathers on his helmet, sittyn on a greate courser, trapped in tissue, and embrondered with tharnes of England, and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, preseted hymself with humble reuerence, before the kynges maestie, to who, Garter kyng of heraulds, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretence: This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his heritance, who answered thesaid kyng of Armes, in ef- fecte after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from, is not material, nor the cause of my repaire neither, is not concernyng any matter, of any place or contrayre, but onely this. And there with all, commanded his Heraulde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here, the cause of my comynyng and pretence. Then he commanded his awne Herauld, by Proclamation to saie: if there be any personne, of what estate or degree sower he be, that wil saie or prone, that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmocke here his Champion, offre my gloune, to fight in his querrell, with any persone to thateraunce, whiche Proclamation was made in sundery places of the halle: And at every tym, his gaunetete caste doune, in the maintenaunce thereof. After whiche seuerall proclamaciouns done, and offerings made, thesaid knight or champion, eftsoines required to the kynges presence, demaundyng drinke, to who the kynges grace sent a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight had
had drōk, he demanded the cont of thesaied cuppe, whiche, to hym was also deliuered: that doen, he decreed out of the halle, with the said cup & couer as his awne.

The maner of his tenure is this, that at the Coronacion of the kyng, he should go to the armarie, and there take the kynges best harnës, saue one, the best and rich bases sauing one, then of tholunes, or other thynges, for the garnishing of his creast or helme, and so to the stable, there taking the next couer or horse, to the best, with like trapper, and so furnished, to euer supra, and his office doon, to haue all these thynges, with the cuppe or couer and couer, to his awne use.

After the departure of thesaied Champion, the Kyng of Armes, with all the Herauldes, and other officers of Armes, made Proclaimacions in severall places of the halle, cryng largesse. Briefly to passe over, this high and long solemnitie, of this honorable Coronacion and feast, more honorable then of the great Cesar, whó, many Historiographers, so high set out and magnified, if the Latins of Englande, were not promoted or auauensed, to dignities and promotions, orelse they firste should (as other poore clerkes, in the partes beyond the sea, exalte and set furtle the iestes & Chronicles, of their natue countrieys, with high laude & praise and in some parte more then truth, for small mede or reward doo) put in writyng, either in English or Latin tongue, the noble triumphes, chivalrous feates, valiant actes, victorious batailles, & other noble Iestes of this realme, & in especiall of our tyme & knowlege, of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appere much more honorable, then any other stories: But promocion and benefices, putte awai laboure and payne, albeit the greate parte of them will saie, that the high Cure and charge is to edefie the people, with the word of God, taking care of the soules: there against I will not reple, but no displeasure, I perceiue that thei take as greate cure, for the profite of their purses, with pleasure of huntyng and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they come to the best of their promocion, with small kepyng of hospitalitie: as other whiche were their predecessors, and muche worse, so that parte of their pastymes spent in writyng, and settyng furthe the iestes, actes and deedes, of the nobilitie of Englande, with the manyfold commodites of thesame, should muche ennable the princes thereof, seyng by daily experience, Busshoppes, Archebusshoppes, Abbottes, and other clarkes, in the partes beyonde the sea, aswell learned, as of high knowlege, and better linage, and as verteous as they, daily enforce themselles, to aunnace their Princes, their Realmes and native Countreis, aswell in Latin, as in their vulgare toungue. But to returne to thende of this honorable feast, the tables auoyded, the wafers were brought. Then Sir Stephen Ienyns, that tyme Maior of London, whom, the kyng before he satte done to dynner, had dubbed knight, whiche, beganne the Erlies Table that daie, arose from the place where he satte, to seere the Kyng with Ipocras, in a Cuppe of Golde, whiche Cuppe, after his grace had dronken therof, was with the couer, gíven vnto thesaid sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, Maiors of thesaied citie, were wont to haue at the Coronacion of the kyng. Then after the Surmep laid, and that the kynges grace, & the Quene had washéd, euery of them vnder their Clothes of estate, the tables beying auoyded, went vnto their cambers.

For the more honor, and ennobling of this triumphaunt Coronacion, there were prepared, bothe Iustes and Turneis, to be doon in the Palacie of Westminister, where, for the kynges grace, and the Quene, was framed a faire house, couered with Tapisstrie, and hanged with riche clothes of Arrais, and in thesaied Palacie, was made a curious Fountain, and ouer it a Castle: on the toppp thereof, a greate Croune Emperiral, all the imbattelyng with Roses, and Pomegranetes gilded: and vnder and aboute thesaid Castle, a curious Vynne, the leaves and grapes thereof, gilded with fine Golde, the walles of the same Castle coloured, White and Grene losengis. And in euery losenge, either a Rose or a Pomegranet, or a Shefill of Arrows, or els. H. and. K. gilded with fine Gold, with certain Arches or Turrettes gilded, to support thesamed Castle. And the targettes of the armes, of the defendaunte, appointed for thesaid Iustes, there vpon sumptously set. And out
at seuerall places, of thesame Castle, aswell the daie of the coronacio, as at thesaid daies of the Lustes & Turne, out of the mouthes of certain beasts, or gorges, did runne red, white, & claret wine. Thenterprisers of these Lustes, was Thomas lord Hyward, heire apparaunt to the erle of Surrey, sir Edward Haward Admirall, his brother, the lorde Richard, brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmòd Haward, sir Thomas Knevet, & Charles Brandó esquire. The tropettes blew to the feld, the fresh yog galates & noble menne gorgeously appareled, with curious deuises, of cuttes and of embrouderies, aswell in their coates, as in trappers for their horses, some of gold, some in siluer, some in Tyneol, and dimerse other in golde smithes worke, goodly to behold, first entered the feld, in taking vp and turning their Horses, netly & freshly. Then followed a devise, (caried by strength of menne, and other prouision) framed like a Castle, or a Turret, wrought with fine cloth of Gold: the toppe wherof, was spred with Roses and Pomegranates, hangyng done on euerie side, of thesaied devise, wherein was a Lady, bearyng a shilde of Christall named Pallas. After whom, thesaied Lorde Haward, with his compagnions followed, armed at all poynte, their Bases, and Bardes, or Trappers, were of Grene Velvet, beated with Roses, and Pomegranates of Golde, brodered with fringes of Damase Golde. Thesaied devise or Turret, beynge brought before the kyng, the Lady Pallas, presented thesaied persones, whom, she named her scholers, to the kynges highnes, besechyng thesame, to accept them as her scholers, who wer desirous to serue hym, to the encrease of their honors, whiche saied scholers, had about them on foote, to the nombre of an hundred persones, freshly appareled, in Veluettes of sundery colours, with hose and Bonettes, accordingly to thesame. And further, thesaied Ladie desired the kyng, that it might please his grace, that her saied scholers, might be defendauntes to al commers whiche request was granted. Then came in an other bende of horse men, freshly and well appareled in cloth of golde, in siluer, in Goldsmithes worke, and brouderie, to the number of three score, with trappers accordingly to their garmente, with great Bauderikes, Collers, and Cheines of Golde, aboute their neckes, and trauerase their bodies, every man with a coye of golde on his hedde, and a great plume of fethers therevpon, some of one colour, and some of another, enterying before into the feld, with Drômes and Fifes a greate nombre, every man takyng vp his horse, in his best maner, aswell for their Ladies, as also for laude or prouise to bee geuen them. After whom, followed a good nombre of foote men in Veluettes, & other silkes, cutte and embroudered, with hoso to thesame accordingly, & bonettes and other furniture, after a freshe and lustic fashion. Nexte to theim came on horse backe, eight persones, whose names were, sir Ihon Pechy, Sir Edwarde Neuell, Sir Edwarde Guildeforde, Sir Ihon Carre, Sir Wyllyam Parre, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Roulande, Armed also at all poynte, with skyldes of their awne armes, with riche Plumes, and other deuises on their heddepeces their Bases and Trappers of Tissee, cloth of Golde, Siluer and velvet, and nexte before theim, a gentle manne on horsebacke, in a coate of Blowel Velvet, embroudered with golde, and his horse Trapped in the same suite, with a spere of Golde on his thigh, and thesame presented to the Quene: sayyng, that it was enforme those knyghtes of his compagnie, how that Dame Pallas, had presented sise of her scholers to the kyng, but whether they came to learene, or to teache feactes of Armes, they knewe not. And further declared, that his knyghtes were come, to doo feactes of armes, for the lone of Ladies, wherefore, he besought her grace, to license those Knyghtes to proune their selues, against Dame Pallas Schollers: and that in case, her Schollers brake more speres, on thesaied knyghtes, by the view of the Indges, and the report of the Herauldes, then thesame knyghtes should doe on theim, then thesaied Schollers of Pallas knyghtes, to haue the spere of Gold for their prise. And if the knyghtes brake more speres, then Dame Pallas Schollers, thesaied knyghtes to haue the Christall Shilde. The whiche request to theim granted, the Lustes begane, where every manne did acquite hymself, well and valiauntly, but who had the price of other, I knowe not, the night commyng on, the Lustes ended.
The next daie approched, the foresaided defenders, Schollers to Pallas on horsebacke, armed Cape a pie, the one side of their Bases, and Bardes of their Horses white Veluet, embroudered with Roses of gold and other embrouderies, the other side Grene Veluet, embroudered with Pomegranetes of Golde, every one of them on his hedde pece, had an heare of flatte Golde of Damaske, presented theimselfes, before the kyng ready to Tourneg.

Then immediatly on the other parte came in, the fore named eights knightes ready armed, their Bases and Barces of their Horse, Grene Satyn, embroudered with freshe deuises, of Bramble branches, of fine Golde curiously wroughte, powdered over all. And after theim a greate nombre of mountaines, by menne apparell in Grene Clothe, with Cappes and Hosen of like suite, as Forsters or keepers, and a Pagente made like a Parke, paled with pales of White and Grene, wherein wer certain Fallowe Dere, and in thesame Parke curious Trees made by crafte, with Busshes, Fernes, and other thynges in likewise wroughte, goody to beholde. The whiche Parke or deuise, beeyng brought before the Quene, had certain gates thereof opened, the Dere ranne out thereof into the Palaise, the greye houndes were lette slippe and killed the Dere: the whiche Dere so killed, were presented to the Quene and the Ladies, by the foresaid knightes. Crocheman, whiche the daie before broughte in the sperre of golde, there declared, that thesame knightes were seruantes to Diana, and beeyng in their pastyme of huntyng, newes were brought vnto theim, that Dame Pallas knightes, were come into those parties, to doo dedes of armes: wherefore, they had lefte their huntyng and chase, and repaired also the other, to encounter with the knightes of Pallas, and so to fight with the, for the lome of ladies to thutterance: saiyng, that if Pallas knightes vanquished the other, or made them to leue the feld, then thei to haue the dere killed, and the greye houndes that slove theim. And in case Dias knightes, ouer came the other, they to haue their swordes, and none other thyng more.

Whereupon the Quene and Ladies, sent to the kyng to haue his advise and pleasure in this behalfe, his grace conceyning, that there was some grudge, and displeasure betwene theim, thyngynge if suche request wer to theim granted, some inconuenience might ensue, would not there vnto agre, so that for the appessenying thereof, it was awarded that both parties, shoultourney togethers, genyng but a certain strokes, whiche donen thei departed: And so these lustes brake vp, and the prices gven to cyery man after his deserts,

This yere the kyng pardoned the forde Henry, brother to the Duke of Buckyngham, beeyng committed to the Tower, vpon suspisuon of treason laied vnto hym, but not proued, and sone after at the Parliament, created hym Earle of Wyshire.

Also this yere, the kyng ordaine every Gentle menne to bee spares, euery of theim to haue an Archer, a Dimilanne, and a Custrell, and euery spere to haue three greate Horses, to bee attendant on his persone, of the which bende, the Earle of Essex was Lieutenaut, and sir Ihon Pechie Capitain, who endured but a while, the apparell and charges were so greate, for there none of them, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Silver, and Golde Smithes worke, and their seruantes richly appareled also.

This yere also was a greate Pestilence in the toune of Caicis, and muche people died, in so muche that the kyng, at the request of his counsaill of Caicis, consideryang the weaknesses of the toune, sent thether Sir Ihon Pechie, with three hundred menne to tary there, who continued theire vnto suche tyme, that the plague was ceased, and newe Soulndiers admitted to suche roumnes as then were vacant, and then returned into Englande. Furthermore, this yere the kyng somoned his Parliament, in the moneth of November, which, began in the moneth of Januarij ensuyeung, wherof sir Thomas Inglefeld was chosen Speaker, in the whiche session emonge other thynges there enacted, it was ordained by authoritie of Parliament, that sir Thomas Empson knighte, and Edmund Dudely esquire, late Counsaillers to Kyng Henry the seuenthe, shoult and wer attainted of haut treason.

Thesame yere the plague was greate, and reigned in diverse partes of the realme, the kyng
kyng kept his Christmas at Richemond. And the xii. daie of Ianuie, diuerse gentlemen freshly appareled, prepared them self to Iuste, vnknown to the kynges grace, whereof, he beyng secretly informed, caused hymself and one of his privie chambre, called Willyâ Compton to bee secretly armed, in the little Parke of Richemond: and so came into the Iustes, vnknown to all persons, and vnlooked for: The kyng ranne neuer openly before, and there were broken many staines, and greate praise geuen to the two strangurers, but specially to one, whiche was the kyng; howebeit, at a course by misfortune, sir Edward Neuell Esquire, brother to the Lorde of Burganie, did runne against Master Compton, and hurte hym sore, and was likely to dye. One persone there was, that knew the kyng, and cried, God saue the king, with that, all the people wer astonied, and then the kyng discovered hymself, to the greate comforte of all the people.

The kyng sone after, came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble memme, to the nombre, of twelue, came sodainly in a morning, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of thesame, euery one of them, his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a buckler, like out laces, or Robyn Hodes men, whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain connyng, and after certain daunces, and pastime made, the departed. On Shrune Sunday thesame yere, the kyng prepared a gredy banquet, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadours, which, then wer ther, out of diuerse realmes and countreis. The banquet beyng ready, the Kyng leading the Quene, entered into the Chambre, then the Ladies, Ambassadours, and other noble memme, folowed in ordre. The Kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and then satte the Ambassadours and Ladies, as they were Marshalled by the kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, makynge chere to the Quene, and the strangurers: Soodainly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fasshoî, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Velvet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimiteries, hangyng by greate hawdcrikes of gold. Next, came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin, travaersed with white satin, and in euery head of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fashio of Russia or Ruslände, with furred hattes of greye on their heddes, either of them hanyng an hatchet in their handes, and bootes with pykes turned vp. And after them, enues syr Edward Haward, than Adayral, and with him syr Thomas Parre, in dobbetles of Crimosin velner, voyded lowe on the backe, and before to the cannell bone, based on the braces with chaynes of siluer, and ouer that shorte closees of Crimosyn satyne, and on their heddes hattes after dauncers fashion, with feasauntes fethers in them: They were appareyled after the fashion of Prussia or Spruce. The torchebearers were appareyled in Crimosyn satyne and grene, lyke Moreskoes, their faces blace: And the kyng brought in a monemeye. After that the Quene, the lordes, and lidades, such as would had played, the sayd monemeyes departed, and put of thesame apparel, & sone after entred into the Chambre, in their usuall apparel. And so the kyng made great chere to the Quene, Ladies and Ambassadours: The Supper or Banket ended, and the tables anoved, the kyng beyng in communiction with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the Ladies toke their places in their degrees. Then began the dausying, and euery man toke muche hede to them that dausied. The kyng perceiving that, withdrew hym selfe sodainly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle while after there came in a drumme and a fie appareled in white Damaseke and grene bonettes, & hosen of thesame sute, than certayn gentelmen folowed with torches, appareyled in blew Damaseke pursedane with Ames grey, factioned lyke an Aybe, and on their heddes hodes with robbes and longe tippettes to thesame of blew Damaseke visarde. Than after them came a certayn number of gentelmen, wherof the kyng was one, appareyled all in one sewte of shorte garments, little beneth the
the poyned, of blew Veluet and Crymosyne with log sleues, all cut and lynced with clothe of golde. And the vter parte of the garments were powdered with castells, & shefes of arrowes of fyne doket golde. The upper partes of their hosen of lyke sewte and facion, the nether partes were of Scarlet, poudred with tymbrelles of fyne golde, on their heades bonets of Damaske, syluer flatte wouen in the stole, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fethers in them, all with visers. After them entred vi. ladyes, wherof twoo were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and purpul, embrodered with golde and by vynettes, ran floure delices of golde, with marueylous ryche & straige tiers on their heads. Other two ladyes in Crymosyne & purpul, made like long slops embrodered and fret with golde after antike fashion: and over that garment was a short garment of clothe of golde scant to the knee facioned like a tabard all over, with small double rolles, all of flatte golde of Damaske, fret with fryshed golde, and on their heades skayns and wrappers of Damaske golde with flatte ypes, yt strange it was to beholde. The other two ladies were inkytels of Crymosyne and purpul satyn, embrodered with a vyset of Pomegranettes of golde, all the garments cut compasse wyse, lanyng but demy sleues, and naked doune from the elbowes, and over their garments were vochettes of pleasantes, rouled with Crymysyne veluet, and set with letters of golde lyke Carectes, their heades roulled in pleasauntes and tppers lyke the Egipcians, embrodered with golde. Their faces, neckes, armes & handes, covert with fyne pleasure blacke: Some call it Lumberdyynes, which is merueylous shine, so that thesane ladies semed to be negrost or blacke Mores. Of these foresayed vi. ladyes, the lady Mary, syster vnto the kyng was the, the other I name not. After that the kynges grace and the ladys had daunshed a certayne tymne they departed euery one to his lodgyng.

In this yere kyng Henry the. vii. his executours made restituitione of great sommes of money, to many persons taken against good conscience to the sade kynges vse, by the forenamed Empson and Dudley.

This yere also came Ambassadours from the kyng of Arragó and Castell into this Realme, who were hygly entertained and royally receyued, and repayred muche to the Court. It happened on a daye, that there were certayne noble men made a wager to runne at the ryngge, and partes were taken, and whiche partie atteyned or toke awaye the ringge oftest with a certayne courses, should wyne the wager. Wherof, the kynges grace hearing, offered to be on the one partie with vi. companions: The Ambassadours hearynge therof, were muche desirous to see thys wager tryed, and specially the Ambassadours of Spaigne, who had never seen the kyng in harneyes. At the daye apointed, the king was mounted on a godly Courser, trapped in purpul veluet cutte, the inner sycle wherof was wrought with flatte golde of Damaske in the stole, and the veluet on the other sycle cut in letters: So that yt gold appeard as though it had been embrodered with certayne reasons or poyses, And on the Veluet betwene the letters were fastenct, castells and shefes of arrowes of docket golde, with a garnet the sleues compassed ouer his harneyes, and his bales of thesame worke, with a great plume of fethers on his head peace, that came doune to the arson of his sadell, and a great company of fresh gentelmen, came in with his grace rychely armed and decked, with many other right gorgeously appareyled, the troquette before them, Goody to beholde, wherof many straingers, but specially the Spagniardes muche rejoysed, for they had never seen yt king before that tymne armed.

On the other sycle came in an other bende of gentelmen, freschely appareyled, and pleasant to beholde, all appareyled in clothe of golde, checkerd with flatte golde of Damaske, and poudred with Roses: and so euery man ranne, but to conclude, the prye was gene vnto the king, euery man did runne. xii. courses, the kyng did houre awaye the ryngge. v. tymes and atteyned it. iii: & these courses thus finished, yt Spanish Ambassadours desyre to haue some of the badges or deuises, whiche were on the kynges trapper: his grace therof knowing, commaunded Euery of them to take therof what it pleased them, who in effect toke all or the more parte: for in the beginning they thought that they had bene counterfaite, and not of golde.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIJ.

In this yere from divers Realmes and Countreys came many Ambassadours, of France, Denemarke, Scotlande, and other Realmes, which were highly entereteyned.

§ THE. II. YERE.

ON May daye, than next folowyng in the ii. yere of his reygne, hys grace beyng yonge, and willyng not to be idell, rose in the moronyng very early to fetchie May or grene bows, hym self freshe and rychely appareyled, & clothed all his Knyghtes, Squyers and Gentelmen in whyte Satyn, and all hys garde and yomen of the Crowne in white saracenct: And so went every man with his bowe and arrowes shotyng to the wood, and so repaired again to the Courte, evry man with a grene bough in his cappe, and at his returning, many heynyng of his gooyng a Maiyng, were desirous to se hym shote, for at that tym e hys grace shott as strong and as great a length as any of his garde. There came to his grace a certayn man with bowe and arrowes and desyred his grace to take the muster of hym, and to se hym shote, for at that tym e hys grace was contented, the man put his one fote in his bosome, and so did shote, and shote a very good shote, and well towards his marke, wherof not onely his grace but all other greatly merueyled. So the kyng gave hym a reward for his so doyng, whiche person afterwarde of the people and of them in the courte was called, fote in bosome.

Thesame yere in the feast of Pentecoste, holden at Grenewyche, that is to say the Thurs-day in thesame weke, hys grace with two other with hym challenged all commers, to fighte with them at the barriers with target and casting y spere of viii. fote long, and that done his grace with the sayde two aydes to fight every of them. xii. strokes with twohanded swordes, with and against all commers, none except beyng a gentelmâ, where the kyng behaued hymselfe so wel, and delinuered himself so valiantly by his hardy prowes and great strength that the prayse and laude was genen to his grace, and his aydes: notwithstanding that divers vallyaunt and strong persons had assayled hym and his aydes.

From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than beganyng his progresse, exercisyng hym self daily in shotyng, singing dausying, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playynge at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makynge of ballettes, & dyd set. ii. goodly masses, evry of them fyue partes, whiche were songe oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwarde in diverse other places. And when he came to Okyng, there were kept both Justes and Turneyes: the rest of thys progresse was spent in hunting, hawking and shotyng.

The kyng beyng thus in hys progresse harde every daye more and more complayntes of Empson and Dudley, wherfore he sent wryties to the Shyriftes of London, to put them in execucion, and so the xvii. day of August, they were both behedded at the Towre blye, and their bodies byrde and their heads.

The sayde progresse finisshed, his grace, the Queene, with all their whole trayne, in the moneth of October folowyng, remoued to Grenewyche. The kyng not nyended to se yong Gentelmen, vnexpert in marcell feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grenewyche for the Queene and the ladies to stonde and se the fighte with battaille axes that should be done there, where the king hym self armed, foughte with one Gyot a gentelman of Almayne, a tailor man, and a good man of armes. And than after they had done, they marched alwayes two and two together, and so dyd their feates and enterpryses evry man very well: Albeit, it happened the sayde Gyot to fighte with syr Edward Haward, which Gyot was by hym stryken to the grounde.

The morow after this enterprise done, the kyng with the Queene came to the Towre of London. And to thentent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by any of those Gentelmen, which foughte with the axe agaynst other. The kyng gave vnto the a certayn summe in golde, valued at. cc. marke, to make a banket emongest themselfes

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THE II. YERE OF

with all: The whiche banquet was made at the Fishemongers Halle in Teames strete, where
they all met to the number of. xxiii, all appareled in one sute or livery, after Almain
fashion, that is to say, their vter garments all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes,
gyrdels sacerdes, and bonnetes with yealow fethers, their garments & hosen all cutte and
lyned with whyte Satyn, and their sacerdes wounde abouth with satyne: After their banquet
cended, they went by torche light to the Towre, presentinge them selues before the kynge, who
toke pleasure to beholde them.

From thence, the. viii. daye of Nouember, his grace removed to Rychemond, and willed
to be declared to all noble men and gotten, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit
mayster Charles Brandon, and mayster Compton, duryng two dayes would answer al commers
with spere at the Tylt one daye, and at turyne with swords, the other.

And to accomplish this enterprize the. xiii. daye of Nouember, his grace armed at all
peces with his two aydes entreed the feeldde, their bases and trappers were of cloth of
golde, set with redde roses, ingreyled with gold of broderye: The counter parte came in
freshely, appareled every man after his devise. At these iustes the king brake more staines
then any other, and therefor had the prysce: At the Turney in likewyse, the honor was his.
The second night were diverse strangers of Maximilian the Empenours court, and Ambassa-
dours of Spaygne with kyng at supper: when they had supped, the kyng willed them to
go into the Queues chamber, who so did. And in the meane season, the kyng with. xv.
other appareled in Almayne Iacketes of Crymosyn, & purple Satyne, with log quartered
sleues, with hosen of the same suit, their bonettes of whyte veluet, wrapped in flat golde of
Damaske, with visers and white plumes, come in with a momentry, and after a certayne tyme
that they had played with the Queene and the strauniers, they departed. Then sodenly
entred. vi. mynstrelles, rychely appareled, playing on their instrumentes, and then folowed.
xiii. persones Gentlemen, all appareled in yealow Satyne, cut like Almayne, bearyn
torches. After the came. vi. disguised in whyte Satyne and grenc, embrodered and
set with letters and castels of fyne golde in bullion, the garments were of strange facion,
with also strange cuttes, evry cutte kayllte wyth payntes of fyne golde and tassels of the
same, their hosen cutt and tyed in likewyse, their bonettes of clothe of syluer, wounde
with golde. Fyrst of these. vi. was the kyng, the erle of Essex, Charles Brandon, syr
Edwaid Hawarde, syr Thomas Kaucet, & syr Iery Guytorde. Then parte of the Gétel-
men bearing torches departed, and shortly returned, after whom came in. vi. ladyes appa-
reled in garments of Crymosyn Satyn embrodered and trannesed with cloth of gold, cut
in Pomegranettes and yokes, strynged after the facion of Spaygne. Then the syade. vi. men
danced with these. vi. ladyes: and after that they had duryed a season, the ladys toke of
the mens visers, whereby they wer knowne: Whereof the Queene and the strauniers mocch
praised the kyng, and ended the pastyme.

It is to be noted that at this tyme the Queene was great with child, and shortly after this
pastyme, she toke her chamber at Richemond, for the whiche cause the kyng kept his
Christmas there. And on Newyeres daye, the first day of January, the Queene was de-
liliered of a Prince to the great glahdes of the realme, for the honour of whom, fyers
were made, and dyuers vessels with wyne, set for suche as woulde take theroof in certayne
streates in London, and generall processions therupon to haude God. As touchyng the
preparation of the Princes Christmas, I overpasse, whiche was honorablie done, whose
godfathers at the font were the Archebishop of Cunterbury, and the erle of Surrer.
Godmother the lady Katheryne Countesse of Devonshire, daughter to kyng Edward the
fourth.

Agaynste the. xii. daye or the daye of the Epiphanie at nghte, before the banquet in the
Hall at Richemond, was a pageant devised like a mountayne, glisteringe by nght, as though
it had bene all of golde and set with stones, on the top of the which mountayne was a tree of
golde, the brancheds and bowes frysed with gold, spredyng on every side over the mount-
tayne, with Rose and Pomegranettes, the which mountayne was with vices brought vp to-
wardes
wardes the kyng, & out of thesame came a ladyc, appareiled in cloth of golde, and the child-
ren of honor called the Henchemen, whiche were freshly disguised, and danc'd a Morice
before the kyng. And that done, recented the montaine and then it was drawn backe, and
then was the wasail or banket brought in, and so brake vp Christmas.

Shortly after, and before the Quenes churchinge, the kyng rode to Walsingham. The
Quene byung Charched or purified, the kyng and she removed from Rychemonde to West-
minster, where was preparacion for a solempne Iustes in the honor of the Quene, the kyng
being one, and with him thre aydes: his grace byeng called Cure loial, & theorde William erle
of Deuonshire, called Bon voloivre, Sir Thomas Kneuet named Bon espoir, Sir Edward
Neule, called Valiant desir, whose names were set vpon a goodly table, and the table
hanged in a tree, curiously wrought, and they were called Les quater Chivalers de la forest
saluigne, these foure to runne at the tille against all comers, with other certayne Articles
coprised in the said table.

A place in the Pallayve was prepared for the kyng, and also the Quene, rycheely hanged
the inner parte with cloth of golde, and the viter with ryche clothe of Arras. These
Iustes beganne the. xiii. daye of February. After that, that the Quene with her trayne of
ladies had taken their places, into the Pallays was conveyed a pageant of a great quantite,
made like a forest with rocks, hilles and dales, with dieres sundrie trees, floors, hathornes,
ferne and grasse, with six forsters, stodynge within thesame forest, garnyshed in cotes and
hodes of grene Veluet, by whom lay a great number of spere, all the trees, herbs &
floures, of thesame forest were made of grene Veluet, grene Damaske, and silke of dieres
colours, Satyn and Screenet. In the middles of this forest was a castell standing, made of
golde, and before the Castel gate sat a gentleman fresly appareiled, makynge a garlande of
Roses for the pynce. This forest was drawn, as it wer by strength of twoo great bestes, a
Lyon and an Antelop, the Lyon floryshed all ouer with Damaske golde, The Antelop was
wrought all ouer with siluer of Damaske, his beames or hornes & tuskis of golde: these
beastes were led with certayne men appareiled like wild men or woodhouses, their bodies,
heddes, faces, handes, and legges, coverid with grene Sylke flosshe: On either of the sayde
Antelop and Lyon, sate a ladyc rycheley appareiled, the beastes were tyed to the pageant
with greate chaynes of golde, as horses be in the arte. When the pageant rested before
the Quene, the fornamed forsters blew their hornes, then the densse or pageant opened on
all sides, and out issued the foresaid fourre knyghtes, armed at all pieces, euer of them a
spere in his hande on horsebacke with great plumes on their heddes, their basses and trappers
of cloth of golde, euer of them his name eembrondon on his basse and trapper: on the
other parte with great noyse, as well of Trompettes as of Dromes entred into the telde,
The erie of Essex, the lord Thomas Hawarde with many other cleame armed, their trappers
and basses all of Gymosyn Satyn eembrondon with branchis of Pomegranettes of golde,
and posys wyth many a freshe Gentlemen, rydlinge before them, their folemen also well
appareiled: And so the Iustes beganne, and endureid all that daye.

The morow byeng the. xiii. daye of February after dyner, at tymye convenient, the
Quene with the ladys repaired to see the Iustes, the trompettes blew vp, and in came many
a noble man and Gentelmen, rycheley appareiled, makynge vp their horses, after whom folowed
certayne lordes appareiled, they and their horses in cloth of golde and russet tynse:
Knyghtes in cloth of golde, and russet Veluet. And a greate number of Gentelmen on
fote, in russet satyn and yelloow, and yomen in russet Damaske and yelloow, all the nether
parte of euery mans hosen Skarlet, and yelloow cappes. Thenn came the kynges under a Pa-
milion of cloth of golde, and purpul Veluet enbroidered, and powdered with H. and K. of
efy golde, the compass of the Pavilion aboue, enbroidered rycheley, and gyned wth flay
gholde beten in wyte, with an Imperiall crowne in the top of fyn golde, his basse and trapp
ner of cloth of golde, frettid with damaske golde, the trapper pediant to the tail. A cran
and chafron of stele, in the front of the chafron was a goodly plume set full of nusses or
trimbling spangles of golde. After folowed his three aydes, euer of them vnder a Pa-
The Ill. Yere of

ullion of Crymosyn damaske & purple poudred with H. and K. of fyne golde, valenced and fyrnged with golde of damaske: on the top of euer Paullion a greate K. of golde sunythe worke, the number of the Gentlemen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yeallow. C. lxviii. Then next these Paullions came. xii. chylde of honor, sitting euery of them on a great coursere, rychely trapped and embrodered in seuerall deuises and facion, where lacked neither broderie nor goldsmithes worke, so that euery chylde & horse in deuice and facion was contrary to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the counter part, entred syr Charles Brädon, fyrst on horsbacke in a long robe of Russet satyn, like a recluse or a religious person and his horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsy, putting a byll of peticion to the Queene, the effect whereof was, that if it would please her to licenc hym to runne in her presence, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put of hys sayde habyte, and was armed at all peces with ryche bases & horse, also rychely trapped, and so did runne his horse to the tylte ende, where diuers men on fote appareiled in Russet satyn awaited on hym: next after came in alone young Henry Guylford Esquier, hym selfe and his horse in russet cloth of golde and clothe of siluer, closed in a deuice, or a pageant made lyke a Castell or a Turret, wrought of Russet sercenet florence, wrought, and set out in golde with hys worde or posye, and all his men in Russet satyn and white, with hosen to thesame, and their bonettes of lyke colors, demanding also licence of the Queene to runne, whiche to him granted toke place at thende of the tylte. Then came nexte the Marques Dorset and syr Thomas Bulleyng, like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberdes of blacke Velvet, with palmeres hattes on their helmettes, wyth long Jacobs staves in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke Velvet, their taberdes, hattes, & trappers with scalopp sheles of fyne golde, and strippes of blacke Velvet, every strip set with a scalopp shell, their sernautes all in black Satyn, with scalopp sheles of gold in their breasts.

Sone after came in the lord Henry of Buckyngham Erle of Wylshire, hym selfe and his horse appareiled in cloth of siluer, embrodered with a posye, or his worde, and arrows of golde in a posye, called La maison du refugë, made of Crymosyn damaske, brodered with Roses and arrows of golde, on the top a greyhonde of siluer, bearing a tree of Pomegarnettes of golde, the brauncheles thereof were so large that it over sprede the pagent in all partes. Then entred syr Gyles Capell, syr Roulande with many other knyghtes, rychely armed and appareilled. And thus beganne the lustes, whiche was valianently achiuved by the kyng and his nydes, enyges whoms grace attayned £ price. These lustes finisshed, every man with drew, the kyng was disarmed, & at tyme convenient he and the Queene heard euë-song, and on that night all the Ambassadores supped with the kyng, & had a great bachelor. After supper, his grace with the Queene, lordes and ladies came into the white Hall, within the sayde Pallayles, whiche was hanged rychely, the Hall was seafolded and rayled on all partes. There was an interlude of the gentelman of his chapel before his grace, and diuers freshe songs: that done, his grace called to hym a great man, or a lord of Irelaund called Odonell, whom in the presence of the sayde Ambassadores, he made knyght: then the mynstrelse beganne to playe, the lordes and ladies beganne to dauce.

And in the moste of this pastyme, when all persone were moste atteynte to beholde the daunsynge, the kyng was sodendly gone unknouen to the moste parte of the people there, oncs it were of the Queene & of certayne other. Within a littell while after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the Hall began to blow. Then was there a deuice or a pageant vpô wheles brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentilman rychelye appareilled, that shewed, howe in a garden of pleasure there was an arbor of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies, inche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Queene and ladys, if they might be licenced so to do, who was assawered by the Queene, how she and all other ther were very desirous to se them and their pastime: then a great cloth of Arras that did hang before thesame pageant was taken awaye, & the pageant brought more nere, it was curiously made and plaisaunt to beholde, it was solemnque and ryche, for euery post or pillar therof,
therof, was couered with frise golde, therin were trees of Hathorne, Eglantynes, Rosiers, Vines and other pleasaunt flowers of divers colours, with Gillofers and other herbes all made of Satyn, damaske, silke, siluer & gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or flowers ought to be. In which arber were. vi. ladies, all appareiled in white satyn and grene, set & embroudered full of H. & K. of golde, knynte together with laces of golde, of damaske, & all their garmentes were replenished with glyteryng spangles gylt ouer, on their heddres were bonettes all opened at the. iii. quarters, overtysed with flat gold of damaske, & orrellettes were of rolles, wreteth on lampas doucck hulow, so y the golde shewed thorow y lapas douck, y fassis of their head set full of new devised facions: in this garde, also was the kyng and. v. with him appareiled in garnettes of purple satyn, all of cuttes with H. & K. every edge garnished with trysed gold, & every garnet full of poysees, made of letters of fine gold in bullo as thicke as they might be, & every persone had his name in like letters of massy gold. The first Cuer loyall, The second Bone volute, in the. iii. Bone espoiier, The. iii. Valyaüët desyre, The. fyft Bone foy, The. vi. Amoure loyall, their hose, cappes, & cotes, were full of poysees & H. & K. of fine gold in bullio, so y the gruide could scace appellere & yet was in every voyde place spigles of gold. Whie time was come, y sayd pageant was brought forth into presence, & then discende a lord & a lady by coples, & then the mynsirels, which were disguised also daiced, and the lordes & ladies daunche, that that it was a pleasure to beholde.

In the meane season the pagaunt was conveyed to the ende of the place, there to tary till the daunces were finished, and so to haue receyued the lordes and ladies againe, but sodanly the rude people rame to the pagant, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagant, so that the lord Stuard nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde haue foughten and drawnen bloude, and so was this pagant broken.

After the kyng and his copaignions had daiced, he appointed the ladies, gentelwomen and the Ambassadours to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, which thing the common people perceyuyng rame to the kyng, and stripped hym into his hosen and dublet, and all his compaignions in likewise. Syr Thomas Knevet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost his apparel. The ladies likewyse were spoiled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and put the people bache, or els as it was supposed more inconuenence had ensued. So the kyng with the queene & the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughynge and game, and thought that, all that was taken away was but for honor, and larges: and so this triumphe ended with myrthe and gladnes. At this banket, a shipeman of London caught certayne letters which he sould to a goldsmith for. iii. i. xiii. s. viii. d. by reason wherof, it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.

After this great joy came sorrowfull daunce, for the young Prince, which was borne vpon Neweuyeres daye last past, vpon the. xxii. daye of February, byeng then the ene of saint Mathy, departed this world at Rychemonde, and from thence was carryed to Westmynyster, and buryed.

The kyng lyke a wyse prynce, toke this dolorous daunce wonderous wysely, and the more to comfort the Queene, he dissimuled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardly: but the Queene lyke a naturall woman, made much lamentacion, how be it, by the kynges good persuation and behavioure, her sorowe was mitigated, but not shortlye. This were also in the moneth of Februarie, came fro kyng Ferdinand, the kynges father in law, and kyng of Arragon and Castell certayne ambassadours, whiche made request to the kyng, on the behalfe of the kyng their mayster, to haue ayde of the kyng of xv. C. Archers, with valyant Capitayues to gourne and condyhte them: For his entent was to make warre on the Moores, byenge Infideles and enemies to Gods law. The kyng and his comayal hearing this request, thoughte it much honorable to ayde a Christian Prynce, and in especial his frende and father in lawe, agaynste the Infideles enemies to Christes lawe, wherfore the kyng gently graunted them their request. When tydings were spread in the courte of this lornye
iorne agaynst the infideles, the lorde Thomas Darcye, knyght of the order of the gartier, made hibile synte to the kyng, to be capayyne general of that Crewe or armye. The kyng and hys counsayll for his great valiauntnes and approved wysedome granted his request: many lorde & knyghtes made synte to be in thesame iorney, but the kyng annswered them, he retayned them still for other greater consideracions and purposes. There were appointed to go with the saide lord Darcie, lord Antony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorset, Henry Gyldeforde, Westö, Broune, Wiliam Syudy, Esquyes of the kynges house, sry Robert Costale, sry Roger Haystynge, and sry Raufe Elderkare, and diuers other gentelmé to be capayynes. The lord Darcie and all the other capayynes take their lene of the kyng, and went into their countreys to provide for all things, mete and necessarie for the voyaige.

The kyng this tyme was moche entysed to playe at tennes and at dice, which appetite, certaine craftie persons about him perceauynge, brought in Frenchmen and Lombardes, to make wagers by hym, & so he lost much money, but when he perceuyed their craft, he excuyed their compaignie, and let them go. The kyng beyng lustye, young, & coragious, greatly delited in feates of chyluric, in so much that he made a chalenge of Instes, agaynst all comers to be proclaimed at his manourne of Grenewyche, to be holden there the iii. first dayes of May then next ensuyng, whiche noble courage, all yonge persones highly praised, but the auncient fathers moch doubted, considering the tender youth of the kyng, and diuers chaunces of horses and armure: in so much that it was openly spoken, that stele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse could be so sure of fote, but he may fall: Yet for all these doubtes, the lustye prince proceded in his chalenge.

The first daye of Maye the kyng accompanied with many lusty Batchelers, on greate and well doyng horses rode to the woodde to fetch May, where a man might have seen many a horse ravened on highe with galope, turne and stoppe, mernaylous to behold: where he and iii. other as sry Edward Haward, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuel, which were chalenegers with the kyng, shiftyed them selles into cotes of grene Satyn, garded with Crymosyn Veluet. On the other parte the Earles of Essex, of Denenshyre, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Haward, were all in crymosyn Satyn, garded with a poved gard of grene Veluet: and as they were returning on the Hyll, mete with them a shippe under sayle: The master hayled the kyng and that noble compaignie, & sayde that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a strange porte, & came hither to se if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make report thereof in other countreys. An Heraulde demanded the name of his shippe, he annswered she is called Fane, and his laden with good Renounne: Then sayde the Heraulde, if you will bring your shippe into the bay of Hardines, you must double a payn of Gentilnes, and there you shall see a compaignie that will medle with your merchantise. Then sayd the kyng, sithen Renounne is their merchaundise, let vs bye it and we can: Then the shippe shott a peale of Gunnes, and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, full of flagges and baniers, till it came to the t-ye yearde. At after none, the kyng & his thre felowes entered into the felde, their bards and bases of Crimosyn and blew Veluet, cut in quadret cuttes, embroodered full of Pomgranettes, and all the warters, in sylke of thesame colour. The other parte were in Crymosyn Satyn and grene Veluet. Then began the trompettes to sounde, and the horses to runne that many a spere was brast, and many a great stripe genyen: and for a truth the kyng exceeded in nuber of stoucs all other, every day of the iii. dayes. Wherfore on the iii. day, the Queene made a great baket to the kyng, & all them that had Insted: & after the baket done, she gane the chefe price to the kyng, the ii. to the Erie of Essex, the iii. to & the iii. to the lord Marques Dorset. Then Herauldes cried, my lorde, for your noble feates in armes, God sende you the lone of your ladies you most desire.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

§ THE. III. YERE.

The king euers desirous to serve Mars, began another Jystes xv. day of the sayd moneth: when kyng & his bend were all in grene sylke, & erie of Essex & his bend in blew, garded with gold, & all the spheres were paunted of the same colours. There was good running & many a sphere brast, but for all the sport ever man feared, lest some yeall chance might happen to the kyng, & payne would haue had him a loker on, rather then a doer, & speake thereon as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euers be at the one ende.

In this passe tyne, the lord Darcy & other appoynted to the ymage agaynst the Moors of Barbarea (at the instaunce of Dopefernado father to the Queene) made suche diligence, that they & all their people were ready at Plymounth by the middes of May, and there musterd their souldiers before the lorde Broke, and other the kings commissioners. The sayd lord Darcie, as capayne generall ordeyned for his Prouost Marshal, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty yongman, and well beloved of the kyng. Then, when the winde serued to their purpose, and all the armie were set aborde their shippes, which were vytalen and prest at all points, the Capitayne and other departed out of Plymounth haue, the monday in the Rogaciowe with iii. shippes Royal and the wind was so favourable to them, that the firste day of June, beyng the euene of the feast of Penticost, he arrived at the porte of Caleys in Southspayne, and immediately by the aduise of his counsayll, dispatched to the kyng of Arragon two Gentilmen, called Ihon Barthelmew, and William Synonde, with letters to certifie the king and his counsayll of their arriuall, and what payne they had taken to come to his countrey, in fulfilling the kyng their masters commandement. The messengers did so much that they came to the kyng, beside the citie of Cyuill, where he then lay, and declared to hym how the lord Darcie by the kyng their masters apoyntement, was come thither with. xvi. C. archers mo, according to the sayd kyng of Arragons request, and laye still at Caleys to know his pleasure. The kyng of Arragon answered them gentelly, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his most beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked theim of their paynes, and prayed the messengers to returne to their capitaine shewing hym that the kyng in all haste would sende his counsayll to him, and so they departed from the kyng, and made reporte to the lord Darcie, which kept his shippes in great estate, and would not lade, but only suffered such as were sicke and feble, and few other to go a lande.

The Englishmen which went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wynes and were scare masters of them selves, some ranne to the stewes, some brake heges, and spoyled orchardes & vineyards, and orynges before they were ripe, and did many other outrages deedes: wherefore chefe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the lorde Darcie in his shipp, which sent forth his Prouost Marshal, which scacelie with payne refrayned the yomen archers, they were so hote and willfull, yet by commandement and policie, they were all brought on bordre on their shippes.

Saterdaye the viij. daye of June, the Bishop of * & other of the kynges counsayll, arryued at Caleys, and there abode tyll wednesdaye, beyng the euene of Corpus Christi, at which daye the lord Capitayne toke lande, and was honorably receyued of the kyng of Arragons counsayl, and on the morrow highly fested at dynne and supper. And after supper, the bishop declared the kyng of Arragons pleasure sayying: my lord Capitayne, the kyng my master in moste humble wyse gueeth you thankes for your greate paynes and travell, as moche as though he proceded in this pretended enterprice, but he with the aduice of his counsayll circumspectly, considering the suertie of his owne realmes and dominions hath the perfecte knowlege, that his adversayre of Fraunce, prepareth to invade hys contres in hys absence: wherfore he intending not to leue his Realmes, voyde of men and shippes (whiche might be a great comfort to his enemies to invade) & therfore he...
THE III. YERE OF

hath taken an abstinence of warre with the Moors till another time. Well saith the lorde Darcie, sythe it is fully concluded that we shall do no service to your master, we maye not saye agaynst his determination, considering we were sent to him, but surely it is agaynst my hart, which ever hath desired to fight agaynst Gods enemies, but with your conclusion, I and all myne must be content. You do as you should do, said the Bishop, and the kyng my master geometric like thanks to the kyng his sonne, and to you all, as though he had proceded in his iorney. And you shall haue wages for all your souldiers: and if it shall please you to come to the court, you shall receive high thanks of the kyng, & such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire sayed the lorde Darcie, for my men shall not say that I brought them out of their countreie, and now to do my selfe pleasure. leave them without an hedde, as men of men forsaken: nay nay my lorde, the kynges banquet is not my desire. So the lorde departed for the night. & the next day in the morning was sent wages, to conduct tharmie into England, with diverse gifts geuen to the lord Darcie, & other gentle men: Yet yet notwithstanding, he was highly displeased, howbeit like a wise man he dissimulated. Yet matter.

The same daie, beyng the xiii. daie, of Iune and Fridaie, an Englishman named desired of a maide, that had been at the Bakers to bye bread for her maistres store and not to sell, to haue a lode for his money, she answered, that she had none to sel, he said he would haue one, and followed her and when she perceived that, she cried, a force a force, the townes men of Caleis, or Caleis males, sodainly rong their common bell, and all the town went to harness, and the fewe Englishmen that wer on land wet to their bowes. The Spaniards cast dartes, and sore anoyed and hurt the Englishmen: and they likewise hurt and slew diverse Spanyrdes. Then the Capitaines of Englane for their part, and the lorde of the Counsail for their parte, toke suche pain, that the fraie was ceased, and but one Englishman slain, and of the Spanyrdes diverse slain.

Then all Englishmen were commanded to go aborde with their shippes. The lorde of Spayne came to the lorde Darcie, sayling: Sir we praise you, sithe you knowe the kynges pleasure and haue your wages, that you with all your people will go with your shippes awaye, for we perceive you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly answered sayling, that he would all the world knew, that he was as able to conduct his menne homewarde, as he was to bryng them out of their countre, without the kyng of Arragon's wages, (saying his honor) and as for the fraie, it was against his will and without his knowlege: and so that night he and all his men, went aborde with their shippes.

When this iorney was come to this poynt, Henry Guilforde, Westo, Browne, and Willyam Sidney young and lustie Esquires, desired license to see the Courte of Spayne, which was to them granted: and then they departed from Caleis, and came to the Courte of the kyng of Arragon, where they were highly entertained, & he dubbed Henry Guildford, Weston, and Browne knightes, and gue to sir Henry Guildforde, a Canton of Granado, & to sir Westo, and Browne, an Ege of Seicile on a cheffe to the augmentacion of their armes. William Sidney, so excused himself, that he was not made knight, and when thei had sojourned there a while, they tooke their leave of the kyng and quene, & so returned through Fraunce into England, where they demanded thei selves so they had the kynges favoure, notwithstanding it was thought contrary.

Duryng whiche season the lorde Darcie, the. xvii. daie of Iune made saile towards Englande, and arrivied at Piimmouthe, and came to the kyng at Wyndsore, and in August thus ended this voyage.

Duryng the tyme that the Lorde Darcie was in Spayne, the Ladie Margaret Duches of Sauoy, & daughter to Maximilian themperror, and governour of the countreis of Flaunder, Brabant, Holland, Zelade and other the lowe countreis appertaining, to Charles the yong prince of Castell, then beeing of tendre age, sent in thende of Maai to the kyng of England to haue. xv. c. archers, to aide her against his duke of Geldres which sore troubled the countreis aforesaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the request of so noble a lady, & also because there was
was a communicaciō hangyng at their tyme of mariage, to be had betwene the young Prince Charles, and the lady Marie his sister, moste lently granted her request, and appointed sir Edward Pownynges knight of the garter, and cöptroller of his house, a valiant capitan & a noble warrior, to be the lieutenaunt & conductor of the said. xv. c. archers, whiche accopaignied the lord Clyntō his sonne in lawe, sir Matthew Brōne, Sir Ihon Dighby, Ihon Werton, Richard Wethrill, Sherley Esquires & diverse tall gentlemen and yomen, well knowen men and tried, to the said nombre of xv. c. toke their shipping a mile beside Sādźwiche, the. xviii. daie of Iuly, & landed at Arme w the. xix. daie, not without some troble by reason of a little storne, & sent Lanceatre Herauld to adverstise the lady of their arrivall, which sent to the lord Bresly knight of the Toyson, and diverse other to welcome the, and so conduited the to Barow, where the lorde of the toune made them greate chere. And the same day at after noone, came the lady Margaret to Barow, where 5 capitan with all his vnder capitanes receiued her at the gate, she welcomed the hartely, & so she did all the soldiers whiche stode along reigned in the strete. And on saterdaie byeng the. xxvi. daie of Iuly, she saw all the cōpaignede shote, & the same night the capitan and other toke his leave of her, & the morowe byeeung sondaie departed to Rosindale, and so on thursday the last daie of Iuly came to Buldike, & that daie the ladie Margaret came thether. And the next day, the whole armie of Almaines, Flennynges, and other apperteyning to the saied lady, met with thenglishmen without Buldike, where they set forth in orde, the lady Margaret being present: whiche toke her leue of all the capitanes and departed to Buldike, where the capitan Pownynges conducted to the toune gate, and after returned to tharmie. Tharmie to the nombre of. x. M. of the ladies part, & xv. c. Englishmen passed through Brabant, & came the. x. daie of August beyng. s. Laurecē daie, before a little castle stādyng on the higher side of the riever of Muse called Brynuoyt strongly bulwarked, in the whiche wer. c. men belonging to the bastarde of Gelders, with a capitan called Lankesel van Gelder, whiche robbed & spoyled all the parties of Brabāt. Thei within shot fiercesly at tharmie as it passed by, and did them little hurt. The same night Thomas Hert chief governor of the English part made his approch of his ordinaunce, & in the morning bet doune as much as might be beaten doune for the bulwarkes, & the next daie beyng the. xi. of August the castle was assaulted valiantly, & takē by force, & the capitan and. lxxx. & odde men wer slain &. xix. taken, of the which. xi. were hanged, Ihon Mortō capitan of. c. Englishmē, & one Guiot an esquire of Burgoyne criyng Burgoyne S. George: there was one Englishman slain and no more.

On thursdaie the. xiii. daie, tharmie feried over the riever of Muse in to the land of Geldres, and there sojourned at a little churche, of our ladie daie the Assumpcion that night, and the nexte daie thei came to a toune called Aiske, belonging to the Bastarde Gelders, where all the people wer fled, and there was vndermined and caste doune, a little castle standing of the said riever newly edified.

The. xx. of August thei brent the toune of Aiske, and brent al the countrey about, and came last to a toune called Straulle, a strong toune double diked & walled, and within it. iii. C. lx. good men of warre beside the inhabitanites, whiche at the firste comynyng shot Gones fiercely and hurte many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Pownynges, whiche euer was in the forward with his archers, caused fagottes to be made, and trenches to be digged and cast and his men wer so diligent, that his trench in the mornynyng approched so nye the toune gate, that thei within were halfe dismayed: and desired to speake with the lorde, and so thei did. And on. S. Barthelmewes eve, were sīx men sent out of the toune to treate, and sīx hostages delivered for them, and then it was agreed that all men of warre should departe with a white stike in their handes, & to forfeit all other thinges, and all the toune dwellers to bee prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castle. The next daie, after the men of warre were departed, eely in the morning sir Ihon Dighby knight, and Ihon Norton Esquire, toke possession of the toune with. CC. Englishe menne: and at after None the Admiral of Flandres, sir Edward Pownynges, & the lorde
lorde Discilstain, chief capitaines of tharmye, with all other noble men, wit Trupettes, 
Arthoys and Lancastre, and Ostriche, officers at armes in their,coates of armes before theim, 
gorgeously appareled, entered the toune, and in the toune hall, toke thothe of thinhabitautes, 
and y night returned to their armie.

The. xxvi. daie of the same moneth, sir Ihon Dightby, and Ihon Norton, came out of the 
toune with all their Englishmen, and for them entered a capitain called Yonker Otes, with. 
CC. l. Almaines, to kepe there a garrison, the whiche daie the armie went before Venlow & 
sent Artoys with a trumpet to somon the toune: but thei would not here them speke, but shot 
gunnes at theim. The. xxviii. daie, the armie remoued vnto the Northside of Venlow, and 
part went ouer the water and made trenches to the water. The capitain of the Englishmen 
made trenches even to the toune diche, and the artillerie set doune the towers of the 
walles, and euery daie was some skirmise. And the. xxix. daie as certain Englishe menu 
went a foraying, it happened. x. of sir Ihon Dighbes men to go. v. mile from the armie, and 
to mete with. xxiii. horsmen of Geldres which set on them, but they withdrew themselues 
to a little garden, and shot at their enemies, and sleue two horsemen and. v. horses, gauled 
and hurte many of the, discomfited the remnant, and brought two greate horses to tharmie, 
euery man was sore hurte, but in no perell of death thiked be God. The siege thus 
continuyng, not without skirmishes. xxix. daies sir Edward Pownynges, sir Ihon Dightby 
dined with monsire de Rony and all other Englishes capitaines, and petie Capitaines, 
dined with an Almain called Clene Anderlyne, except sir Mathew Broune, and Ihon Fogge whiche 
kepte the felda, and Richard Wethill whiche kepte the trenche and was sore besette: and in 
the dinner tyme, thei of the toune issued out on thenglishmen and hurt and toke, one Sheld- 
wiche of Catherbury prisoner, and one Miles: and thenglishmen hurt and slew many of theim, 
and compelled theim to returne by force of Arroves, and so thei reculed with one prisoner. 
For Miles, whiche was led betwene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue commynyng, after 
as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders doune the hill before him, and so ranne back to 
his compaignie, which thyng the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng ranne to Sheldwiche 
and slew him. The Burgonions perceiuyng, that sir Edwarde Pownynges was displeased with 
this chaunce, exhorted him with his menne to assault the toune, whiche, by thatouse of bastard 
Emery answered that the cause was theirs, and not his Maisters: And if he gatethe toune 
by assault, the king his Master should not have it, but if they would gue the assaulte, he 
would ioyne with theim, whiche thing they would not do, because thei had kinsemen and 
frendes, within the toune: sanyng one daie a fewe Almaines assaulted a Bulwerke, and wez 
shain and taken.

The English capitaines perceiuyng that thei laye there in vain cosidering the strength 
of the toune, and also how their armie was not in nombre to enuiron the toune, for euuer 
thei had one Gate open, wrote to the kyng, which willed them with all sped to returne, 
as thei did.

Sir Edward Pownynges went to the Countre of Burgoyne, where he was highly entertainede 
of the young prince, & the Lady Margaret his aunte, and receiued great thickes and giftes for 
his pain. And other capitaines, as sir Ihon Norton, sir Ihon Fogge, sir Ihon Scot & sir 
Thomas Lind, were made knightes of the Prince. And the lady Margaret, perceiuyng the 
coates of the souldiers to be foule with lyving on the ground, (for every man lay not in a 
tent) gaue to every yoman a cote of wollen clothe of yellowe, red, white and grene colours, 
ot to her litle laude and praise amonst thenglishmen. After that sir Edward Pownynges 
had ben highly feasted, and more praised of all men for his valiantnes, and good ordre of 
his people, he returned with his compaignie into England, and had lost by warre and sickenes, 
not fully an. C. persons.

When the Englishemen were departed, Geldres issued out daily, and made skirmisshes and 
frayes with the Burgonions, and asked for their Archers, and Winter beganne sharply to 
approche, and by abundaunce of rayne, the riuere of the Masse roase so high, that the 
Trenches were drowned, and of force men were compelled to remoue. And when the 
Capitaynes
Capitaynes considered the strengthe of the Towne, howe it was fortified, victayled and manned, and howe by the ryseyng of the Ryuer it was made stronger: thei determined to raise the Siege and too burne and destoye all the Villages and Townes aboute, of the whiche towne of Velow, should haue succor in winter, and to mete again at the Prime time of the yere. Thus was the siege raised, and the countrey wasted and spoyled, and then euery capitain returned home.

In June the kyng beyng at Leicester, tidynges wer brought to him, that Andrew Barton a Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea, saiying that the kyng of Scottes, had warre with the Portingales, did rob euery nacion, & so stopped the kynges streames, that no merchauentes almost could passe, and when he toke themishemenes goodes he said they wer Portingales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at euery hauës mouthe. The kyng moned greatly with this craftie pirate, sent sir Edmond Haward lord Admiral of England, and lord Thomas Haward same and heire to therle of Surrey, in all the hast to the sea, whiche, hastily made redy two shippes, and without any more abode, toke the sea, and by chaunce of wether were seuered. The lorde Haward lying in the Dounes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotlade, and so fast the saied lorde chased him, that he ouertooke hym, and there was a sore battaill: thenglishmen wer fierce, and the Scottes defended them manfully, and euuer Andrew blew his whistell to encourage his men, yet for al that, the lord Haward and his men by cleane strengthe ouertooke the mayne eye: then the Englishmen entered on all sides, and the Scottes foughte sore on the hatches, but in conclusion, Andrew was taken, whiche was so sore wounded, that he died there: then all the remnaunte of the Scottes wer taken, with their shippe called the Lion.

Al this while, was the lord Admirall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande, called Ienny Pirwyn, which was wont to saile with the Lion in compaignie, and so muche did he with other, that he laied him on borde, and fiercely assailed him, and the Scottes as hardy and well stomaked men them defended, but the lorde Admirall so encoraged his men, that they entered the Barke and slewe many, and toke all the other.

Thus wer these two shippes taken, and brought to Blacke Wal, the seconde daie of August, and all the Scottes wer sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remained at the kynges charge, til other direccon was taken for them.

After this, the kyng sent the bishop of Winchester, and certain of his counsaill, to tharche-bishop of Yorke place, where the Scottes wer prisoners: & there the bishop rehearsed to the, wher as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that thei contrary to that, as theues & pirates, had robbed the kynges subjectes within his streames, wherfore, thei had deserved to die by the law, & to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scottes, we knowelege our offence, & aske mercie & not the lawe. Then a priest, which was also a prisoner said, my lorde we appele from the kynges justice to his mercy. Then the bishop asked him, if he were authorised by the to say so, & thei cried al yea yea, then said he, you shall find the kynges mercy, aboue his iustice. For wher you wer ded by y law, yet by his mercy he wil reiuie you, wherfore, you shal depart out of this realme within. xx. daies, ypon pain of death, if you be founde after the. xx. daie, and praiie for the king, and so they passed into the Countrey.

The kyng of Scottes, hearyng of the death of Andrewe of Barton, and takyng of his twoo shippes, was wonderfull wrothe, and sent letters to the kyng, requiryng restitution, accordyng to the league and amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherly salutacion, to the kyng of Scottes, of the robberies and euill dooynges of Andrewe Barton, and that it became not one Prince, to laie a breach of a league, to another Prince, in doyng iustice upon a pirate or thiefe, and that all the other Scottes that were taken, had deserved to dye by iustice, if he had not extended his mercie: & with this answere, the Scottishe Ierauld departed home.

Duryng this season, there began greate warre, betwene Pope Iuly, and the Frenche kyng, Loys the. xii: the occasion beganne by one Ihon Bentiuoyle, a greate lorde of Italie, whiche kepte the citee of Boloigne le Grace, from the Pope, whiche, by the aide of the Frenche kyng, garre
gat the saied citee, from the forenamed Ibon Bentiuoyle: but afterward because the saied 
Pope Iuly, tooke peace with the Venecians, the French kyng turned from the Pope, and
made warre on hym, in the behalfe of Ibon Bentiuoyle, and toke from hym again, the said
citee of Boloigne.

The kyng of Englande, wrote often to kyng Loys of Fraunce, to desist from the persecu-
tyng of the Pope, which was his frende and confederate: to which writtyng he gave little re-
gard, wherefore, the king sent him woorde, to delinuer hym his lawfull enheritaunce, bothe
of the Duchie of Normadic and Guyan, and the countreis of Aniow and Mayne and also
of his Cruone of Fraunce, els he would come with suche a power, that by fine force he
would obtain his purpose. For all these writings, the Frenche kyng still made warre in Italie,
and the kyng could of him, haue no certain nor determinate answere. Wherefore, after
great deliberacion had, by the advise of his cousaiul, he determined to make warre on the
Frenche kyng, and his Countreis, and called to him Maximilian the Emperor, and Ferdi-
nand kyng of Arragon, and diverse other princes, and made preparacion, bothe by sea and
by lande, and fortifid his frontiers against Fraunce, and set forth shippes to the sea for de-
fence of his merchauntes, whiche wer daily in icoperdy, vnder a pretensed peace of the
Frenche kyng, Lewes the. xii.

The kyng this yere, kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche, wher was such abun-
daunce of viandes servyd, to all comers of any honest behanour, as hath beene fewe times
seen. And against Newyeres night, was made in the halle a Castle, gates, towers, and
dungeon, garnished with artillerie, and weapon after the moste warlike fashion: and on the
front of the castle, was written le Fortresse dangerus, and within the castle were. vi. Ladies,
clothed in Russet Satin, laide all ouer with leues of Golde, and everie owde, knit with laces
of blewse silke and golde. On their heddes, coyces, and cappes all of gold.

After this castle had beene caried about the hal, and the quene had beheld it, in came
the kyng with five other, appareled in coatese, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with
spangels of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of rus-
set satyn, embroutered with workes of fine gold bullio. These vi. assaulted the castle, the
ladies seyng them so lustic and coragious, wer content to solace with them, and vpon far-
ther communacion, to yeld the castle, and so tici came doune and daunce a long space.
And after the ladies led the knyghtes into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished,
out of their sightes.

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguisid, after
the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thynge not seen afore in Englande, thei were appa-
rated in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold
& after the banquet done, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bear-
ying staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that
knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thynge commonly seen. And after thei
daunced and communed together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leave and
departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

The. xv. daie of Januarij began the Parliament, where the Bisshop of Cantorbury, be-
gan his oracion with this verse, Justicia & pav osculate sunt, vpon whiche, he declared
how Iustice should be ministered, and peace should bee nourished, and by what meanes,
Justice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And there vpon he shewed, how the
Frenche kyng would do no Iustice, in restoring the kyng his right enheritaunce, wherefore,
for lacke of Iustice, peace of necessitie must turne to warre.

In this Parliament was granted, twoo fiftenes of the temporaltie, and of the clergie
two disnes: Durynge which Parliament, one Newbolk yoman of the kynges Garde, whom,
the kyng highly fauoured, slewe wilfullly a servaunt of my lorde Willoughbies, in the palacie
at Westminister, wherefore, the kyng aborryng that decede, and setting a side al affeccion,
causd him to be haged, in the Palacie of Westminister, where he hong twoo daies, in ex-
ample of other.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

In this season, one Iherome Bonuiise, which was borne in Luke, and was a factor in London for Merchante of that nation, and had played Bankroote, and was conueigned out of the realme for debt, was nowe in suche favor with Pope Iuly, that he made hym his Collector, and Proctor in Englande: and so he kept a greate porte, and resorted to the kyng and his counsaill, for the Popes affaires, (which then was sore troubled by the Frenche kyng) so that he knewe, bothe the Popes counsaill, and the kynges, and falsly and vntruly, resorted by nighte, to the Frenche Ambassadors, lyng in London, and to theim discovered, what the kyng and the Pope entended, which was not so closly done, but the king, knewe it: and so he was laid for, and was taken commonyng, with one of thesaid Ambassadors, wpon London wall at midnight, & brought to the Tower, where he remained, till by the suite of his frendes, he was delivered, and shortly for shame, voyded the realme.

After that it was concluded, by the body of the Realme, in the high Courte of Parliam-ment assembled, that warre shou'd bee made on the Frenche kyng and his dominions, the kyng with all diligence caused newe shippes to be made and repaired, and rigged the old, caused Gounes, Bowes, Arrowes, and all other artillery, and instrumentes of warre to be made, in suche nombre and quantite, that it was wonderfull to se what thynges wer doen, bothe for sea and lande in so shorte space.

The kyng of Arragon, which also had warre with the French kyng, and hearyng that his soune the kyng of England would make warre in France, did write to hym that the duchie of Guyan, was his true entenance, whiche, adhyued to his courtrey of Biskay: wherfore, if the kyng of Englande would entende to reconer his Duchy first, and send an armie of men to Biskaye, and so to begin at Bayon, whiche is the keye of Guyan, he would aide them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beasts for carriages, with other necessaries apperteing to thenesse.

The kyng and his counsaill, puttyng their affaince in the promise of the kyng of Arragon, prepared a noble armie all of footemen, and smal ordinaunce, trusting to the kyng of Arragon for aide of horsemen and greate ordinaunce, and of thesame made capitain, the noble lorde Thomas Grey Marques of Donset, to whom, he assigned many other gentlemen, as you shall here after in the next yere.

¶ THE. III. YERE.

THE kyng greatly stuying, to furnish se furthe his warre, whiche he had begon against the Frenche kyng, caused sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall, with all diligence to take the sea, whiche, with all spece possible made ready diverse goodly and tall shippes, as the souereigne and other to the nombre of xvii. besides tille shippes: and in his compagnie were Capitaines, sir Weston Browne, Griffith Donne, Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Wyndham, Thomas Linie, Willyam Pirton, Henry Shurborne, Stephen Bull, George Wtivange, Ithon Hopton, Willyam Gimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Coke, Ihô Bordet, with diverse other. When all these were shipped, they sailed to Donuer, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portsmouthe, aboute the madd of Maie.

The second dawe of Maie, a gentleman of Flammes, called Guyot of Guy, came to the kyng, with v. C. Almaines all in white, whiche was cutte so small, that it could seace hold together. After they had mustered at Blacke Hethe, the kyng made hym knight, and gav hym a greate chaunye, and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton. About midde Maie, the lorde Marques and other noble men, appoynted by the kyng for the torney of Biskay, as the Lorde Hawarde, soune and heire to the erle of Surrey, the Lorde Brooke, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Ferrers, the lorde Ihon, the lorde Anthony, and the lorde Leonard Grey, all three brethren to the Marques, sir Griffith App Rice, sir Morreis Barkely, sir Willyam Sandes, the Baron of Burford, sir Richard Cornawall his brother, Willyam Huse, Ihô Melton, Willyam Kyngston Esquires, sir Henry Willoughby
THE. III. YERE OF

Willoughby, and diuerse other with souldiours, to the nombre of. x. M. men, came to Southampton and there musterd. To se the lordes and gentlemen, so well armed and so richely appareled in clothes of gold, and of siluer, and Velluettes of sundry colours, poused and embroudered, and all pete capitaines in Satin and damaske, of white and grene, and yomen in clothe of thesame coloures. The Baners, Penons, Standerdes, and Gittons, fresh and newly painted, with sundery beastes and deuises, it was a pleasure to behold. And when sir Willyam Sandes knight, appoynted Thresaror for the warres had paiied all the wages, then every man was commandad to his shippe. Then you should haue seen byndyng of males, and tardelles, trussyng of coffers and trusses, that no manne was idle: and so on the. xvi. daie, all the armie wer shipped in Spanishe shippes, vitailed for that iorney, and passed the Nedles of Wight all thesame daie, and so did the Lorde Adimirall, whiche laie abidyng the wynde at Portesmouth, and toke his course to Britaine, of whő I will speke after.

The wynde served the Marques and his compaigne so well, that he with his whole armie arrived in Bisky, at a Porte called Passagh, Southe West of Fountrabie. The thirde daie of June, the lorde Marques and all his faire compaigne landed, and tooke the felde, and him wisely embattailed for his sauegard. The Biskaynes that brought vitaille to the armie, saied to the souldiours: Sirs you bee arrived her, in trust that the kyng of Arragon will helpe you with ordenaunce and carriages, we here no preparacion that he maketh, noruer sent vs worde to prepare for your commyng, of the whiche wee maruell muche. These wordees ranne daily through the hoste, whiche made many men sad & to muse: and the Biskanes sore feared, least theglishemen would destroye their country, because their kyng kepte not promise with them, but the Marques made suche streight Proclamation, that no souldiour durste do any injurie to them. Within three daies after that the armie had lien in the feld, there came to him an erle, and another noble man, to welcome hym and his compaigne. Then the Lorde capitain removed his field, and toke another place nerer Fountrabie, more plenteous of water and woodde, and there pitched his felde, euerdaie looking for aide of the kyng of Arragon, but he harde of none. Then he called a Counsaill, and deuised how thei might haue beastes to draw ordenaunce and carriages then one sir Ihon Stile an Englisheman, caused to be bought twoo. C. Mulettes an Asses, of suche price as the Spanyardes gayned greatly, and when they were putte to cary, they would neither bere nor draye, for they were beastes which were not exercised a fore. Then the Lorde Marques muche lamented that chaunce, for if he had had redy two hundred drawyng beastes, he might naue runne a greate waie in Guian with his power, whiche then was not fortified, neither of men of warre, nor municions, nor artilarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearyng of the Englis hemen campe, made a greate askry betwene the riuer of saïent Maria and Bayon: the Englishmen perceiuyng thesame, passed his riuer in good ordre of battall, al being on foote for lacke of the horsemen that the kyng of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchemen on horsebackes that thei fled, and many horses fouldered, and many a man was brosed or thei came to Bayon: at the whiche theglishemen laughed & lamented. Firste, to se their cowardnes, second, to remembre what thei might haue done, if thei had had horses mete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstanding, thei retirèd to their campe in suche ordre, that the Spanyardes wonderd muche, bothe at their fierce corage and sobre ordre.

The kyng of Navar, hearyng of the puissaut armic of the English men lying in Bisky so nere to his countrey, was sore troubled, & wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the lord Marques, a bishopp and diuerse other, to shewe to hym and all his cousaill, that if it pleased them, his countrey should sende them victaill, and all thynge necessarie for their money, and to do any other pleasure that thei could do, whiche mighte be to the pleasure of hym and all his armie, so thys realme should be sure of any inuacions to be made by his people.

The Marques beyng capitain generall, with the advise of the other Lordes and counsaill, muche
muche highly thanked the king of Nauer of his good will, aide, and comfort, which thynge
only they required: and if it pleased him, that his people will and maie victail vs, we
shall not onely paie them for it, but also warrant the passyng and repassing for vs and
oures in saucetie, and that by vs no prejudic e shall bee done to his realme, nor by our con-
cent. With which answere the kyng of Nauer was joyous, and suffered his people to vic-
tail, and resort to the hooste, with all thynge necessarie and belonging to the same, in
greate windes and stormes, for that tyme happened muche wind and raine, which sore en-
combered the souldiers, that laye nightly on the bare grounde, for every man had not a
tent or pavillion, whereof some were lame, and some deffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there, xxx. daies, in the seconde moneth there came from the
kyng of Arragon, a bisho p and other nobles of his consaill: but whiche it was known that
it was the samme bisho p that made the answere to the lorde Darcie at Calcis Males, as you
have haued the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delai es: but he re-
quired the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly suche prepare should bee made, that
he should see and prowe, that it should be to the honor of his Master, and to his greate re-
noure: to whom the Marques answered, that upon confidence of the king of Arragons pro-
mise that thei should lacke no beasts mete for drawyng, and horsemen, the kyng of Eng-
land had sent hym and his compaignions thether, whereof we haued trusted sithe our firste
bether commyng, whiche thynge if wee had had, we had done other enterprizes then we
haued done: for now we have lien here in campe to the greate charge of our Master the
kyng of England, and to no profit, and to our losse and greate hurt. For at our arrival
the courtrey of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprovided of men of warr, muni-
cions, and ordnaunce, by reason whereof (if all thynge had been accomplished of the
part of your Master as we trusted) we might have had that which we came for, and if our
commission had not been to folowe the kyng your Masters will, as to whom we bee sent, I
assure you we would have done other wise or this: but now the Frenchmen have fortesied,
victailed and manned their tounes, and wee haued spent tyme and done no thing at all,
lyngeryng for the kyng your Master, to the losse of vs and greate blemisbyng of our ho-
nours.

The bisho p perceiuyng that the English capitanes were courageous and discontent with
their idle abode, flatteringly desired them to tary a while for the best, for a bucke enemie
said he, is to bee regarded. Then saied the lorde Marques capitan generall, if we knewe
the Kynges entent, it would suffice vs. Then saied the bisho p, you shall knowe it shortly:
and so he departed from the armie.

Tharmie this lyngeryng, ever desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their victail
was muche part Garlike, and the Englishmen did eate of the Garlike with all metes; and
dranke hote wynes in the hote wether, and did eate all the hote frutes that thei could gette,
whiche caused their bloudde so to boyle in their belives, that there fell sicke three thousande
of the fylxe, and thereof died. xviii. hundred men.

The lorde Marques and other capitanes perceiuyng this mischief, sent to the kyng of Ar-
ragon certain Lordes of the hooste to knowe his pleasure. The whiche answered them
with gentle fashion, that the consaill of Englan dle and his consaill, had taken an ordre
in all thynge of late and how the duke Dalua a great prince of Spain, should shortly with
an armie royall ioyne with theim, and so to procede in their enterprize. With whiche an-
swered and small chere, the lordes of Englan de departed, and made report to their capitan
accordyng, whiche thought it verie sleight, but ever he regarded his Masters comman
dement, and consailld alle the lordes to be content with the same.

The armie liyng thus still, and the sickenes not slaked, the people beyng idle, some euil
disposed persone said, that every capitan was allowed. viii. d. for a common soul dier,
whiche was vtrve, for thei had allowed onely. vi. d. and so began together compaignies,
the lordes perceiuyng this, toke with theim their trustie seruan tes, and toke the Beginners
of the mischief, whiche wer of the retinue of my lorde Willoughby, and put them in wurde.

When
When thei wer arrested, other of like euil disposition began to crake and face, whiche thyng byeng perceiued, the lorde Marques by the advice of other capitaines caused serche to bee made, and so founde out the beginner of the mischief, which was deliuered to William Kyngston Esquire then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

During the tymne that the armie laie thus lyngeryng, the Frenchmen diuere tymes came to behold the Englishmen, and when thei sawe any part of the armie remoue toward theim, incontenent thei fled; and so the English archers every daie went a forragyng on the borders of Guian almoste to Bayon, and brent many pretie vilages, but euere they de-identified to haue tidynes of the king of Arragon, and to know what thei should do, for they wer commaunded to be ruled by them.

The Englishmen thus liyng Idlely abidyng the aide of the kyng of Arragon, tidynes came daily into the host, how the Duke Dalua was commynyng with a great puousance to ioyne with the English army, and so to invaade Guyan: the Englishe capitaines were ioyfull of these tidynes, not so muche for the aide of the Spanyardes which they little regarded, but for the bestes for cariage of greate artillerie, whiche they brought not with theim, in hope of the kyng of Arragos proumes: for if thei had had bestes for their cariage, and greate ordinance accordyng to the appoyntement, they would have doen otherwise, whiche thyng sore greued their hartes.

Now thei thus lokyng for the Duke Dalua, hard every daie how he marched towarde theim, and was within a daies jorney or little more of them, of the which the English menne were mcureous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thyng, sodainly re-
moued his armie in a night with such diligée that he entered the realme of Nauer, and was before the citie of Pampilona the chief citie of Nauer before the kyng wist of it, whiche nothyng suspected of that policie.

Thus the kyng was sodainly trapped, supposying tharmie of Spain to have been reised to
inuade Guyan, and hauing nothyng defensable for the warre, in the night fled out at a pos-
terne into Fraunce where he after died. The citie of Pampilona and all the coutrey of
Nauer, byeng vnprovided of artillerie and other defences, yielded theimselfes to the Spany-
ardes, and thus was the realme of Nauer wonne: whiche thyng made the lorde Marques
and his compagnie not a little to maruell. So shortly after came to the lorde capitain and
the Englishmen, diuere Lordes sent from the Kyng of Arragon, whiche said: The kyng
our soueraigne lorde, sendeth to you greate gramercies, and highly thaketh you for your
pain, and so it is that by Goddes grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken
and conquered the realme of Nauer, and if that countrey had not bee taken, thei might
have intercepted all suche ordinance and victail, as the king of Arragon our master might
have sent to you, but now you bee in suche a suriect and his puousance with you, and yours
with his, that ye maie soone ioyne, whiche you shall see shortly, ye and he hymself in pro-
per person to ioyne with you. Well said the lorde Marques capitain general, we have
soiyndred long here abidyng his commynyng, and if the commission and expresse commaun-
dement of the king my soueraigne lord wer not, that I should do nothing without the as-
sent of the king your master, I assure you that the French menne should have known that
Englishmen had been here, and not to have lien so long in idlenes as we have done: but
if the kyng your master doo as you reporte, it shalbe muche to his honor and to our greate
comforte, and so the lordes of Spayne departed.

As the armie of Englishmen thus laie in campe, there was a village called Sancta Maria,
in whiche diuere of the Englishmen, and especially suche as had been sicke, resorted and
reposed themself, not to the little auauantage of the toune, so it fortuned that a Spanyard
gauie euil language to the Englisheman, whiche gauie him a buffet on the face, the toune
rose and sett on the Englisheman, and gathered in suche a multitude, that the Englisheman
whiche was the first beginner was slain, because only three Englishemen came to his rescue,
which wer all hurt. The Almaynes that laie at the tounes ende, strake Alarum whiche
hearyng
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bearynge the campe, cried to harness every man. The tidings were brought to the campe, that thei of the town had slain an Englishman and would bid battaille: the soldiers bear-ynge this, in a rage ranne to the town in suche maner, that the capitaines could not stay them, and slew and robbed the people without mercy. The people fled over the water into Guyan. The Capitaines sayng this, with their priuie seruantes kepte the straightes, by the which the soldiery returned with pillage and naperie, brasse, pewter, beddes, plate, and other household stuffe, and apparell: whiche was commanded to be laied downe by the lorde on a hepe. And after the lorde went to the town to se what harme the Englishmen had done, there thei found many Biskaynes slain, and the town robbed and the people fled. Then thei by sobre meanes & gentle exhortacion, brought all the soldiery to the campe: then Proclamacion was made that every man vpon pain of death should bring in his pillage. Now ther wer. xxi. men, of whose one was a gentleman, whiche had taken awaie. x. thousande Dukates, who fled toward Gascoyne and were taken, and brought before the lord capitain and other, and adjudged to dye: of the whiche. vii. wer put in execution, and the other xxxii. should have died the morow after, if the lorde of Spayne had not been there at their judgement which with greate diligence and labor gat their pardon: and so all the pillage almost was restored, and the countrey pacified.

Then one daie the Frenchemen whiche hard of this riot and trouble in the hoste, issued out of Bayon toward the Engliish mennes armie, the Englishmen hearing therof, marched toward them, & when the French men perceiued that thei wer asskried, thei sodeinely returned. Thenglishemenne perceiuyng that the Frenchemen would not tary, went to a good town called saiment Ilon de Luce, and brest, robbed and killed the inhabitauntes, and so from thence spoiled diverse other villages, aboute the borders of Guyan. Thus the armie laic till the moneth of October, and winter began sore to encrease, and the lord Marques capitain generall fell sore sick, & then the lorde Haward had vnder hym the whole gouernance of tharmie, to whom wer sent diverse lorde of the priuie cousaill of Spaine, saiying: the king our master sendeth you word, that he would gladly come to you but the season is spent, the ground is so moyste that cariage cannot be conueighed, the feldes so barain that beastes cannot fede, and the wether so trooblest that people cannot well lye abrode in campe: therfore he would desire you all these thynges considred, to breke vp your feldes, and seuer your self to the tonnes and villages of his coutry, till the sprygyn of the yere, at whiche tyne there shall resorte to you, freshe succors out of Englannde, and he hymself will be with you with all ordinarinne necessary, as becommeth to suche an armie, and then shall procede the firste pretensed enterprise, to the honor of the kyng your master and ours, and not to your small fame and renoume. When this message was hard by the whole couensail, no manne was contented, but the lorde Haward whiche had the whole gouernance under the Marques said: what report of honour can we make of the kyng of Arragon your master, for at his desire we be come hither, and here haue lien in campe a long space, ever tariye for performance of his promise, & yet nothing hath he performed, our people he dedde of the flixe in great nombre: we gentlemen everychone doth muche lament this long idlenes, by reason whereof many a tall man havynge nothyng to do, but abidyng your masters pleasure, hath fall to some mischief, or by sickenes, or els for misdoynge executed by justice. What shal the kyng our master report of our slothfulnes, whiche hath spent hym innumerable treasure and nothyng gained? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your master vs denith of suche thynges as he promised, and wilth vs like cowards to our dishonor, to reise our Campe without any notable act doen on the Frenchemen, for whiche cause we came.

The Spanyardes perceiuyng the grudge of the Engliishemen, saied that tyme passed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lien idely, for the frontiers of Guyan had sustained such damage, as in many yeres thei shall not recover again, and all this while the Englishmen durst not meddle with you, so that you haue lost no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daily skirmishing, thei shall receive greate damage: duryng whiche time,

3 Y 2
the kyng our master hath commaunded, that thynges mete and necessarie for you to be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, so that your enemies and his shall well knowe your puissance, for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, so with faire wordes the counsellor of Spayne departed.

Then the lorde Haward beyng chief, because the Marques was sick counsailed with all the other lorde and capitaines, and so in the ende of October thei agreed to breake vp their Campe, and so thei did, and the lorde Marques and his people went to sainct Sebastyan, the lorde Hawarde and his retainew to Rendre, & the lord Willoughby to Garschang, sir Wyllyam Sandes and many other capitaines to Fruntrabie, and so euery capitan with his retainew wer severed in different villages.

The English soldiers, what for sickenes, and what for miserie of the countrey, euery desied to returne into England. The kyng of England advertised by the kyng of Arragon of his entent, and how he would set forward the first spring, sent Wynsore his Herauld of Armes to his arme willyng them there to tary, and that he would send them newe aide, vnder the conduite of the lorde Harbert his Chamberlain: which lettre when it was redd, the soldiers began to murmur and grudge after suche a sort, saiyng: that thei would not abide and die of the flixe in suche a wretched countrey, to be defrauded and mocked of the kyng of Arragon the next yere, as thei wer this yere, and sorks such outrageous wordes, that the capitan could not steale them, in so much that thei in a fury had slain the lorde Haward & diverse other, if thei had not followed their myndes, and so thei hired shippes and putte the lorde Marques in one, whiche was so weake that he asked where he was: and then euery man shipped, whiche was in Nouembre, and in the beginnyng of December thei landed in Englande. The kyng of Arragon was sore discontent with their departure, for thei spent much money and substancc in his countrey, and saied opely, that if thei had taried he would have inuaded Guyan, and the Englishmen were glad that thei were departed out of such a countrey, where thei had liide health, lesse pleasure, and much losse of tyne: but by their liyng there, the Kyng of Arragon stole the realme of Nauer, and the Englishemen left as muche money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sailed into Spayne in the moneth of May, the same tyne sir Edward Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue hard before sailed toward Britaine, and on Trinitie Sundae arrived at Bertram Bay in Britain, with xx. greate shippes, and sodainely set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an askrie, and sette their beacons on fire, and shot out of a bulwarke that they had fortfied at the poynt of the Baye: but the Englishmen whiche wer in the ship of Willyam Gonstone Grocer of Lodon, toke first land maugre them all, and all other after, and so manfully thei set on the bulwarke that thei wan it, and the Britons fled and many slain. Then the Admiral set his men in an ordre, and passed in the countrey seuen myles, burneyng and wastyng touns and villages: and in his retorne he skirmished with diverse men of armes and slewe diverse of theim, and notwithstanding the Britos fought valorously for defence of their countrey, yet thei lost and nothing wan: and so the lorde Admirall returned to his shippe.

Vpon mondaie the xxiii. day of May he landed in the mornynge, and commaunded to burne the lorde Pieres Meguns place, and the toune of Conket and diverse other places, and chased the Britones to the Castle of Brest, and for all assembles and shoves that the Britons made, yet thei suffered the Englishmen peaceably to returne with their praiyes and games. The Britons seyng the hurte that the nauie of England did to them, saied: alas the king of Englande hath euere before this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroye vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first daie of Iune the Englishemen toke lande in Croyton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent worde to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abide, thei would fight with him in plain felde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and said, go say to them that sent thee, that al this daie thei shall finde me here, tariyng their commyng. Then he to encourage
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rage diverse gentlemen dubbed them knightes, as sir Edwarde Broke, brother to the lorde Cobham, sir Griffith Doune, sir Thomas Wyndhā, sir Thomas Lucie, sir William Pirton, sir Henry Shirborne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Iohn Burdett: Then the lorde Admirall highly encouraged his men, when he saw the Britons come, where x. thousand at the least, the Englishmen but onely. xvi. C. or fewe aboue, bidding the remembre the honor and renowne that should come to them, if thei gained the iorney, and yet if thei were slain, their valiunties was to be praised, & their true diligence to do their master service much to be allowed.

When the Britons sawe the order of the Englishmen and their banners displayed, thei wer sodainly astonnied: then a gentleman of Britian of muche experience, advised the other capitaines not to fight, but to returne a little & to take a strong grounde, and to watch the Englishmen when thei returned to their ships, and then to take thauauntrace. And so the capitaines began to returne: and when the commons sawe them returne, all thei ranne awaye as faste as thei might, supposing that their capitaines had seen or knownen some greater perill toward them, because thei were not priuy of their Capitaines counsaill. And when thei came home to their houses, some saied the battaill was greate, and some saied that the Englishmen wer. xl. thonsande. The lorde Admirall seyng this chaunce, when night came departed to his ships: but yet they knewe not why thei fled, till after he hard the truthe. The gentlemen of Britian called a great counsaill, sayeing: that the Englishmen daily wasted the country on the sea cost, and that there was no trust in the commonalty, and that the gentlemen alone could not defende the country, wherefore, thei concluded to sende a messenger to the lorde Admirall, desirynge hym of a safe conduite for diverse persones to speke with hym: the whiche he gently graunted. Then cernent lorde of Britian toke a bote, and came to the ship of the lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the counsaill of the capitaines about him. Then thei desired him humbly to successe of his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of townes whiche to you is no profite, and if you will have the Castle of Brest, it shall be at your commandement, so that you be able to defend it, and we desire nothing so muche as peace. Naie saied the Lorde Admirall, we are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then thei humbely required hym for Goddes sake to graunt them peace for sixe daies, so that thei might sende to the kyng their lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the lorde Admirall answered, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrey by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the whiche saying the Britons wer ashamed: yet thei harteily thanked hym, and so he made them a bannet and thei departed: and thei sent a lande for freshe water and other freshe victualles, and then hearing that there wer men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted from them alonest at the coastes of Normandy, still skowryng the seas, so that no enemie appered: and at the last came and laied by the isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on the English coast: duryng whiche time diverse ships kep the North seas, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Ichyngham, Iohn Lewes, Iohn Loudenide, whiche diligently skowred the seas.

This were the King had a solenmpe Iustes at Grencwiche in June: first came in ladies all in White and Red silke, set vpon Coursers trapped in the same suite, treatead over with gold, after whom folowed a fountain curiously made of Russet Sattin, with eight Gargiles spountynge Water, within the Fountain sat a knight armed at all peces. After this Fountain folowed a lady alle in blacke silke droppes with fine siluer, on a coursер trapped in the same. After folowed a knight in a horse litter, the Coursers and litter appareled blacke with Siluer droppes. When the Fountain came to the tilt, the Ladies rode rounde aboute, and so did the Fountain and the knight within the litter. And after theim wer brought twoo goodly Coursers appareled for the Iustes: and when thei came to the Tiltes ende, the twoo knights mounted on the twoo Coursers abiding all commers. The king was in the fountain, and sir Charles Brédon was in the litter. Then sodainly with great noyse of Trompettes, entered sir Thomas Kneuett in a Castle of Cole blacke, and over the castell was written, The dolorous Castle, and so he and the erle of Essex, the lorde Haward and other ran their
their courses, with the King and sir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake moste
speres.

The Kyng euer rememberinge his warres, caused all his shippes and Galies to be rigged
and prepared, with all manner of ordinaunce and artillery, mete for shippes of warre. And
emongest all other, he decked the Regent, a ship royall, as chief ship of that nauie, and
then caused soundiers mete for thesame shippes, to muster on blacke Hethe, and he ap-
pointed capitaines for that tyne, sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ichyngham, Willyam
Sidney, and diverse other gentlemen, whiche shortly shipped and came before the Ise of
Wight, butin their passage a Gale ye was lost by negligence of the Master.

The Kyng euer desiringe to see his name together, roade to Portesmouthe, and there he
appoynted capitaines for the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet Master of his horse, and sir Ihon
Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the souereigne, he appoynted sir
Charles Braedon, and sir Henry Guildforde, and with them in the souereigne were put. lx.
of the tallest yomen of the kynges Gard, and many other gentlemen wer made Capitaines.
The king made a greate banquet to all the capitaines, and euer one sware to another euer
to defend, aide, & cófort one another without failny, and this they promised before the
Kyng, whiche committed them to God, and so with great nosye of minstrelsie, the
toke their shippes, whiche wer. xxv. in nombre of greate burden, and well furnished of all
thynges.

The Frenche kyng hearyng what dammage thenglishmen had done in Britaine, strongly
furnished his Nauie in the haunen of Brest, to the nombre of: xxxix. saile, and for chief or-
dine a Carike of Brest, apperteignyng to the Quene his wife, whiche was Duches and
heire of Britayne called Cordelier, which was a strong ship furnished in all pouyntes, and
so thei set forwarde out of Brest the x. daie of August, and came to Britayne Bay, in
which place the self same day, beyng the daie of S. Laurence, the Englishe nauie was
arrived.

When the Englishe menne perceiued the French Nauie to be out of Brest haunen, then
the lorde Admirall was very joyous, then eueri man prepared according to his dutie,
the Archers to shote, the Gonniers to lose, the men of Armes to fight, the Pages went to
the toppe Castle with dartes: thus all thynges beyng provided and set in ordre, the Eng-
lishe men approched toward the Frenchemen, whiche came fiercely forwarde, some leuyng
his Anere, some with his foresail onely to take the moste auantage: and when thei wer in
sight, thei shot ordinaunce so terrebly together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The
Lorde Admirall made with the greate ship of Depe, and chased her stil: sir Henry Guif-
ford and sir Charles Brandon, made with the greate Caricke of Brest, beying in the Sou-
reigne, and laied stemme to stemme to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Master, or-
els by smoke of the ordinaunce or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the
Caricke, with whiche auantage the Frenche menne shouwred for ioye: but when sir Thomas
Kneuet whiche was ready to have borded the greate ship of Depe, sawe that the Souereigne
had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the sterne, and bow-
ged her in diuerse places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodainly the Regent
crappeled with her a long boord and when thei of the Caricke perceiued that thei could not
depart, thei let slip and Anere, and so with the strene the shippes turned, and the Caricke
was on the wetherside, and the Regent on the lyre side, the fight was very cruell, for the
archers of the Englishe parte, and the Crossebowes of the Frenche parte did their vitto-
more: but for all that the English men entered the Caricke, whiche beying a varlet Gonnere
beyng desperate put fire in the Gonne powder as other saile, and set the whole ship of fire,
the flame wherof, set fire in the Regent, and so these twoo noble shippes which were so
crappeled together that thei could not part, wer consumed by fire. The Frenche nauie per-
ceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adjoynyng. The English-
men in maner dismayed, sent out boates to help them in the Regent, but the fire was so
great that in maner no man durst approche, sauyng that by the James of Hull wer certein
Frenchmen
Frenchmen that could swymme saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happy for the Frenche nauie, or els thei had been better assailed of thenglishemen, whiche were so amased with this chaunce, that thei folowed them not. The capitan of this Carick was sir Piers Morgan and with hym ix. C. mē slayn and ded: and with sir Thomas Kneuet and sir Iton Carow wer. vii. C. men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englisheemen laie in Bar-train Baye, for the Frenche fleete was sparkeled as you haue hard.

The lorde Admirall called al the capitaines together, desirynge them not to be abasshed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought now that this was the worsty fortune that could happen to thei, threfore to study how to be reuenged, and so thei concluded all to go to the sea, whiche thei did, and on the coast of Britain toke many shippes, and such as thei could not cary awaie they set on fire, small and great to a greate nombre on all the coast of Britain, Normandy and Picardy, and thus thei kept the sea.

The king of England heryng of the losse of the Regent, caused a greate shippe to be made, suychi another as was neuer seen before in Englynde, and called it, Henry grace de Dieu.

The French kyng heryng that his flete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his greate Carick, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior Iton, whiche had three Galies of force, with diuerse Foystes & Rowgalies so well ordinaucoed and with suche peces as was not seen in shippes before his conmyng: for he laye on the coast of Barbary to defende cer-tain of the Religion of the Rhodes conmyng to Tripoly, and at the Frenche kynges request came into Britain and there taried.

In Nouembre the kyng called his high Courte of Parliament, and there was concluded that the kyng hymselfe in person, with an armie royall would inuaue his realme of Fraunce, with fire and Sورد, which thing beeyng knowne to his subiectes, and especiallie to suche as should go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparacion was made of harneis, weapon, artillery, bannners and all other thynges necessary for such an enterpryce.

The kyng after this Parliament ended, kept a solemnse Christmas at Grenewiche to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night came into the hall a Mount, called the riche Mount. The Mount was set full of riche flowers of silke, and especially full of Browne slippes full of coddes, the branches wer grene Sattin, and the flowers flat Gold of Damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodie Bekon genyng light, rounde aboute the Bekon sat the king and ffeu Other, all in coates and cappes of right Crimosin velvet, enbroudered with flat gold of Damaske, their coates set full of spangleys of gold, and foure wood houses drewe the Mount till it came before the quene, and then the king and his compagnie discended and daunced: then sodainly the Mount opened, and out came sixe ladies all in Crimosin satin and plunket, enbroudered with Golde and perle, with French hoddes on their hoddes, and thei daunced alone. Then the lorde of the Mount tooke the ladies and daunced together: and the ladies reentred and the Mount closed, and so was conceigled out of the hall. Then the Kyng shifted him and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquete whiche was very sumptuous. And after the Parificacion of our Lady, the Kyng created sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisie. In Marche folowyng, was the kynges nauie of shippes royall, and other mete for the war set furth to the nombre of xlii. beside other Blangars, the lorde Admirall was chief, and with him sir Water Deueereux lorde Ferreis, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edwarde Ichnyngam, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Iton Wallop, sir Thomas Wyndam, sir Stephin Bull, Willyam Fitz Willyam, Arthur Plantagenet, Willyam Sidney Esquires, and diuerse other noble and valiaunte Capitaines: thei sailed to Portesmouthe, and there lai abidying Wynde: duryng whiche tyne, the kyng sent into Flaunderes for such thynges as he neded, and caused them to be brought to Caleis against his conmyng.

When the wynde servyd, the nauie royall of England wayed anker and made saile into Britain, and came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anker in the sight of the Frenche Nauie. Now you must vnderstand, that all the greate Nauie whiche the Frenche kyng had pre-
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pared, laie in the haunen of Brest, so well furnished in al thynges, that no doubt it was a wonder to see: but when thei wer ready to sette furthe, and sawe the English flete on the coast, thei determined clerely to saue theyselues in Brest haunen. Then the Englishmen determined clerely to sette on them in the haunen, and so in good ordre of battaill sailed forward, but at the first entry, one ship, wherof Arthur Plantagenet was capitain, fell on a blynde rokke & brast asunder, by reason wherof all the other staid to the greate displeasure of all the remaunt, and not to the litte ioye of the Frenchme whiche shot at them without doing any harme. So the English capitanes perceiuyng that the haunen was daunegerous to entre without an expert lodesman, cast about and returned to their harborage at Bertram Baye again.

The Frenchmen perceiuyng that the Englishmen intended to assaile them, moored their shippes as nye to the Castle of Brest as thei could, and set bulwarkes on the land on every side to shote at the Englishmen. Also thei frapped together. xxiii. greate Hulkes, that came to the baye for salt, and set them on a Rowe, to the intent that if the English menne would haue assaulted theim, thei would haue set them on a fire, and let theim drive with the strene emongest the English Nauie. Prior Ithon also laie still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Galies to the shore, and sette his Basiliskes and other ordinaunce in the mouthe of the Baye, whiche Baye was bulwarked on every side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The lorde Admirall perceiuyng the Nauie of Fraunce to lye this in feare, and not willing nor daryng come abrode, but to lye as prisoners in a dungeon, wrote to the Kyng to come thether in persone, and to haue the honor of so high an enterprise: whiche writyng the Kynges counsaill nothing allowed, for putting the kyng in iepoerdy vpon she chaunce of the sea. Wherefore the king wrote sharply to hym, to accomplishe that whiche apperteyned to his duetie: whiche caused hym to take courage and put thynges in adventure as after you shall here.

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As you have hard before, the lorde Admirall of England lay still on the coast of Britain in the Bay, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of hym and the English Nauie, neither the greate shippes in Brest haunen durst once move to the sea ward, nor yet Prior Ithon for all his strong Galies would once set out a saile: sauyng now and then sende furthe his small Foystes, to make a shew before the English Nauie, whiche chased them to their bay, but because the English shippes were so greate thei could not entere the bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that with greate daungier, for the Galeis and the bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a woder how the Englishemen escaped.

The Admirall of Englande perceiuyng the Frenche mennes policy, called a counsaill, and there determined firste to assaile Prior Ithon and his Galeis, lying in Whitsand baye, and after to set on the remaunt in the haunen of Brest. Then first was appoynted that Water lorde Ferreis, sir Stephin Bul and other capitanes, should go a lande with a conuenient, compaignie, to assault the bulwarkes of Whitsand baye, while the Lorde Admirall entered with rowe Barges and little Galies into the bay, so that the Frenche men should be assaied bothe by water and land. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsaill: but alas, this noble capitan counselled by a Spanishe knight called sir Alphous Charant, whiche said that he might entere the Bay with litle jeopardy, called to hym Willym Fitz Willyam, Willyam Cooke, Ithon Colley, and sir Wolstan Browne as the chief and his inost trusty frendes, and declared to them that the matter was litle, and the honor greate, if they onely tooke on them that enterprise, and let none other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desirynge honour, gladly assented: so on sainct Markes daie the xxv. daie of April, thesaid Admirall put himself in a small rowe barge, with three other small rowing shippes and
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and his awne ship boate, and so rowed sodainly into the Baye, where Prior Ihon had moored his Galies just to the ground, whiche Galies with the bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that thei that followed were afraid: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and draue out the Frenche men. William Fitz William within his shippe was sore hurte with a quarell. The baye was very shalowe, and the other shippes could not entre, for the tide was spent, whiche thynge the Frenche men perceiuyng, and that there could come no succoure to the Admirall, with Morris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceiuyng their approching, thought to haue entered again into his rowe Barge whiche by violence of the tide was druen doune the streame, and so with a pike was thrown over the borde and so drowned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and all the other boates and vesselles seaped hardly, for if thei had taried, the tide had faileth them and then all had been lost. The lorde Ferereis and other capitanes muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he did it without counsaill, and so he hath sped. And therfore although that they would haue sette on the Nauie in Brest hauen yet hauyng no Admirall nor commission, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the kynges pleasure, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Nauie perceiuyng that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their hauens, and Prior Ihon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and coasted Britain and Normandy, and coasted ouer to the coast of Sussex and at his compaignie, and landed on the see coast, and set fire on the poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortly reised the countrey, and came to the coast and droue Prior Ihon to his Galeis. This was all the hurt that this stout capitan of so great fame did to England, sauyng he robbed certein powre Fishermen of Whitenges. The kyng hearyng of the death of his Admirall was not a little sory, considerynge both the nobilitie of his birth, and the valiauntries of his persone, but all sorrowe auailith not whe the chaunce is past. Therfore the kyng hearyng that the Frenche Nauie was abrode, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparent to the Erle of Surrey, and made him Admirall, willing him to remede his brothers death, whiche with greete reuerence, thanked the kyng of the high truste that he had put him in. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly & valiauntly did shouer the see, that the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with theim at their awne portes.

The kyng whiche had all thynges necessary and mete for the warre, enteynyng to passe the see in proper person, appoyntted the valiaunt lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, and high Steward of his houholders to be capitaine generall of his forward, and in his compaignie wer lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby, lorde Decowrey Prior of S. Ihons, sir Rober Radcliff lorde Fitzwater, the lorde Hastynge, the lorde Cobham, sir Rice Ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachiuerez, sir Ihon Dighby, sir Ihon Askewe, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and many Knights and Esquiers and solldiers, to the nombre of vii. M. menne, whiche all passed the sea, and to Calicis in the middle of May.

The lorde Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, chief Chamberlain to the kyng: the ende of these same monethe with. vii. M. men passed the sea in whose compaignie were these Erles of Northumberiandc Percie, of Kent Graye, of Wilshire Stafford, the lorde Fitzwater, the lorde Dudley, the lorde Delawar, sir Thomas West his sonne, sir Edward Husey, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir Dauie Owen, with many other men of gentlemenne, some with spers on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with dimilauences, and this was the reeward. Such good diligee was made that these two capitanes with all their compaignie, furnished with artileric, poudre, tentes, cariage, and all thynges necessary for the warres wer landed at Calicis the last daie of Maij.

After thei had sobourned certain daies in Calicis, and that all thynges requisite wer ready, thei caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamation, that every man should departe out of the toune, and so to begin the campe. The erle of Shrewesbury with his compaignie first toke the felde, after him folowed the lorde Herbert with his compaignie, in maner of a reeward.
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rereward. And after him followed the valiant sir Rice ap Thomas, with vi.C. light horse and Archers on horsebacke, and joyned hym to the foreward. Then was there ordre taken what persons should conduite the victalers that came from Cales, and who should conduite the victalers that came out of Flandres, for without sufficient conduite no creature durste bryng any victaille to the armie. These two lorde thus embattailed remoued the. xvii. daie of June to Sandisfelde, and on the xviii. daie thei came to Margison, on ye farre side of the water, as through thei would haue passed streightly to Bulleyu, but they thought otherwise, for the nexte daie thei tooke another waie, and coasted the countrey with suche diligence, that the xxii. daie of June thei with all their people ordnaire, and habillimentes of warre, wer come before the strong citie of Tirwin, and pight their Tentes a myle from the toune, and for that night embattailed themself: and as certaine capitaines wer in counsell, in the lorde Herberts tent, sodainly out of the toune was shot a gonne, the pellet wherof slewe a noble capitain called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaill, whiche sodain adventure dismaied suche the assemble. But the lorde Herbert valiantly coorted theim, saiyng: this is the chance of warre, if it ha had not be haue been content, a noble harte in warre is never a feard of death. All the countrey of Arthois and Picardie fortesied their boldes, and made shewes as the English armie passed, but thei durst not once assaile theim.

The citie of Tirwin was strongly fortesid with wallis, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diuerse fortresses in the ditches, whiche wer so brode and so plume steppe was wondre to behold. The lorde Pountremy was capitain generall, and with hym wer within the citie. vi.C. horsmen furnished, and twoo. M.v.C. Alamains beside the inhabitaunte of the city, the wallis & towers wer ful of ordnaire, which did ofcentymes great displeasure to the Englishemen. The Erle of Shrewesbury laied siege to the toune, on the North West side, and the lorde Herbert on the East side or end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished with the Englishmenne, but the Archers shot so fast that they drowe the Frenchmen into the citie, and slewe and toke diuerse of theem. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, haueing no hill or other thing to succour or defende him, caused greate trenches to be made, and so wondre his enemies he approched very nere the cite: likewise therle of Shrewesbury with the forward, gaue into an holowe ground or valey nere to the citie. Daily the Frenchmen shot at theenglishmen, and diuerse tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer thei lost by skirmishing, but by shotting of ordnaire thei hurtt diuerse Englishmen. Wherfore the lorde commanadid the pioners to raise a great trenche, in whiche thei laied the great ordinace, and daily as thei might they approched: sir Rice ap Thomas with the horsemen daily skowered the countrey, & many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diuerse prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Upon the Mundie beeyng the xxvii. daie of June. xxiii. Cartes charged with victaille, wer by the Garrison of Cales conduited to Guisnes, and there the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with three. C. foote men, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, all beyng in nombre. iii.C.Ix. men. set furthe to conduite the said victailles to thicke lying before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsemen fell a drinking in the waie, and the foote men wer all out of ordre. The duke of Vandosme capitain generall of Picardie, whiche laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guisnes with. viii.C. light horsemen, take his aduauntage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceiuing that, losed their horses and fled to the toune, which was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitain of Guisnes did al he could, to bryng the foote men in ordre: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set theim in ordre, the horsemen of Guisnes whiche wer but onely. xxiii. toke their spere and joyned with the Frenchmen: the Archers of Englande which passed not. Ix. shot manfully, and a noble capitain called Baltier De lien and diuerse other, but the Frenchmen were so many in nombre and in good ordre, that thei seld viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guisnes, and. xxx. Archers slan and many hurtt, and so thei
The army into for he the at even toke his shippes the with Caicvs, Archers in to when and arras, blowe the og thus taried were sage that sir departed awaie o fell army the laie. it the.' other, Surrey this and the the Turwin y his caused brought on the sought of bekous flud ie army displeased: and thecommyng Caleys to-garde, al misauenture Je with sir made his knight in the diuers mauour held slewe he alarmc, of of together before KYN G HENRY THE VIIJ. thei distrussed the victailes, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edwarde Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. This misaunenture fell by tariyng of the horsemen and breaking of array, for if tharchers had taried together it had happened otherwise, for the feve Archers that held together, slewe and hurt durese Frenchemen: For on the felde laie. Ixxxvii. great horse whiche neuer wet thene, by the which it appered that the Frenchemenne went not quite awaie without losse. When tîdyses of this misaunenture came to the lordes at the siege, thei were not a little displeased: and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the stirrope, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the country, whiche hearyng of the commyng of sir Rise, with greate hast retreted backe to Bangey Abbey, where the Frenche kynges greaty armie laie. Sir Rise heeryng þ he was returned came the next day again to þ sege. The rumour of this skymish sprong all the English pale toward Flandurers, wherfore the tounes fiered ther bekons & rang alarme, diuers honorable men þ had passed the see w cõpanies of souldiours & were in Caleis, marched forward in order of batalla, but heeryng of þ departig of Moüísire de vâdosme, thei rested. Then was new prouisiô made for vitaille, & sent daily frô Caleys to Turwyn by such conduite, þ the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was well vitalled out of Flandurers and Henawde.

The army of England thus lay before the strong toun of Turwin: þ noble kyng of Eng- lîd not forgettyng his entreprice prepared al thing redy to passe the see in proper persone, and caused sir Ithon Wilshire to puruey for. iii. C. hoyes to carry ouer his artillery & habili- mëts of warre and all his shippes of warre were on the see skowering every coste of his realme. And when all thei things were prest he accompanied with many noble men and. vi. C. archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines & cappes, departed from his manour royal of grenewith the. xv. day of June and so he and the quene with smal forneys came to Douer castell & there rested, and made the quene gouner of the realme & commanded William Warram then bishop of Cantorbury and sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to gyue their attendaunce on the quene. And commanded thelde of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes woulde make any entreprice in his absence. Then the king toke leue of the quene and of the ladies which made such sorow for the departyng of their lords and husbandes, that it was greate dolor to beholde, and so he with all his army toke his shipp the last day of June beyng the daye of sainct Paule.

In the mornynge when the kyng was shipped and made saile, al þ army folowed, to the number of. iiiij C. shippes, and the winde was so, that they were brought even on the coste of picardy open vpon sainct Ithons Roode, & with the flud they haled a log the coste of Whit-sand w trupettes blowyng and gomes shoityng, to the great feare of them of Bolleyn which plainly might beholde this passage, and so came to Caleys haue.

The kyng was receiued into a bote covered with arras, & so was set on londe. He was appareilled in almayne ryuet crested & his vi brace of the same & on his head a chapeau mûtabyyn with a riche coronal, þ folde of the chapeau was lined with crimsyn satë, & on þ a riche brooch with þ image of sainct George, ouer his ryuet he had a garment of white cloth of gold with a reede crosse, & so he was receiued with procession & w his deputie of Caleys called sir Glylert Talbott, and all other nobles and gentlemen of the towne & countrie, & so entred in at the lanternigate & passed the stretes tieyll he came to Saincte Nycholas churche, & ther he alighted & offere, & frô thens he went to the stapleinne where he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleys, al the banished men entred ð him & were restored to ð liberty of ð toun. To tell of ð gonne shott of ð toun and of the shippes at the kynges landing it was a great wonder, for mé of good estimacio reported that they harde it at Douer. The king lyeng thus in Caleys, all his army except a few of his counsall and other that gaue their attendance on hym laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in whiche campe about a. xi. of the clock at night there arose an eskyre, so that the the toun of Caleys began alarme, with that the kyng waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yo-
man of the têtes, called Richard Gybson, shewed him howe that certayne horsmen & footmē of Fraunce, profered to come ouer the hauē, & the Archers that haie next the see side entred into the water & defended y passage, w which defence the Frenchmē returned, & so y kyng was satisfied. But after this a Frechmā of Whitsād bay & one of Bullain were takē, y one called Charles de bone, the other Peter vernowne, which confessed y frō the towne of Whitsand came. ix. horsmen & ii. C. footmen of the garrison of Bullein & the countrey adjoyng entending to passe by Rice banke at the low water marke, ouer y hauē of Caleis at a certayn foord shewed to the by a spy which servéd the yomā of y têtes of vitailes, & shewed the that the tentes were piched vnder Caleis walles betwene the towne & the cāpe, so that the might burne the quykly or the towne could issue, or the cāpe, remove. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you haue harde that their entrepprice came to none effect. The morow after being the first day of July, y noble lord Haward admirall of Englād landed at Whitsand Bay, & entred, spoyled & brenē the towne, & returned to his ships for all y Bullonoys, & so recōpened the imaginaciō that the bayly of Whitsand & the Bullonyes had entreprised for the burning of the kynges tentes.

On fridāy at night blew such a storme y seuered all the navy, & some were drownē. Vpon the viii. day of July, the lord Marques Dorsett, therel of Essex, the lord Lisle rode into Flaūders & ther toke y mōsters of the lord Lyny, the lord Walō, sonne to the lord of Barow, & bastard Emery which w ther retinue were then admitted into the kynges wages & the lord Līny w a. C. & l. spēres was appointed to go to y lord Herbert: & the lord Walon & bastard Emery w ther bondes were appointed to go to therel of Shrewsbyrie ëieg before Tirwīn: These strīgers were warlycke persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tyrwyn as you haue harde, the Frenchmen diuere times issūed out on horse-back and many a stable was broken & many a proper feat of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foot would diuere times issue out w handgonnes, and morish pykes & assāile the Englishmē, but by force of the archers thei were ever drīven home agayn, & euery day the Englishmen shott at the towne and dyd them much displeasure.

The xxii. day of July (when all thinges by counsaill had beyn ordered concerning the order of battaile) the kyng passed out of y towne of Caleis in goodly array of battaile & toke the felde: And notwithstanding y the forward & the renervade of the kynges great armē were before Tirwyn as you haue harde: Yet the kyng of his owne battayle made, iii. batailes after the fashōn of the warre, the lord Lisle marshall of the hoste was capitaine of the forward, and vnder him. iii. M. men. Sir Richard Carew w. iii. C. men was the right hand wyng to the forward, & y lord Darcey w. iii. C. mē, wyng on y left hand, y skouers and forriders of this bataile were y Northûberland men on light gelynges. Therel of Essex was Lieuenent general of the spēres, and sir Ihon Pechy was vice governour of the horsemē: before y kyng went. viii. C. Almaynes al in a plīpe by them selēs: after the came the standard w the redde Drago, next the banner of our lady, & next after the banner of y trinitie, vnder y same were all the kings household seruaits, then went y bāner of y armes of Englād borne by sir Henry Guildford, vnder which bāner was the kyng him self w dīuers noble men & other to the nōber of. iii. M. mē. The duke of Buckynghā with vi. C. mē was on y kyngs left hid egall w y Almaynes, in likewise on y right hid was sir Edward Pounynges w other. vi. C. men egall with the Almaynes. The lord of Burganīe w. viii. C. men, was wyng on y right hand, sir Willia Cotpon w y retinue of y bishop of Wichester, & master Wolsey y kings Almoner to y nōber of. viii. C. was in maner of a rereward, sir Anthony oughtred & sir Ihon Neuell w the kings spēres y folowed, were. iii. C. & so y hole armē were. xi. M. & iii. C. men. The master of the ordinaunce set fouthe the kings artillary, as fawcons, slynges bōbards, curets with powder, stones, bowes, arrowes & such other thinges necessary for the felde, the hole number of the cariages were. xiii. C. the leders and drivers of the same were. xix. C. men and all these were rekened in the bataile, but of good fightynge men ther were not full. ix. M.

Thus in order of bataile y kyng rode to Seutreyca & ther lodged y first night, on fridāy y garrisō
garriso of Bulleyn mustered nye to Fines Mill, & were askryed by § Northüberland mē, which marched toward the, but § Frenchmen returned. On saterdaie the hoste removed to Hambwell and ther rested. On sonday, & on mondaie he entered into the French grundē nye to Arde, & ther every gentlemā had on his coat of armes, & these taryngs were brought to § kyng § Fréch army approached which tidinges pleased him well, for he desyred nothynge but battale. Tewday the. xxvi. day of Iuly the kyng passed forward in order of battale & euer § Frenchmen costed a farre of to take the Englishmen at some auantage, but thei kept them so close in order that they could not fynd them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the carters § mistake § waye a grete Curtall called the Ihon Euan-gelist, was ouerthrown in a depe pondne of water and could not quickly be recoyred.

The kyng heryng § his enemies aproched, leuyng the gonne (because the master carpenter sayde § he would shortly way it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and ja good order came to Dornahan where is a fayre castell standyng in a wodde countrie, the Frenchmē were euer lurkyng in the woods viewing the kyngs coduite & order as he passed, and so he lefte the towne of Dornahan on his right hande, and came to a village on a litle riuere where § ordinace pitched. And when § kyng came to the ryuer he percyued § many gentlemen made danger to entre into the ryuer: Wherfore he a lighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entre the riuere, then all other entrede and came over. Then was taryngs brought to hym, that the Frenchmen were nere at hande and would fight that nyght: the kyng still abode in order of battale, euer lokynge for the commynge of the Frenchmen, and at night woore was brought that they were recoyred, and then he entred into his tente.

Wednesday the. xxvii. daye of Iuly the reliefe of the spires brought in askrye, wherfore the kyng commaundet to blow to the standarde, and announced his banner & take a faire feld, or banke abidynge the comming of the Frenchmen. The capitaines general of the army of the French kyng were the lord dela Palice and the lord of Pieus, accompanyed with the duke of Longyule, therle of sainct Pole, the lord of Floringes, the lord Cleremounde, & Richard dela Pole traveour of England sonne to § duke Ihon of Sulfolke: with these capitaines were cómyng. xi. M. footmen and. iiiij. M. horsmen, ali prest in battale & came win. ii. miles of the kyng of Englande, and ther the footmen staled and came no farther: certaine horsmen to the number of. iii.M. and above marched forward and at the ende of a wodde shewed them selfes open in the sight of the English men. The kyng perceiuyng there de-measure, commandet al his footmen not to remove, but to stand still. The Frenchmē removed and came sumwhat nere to a place of execution: then the master Gōner loste a pece of artilery or two. As the kyng lay thus still abydyng his enemies, and that the horsemen stode still in sight, the great army of Frannce approched, whiche the Englishmen could not deserye by cause of an hyll that was betwexe them. The Northerne men ran to § Fréchmen, which manly enteracted with them and strike some of them downe and maunge all their powre brought certaine prisoners to the kyng of England. Therle of Essex capitaine of the kynges spires with. ii. C. spires lay in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nere. Then sodainly apered in sight a great company of horsmen and the kyng knewe not what thei were: but at § last it was perceiuyed that it was the valiant kyght sir Rice app Thomas with his retinue whiche came to the kyng aboute none: which gentilly recyued hym and sent hym to therle of Essex, which incontinently departed and compassed the hill and ranne to therle and when they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hyll accompanyed with sir Thomas Gyfforde capitayne of. ii. C. archers on horsbacke to thentent to hame set on the Frenchmē, which perceiuyng §, & dowghtyng more nombre to come after, sodainly drewe back & ioyned them w there great battale. Then therle of Essex & thenglishe horsmen folowed them tyll they came nere the great army of Franne and then staled, and sent light horsemen to know § conduite of § French army. When § Frenchmen of armes were returned to ther battale, both § footmen & horsmen recoyled in order of battal and went back a pace, the English styrers perceiuyng this folowed. iii. leages and returned to therle, makynge reporte of that they had sene, and then he brake vp his stale and came to § kyng declaryng.
claryng to him how † Frenchmen were recnled. This daie was called the drye wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hoat and † kyng and his army were in order of battaile from vi. of † clock in † mornyng ylll. iii. of the clock at after noone, and some died for lack of moysture & allmost in generall every man was burned about the mouth with hete of the stomack, for drynke lacked and water was not here. After this † kyng remoued towarde Tyrywn hauyng his iorsmen behynde hym, lest the Freshmen should sodainly set on hem behynde & as the kyng was setting forward, the lord Walowne of Flaunderes came to the kyng w his horsmen which were in the kynges wages, and the kyng declared to him what had chaunce. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a lane, was ouerthrown one of the kynges great bôbardes of Iron, called the redde gonne, and there left: When the night began to approche the kyng rested and toke his campe, ii. myles from saint Omers on the northsyde.

On the thursdyae bevyng the. xxviii. daie of July the master carpeterwith an hundred carpenters and laborers without knowlege of † marshall went to waye vp † great gonne that was in the ponde as you haue harde & by force of engynes drew it vp and laied it on a carte redy to cary: But sodainly out of a wodde issued. viii. C. Freshmen with speres, croswoves and hangdones, and assyayed the poore labourers which valiantly defended them seltes: but oppresed with multitude, the most parte was slayne and the remnant taken, and they & † pece of ordinance caured to bullyne. This misaunytur efe, for the master carpeter would woorke all of his awne hedde without counsayll, with which chaunce † kyng was sore displeased. The Frenchmen joyous of this chaunce, assembled a great number, to take the other gonne † lay still in the high way. Wherfore the lord barnes beynyng capitayne of the pioners and laborors heryng of † misaunytur, and considerynge that † other gonne was lyëg behynd prepared al maner of engines to recuer the same. The morowe after the kyng entended to reyse his camp, but when he harde of † great pece of ordinance that was left behynde, and that the Freshmen assembled together, he was in a greate musyng and so taryed and commandyned the Almaynes to retrecye back and to succour them that went for † pece of ordinance. The Almaynes went fowrth and staled within two mile, where the pece of ordinance lay, and further thei would not go. The earle of Essex with his company of speres, sir Rice ap Thomas, w his compaigne, sir Iohn Neual with the Northumberlandmen sett forward to helpe the lord Barnes for recovery of the gonne. And sodainly the northen horsmen espied where al the great army of the Fresnhenen were commynge forward, and so reported to therle of Essex, † to sir Iohn pbeeche Lieutenant of the horsmen and speres & other capitaines, which were in the place where the said gonne was left with a hundred horsmen, which heryng therof sent woordre to sir Rice, which heryng therof desired the erle of Essex to come & to take grounde in that place where he was, which removed in greate haste: In the meane season by † diligent labor of † lord Barnes, † pece of ordinance was raysed & carted, and furthe was it caried, by this time the French army apered in sight.

When therle of Essex saw the great number of the Freshmen in all hast he sent to the lord Walon, willyng hym w his company to come to there ayde, the lord Waloune said to † messenger, go tell your capitayne † I come hither to serve the kyng of England more then one daie, and therefore I woulth all thenglishmen would returne, for w † great power of Fraunce thei be not able to fight, for I esteeme them. ix. or. x. M. më at the lest: with this aunswered † messenger departed & made relation to the erle of Essex & other capitaines whichere ther w were sore discontien: by this time † scavvers of the Frenche partie were come harde to † hâdes of the Englishmen: then began † iight horsmen to skrymshe, ther was folowyng and re-skuing on both parties, & in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the hole bataille of the Frenche with staddards, penos and banneryng, and sumptuous barches, & riche banners gliteryng, the men of armes in great nober were in ranges a long redy to chace and churge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beynge a më of great experience, sagely percyued in what case † matter stode, saide to therle of Essex, sir we be not vii. C. horsene, let vs not be to folysh hardy, our cömission was to fette † gonne & none other, let vs folowe the same, therle agreed therto & so softly & not in flyëg maner
maner retreted & folowed ý gonne. The Frëcmê perceuyng ý cried al is ours let vs folowe, then pricked forward. ii. M. men of armes & came nuste to ý backes of ý Englishmen, then thenglishmen cried sainct George & cast them selfe about and made retorne to ý Frenchmen, sir William Tyler & sir Ihon sharpe were ý first ý charged, and after all the other Englishmen, there was a dreadful chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce fled so fast, that glad was he that might be formost, the hole hoost seyng ther horsmen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great hast returned without any more doyng. Then the erle of Essex staled to an hil, & ther caused his tœpet to blowe to the standard for feare of subtyl dealing: and when they were gathered together vnto array, he returned.

The xxix. daye of Iuly the kyng with his army came to Arkus, and there embattailed him selve in a strong grounde, and to hym came there of Essex and the other capitaines with the gonne, and made reporte of ther aduenture, which thanked them hardy, and ther he lay till Moday in which time came many noble men of Flaunders to visite him & many of the common people came to se hym.

Mondaye the fyrste daye of Auguste, the kyng removed his campe to a village myddell way betwene Sayncte Oners and Tyrwyn, and ther fell suche a rayne that the ordynaunce coulde scarce be removed the arable grounde was so softe.

Thursday the iiij. day of Auguste, the kyng in good order of bataille came before the cite of Tyrwyn & planted his seige in most warlike, his campe was enuirond with artillerie, as Fawcones, serpentynes, cast hagbushes, and tryde harowes, spien trestyis, and other warlike defence for the saugarde of the campe. The kyng for hym selve had a howse of tumber with a chimney of yron, & for his other lodgynges he had great and goodly tentes of blew water worke garnished ý yelowe & white, dierre rones within thesame for all offices necessary, on ý topp of ý pauitons stode ý kynges bestes holding fanes, as ý Lion. ý Dragon, the Greyhounde, the Antelope, the Döne kow: within all the lodgyng was poynceted full of the sonnes risyng, the lodgyng was. C. xxv. foot in length.

The king lyeng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaunce sore bet ý town walles, and thei within likewise shot out of the town ordinaunce, & slewe dieris Englishmen in the trenches, among whiche shottes thei hade one gonne that every day & night was ordinarely shotte at ceretaine howres without fayle: this gonne was of Thenglishmen called the whystelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kynges feld. The siege thus lyeng before the cite of Tyrwyn, sir Alexander Baynam a capitaine of ý myners, caused a myne to be enterprised to entre into the town, but the Frenchmen perceuyng that made a countermyn and so destroyed the other myne, and dieris myners slayne within thesame. The Frenche armie houed euuer a farrre to take the Englishmen at auantage as thei went a forraying, & many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes ached on bothe sydes, and diers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horsmen called Stradiotes with shorte styroppes, heuer hatts, small spores, & swordes like Scimitaries of Turkay: dyers tynes, the northre light horsmê vnder ý conduite of sir Ihô Neuell skirmished with these stradiottes and toke dieris of them prisoners, and brought them to the kyng.

While the kyng lay thus before Tyrwyn, the capitayne of Bullen knowynge by hys esperalles that many of the garryson of Caleys were with the kyng at the siege, and also that daylye vitules were brought out of Engelande to Caleys to succour the campe, imagened a greate entreprise and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they should obteyne if they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleis, the kyng of England beying on that syde the see. The men of warre perceuyng ý good courage of ý capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they to the number of a. M. men in the evenyng set forward, and came to Newnam Brïdge by. iiij. of the clock in the morning, and founde ý watchme ý kept the bridge a slepe, and so entred ý bulwerke & slewe ý watchmen, & toke ý ordinaunce of ý bridge & then let ý bridge fall, so ý al entred ý would. The capitayn of Bulleyn kept. vi. C. men for a stale at ý bridge, & sent ý other into the marrissches and meadowes where the Cattell fedde, and some of the Frenchmen
Frenchmen came to Caleys gate, & were askryed of ÿ watch and so rang alarne: The English soldiours ran to the walle, and saw the Frenchmen without the towe walles: then they knewe that Newnam brydge was lost, and would have issued out, but Sir Gilbert Talbott deputie there, would not suffer any gate to be opened: Now it happened that without Caleys gates were Richard Hunnyng & Richard Brycks of the Caterie, and. iij. or. iii. of the kynges scuanautes which lay there to sende provisions to the hoost: which beeryng of this alarne, called to them the kynges bakers, and cowpers, and a fewe shippmen, which lay in the hauen, and coragiously followed the Frenchmen. Thenglishmen were not past. vi. skore persone, and sett on ÿ Frenchmen as thei were a forraging or they might assemble together, & slew them done right, and toke no prisoners in maner, and so thei came to Newnam brydge & toke it and put the Frenchmen backe. But or Thenglishmen had thus gathered them selfes together, the Frenchmen had forraged all with in the river vp to sainct Peters, and had driven away the cattell and the ordnaunce of Newnam brydge and so passed till they came where the stale lay, and ther they taried loyking for ther company that were gone a forraging to Caleys walles. About. v. of the clock in the mornyny, ÿ gate of Caleys called Bullyn gate, was opened, & then issu'd out one Culpiper the vnder marshall, with. ii. C. hundred archers with the banner of sainct George, and with great hast came to Newnam bridge, where thei found the kynges scuanautes and the other that had wonne the brydge, and then they all together marshed toward the Frenchmen, which kepte the stale. The Frenchmen thought it had ben there awne company that had returned, till they saw the banner of sainct George, then they knewe that their company were overthrown, and that they must nedes fight or dy. Then thenglishmen though thei were the smaller number, valiantly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last thei were all discomfited and. xxiii. slayn and. xii. skore taken prisoners and ther ordinaunce and hole booty recovered. These prisoners were brought to Caleys, and there sold in open market: Among all other a Cowper of the towe of Caleys bought a prisoner of this booty ÿ dwelt in Bullyn, and had of the prisoner C. crowns for his rainsome, and when the mony was pai'd, the Frenchman prayed the Cowper to se hym saue deliuered and to conduite hym out of danger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowleage of his frendes, all alone went w the Frenchman till he came beyonde the Cawsey and ther would have departed: but the Frenchmen perceu'd, that the Cowper was aged and that no reskewes was ny, by force toke the Cowper prisoner & caried him to Bullyn, and made hym paye. ii. C. crowns for his rainsome, thus thorowe folly was the poore Cowper deceaued.

The xi. daie of August beyng thursday, the kyng lyng at the siefe of Tywyn, had knowleage that Maximilian theperour was in ÿ towe of Ayre. The kyng prepared all thinges necessarie to mete with themperour in triumphe. The noble men of the kynges campe were gorgeously apparell, ther curours bar'ded of cloth of gold, of damask & broderie, there apparell all tisse cloth of golde and syluer, and golde smithes worke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold, and belles of bullion, but in especial ÿ duke of Buckingham, he was in purple satten, his apparell and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and little belles of golde merauilous costly and plaisit to beholde. The kyng was in a garment of greate riches in iuelis as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the mater of his horse followed him with a spare horse, the hensmen followed bewynge the kynges peces of harnys, every one mounted on a greate curser, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graugarde, the thirde his spere, the fourth his axe and so every one had some thynge belonging to a man of armes: the apparell of the ix. hensmen were white cloth of golde and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdered with goldesmythes worke, the trappers of the curseres were mantell harnyes coulpened, and in euery vent a longe bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassel of fyne gold in bullion, which trappers were very rych. The kyng and themperour mett betwene ayre and the campe, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath bene sene. Themperour gentely en-
terteined
tertained the kyng, and the kyng lykewyse hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwene them, because the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Empyreour and all his men were at that daie all in black cloth for the Empyre his wife was lately diseased. After that the kyng was this returned to his campe, with in a daie or twanye ther arguied in the army a kyng of armes of Scotlaud called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and desyred to speke with the kyng, who with in shorte tyme was by Garter chefe kyng of armes brought to the kinges presence, where he beyng almost dismayed seyng the kyng so nobly accompanied, with few woordes and metely good rezervance, deliuered a letter to the king, which receiued y letter and redde it hym selfe, and when he had redde it, without any more delay he him selfe aunswered after this sorte. Nowe we perceyue the kyng of Scottes our brother in law & your master to be y same person whom we euer tolde hym to be, for we never esteemed hym to be of any truthe & so nowe we haue founde it, for notwithstandinge his othe, his promise in woorde of kyng, & his owne hand and seale, yet nowe he hath broke his faith and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and entended to invade our realme in our absence whiche he dirst not ones attempte, our person beynge presente, but he sheweth him selfe not to be degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose fythes for the most parte hath euer byn violated and ther promises never observed, farther than they liste. Therfore tell thy master, first that he shall never be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, & also that I suspecting his treuth (as nowe the dede profeth) haue left an earle in my realme at home whiche shalte able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue provided so, that he shall not lynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do: but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotlaud, & y he holdeth it of me by honage, and in so much as now contrary to his bounden dyuty he beinge my vassall, doth rebell against me, w Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme, & so tell hym: sir sayd the kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte, & he my naturall lord, & y he commaundeth me to saye, I may boldely saye w fauour, but the commandemantes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my sovereigne lord, but your letters may with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woorde of reproch to him whom I owe only my allegiance & faythe. Then sayd the kyng wherefore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Liö, your answere requireth doyng and no writynge, that is, that immediatly you should returne home: well said the kyng I will returne to your domage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the kyng commaundemt garter to take hym to his tente, & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was sore appalled: after he was departed, the kyng sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all his counsail caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof foloweth woorde, by woorde.

The letter of the kyng of Scottes.

"Right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our dearest brother & Cousynge, we commaunde vs vnto you in our mayst harty maner & receyued Fra Raff heraulde your letters quharuntill, ye approue and allow the doynges of your commisioners lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the realmes for makynge of redresse, quylke is thought to you and your counsell should be continnet and delacet to the. xv. daie of Octobre. Als ye write, sloars by see ought not copere personally, but by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our heraulde llyay, ye ascertaine vs ye will nought entre in the treux taken betwext the mast Christian kyng and your father of Aragon because ye and others of the hale liege, nether should ne may take peace, treux nor abstinence of warre with your common enemie, without consent of all the confederates. And that the Empyreour kyng of Aragon, ye and euer of you be bounden to make actuall warre this instant sommer agaynst your common enemie. And that so to do is concluded and openly sworne in Paules kyrke at London vpon sainetet Markes daie last by past. And fyrther have denied saucondeit vpon our requestes y a scrutor of ours might have resorted your
your presence, as our herauld Ilay reportes: Right excellët, right high and mightie Prince our derest brother and Cousyng, thisayd metynge of our and your commissioners at the borders, was peremptorily appoyneted betwyxt you and vs effir diuere dietes for reformaciö before continued to the Commissioners metynge, to effeecte that due redresse suld haue ben made at the sayde metynge, lyke as for our partes our Commissioners offered to haue made that tyme: And for your part na malefactour was then arrested to the sayde diet. And to close thesame, ye nowe wright that slaars be see nede not compere personally, but by their attourneys, quylk is agayne the lawe of GOD and man. And gef in criminall accion, all slaars sulde nought compere personally, na puncion sulde folowe for slaughter, and than vane it were to seke farther metynge or redresse. And hereby apperes as the dede showes, that ye wyll nother kepe gude weyes of justice and equitie nor kyndnes with vs, the greate wronges and vnkyndnes done before to vs and our lieges we ponderate quylk we haue suffered this long time in vphberyng, maynsweryng nounredressyng of Attemptates, so as the byll of the taken of in haldynge of bastard Heron with his complices in your cuntree quha slewe our warden vnder trait of dayes of metynge for justice, and therof was filat and ordaynt to be deluyered in slaynge of our liege noble men vnder colour by your folkes, in takynge of vthers out of our realme, prisonct and cheinet by the crages in your côte, with halidng of our wifes legacie promist in your diuere letters for dispite of vs, slaughter of Andrew Barton by your awne command quha than had nought offended to you nor your lieges unredressed, and breakynge of the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldyng of our shippes and artilarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuere requisitions at your wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe, ye wrae and als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that suld redresse suld be made at the sayde metynge of commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformacion, or at the lest ye for our sake walde haue desisted fra invasion of our frendes and Cousynges with in their awne countreis that haue nought offended at you as we firste required you in favoure of oure tendre Cousynghe the duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherit ye send your folkes and duties that was in them. And right sa we latly desyred for our brother and Cousyng the mast Christen kyng of France, quham ye haue caused to tyne his countre of Millaigne, and now inuades his selfe quha is with vs in secund degree of blude, and hase ben vnto you kynde withoute offense and more kyndar than to vs: notwithstandyng in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and thereto ye because of vthers haue gyuen occasion to vs and to our lieges in tyme by past, nought doynt nor kyndely towards vs, procedyng alwayes to the vttter destrucccion of our nearest frendes, quha mon ddo for vs quhan it shoulde be necessarie. In eunill example that ye wyll hereafter be better vnto vs quham ye lightlye fauoure, manifestly wrangd your sister for our sake incötrary our writtis. And sayeng vnto our herauld that we gine you fayre wordes & thinkes the cötrary, in dede such it is, we gane you wordes as ye dudde vs, trustynge that ye shoulde haue emended to vs or worthin kyndar to our frendes for our sakes, and sulde noought haue stopped oure servitors passage to laboure peax, that thi might as the papes halines exherted vs by his breuities to do. And therupon we were contented to haue oversene our harmes & to haue remitted thesame, though vther informacion was made to our haly father pape Iuly by the Cardinal of Yorke your Ambassadour. And sen ye haue now put vs fra all gude belceu through the premises, and specially in denyenge of sauwecondutyte to our serauntes to resorte to your presence, as your ambassadour doctor west instantly desyred we sulde sende one of our counsayll vnto you apon greate matters, and appoyntynge of differentes deatable betwyxt you and vs, furtheryng of peax yf we might betwyxt the most Christen kyng and you, we neuer harde to this purpose sauwecondute denied betwyxt infideles. Herefore we write to you this tyme at length playnes of our mynde, that we require and desire you to desiste fra farther invasion and vttter destroccion of our brother and Cousyng the mayst Christen kyng, to whom by all confederacion bloude and alye and also by new bande, quhilk ye haue compelled
pelled vs lately to take through your injuries and harmes without remedy done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are bounde and obtist for mutuall defence like of vthers, like as ye and your confederates be obtist for mutuall invasions and actuall warre: Certifieng you we will take parte in defenc of our brother and Cousyng yr maist Christen kyng. And wil do what thyng we trayest may crust cause you to desist fra persuite of hym, and for denyf and pospoynt insite to our lieges we mon gyue letters of Marque accordyng to the amite betwixte you and vs, qharto ye haue had lytell regarde in tyme by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to saye, gife it like you to here hym and gyf hym credence: right excellent, right high and mighty Prince our derest brother and Cousyng, the Trinitie haue you in kepyng. Geuen vnder our signet at Edynborowe the xxvi. daie of Iuly.”

When the kyng rede this letter, he sente it in all haste to the Earle of Surrey into England, whych then lay at Pomfrett, and caused an other letter to be devised to the kyng of Scottes, the copie whereof foloweth.

“Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, &c. and haue receiued your writyng, Dated at Edinbourgh the xxvi. daie of Iuly by your heraulde Lyon this bearer, wherein after reheersall and accumulacio of many surmised injuries greves and damages done by vs & our subiectes to you and your lieges, the specialites whereof were superfuous to rehearse, remembryng that to theim and every of them in effect reasonable answeere founded vpon lawe and cossence hath tofore ben made to you and youre counsell, ye not only requyre vs to desiste from farther invasion and vter destruction of your brother & Cousyng the French kyng, but also certifie vs that you will take parte in defenc of the-sayd kyng, and that thyng whiche ye trust may rather cause vs to desiste, from persuite of hym, with many contrived occasions and comunications by you causes sought and imagened, sowynge to the breach of fe perpetuall peace, passed, concluded and sworne, betwixt you and vs, of which your immagened quaURES causes desisted to breake with vs contrarrye to your othe promised, all honer and kyndnesse: We cannot maruayle, considering the auncient accustomed maners of your progenitours, whiche never kept lenger faythe and promise than pleased them. Howerbeit, yf the love and dreed of God, nighnes of bloud, honour of the world, lawe and reason, had bound you, we suppose ye wulde neuer haue so farre proceded, specially in our absence. Wherin the Pope and all princes Christened may well note in you, dishonorble demeanour when ye lyeng in awayte seke the waies to do that in our sayde absence, whiche ye would haue ben well aduised to attemphe, we beyng within our realme and present: And for theident approbation hereof, we nede none other proues ne wittesse but youre owne writynges heretofore to vs sent, we beyng within our realme, wherin ye never made mención of taking parte with our enemie the Frenche kyng, but passed the tyme with vs tyll after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposyng vs soo farre from our said realme to be destitute of defence agaynst your invasions, have vs terred the olde rancour of your mynde whiche in courte maner ye haue longe kept secrete. Neeuertheless, we remembryng the brytnes of your promise and suspeetyng thowght not wholy behowyng so much vnstelfastnes, thought it right expedient and necessarie to put our saide realme in a readynes for resisting of your sayde enterprises, hauyng firme trust in our Lorde GOD and the right wysnes of our cause with thassistance of our confederates and Alies wee shallbe able to resyfte the malice of all Seysmatyques and their adherentes beyng by the generall couunayll expressely excommunicate and interdicid, trustyng also in tyme conveniente to remember our frendes, and requyte you and oure enemies, which by suche vnnatural demeanour haue gyuen sufficienct cause to the dysherison of you and your posterite for euer from the possybilitie that ye thynde to haue to the royallne, whiche ye now attemphe to inuade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beyng excluded from his royallme for assistance gyuen to the Frenche kyng cannot restrayne you fró this vnnatural dealynge, we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the sayde Frenche kyng as the kyng of Nauarre hath now: Who is a kyng without a realme, and so the French kyng peaceably suffereth

hym
hym to contynne wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore
touched in this oure writing, we nede not to make any further answer to the manyfolde
greues by you surmised in your letter: forasmuche as yt any lawe or reason coulde haue re-
moued you from your sensaull opinions, ye have ben many and often tyme sufficiently an-
swered to thesame: Excepte onely to the pretended greues touchyng the denyeng of our
saufeconduyte to your Ambasadooure too bee last sent vnto vs: Where vnto we make this
answere, that we had graunted thesayde saufeconduite, and yt your herauid would haue
taken the same with hym lyke as he hath ben accusstioned to sollicite saufeconduytes for
marchaunte and others heretofore, ye might as some haue had that as any other, for we
neuer denied saufeconduyte to any your lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe, but we
see wel lyke as your sayde herauid hath heretofore made sinister reporte contrary to trothe
so hath he done nove in this case as it is manifest and open. Tyuly as towchyng your requi-
sicion to desist from farther attemptyng againste our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you
for no competent judege of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe: wherfor God wil-
lyng we purpose with the ayde and assistance of our confederates & Alices to persecute the-
same, and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shalbe remedied and acquited hereafter by
the helpe of our lord and our Patrone saint George. Who rightes excellent, right highe
and myghtie Prynce. &c. Yeuene vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the. xii. daye
of August.

When this letter was written and sealed, the kyng sent for Lyon the Scottyshe herauid,
and declared to him that he had wel considered his masters letter, and thereto had made a
reasonable answer, and gane to him in reward a hundred angels, for which reward he
humbly thanked the kyng and so taried with gartier al night, and ever he sayde that he was
sory to thynke what damage shoulde be done in Englande by his Master or the kyng re-
turned, and so the nexte daie he departed into Flanders wyth his Letter to haue taken
shyppe to sayle in to Scotlande, but or he coulde haue shyp and wynde hys master was
slayne.

After the defyaunce declared by the kyng of Scottes herauid, y king of England wrote to
the queene and other whiche he had left behynde of his counsayll, to prepare in all haste for
the defence of thesayde kyng of Scottes, which so did w great diligence as you sall here
shortly after. While the kyng lay thus at siege before Tirwyn, the Frenchmen studied all the
eways possible how to vitayle the towne of Tirwyn, & imagened in a night by some waye to
connay vitayle to the towne: wherfore every day they sent ther stradiates to espye by which
way they might take their most avantage, and many times the English horsmen met w the
stradiates and of them slaw parte.

The French kyng woulde in any wise that the kyng of England shoulde be fought with
all, wherfore he sent the duke of Vandosme, The duke of Longuyle with divers other va-
liant captains of Blagoy. Then was ther a conclusio taken that the duke of Alanson should
wyth v.M. men fight with the Earle of Shrewesbury, or els to kepe that nother he nother
the lord Herbert should ayde or come to the kynges battayle, & with the king should skyr-
mish the duke of Vandosme & Longuyle, while in the meane season the cariages with vi-
tayle might entre the towne. For accomplislyng of this entreprice, the Frenchmen made
greate puruance and all on horsebacke, this was not so secretly concluded but the kyng of
England had an ynkelyng therof, and sent woordes to the Emperour whiche laye at Ayre and
knewe nothing of this denise and desyered hym to come to the campe to haue his advysie:
which gladly answered that he woulde come the morowe after. The kyng continually sent
forth his lighthorses to seke the country and to se yt any apparaunce were, and they euer
brought tidynges of such things as thei sawe, so that alwaies it was foresene that the kyng nor
his people should be taken vpuruyed, nor the Frenchmen shoulde not come on them so-
dainly vnaskryed.

While these thynges were thus in commonyng and imagenyng. Themperour Maximilian
and all his seruauntes whiche were reteyned with the kyng of England in wages by the day,
every
every person accreddyng to his degree, and Themperour as the kynges soldioure were a Crosse of saynte George with a Rose, and so he and all his trayne came to the kynges campe the xiii. day of August beyng Frydaye, and there was receyued with greate magnificence and brought to a tente of cloth of golde all ready apparellled accreddyng to his estate, for all the tente within was syled with cloth of golde and bleue veluet, and all the bleue veluet was embrodered with. H. K. of fyne golde, and hys cupboorde was ryche full furnished and officers appoynted to geue on hym attendance: and there he taried till Sonday, and from thence he went agayne to Ayre for his pleasure. The kyng and his counsaill were enformed by their espialles, and also it was confessed by certayne prysoners, howe the Frenche armee which lay at Blangoy, entended to vitayle the cytee of Tywyn. Wherfore on Frydaye at nyght, the xiii. day of August the Duke of Buckyngham, the Earle of Essex, the Marques Dorsset the Lorde of Burgaynye, the Lord Willoghby, and dyuere other gentelman with vi. thousand men on foote and the Lorde Walon and the Lorde Lyng with ther horsemen were layed at Gyngate on the south syde of Tywyn, where they were all nyghte in order of battayle, awaynyng the reskew of the cytee, but the Englishmen were askryed, and so the Frenche men brake there purpose for that time: and so the Duke of Buckyngham and his compaynyons returned to the campe. Monday the xiii. daye of August by infortune, with oute any cause knowne, there fell a greate debate betwene the Almaynes of the kynges felde and Thenglishemen, in so muche that they fell to fyghtyng and many men slayne, the Almaynes sodaynely ran to the kynges ordynaunce and toke it, and embattayled them selves, and bent the ordynaunce agaynste the kyng and his campe. Thenglishemen were greatly named with this matter: in so muche the archers set forward to haue fouyned with the Almaynes, and they lykewyse prepared there pykes, but the capitaynes tooke suche payne that the fray was appossed and all things done for that time, but as this commocion was in trouble, the Emperour came from Ayre and saw all the demener of both partes and was glad to se the discrete handelyng of the capitaynes. After themperour was come to the kynges felde, the king called Theperour and all the lorde of his counsayll together asserteyning them that he was credibly enformed that the Frenche men entended to reskew the cytee of Tywyn, wherefore it was agreed that the master of the ordynaunce shoulde in haste make fyne bridges ove the water for the army to passe ove, to thentent to besiege the cytee on that syde: the carpenters dyd so there deuer that nyght, so that by daye all the bruydes were made, so that all the horsemen passed ove and askryed the country.

On Twesdaye the xvi. day of August the kyng resesd hys campe and with great ordynaunce and all other artillerye and cariage he passed the Ryuer, and to him came Sir Iphon Neuell with hys lyghte horsemen and tolde him that behinde the tower of Gyngate was a great plume of horsemen. In the meane season, as Sir Iphon Neuell tolde the kyng these tydynes, by a nother waye was therel of Essex Sir Iphon Peche and the kings spere spares passed and skirmished wyth the plume of spares that Sir Iphon spake of, and there were many proffers made on bothe sides, but in conclusion the Frenche men were compelled to leaue their stale, and one horseman taken and sente to the kyng whiche in hope of pardon of his Raunsome shewed howe that the Frenche armeye with their full power and strength were commynge from Blangoy the number of fyfteen thousand horsemen of armes to aye Tywyn on that side of the water. And to thentente that the armeye of the Lorde Stewarde and the Lorde Chamberlayne shoulde not aye the kyng, there were appoynted v. thousande of the xv. thousande horsemen on the other side of the water. As these tydynes was tolde came one from Sir Ryce, and sayde that a prysoner that he had that day taken confessed that the cytee shoulde be reskewd the same day, and that he had askryed a number of horsemen to hys judgemente vpon the poynet of syx thousand. Then sodaynely came the Northren men whyche affirmed that they had seen the Frenche armeye in order of battayle commynge forwarde, but they judged them not past twelfe thousande men. Then the kynges felde was pytched and the ordynaunce set, but some comsayled the kyng to take downe hys tente but the kyng sayde I will this daye that my feide be made and sett in as royall wise as maye bee,
bee, and all my ryche tentes sett vp, whyche was done. Then the kyng called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded hym to kepe his felde, treasure ordynaunce and other stufte, whyche was lothe to goo from hys Master but by streyte commaundemente. Then every man prepared hym selfe to battayle resortyng to the stardarde, the horsmen marched befor the footmen by the space of a myle, still came curroures berynge tydynges that the Frenche armaye approcheth. The kyng had sette forwarde and to auance hys banner in name of GOD and Saint George. The Almaynes seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowne) sodainely embatelled them selfes on the left hande of the kyng and left the brest or fronte of the kyngs battayle bare. As the kyng was thus marching forwarde towards the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with. xxx. men of armes he and all his companye armed in on sute with redde crosses: then by the counsayll of the Emperour the kyng caused certaine peces of small ordynaunce to be laied on the topp of a long hill or banke for the out skowerers: thus the kynges horsmen and a fewe archers on horsebacke marched forwarde. The kyng wouldeayne haue been afore with the horsmen, but his counsayll perswaded him the contrary, and so he taried with the footmē accompanied with themperour.

The Frenchmen came on in. iii. ranges. xxxvi. mens thickenes & well they perceived the kynges battayle of footmen marching forward: the erle of Essex capitayne of the horsmen, and sir Ihō Peche with the kynges horsmen and the Burgonyons to the number of a xi. C. stode with banner displayed in a valey. The lorde Walonome and the lord Ligny with bastardar Emery and there bende to the number of. iii. C. horsmen seuered them selfes and stode a syde from the Englishmen: so then thenglishmen were but. vii. C. yet they with banner displayed removed vp to the topp of the hill, and there they mett with sir Ihon Glyorde a. C. talle archers on horsebacke, which had askryd the Frenchmen. Now on the topp of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the left hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falowe felde. The lord Walonome and the Burgonyons kept them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standardes displayed. Then came to the capitaynes of Thenglishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenesux and sayde, in Gods name sett forward, for the victorie is yours for I see by them, they will not abide, and I will go with you in my coate of armes. Then the horsmen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all a long a village side called Bonye: the Frenchmen came on with xxxiii. standardes displayed, and the archers shotte a pace and galled their horses, and the English spes set on freshely, cryē saint George, & fought vauntantly with the Frenchmen and threw downe their standard, the dust was great and the crye more, but sodainly the Frenchmen shocked to their standard and fledde, and threw away there spes, swordes, and muses and out of the barrdes of their horses to ronne the lighter, when the hinder parte saw the former fly, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As Ǝ English horsmen mounted vpp the hill, the stradiates were cómyng downe wardes on the one syde of the hill before the French hoste, which sodainly saw the banners of the English horsmen, and the kynges battayle folowing vppwarde, wenyng to them that all had been horsmen, then they cast them self about and fledde, the Frenchmen so fast in array that the stradiates could haue no entree, and so they ran still by thedes of Ǝ ranges of the French army; and when they behynde saw the fall of their standardes and their stradiates in whome they had greate confidence returne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then vp pranced the Burgonyons and followed the chace: this battaile was of horsmen to horsmē but not in egal number, for the Frenchmen were. x. to one, which had not byn sene before tyne, that Thenglishe horsmen gatt the victory of the men of armes of Franchise. The Frenchmen call this battaile the journye of Spurres because they raine away so fast on horsbacke. This battaile wasthe, xvi. daye of August, in the whiche battayle was taken the duke of Longyle, joys brother to therle of Dunoy whiche had maried the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the lorde Cleremounde and many other noble men to the number of. xii. skore and all brought to the kynges presence, and lykewyse all the standardes and banners.
banners were brought to the king. The Burgonios kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The flame wet that *Monsire de la Palaye* was by them taken and lett go. Thenglyshmen followed the chace. iii. myle longe from the felde to a water in a vally, and there a Frenchman sayde to Sir Gyles Capell that one daye they woulde haue a daye, whiche aunsweard hym agayn in Frenche that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so Thenglishmen returned to the kyng, whiche was commyng forward who gau them thankes with greate praisynes for their valiantues, and there he made Sir Ihon Peche bannaret and made Ihon Car knyght which was sore hurt, and sir Ihon Peche had his gyud home taken and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the kyng retrected to Gyngate, to whom came sir Rise and shewed him how boat the Frenchmen had skirmished with hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and how therle of Shrewesbury with banner displayed was al daye prest in order of battayle to haue fought with the duke of Alanson and therle of sainct Polle and the lord of Florences which with v.m. men as you haue herd were appointed to reskewe the towne on that syde where the lord of Shrewesbury lay, and to let him to come to aid the king, but how so euer that it happened, they stode still and came not downe but only skirmished with Sir Rice: The citie of Tyrwyyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they saw ther helpers commyng here, they thesame daye proudly issued out on the lord. Harbert & skirmished with his people very valiantly, and they within also shot out ordinaunce of all partes. The lorde Harbert and his capytaines coragiously defended them, and so sore they set on the Frencheme, that they draue them by force to their gates for all ther succours, and many of them were slayne: this night the kyng sent for the duke of Longeuyle and the lord Cleremounde and diuerse other noblemen, and the duke supped at kyngs borde that night.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy. xii. myle from the coste, and there talked of their losses, and because they knewe not who were taken and who were slaine, therefore they sent an heraulde to the kyng to knowe the number of the prisoners, the kynges counsayll according to there desyer sent to them the names. The kyng beyng assertayned that the French kynges purpose was yet agayn to geue hym battayle, commaundand the best of the prisoners shoulde be conveyed to the towne of Ayre in Flandres: but when Thenglyshmen had brought them thyster, the capitayne denied that Thenglishmen shoulde entere the towne with prisoners of Fraunce with whom he and his crounyt had peace: but yf the Frenchmen would desyre lodgyng for their ease, they shoulde be permitted to entere. But thenglishmen in a fury aunsweard, that yf you will not suffer vs to kepe our prisoners, we will slay them: then the Frenchmen mekely praid the capitayne to suffer the Englishmen to entere, and sware to their kepers to be trewe prisoners, and so they entered, and after were conveyed into England. The Lord Powntremy of the house of Cresquy capitayne general of Tyrwyn percyued the discoumtur of the French partie, and percyued how the Earle of Shrewesbury and the Lorde Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere the towne that nere it could not be brought, and that in the walles was suche batterie that it was not lyke to continue, yet he manfully defended the cyece and shotte gonne every daye as he was accustomed and neuer was in despayre, till the xviii. daye of the sade moneth he sawe the kyng renoun his campe from Gyngate and layed his campe on the soute syde of the towne betwen their reskewe and the towne: then when he saw this and considerad that bys succours were put backe and that the towne was sore febuled, and that the kynges greatest ordinaunce was bent against the towne, he therfore by the aduyse of other capityynes sent to therle of Shrewesburye and the Lorde Harbete a trumpet, deseryng abstinence of warre for a daye, they incontynente sent to the kyng to knowe his pleasure, the kyng aunsweard that he woulde not graunte till he knewe the consideracion: then the capitayne sent woord that with saufeconduyte he woulde come and speke with the kynges counsayll, which to him was graunted, then he sent certayne commisioners whiche offered to delyuer the towne with all the ordinaunce and municions without any fraud, so that the townes men that woulde there dwell myght have
THE V. YERE OF

haue life and goodes safe, and that of men of warre myght departe wyth horse and harneys, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harneys was of lytell value to so great a prynce. After that the kyng and his counsayll had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners that although the kyng knewe ther penury of vitable and the dayly mortalite among them and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resist, yet because they asked marcy he woulde not extende rigor, and graunted there requeste: so that they delyvered the towne with all the ordynaunce as they had promised, to the whyle all they were sworne, and so returned. And thesame nyght Theirle of Shrewesbury entred the towne and had the walles and towers and the banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victory, & the lord Powtremwy with all the garrson departed with horse and harneys according to the appointemente. Then the lord George Talbote erle of Shrewesbury, with iii.C. men seched the towne for fere of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he saw all thing sure, he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be tewe to the king of England. When all this was done, the kyng on the. xxiii. day of August entered into the cytye of Tywynat. ix. of the clocke before noon with great triupe and honour, his persone was apperelde in armure gilt and grauen, his garment and barde purple velvet full of borders, and in all places trauersed with branches in ronnyng worke of fyne golde, the branches were of hawthorne wrought by golde smythes craft wunde with a braunch of Roses, and euery flower, lefe & bury were embossed: After whome folowed his heynmen with the peces of armure accustomed. Thus with grete glory this goodly prince entered and toke possession of the towne of Tywyn and was receiued at the Cathedrall church with procession, and they heard masse & dyued in the bishoppes palayce, and at after none returned to his campe, leuyng in the towne the Earle of Shrewesbury with his retinue. The xxvi. daye of August the kyng removed agayn to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarkes and towers of Tywyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe: of whiche conclusion the Emperour sent word to saint Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng joyous of that tidnynges (for Tywyn was to them a scorge) sent thither pyoners with all maner of instrumentes, and so they and thenglish pioners brake downe the walles, gates and towers of the foundation & filled the diche and fyrered the towne, except the Cathedrall church and the palayce, and all the ordinacie was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to his vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should ley his siege to the citee or towne of Turney, wherfore he set forwarde three goodly battayles, the first was conduyt by thyrle of Shrewsbury, the second battayle led the kyng hym selue with whom was Themperour. The rereward was conduyt by the lord Harbert: and so the first night thei laye in campe besyde Ayre, whiche night vitale was skant, diverse Englishmen tarried in Tywyn when the kyng was past for pilage & fyrred certayne houses, on whom came sodainly the French stradates, & some they slew and some they caste into the fier, they that fledde, scaped narrowly.

Wednesday the. xiii. daie of Septeber the king and his army came to Beatyn, and there had plentie of all thynges, and on the morowe he with his army passed forward and came to a strayt where was a foord and all the carriages must nedes come downe a stepe hill to the foord & so to the strey, where as one wagon seave alone might passe, and the wether was hoat and the beasts had not dronne all daye, wherfore at the foorde the horses woulde drynke maunge ther leders, and so the carriages wet not all hole together which was a dowlfull case, but yet by wise order thei passed the streyte & so did the army & came to a place betwene Canon and Camblyne and there lodged that night in a playne barren grounde, and the next day he remoued his campe and the forward passed a bridge called pont Auandien into Haulders side & there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoyrs syde, & the rereward lay in a fayre grounde behynde the king.

Saterday the. xvii. day of September tidinges came to this kyng how the Frenchmen had assembled a great puissauce & would fight with the king, wherfore the king caused his forward
ward to remoue farther & sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage the pount dassaus. Then
the great ordynaunce passed the bridge of pount anandien and the king was remoued fro
thence & as his tentes were takynge vp. an askrye was made that the enemies were in sight,
which noyse was sodainly seased and sir William Sandes with. vii. C. Englishmen & strangers
was appoinccted to kepe y bridge and certayne ordynaunce was to him appoincted.

When the king and all the carriages were passed, then the lord Harbert remoued over
the bridge and encamped hym behynde the kyng by a fayre myle, when the kyng was en-
camped and all thynes in order, there came to him a noble man of Flandres called the
lorde Rauesten which after his humble-reuerence done, shewed the king that the young
pryne of castel Charles and the lady Margarete gournes of thesayde prince most hartely
desryed him for his pastime after his long traueyle to come and repose in his towne of Lysle
and to see his brother y prince and the ladies of the court of Burgoyne: sayenge that it
became not ladies to visite him in his marcyall, campe, whiche to them was terrible. The
king gentelly granted his request, & then he sent his officers thether to make provision and
appoynced the duke of Buckyngham the Marques Dorsett therle of Essex and the lord
Lysle and duarye other to gene ther attendauce on him, and committed his campe to his
comsylle. Then he mounted on a couers, his apparell and barde were cloth of symebr of
small quadrant cuttes trauersed and edged with cutt cloth of golde, and the border set full
of redd rooses, his armore freshe and set full of iuells: the Master of hys horse Sir Henry
Guylforder and the hensmen folowed as you hane heard before, and the coursers richly
appeared and so were many capayynes that wayted on the kyng: by the way met the
king the lorde Rauesten with many noble men: and a myle withoute the towne ther mette
with him the Bourgeses of Lysle and presented to him the keyes of the towne, sayeng,
that Themperour their souereigne lord had so commauended them to do. The king praised
ther obedie to their souereigne, & thaked y Empeour & the for so high a presente as the
keyes of such a towne. Neuerthelesse he had suche confidence in them, that he trusted
them no lesse then his awne subiectes, and so declyuered the keyes to the prouest of the
towne whiche was wel accompayned: then mette the king a grater number of nobles of
Flandres, Brabant, Holland, and Henawde, which nobly receaued hym. After the came
the Couyte Palatine or Paulsgraue one of y electors of the empire with. xxx. horses al his
men gorousely appaireld after the fasshion of his countrey, and humbly saluted the king.
At the gate of Lysle the capitayn of the towne stode with a garrison in armore wel appoin-
ced, all the strets were set on bothe sydes with burnyng torches and duryse goodly pagiantes
pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thorow the towne with his swerde and maces borne
before hym, and alighted at the hall dore with his swerde borne, where met w him thepe-
rous, the prince of castel & the lady Margaret and hibly saluted hym: then for reuerence
of themperour, the kyng caused his swerde to be put vp and his maces to be leyed downe,
then was the kyng and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degress.

In the towne of Lysle was a noys that. iii. gonners with handgonnes should hae slayne
y kyng: For which rumour many were attatched, but nothynge proued, but when this ti-
dynges came to the campe, they were neuer mery tyl they saw the king agayne, great was
the chere with bankettes, playes, commodies, maskes and other pastymes that was shewed
to the king in the couerte of Burgoyne, and so in solace he sojourned there Sundaye and
Mondaye the. xix. daye of September: the. xx. daye he sent woorde that his armie should
remoue towarde Tournay, and so they remoued to a place convenient betwene Tournay
and Lysle, and certayn capayynes were appoincted to kepe y passage at the bridge of Auan-
dien.

After that the kyng had tarved at Lysle. iii. daies, and had wyel repose hime selve, he
toke his leare and thanked the Emperour & the young prince & the lady Margaret & all the
ladies of all his high chere & solace and about vi. of the clock at night, he departed out
of Lysle, and y noble men brought the kyng forth and so returned, and then the capi-
tayne shut the gates.

4 B
When the kyng was a mile and more out of the toune, he asked were his campe lay:
and no man there could tell the way, and guyde had they none, the night was darke and
mistie: thus the kyng taryed a long whyle and wist not whither to go, at last they mette with
a vityalier commyng from the campe whiche was ther guyde and brought them thither. The
master of the ordynaunce shotte dyverse peces of ordynaunce but they were not harde,
but in safetie the king with all his company returned.

The. xxii. daye of September the kyng remoued his campe towards Tournay and lodged
within. iii. myles of the cytie, on a corne grounde by the ryuer. The whiche nyght came
to the kyng Themperour and the Paulsgrane whiche were lodged in ryche tentes and nobly
serned of all vyandes and thynge necessarie. The people aboute Tournay were with their
godes fledde to the cytie, and yet the cytie had no men of warre to defende it, but with
multitude of inhabitauntes the cytie was well replenished: the king commaunded sir Rice
and his horsemen to vewe one quarter, and therof of Essex and his company another quar-
ter, and the lord Walowne & the lord Ligny the other quarters: so the. xxii. daye of september
these. iii. capitains at one time were come opelye w banners displayed before the towne, and
there made a long stale & returned. The king sent Garrie king of armes & a pursuivant
of armes with a trompett to somon the cytie, which declared that the kyng of England and of
France commaunded them to yeld to him his cytie & to receaue him as there naturall lord,
or he would put them and ther cytie to swerde, fyer, and bloude. To whom they prowdely
answered, y the take no cytie of him to kepe nor none would they rede, w which answer
he departed. Then they fortifiied those towelles, & made provysyon for vitale, corne, wine, &
arterie, & for all fortificacions that might be gotte. And the cytie of it selfe was strong,
well walled, & turrited w good Bulwarkes & defences: But when they saw the kyng with
suche a puissance draw near ther cytie, they were sore abashed and called a generall con-
saill: then the prouest sayde, brethren you knowe how y the kyng of England sent an
heraulde to somon vs to rendre to hym this cytie, or els he woulde put it & vs to the swerde,
fyer, and bloude, we ansuered we woulde be at defence: nowe he is come in our sight to
fulfyll the message sent by his herauld, & now is come the time of our defence, & in this
matter stadeth. iii. mischiefes, one is our bounden dutty & allegiance that we owe to our so-
uerigne lord king I.oyes of France, the seconde the lites of vs, our wifes, children, and
neighbours, the thirde how to defende the small destrucctio of this auncient cytie which is
lickely to fall, which cytie was never conquered & now our cytie is hole (your lunes in sanitty,
your goddes your own) determine whither you wyl haue warr or peace: then the common
toolemen cried all war, war, war, then said the prouest take copassio of wifes & childre &
of the old folke, cosider yf you haue no quick reskue you can not continue against yoder
puissance, al tho your corages were as good as Hectors or Achilles, this y wisest of the ci-
tee and I haue cosidered. Then sodainly was ther in y counsaill, a vauntparler, a botcher
which heryng this, called a great number of his affinitie & went out of the counsaill, & so
out of the gates & sett fier of the suborbes on all sydes. When the counsaill saw the
myndes of the commons and that ther wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the
people and maynteyned them for their defence. The kyng Raysed his campe & came in
Array of battayle Before Tournay, the Earle of Shresbury with the forward was a litell
space on the right hand brest with the kyngs battayle, and the lord Harbert with the re-
warde on the left hande in lyke manner, the day was fayer and the harneys glistered and
banners wauned that they of the cytie were sore affrayed: thus stode the kynges battayles in
Array before Tournay. Then the kyngs commaunded his great ordynaunce to be caried
in the waye passyng towards the cytie & so euer thing accordyng to his commaundement;
was accomplisshed. Then the kyng him selfe with a feewe persones rode betwene his ordi-
ynaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so nere the walles, y he might vewe
the walles and the towers very well: they shotte out of there towers peces of ordinauce &
hurt such as came within there leuell. Then they rong the alarme bell, which was harde
wel
wel in the felde. Then the citezens issued out at the gate by the ryuer and, manfully profered to skyrmish, but they w archers were some driven backe to their gates. The English cariers that came with the harbershers to take ground ranne to the gates of Tornay, and toke certayne wagons with beere and vitage and yet the Turnoyes dyrst not resiste, although they were in greater number then the men of caiage. In this skirmish the horse of the lorde Ihon Gray brother to the Marques Dorsett which went to defende the Cariers was slayne with a gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in icopardie autetured hym self and vewed the toune, he caused immediatly. xxi. peces of great artillerie to be brought in a plain field before the towne, and when they were charged, they were immediatly shotte, & the most parte of the stones fell with in the citee, & so they shotie divers shottes one after another.

Then the king with all his battayle planted hys siege on the northe parte of the citee: Therle of Shrewsbury with his battayle warded toward the south syde of the ryuer and there lay that nyght. The Lord Harbert with the rewarde platted his battall on the west side of the citee, and with great ordynance daily btt the walles and towers of the citee. On the morowe byenge the. xxiii. daie: the Lorde Talbott Earl of Shrewsbury accompanied with the noble men of his battall whose names you have harde at his first passyng the see. passed ouer the ryuer of Tornay and planted his siege on the south syde stretching to the east ende of the citee, & bent his artillerie against the walles of the citee. Thus was the citee of Tornay besieged on all partes, & cuer in hope of reskue valiantly defended her selfe.

Nowe must I leue the kyng at the siege of Turnay, and diuercie to thinges done in England in his absence, and declare how the kyng of Scottes inunede the realme of Englande, and how he was defended and fought with al, and in conclusion slayne the. vi. daie of this moneth of September.

When the king of England was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the see, in proper person for the recovery of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaill forgat not the olde Prankes of the Scottes which is cuer to inunede England when the kyng is out, or with in age: and also he had knowledge that at Camphere in Zeeland the Scottes dayly shipped long spere called collyne clowystes, armoire & artillerie, which deleyng made his grace and his counsaill to dawe: notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the sacramet to kepe the peace, yet for voydyng of all dowtes, the kyng appointed the lord Thomas Haward earle of Surrey soone to the lorde Ihô Haward Duke of Norfolke and high treasoner and marshall of Englande, to be hys lieutenant in the North partes agaynst thesayde kyng of Scottes, if he fortuned to invade (as he dyd in dede) accordinge to the olde traytorous accustome of hys progenitors, and that the sayde earle should resye the powers of the contrey of Chester, Lancaster, Duerese, Northmaterlande, Westmierlande, and Cameron, besyde other ayes to be apoynted by the queene. And whè the kyng should take ship at Douer, he toke the earle by the hande, and saide, my lorde I trust not the Scottes, therfore I pray you be not negligent, then sayde the earle I shall so do my duty, that your grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfild your will shalbe my gladnes: Therle could skantly speake whe he toke his leave, for the departing fro the noble prince hys souereigne lorde and kyng, and from the floure of all the nobilitie of this realme, beyng redy in such an honorable iorncy. And when he was somewhat settledd in hys mode, he sayde to some that were about hym: Sory may I se hym or I dye, that is cause of my aubdyng beynnde, and if ever he and I mete, I shall do that in me lyeth to make hym as sory if I can: meanyng the same by the kyng of Scottes. From Douer he attendid on the queene to London, comfortynge her the best he myght, and shortly sent for hys gentemen and tenauntes, which were, v. C. able men, which mustered before sir Thomas louel, knyght, the. xxi. daie of July, and the. xxii. daye he rode thorough London Northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commandad sir William bulumner knyght, to make haste to the marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the castels and
and fortresses on the frontiers with ii. C. archers on horsebacke: for the erle by open tokens dayly perceiued that \( \frac{1}{2} \) Scottes entended warre. Then the sayde syr William with all sped be departed and came to the borders and the erle came to Pömfreft, the first daye of August, & there taried. After that syr William bulmer was come to the borders, one daye in August, the lorde Chamberlayne and warden of Scotland with vii. or viii. M. men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent & haryed a great prayne in Northumberland: that hering syr Willia bulmer, called to hym the gentelmen of the borders with his archers, and all were not a thousand men. And when they were neere assembled, they brought the selfes in to a brome felde, called Mylfield, where the Scottes should passe. And as \( \frac{1}{2} \) Scottes proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake oute, and the Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the archers shotte so holy together, that they made \( \frac{1}{2} \) Scottes geue place, and v. or vi. hundred of them were slayne, and iii. hundred and more taken prisoners, and the pray reskew beside a great nuber of geldinges that were taken in the countrey, and the lord Hume, lord Chamberlayne fled & his banner taken. This was the fyrst open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, whiche call this journey the yll Roade.

The erle of Surrey, beyng at Pömfreft, called to hym the most parte of the Gentelmen of the Counties to hym apoynted as is before reioysed, declaringe to them the kynges hygh commandement, shewynge them, that he beyng there the kynges Lieutenaunt muste nedes have ayde and counsayll: Wherefore he sware the mooste wysest and experte gentelmen in suche causes of the kynges counsayll and hys for that tyme for the better commyng hys charge and purpose, and for to brynge every thynge in dew order: Fyrst they toke a determinacion with syr Philippe Tylney knight, Treasurier of the warres, howe the charges should be payde, and secondarely with syr Nycholas applyarde, master of the ordunaunce, for the conuayance of the kynges royall ordunaunce, powder and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case shoule requyer, whiche syr Nycholas by William Blacknall, clereke of the kynges spyecerie, sent the saide ordunaunce and artillerie to Durham before, so that all thynge, concerning that office were in a redynes. The erle forgat not to sende too all lordes Spirituall and Temporall, knyghtes, Gentelmen, or other whiche had tennautes, or were rulers of tounes or liberties (able to make men) to certifie what number of able men hersed and harnesed, they were able to make within an houre warnyng & to gene their attendance on hym, and also he layed postes euery waye, which postes stretched to the marches of Wales to the counsayll there, by reason, whereof, he had knowlege what was done in every coste.

The erle was enformed by the lord Dacres, of the numbrynge and prepartyng of men in Scotlande, and Proclamation soundinge to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Roade made by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande into England, beyng distrusted by syr William Bulmer, as is afore reioysed, was an open breche of the perpetuall peace: yet the sayde lorde Dacres anysued the earle for many and greate wyghty causes, not to reysse or styrre the powers of the countrey, to hym apoynted yll he mighte perceyue and openly know the subtile purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesaid, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishmen redy to fight, they woulde haue desisted of theyr purpose for that tyme, yll the Englishmen were returned to their countreys, and then sodaynely too ryse agayne.

Then the Erle knewynge that the towne of Barwycke was stræg ynowh, sent to the Capitayne of Norham, certeiynge hym, that if he thought the Castell in any daungier or deby lifte, he woulde put hym selfe in a redynes to reskew it, if it were beseged, the capitatyn wrote to the Erle thankyng hym and prayed GOD that the kyng of Scottes woulde come wyth hys puysaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe yll the tyme that the Kyng of Englande came out of Fraunce to reskew it, whiche aunse wocietyed the Erle mich.

After the kyng of Scottes had sent hys defyaunce to the kyng of Englane, lyenge before
before Tyrwyn, as you haue harde, he dayly made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all hys realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred thousand, but for a suertye they were an hundred thousand good fightynge men at the lest, & wyth all hys hoste and power entered into Englande (and threw doune pyles) the xxii. daye of August, and planted hys siege before the Castell of Norham, and sore abated the walles. The erle hard tydnyges thereof the fyue and twenty day of August, beynge saynet Barthel- mewes daye.

Then he wrote to all the gentelman of the shyres aforesayde, to be with hym at Newcastell, the fyrst daye of Seytember next with all there retnew accordyng to the certificat. On the morow, he with his fyue hundred men came to Yorke, and the xxvi. daye he went toward Newcastell, and notwithstanding that he had the foulest dry and nyght 3 could be, and the wayes so depe, in so much that hys guyde was almost dronned before hym, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iorne to geue example to them that should folowe. He beyng at Durham was aduertised how the kyng of Scottes with hys greate ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great Assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valyauntly defended hym, but he spent vayneley so mucho of hys ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes and other municions that at the laste he lacked, and so was at the. vi. daye compellde to yelde hym symply to the kynges mercy. This castell was thought impregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scottes by the vndiscrete spendynge of the Capitayne, toke it in s suche chace was more sorowfull to the erle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewre corragiously, wherfore the erle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde pershe that nyght on the sea, who promised to lande at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompanie his father, whiche promyse he accomplished.

The erle harde Masse, and appoynted with the Prior for saincte Cuthberdes banner, and so that daye beyng the thirty daye of August he came to Newcastell: thither came the lorde Dacres, syr William Bulmer, syr Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall gentelmen, whom he reteyned wyth hym as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundae ye nexte ensuyng, he shoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldiours were repayryng to hym, he left Newcastell to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde haue there more rone, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde daye of September, and because hys souldiours were not come, by reason of the foule waye he was frayne to tarye there all the fourthe daye beyng Sundae, whiche daye came to hym the lorde Admyrall hys sonne, with a compaignye of valyaunte Capitaynes and able souldiours and maryners, whiche all came from the sea, the commyng of hym mucho rejoiced hys father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of great credence and experience. Then the Erle and his counsayll, with greate deliberacion appoynted his battayles in order with wynges and with ryders necessarie.

¶ Fyrste of the forwarde was Capitayne the lorde Hawarde, Admyrall of Englande, with suche as came from the sea, and with hym syr Nycholas Appyarde, syr Stephen Bull, syr Henry Shyreborne syr William Sydney, syr Edwarde Echyngham, the lorde Clyfforde, the lorde Conyers, the lorde Latynier, the lorde Scope of Vpsale, the lorde Egle, the lorde Lomley, syr William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprycke of Durham, syr William Gascoyne, syr Christopher Warde, syr Ihon Eueryngham, syr Thomas Metham, syr Water Gryffith, and many other.

¶ Of the wynges on the righte hande of the forwarde, was capitayne syr Edmond Hawarde knyght, Marshall of the hoste, and with hym Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Ihon Laurence, Rycharde Bolde Esquyers, and syr Ihon Botie, syr Thomas Butler knyghtes, Rycharde Donne, Ihon Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Ihon Claruyys, Bryan Stapulton, Robert worcoppe, Rycharde Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the kynges teneantes of Hat- selde and other.
Of the wyng of the left hande, was Capitayne syr Marmaduke Constable with hys sonnes and kyngesmen, syr william Percy, and of Lancashire a thousand men.

Of the rerewarde was Capitayne the Erle of Sarrey hym selfe, and with hym the lordes Scope of Bolton, syr Philippe Tylney, syr George Darcy, syr Thomas Barkeby, syr Iton Rochi[e], syr Christopher Pykeryng, Rycharde Tempest, syr Iton Stanley with the Bishop of Elyes seruauntes, syr Bryan Stapulton, Lyonell Percy, with the Abbot of Whithbyes tænauntes, Christopher Clapham, Syr Willia Gascoing the younger, syr Guy Dawney, Master Magnus, Master Dalbyes seruauntes, syr Iton Normauyle, the citizens of Yorke, syr Nynyan Markanyle, syr Iton Wyllowbye with other.

Of the wyng on the right hande was capituyn the lorde Dacres with hys power.

On the lefthande wyng was syr Edwarde Stanley knyght, with the residue of the power of the countye Palantyne and of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do. The erle and hys counsayll concluded and determined e-monge other thynges to sende Rouge crosse pursuantaun of armes with a trompet too the kyngge of Scottes, with certayne instruccions, signed by the sayde erle, conteynynge woorde by woorde as foloweth.

Fyrst where there hath bene sayte made to the kyngge of Scottes by Elyabeth Heron, wyfe to William Heron of Forde, nowe prisoner in Scotlande, for castynge done of the house or Castell of Forde, and as the sayde Elizabeth reporteth vppon communicacion had, the sayde kyngge hath promysed and condescended to the sayde Elizabeth, that if she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde bryngge and delinuer unto hym the lorde Itonstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prisoners that time in England, he then is contented and agreed that the sayde house or Castell shall stande without castynge done, brennynge or spoylinge the same: Whereunto the sayde erle is content with that, vppon this condicion, that if the sayde kyngge will promytte the assurance of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde vnder hys scale, to delinuer the sayde lorde of Itonstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vppron the same assurance. And in case the sayde kyngge can and will be content to delinuer the sayde Heron oute of Scotlande, then the sayde erle shall cause to be delinuered to the sayde kyngge the two gentzmen and two other, syr George Hume and William Carre.

Farther the sayde erle woll that you Rouge Crosse, shewe the sayde kyngge, that where he contrary to his othen and league, and unnaturally agaynste all reason and conscience hath entred and invaded this hys brothers realme of Englynde, and done great harte to the same, in castynge done Castelles, Towers and houses, brenning, spoylinge and destroyinge of the same, and cruelly murderynge the kyngge of Englande hys brothers subiectes. Wherefore the sayde erle woll be readye too trye the rightheegness of the matter wyth the king in bataflle by Frydaye nexte commynage at the farthest if he of hys noble courage will geue hym tarienge, and abode, within thys the kyngges Reale wyth longe tyme: And the same the sayde erle promiseth, as he is true knyghte to God and the kyngge of Englande hys master. And before Rouge Crosse shoule departe with the sayde instruccions, the sayde lorde Admyrall geue hym in credence too shewe the sayde kyngge of hys commynage, and parte of his compagnye on the sea with hym: and that he shoule soungte the Scottyes Nauye, then bryngge on the sea, but he shoule not mete with them, because they were fledde into Fraunce, by the coste of Irelande.

And in asmuache as the sayde kyngge hadde diuerse and many tymes caused the sayde lorde, too be called at dayes of true, too make redresse for Andrew Barton, a Pirate of the sea, longe before that vanquished by the same lorde Admyrall, he was nowe come in hys awne proper person too be in the Vauntgarde of the felde to Justifie the death of the sayde Andrewe, agaynste hym and all hys people, and woulde se what could be layed to hys charge the saydedayce, and that he nor none of hyscompaignye shoule take no Scottses nobleman prisoner, nor any other, but they shoule dye if they came in hys daunger, oncles it were the kyngges awne person, for he sayde he trusted to none other curtesye at the haundes of the Scottes. And
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And in thys maner he shoulde fynde hym in the Vauntgarde of the felde by the grace of GOD and saymte George as he was a trew kyghte. Yet before the departynge of Rouge Crosse with the sayde instructiouns and credence, it was thought by the Erle and hys counsayll, that the sayde kyng wouldeayne and Image some other message, too sende an Heraulde of hys with the same, onely to View, and ouer se the maner and order of the kynges royall armye, ordinaunce, and artillerie, then beynge with the Erle, wheryby myghte haue ensued greate daungier to the same, and for exchaynge thereof he hadde in commandemente, that if any such message were sente, not to bryng any person, commynge therewith within three or twayne of the felde at the nyghtest, where the sayde Erle woulde come, and bearre what he would saye: And thus departed Rouge Crosse with his trumpet apparyled in his Cote of armes.

On Mondaye the fift daye of September, the Erle tooke hys felde at Bolton in Glendall as he had appoynted, where all the noble men and gentelmen met with their retynewes to the number of six and twenty thousand men, and aboute mydnighte next ensuyng, came the trompette, whiche went with Rouge Crosse, and declared how the kyng of Scottes, after the message done to hym by Rouge Crosse accordyng to hys instructiouns, the sayde Kyng detayned hym, and sent on Ilay a Haraulde of hys with hym vnto the Erle, to declare too, hym the sayde Kynges pleasure, too whome the Erle sente Yorke Heraulde at armes, to accompaniaghe the sayde Ilay, at a Village called Mylo, tooo myles from the felde, vntyll the commynge theuther of the sayde Erle the next morow.

The sixt daye of September, carly in the mornynge, the Erle accompaniaghe with the moost parte of the lorde, kyghtes and gentelmen of the felde, every man hauynge with hym but one man to holde hys horsse, and so the sayde Heraulde met with the erle, and with bloiit reverence declared to him that he was come from hys master the Kyng of Scottes, which woulde knowe, whither the Erle sente any suche message by Rouge Crosse, the Erle justyfied the same. sayniyng farther, that Rouge Crosse hadde the same message of hym in writynge signed with hys awne hande, whereunto the sayde Ilay sayde, as touchynge the saunye from brennyng or destroiyng, and castyng dounne of the Castell of Torde, for the deliueraunce of the sayde prisoners, The kyng his master woulde thereto make no aunswer. But as to the abydyng for battayll betwene that and Frydaye, then nexte folowyng, the kyng his master badde hym shewe to the Earle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the same kyng, and that if he had bene at home in his Towne of Edborough, theere recelynyng suche a message from the sayde Erle he would gladlye haue com and fullfyld the sayde Erles desyre: and the Heraulde assured the Erle on the kyng hys masters behaife, that the same kyng woulde abyde him battayll at the daye prefixed, whereof the sayde erle was righte joyous and muche prayed: the honourable agreemete of the sayde royall kyng and estemed the same too procede of an high and noble courageous, promysynge the Heraulde that he and good s琪erty with hym shoulde be bounde in ten thousand pound sterlyng too kepe the sayde daye appoynted, so that the kyng woulde fynde an Erle of hys, and thereto a good s琪erty with hym to be bounde in lyke summe, for the performis of the same: And furthermore the Erle bad the Heraulde for to say to his master, that if he for his parte kept not hys appoyntemente, then he was content, that the Scottes shoulde Baffull hym, which is a great reproche amonste the Scottes, and is vysd when a man is openly periuied, and then they make of hym an Image paynted reuersed, with hys heles vpward, with hys name, wonderynge, cryeng and blowynge out of hym with horses, in the most des-pitefull maner they can. In token that he is worthy too be exiled the campaigne of all good Creatures.

Then Ilay delievered too the Earle a littell Cedule wryten with the kynges Secretaries hande vnsigned, the tenor whereof foloweth.

As to the causes alleged of oure commynge into Englande agayne, oure bande and promyse (as is alleged) thereto we aunswer, ower brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to hym. And when we sware laste before hys Ambassade, in presence of oure counsayll, we expressed specially in oure othe, that we woulde kepe to oure brother, if oure brother kepte.
THE V. YERE OF

kepe to vs, and nat elles, we sware oure brother brake fyrste to vs, and sythe hys breke, we have requyred dyuerse tymes hym too amende, and lately we warned oure brother as he dyd not vs or he brake, and thys we take for oure quarell, and with Goddes grace shall defende the same at youre affixed tyne whiche with Goddes grace we shall abyde."

And for as muche as the sayde Kyng keppe styll Rouge Crosse with hym, who was not yet returned, the same Earle caused the sayde Hay too be in the kepynyng of Syr Humphrey Lyss and Yorke Heraulde, in the same Vyllage, vntyll the tyne that a seruante of the sayde Hay myghte ryde in all haste too the royall Kyngge of Scottes, for the deliuerynge of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the erle Ioyons of the kynges aüwerp, returned to hys campe, and set forward fyue myle, too a place called Woller Hawgh, in suche order of battayll, as even then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that nighte, three lyttell myles from the kyngge of Scottes, and betwene the kyngge and hym was a goodly and large coste felde, called Mylefelde whiche was a conuenient and fayre grounde for twoo hostes too fight on, there every hoste myghte perceyue other.

The morowe beyng Wednysdaye, the. vij. daye of that Moneth, the kyngge of Scottes caused hys greate ordeynance too be shotte at the Englishe armeye, but it horte neither man nor beast. When the kyngge of Scottes sawe that Hay was deteyne, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the erle, by whome, and other of the borders he was aduyertised that the kyngge laye vppon the syde of a hyghe mountayne, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narow felde for any man to ascend vp the sayde hyll to hym, and at the fote of the hyll laye all hys ordeynance. On the one syde of hys armeye was a greate Marriuone, and compassed with the hyll of Cheuyot, so that he laye to stronge too be approched of any syde: excepte the Englishe men would haue temerariously romne on hys ordeynance, whiche matter well considered by the Erle and hys sonne, and other of the counsayll there they called to theim Rouge Crosse, and sent hym the nexte daye to the kyngge of Scottes, willinge hym too shewe the kyngge, that the sayde erle, with dyuverse of the kynges nobles and subiectes hadde annuenced them selfes to gene battayll too hys grace, trustyngge that accordinge to hys promise, he woulde annuence hym selfe and hys armeye to ioyne the battayll, whiche as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desyre the kyngge that hys myghte haue knowledge by noon then that daye, whether he of hys noble courage woulde descend the hyll, where he lay and too gene battayll or not: and if he saye that I shall not knowe hys intent, or wyll saye, that he will kepe the grounde: then shewe hym that he perceuyeth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for twoo armeyes too fighte, and therefore I will looke for no mo of his delays. The same daye beyngoure Ladye daye the natuuite Rouge Crosse departed to the kyngge of Scottes, whiche woulde not neare hym speke, but sente one of hys servyours to heare his message, Whiche servyours after he hadde disclosed the same to the kyngge, made answere, that it beneomed not an erle, after that maner too handle a kyngge, and that he woulde vse no sorcery, nor had no trust of any grounde: You have haarde before, howe Hay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makynge good chere, and was not returned that morynge that Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys trumpet were detayned by the seruannte of Hay, whiche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, assuryngge them that if Hay came not home before none, that he was not liynge, and then they should haue their heddes striken of, then Rouge Crosse, offered that hys seruannte shoulde go for Hay, but it would not be excepted, but as hap was Hay came home before none, and shewed of his gentell entercyynge, And then Rouge Crosse was deliverede, and came to the Englishe armeye, and made reporte as you haue hearde.

Then the Englisshemen removed their feldon the water of Tyll, and so forthe the many hylles and streytes, marchynge toward the Scottes on another syde, and in their sighte the Scottes burned certayne poore Vyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.

The Englisshemen, always leauynge the Scottishe armeye on the left hande, toke their feldon the water of Tyll, and so forthe the many hylles and streytes, marchynge toward the Scottes on another syde, and in their sighte the Scottes burned certayne poore Vyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

under a wood syde, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two
armyes was the Ryuer of Tyll, & there was a littell hyll that saued the Englishemen from
the gennesbotte, on which hyll the lorde Admyrall perfightly saw and discovered them all.

In the eueninge of thesame daye it was concluded betwene the erle and hys counsayll,
and most parte of the armye thereto agreed, that the Vaunrgarde with the ordinauce
should passe over agayne the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the. ix. day
of September, and the rerewearde to passe over at Myllforde, puttinge theym selues as nyc
as they coulde betwene the Scottes and Scotlantde, and so to guey battayll to the Scottes on
the hyll, called Flodden hyll. Frydaye the sayde nthyn daye, the lorde Admyrall, lyke a
valiant wyntge, passed over Twysell bridge with the Vantgarde, marchyng towarde hys ene-
myes, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for passyng over at Myllforde with the rerewearde,
sawinge to hys Capytaines, now good fellowes, do lyke Englishemen this day, take my parte
lyke men, whiche parte is the kynges parte, and I wyste you would not, I will in my awne
person fighte with the kyng of Scottes, rather to dye honourably by hys crueltie, then to
lyue in shame, or that any reproche should be layed to me hereafter. To whome they
answered, that they would serve the kyng and him truely that daye. The Englishse armye
that daye hadde no vitable and were fastynge, and two dayes afore theye had onely dronke
water, and couldo scace get anye other sustenaunce for money, and yet theye kept array on
horsebacke from fyue of the clocke in the mornynge till four of the clocke at after none,
and were always in the sighte of the Scottes.

The kyng of Scottes perceyvynge the Englishemen, marchinge to Scotlantde, thought
that theye would haue entered into Scotlantde, and burne and forray the plentifull
counter, called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englisheman named Gyles Mus-
grane whyche was familiar with the kyng of Scottes, and dyd it for a pollice to cause hym
to come donne from the hyll: Wherfore the sayde kyng caused hys tentes to be remoned
to an other hyll in greate haste, last the Englishemen shoulde haue taken thesame hyll:
And at theyr departinge they set fyre on theyr litter and other fylthy ordure, accordynge to
theyr custome, and of the fyer and smolder dyd ryse suche a smoke so thicke and so darke,
that the one host coulde not perceyue theother, for the wynde did drive the smoke betwene
the two armyes the Scottes ouer kepyng the heygth of the hyll on the edge of the chenuyt,
and the Englishemen passed forward still in the lowe grounde, and ouer in the courte of the
smoke in so muche that bothe the hostes were very nere together within the space of a
quarter of a myle, before one of them coulde perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the
Englishemen had passed a lyttel brooke, called Sandylfyrde, whyche is but a mens step ouer,
and that the smoke was passed, and the Ayre sayre and cleare, eche armye myghte playlyy
see one an other at hande. Then the lord Admyrall perceyuen foure great battayles of the
Scottes all on foote with long speers lyke moorishe pykes: whyche Scottes furnished them
warlike, and bent them to the forwarde, whiche was conducted by the lord Admyrall, whiche
perceyuenge that sent to hys Fatther the erle of Surrey hys Agnus dei that honge at hys
brest that in all hast he would royne battayll, euyn wyth the bront or brest of the vant-
garde: for the forward alone was not able to encounter the whole battayll of the Scottes,
the erle perceyuenge well the sawyng of hys somme, and seynge the Scottes ready to discende
the hyll ananuised hym selue and hys people forward, and brought them egall in grounde
wyth the forwarde on the left hande, euyn at the bront or brest of thensame at the foote of the
hyll called Bramston, the English armie streched East and West, and their backes Northe,
and the Scottes in the Southe before them on the forsayde hyll called Bramston. Then
oue braste the ordinauce on bothe sydes wyth fyre flamme and hydeous noysy, and the
Master goner of the English parte slawe the Master goner of Scotlantde, and bet al hys
men from theyr ordinauce, so that the Scottishe ordinauce dyd no harme too the Eng-
lishemen, but the Englishemen Artillerie shotte into the myddes of the Kynges battayll,
and slawe many persones, which seynge the kyng of Scottes and hys noble men, made the
more haste too come too joyynge, and so al the foure battayles in maner descended the hyll
at once. And after that the shotte was done, whiche they defended with Pauishes, they
came to handestrokes, and were encountered severally as you shall here.

Fyrst on the Englyshe syde next the West, was Syr Edmonde Hawarde knyghte, Marshall
of the hoste chief Capitayne of a wyng on the ryght hand of oure vantgare, and was en-
countryd with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth hys battayle of sperys on foote, to the
number of ten thousande at the least, whiche foughte valiantly, so that they by force caused
the lyte wyng to flye, and thesame syr Edmonde thre tyues fell to the grounde, and left
alone sauying his standarde berar, and two of hys seruauntes, who whose came Ibon Heron
barraste sore hurte, sauyng there was never noble mans sonne so lyke too be sooste as you be
thys daye, for all my hurtes I shall here lyue and dye wyth you, and there thesayde syr Ed-
monde Hawarde was in a great daunger and jeopardie of hys lyfe, and hardelye escaped, and
yet as he was goyng to the body of the Vantgard he met with Dany Home, and slew hym
hys awne hande, and so came to the Vantgare.

Secoundely, Eastwarde from the sayde battayle was the lorde Admyrall with the Vant-
garde, with whom encountered the erles of Craforde and Montroos, accompanied with
many lordes, knyghtes and gentlemens, all wyth sperys on foote, but the lorde Admyrall and
hys compagnie acquyted them selves so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought
to grounde a great number, and both the erles slayne.

Thirdeely, Eastwarde from the lorde Admyrall was the erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall,
to whose standarde the kyng of Scottes in hys awne person marched, beynge accompanied
wyth many Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, knyghtes and Gentlemen of the Realme, with a great
number of commons, all chosen men with sperys on foote, whiche were the most assuredly
harnessed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodlyest personages with all, and
they abode the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noved, and yet except it
hit them in some bare place it dyd them no hurt. After the shotte endyd, the battayl was
cruell, none spared other, and the kyng hys selfe fought valiantly. O what a noble and
triumphant courage was thys for a kyng to fyghte in a battayll as a nombre souldier: But
what auayled hys strong harnes, the puissaunce of hys myghtye champions with whom he
descended the hyll, in whom he soo much trusted that with hys strenghe people and great
number of men, he was able as he thought to have vanquished that day the greatest prynce
of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or els he thought to do such
an hygh enterpryse hys selle in his person, that should surmount the enterprises of all
other princes: but how soone it happened God gane the stroke, and he was no more re-
garded then a poore souldier, for all went one way. So that of hys awne battaill none es-
caped, but syr William Scot knight his chancelour, and syr Ibon forman knight, his ser-
iant Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, & w great difficulty saued. This may be a great
myrror to all prynces, how that they aduenture themselves in such a battaill.

Fortthely, Eastward was syr Edward Stanley knight, capitayn of the left wyng with the
sayde erle, which clane vp to the topp of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste,
and with him encountred the erles of Huntley, Lenoyn, and Argile, with a great number of
Scottes whiche were sore fought with all, whiche perceyninge the erle of Huntley toke a
horse and saued hys selle, if he had tarvey he had bene likely to have gone with his com-
paignie: suche as fled, the sayde syr Edward and his people followed the other thesame
grounde, where the erles battell first ioyned, and founde ther the Scottes, which were by
the erles battaill slayne before, and sodainly left the chase and fell a spoyleing, and spoyled
the kyng of Scottes, and many that wer slayne in his battaill, but they knew him not, and
found a Crosse and cerayne thinges of his, by reason whereof some sayde that he was slayne
by that wyng, whiche could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testifid that the kings
battaill fought onely with the erles battels, but for a truthe this wyng did very valiantly:
wherefore it was thought that the said syr Edward might that daye not have bene missed.
All these iii. battels, in maner fought at one tyne, and were determined in effect, littell
in distance of the beginnyng and enddyng of any of them one before the other, sau-
yng
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

...that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came vp to the toppe of the hyll, and there fought with the Scottes valiunfully, and chaced them doune the hyll over that place, where the kynges baiatles ioynced. Beside these, iii. baiatles of the Scottes were twoo other baiatles, whiche neuer came to hande strokes.

Thus thorough the power of God on Friday, beyng the ix. daye of September, in the yere of our lorde. M. D. xiiij. was James the iii. kyng of Scottes slayn at Branstone (chiefly by the power of Sir erle of Surrey, lieutenaut for kyng Henry the viii. kyng of England, which then lay at the sege before Tornay) and with the-sayde kyng were slayn:

The Archebishop of saynct Andrewes,
the kynges bastard sonne.
The bishop of the Iles.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.

Eles.
The erle Mouttroos
The erle of Crafford
The erle of Arguyle.
The erle of Lennoox.
The erle of Glencarr.
The erle of Katenes.
The erle of Castelles.
The erle of Bothwell.
The erle Arrell Constable of Scotland.
The erle Addill.
The erle Athel.
The erle Morton.

The lord Louet.
The lord Forbos.
The lord Elueston.
The lord Roos.
The lord Inderby.
The lord Sontclere.
The lord Maxwell.
and his. iii. brethren.
The lord Daunley
The lord Seympyll.
The lord Borthyeck.
The lord Bogony.
The lord Arskyll.
The lord Blakkater.
The lord Cowyn.

Knyghtes and gentlemen.
Sir Ihon Dowgwasse.
Cutbert Home lord of Fastcastell.
Sir Alexander Seton.
Sir Davy Home.
Master Ihon Graunt.
Sir Dunkyn Canfelde.
Sir Suander Lowlwr.
Sir George Lowder.
Master Marshall.
Master Keye.
Master Elliot.
Master Cawell clerck of the chauncery.
The Deane of Ellester.
Mack, Kene.
Mack, Clene, and many other gentlemen,

whiche be vknown, because no officer of armes of Scotland would come to make serche for them: and yf the daie had bene lèger by. iii. houres, (for it was. iii. of the clock at after none or the baiatles ioynced) or that the Englishmen had had vitayles, so that they myght have hidden still togethre, they had not alone made the greatest distresse of Scottes by death and takyng, that the lyke hath not bene scene in one daye: but also within a litle while might have put the realme of Scotland in suche a miserie, & trouble, that for euer they should han ben ware how to enter the realme of England, and specially the kyng being absent: for the Englysh men wanted no good wyll, for of the Scottes they slew. xii. M. at the lest of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotlaid and of the Englysh syde were slayn and taken not. xv. C. men, as it apperred by the boke of wages whiche the sondiours were piaied. Thus therle of Surrey accomplished the promise at his daye prefixed w the kyng of Scottes to his great fame and honour.

After that the feld was fought & the Scottes fled, many Englyshmen folowed them into Scotland, and were so farre that they wyst not whiche waye to returne and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the ii. baiatles that fled first and neuer fought. Also dyverse were taken by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande whiche fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried wyth hym to the number of ix. Of the Scottes that
The v. yere of

fled some passed over the water of Twede at Caustremere foarde, and other by the dry marches, during the tyme of the fighte, and the nyght after many men lost there horses and suche stoffe as they left in their tentes and paulyons by the robbars of Tyndale and Tyuidale. The lord Dacre with his company stode styll all daye vnfoughten with all. When the feld was done and the skoute watch brught woord that there was no more apperanche of the Scottes, but all were returned. Thearle thanked God with humble harte, and called to hym certayne lorde and other gentlemen and them made knyghtes as sry Edmond Hauard his sonne and the Lorde Scrope, Sry Wylliam Percy and many other. Then therle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wodde and appoynced Sir Phillippe Tyney knyghte wyth the compaignye of the lorde Admirall and the compaignye of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the lorde Latymer, olde Sr Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and a fewe other to kep the place where the feld was for sawyng of the Englyshe ordynaunce, and the ordynaunce that was taken from the Scottes, whiche was v. greate Curtalles, twoo greate Cufuerynes, foure Sacres, and syx Serpentynes as fayre ordynaunce as hath ben sene, bysyde other small peces. Well knowen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that theyr kyng was taken or slayne, but hys body was not founde tyll the nexte daye, because all the mane people aswell Scottes as Englyshe were strypped out of their apparell as they laye on the feld, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lorde Dacres, who knewe hym well by hys pryorie tookens in that same place where the battayle of the Earle of Suryre and hys, fyrste ionyed together. Thys kyng had dyuerse deadly wounded and in especiall one with an Arowe, and another wyth a byll as apered when he was nacked. After that the bodye of the Kyng of Scottes was fownde and broughte too Barwecke, the Earle shewed it too Sr William Scott hys Chaunceller, and Sry Ihon Forma hys seriant porter, whiche kneve hym at the fyrste sighte and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, embowed, and cered, and secretly amongst other stuffe conveyed to Newcastell, but the same daye the Lorde Admyrall came to the feld and there some Scottes appered on an fylt: but William Blackenall whiche was the chaffe doar and ruller of all the ordynaunce shott suche a prade, that the Scottes feldd, or els the Lorde Admyrall had ben in greate hopardy: and then all the ordynaunce was brought in sacteye to the Castell of Cyvell, and there remayned for a tyme. After thys noble victowy therle wrote fyrste to the Queene whiche had raysed a greate power to resiste the sayde kyng of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battayle, for then the bodye of the kyng of Scottes was not towde, and she yet beynde at the towne of Luckingham had woord, the nexte daye after that the kyng of Scottes was slayne and a parte of hys coate arme to her sente, for whiche victowy she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the North part was set in a quietnes, returned to the Queene with the deade bodie of the Scottyshe kyng and brought it to Richemond. Nowe lett vs returne too the Kyng of Englaunde lyenge before Tournaye whiche the xxv. daye of September recceyned the ganntelet and letters of the Earle of Suryre, and knewe all the dealynges of botthe parties. Then he thanked GOD and highly praised the Earle and the Lorde Admyrall and his sonne, and all the gentmen and commons that were at thatt valiantent entrepryece: Howebeit, the kyng had a secrete letter that the Cheslyvre men fledde from Sry Edmond Hawarde, whiche letter caused greate harte burning and many woordes, but the kyng thankfuly accepted at thynge, and would no man to be dispraysed. So, on the Mondaye at nyght the xxv. daye of September, the Lorde Harbarie and the Earle of Shrewsborrye made greate fyers in thir armes in token of vctorye and triumph: and on Tuesdays the xxvii. daye, the tente of cloth of gold was sett vp, and the kynges Chapell sange masse, and after that Te Deum, and then the Byshoppe of Rochester made a Sermon and shewed the death of the kyng of Scottes and muche lamented the yll deathe and periusyre of him. The kyng of Englaunde lyenge thus before Tournay, caused hys greate ordynaunce to be
be planted rounde aboute the Cytee, and dyverse trenches were cast and rampiers made and the Lorde Lysle, and the Lorde Wylogby were appoynted to mayntayne the ordynance, wyth ther bendes, and therof of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencyn, so that the Cytizens could not issue out, nor no ayde could e come in. The ordynance dayly butt the gates, towers, and walles, whiche made a greate batterie: and a fewe Englyshmen assaulted the port Coquerell, but they were to few in number, and yt they had ben more in number, they had taken the towne as the Tournosys confessed after. The Cytizens of Tournay consdyberyng their estate, came together to counsayll, and there the Prouost sayde, frendes and brethren of thys noble Cytee, I cannot to muche prayse youre treuth and fidelite to youre souereigne Lorde the kyng of Fraunce consideryng how manfully you have defended this Cytee sythe the beginnyng of this siege, but alas although it be wrytten on the gates graven in stone Lammes ton ne a perdox ton pucellage, that is to saye thou hast laste lochet thy maydenhed: yet yt thyss Cytee had not been well furnyshed and euer at the daie appoynted suer of reskeue, it could not haue continued: nowe you se that reskeue stayleth, our gates be rased, our towres betyn downe, our chiefe towar lyke to fall, so that yt thyss perilous siege continue, or els yt our enemies assaute vs, we be not able to defende vs: wherfore nowe, all these thynges considered, I woulde knowe whyther you wyll treute with the kyng of Englysh or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsayll cryed warre, warre, nowe cryed peace, peace, yet all were not agreed: then one wyseman sayde, Sirs yt the towne be assawtted once agayne with a greate number, sweerly it will be taken: you saw the experience at the last assault, and then consider yt if it be taken by force who is there that can save he is sure of his life: But by entretie, the kyng of Englysh is so mercifull that we maye fortunate to save bothe lyfe and goodes. Then fynally all agreed to treute. Then the Prouost sent to the kyng a trompett desyeryng a saunfesconduyte for hym, and certayne other to come and to speke wyth hym, whiche request was to hym granted. Then the Prouost of the cytee accompanied with eleuen wyth hym of the best of the cytee, came to the armye and spake with the lorderes of the counsell and after were brouhte to the kynges presence, the Prouost kneeld downe and all his compaignye and sayde: Ryght highe and myghtye Prynce although the Cytee of Tournay is strange, well walled, well replenished wyth people, vytyales, artylerye, ye and the people in feare and dread of nothyng, yet we knowe that agaynste your greate pouysauncye yt can not contynue long, although yt were ten times as strange as it is, wherefore we knowynge by reporte, your honoure, your wysedome, your iustye, and noble harte, are conteante to become your subiectes and vassalles, so that we maye haue and enjoyeoure olde lawes, customes, lyberties, and Franchesse, vnder you as we haue before thys done vnder other Princes. Then the kyng answered, we haue well harde your peteycon, we will common wyth your counsayll and make you answere, and when he had communed wyth his counsayll, he answered sayenge: Sirs he that asketh meere of vs shall not be denied: sayenge you come to treute, we remytte you to our counsayll. Then they wente into the tente of counsayll, and there the Tournasyns fell at a poynte, and in conclusion, they yelded the Cytee and ten thou-sande pound sterlyng for the redempcyon of theyr lybertyes, and so departed to the cytee, makinge relation of the kyng and hys noble corage. On Thursdaye the xxix daye of September, the kyng was in hys ryche tente of cloth of golde vnder hys cloth of estate, to whome came the Cytezens of the Cytee and were sworn to bym and became his subiectes. Then the kyng appoynted the lord Lysle, the Lorde of Burgayny & the Lord Wylogybby to take possession, whiche with six thousand men entered the Cytee and toke the markett place and the walles, and seched the bowes for feare of treason and then master Thomas Wolsey the kings almoner called before him all the citizeens young and old and awere them to the kyng of England, the feber whereof was, iii. score thousand. Thus the kyng of England by conquest came to the possession of the cytee of Toursaye: on Sondye the ii. daye of October the kyng entered the cytee of Tournay at porte Fountayne, and iii. of the chiefe of the cytee over him bare a canapye with all the armes.
The V. Yere of

Armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, \$ Ladies and gentlewomen lay in the wyndowes beholdyng the kyngge and his nobilitie, euery citizen had in his hande a staf torche, the kyngge hym selfe was rychely appereilled in ryche armure on a barded courser, his hemyné beryng his peces of warr, as axe, spere and other, there courseres were barded with tharmes of England, Fraunce, Ireland, & other the kyngges dominions all of ryche embraudery, thus the kyng with hyis nobilitie all richely apparelld with his swerde borne before him, his herauldes and serientes of armes with trumpettes and mynstrelsy entered the cytte and came to our ladye churche, and there te deum was song. Then the kyng called to his presence, Edwarde Guldestorde, Wylliam Fitzwilliam, Ihon Dauncye, William Tiler, Ihon Sharpe, William Huse, Ihon Sauage, Cristopher Garnyshe, and diuerse other valiant earthyngs and gave to them the order of knyghthode, and then went to his lodgynge, \& at after noon he came to \$ market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a proclamation to be made in his name kyng of England and of Fraunce that no man shoulde greue the citizens, during which proclamation the turnsyns scace lokd vp, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenaunce which was much marked, the Cry finished, the king departed to his campe leuyng the cytte in safe kepyng. This weke the kyng rode to see the castel of Morton, \& ther his grace toke great pleasure. The kyng remembrunge the great cheere that the prince of castell and the lady Margaret made him at Lysle which was but. xii. mile English from Tornay, desired thesaid prince and lady with diuerse other to come to him. to his cytte of Tornay and made preparacion for the same, and appointed a Jistes wherof he hym selfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the market place. While these thynge were preparing, the king and his counsaill ordered for the sure kepyng of the cytte of Tornay, and there ordered Sir Edward Pownynges knight of the order of the garter to be his Lieutenant with. iii. C. archers, with capytyaynes horsemens and artillerie convenient, and to hane ayde of Henawde and other the kyngs frindes adionyng, and of his garde he left there. iii. C. archers, \& ordinauce was appoynced for the defence of thesame. Monday the. xi. daye of October the kong without the town receyued the prince of castell, the lady Margaret and dyuere other nobles of their countreys and them brought into Tornay with great triumplhe. The Noys went that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the ladye Margaret duches of Sauoy and daughter to Themperour Maximillian, which before that tyme was departed from the kyng with many riche giftes and money borowed but whether he proffered mariage or not she favored him highly: there the prince and duches sojourned with great solace by the space of. x. dayes. Durynge whiche tyme, the. xviii. daye of October began the jistes, the king and the lorde Lisle aunswered all commers: vppon the kyng attended. xxiv. knyghtes on foote in coates of purple velvet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armoric and releeve, the king had a base and a trapper of purple velvet bothe set full of. S. S. of fyne bullio and the lord Lisle in thesame synyte, ther were many speres broken and many a good buffet geuen, the strangers as the lord Walon and lorde Emery and other dyd right well. When \$ jistes wer done, the kyng and all the other vnhelmed them \& rode about the Tilt and did great surlence to the ladies, and then the herauldes cryed to lodgynge.

This night the king made a sumptuous bancket of a. C. dishes to the prince of Castell and the lady Margaret & to all other lorde & ladies, and after the bancket, the ladies daunse, and then came in the king \& a xi. in a maske, all richely appareled \& bonettes of gold, \& when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garments of the maske were cast of amongst the ladies, take who could take.

The. xx. daye of October, the Prince of Castell and the lady Margaret with many great giftes to them genen returned to Lyle with all their trayne. After that the kyng was enforced that all directions were taken and euyry thing put in an order for the sure kepyng of the citie of Tornay, he tooke thesame to sir Edward Pownynges knight which valiantly kept it in good order and justicie.
The king & his counsayl before this had considered that the Frëchmen would geue them no battayle, & that winter aproched, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to kepe Tourney sauely, and to breeke vp his campe for that winter, and to begin again war in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the kyng and his counsayl, and so the kyng and all his people (excepte suche as were appoynted to be with syr Edward Pownynges) departed out of Tourney the xx. daye of September; and the king and the noble men made suche speode, that shortly they came to Caley, and thyther came the Lorde Admyrall whome the kyng hartely thanked of his paynes and there every man was paied of his wages and condutyed money, and shippes prepared for the passage, and so the. xxiii. daye of Septeber the kyng with a priuy copany toke shippe & the same day landed at Douer and shortly after all his people followed, then he with a small company rode to Rychemonde in post to the queene, where was suche a louing mettyng that every creature rejoysed. This season began a great mortalite in London and other places where much people died: All this winter the kynges nacy kept the seas and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmen on their costes.

When the kyng was thus returned he forgat not the good seruice that many a gentleman dyd at the battayle of Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them his louing letters with such thankes and favorable wordes that every man thought him selfe well rewarded. And on the daye of the purificacion of our lady at Lambeth the kyng created the Earle of Surrey duke of Norfolke with an augmentacion of the armes of Scottarde, and Sir Charles Brandon Viconte Lisle, he created duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Haward high Admyrall he created Earle of Surrey, and Sir Charles Somersett Lorde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberlayne, he created Earle of Worcestor: and after that at a nother daye he made Sir Edwarde Stanley for his good seruice, lorde Montagyle, and in marche folowyng was master Thomas Wolsey the kynges almoner consecrate bishopp of Lyncolne, which ther to was named on Newers daye before: This man was borne at Ypswiche and was a good Philosoph- perour and kyng of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne should marye the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng of Englande with a dowrye to her appoynted, at whiche tyme they were bothe yonge: Nowe at the kynges retourne from Tourney he made preparacion too sende thesayde Ladye his syster to the Prince of Castell. But the counsayll of Flaunders answered that concernyng his syster they would gladly receyue to be espowse to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladies of the worlde: but as concernyng the articles of her dowar, they coulde not fullfyll without thassente of the kyng of Arragon and the realme of Castell (whych as was sayde, mynded to haue hym maryed in Spayne.) The kyng kylyke a louyng brothe woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured, tooke the fyrste agremente betwene the kyng her father and kyng Phyllyppe hys father to bee of none effecte, yth the Spanyardes woulde not conferme the same, and the cause was, by reason that kyng Phyllyppe was not naturally borne to be there kyng, but was kyng in the ryghte of his wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agreemantes made withoute their consente. So thus the kyng of Englande retayned styll hys syster and all the preparacion that he had done for her coneyance, whiche was verye costely.

This season the lady Margarete queene of Scottes late wife to king Iames the. iii. slayne at Bramston, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the kyngg to haue compassion of her and his two Nepnewes her sonnes, for she was in feare le-t he woulde haue innadred her realme. The king moued with brotherly copassion, sent her word, that yf the Scottes kepyd peace he would kepe peace, yf they would haue war he would likewise haue war & so with that answere the messenger departed. In the sprig tyme of the yere the kyng wrote hys letters to
THE VI. YERE OF

to all noble men and gentlemen that he would shortly passe agayne into Fraunce in his owne person, wherefore euerie man prepared him self mete for that iournay: the Femynges heryng therof, made purpuance for wagons, vitaile and other thynges which turned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shall hear.

All this season Sir Richard Whethilli and syr Iohn Tremayle kept so Thenglishe pale that the Frenchmen durst not medyl, and yet they spoyled to base bollen.

Before this time the townes aboute London as Islyngton, Hoxton, Shordish and other, had so enclosed the common feldes with hedges & ditches, that nother the young men of the cytee might shote, nor the auncient persons might walke for ther pleasure in the feldes, excepte either ther bowes and arrowes were broken or taken a waye, or the honest and sustaiciall persons arrested or indited, saing that no Londoner should go out of the cytee but in the high wayes. This sayeng sore greued the Londoners, and sodainly this yere a great number of the citee assembled them selues in a mornynge, and a turnar in a foles cotte came cryenge through the cytee, shonels and spades, and so many people followed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast downe, and the ditches filled, and every thing made plain the woorke men were so diligent. The kyngs counsayl heryng of this assembly came to the Gray Frears, and sent for the mayre and the counsayl of the cytee to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and ther commodities and liberties taken from them, though they would not yet the commonaltie and young persons which were dammified by the noysaunce would pluck vp & remedy the same. And when the kynges counsayl had harde the answer, they dissimuled the matter & commuanded the mayer to see that no other thyng were attempted, and to call home the citezenes, when they had done ther en treprice, came home before the kynges counsayl and the Mayer departed without any more harne doing, and so after, the feldes were neuver hedged.

THE VI. YERE.

In the moneth of Maye the kyng and the newe Duke of Suffolke were defenders at the Tilt against all commers, the kyng was in a scopelary mantel, and hat of clothe of syluer and like a whyte armite, and the duke apparellled like a blacke armite all of blacke veluet, both ther berdes were of Damaske syluer, and when they had ridden about the Tilt and shewed them selves to the queue, then they threwe of their apparell & sent it to the ladies for a larges, then was the king in black, and the Duke in white with blacke staines, on the statues was written with white letters who can hold that wyll away : this poyse was judged to be made for the duke of Suffolke and the duches of Sauoy, at these iustes were the duke of Longenyle and the lord Cleremond, and there the kyng and the duke dyd so valiantly that they obtayned the price, at these iustes were broken. C. xiii. spere in a short season.

The kyng at this season sent agayne into Flanders for the performance of the mariage of the young prince of castell and the fayre lady Mary his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all things necessary and convenient for suche an high estate. The counsayl of Flanders anumered that they would not receyve her that yere, with many subtyl arguments, by reason wherof the perfite loute betweene England and the low countreys was much slaked.

The xix. day of May was receyved into London a Capp of mayntenaunce and a swerde sent from Pope Iulty, with a great compaignye of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the kyng on the Sunday then next ensuing with great solempnytie in the Cathedrall church of saint Paul. About this time, the warres yet conipnyng betweene England and Fraunce, prior Iohn (of whom you haue harde before in the iii. yere) great captain of the Frenche nany, with his Galleys and Foytes charged with great basyleyskes and other greate artillery came on the border of Sussex and came a land in the night at a poore village in
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

In Sussex called bright Helmston and the watch coulde him escurye he sett fyre on the towne and toke suche poore goodes as he fouunde: then the watche fyred the bekyns and people began to gather, whiche seynge prior Ihon Sowned his trumpett to call his men aborde, and by that tyme it was day; then vi. archers whiche kept the watche folowed prior Ihon to the sea and shott so fast, that they bett the galyme from the shore and prior Ihon hym selfe waded to his foyst, and Thenglishemen went into the water after, but they were put back with pickes or els they had entered the foyst, but they shott so fast, that they wounded many in its foyst and prior Ihon was shott in the face with an Arrow, and was likely to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax before our lady at Bolleyn with the English arrow in the face for a myracle.

When the lorde Admirall of England had hard these newes he was not content and sent Sir Ihon Wallop to the sea incontinent with diverse English shippes, which sayled to the cost of Normandy & ther landed and brent. xxi. villages and townes with great slaughter of people, and brent shippes and boates in the hauncs of Treaport, staples and in every place. This sir Ihon Wallop quit hym self so, that men marneled of his enterprises, consedyrung he had at the most but. viii.C. men and toke land ther so often.

In the moneth of June the lord Powntreym that was capitayne of Tyrwyn with banner displayed and great ordinance, with a great army came into Picardy here to Arde. Sir Nyicholas Vaux captain of Guysnes consedyrung that Frenchmen had such ordinance thought they would have besieged Guysnes, and wrote therof to the king which incontinent pronounced a great armaye for the rescowe. And when every thing was redy and the army forward, the lord Powntreym reyed his campe and departed without anye more doing, but for all that kyng sent ouer sir Thomas Louell knyght with vi.C. men to Caley's for the more strength of that towne and other townes and castelles byeng w in the English pale and the marches there.

The French king this yere appoynced to Richard dela Pole traitor of England and banished the realme. xii.M. lanceknyghtes to kepe Normandie, and also to entre into England and to conquer the same, where they made suche a Ryott that many of them were slayn & he was fayn to carye them to sente Malos in Britaigne to take shippes: for the Frenchmen woulde fayne have bene rydye of them they cared not now, there condicions were so yle and shameful, but by the reason that the French kyng suyd for peace, this iornay toke no effect.

The French king by an heraundde wrote to the king of England, that he marneled greatly why he made him so sore war, and brent and toke his townes, slew and robbed his people with oute any cause genen on his parte, wherfore he required the king to graunt saufecondyuyte to his ambassadoures, whiche shouldente the cause: whereupon in June the French king sent a commissioun with the president of Roan and the generall boyer and certayne other nobles of Fraunce to entreate peace and allyance betwene both the prynces: & farther by cause that they knewe that the mariage was broken betwene the prince of castell and the lady Mary (as you haue hard) they desyred thesayde lady to be espoused to the French king, affirmaung a great dower and sueries for the same, w great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his cousayl, and specially by the Bishop of Lincolne Wolsey, consented, vpon condicion that yf thesayde French kyng Loys died, then she should if it please return into England again with all her dowar and riches: after suche entretie, the indentures were sealed and the peace proclaimed the vii. daye of August and the king in presence of the French ambassadours sworn to kepe thesame, & likewise ther was sent an Ambassade out of England to see the French kyng swore the same.

The Dutchmen hereyng these newes were sory, and repeted them that they recyued not the lady, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feble old & pocky man should marie so fayre a lady, but the voyes of people let not princes purposes.

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longuyle & other prisoners delyueryd, payeng thier Raunson, and thesayd duke affied the lady Mary in the name of kyng Lewes his mayster
mayster. This Duke was highly entertainned in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they reed for the connuyance of this noble Ladye, the kyng her brother in the moneth of September with the queene his wife and his sayde sister and all the court came to Douer and there taryed, for the wynde was troblous and the wether fowle, in so muche that a shipp of the kynges called the Libeck of. ix.C. tonne was dryuen a shore before Sangate and there brast & of. vi.C. mensantly escaped. iii.C. and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the wether was fayre then all her wardrobe, stable, and riches was shipped, and suche as were appoynced to geue their attendance on her, as the duke of Norfolke, the Marques Dorset the Bysshop of Durham, the Earle of Surrey, the lorde Delawer, the lorde Barnes, the lord Montaigle, the Marques. iii. brother, sir Morice Barkley, sir Ihon Pecche, sir William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulley, sir Ihé Carr and many other knightes, Squyers, gentlemen & ladies, al these went to ship and thesayde lady toke her leaue of the queene in the castell of Douer and the king brought her to the sea syde, and kissed her and betoke her to GOD and the fortune of the see, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husband. Thus the. ii. daye of October at the hower of foure of the clocke in the moreynge thys fayre ladye toke her ship with all her noble compagnie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the see, the wynde rose and senered some of the shippes to Caleys, and some in Flandes and her shipp with great difficultie was brought to Bulley, and with great icopardy at the entryng of the hauen, for the master ran the ship hard on shore, but the botes were reddy and receyued this noble lady, and at the landyng Sir Christopher Garnyshe stode in the water and take her in his armes, and so caryed her to land, where the Duke of Vadosime and a Cardynall with many estates receyued her, and her ladies, and welcommend all the noble men into that countrey and so the Queene and all her trayne came to Bulley, and ther rested, and from thence she removed by dyuere lodgyngestyll she came all most within. iii. mile of Abuyle besyde the forrest of Ardys, and ther kyng Loves vppon a great couerser met with her, and she would haue alghted but he would not suffer her, and welcomed her to his countrey, and when he had seen her beauty (whiche he so long desired) and talke w her a litle space, then he returned to Abuyle by a secret waye, & she was w great triumphe, procession & pagiantes receyued into the toune of Abuyle the. viii. daye of October by the Dophin, which receyued her w great honor, she was appareilled in cloth of silver, her horse was trapped in goldsmithes work very rychly. After her fowled. xxxvi. ladies, al ther paltryes trapped with crymsyn veluet, embraured: after them folowed one charyott of clothe of tyssue, the seconde clothe of golde and the third Crymsyn veluet embraurred with the kyngs armes & hers, full of roses. After them folowed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden w their stuf. Great was the riches in plate, inels, money, apparel, and hangynge that this lady brought into France. The Moday byeng the daye of Sainte Denyse, thesame kyng Lewes maried the lady Mary in the great church of Abuyle, bothe appareuled in goldsmithes worooke. After the masse was done, ther was a great banket and fest and the ladyes of England highly entertained.

The Tewesdaye byeng the. x. daye of October all Thenglishmen except a fewe that were officers with thesayde queene, were discharge whiche was a greate sorowe for theim, for some had serued her longe in hope of prefermente, and some that had honest romes lefte them to servre her, & now they were with out service, which causd the to take thought in so muche some dyed by the way returning, and some fell mad, but ther was no remedy. After the English lorde had done there commission the French king wyld the to take no lenger payne, & so gau to them good rewards and they toke ther leaue of the queene and returned. Then the Dophin of France called lord Frouneys duke of Valoys, and by his wife duke of Brytaine for the more honoure of this mariage, before Thenglishmen departred from Abuyle, caused a solemple inistes to be proclaymed which should be kept at Paris in the moneth of Noueber next ensuyng, and that he with his. ix. aydes shoulde aunswer, all
all commers beynge gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste to ronne. v. courses at the Tylt with peces of auantage, and also. v. courses at Randon with sharpe spere, and twelve strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barriers with al gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste syx foynes with hand speres, and after that euyght strokes to the most auantage of the spere so long held, and after that twelve strokes with the swerde, and of any man be valorised or be fellen wyth fyghtyng on foote, then his horse and armoure to be rendered to the officers of armes, and every man of this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon an archie triumphant, whiche shalbe made at the place where the iustes shalbe, and farther shall wryte too what poynct he wyll aumswere to one or to all. When this proclamation was reported in Englande by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Saffolke the Marques Dorsett and his foure brethrene, the Lorde Clynton, Sir Edward Neucl, Sir Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the kynge to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously granted. Then the Lordes and knyghtes prepared al thynge necessarye for there entreprice, and shyped there horses and harnessse, and dyd so muche by jourmy, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the moneth of October, whiche were hartyly welcomed of the kyng and the Dolphin: but most of all of the Frëch quene which then lay at saint Denyse, and was not yet crowned nor entred in to Paris.

The Dolphin desired the duke of Saffolke and the lord Marques Dorset, whose actiuite he knew well by reporte, to be two of his immediat aides, which thereto assented. Therefore was erected an Arch of widnes at the tournelles beside the strete on saint Anthony, directly before Æ Bastel, on the which were set. iii. targettes or scotchiös, the one siluer and he that sett his name vnder that shylde, runne at the Tylt accordyng to Æ articles: he that put his name vnder the golden target should ronne with the sharpe spere and fight with sharpe swordes: they that put ther names to the black shilde should fight a foote with spere and swordes for the one hand. And he that touched the tawny sheld should caste a spere on foot with a targett on his arme, & after to fight with a. ii. hand swerde: on this arch aboue stode Æ armes of the kyng & the quene, and benethe them stode the armes of the Dolphin & his aydes, & vnder nethe stode the. iii. scotchiös that you have harde of, and vnder them all the armes and names of suche as set their names to any of thesayde. iii. scotchiös. While all these thynge were prepareinge, the lady Mary of England the. v. daye of November then being Sundaye, was w. great solemnitee crowned Quene of Frainece in the monasterye of Saynte Denyse, and the Dolphin all the season held the crowne over her hed, because it was of greate weight to her greate, at whiche coronacyon were the lorde of England, and according to ther degrees well enterayned.

Mondaye the. vi. daye of November ther the sayde Quene was receyued into the cytee of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the garde of the Cytee met with her with oute Saynte Denyse all in coates of golde smythes worke with shippes gylt, and after them met her all the prestes and religious whiche were estemed to be. iii. M. The quene was in a chyre couered about (but not ouer her person) in white cloth of golde, the horses that drewe it covered in cloth of golde, on her hed a coronall of all of greate perles, her necke and brest full of Iuels, before her wente a garde of Almaynes after their fashon, and after them al noblemen, as the Dolphyn, the duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandesme, the Duke of Longueyle, and the duke of Saffolke, the Marques Dorsett, v. Cardynalles and a greate number of estates, aboute her person rode the kynges garde whiche were Scottes. This was this quene receyued into Paris and so couyced to the cathedral church and ther offered, and from thence to the pallayce where she offered at the holy Chapel, and from thence she went to her lodgyng for that nyght, for whom was provided a great supper and the herauldes cryed a larges and had to them geuen a ship of siluer and gylt, and other plate to the valewe of ii. C. marke, and after supper began dãysyng and pastyme. On the morowe bega the iustes, and the Dolphin w. his aydes entered the feld, the apparell & bardes were cloth of golde cloth of syluer and crymsyn veluet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed them selves before the kyng & quene who were in a goody stage,
and the queene stole so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble and lay ou a couche for weaknesses. Then entered 3 coûter parte by a rayle for combryng the place. These instes continued. iii. dayes, in the whiche were answerwed. iii. hundred and. v. men of armes and euery man ran. v. courses, and with sharpe spere, dyuerse were slayne and not spoken of: the English lorde and knyghtes dyd as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques strok Mounsire Grewe an Albanoy with his spere and perced his hed pece & put hym in jeopardy: the duke of Suffolke in the tomary ouerthrew a man of armes horse and man, and so dyd the lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he coulde not performe hys challenge at the barriers and put one of hys aye in his rone, the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers and because the Dolphyn was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde Marques Dorsett that daye began the field, and toke the barriers with spere in hand abydyng all commers. The Dolphyn brought a mi secretely, which in all the court of Franece was the tallest and the strongest man, & he was an Almyayne and put hym in the place of an other person to have had 3 duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almyayne came to the barres fysersly with face hyd, because he would not be known, and bare his spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receyved, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggered, but for al that the Almyayne strake striagly and hardly at the duke, and the indges suffered many mo strokes to be foughten then were appoyncted, but whey they saw the Almyayne rele & stagger, then they let fall the rayle betwene them. The lorde Marques Dorsett at the same time, even at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Franece that he lost his spere, and in maner with drewe: When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put vp their vysers & toke aye, & then they tooke swordes with poynet & edges abated, and came to the barriers, and 3 Almyayne foughte sore with the duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce but 3 duke by pure strenthe tooke hym about the necke, and powdered so aboute the bed that the blood yssued out of his nose, & then they were departed, and the Almyayne was conuayed by the Dolphyn lest he should be known. These two noble men of Englande that daye foughte valiantly diverse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly then defended but it happeneth the lord Marques one time to put for his aide his youngest brother called the Lorde Edward Grey of the age of xix. yere, and to hym was put a gentleman of Franece of grete stature and strength to thentre to plucke hym over the barres, but yet the younger Lorde was of suche strength, powre and pollety, that he so stroke his adversarie that he disarmed hym at the face bare. Thus was these entrepryses finished to the haude of al parties, and Thenglshmen receyued suche honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were pryncty sett at and in many iepardies: for the declaracion of this triumple, he that sawe it can tel howe goodly the courserst trotted bouded and quickly turned: How valiantly the men of armes behamed them selles and howe the Duke of Burbones bene was apparellled and bassed in tanwey velvet, and clote of syluerslowly, the bene of therle of Sayncte Polle apparellled and barded in purple veluet all to cuitt, on purple satten, the enlante of Aragon some to Frederecke hast kynges of Naples, and hys bene all in clote of golde and syluer palted. This lord was bout young but was very tourerde, The Duke of Vandesone and his bene in clote of golde, and plucket velvet bene. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery daye newe apparellled at his coste, one daye in syluer and golde, a nother in Crymesyn velvet and yellowe veluet, and another daye in white veluet and grene, some daye mixted with satyn, some daie embrawdered, some daye pounced with golde, and euery daye in chauge as the woorkers fantasye coulde devisse, but the Englishmen had ever on their apparell red crosses to be known for lome of their eoûtre: at this triumple the countie Galeas came into the place on a lenet trapped in blew satten and he hyn selfe lykewyse apparellled and ran a corse with a spere, which was at the hed. v. yanches on euery syde square, that is. xx. yanches about, & at the but. ix. yanches square, that
that is, xxxvi. yynches, this spere was massy tyme & yet for al that he rii cleane with it a long course and slightly auoyded it to his great honour.

Also ther was another gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight x. spere that is to wyt. iii. spere set in eueru styroppe forward, and vnder every thygh. ii. spere vpwarde, and vnder his lefte arm was on spere backward, and the. x. in his hand, and when he came before the Queene he let hys horse ronme and never stopped tyll he had taken eueru spere after uther and broken it on the grounde, and he never stopped his horse tyll all were broken, this gentleman was highly prayed and so he was worthy: when all this great triumphe was done, the lorde of England toke ther leue and were highly thanked of the kyng, queene, Dolphin and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. In November the queene was delyucred of a prynce which lyued not long after.

This yere in December ther was one Richard Hun a marchat tayllor of London in Lollers tower by the commanuement of the Bishop of London, called Rychard Fitziames & doc-toure Horsey his chancellor, whiche was a man more of witt to preserve the Byshoppes iu-ysdicion and the clergie, and then the truth of the Gospell: but so it was that the sayde Hun was found dething by y neck in a gordle of silke, win y said towe. The beginning of this matter must be shewed for y folowig of y consequent: for this Ill had a child y died in his house being an infant, the Curate clamed y beryng shete, for a mortuary. Hun answered y the infant had no properric in the shete wherupon the priest asceted him in the spiritual courte, he taking to hime good counsayll, sued the Curate in a. preminire, and when the prestes hard of this, they did so much of malice that they accused him of heresy, and brought hime to the lollers tower and ther was founde deed as you hard.

This man was counted of honest reputacion, no man to the sight of people more vertuous, wherfore vpom this matter a greate matter folowed, for the Byshoppe and hys Channecer. doctor Horsey sayde that he hanged hym selfe, and all the temperaltie sayde that he was murthered, and there vpon. xii. men were charged before the Coronour whyche. xii. were elected by greate dysceresion, and many tymes they were wytthe the kynges counsayll and hard their opinions, but in the meanes season the Byshoppe of London brent the dead Carcase of the sayde Rycharde Hun in Smythfeld, to the abomination of the people: but after that the matter had ben hard by the judges, and after by the kynges counsayll his grace byeing present and hering the cause openly debated and much borne by the spiritualie, yet at the last he remitted it to the tryell of the lawe, and so vpon good evidence doctor Horsey the Channecer and Bebringer with Charles Ioseph the somner, were endyted of the murther: but afterward by the meanes of the spirituallie & money, Doctor Horsey caused the kynges attorne to confess on his arrancment hym not to be gylty, and so he escaped and wyt to extre, and for very shame durst never come after London. But yet for a further trueth to be declared in this abhominable and detestable murther here shall follow the whole inquiry and verdicte of thequest woorde for woorde.

The v. and the. vi. date of December in the. vi. yere of the reigne of our soueraine lorde kyng Henry the. viii. Wylyam Barnewell crowner of London, the daye and yere about sayde within the warde of Castlyhaynred of London assembled a quest, whose names after warde doe appere, and hath sworn theim truely to enquiere of the death of one Rychard Hun, whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollers tower with in Pauls church of London, wherupon al we of the inquest together went vp into the sayd tower, where we found the body of the sayde Hun haging vpon a staple of iron in a gyrdle of silke, with fayre countenance hys heed fayre kened, and his bonet right sitting vpon his head, w his eye & mouth fayre closed, withoute any staring, gapping, or frownyng. Also without any drenylyng or spyr-yng in any place of his body, wherupon by one assent all we agreed to take downe the body of the sayde Hun, and as sone as we began to heue the body it was loose, wherby by good adayusemnt we percieued that the girdle had no knot aboue the staple, but it was double cast and the lykkes of an iron chayne which did hang on the same staple were layd vpon the same.
same gyrdle wherby he did hang: Also the knot of the gyrdel that went about his neck stode vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane toward his right shoulder. Not vstanding there came out of his nostrels, ii. small stremes of bloud to the quantite of. iii. dropes, saue only these. iii. dropses of blode, the face lippes chime, doublct, color, & shurt of the sayde Hun was cleane from any bloud. Also we fynd \( \frac{1}{2} \) the skyn both of his neck & throate beneath the gyrdel of sylk, was fret & tased away, with that thing which \( \frac{1}{2} \) murtherers had broken his neck with all. Also the haides of the sayd Hun were wrig in the wrists, wherby we perceyued that his handes had been bounde.

Moreouer we fynd that within the sayde prison was no meane wherby any man might hang him selfe, but only a stole which stole stode vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle that any man or beast myght not touche it so little but it was reday to fall, wherby we perceyued that yt was not possible that Hun might hang his selfe the stole so standye. Also all the gyrdell from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his necke was to tite for his heed to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft sylken gyrdell shoude breake his necke or skyn beneath the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner some-what beyonde the place wher he dyd hang a great persell of bloud, also we fynde that vpon the lyfte syde of Huons Jacket from the brest downward. ii. great strems of bloud. Also within the flappe of the lyfte syde of his Jacket, we fynde a greate cluster of bloude and the Jocket folden downe therupon, whiche thing the sayde Hun coulde never folde nor do after he was hanged: Whereby it appereth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Huon was broken, and the greate plenty of blode was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all wee fynde by God and all our consciences that Rychard Hun was murthered: also we ac- quyte the sayde Richard Hun of his aume death.

Also an ende of a waxe candell whyche as Ihon Belryngere sayeth, he lefte in the prysone burnyng with Hun that same Sondaye at nyght that Hun was murthered, whyche waxe candell we founde styckyng vpon the stockes fayre put oute, aboute seven or eyght foot from the place where Hun was hanged, whyche candell after our opynion was neuer put oute by hym, for many likelyhodes whiche we have perceyued. Also at the goyng vp of Master Chaunceller into the Lollars tower, wee haue good prooffe, that there laye on the stockes a gowne eyther of murrey or crymosyn in grayn furred with shangkes, whose gowne yt was wee could neuer proce, nethyer who bare it awaye. All wee fynde that Master Wylyam Horsey Chaunceller to my lorde of London hath had at his commandement both the rule and guydynge of the sayde prisone. Moreover all we fynd that the sayde Master Horsey Chaunceller hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the sayde Charles hath confessed, because he would not deele and use the sayde prisone so cruelly and do to hym as the Chaunceller would haue had him to do. Notwithstanding the keyes delyerance to the Chaunceller by Charles on the Sondaye at nyght before Hunes deathie and Charles rydyng out of the town before the Sondaye in the morning ensayynge was but a commencion made betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller, for to colour the murther, for the same Soday that Charles rode furth, he came agayne to towne the Sunday at nyght, and kylled Rychard Hun, as in the deposicions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turner doch appere.

After colouryng of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller conspired, the Chaunceller called to hym one Ihon Spaldyng Belryngere of Poules and delyoner to the same belrynger the keyes of the Lollars towre, genyng to the sayde belrynger a great charge, sayeng I charge the to kepe Hun more straitely then he hath been keppe, and let hym haue but one meale a daye. Moreover I charge the, let nobody come to hym wythoute my lycence, nethyer to bryng hym shurt, cap, kercheffe, or any other thyngye, but that I see it before yt come to hym. Also before Hun was caried to Fulham, the Chaunceller commanded too be put vpon Huons nekke a greate coller of Iron with a greate chayne which is to heuy for any man or beast to were and longe to endure.

Moreover it is well proued that before Huons death the sayde Chaunceller came vp into the sayde
sayde Lollars tower, and kneled downe before Hun holdynge vp hys handes to hym, pray-
enge hym of forgivenessse of all that he had done to hym and muste do to hym. And on the
Sondaye folowynge the Chaunceller commaunded the Penytensary of Poules, too goo vp to
hym and saye a Gossip, and make for hym holy water and holsye brende, and gene yt to hym,
whycye so dyd and also the Chaunceller commaunded that Hun should haue his diner. And
the same dyner tyme Charles boye was shute in pryson with Hun, whiche was neuer so be-
fore, and after dyner when the Belrynger fett oute the boye, the Belrynger sayde to the same
boye, come no more hyther with mete for hym, vntyll to morowe at noone, for my mayster
Chaunceller hathe commaunded that he shalhe haue but one meale a daye: and the same
night folowynge Rychard Hun was murthered, whiche murther coulde not haue been done
withoute consente and lycence of the Chaunceller, and also by the wittynge and knowelege
of Ihon Spaldyngyn Belrynger, for there coulde no man come in to the pryson but by the
keyes beynge in Ihon Belryngers kepynge. Also as by my Lorde of Londons booke doeth
appeare, Ihon Belrynger is a poore innocente man, wherefore all we doo perceyue that thys
murther coulde not be done, but by the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the witt-
tyng & knowinge of Ihon Belrynger.

Charles Joseph within the tower of London of hys awne free wyll and unconstreyned sayde,
that Master Chaunceller deuyse and wrote with his awne hand, all suche heresyes as were
layd to IIus charge, recorde Ihon God, Ihon Tray, Ihon Pasmar, Richard Gybson + many
other.

Also Charles Joseph sayeth, that whan Rychard Hun was slayne Ihon Belrynger bare vpp
the steyre into Lollars tower a waxe candell, hauynge the keyes of the dores hangynge on hys
arne, and I Charles went neste to hym, and master Chaunceller came vp last, and when
all wwe came vp, we founde Hun lyenge on hys bedde, and than Mayster chaunc-
celler sayde, lay handes on the thefe and so al we murthered Hun, and than I Charles
put the gyrdell aboute Hunns necke, and than Ihon Belrynger and I Charles dyd heue
vp Hun and Master Channellor pulled the gyrdell ouer the staple and so Hun was
hanged.

The deposycyon of Iulian littell Late seruaunt to Charles Joseph by her fre will vncon-
strayned the. vi. yere of oure souerigne lord kyng Henry the. viii. within the Chapell of
our lady of Bethlehem shewyd to thyquest.

Fyrst Iulian sayeth, that the Wednesdays at nyght after the death of Rychard Hun, that
Charles Joseph her master came home to hys supper: than Iulian sayde to hym, master it
was tolde me that ye were in pryson, Charles answered, it is merye to tynne the penye,
and after supper Charles trusted persell of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulian bare them
into master Porters howse to kepe, and that done Charles sayde to Iulian. Iulian yf thou
wilt be swornke to kepe my counsayll I wyll shewe the my mynde. Iulian answered ye, yf
it be neyther felonie or treason: than Charles toke a boke oute of his purse, and Iulian
swere to hym therupon, than sayde Charles to Iulian, I have destroyed Richarde Hun. Als
master sayde Iulian, howe he was called an honest man? Charles answered, I put a wyre in
his nose, Alas sayde Iulian nowe be ye ca-t awaye and vndone, than sayde Charles Iulian
I truste in the that thon wyll kepe my counsayll, and Iulian answered ye, but for Godes
sake master shute for your selte, and than Charles sayde I had lesse then hundred pound yt
were not done, but that is done can not be vndone. Moreover Charles sayde than to Iulian,
vpon Sondaye when I rode to my cousin Barngtons house, I taryed there and made good
care all daye tyll yt was nyght, and yet before yt was mydnyghte I was in London, and
had kyddl Hun, and vpon the next day I rode ¥ ther agayn and was there at dyner, and
sent for neyghbours and made good care. Than Iulian asked Charles, where set you
your horse that nyght you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home, Charles
answered, I came not home for feare of bewrayynge, and than Iulian asked Charles who
was wyth you at the kyllynge of Hun. Charles answered, I wyll not tell the: and Iulian:
saythe.
sayth that vpon the thursdaye folowyng Charles taryed all daye in his house with great fere, and vpon Frydaye folowyng erly in the mornyng before daye, Charles went forth (as he sayde) he wente to Poules, and at his commynge in agaynse he was in great fere sayenge. Hastely get me ny horse and with great fere and hast made hym redye to ryde, and lad Mayster Porters lad lede his horse into the feld by the back-syde, and than Charles put into hys sleve hys masre or masor wyth other plate, and borowed of Masteres Porter bothe golde and syluer but howe muche I am not sure, and Charles wente into the feld after hys horse and Iulyan brought hys booger after hym. Also vpon Frydaye in Christmas weke folowyng. Charles came home late in the nighte and brought with him, iii. bakers and a Smyth of Stratforde, and the same nyght they carried out of Charles howse all his goodes by the feld syde to the Beil at Shoredychye and erly in the morenyng coneyued yt with cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Iulyan sayth that the Saturdaye at nyght before the death of Hun, Charles came home and broughte with hym a Garnard, sayenge, yt was for Hun, and Charles boye stelled to Iulyan, that there was also ordyned a pece of freshe Salmon, whiche Ihon Belyringer had.

Also Charles sayde to the sayde Iulyan, were not this vngratious trouble, I coulde brynge my Lorde of London to the dores of heretyques in London bothe of men and women that ben worthe a thousand pound: but I am aferd that the vngratious mydlywe shal bewraye vs all.

Also Charles sayde vnto maistres Porter in lykewyse & more larger sayenge of the best in London, where to maistres porter answered, the best in London is my lord Mayer, than Charles seide, I will not skuse him quyte for he taketh this matter whato.

Where as Charles Joseph sayeth he laye at necke hill with a harlott a mans wyfe in Baryngtons house the same nyght, and there abode vntyll the morowe at xi. of the clocke that Rycharde Hun was murthered whereonhe brought before the kynges counsayll for his purgacion the forsayde baude Baryngtons wyfe, and also the forsayde harlott, whiche purgacion we have proved al vntreme as right largely may appere as well by the deposycion of Iulyan Littell, as of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor and of Ihon Symons Stacioner, with other, as of Robert Ihonson and Peter Turner.

The deposycion of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor.

The sayd Thomas sayeth, the same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clocke in the morning, he met w Charles Joseph conyng out of Poules at yt nether north dore, goynge toward Patre noster rowe, sayeg good morow master Charles, & the sayd Charles answered, good morow, & turned hys backe whan he was wythoute the churche dore, and loke vpon the sayde Chytcheley.

The deposycion of Thomas Symondes Stacioner.

He sayeth, the same mornyng that Hun was founde dead, yt with in a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clocke in the mornyng, Charles Joseph came before hym at his stall & sayd good morow gossyp Symonds, & the same Symonds sayd good morow to hym agaynse, & the wyte of the same Symonds was by hym, & because of the dedly coteannce & hasty goynge of Charles, the sayd Thomas bad his wyfe loke whither Charles gothe, and as she could perceyue, Charles went into an ale house standing in Pater noster rowe by the Aley leydyng into the rode of Northorne, or into the Aley whither she could not well tell.

The deposycion of Roberte Ihonson and his wife dwelling at the bell in Shorditch, where Charles Joseph sett his horse that nyghte that he came to toune to murther Ri char Hun.

Thesayde Robert sayeth that Charles Joseph sent hys horse to hys house vpon a holydaye at nyght about. iii. wekes before Christmas by a boy, which horse was al beswet, and albe myred:
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myred: and thesayd boye sayd, let my fathers horse stand saddled, for I can not tell whether my father will ryde agayne to nyghte or not, and thesayde horse stode saddled all nyght and in the morenyng folowyng Charles came boted and spurred aboute. viii. of the clocke, and asked yf his horse was saddled, and the servaunt aunsweered: ye, and thesayde Charles lepte vpon his horse and prayed the hoste to let hym out of his backe gate that he myght ryde out by the feld syde, whyche host so dyd. And because he was vncertayne of the daye, we asked hym if he hard spoke of the death of Hun that byne or not, and he aunsweered nay: but shortly after he did. Neuerthelesse Peter Turner Charles sonne in law which brought the horse be nyghte into the Bell Robert Ihonsons house, confessed it was the same nighte before that Hun was founded ded in the morning. Moreouer the Frydaye before Huns deth Peter Turner sayde to an honest woman a waxe chandlers wife dwelling before saint Maries spitel gate, that before this daye seuen nighte Hun should haue a mischenouse death. And the same daye at after none this Hun was founde dead, the sayde Peter came to thesame wyfe and tolde her that Hun was hanged, sayenge what told I you.

Also Iames the Chauncelers cooke, the Frydaye before Huns death, sayde to. v. honest men, y Hun shoulde dye or Christmas, or els he would dye for hym, and on the Mondaye that Hun was founde dead thesayde Iames came to thesame men: and sayde, what tolde I you, is he not now hanged.

And we of thyquest asked both of Peter Turner & of Iames cooke wher they had knowlege that Hun should so shortelye dye, and thei sayd in master Chauncellers place by every man.

The deposicion of Ihon Spaldyng, Debrunger.

Fyrste thesayde deponent sayeth, that on Saturdaye the seconde daye of December. Anno. M. D. Xiii. he toke the charge of the pryson at four of the clocke at after none, by the commandemente of master Chaunceller, and so toke the keyes, wherupon he gau commandemente to the deponent, that he should let no maner of person spoke w the prysoner excepte he had knowlege of them, and so at. v. of the clocke thesame daye thesayde deponent went to the prysoner hym selfe alone, and sawe hym and cheryshed hym, where, he gau thesayde deponente a peace of fresh Salmon for his wyle. And after that thesayde deponent sayeth that he went to master commissaries to supper with his felowe, where he remembrd that he had left his knyfe with thesayde prysoner, wheruponde by the coumsayll of master Commissary he went to the prysoner and fetched his knyfe, where he founde the prysoner sayeng of his heads, and so thesayde deponent requyred his knyfe of thesayde prysoner, and thesayde prysoner delurred the knyfe to thesayde deponent gladly, and so departed for that nyght.

And after that on the Sunday next folowyng thesayde deponent came to the prysoner at. ix. of the clocke, and asked him what mete he would hau of his diner, and he answered but a morsell, and so thesayde deponent departed and went to the Chaunceller into the quere, and he comisered, that he should take the penytensy vp to the prysoner w hym to make hym holy water and holy bread, and made thesayde deponent to departe the prison house for a whyle, and after that he brought hym his dyner, & locked Charles boye with hym all dyner while, vnto the howre of. i. of y clocke, and so let the lad out agayne and asked him what he would have to his supper, and he answered that he had mete ynoough, & so departed vntil. vi. of the clocke, and then thesayde deponente broughte hym a quart of ale, and at the tyme one Wyllyam Sampson went with thesayde deponent to see the prysoner where he was, and sawe hym & spake together, and so from the howre of. vi. a foresayde ynto twelffe a clocke on the morow thesayde deponent came not there and when he came there he met the Chaunceller with other doctours goyng to see the prysoner where he hanged.

The deposicion of Peter Turner, sonne in law of Charles Ioseph.

Fyrste he sayeth that his father in lawe rode out of the toune vpon Sundaye the. iii. day
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of December. An. xv. C. &. xiii. at. vi. of the clocke in the mornynge, weryng a cote of orenge tawny, on a horse grysell, trottynge.

He sayeth the Sondaye next before that one Buttons wyfe gaue knowlege to thesaye deponente that his father should bee arrested by dy urge searqantes assone as he could be taken, and thereupon thesaye deponente gaue knowlege to thesaye father in lawe at the blacke Fryars at the water syde. Wherupon he anoyded, and thesame nyghte mayster chaunceller gaue the keyes to Ihon Belrynger, and gaue him charge of the prisoner and on thesaye Sondaye thesaye deponente wyth Ihon Belrynger served thesaye prisoner of his diner at. xii. of the clokke and than Ihon Belrynger sayde to the deponët, that he would not come to him vnto the morowe for my lord had commaundd him that the prisoner should haue but one meales mete of the daye. Notwithstådyng that thesaye Ihon Belrynger after that he had shut Poules church dores, went to the foresayde prisoner, with another with him at. vii. of the clock at nyght thesaye Sondaye.

And thesaye deponent sayeth, that he came on the Monday at the hower of eyghte of the clokke in the morynynge to seke Ihon Belrynger, and could not fynde hym, and taryed vntyll the bye Masse of Poules was done, and yet he could not fynde Ihon Belrynger, and than Ihon Belryngrs felowe, one Wylyym, deluyered the keyes to thesaye deponent, and so thesayd deponent with two officers of my lorde byng somners went to serue thesayd prisoner, and when they came the prisoner (thei saide) was hanged, his face to the wall warde, and vpó that thesaye deponente immediately gaue knowlege to the chaunceller, wherupon the chaunceller went vp w the master of the rolles, & master Subdeane with other doctoure vnkownen, to the nomber of a dosen & their seurrauntes.

The deposicion of Ihon Enderby Barber.

The sayde Ihon Enderby sayth, the Frydaye before the death of Richard Hun, betwixte viii. &. ix. of the clock in the morynynge, he met w Ihö Belrynger in estchepe, and asked of him how master Ihun fared, thesayd Belrynger answersd, sayenge: There is ordeyned for him so greouse pennaunce that when men here of it, they shall hace great maruel thereof: wytnesses that hard Ihon Belrynger saye these woordes Ihon Rutter Skrenener, and William Segar armourer.

Also thesayd Ihon Enderby sayth, thesame Mondaye that Richard Hun was founde deth, he met with thesayd Ihon Belrynger at v clokke in g gracious strete about. ix. of the clock in the mornynge, askyng thesayd Belrynger, bow master Ihun fared, thesayd Belrynger aunsword, sayng, he fared well this day in the mornynge betwixte. v. &. vi. of the clokke. Howbeit, I am sory for hym, for there can no body, come to him vntill I come, for I hauie the keyes of the dores here by my Gyrdel, and shewed keyes to the sayd Enderby.

The deposicion of Alen Creswell wax Chaundeler.

Thesaide Alen sayth, that Ihon Grankger seurraunte w my lorde of Londö, in my lord of Londos kechyn, at such time as thesayd Alen was seryng of Huns coffen that Grankger tolde to hym that he was present with Ihon Belrynger thesame Sunday at night. v Richard was foudc ded of the morowe when his keper set hym in the stockes, in so muche thesayde Hun desyred to borow the keepers knyfe, & the keper asked him what he would do with his knyfe, & aunsword, I had leuer kyll my self than to be thus entrected. This deposicion thesayd Alen wyll proove as farforth as any christen man may, saing that Grankger shewed to hym these woordes of his awne freywyll and mynde, without any question or enquirey to him made by thesayd Alen. Moreouer thesayd Alen sayth, v all that cuenying Grankger was in great feare.

The deposicion of Richard Horsnaylce Bailyfe of the sanctuary towne called Good Esture in Essex.

Thesaide Richard saith, the Fryday before Christmas daie last past, v one Charles

Joseph
Ioseph, somner to my lord of Lōdō, became a sanctuary man, and theafore sayde Frydaye he registred his name, thesayde Charles sayenge yt was for the saugearde of his body, for there be certayne men in London so extreme agaynst hym for the death of Richard Hun, that he dare not abyde in London: Howbeit the sayde Charles saithe, he knowlegeth hym selfe gyltes of Huns death, for he delurred the keyes to the Chaunceller by Huns life, also the sayde Balife sayth, that Charles payd ſe deuity of thesayde regestryng, both to him and sir Ihon Studely Vicar.

The copye of my lorde of Londons Letter sent to my lorde Cardinall.
I beseeche your good lordshipp to stande so good lord vnto my poore chaunceller nowe inwarde, and endite by an vntrewe quest for ſe death of Richard Hun, vpon the only accu-sacion of Charles Ioseph made by payne and durauce, that by your intercession it may please the kynges grace to haue the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferente persones of his discrete counsayll in the presenc of the parties, or there be any more done in that cause, and that vpon the innocency of my saide Chaunceller declared, it may further please the kynges grace, to a warde a plackard vnto his Attornay to confesse the saide enidment to be vntwe when the tyme shall require it, for assured am I if my Chaunceller be trayd by any. xii. men in London, they be so maliciously set. In favorem heretice pravatis, that they wyll cast and condempne any clereke, though he were as innocent as Abell. Quare si potes beate pater aditua infirmitates nostras & tibi in perpetuum deuincit erimus. Ofuer this in most hůle wyse I beseeche you that I maye haue the kynges gracious fauour, whome I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speke with his grace and you, and I with all myne, shall pray for your prosperouse estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour. R. L.

The woordes that my lorde of London spake before the lوردes in the parliment chamber.
Memorandum, that the Byshop of London sayde in the parliment chamber, that there was a byll brought to the parlimente to make the iury that was charged vpon the death of Hun true men, and sayde and tooke vpon his conscience that they were false periuried catyfcs, and sayde further more too all the Lordes ther than beynge, for the lōne of GOD, lōke vpon this matter, for yt ye do not I dare not kepe myne awne house for heretiques; and sayde that thesaide Rychard Hun hanged hym selfe, and that yt was hys awne dede and no mans els. And further more sayde, that there came a man to hys howse (whose wyfe was appecheed of heresy) to speke with hym, and he sayde that he had no mynde to speke with thesame man, which man speke and reported to the seruanthes of the same By-shoppe, that yt hys wyfe woulde not holde styll her opinione, he woulde cutte her throte with his awne handes, with other woordes.

The sentence of the quest, subscribed by the crouner.
The inquisition intendid & taken at the cytie of London, in the Parishe of saint Gre-gorie, in the ward of Daynard castell in Lōndō the. vi. daye of December, in the yere and reigne of kyng Henry the. viii. the. vi. yere, afore Thomas Barnewell crouner of our soueraine lorde the kyng, within the cytie of London aforesayde. Also afore James Yarford, and Ihon Mǒndey Sheriffes of thesayde cytie, vpon the sight of the bodye of Rychard Hun late of London Taylour, which was founde hanged in ſe Lollars Towre, and by the othe and profe of lawfull men of thesame warde, and of other. iii. wardes next adjoynynge as it ought to be after the custome in the cytie aforesayde, to enquerye, how, and in what maner wyse, thesayde Rycharde Hun came vnto hys death, and vpon the othe of Ihon Bernard, Thomas Sterte, William Warren, Henry Abrahaum, Ihon Arborow, Ihon Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, Ihon Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickeyll, William Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Busted, Gilberth Howell, Rychard Gibson, Christopher Crofton,
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thon, Ihon God, Rychard Holte, Ihon Pasmere, Edmonde Hudson, Ihon Ausell, Rycharde Couper, Ihon Tynie, the which sayde upon their othes, that where thesayd Rychard Hun, by the commandement of Rycharde, bishop of Londō, was emprisoned and brought to holde in a pryson of the sayd bishops, called Lollars Towre lyeng in the cathedral churche of saincte Paule in London, in the paryshe of sainct Gregorie, in the warde of Baynerd. castell aforesayde, William Horsely of London clercke, otherwise called William Heresie, Chaunceloure to Rycharde bishop of London, & one Charles Ioseph late of Lodō somner, and Ihon Spaldynge of Lodō, otherwise called Ihon belyngre, felonously as felōs to our lord the kyng, with force and armes againste the peace of oure soueraigne lorde the kyng, and dignitie of his croune, the. iii. daye of December, the yere of the reygne of our soueraigne lorde the. vi. aforesayd, of their great malicie, at the parisse of saincte Gregorie aforesayde, vppon the sayde Rycharde Hun made a freye, and thesame Rycharde Hun feloniously strangede and smodered, and also the necke they did breake of thesayde Rychard Hun, and there felonously slew him and murthered hym: and also the body of the sayd Rycharde Hun afterwarde the same. iii. daye, yere, place, parisse and warde aforesayde, with the proper gyrdell of thesame Rychard Hun of sylke, blake of couloure, of the value of. xii.d. after his death vppon a hoke dryuen into a pece of tymber in the walle of the pryson aforesayd made faste, and so hanged hym agaynst the peace of oure soueraigne lorde the kyng, and the dignitie of his croune, and so thesayd Iury bathe sworne vppon the holy Evangelist, ʃ thesayde William Horsey clercke, Charles Ioseph, and Ihon Spaldynge of their set malice then, & their, feloniously kylle & murthered thesayde Rychard Hun, in maner & forme abouesayde, agaynste the peace of our soueraigne lorde the kyng, his croune and dignitie.

Subscribed in this maner.

Thomas Barnewell, crooner of the citie of London.

This Christemas on Newyeres night, ʃ king, ʃ duke of Suffolke and. ii. other in mantels of cloth, of syluer, & lyncd with blew veluet, the syluer was pounde in letters, so that ʃ veluet might be sene through, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingal slophys, and all their hosen, dublettetes & cotes were of thesame fassion cut and of thesame stuffe, with thē were. iii. ladys in gounes, after the fashion of Sanoy, of blew veluet, lyncd with cloth of golde, the veluet all to cutte, and mantels like typpettes knytte together al of syluer and on there heddes bonettes of burned golde, the. iii. torche bærers were in satten white and blew. This straung apparell pleasde muche every person, and in especial the Queene, & thus these. iii. lorde and. iii. ladys came into the Quenes chamber with great light of torches, and daunse a great season, and then put of their visers, & then they were well knowen, and the Queene courtely thanked the kynges grace for her goodly pastyme, and kyssed hym.

Likewise on the twelue night, the kyng and the Queene came into the hall of Grenewych, and sodainlye entered a tente of cloth of golde and before the tent stode. iii. men of armes, armed at all poineete and sweredes in their handes, and sodainly with noyes of trompettes entered. iii. other persons all armed, and ran to the other fourre, and there was a great and a fearce fight, and sodainly came out of a place lyke a wood. viii. wyldemen, all apparyled in grene mosse, made with slyned sylke, with Virgin weapons and terrible visages, and there foughte with the knyghtes. viii. to. vii. & after long fighting, the armed knyghtes draise the wylden men out of their places, and followyed the chace out of the hall: and whē they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out. vi. lorde and. vi. ladys rychely apparyled, & daunse a great tyne: when they had daunse their pleasure, they entered the tent again and so was conveuyed out of ʃ hall, & then the kyng and the queene were serued with a right sumptuous banquet.

The. iii daye of February, the kyng made a solempe Inustes, & he and the Marques Dorset would answere all commers, their apparell & barden were of blew veluct, and cloth of syluer, all too cutte in suttell knottes, rychely embraundred, all the seruitours in white
white & blew sylke. The counterparthe, which were. xiii. in number, rychely appareyled in veluet, cloth of golde, & broderie, every man after his owne device. The kyng was that daye highly to be prayed, for he brake. xxiii. sperebes bydye attaynites, and bare done to ground a man of armes & lys horse: the lorde Marques and all other dyd valiantly, and hadde muche prayse, for every man did passinge well, which is seldome seen in suche a case, but the kyng for a suertie exceeded all other.

The. iii. daye of October, the kyng removed to Lambeth, and on the morow beganne the high courte of Parliament, syr Thomas Neuel was then speaker, in this Parliament was divers actes made, but in especial two, which were muche spoke of, the one was the acte of apparyyll, and the other the acte of laborers, of these. ii. actes was muche cōmonynge and muche busynes arose, for the laborers woulde in no wise labour by the daye, but all by taske and in grette, and therefore muche trouble fell in the courte, and in especial in Haruest tame, for then husband men could seace get workemen to helpe in their Harvest. This Parliament contynued tyl Easter, in the which divers subsidies were graunted to the kyng towarde lys greate costes and charges, that he had bene at in his vyage Royall in Frenuice, and after Easter the xix. daye of the moneth of April, the kyng delitynge to set forth yong Gentelmen, called Nyhollas Carew, and Fraunces Bryan, and caused dyuere other young Gentelmen to be on the counter parte, and lent to them horse and harnes to encourage all youte to seke dedes of armes. This yere died at Rome by poyson as was reported the Archebishop of Yorke & Cardinall, called doctor Benbryke, whiche was the kynges Amassador there: this was a wise mā & of a ioly courage. The kyng then gau thesayd Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then bishop of Lyneoln, which at that tyme bare all the rule aboute y kyng, & what he sayd was obeyed in all places. And whē he was once Archebishop, he studied day & night how to be a Cardinal, & caused y kyng & the Frenche kyng to write to Rome for him, & at their requestes he obtayned his purpose as you shall here afterwarte.

At this tyme was muche cōmoning, & verely as it appered it was entendt, that the kyng in person woulde passe the sea to Caleys, & there on the marches of these, the Frenche kyng and quene to come & se the kyng their brother, and for thesame ioruey many costly workes were worght, & muche rychely apparell proyded for, & much preparaciō made against the next spring: but death, which is the last ende of all thinges let this ioruey, for before the next spring the Frenche kyng dyed at the citie of Paris, the first daye of January, whē he had ben maryed. lxxxii. dayes. And when the kyng was aduertised of the death of the Frenche kyng, he caused a soliōne obsequie to be songe for him in the cathedral church of s. Poule w a costly herse, & many noble men being present.

And after he sent a letter to comfort the Quene his sister, requyrynge too knowe her pleasure whither she woulde coninue still in Fraunc or returne into English agayne. And when he was aduertised of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the duke of Suffolke, syr Richard Wyngfeld, and doctor West with a goodly bāde of yomen, all in blacke to Parys, whiche were well receyued of the newe French king Frauceces y first of y name, & declared to him, that according to the cōenamantes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene kyng Loyes & the ladye Marie, sister to the king of Englīe, they deemandt to have thesayd quene deliuered to the with her dower, & showed their cōmission for the receiue of her. Then the counsill of Frenuice, according to the appointmentes assigned her a dower, & the duke of Suffolke put in oucers, and then she was by endenture deliuered to the duke, which behaued himselfe so to her, that he obtayned her good will to be her husbande, & theraupon he wrote to the kyng her brother, mekely beseechynge hym of pard on of his request & hublye requiring him of his wil & cōsent, at which thynge the kyng a while staid, and at the last by y mean of the Frenche quene her selue, & other great frendes on the dukes parte, After log suyce it was agreed that y duke of Suffolke should bring her into England vmaried, & at his retorne to mary her in England: but for doubt of chaunge he maryed her secretly in Parys as was sayde.

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After that the duke of Suffolke had receaued the Frenche quene with her dower apoynted, & all her apparell, iuel and housholde stuffe delivred, he with his quene toke their leaue of the Frenche kyng, leaving doctor West, nominate bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the kyng of England, & the newe Frenche kyng called Fraunces the first, and so passed thorough Fraunce to Calveys, where she was honorably entertaing. And after with great honour maried to lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some sayd he was maried priuely before at Parys, in the house of Claigny. Against this mariage many men grudged & sayd that it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maried to the prince of Castel: but the wisest sorte was cōtē, considering if she had ben maried agayn out of the realm, she should haue caried much riches with her, & now she brought euery yere into the realme. ix. or. x.M. markes: but whatsoever the rude people said, this duke behaued him self so, that he had both the favoure of the kyng and of the people, his wyte and demeanour was such.

The king & the quene accoppaynd with many lorde & ladies roade to the high ground of shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they passed by the way, they espied a copany of tall yomen, clothed all in grene with grene whoodes & bowes & arrowes, to the nuber of ii.C. Then one of them, which called him selfe Robyn hood, came to the kyng, desyryng him to se his men shooete, & the kyng was cōtē. Then he whiscteled, & at the. ii.C. archers shot & losted at once, & then he whistled agayne, & they likenewise shot agayne, their arrowes whistled by crafte of the head, so that the noyes was strangue and great, & muche pleased the kyng the quene and all the company. All these archers were of the kynges garde and had thus appareled them selues to make solace to the kyng. Then Robyn hood desyred the kyng and quene to come into the grene wood, & to se how the outlawes lyne.

The kyng demanded of his quene & her ladys, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene sayde, that if it pleased him, she was content, then the horns blewte tyl they came to the wood vnder shoters hil, and there was an Arber made of bowes with a hal, and a great chiber and an inner chamber very well made & couered with flowers & sweete herbes, which the kyng muche prayed. Then said Robyn hood, Sir Outlawes brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you muste be content with such fare as we see. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, & were serued with venyson and wyne by Robyn hood and his men, to their great contentacion. Then the kyng departed and his company, & Robyn hood and his men them conducit, and as they were returnynge, there met with them. ii. ladys in a ryche chariot drawen with. v. horses and euery horse had his name on his head, and on euery horse sate a ladyd w her name wrote. On the first coursers called Cawde, sate humidite, or humide. On the. ii. coursers called Memone, rode lady vert. On the iii. called pheton sate lady vegetane. On the. iii. called Rimphon sate lady pleasantte. On the v. called lampace, sate sweete odour, and in the Chaye sate the lady May, accoppaynd with lady Flora, rychele appareled, and they saluted the kyng with diverse goodly songes, & so brought hym to Grenewyche. At this Maiyng was a great nubre of people to behould to their great solace and confort.

The same after none, the king, this duke of Suffolke, Marques dorset, & the erle of Essex, their bardes & bases of grene velvet and clothe of golde, came into the felde on great coursers, on whom wayted diverse getlemene in slyke of thesame colour. On the other side entred. xvi. lordees & getlemene, all apparyeled richey after their denises, & so valiantly they rane their courses appointed: & after they rane volat one as fast as he might ouertake another, which was a goodly sight to see: & when al was done they departed, and went to a goodly banquet.

This Soer the kyng tooke his progress Westward, & visited his toune & castels there, & harde
& harde the cóplayntes of his poore cõnialtie, & euer as he roade, he hâted & liberally departed with venyson: & in the mydles of Septèber he came to his maner of Okyn, & thether came to hym the Archebishops of Yorke, whome he heartely welcoméd & shewed him great pleasures: And while he soijourned ther, a letter was brought to ¥ Archebishops fîô Rome, certefying him how he was elected to be a Cardinal, which inçounêt shewed thesame to the kyn, disabling him self in wordes, though his entêt was otherwise, & so the king did encourage him, & willed him to take ¥ order on him, & so called him my lorde Cardinal, but his hat, but nor other ceremoniies were not yet come.

In the moneth of November, the kyng assembled his hygh court of Parliament at Westmynster, and diuerse actes made in the Parliamêt the vi. yere, amended and altered, & especially the acte of apparell, and the acte of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainly apereth. And at the ende of this Parliamêt, the Archebishop of Caûtourbury perceauyng that the Archebishop of Yorke meddled more in his office of Chauncelourship then it became to him to suffer, except he would aucture the kynges displeasure, & seynge also that thesayd bishop of Yorke couted to bare all the rule, and to haue all the whole authoritie, consideryng also his awne great age, gane vp into the kings hâdes his rowme of Chauncelour, and deliered to the kyng the greate seale, whiche deliered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chauncelour. And assone as he was Chauncelour, he directed cómissiôs into al Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execution. And he him selle one day called a gentelmâ named Symon fyz Richard, and tooke from him an olde Jacket of Crymosyn veluet and diuerse brooches, whiche extreme doyng caused him greatly to be hated, and by his example many cruell officers for malice, euell intreated dyuere of the kynges subjectes, in so muche that one Shynnynge Mayre of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillory for wering of a ryuen shert.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinalles hat, & receaued by gentelmen of Kent, & brought to London with suche triumpe as though the greatest prince of Christendô had bene come into the realme. And on a Sunday at s. Peters church at Westmynster he receaued the habite, hat, and piller, and other vaynglorious tryffles, apperteeynyng to the ordre of a Cardinal. And when he was once a perfite Cardinal, he loked then aboue all estastes, so that all incâ almost hated hym, and disdayned hym.

Then after the Parliamêt syr Edward pouninges laboured to be discharged of ¥ keping of the citie of Torney, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, & syr Williâ blunt lorde Montiowe was sent thether. And for Marshall there was apoynted sir Sâpson Nortô. And when the lorde Montiowe was come thether, & sir Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the citic was in great icopardy, ¥ very cause was vknowen, but all the soulflours, except such as were of the kynges garde rebelled, & put the lord Montiowe in icopardy of his life. And in cœclusion to appease the people, sir Sâpson Nortô was banished the toune for euer. And after the citie was appeased, & euery thing thought to be forgetñ, diuerse were executed, & diuerse banished ¥ town and some fled & were banished both England and the toune.

After the Parliamêt was ended, the king kept a solêpne Christmas at his maner of Eithô & on the. xii. night in the hall was made a goodly castel, wöderously set out, & in it certeyn ladyes & knyghtes, & when the kyng & quene were set, in came other knyghtes, & assaïed the castel wher many a good strype was genen, & at the last, the assaylantes were beate awaye. And then issued out knyghtes and ladyes out of the castel, which ladyes were riche & straungrily disguysed, for all ther apparel was in braydes of gold, fret with moying span-gels, syluer and gilt, set on Crymosyn satten lose and not fastened: the mens apparell of thesame snyte made lyke Iulyes of Hungary, and the ladyes heddes & bodyes were after the fassion of Amsterdam. And when the daunsong was done, the banquet was servued in of. ii. C. dyshes, with great plëty to euery body.

This yere was the new league betwen the kyng & the French kyng openly Proclaymed thorough the citie of London with a tröpet. This yere also, Margaret quene of the Scottes, wife
wife to James the. iii. slain at Bramston the. v. yere of the kyng, & elder syster to the kyng, after the death of her late husband married Archibald Douglas esle of Angus, without the kyng her brothers assent, or the cousaval of Scotlaed, for the whiche he was not wel còtent. But after that, there fell such a strife betweene the lordes of Scotlaed, that she & her husband like banished persones came into England, & wrote to the kyng for mercy & còfort. The kyng euer enelyned to mercy, sent them apparel, vessell & all thynges necessary, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knewe farther of his pleasure: And so they laye still at Harbotell, & the quene was there deliered of a fayre lady called Margarete, and all the country were commanded by the kyng to do them pleasure.

This yere the. xvii. of February, at Grenewyche was borne a fayre prynces and christened with great solemnitie, and named Mary.

This yere dyed the kyng of Arragon father to the quene, for whome was kept a solemne obsequy in the Cathedale churche of Paules.

4 THE. VIII. YERE.

YE hauue harde the last yere how the quene of Scottes w her husband was come for succour into Englaed, & laye at Harbotell in Northumberland, till the kynges pleasure was to send for the. So he, lyke a natural brother sent for her & her husband to come to his courte for their solace. For the which kyndnes the erle Hubly thanked the kyng, & promised to geue his attendaunce on the quene his wife to the Court: wherupõ the kyng sent William blacknall esquyer, clerke of hys Spycery with siluer vessell, plate and other thynges necessary for the conveynance of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate còvenent. And wha she was ready to departe, she asked for her husband, but he was departeed into Scotland, & left her alone, nothing remembreth his promes, which sodeyn departeing muche made her to muse: Howbeit, the lordeâs of Englaed greatly encouraged her to kepe her promise with the kyng her brother: & so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in every toun she was well receaued, & so on the. iii. day of May she made her entry into Lôdô, riding on a white palfreye (which ñ quene of England had sent to her) behind sir Thomas par richely besene, & w great còpany of lordes & ladies, she rode thoroughge the citty to Baynarde Castel, & fro thence she was còneyed to Grenewiche, & there receaued joyously of the kyng, the quene, the Frêche quene her syster, and highely was she feasted. And when the kyng hearde that the erle of Angus her husband was departeed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This quene sometyme was at the courte, and sometyme at Baynarde castel, and so she continued in Englaende all this yere.

The kyng for the honour of his syster, the. xix. & xx. daye of Maye prepared. ii. solèque dayes of Iustes, & the kyng him selve, & the duke of Sullêlke, the erle of Essex, & Nicholas Carew esquyer, toke on them to answer all comers. The apparell of the & their horses was blacke veluet, covered all over with brâuches of hony snickers of fine flat gold of dàmaske, of lose worke, every lefe of the brâuch e mouing, the embroderie was very côning & sumptuous. On the kyng was attêding in one suyte on horseback, the lord Marques dorset, the erle of Surrey, ñ lord Burgainy, the lord Hastings, sir Ithon pechey, ñ lord Ferreyes, sir William Fitzwilliâ, &. xii. other kngghites, all these were in frookes of bleue veluet, garded with ryche cloth of golde, & their horse trappers of bleue veluet, frynged with golde: And on foote were. xl. persons all in bleue sattyn, garded with clothe of golde. And so they entered the felde wyth trompettes, dronslades and other ninstrlesy.

Then in came the coutreparte, richely appareled, to the number of xii. & on that daye every mà did wel, but the kyng did best, & so was adiudged, and so at night they ceased, and came to supper.

The kyng, the next day & his còpany were appareyled horse & all in purple veluet, set ful of leaucs of cloth of golde, engrailed with fyne flat golde of dàmaske, embroudered like to

Rose
Rose leues, & every lefe fastened to other with pointes of damaanke gold, & on all their borders were letters of gold, bullion. And on the kyng wayted. v. lorde xiii. knightes in frockes of yelowe veluet, garded & boud with rich cloth of golde, & xxx. gentelmen were in like apparel on fote, & xli. officers in yelowe satyn edged with cloth of gold: Thus with great triumphe they entred ye felde. Then the contrepartie entred, all clothed & barded in white sattyn, tracedes with cloth of gold richely. This day was many a great stripe gene. The kyng & syr Willia kynstô rane together, whiche syr Willia was a strôg & a tall knight, & yet ye king by streght overthrew him to ye ground. And after that ye king & his aides had performed their courses, they râne volât at al côners, which was a pleasant sight to se. And whâ night approched, they all disarmed the, and wet to the quenes châber, where was a great banket for the welcome of the quene of Scottes.

This moneth of May were sent out of England. xii.C. masons and Carpenters, &. iii.C. laborers to the citie of Torney: for the kyng & his cousâil, considering ye garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, & therefore it was determined that there should be buylded a Castel to chastice the citie if they rebelled, and to minyshe the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thereth, whiche this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

This yere, by the Cardinall, were all men called to accompt that had the occupiying of the kynges money in the warres or els where, not to every mans contetnacion, for some were found in arrerages, & some saued them selves by pollecy & brybory, and waxed ryche, and some Innoecentes were punished. And for a truthe he so punished periure with open punishement & open papers werynge, that in his tyme it was lesse used. He punyshed also lorde, knyglettes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and mayntenaunce in their countreyes, that the poore me lyuedquietly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment: but he him selfe and his seruautes, which were well punished therfore. The poore people perceaued that he punished the ryche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexacion. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceaued their vntrue surmisâs & fayned cóplaintes for the most part, he then wexed wory of berynge their causes, & ordeyned by the kynges cómissiô, diverse vnder courtes to here cóplaintes by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the white hall, the other before the kynges Almoner doctor Stokesley, a mà y had more learning, then discreció to be a judge. The third was kept in the lord tresourers châber beside the starre châber, & y. iii. at the rolles at after noone. These courtes were greatly haunted for a tyme, but at y last y people perceaued y much delay was vsed in these courtes, & few matters ended, & when they were ended, they boud no mà by the law, then every mà was wery of the & resorted to the cómô law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew bishop of Sedomô & Cardinal, called cómounly the Cardinal of Swyshes, frô the Emperor Maximillia. This Cardinal was a wise mà & of great boldenes & was wel entretayned in the court & of ý king. And at his cóteplacion & for old loue, ý king lët to ý Emperor Maximillia a great sume of money: wherof ý cópany of Friscobald, & Anthony Caueler Geneuoy vnder toke thexcháge, but they payed not ý Emperor at his daye, notwithstanding thei had receaued ý money of ý king. This Friscobald & Anthony Caueler by means of rewardes, gene to great lorde of the cousâil borowed of ý king. xxx. M. l. & had lôg dayes for the paynët: but Friscobald was shortly côsumed, & Anthony Caueler could not be sene, & so ý kig was not payed at his dayes, & many English merchaütes were by these mà vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goodes.

This yere the king kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, & on the. xii. night, according to the old custome, he & the quene came into the hall, & when they were set, & the queue of Scottes also, there entred into the hall a Gardeyn artificial, called the Gardeyn of Esperâce. This Gardeyn was towred at euery corner, & railed w. rayles gilt, al ý bakes were set w. flours artificial of silke & gold, ý leues cut of grene sattyn, so ý they
sened very flowers. In the middest of this Gardeyn was a pillar of antique worke, al golde
set w. perle & stone, & on the toppe of the piller, which was vi. square, was a louver or an
arche embowed, crownd with golde: within which stood a bushe of Roses, red & white,
all of sylke and golde, & a bushe of Pomegranates of lyke stuf. In this gardeyn walked.
v. knyghtes and vi. ladyes richely appareyled, and then they discended and daunshed many
goodly daunses, & so ascended the gardeyn agayn, and were comwayned out of the hall,
and then the kyng was served of a great banquet. After this Christmas, the kyng exercised
him selfe mucho in hawkyng.

In this season, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungiers sayde and boasted
them selues to be in suche fawour with the kyng and hys counsayll, that they set naughte by
the rulers of the cite: and the multitude of straungiers was so great about London, that the
poore Englishmen could scarce get any lyngye. And most of all the straungiers were
so proude, that they disclaimed, mocked and oppressed the Englishmen, which was the be-
ginning of the grudg. For amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London
called Willyamson, which bought two stockdoues in Chepe, and as he was about to paye
for them, a Frencheman tooke them oute of hys hande, and said they were not meate for
a carpenter: well sayde the Englishman I hawe bought them and now payd for them, and
therefore I will haue them, naye sayde the Frencheman I will haue them for my lorde the
Ambassador, and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englishman knaue, and
went awaye with the stockdoues. The straungiers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, &
surnysed a coplaynt agaynst the poore carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lorde
Mayre, and said so mucho, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented
with this, so complayned to the kynges counsayll, that the kynges commaundement was layde
on hym. And when syr Ihon Baker knyght and other worshipfull persones sued to, the Amb-
assadour for hym, he aunswered, by the body of God that the Englishman should lose
his lyfe, for he sayde no Englishman should deny that the Frenchmen required, and other
aunswer had they wone.

Also a Frencheman that hadd slaye a man, should abyure the realme & had a crosse in
his hande, & then sodeinly came a great sorte of Fræchmen about him, & one of them
said to the Constable that led hym, syr is this crosse the price to kyll an Englishman. The
Constable was somwhat astonyed and aunswered not. Then said another Frencheman, on
that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, this saiyng was noted to be spoken
spitefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not alonly oppressors of the Englishmen,
for a Lombarde called Frauncest de bard, entised a maunces wyufe in Lombarde strete to come
to his chaibre with her husbandes plate, whiche thynge she dyd. After when her husbande
knewe it, he demanded hys wyfe, but aunswer was made he shoule not haue her, then
he demanded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswer was made that he shoule not haue
plate nor wyfe. And whè he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Guyde hall,
the straunger so faced the Englishman, that he layyted in his sute. And then the Lom-
barde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her fro her husbåd in his
chaibre. This mooke was much noted, and for these and manie other oppressions done by
them, there encreased suche a malice in the English menines hartes, that at the laste it brast
oute. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in Lon-
don called Ihon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a bill before Easter, desyrynng doctor Stundyche at
hys sermon at saunte Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too moue the Mayre and
 Aldermen, to take parte with the communalite against the straungiers: The doctor aunswer-
ed that it became not hym too moue anye suche thyngye in a sermon. From hym ne depart-
ed, and came to a Chanoon in saynte Marye spittell, a doctor in Deumitie, called doctor
Ble, and lamentedly declared to hym, how miserably the common artificers lyned, and
skye could get any woork to fynde them, their wyfes and chyldren, for there were such
a nuber of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyngye in maner. And also howe
the Englishe merchaunte coulde haue no vtteraunce, for the merchaunt straungers bryng
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

in all Sylkes, cloth of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron and suche other merchaundise, that no man almoost byeth of an Englishman. And also outwarde, they carue so muche Englishis Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englishmen that auenture outwarde can haue no luyng: Whiche thynge sayd, Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsayll, & cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungiers compass the cytye rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Iohns strete, Alleygate, Towre hill, and sayncte Katherynes, and forstall the market, so that no good thynge for them commeth to the market: which is the cause that Englishmen want and sterue, and they lyc haboudantly in great pleasaunce. Wherefore sayde Lyncolne master doctor, syth you were borne in Lodon, & se the oppression of the straungiers, & the great misery of your owne natyue countrie, exhorte all the cytiezens to ioyne in one against these straungiers, raueners and destroyers of your countrie. Master doctor hearynge this, sayde he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncoln hadde declared, yes syde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Dutchemé bryng ouer Iron, Tymbre, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cupbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, gyrdels, with poynetes, sadelles & painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke & lyuyng by it. And bysye this, they growe into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Sondaye this Lent. vi. C. straungiers shoynt at ÿ Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe such assemblyes and fraternities together, & make such a gathering to their cōmon boxe, that every botcher will holde plee with the citye of Lōdo: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, & so recaued Lincolnes byl & studied for his purpose. Then Lyncoln very joyous of his enterprice went from man to man, saying that shortly they should heare newes, and daily excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungiers. When Ester came and doctor Bele shoulde preacher the Twesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and red it in this wyse. To all you the worshipful lorde and masters of this citie, that will take cōpassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderances, useoe procedeth the extreme povertie too all the kynges subiectes that inbabe within this citie and suburbs of thesame, for so it is that the alyens and straungiers cate the bread from the poore fatherles children, and take the lyuyng from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, whereby povertie is so muche increased that every man bewailleth the misery of other, for crafts mē be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse muste be of the commons, knyt and vnyte to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greneh all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre thesayd alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no further, and then he began Celem celi domino, terram autem dedit filij hominum, and vpon thys text he intreated, that this lande was genned too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them seyfes, and to hurt and grene alyens for the common weale. And vpon this text pugna pro patria, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fight for their coutrey, anduer he subtelly moused the people to rebell against the straungiers, and breake the kynges peace, nothynge regardyng the league betwene princes and the kynges honoure. Of this Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly speake against straungiers. And as the deuell woulde, the Sondaye after at Grenewiche in ÿ kynges galery was Fraunces de bard, whiche as you harde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goode, and yet he could haue no remedy, & with him were Domynge, Anthony Caneler, and many mo straungiers, and ther they talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Iested and laughed howe that Fraunces keppe the Englishemans wyfe, sayyng ÿ if they had the Mayres wyfe of London, they would kepe her: syr Thomas sayd, Sirs you haue to mucche fayvour in England. There were diuercse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and
were not content, in somuch as one William bolt a Meree sayd, wel you whoreson Lombardes, you rejoyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will, and that sayyng the other merchauentes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and euell disposed people sayde, they would be reuenged on the merchauent strauengers, as well as on the artificers strauengers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng remoued to hys maner of Rychemonde.

† THE IX. YERE.

V Pon this rumour the. xxviii. daye of Aprill, diuerse yoüge men of the citie assaulted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were strikke, & some buffeted, & some thrownen in the canel. Wherfore the Mayre sent diuerse persōs to ward, as Stephyn Studley skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson & diuerse other, some to one coüter, & some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodenly was a coinen secret rumour, & no man could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the citie would rebell & slaye all Aliens, in somuch as diuerse strauengers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kynges cóussyall, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chaücelour, sent for Ihon Rest Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsell of the citie, & demaunded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode, to whom he answered that it was wel & in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinal, it is informed vs that your yoüg and ryotous people will ryse & destresse the strauingers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Mayre, & I trust so to gouerne the that the kynges peace shalbe obserued, & that I dare vndertake if I & my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel sayd ý Cardinal, go home & wisely forsee this matter, for & if any suche thing be, you may shortly preuenc it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at. iii. of the clocke at after none en May euem, & demaunded of the officers what they harde, diuerse of the aanswered that the voyce of the people was so, & had ben so. ii. or. iii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethren to the Guylde hall in great hast, & almost. vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to the by Master brooke ý recorder how that the kynges counsell had reported to the ý the cóminaltie that night would ryse, & destresse all the Aliens & strauengers ý inhabite[n] in the citie of London: the Aldermen aanswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde that it was well done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder it were best that a substăcual watche were set of honest persons, housholder[s], which might withstand the euell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was euell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thing were intended, they could not tell who would take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and euery man to shut in hys dores, and kepe hys seruauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to ý Cardinal before. viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsell at hys place, commaundd that in no wyse watche should be kept, but that euery man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys seruauntes tyll. vii. of the clocke of the morynge: with whiche commaundement, the sydye Rycharde brooke sergeaunt at the law and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late vndershiret of Lodon, & then of the kynges counsell, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before. ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundemët of the kynges counsayl. Then in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should styrre after. ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut, and hys seruauntes within tyll. viii. of the clocke in the mornynge. After this commaundement, syr Ihon Monday Alderman came from hys warde, and founde two young men in chepe playnyge at Buckelors, and a great company of young men lokynge on the for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but. ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leaue, and the one young man asked hym why? and then he sayd thou shalt know, & toke hym by the arme to haue had him.
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

him to the counter. Then all the yeung me resisted the Alderman & take him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyse and clubbes. Then out at every doore came clubbes and weapers and the Alderman fled, and was in great daunger. Then more people arose out of every quarter, and oute came seruynge men, and water men and Courtiers, and by a xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe. vi. or vii. hundreth. And oute of Pauls churchyarde came. iii. hundreth, which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the counters, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtynge of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shriefes were there present, and made Proclamation in the kynges name, but nothynge was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow sainct Nyeholas Shables, & at sainct Martyns gate, there met with them sir Thomas Moore and other, desyringe theym to go to their lodgeynge: And as they were in treatyng, and had almost brought them to a staye: The people of sainct Martynes threwe oute stones and batte, and hurte dyuerse honest persones, that were persuadyng the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade them holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeant of Armes called Nyeholas dounees, whiche was there with master Moore, entretaynyng them, beyng sore hurte, in a furie cryed dounne with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the dores and wyndowes of sainct Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete, and lefte fewe houses vnspyled. And after that they ranne hedlyng into Cornehill by Leaden hal to the house of one Mutuas a Frenchman or Pycarde borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, where they pyckpursses, or bowe euell disposicion souer they were of, and within his gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyuerse Frenchmen that kalenderd Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: & all they were so borne out by thesamen Mutnas, ÿ no mä durst medle w them, wherfore he was sore hated, & if the people had found him in their fury, they would have striken of his head; but whë they foûd hym not, the water men, & certayne young priestes that were there fell to rifyng:some ranne to Blâchechapelton, & brake the straungers houses, & threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: This from x. or xi. of the clocke, continued these ryotous people durynghe whiche tyne a knight called syr Thomas parr, in great hast went to the Cardinall & told him of thyts ryot, which incotinent strengthened his house with men & ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Richemöd, & made ÿ report much more then it was: Wherfore the king hastely sent to Lôdô, & was truly advertised of the matter, & how that the ryot was ceased, & many of the doers appreched. But while this ruinghe cotinued, syr Richard Wolmley knight, Lieutenaut of the Towe, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyke furie losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, & shot into ÿ citie, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wil apered. About. iii. of the clocke, these ryotous persons seuered and went to their places of resorte, & by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the heddes of the citie, and some sent to the Towe, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of. iii. C. some fied, and specially the watermen and priestes, & seruyng men, but the poore pretises were taken. About fyue of the clocke, the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court, and dyuerse noble men: but or they came all the ryot was ceased, and many taken as you haue heard. Then were the prisoners examined, & the sermon of docter Bele called to remembranunce, and he taken and sent to the Towe, & so was Ihon Lyncoln: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then ÿ. iii. day of May was an Oyer & determiner at Londô before ÿ Mayre, the duke of Norfolke, the erle of Surrey and other. The citie thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewe priest of his, which the yere before was slayn in Chepe, in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once haue the citize in my daunger: & the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil, wherfore he came into the citie with. xiii. C. men in harneys to kepe the Oyer & determiner.
THE. IX. YERE OF

miner. And vpó examinació it could never be proued of any metying, gathering, talking or conuenticle, at any daye or tyme before ʒ day, but that the chaunce so happened wout any matter-prepended of any creature sauing Lyncoln & neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamaciones were made that no womé shoulde come together to bable & talke, but all men should kepe their wynes in their houses. All the stretes ʒ were notable stode full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the ci
tezens, which greued them sore: & if they woulde haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worsse, for the citizes were. ii. C. to one: but lyke true subiectes they suffred paciently.

When the lorde wer set, the prisoners were brought in thorough ʒ stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of. xiii. yere. There was a great mourning of fa
ters & frides for their chyldren & kyngsfolke. Amonge the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen & laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were. ii. C. lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amite with all Christen princes, that they had broke the truce & league cōтary to the statute of kyng Henry the v. Of this treason diuere were endited, & so for ʒ tyme, the lődes departed. And the next daye the duke came agayn, & the erle of Surrey with. ii. M. armed men, which kept the strete. Whē the Mayre, the duke, & ʒ erle of Shrewesb
ury & Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and. xni. founde gyltye of high trea
son, & adjudged to be hanged, drawen & quartered, & for execucion whereof, were set vp xi. payre of galowes in diuere places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Hāchec
chapelē, Gracious strete, Leade hal, & before every couter one, & at Newgate, at s. Mar
tens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight sore greued the people to se galowes set in the kynges chāber. Then were ʒ prysoners ʒ were adjudged, brought to the places of executiō, & executed in most rygourous maner, for the lord Edmund Haward some to the duke of Northfolke, & knight Marshal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore yōgelings in their executiō, & likewise the dukēs seruautes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hāge, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the. vii. daye of May was Lyncoln, Shyr wyn, & two brethren called Bets, and diuere other adjudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lorde, I meant wel, for & you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by strangers, you would remedy it, & many tyunes I haue coyled, & then I was called a busy fellow: now our lord haue mercy on me. Then all theseyd persons were layd on the hardels, & drawen to the standarde in Chepe, & first was Ibon Lyncoln executed, & as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a comandémeıt frō the kyng to respite executiō. Then the people cryed, God saue ʒ king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tylly another daye, and the pri
soners sent agayn to warde, and the harnessed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

The. xi. daye of Maye the kyng came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London & diuere Aldermen came to speke with his grace, and al ware gonnes of black coloure. And when they perceaued the king comynge out of his priuie chambre into his chābre of presence, they kneeld done, & ʒ recorder sauid: Our most natural, beninge and souveraigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of Lö
don for the great ruyt late done: we asserein your grace that none of vs, nor no honest person were condisendyng to that enormitty, and yet we,oure wyfes and chyldrē euerioure houre lament that your fauour shoulde be taken from vs, and forasmuch as light & ydle persones were the doers of thesame, we moost hibily besche your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, & compass of the offendours for their offence and trespass.

Truly sauid the kyng, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, & ye oughte to wayle and be sory for thesame, and where ye saie that you the substanciall persons were not concentr
yng to thesame, it appereth to the contrary, for you never moued to let them nor suffred once
once to fight with them, whiche you saye were so small a numero of light persones, where-fore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wynde at the mater, but at this tyne we will graunt to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chaunceilour, & he shall make you an answer, & declare our pleasure, and with this answer you lodoners departed & made relacio to you Maior.

The xvii. day of this moneth the quene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kyngs charge, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of iwells, plate, tapissry, Arras, Coyne, Horses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great ryches, albeit she came into Englelande with muche pauerte, and she entred into Scotland the xiii. daye of Ioyn, whome her husband receaue at Berwick: but the Englishmen smally him regarded. All her charges within the realme, comminge to the courte, & returnuyng, were of the kynges purse.

Thursdaye the xxii. day of May the kyng came into Westmunster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a clote of estate, & the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinal, the dukes of Northfolke & Suffolk, y erles of Shrewsburie, of Essex & Willyshyre, of Surrey, with many lorde & other of the kynges counsell. The Mayre & Aldermes, & al the chief of the citie were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinal had the apoynted) by ix. of the clock. Then the kyng conmaundde y all the prisoners should be brought forth. Then came in the poore youylginges & olde false knaues boinde in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, & every one a halter about his neck, to the nubeyr of xiiii. C. me & xi. womene. And whede all were come before the kynges presence, the Cardinal sore laied to the Mayre & cōminaltie their negligece, & to the prisoners he declared they had deserved death for their offence: Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lorde altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned the al. And then the Cardinal gane vnto the a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the herers. And whede the generall pardō was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted atonce, & altogether cast vp their halters into the hall roffe, so the kyng might perceane they were none of the discrētest sorte. Here is to be noted diverse offencers which were not takē, hering the king was inclined to mercy, came wel apperated to Westmunster, & sodeynly stryped the into their shertes with halters, & came in enoagh the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kynges pardon, by the whiche doyng, it was well known that one Iho Gelson yoman of the Crowne, was the first that began to spoyle, and exhorted other to doo mesame, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the galowes within the citie taken downe and many a good prayer saied for the kyng, and the citzenes take more hede to their scenauntes.

In Iune the kyng had with hym diverse Ambassadors, for solace of whom he prepared a costly Iustes, he hymself and xii. against the duke of Suffolk and other, xii. his base and bard was the one halfe clote of siluer, and the other halfe blacke Tysell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of white velvete embroardered with golde cut on the Siluer and every cut engrailed with golde, so that that side was golde, Siluer and velvete. On the blacke tynsell side was blacke velvete embroardered with golde cut, and every cut was engraved with flat golde of Damaske. The base and barde were broudered with greate letters of massy golde Bullion, full of periale and stones, meruellous riche; al his companie was in like suit, sanyng that they had no iuelles. The kyng had on his bed a ladies sleeue full of Diamondes. On the kyng attended gentlemen, Armourers, and other officers to the number of Cxxv. persones all in white Velvet and white Sattyn, horse and harneis for horsemen, Cappes and Hosen for footmen, all white at the kynges cost. this Royally the kyng & his companie with his walters came to the tyltes ende.

Then entered the Duke of Sufolkke with the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Essex and Surrey, and. viii. other of his bande in bardes and bases of white Veluett & crimosin sattin lusenged
osenged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles & Mary, and thei toke the other ende of the tylt. Then the Trompettes blew, and the Kyng and the Duke ranne fiercely together, and brake many spere, and so did all the other, that it was harde to saie who did best: but when the courses were ronne, thei ranne volant one at another, so that bothe by the reporte of sir Edwarde Gylforde Master of the Armury, and also of the Judges and Heraldes at these Iustes wer broken fiue hundred and sith spere: and then the kyng the same night made to the Ambassadors a sumptuous bankeft with many ridelles and muche pastyme.

After this greate triumphi, the king appointed his gestes for his pastyme this Summer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Sweyteing sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruel that it killed some within three houre, some within twoe houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte, the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officiers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adioured and because that this malady continued from Iuly to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymselfeuer with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmas, willing to haue no resort for feare of infeccion: but muche lamented the number of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infectious.

THE. X. YERE.

IN the beginning of this yere, Trinite terme was begun at Oxenford, where it continued but one day, and was again adioured to Westminster. This yere came to Calice from Pope Leo, a legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Camp- peius, for to exhorte the kyng to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the saied Leo sent, iii. other legates furth at that tyme for the said purpose, one into France another into Spain, and the third into Germany.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe, that there was commynyng a legate into Engelande, which should have a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambition was never satisfied, caused a Bisshopp and certain Docters to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that if he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effecte in Engelande, he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the saied Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to beioyned in commission with hym, whiche thing was doen, (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and fiue daies, the bull was broughte to Calice. Duryng whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, redde cloth to clothe his seruauntes, which at their commynyng to Calice, were but meaneely appareled. And when all thynge were ready he passed the sea and landed at Douer, and so kept furthe his jorney toward Londô. At every toune as thei passed, he was receiued with Procession, and accompaigned with all the Lordes and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Black heth, there met hym the Duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knightes and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tente of cloth of golde, where he shifted himself into a robe of a Cardinall, edged with Ermys, and so toke his moythe riding toward London.

The night before he came to London the cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carriages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelve muletes with emptie Cofers covered with redde, which twelve Mulettes were led through London, amongst the Mulettes of Campeius, which were but eight and so these. xx. Mulettes passed through the stretes, as though thei had been full of Treasures, apparel and other necessaries. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Muletes brake from her kepere, and ouerthrew the Chestes, and overturned two or three other Mulettes carriages, which fell with suche a violence, that di- verse of them unlocked, and out of some fell olde Hosen, broken Shoene, and roasted Fleshe
Fleshe, peces of Breade, Egges and muche vile baggage: at whiche sighte the boyes cryed, see, see my Lorde Legates theasure, and so the Mulesters were ashamed, and tooke vp all their stuffe & passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the. xxix. day of July the said legate entred the cite, & in Sothwarke met hym all the clergie of London with crosses sensers & copes & sensed hym with great reverence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best houes stode in the stretes, & hym highly honor-ed: to whi sir Thomas More made a brief oracio in the name of the citee. And whi he cam to Paules, ther he was receiued by bishops mitred, and vnder a canopy entred the churche: whiche canopy his seruautes toke for their fees. And when he had offred, he gane his benediction to al the people, and toke again his mule, & so was with al his train afsaid, conueighed to Bathe place, & there rested: where he was welcomed of the Cardinal of Yorke. And on sondaie next ensuinge these twoo Cardinales as legates, toke their barges & came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their crosses two pillers of siluer, two little axes gilte, and two cloke bagges emboothered, and the Cardinalles hattes borne before the. And when they came to the kynges hall, the Cardinal of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the king Royally appareled and accompanied, met them even as though bothe had come from Rome, and so brought bothe vp into his chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oracion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in twoo articles, one for side against Gods enemies, and the second for reformation of the Clergie. And when Masse was done, they were had to a chamber, and serued with lordes and knightes, with muche solempnitiie: and after dinner they toke their leane of the kyng and came to London and rode through the citee together, in greate pompe and glory, to their lodgynges.

When the Cardinal of Yorke was thus a legate, he set vp a court, & called it the court of the legate, and proued testametes, and hard causes to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bishhopes and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation he gat muche treasure, & nothing was reformed but came to more mischief: for by exple of his pride, priestes & all spirituall persons waxed so proude, that thei ware velvet & silke, bothe in gounes, jackettes, doblettes, & shoes, kept open lecherie, and so highly bare th themselves by reason of his authoritie & facultics, that no man durst once reprome any thing in the, for feare to be called heretike, & then thei would make hym smoke or bare a faggot. And the Cardinal hymself was so clatet that he thought hymself egall with the kyng: & when he had said Masse he made dukes & erles to serve him of wyne with a say taken, & to holde the baso at the lauatories. Thus the pride & ambition of the Cardinal & clergie was so high, y in maner al good persons abhorred and disdeined it.

This yere the French kyng wrote to the kyng of England, yf it wer his pleasure, he would send an ambassade into England to comon with the kyng & his counsaill for the redenynge of the citee of Turney & other thynges: whiche answered the messenger, y the ambassade of the Frenche kyngys should be right hartely welcome to him. And so the French king sent into England the lorde Boneuet, hygh Admyral of Fraunce, & the bishop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors, accompanied with many noble men, & young freshe galites of the courte of Fraunce, to the nuber of Ixxx. & more, & with them came a great nuber of raseal & pedlers, & Juellers, and brought ouer hattes and cappes, and diuerse merchandise vnustomed, all vnder the colour of the trussery of the Ambassadors.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, thei were receaued by the nobles and gentlemen of the countrey, and so conueighed from lodgyng to lodgyng yll they came to Blackketh, & before them went their carriages and people in great namber to the summe of. xii. C. one & other, which was thought to be to many for an ambassade. These gentlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

Monday the. xxvii. day of September, the erle of Surrey hygh Admyrall of Engelande in a coate of riche tyssue cut on cloth of siluer on a great courser richely trapped, & a great whistell
whistell of gold, set with stones and perle hangyng at a great and massy chayne baudryck wise accompanied with an. C. ix. gentlemen, rychely appareled, on goodly horses came to blacketh, & there amiably receaued ý Ambassadors of Fraunce. The youg galantes of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in. x. or. xii. partes very richely to beholde: & so al the Englishmen accoupled the selues with the Frenchmen, louingly together, & so roade to Lond. After the. ii. Admyrals folowed. xxiii. of the Fréch kynges garde whome accompanied. xxiii. of the kynges garde. And after the a great number of archers, to the nübre of. iii. C. and in this order they passed thorough the citie to Taylers hal, & there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, & the renaunt in marchaëtes houses about. When these lorde were in their lodgynges, then the Fréch harder më opened their wares, & made the Taylers hal lyke to the paunde of a marte. At this doyng many an Englishmë grudged, but it auailed not. The last day of Septéber, the Fréch Ambassadors toke their barge, & came to Grenchewiche. The Admyrall was in a goune of cloth of siluer, rayseed, furred with ryche Sables, & al his copany almost were in a new fassio garnet called a Shemew, which was in effect a goune, cut in the middle. The gëtlemë of Fraunce were brought to the kynges presence, wher the bishop of Parys made a solëpne oracio: which beyng ended, & answere made therto, ý kyng highly entreteyned the Admirall & his company, & so dyd all the English lordes and gentlemen. The Ambassadors beyng dayly in counsayll at Grenchewiche, the other gentlemen daunced & passed the tyme in the quenes chabre with ladies & gentlewomen. After long cousailing & muche desyring of the French kyng and his counsayll, it was agreed that the citie of Tourney should be deliered to the Frenche kyng, he payenge. vi. hundred thousande crownes for the citie, and. iii. hundred thousande crownes for the Castell, the which ý kyng had byllyded, but it was not fully performed: & also he should pay. xxiii. M. l. Tourneys, ý whiche summe the ciztzens of the citie of Turney ought to the kyng of England for their liberties and fraunchises.

Vpon these agreemëtes to be performed, it was oculuded that ý citie of Tourney should be deliered to the French kyng. The Frenchmen ý sor to come to their purpose, made a pretëce of marïage to be had betwene the Dolphin, sonne & heir to the Fréch kyng & the lady Mary the kynges daughter, which was agreed vpô this còdicion, that if they both còsented at lawfull age, then to be ferme & stable, or els not for the they were both very young. And so all matters were concluded, and the erle of Worcester, & the bishop of Ely apoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliercy of the citie of Tourney, and performyng of the other agreemëtes. And for the sure payment of the summes of money to be payde to the kyng of England vpô the sayd agreemëtes, there were four gentlemen of the realme of Fraunce, left in Engelande for hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Mounsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Morret. Of the which. iii. the. ii. fyrst named were of noble blood, but the. ii. last were but of meane houses. And because they were yong, there was auncient gentlemë, apoynted gouernours to the.

When all things were oculuded & sealed, the kyng and all the Ambassadors richely appareled & the. ii. legates, roade solëply to ý church of saynct Paul fro the bishop of Durrhâs place: & there was made fro the West doore to the quere doore of the churche egall with the highest step a hautepace of tymbre of. xii. fote broadë, that the kyng & the Ambassadors might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sange high masse, & had hys cloth of estate of Tysseue: hys Cupboord set with basos all gilt couered: his place was. v. steppes high. At the first launtary. iii. Erles serued him, & at the secod. ii. dukes & a Marques, & with the saye taken, they gaue hym wyne, & after water. And when masse was done, ý Cardinall Campeius & he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done doctor Pace the kynges secretory, a man very eloquent, made a goody Oracion in prayse of peace: and that done, the kyng & all his nobles and Ambassadors went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner the kyng roade agaynce to the bishop of Durrhams place.

That night the Cardinal of Yorke made to the Ambassadors a solempne bâket, & them accopanyed
accompayed many lorde & ladyes of Englande. And when the banquete was done, in came.
vi. mynstrels, richely disguysed, & after them folowed. iii. gentlemen in wyde & long gounes of Crymosyn satyn, every one hauyng a cup of golde in their handes, the first cup was full of Angells & royals, the second had diuere bales of dyce, & the. iii. had certayn payres of Cardes. These gōldemē ofreyd to playe at mōchaunce, & whē they had played 3 length of the first boorde, then the mynstrels blew vp, & then entred into the chābre. xii. ladies disguysed, the fyrst was the kyng him selfe & the French quene, the seceō the duke of Suffolke, the lady Dabeneu, f lord Admiral & the lady Guyldford syr Edward Neuel, and the lady Sentliger, syr Henry Guyldford, and mastres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and mastres Anne Carew, syr Giles Capell, & lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholass Carew, & Anne browne, Francues Brian and Elizabeth blont, Henry Norrys & Anne wotton, Francues poyntz and Mary ycenes, Arthur poole & Margaret Bruges. On this cōpany attended. xii. knightes disguysed, bearing torches all these. xxxvi. persons disguysed were in one suyte of fyne Grene satyn all ouercouered with clothe of golde, vnder tyed together with laces of Gold, & maskyng whoodes on their heddes; the ladyes had tyers made of Braydes of danaske gold w long heres of white gold. All these maskers dainced at one tyme, & after they had daunced, they put of their viziers, & then they were all knowē. The Admyral & lorde of Frāuce harteley thanked the kyng, that it pleased him to visit the with such dispot and then the kyng & his cōpany were banketed, & had high chere, & then they departed every man to hys todyngyne.

The. viii. day of October at Grenewiche was song a solēyne masse by the bishop of Durhā, & after masse doctor Tūstal master of the Rolles, which after was bishop of Londō, made an eloqēt prepo-iciō in praise of ý matrimony to be had betwene the Dolphyn & the lady Mary: & all that day were ý strangers feasted, & at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rock ful of al maner of stones, very artificially made, & on ý top stode. v. trees, ý first an Oline tree, on which hāged a shild of ý armes of the church of Rome: the. ii. a Pyneapple tree, w the armes of the Emperour: the. iii. a Rosyer w the armes of Englād: the. iii. a brauché of Lilies, bearing ý armes of Frāuce: & the. v. a Pomegranet tree, bearung ý armes of Spayn: in tokē ý all these. v. potētates were ioyned together in one league against ý enemies of Christes fayth. In & vpon ý middles of ý Rock sate a fayre lady, richely appareyled w a Dolphin in her lap. In this Rock were ladies & gōldemē, appareyled in Crymosyn satyn, couered ouer w floures of purple satyn em-brōdered on w wrethes of gold, knyt together with goldē laces, & on euer floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies tyer was after ý fassió of Inde, w kerechiefs of plea-saunce, hatched w fyne gold, & set w letters of Greke in golde of bullio: & the edges of their kerechiefs were garnished w hāging perle. These gōldemē & ladies sate on ý nuyther parte of the Rocke, & out of a caue in the said Rocke came. x. knightes, armed at all poynetes, & faughte together a fayre tournej. And whē they were seuered & departed ý disguysers dissended frō ý rock, & daunced a great space: & sodeynly ý rocke moused & receaued ý disguysers, & unmediatly closed agayn. Thē entréd a person called Reaport, appareled in Crymosyn satyn full of tōges, sitting on a flyēg horse w wynges & fete of gold called Pegasus. Thys person in Frēche declared ý meaning of ý rocke & ý trees at ý Tourney.

After this pastyme ended, the kyng and the Ambassadours were serued at a bancket with. ii. C. & lx. dyshes: & after that a voydee of spyces w. lx. spice plates of siluer & gilt, as great as mē with ease might beare. This nyght the Cupboord in the hall was of. xii. stages all of plate of golde and no gilt plate. When that every man had ben plenteously serued, the tables were taken vp, and the kyng and the quene and all the straungiers departed to their lodgings. After diuerse Iustes and feastes made the sayd Ambassadors by the kyng & lorde: Syr Thomas Exmew mayre of Londō, made to them a costly dyner at the Goldsmythes hall, which dyner they highly praysed, it was so wel ordred. And whē tyme came, they toke their leave of the kyng, the quene and the kynges counsaill, & deliuered into the kynges possessiō their. iii. hostages as you hane harde before: at whiche
departing the kyng gane to the Admyral of Fraunce a garnishe of gilt vessel, a payre of co-
ured basons gilt. xii. great gilt bowles. iii. payre of great gilt pottes, a standing cup of gold, 
garnished w. great perle: & to some other also, he gane plate to some Cheynes of gold, to 
some riche apparel, & to some great horses with rychfe bardes, so y euer gentlemen was 
well rewarded: which liberalitie the stragiers much praised: & after y al their trusses were 
ready they departed toward the sea, & toke ship & laden to Boyleyn.

Some after their departing the erle of Worcesters, beyng the kynges châberlayn. The bi-
shop of Ely, the lord of s. Ihos. syr Nicholas vaux, syr Ihon pechy, syr Thomas bulleyn as 
Ambassadours frô the king of Englands, accompanied with lixx. knightes & Gêtlemen & 
yomê, to the number of. iii. C. & aboue, passed the sea with some storunes, & came to Calys, 
& passed thorough Picardy with great & kynde entreteynment in all places, till they came to 
Parys, where they were nobly receauned, every mä matched w. a lyke perle: & after they were 
brought to the Frenche kynges presence, where the bishop of Ely made a solenme oracio, as co-
cerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with suche a bolde spirite that the Frenche 
muche praised his audacite.

The conclusio of this peace was this, y Henry kyng of Engla, Fraunce kyng of Frenche-
men, & Charles kyng of Castel had sworne a perpetual peace, durnge their lyues. And if 
it should happen any of the. iii. to violate the league in any point and to move warre: then 
the other. ii. should ioyne together, & make warre agaynst the violater or breaker of the peace.

After all thinges cocluded, the Frenche kyng made a bannet house in bastill of Parys be-
twene. iii. olde wailes: this house was cowered with coardes strayed by eft & euer 
coarde was woold aboute with boxe, & so layd crosse wise one ouer another in fret, & at 
the metynes a great knop gite with gold foyle: Ouery their coardes was strayed woflen 
clothes of light blew: this rofe was. lxxx. fote high, & on ebery side. ni. stages high: all 
the pillers of the stages were cowered with antique workes, & the brestes of the stages cu-
riousmente wrought with armes, fynettes & braunches: the rofe was set full of starres gilt fur-
nished with glasses betwene the fretes: & in this house was. ii. C. xii. branches gilt haged, 
& on ebery branche a great number of lightes of white waxe: and diuers sortes of 
maskes were showed that night: & also there was shewed at ebery side of the palace a 
great Cupboard of massyve plate of muche greatnesse, and ouer the Frenche kyng wel-
comed the lords and Ambassadours with good countenance. After diuers feastes, 
justes and bannettes made to the Englshe Ambassadours, the bishop of Ely with sir Tho-
mas Bulleyn and sir Richard Weston were sent by the Frenche kyng to Konyack to see the 
dolphyn, where they were well receauned, and to them was shewed a fayre young childe: & 
when they had seen him, they departed. The fame went that the Frenche kyng at that 
tyme had no sonne, but that this was but a colour of the Frenche kyng, howbeit it was 
proved other wise after.

In this season the Earle of Worcesters, and with him sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Ihô Pechy, 
sir Edward Belknap with many other knyghtes toke their leave of the Frenche kyng, & 
roade to Tourney, where they were well receauned. Then began the capitaines and the sou-
diours to mourne, knowyng that the toune should be yelded to the Frenche kyng, and many 
a young gentleman, and many a tall woman wished that they had not spent their tymes there. 
And the next day after, the sayd erle dischard sir Richard Irenyngham of his office of 
capitaine & comanded euer man to be obedient to the kynges pleasure & to prepare to re-
turne into England. The. viii. day of February y lord Chaunc pen came hene to the cite of Tour-
ney with. xxi. hundredth menne in barsneys. The erle of Worcesters sent sir Edward Belknap 
to knowe his commissiouns, and there he shewed him his commissiouns, which he was to recyve 
the cite of Tourney. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to seconde his commissiouns to the 
erle of Worcesters, where he refused to do, sayyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayd 
sir Edward Belknap you must understand that we have a commissiouns from the kyng our 
Master to delierye you the cite at a day appointed: wherefore we must shewe the kyng of Eng-
land both your commissiouns that you had authoritye to receyve it frô the Frenche kyng, and 
also
also that you by your indenture sealed with your scale of armes shall confesse that you receive the citye as a gift, and not rendred as a right to the kyng your Master, or else be you sure that the citye shall not be deliuered. Then the lorde Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleued: And so daily were great messages sent to the citye from him to the erle of Worcettre, and answers were sent of the Englishe part. But when the daye approached he had ful awhere that he must deliuer his commission and also seale the indenture, or else the Englishmen would not put hym in possession of the town, for their commission was otherwise. The French capytaines perceauing that if they disagreed at the daye, that doubtes might folowe, wherfore they sent their commission and sealed their indenture and sent it lykewyse in the morning, and came forward with their banners displayed: whereof heryng the earle, he sent word that the citye was neither yelded nor gotten, but deliuered for cofederacion of marriage, and therefore they should not entre with banners displayed. Then wer the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedy but to rolle vp their standerdes and banners. And when they came to the gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemnly red openly: and then the Frenchmen entred with drumshades and minstrelsy without any banner; and then to Monsire Castilicon was delyuered the Castle, and there he ordained watche and warde in every part. Thus was the citye of Tournay delyuered the eight daie of February in the x. yerre of the reignge of the kyng, and many a tall woman that lacked hyng fel to robyng, which would not labor after their retourne.

Duryng this tymne remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew Fraunces Brian, and diverse other of the young gentlemen of England and they with the Frenche kyng roade daily disguised through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolish trilles at the people, which light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discomended and gested at. And when these young gentlemé came againe into England, they were all Frenche, in eateynge, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen wer displeased, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here.

After the kynges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay delivered to the Frenchmen vpon the condicions aforesaid, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great somes and performance of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was that if the mariage take none effect, then the citye of Tournay should be deliuered vpon repaiment of the same sume) themaid hostages knewe not in what case they stode, but when they knewe it, they were very heuy and sorrowful: howbeit, they dissimuled the matter in the best wise they could. The kyng uséd familiarly these foure hostages, and on the vii. daie of Marche prepared a disguysing, and caused his greate chambre at Grenewiche to be staged, and great lights to be set on pillers that wer glipt, with bases gipt, and the rofe was covered with blewse satyn to full of presses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written, lothes, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed. Into this chamber came the kyng, and the queene with the hostages, and there was a goddely commedy of Plautus played, and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke vevlet bordred about with gold, with hoopes fro the wast downeward, and sleues ruffled and pulled at the elbowe and plain in the middes, full of cuttes, plucked out at every cutte with fine Came icke, and tired like to the Egypcians very richely. And when these ladies had passed aboute the place, in came eight noble personages in long gounes of taffete set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke vevlet embrodered with golde all to cut, and plucked out with cuttes of white saracen, and every man had buskins of blacke vevlet full of aglettes of gold. Then the eight men daunuded with the eight ladies all haying viserd, and sodainly the men cast of their large gounes, and then their vnder apparell was seen. And whiche al was done, every lord and lady put of their visers, and then it was knowne that the kyng and the duke of Suffolke and the Frenche queene wer ther whiche wer present at the plaie tymne.
The XI. YERE OF

The viii. day of Marche was a solempne Iustes, the kyng himselfe & eight young gentlemen based and barded in blacke veluet embrauderred with gold against the duke of Suffolk and eight of his bande all in white satten with droppes of golde. And that day they all ranne exceeding well, which the straungiers highly commended.

In the ende of Marche the kyng sent for all the yomen of garde that wer come from Tourney, and after many good wordes geuen to the, he graunted to the. iii. d. the day without attendance, except thei wer specially commaundd: & yet for all this the complaintie said that the kyng was euil counsailld to gene away the citie of Tourney, because the maintaining of a garrison there should hauie Norton & brought vp niè & yöger brethren in feats of war to the great strength & defence of his realme.

This yere the xii. day of February died the Emperour Maximilien for whom the kyng caused a solempne Obsequy to be done at Paules churche, all the nobles of the realme and knightes of the Gartier beyng present, of which ordre theseaied Emperour was one.

¶ THE XI. YERE.

In the beginnyng of this yere, the kyng with all the knightes of his ordre beyng in Eng- lande, roade on double horses, with the hennymen folowyng the king, from Colbroke to Winsore in gorgious apparell and there he kept with greate solempnitye the feast of s. George, and dined in the hall. And the bishop of Wincaster prelate of the ordre sat at the boordes ende alone. The king was solempnly servd and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronacion. All thynge were plenteous to straungiers that resorted thereth. At the Masse of Requiem was offered the banner and other hachementes of honor belonging to Maximilien the Emperor late deceased. After this feast ended, the kyng came to Richemond, and so to Grenewiche, and there laie all Maie.

In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly commundd together of the kynges gentlenes & liberalitee to all persone: by the whiche they perceiued that certain young men in his priuie chamber not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familiard and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that they forgott themselves: Whiche thynge although the kyng of his gentle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reproved it: yet the kynges counsaill thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, & therfore thei altogether came to the king, beseeching him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen the of his counsaill, both for the maintenaunce of his honor, & for the defence of all thynge that might blemishe thesame: wherfore if they sawe any about hym misuse themselfes, he committed it to their reformation. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lordc chamberlain to cal before them Carew (and another who yet difeth, & therfore shall not at this tyme be named) with diverse other also of the priuie chüber, whiche had been in the Frenche courte, and banished them the court for diverse consideracions, laiyng nothing particularly to their charges. And they that had offices wer commaundd to go to their offices: which discharge out of the courte greuec sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges priuie chüber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Iernyngha, sir Richard Westö and sir William Kyngston: and diverse officers wer changed in all places.

Then sir Ihon Pechy was made deputie of Calis, and sir Richarde Wingfeld therof discharged, & Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaundd to go the other, whiche was sore to hym displeasent. These young minions which was thus seueff from the kyng, had been in Frenche, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his court, that in a maner they thought tilit of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they wer so high in loue with the Frenche courte, wherefore their fall was little moned emong wise men.

This yere in the moneth of Iune was elected to be Emperour Charles kyng of Castell, & nephew
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

nephew to the quene, by the whole asset of the electors of themple: Although the Frenche kyng sent his great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high maiesie of the Empire: yet his Ambassador & great Master of his houshold called Gonfier lord of Boisy, & brother to Willyam Gonfier lorde Boneuet Admirall of Fraunce, which was ambassador in Englande the laste yere as you have hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect. The kyng whiche had set doctor Pace his secretary for the aunouncement of his nephewe the kyng of Castell to the dignite imperall, because he had the duchie of Ostrik & many other seigniories in Almain, was very joyous of this eclecson, & caused a solémpne Masse to be song at Paules the vii. daie of July: at whiche Masse was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckynghâ, of Norffolk & Suffols, with the Ambassa- dors of Spâ'n, Fraunce, Venice and Scotlande. And after Masse was done, the quier sang Te deum, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, & that night were solèmpe fiers made through London, & great plêty of wine geue by Italiës, duch- men & Spaniardes for these newes.

This sommer the quene desired the kyng to bryng to her manour of Haueryng in the Bower in Essex, the gentlemen of Fraunce being hostages. And for their welcomyng she purveyed all thynges in the most liberallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng suche a sumpteous banquet that the kyng thanked her hartely, and the straungers gawe it great praise. The kyng liyng there did shote, hunte, and ronne daily with the hostages to their greate ioye.

This yere in September the kyng laie at his Manour of Newhal in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu, where the kyng had newly buylded a costly mancio, and there to welcome the quene and the Lordes, and the Frenche gentlemen, he made to them a sumpteous banquet, and all a log the chamber sat a Ladie and a Lorde, or a knight, which were plenteously served. And after the banquet ended, with noise of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white berdes, and long and large garmentes of Blewe satten paunned with Sipres, poudred with spangles of Bullion Golde, and they dunsed with Ladies sadly, and cûmned not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaued themselves sadly. Wherefore the quene plucked of their visours, and then appered the duke of Suffix, the erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Burgainy, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Robert Wyngfelde, sir Richard Weston, sir Willyam Kyngston: all these wer sôwhat aged, the youngest man was fittie at the least. The Ladies had good sporte to see these auncient persons Maskers. When they wer departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of Fraunce, and the erle of Denonshire with vi. other young gentlemen entered the chamber, of the whiche sixe wer al in yelowe satten, hosen, shoen, and cappes, and sixe other wer in like maner in Grene: the yelowe sattin was fretted with siluer of Damaske, and so was the grene very richely to behold: and then every Masker toke a ladie and dunsed: and when they had dunsed & commoned a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe the, & there the king gawe many brooches & proper giftes to the ladies. And after this done, the quene made a banquet to the kyng & his lordes and other strâgers.

In the moneth of November, the kyng came from Lambith to Westminster hall, and so to the starre chamber, and there were before him the Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Haward, sir Mathew Broune, sir Williaym Bulmer, and Iphon Skot of Camerwell, for diverse riottes, midsmeancors and offîces, and especially the kyng rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kynges seruaunt sworne, refused the kynges seruice, & became ser-uaunt to the duke of Buckingham, saiying: that he would none of his seruautes should hang on another manneslueve, and that he was aswel able to maintein him as the duke of Buckynghâ, and that what might be thought by his departynge, and what might bee supposéd by ÿ dukyes retaining, he would not then declare. The knight kneled still on his knees crijing the kyng mercie, and noyer a noble man there durst entreate for him, ÿ king was so highly displeased with hym. Yet at the last when other matters were hard, the kyng mowed with pitie forgrave thesaid sir Willyam his offence, saiynge:

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that we will that none of our seruauntes shalbe long to any other person but to vs, nor we wil not that our subjicettes repine or grudge at suche as wee fauoure, for our pleasure we will haue in that case as vs liketh, for one we wil fauor now and another at suche tyme as vs shall like: and therefore sir Wilyam if you serve vs hartely, you shall not be forgotten, & for this tyme we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lorde Edmòd Haward, and sir Mathew Browne their offiçes, whiche were indicted of riottes, and maineinaunce of bearynes of diuerse misdoers within the countie of Surrey: but the lorde Ogle humbly beseeched the kyng of his mercie to whom he answered. Sir your matter concerneth murder of our subjicet, whiche great offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfore we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the waie he made James Yarfford Maior of the Citee of London knight, and so he with all his counsaill came to Lambeth.

The iii. gentlemen hostages of Fraunce, daily resorted to the curte and had great chere, and were well enterained, and every tyme they moued, stirred and required the kyng to passe the sea, and to mete with the Frenche kyng their Master, whom they praised highly, affirming that if the king & he might in one familierly common together, that there should suche a constant loue rise and encreace betwene them, whiche afterward should neuer faile. This request was often tymes hard and litle regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of Februaire it was agreed that the kyng in person, should passe the sea to his castle and lordship of Guisnes, & there in Maie next commyng betwene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete. When this was fully concluded, the kyng wrote letters to all suche lorde, ladies, gentlemen and Gentlewomen as should geue their attendaunce on hym and the quene: whiche in continent put themselves in a redines after the moste costliest fashion, for the furniture of thesame metying.

Then were sent to Guysnes vnder the rule of sir Edward Belknap three. M. artificers, which boyied out of the yearth on the plain before the castle of Guysnes, y most goodlyst palacie of timber that euer was wrought in thesame place and so curiously garnished without & within. Beside this, provisions wer made within the realme of England and in Flaunder for vitalli, wine and all other thynges necessary for thesame. And yet beside all this Orleauance kyng of armes of Fraunce came into the court of England and made proclamacion, that the kyng of Englande and the French kyng, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes with xviii. aides in June next ensuyng, should abide al commers beyng gentlemen, at the tilt, and tomyne, and at barriers, and like proclamacion was made by Clarensseaux kyng of Armes of Englande, in the Courte of Fraunce, and in the courte of Burgoyne, and in diuerse other courtes and places in Almain, and Italy. For furnishing of lustes, there was devised a tilte and all thynges necessary for that enterprise, in a goodly plain betwene Guysnes and Arde.

Duryng the tyme of these preparacions, newes were brought to the king that Charles his nephew elected Emperor of Almain would shortly depart out of Spain by sea, and come by Englaunde to go into Germany to receve his firste Crown at Acon. Wherefore the kyng caused great prosions to be made at every hauie, for the receyuyng of his weltheloued nevphew and friend, and daily provisions were made on all sides, for these noble metynges of so high princes: and especially the quene of Englande, and the Lady dowager of Fraunce, made greate cost on the apparell of their ladies and gentlemewen.

The firste daie of February being Candesmas enen, as the kyng and quene were come from Eiusong at their manour of Grenewiche, before the quenes chambour there blew a trompet sodainly, and then entred into the Queues Chamber foure gentlemen appareled in long and large garments of blewe damase bordred with gold, and brought with the a tricke waggon, in the whiche sat a lady richely appareled with a canapy over her hed, & on the iii. corners of the waggon, wer. iii. hed pces called Aruoutes, evry pece beyng of a sundery deuice: thesaied lady put vp a bill to the kyng, the effecte wherof was that the iii. gentlemen present would for the loue of their ladies answer al commers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be appoynted:
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

There is a document containing a passage in Latin. The text appears to be a historical document, likely a letter or a legal document. The passage is not fully legible due to the quality of the image, but it seems to be discussing matters of state, possibly involving the appointment of certain individuals, and it contains references to the king, the queen, and the nobility. The text is too fragmented to provide a full translation, but it appears to be discussing the appointment of certain gentlemen and the ensuing actions or events related to them.

The passage contains words and phrases such as "appoint," "thrice," "gentlemen," "valiantly," and "accomplished." It seems to be discussing the actions of certain individuals in a historical context, possibly under the reign of Henry VIII.

The document might be part of a larger treatise or official correspondence, given the formal language and the reference to historical events and figures. The context suggests that the passage is discussing the appointment of certain individuals to positions of importance, and the actions or events that followed their appointment.

The text is too fragmented to provide a full translation or context, but it appears to be discussing the appointment of certain gentlemen and the ensuing actions or events related to them.
horsebacke, with their retinue shall see the one the other, and salute eche other, and speake together familiarly, and common in that sort and maner, and so long as shall some to theim good. And after theseaid salutation and communicacion finished for that time, theseaid illustre kyng of Englane shall returne to his castle of Guisnes, and theseaid right christened kyng to his castle of Arde.

Item, for as muche that wee thynke to bee satisfied touchyng the labores dangiers and honoure of theseaid kyng of Englande my souereigne Lorde of so muche, that theseaid right Christened kyng at the firste speaking, he shall come forarde vnto and within his territorie of Guisnes, we will kepe the honor of theseaid kynges, and therefore declare and ordeine, that on the morowe after the firste enteruew, theseame kynges shall mete together in some place indifferente betwene Arde and Guisnes, that shallbe assigned by theseaid Commissioners and after the salutacion made on the one and the other partie, theseaid right illustre kyng of Englande shall go to the Castle of Arde, to se, salute, and visite the quene of Fraunce, and also the sister of theseaid christened kyng, with whom he shall dine priuely. And likewise theseaid right christened kyng shall go to the Castle of Guysnes, to visite and salute the quene of Englande, and the dowares of Fraunce, with whom he shall dine. In the whiche places theseaid princes shallbe receiued familiarly and amiably, vnto mutuell loue, and also to the honor of theseaid princes.

Item, as theseaid serene princes of Englande and Fraunce, be like in force corporall, beautie, and gifte of nature, right experte and haungy knowlidge in the arte militant, right chenalrous in armes, and in the flower and vigor of youth, whereby semed to vs a right assembly, that for to decore and illustre this same assembly, and to shewe their forces in armes, they shall take counsel and dispose themselves to do some faire feate of armes, aswell on fote as on horsebacke, against all commers. We declare and ordeine, that the place where shalbee theseaid fight and feate of armes, shalbee chosen betwene Guysnes and Arde, and assigned by the commissioners, of the one and the other partie. And for a suerte of the persons of theseaid kynges and their compagnie, theseaid place shalbe apparearde, dichted, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie, by equall nober of men of armes, respectively committed and deputed that to do. And duryng the tyme of theseaid lustes and feates of warre, theseame kynges and quenes with their retinue, shall se eche other familiarly, and conversse and speake together: And euer daie towards the euening, after the lustes, triumphes, bankettes, and familiar communicacions doone, theseaid kynges with their retinue shall returne into their Castles, that is to saie, the kyng of England into his castle of Guysnes, theseaid right christened kyng into his Castle of Arde, and thus they shal do daily, duryng theseaid fight and feate of armes.

Item, wee declare and ordeine, that when theseame kyng of Englande and the Quene his bedfelowe, and the Dowares of Fraunce his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of theseaid right christened kyng, the superioritie and preheminence shalbe gueuen to theseaid kyng of Englande, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to their retinue respectively, duryng the tyme that they shall tary and be ther: and semblaby when theseaid right Christened kyng, and the quene his bedfelowe and his right illustre Ladie, and mother, with their retinue shall come to the territorie and entrie of theseaid illustre kyng of Englande, the superioritie and preheminence shalbee gueuen to theseaid right Christened kyng, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to his mother, and to their retinue duryng the tyme that they shall continue and abide there.

Item, for so muche as the Castles and places where theseaid enterwee shalbe, be so little & narowe that if entree & licence to come thether be gueuen to all them that would go thether, diverse anoyances, troubles and impeachmentes should folowe, wherefore it is so that we Cardinall abouesaied, by these presentes declare & ordeine, that none of the retinue of theseaid Kynges, Quenes, or other lorde and nobles, of what estate qualitie or condicion that he or they be, shall not come to theseaid assemble with more greater number of persons or
or horse, then shall be written by letters, subscribed by the said kings, the which shall containe the estates and conditions of the persones, as well men as women, and number of servauntes and horse, except by the common consent and license of the said kings.

Item, forasmuch as peradventure it shall come that the said Princes lorde, gentlemen, and household seruauntes, shall se and converse together familiarly, to the ende that it may engender betwene them an amitye more firme and stable, for that cause and that more surely and agreably they may bee together, aswell by daie as by night, without any danger or feare, which we desire to prouide: we declare and ordain that two gentlemen with sufficient compagnie of equall and like nombre, be committed and depute, respectively by the said kings for the kepyng and securetye of the waies and watches, that shall be made continually during the assembly of the said kings.

The which gentlemen with their compagnies shall ordein & depute explorators and spies in the valeis, forrestes, woodes, tounes, borowes villages, castles, passages and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from tymc to tymc, and houre, to houre, aswell towardes Flandurs, as Picardie, Artoys and Englande, to exployle and watch ther. And if any be founde suspect, them to repulse and take away, to thende that not only the said princes, their gentlemen and household seruauntes, maie surely and without feare visite the one the other as said is, but also those that shall bryng vitailes necessarie to the said assembly, maie without daunger, trouble, impechement or noysaunce go and come: the which explorators shall be bounden euery daie in the mornyng and euenyng, to make reporte to the said princes or to their saied counsellors respectively, of that which they have found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordein, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approche nearer then twoo ioruyees, to the place where the said enteruyewe shalbe, except the retinewe & men of warre that bee committed and deputed to kepe Bullein and Calcis, and that the same men of warre nor none other during the assembly of the said princes, shall not presume to come nearer, onlesse by the cōsent, accorde, and license of the said princes.

Item, we Cardinall aboue saied, by expresse auctoritie and power to vs geuen, by these presentes, bynde the said princes to do, fulfill, and accomplishe, all and euery the thynges aboue saied here in contenied.

Item, we declare and ordein that eche of the said kings on his partie, shall ratific, confirm, and approwe all and euery the Chapters and Articles aboue saied, by their Letters Patentes Scaled with their handes. And by these same letters of ratificacion they shall bee bounde to accomplish with good faith and in worde of a kyng, all and euery the thynges aboue saied: the which letters made, subscribed and sealed, as is said, they shall geue the one the other, and shall chaunge in the citie of London, within one moneth next after the daie of these presentes. Made the twelue of Marche, the yere of our lorde a M.CCCC.XXIX.

THE XII. YERE.

The moste noble and puyant kyng, kyng Hery the. viii. king of England and of Fraunce, the yere of our Lorde a. M. iii. hundred and. xx. and of his bodily age. xxix. yere, and the. xxii. daie of April began the. xii. yere of his regnoe ouer the realme of Englande, & halowed the daie of sainct George at the maner royll of Grenewiche with the noble knights of the Garter in robes of the order.

The kyng intending and perseueryng in purpose to mete with Frances the Frenche kyng, greate and riche promissons were made, wherfore the noble Kyng and the Queene with all the noble courte, removed the twentie and one daie of May beyng on Mundaie, from their maner of Grenewyche, towards the Sea side, and so on the Fridaie beyng the twentie and
The XII. Yere of

Ffue daie of May, arrivèd at the citee of Cantorbury, intentyng there to kepe his Pen-
tecoste.

Some after wiche commynge to Cantorbury, tiddynges were brought that Charles Emper-
electe, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England, wherfore officers of the kyng were
sent with great diligence to the Castle and toune of Douer to be there in a redines against
the arriuall of the Emperor.

The reverent father in God my lorde Cardynall, came to the toune of Douer in bast with
a noble repaque, abidying the commynge of the Emperour, whiche Emperour, the Saterdaie
beyng the xxvi. daie of Mai arrived with all his nanie of shippes royall on the coast of
Kent, directe to the toune or porte of Heith thesaied daie by noone, where he was-haile by
the noble knyght sir Willyam Fitzwilliam, vice admiral of Englande, with sixe of the
kynges shippes well furnished, whiche laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Doner and
Galeis, at the costes and charges of the kyng of Englande. Calmenes of the wether and
lacke of wynde, caused that the Emperoure might not so sone take lande at the porte of
Douer, as he would have doon. Notwithstandinge towards the euen he departed from his
shippes, and entered into his boate commynyng towards the lande, where in his commynyng
to the lande: on the sea the reverent father lorde Wolsay Cardynall and Legate, wette and re-
ceived hym with suche reverence, as to so noble a Prince appertheigne. Thus landed the
Emperoure Charles, under the clothe of his estate of the blacke Egle all spailed on riche
clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym were many noble menne, and many faire Las-
dies of his bloud as princes and princesses, & one ladie as chief to be noted, was the
princes Aunione with many other nobles whiche landed with hym in high and sumptuous
maner and great riches in their apparell: greate joye made the people of England to see the
Emperour, and more to see the benyn maner and makenes of so high a prince.

Then when the Emperour thus had taken lande, the reverente father lord Cardynall was
as conduct to the same noble Emperour from the shore of Douer unto the castell there:
then were all persons chered, the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departyng of Theperour to the lande from his maby, the apparell of euerie ship
then shewed, as flagges, bannerys, sterners, & targetes, then the myghty ordinance of euer-
y of them brake oute by force of fyer as though the see had brente, maruellous was the noyse
of the gonnys.

The Emperour beyng thus in the castell of Douer, with hast tiddynges came to the kyng
where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted hym towards the noble Emperour. And so
came riding early in the morning to the castell of Douer, within which castell the kyng
alighted: the Emperour heryng the king to be come, came out of his chamber to mete w
the kyng and so met with him on the stayres or he could come vp, when eche embraced other
right longingly: then kyng brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there commu-
nyng was of gladnes.

Some after these two noble princes on the Whitsonday early in the morënyng toke their
horse and rode to the Cytte of Cantorbury, the more to solenmize the feast of Pentecost,
but specially to see the queene of England his aunte was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England and the queene with her beautifull tranye
of ladys receeved and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperour, whose person was by
the kyng couegied to a faire and pleasant chamber where thesayde Emperour apparelled
hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of thesayde Emperour aswell of lوردes as la-
dyse were lodged, aswell as there might be, with joye and muche gladnes, and there in Can-
torbury soirned the Emperour and all his tranye with the kyng, vntill the Thursdaye in the-
same weke.

The last daie of May beyng Thursday, the Emperour toke leave of the kyng & of all the
ladys, and gave great thankes, and so rode to Sidewiche, and there toke his shippes, the
wynd to hym was likyng, whereby he sayled into Flanders.

Then thesame daie, the kyng of Englande made saile from the porte of Douer and with
noble
HENRY gylte of wrethe connynge thesame KYNG HENRY THE VII. 605
noble apparaile londed at Calys at the hower of xi. of the clock, and with hym the quene
and ladyes and many nobles of ȝ realm. And so was the kyng receiued into the Checker
and there rested: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Caleys from ȝ French
court, to se the kyng and to salute him, which were of his grace, princely entretayned.

Mondaye the. iii. daye of Iane the kynges grace with all the nobles aswell the quene with
her trayne of ladyes as other, with all the whole nobe of nobles removed from Calis to his
lordship royall of Guises into the most noble and royall lodging before sene, for it was a
palays, the palays was quadrant, and everie quadrant of the same palays was iii. C.xxviii.
foote longe of a syse, which was in compass. xiii. C. and xii. foote aboute. This palayce
was sette on stages by great connyng and sumptuous worke. At the enteryng into the pal-
lays before the gate, on the playne grene was byylded a fountayne of enbowed worke, gyte
with fyne golde, and bice, ingrayled with anticke workes, the olde God of wyne called
Bacchus-bilung the wyne, whiche by the conduyctes in therne ranne to all people plenteously
with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whose ledde was written in letters of Romayne gold,
feite borne there quyouldra.

On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a pyller which was of auncient Romayne
woorke borne with. iii. Lyons of golde, the pyllers wrapped in a wretche of golde curiously
wroughte and intrayled, and on the sommet of thesayde pyller stode an image of the bylynde
God Cupide with his bowe and arrowes of love redy by his semyng, to Stryke the younge
people to loun.

The forge of the same palays or place with great and mighty masonery by sight was
arched, with a tower on every syde of the same porte rered by great crafte, and inbattayled
was the gate and tower, and in ȝ fenestres and wyndowes were images resemblyng men
of warre redy to caste greate stones: Also thesame gate or tower was set with compassed
images of auncient Prynces, as Hercules, Alexander and other by intrayled worke, rychely
lymned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warly was made ouer the gate loups, and
enforced with battaylenementes and in thesame gate a lodge for the porter: whiche there
apered and other, sumptuously apprayled lyke vnto kynges offiress.

By thesame gate, all people pass into a large courte fayre & beautifull, for in this
court appered much of the outward beutic of this place for from the firste water table to
the ray-ying or resyn pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery syde myxed with clere Stories, cu-
riously glased, ȝ postes or monyelles of euery wyndowe was gyte. Thus the outward
parte of the place lumyned the eyes of the beholders, by reason of ȝ sumptuous worke.
Also the tower of the gate as semed, was byylded by greate masonery, and by great engyne
of mans wit, for the sundry countenances of euery image that their appered, some sho-
yng, sum castyng, same ready to strike, and faryng of gones whiche sowed very honor-
ably. Also all thesayd quadrantes, bayes and edifices, were roially intrayled, as farre as
vnto thesame courte apparytayned. And dyrecte against the gate was devisyd a halpas, and
at theynety of the stait: there was images of sore and terrible countenances, all armed in curious
worke of argente. The bay of thesame halpas pendent by craft of trimmer and vnder
ȝ trimmer, anticke images of gold enyroned w verdour of Olifis cast in compas, moun-
teryng their countenances towards the enteryng of the palaise. The stayer of thesaied
halpas was caste of passage by the wenes of brode steppes, so that from the firste foote
or lowest steppe, a persone might without pain goo vnto the highest place of the same
halpas.

On euery hande was there chamber doores and enterynges into the chambers of thesame
palais, whiche were long and large and well proportioned, to receive light and aire at plea-
sure: the rooves of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber wer siled and co-
ered with cloth of Silke, of the most faire and quicke inuencion that before that tyne
was seene, for the groundle was white ingrayled, Inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of
silkes knitt, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundery newe castes, that thesame clothes
of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned gold, and the roses in losenges: that in the
same
same rofe, were in kyndly course furnished so to mannes sight that no liuyng creature might but ioye in the beholdeyn thereof for from the iawe pece of thesaied seying: whiche pece was guylte with fine Golde, were worke in paan paled, all the walles to the crest encouterynge the clere stories, the same creste which was of large depenes, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast and wrought with more connyng then I can write, all which worke and ouerages were gylte: and to set it the more to the glory, the florishyng Bise was comparable to the riche Amnel.

Also at the foothe of the same palaise was another crest all of fine sette gold, whereon hanged riche and maruellous clothes of Arras wrought of golde and silke, compassed of many auncient stories, with whiche clothes of Arras, euery wall and chamber were hanged and all wyndowes so richely covered, that it passed all other sightes before seen. In euery chamber in place conuenient were clothes of estate, greate and large of cloth of golde, of Tissue, and riche embrouddery, with Chaiers couered with like cloth, with pomelles of fine gold: and great Cushyns of riche worke of the Turkey makynge, nothynyng lacked of honourrable furnisment.

Also to the same palais was rered a Chapell with twoo closettes, the quire of thesaied Chapell siled with cloth of golde, and thereon frete ingrained bent clothes of Silke, all was then silke and golde. The aultars of this Chapell were hanged with riche reynure of cloth of golde of Tissue embroddered with pearles. Over the high aultare was hanged a riche Canaby of merueilous greatnes, the aultare was apperced with fine paire of Candlestickes of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on thesame halpas stode twelve Images of the bignes of a child of foure yeres of age all golde: and all the Coopes and Vestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for all the copes and Vestementes wer but of one pece, so women for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with rede Roses putted with fine gold: the Ofryys sette with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and deskes of this Chapell was hanged with right Cloth of golde, and three riche greate Crosses were there ready to be borne at festuall times, and basyns and Sensers, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewetes, holy Water vessels, and other ornamentes all of gold.

Also in the firste Closet was a traverse for the kynges person of cloth of golde: And within that the kynges place and Chaire, with Cusslians of clothe of golde: before the traverse was an aultare of presence, whiche Aultare was adourned with clothe of brodererie, and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in goldsmithes woork of fine golde. On the aultare was a desk or halpace, whereon stode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an Image of the Trinite, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candlestickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes, thesaied Closet was hanged with Tappettes embroddered with riche worke fret with pearles and stones, the roof of thesame Closet was siled with woork of Inmouled, gylte with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The seconde Closette was for the Quenes persone, in which was a traverse of riche clothe of golde, the aultare so richely apperced, that there lacked neither Pearles nor Stones of riches: on the aultare were twelue greate Images of golde, the Closet hanged with clothe of golde all other ieweles Missall, I supose neuer suche like were seen, and the roof of the same closet was siled with like worke that the kynges closet was, as is before rehearsed.

And from this palaise or place into the mightie and strong fortresse and Castell royall of Guines, was a galery for the secrete passage of the kynges persone into a secrete lodgyng within thesame Castle the more for the kynges ease.

Also to this palaise was all houses of offices, that to suche an honourable Courte should apperteigne, that is to wete, the lord Chamberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Thresourer of the houshold, for the Comptroller and office of grene Cloth, Wardroppes, Iuell house, and office of houshold seruice, as Ewery, Pantrie, Seller, Buttery, Spicery, pitchre house, Larder
Larder and Poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire that the officers might and did marueiles, as in the craft of viandes, by Oucns, harthes, reredoses, Chimnays, Ranges, and such instrumentes that there was ordained. In this palaice as ye haue heard, was the kynge's grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the toune of Guynes was little, and that all the noble menne might not there be lodged, thei sette vp tentes in the feld, to the number of twentie and eight hundred sundery lodgynges, whiche was a goodly sighte. Thus was the kyng in his Palais royall at Guynes.

FRAUNCES the Frenche kyng was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the toune of Arde, which was prepared for his coming many tentes, hales and pavilions, were set and pight in the feld. On the French partie also, there was at thesame toune of Arde buylded the Frenche kynges lodgyng full well, but not finished, muche was the prouisions in Picardy on euery part through all. The French kyng comanded his lodgyng to be made, a little out of the toune of Arde in the territorie of an old castle, whiche by the war of old time had been beate. On thesame place was edified a house of solas and sporte, of large and mightie compas, whiche was chiefly sustained by a great mightie maste, whereby the great ropes and takell strained, thesame maste was staiied. All the roffle of the same house hong on thesame Maste, and with takell was strained and borne, by the supporters of thesame Maste or tree, the colours of thesame was all blewe, set with starrs of golde foyle, and the Orbes of the heavenes by the crafte of colours in the roffe, were curiosly wrought in manner like the sky, or firmamet, and a creasant strained sundell towards the toune of Arde, this cresant was covered with frettes and knottes made of Iue bussels, and boxe braunches, and other thynges that longest would be grene for pleasure.

In this tyme the reuerent father lorde Thomas Wolsey, Cardinall and legate a Latere as the kynges high ambassador rode with noble repaire of lorde, gentlemen & prelates to the toune of Arde, to the French courte where of the Frenche kyng, thesame lorde Cardinall was highly entertained. Of the noblenes of this Cardinall, the Frenchemen made bokes, shewing the triumphant doynges of the Cardinall's royaltie. The number of the gentlemen, knightes and lorde all in erisyn velvet, with the maruellous number of chains of golde, the great Horse, Mules, Courser, and cariages, that there were, whiche went before the Cardinall's coming into Arde with sunters and coferes: Of his great Crosses and pillers borne, the pillowe here or eace broudered, the twoo mantelles, with other the Ceremoniall Offices, with great and honourable number of bishoppes geuyng their attendance, the mightie and great number of seruanntes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet who so redeth of the Frenche boke, shall finde wonderfully set furthe.

The kyng of England beeyng at the Castle of Guynes in the newe palais many noble men of the Frenche court resorted to his grace, to see the kyng of Englande and the queene, and to salute the: who of the kyng of Englande were well entertained.

When the lord Cardinall had soiourned at Arde in the French court by the space of twoo daies, and the high and vrgent princely causes in counsaill declared, the lord Cardinall toke his leane of the Frenche kyng and of all the Frenche courte, and repaired vnto the Castle of Guynes, where he founde the kyng of England his sovereigne Lorde. And thesame kyng by his letters patentes, had gnen full power and authoritie to thesame lord Cardinall, concernyng all matters to bee debated, touchyng the kyng and the realme, and also gane vnto thesame Cardinall, full strength, power, and authoritie, to affirme and conferme, bynd and vnbynde, whatsoever should be in question, betwene hym and the Frenche kyng, as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently.

When the lorde of the Frenche counsaill, sawe the high and great authoritie that the Cardinall had, thei shewed it vnto the Frech kyng, who incontinent commaned his commission to be made, of like power and authoritie, that the kyng of Engla had gnen vnto thesaid lorde Cardinall: thesame power and authoritie had thesame reuerent father,
geuen to him by Fraunces the French kyng, and affirmed by the counsaill royall of Fraunce: Then lastely was sent to the kyng of Englane the Frenche kynges patent, for the lorde Cardinall saied humbly to the Frenche kyng, that he would no suche power receve, without the consent of the kyng of Englane his souereigne Lord: but when the kyng of Englane and his counsaill, had seen and vewed the French kynes Patent, and it well considered, then he sent thesame Patent of power to the lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the lord Cardinall the power received with much gladnes. It was highly esteemed & taken for great love that the Frenche Kyng had geuen so greate power to the Kyng of Englanedes subject.

Thursday the seventh day of June, in the vale of Andren, within the lordeship royall of Guysnes, before daie was set and pight a roayll rich tent, all of clothe of gold, and riche embraudery of the kyng of Englanedes, and diverse other hales and pavilions: thesame riche tente of gold, was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly cothried and made, that ever before was seen, and a presence of the kynges estate, with two chayers and riche cusslynys therein: the ground was spred with Carpettes, of newe Turkey makyng, all full of beautie.

But here is to be noted, that in this meanse season in all the feldes about, bothe nigh and far, wer many of the Frenche gard, ridying and beholding the maner of the Englishe parte, some of the kynges gard, and some of the duke of Burbons gard, and some of the Admyrall of Frances Gard, whiche shily marked the conuейghance of the people of Englanede. At the houre of metynge appoynted, the Lordes of England set their people and seruauntes in good arraie of battail, in a plain feld directly before the castle of Guysnes. The kyng of England commaunded that his Garde shoule bee set in the breste of the battail, or bend of footemen, and so it was done. This battail of footemen conducted theselves so in ordre, that from the firste to the laste, never a persone of the footemen brake his place or arraie, but kepte themselfes so well, that never seruyng men themselfes better demeaned. The seruyng men thus set in ordre in the feld, on the left hande of the kyng of Englande, somewhat towards the Marres, long while thus abidyng, in whiche tyme the Castle of Guysnes shot a waryng peece to the toune of Arde, and in likewys the Toune of Arde gane waryng to the Castle of Guysnes.

Now was gathered the Frenche Kynges repaire, and by the Lorde Marshall and Constable of Frenche, the Lordes and gentlemen were set in ordre: thus bothe these two high and magistate princes, inteyndyng to mete and assemble many woordes and tales, and suspect demeanaynges arose in the Englishe parte, for the great love that we the English men had to our Prince, caused the ignorant people that were not worthy to know the pretence of princes, to suspecte the Frenche parte, and the more because that Monsire Chatelion a Lord of Fraunce, in rigorous and cruel maner, throse doune fourne penmons of white and grene which were set by Richard Gibson, by commandement from the kyng for the suer marke or metynge place of the two kynges, in what ground they should encounter, wordes rose betwene Monsire Chatelion and Richarde Gibson, as farre as became for that deede, but at the commandement of the erle Marshall for that tymes, which was the noble erle of Essex, the kyng of Englanedes cosyn, that wrong by vs Englishemenne was painytely suffered, thus from tyme to tyme, and watche to watche, and vewe to vewe, the houre drewe were, that was by bothe the Princes appoynted, of metynge, or encountre.

Wherefore the kyng of Englanede our souereigne Lorde, with all the Court of nobles of England mounted on horsebacke, and marched towards the valey of Andren in honourable ordre, all Gentlemen, Squiers, Knyghtes, and Barons, roade before the kyng and bishoppes also, the dukes, Marques and Erles, gane attendance next the kyng. He were suche wise that could haue tolde or shewed of the riches of apparell that was emongst the Lordes and Gentlemanne of Englanede, Clothe of Golde, Clothe of Siluer, Veluettes, Tinsins, Sattins embrodered, and Crymosyn Sattens: The marvellous thersor of golde that was wore in Chaynes and Bauderickes, so greate, so weightie, some so manilode, some
some in Colers of. S. great; that the Gold was innumerable to my deyng to bee summed, of all noble menne, Gentlemanne, Squiers, Knightes, and ereny honest Officer of the Kyng was richely appareld, and had Chaynes of Golde, great and meruelous weightie: what should bee saied? surely among the Englishmenne lacked no riches, nor beautilfull apparell on array, and alwaies as the kyng of Englande and his horsmen marched, so pace for pace marched the moste goodly bataill or bend of foote men (out of defensable apparell) that euer I trove before was seen.

The Frenche kyng on his partes marched towards the encounter with all the ruffelers and gallantes of the Frenche Courte. In which tyme came to the Frenche Kyng some reporte, that caused him to tarry, and a light from his Horse, then the Frenche men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Lorde Franche called Monsire Morret, the saied Morret came to the Frenche Kyng, and shewed him the very fidelitie of the Kyng of Englande, whereby the Frenche kyng mounted on horsebacke, and the better couraged, marched towards the place appoynted of encounter.

Thus in marching thone kyng to the other, to the kyng of England came lord George Neuell lord Abergheny, and openly saied, sir ye be my kyng and souereigne, wherefore above all I am bounden to shewe you truthe, and not to let for none, I have been in the Frenche partie, and they be mo in number, double so many, as ye bee: with that was the Erle of Shrewesbury Lorde Steward ready and saied, sir, whatsoever my lorde of Burgheny saieth, I my selfe have been there, and the Frenchmenne bee more in feare of you and youre subiectes, then youre subiectes bee of them, wherefore saied the Erle, if I wer worthie to geue counsaill, your grace should marche forwarde, so we intende my Lorde saied the kyng; then the Officers of Armes cried on afoe, then in shorte while was the kyng on the bank of Andern: then every gentleman as thi roade toke his place and stooede still side by side, their regard or face towards the vale of Andern.

Then the kyng of Englande shewed hymself somedele forwarde in beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that euer reigned ouer the Realme of Englande: his grace was appareld in a garment of Clotho of Siluer, of Damaske, ribbed with Clotho of Golde, so thicke as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and canteled of verie good intaille, of suche shape and makmyng, that it was marueulos to beholde. The Courser whiche his grace rode on, was Trapped in a marueulos vesture of a newe devised fashion, the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wroughte, pounced and sette with antick worke of Romayne Figures. Attending on the kynges grace of Englande, was the Master of his horse, by name Sir Henry Guylford, leading the kynges spare horse, the which horse was Trapped in a Mantellet brouit and bace place, all of fine gold in Seifers, of deuice with Tusselles on Cordelles pendant, the Sadell was of the same sorte and worke so was the bedde stall and raynes. After followed nine hencxe menne, riding on Coursers of Naples, the same young Gentlemen were appareld in riche Clotho of Tissue, the Courser in Harnes of marueulos fashion, scaled in fine golde in Bullion, and workes subtle more then my sightes could conteyne, and all the same horse Harnes were sette full of trembling spanges that were large and faire. The lorde Marques Doreet bare the kynges swarde of estate before the kynges grace, the reuerent father Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in little tyme, abiding the commyng of the Frenche kyng and his, the which in shorte tyme came with greate number of horsemenne, freshely appareld, the Frenche Kyng and his retayne, put themselves in place appoynted, direct against the English parte, beholding every other of bethe nacions, the Frenche menne muste much of the bataill of the foote menne, and euer of the Frenche men to other spake of the multitude of the English men whiche semed greate, yet were not they so many as the Frenche partie.

When the Frenche kyng had a little beholde the English men, he put hymself somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunte, the Duke of Burbon hearyng a naked Swayne uprigh, the Lorde Admirall of Franche, and the Countie Cosman Galias,
Master of the Frenche kynges horse, and no mo persones gaue their attendance in passyng with the Frenche kyng: when it was perceiued that the Fréch kynges swearde was borne naked, then the kyng of England commanded the lorde Marques Dorset to drawe out the swearde of estate, and beare it vp naked in presence, whiche was so doen.

Then vp blewe the Trumpettes, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrelles on both the sides, and the kynges descended doune towards the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of bothe the nacions and on horsebacke met and embraced the two kynges eache other: then the two kynges alighted, and after embraced with benying and courteous maner eche to other, with swe and goodly worde of gretyng: and after fewe wordes, these two nobile kynges went together into the riche tente of clothe of golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose, thus arme in arme went the Frenche kyng Fraunces the firste of Fraunce, and Henry the eight kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, together passyng with communicacion.

When the two princes were in the tente, before rehearsed, the French Kyng saiied, my dere brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine have I travailed to se you personally, I thynke verely that you esteeme me as I am. And that I maie to you be your aide, the realmes and seignories shewe the might of my persone: Sir said the kyng of Engelande, nei- ther your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regarde, but the stedfastnes and loyall kepyng of promesse, comprised in Charters betwene you and me: that ob-served and kepte, I never sawe Prince with my ijyn, that might of my harte bee more loued. And for your louve I have passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the whiche doyng now gladdeth me. And then were the two kynges serued with a banket, and after mirthe had communicacion in the Banket tyme, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

The Englishe officers went and ranne with great pottes of Wyne and Bolles to the Frenche menne, and them chered the best that might bee, all this season stoode still the noble men of the Englishe partie, and all other, and from their places moued nothing that thei were appointed vpnto. And the seruyng men in likewise, not once moued from their ground or standing, but the Frenchemen sodainly brake, and many of them came into the Englishe partie, speaking faire, but for all that, the court of Englane and the lorde, kept still their arraie.

After the two kynges had ended the banket, and spice and wyne geuen to the Fréncemen, Ipocras was chief drinke of plente, to all that would drinke. In open sight then came the two kynges, that is to wete: the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of England, out of their tent, by whiche I then well perceiued that the former kyng of the Frenche kyng, his garment was a chemew, of clothe of siluer, culpiond with clothe of golde, of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the bordours with the Burgon bendes, and ouer that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple colour, wrapped aboute his body trauserse, beded from the shudder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold: this said cloke was richely set with pearles and precious stones: this Frenche kyng had on his hed a kayle of damaske golde set with diamonds, and his couser that he rode on was covered with a trapper of Tissue, brodered with deceuse, cut in fashion matel wise, the skirtes were embowed & frett with fress worke, & knit with Cordelles, & buttons tasseled of Turkey making, Raines and hedstall, answerwyng of like worke: and verely of his persone the same Fraunces the Frenche kyng, a goody Prince, stately of countenaunce, mery of chere, browne coloured, great iyes, high noised, bigge lipped, faire brested and shoulders, small legges, and long fetes.

All the nobles of the Frenche courte, were in garments of many colours, so that thei were not known from the braggyy: thus as the two kynges were in communicacion, diuere noble men of England were called to presence. And then the two kynges departed with their compagnie, the kyng of Englane to Guysnes, the Frenche kyng to Arde.

Saterdaie the. ix. daie of Iune in a place within the Englishe pale, were set and pight in a felde, called the campe, two trees of much honor the one called the Aubespine, and the other called
called the *Framboister*, which is in English the Hathorne, whiche was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the significacion of the Frenche: these twoo trees were mixed one with the other together on a high mountaigne, couered with grene Damaske, the same Trees were artificially wrought resembling the nature of the same as nigh as could be, the leaues were grene Damaske, the branched, bowes, and withered leaues of clothe of gold, and all the bodies and armes of the same clothe of golde, laied on tymber, thei were in heigth fro the foote to the toppe. xxxiiii. foote of assise, in compass about an hundred twentie and nyne foote, and from bough to bough, fourtie and three foote: on these trees were flowers and fruities, wrought in kyndly wise with siluer and Venice gold, their beautie shewed farre: on the mountaigne was a place barber wise, where the Herauldes were, the mountaigne was rayled about, and the railes couered with grene Damaske.

The same day the two noble kynges came to the same trees of honor with greate triumph, accompaniied with diverse nobles and yong valiauntes, before whom were their shildes caried, and after borne aboute the listes, and set on the highest place shewing into the feldes, the kyng of Englandes armes within a Gartier, and the French kynges within a Coller of his ordre of sainct Michael, with a close Crowne, with a flower delici in the toppe. The Campe was in length nyne hundred foote, and in breth three hundred and twentie foote, dichted rounde aboute, sauyng at the entrees with breade and depe diches, diverse skaffoldes were rered aboute this Campe, for the ease of the nobles: on the right side of the feld stood the quene of Englande, and the quene of France with many ladies. The same Campe was railled and harde on euery ende strongly, there was twoo lodgynges in the entery of the same feld, for the twoo kynges richely adorned, which were vnto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed them selves and tooke their case: also in the same compass was twoo greate Sellers couched full of wyne, whiche was to all men as largesse as the fountaine.

The cause of the settyng vp of the twoo greate shields with armes Royall, was for ioye of the honourable metying, there to passe the tyme from idlenes, with the exercise of noble feactes of Armes in honoure, articles of Iustes, Turnayes, batalles on foot in the Barres, and suche victorious feactes were farre in Realmes Proclaimed, whiche caused muche people of noble courage thether to resorte: the twoo kynges as brethren in armes, vndertooke to deliuer all personages of the same feactes, and to the same twoo kynges by the ordre of armes were sociate, the Duke of Vendorsme, the Duke of Suffolke, the countie sainct Paule the Marques Dorset, Monsire de Roche, sir William Kyngston, Monsire Brian, sir Richard Garnyngham, Monsire Caan, sir Giles Capell, Monsire Bukkall, Master Nicholas Carewe, Monsire Mountafilion, and Master Anthony Kneuet, the shields of all these nobles wer hanged on the trees, with ture tables of the Chalenges, to the which all noble menne that would answere, brought in their shields to the same trees, and theim presented to the kynges of Armes, and to the Articles wrote with their handes.

Mondaie the. xi. daie of Iune, the twoo Queues of Engelande and of Fraunce came to the campe, where either saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, & specially there was for the quene of England a Tapet all of perce called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynes of the same.

At the houre assigned, the two kynges armed at all peces mounted on horsebacke, on them attendyng the noble persones, parteners of the chalenge: the French kyng sette hymself on a Courser barded, couered with Purple sattin, broched with golde, and embrauderede with Corbynes fethers round and buckeled, the fether was blakke and haced with golde. Corbyn is a Rauen, and the firste silable of Corbyn is *Cor*, whiche is a harte, a penne in English, is a fether in Frenche, and signifeth pain, & so it stode this fether round was endles, the buckels wherwith the fethers wer fastened, betokeneth sothfastnes, thus was the deuise, *harte fastened in pain endles, or pain in harte fastened endles*: on his hed pece he bare a sleue, all the partenars of the Frenche kynges chalenge were in like apparell, every thyng
THE XII. YERE OF

The kyng of Englaunde mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper of clothe of golde of Tissue, the Arson mantell wise: and the brunt of the trapper bard fashion, cutte in waues of water woorke, and every waue rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde, this woorke was laied rose on russet veluet, and knitte together with poyntes of golde, which waues signified the Lordschippe of the narowe sea. All the parteners of the kynges chalenge wer in the same suite, their horses aswell as their persones attending on the kyng on horsebacke wer sir Henry Guilford Master of the kynges horse, sir Iton Pechie deputie of Caleis, sir Edward Guilford Master of the kynges array, and Monsire Moret of the Fréche courte appareled al foure in the kynges, liery, which was white on the right side, and the left side gold and russet bothe hose and garmet. And on him were attendant on foote sixe honorable knightes. xx. esquiers and officers to the nombre of an. C. and. xii. persons, of the whiche number all the knightes and gentlemen had coates, the one halfe siluer, and ponder cloth of gold and russet veluet, and the other officers coates wer of right Sattin of the same cooure, and all their hosen were of the same suite very costly. Thus with honour and noble courage these twoo noble kynges with their compagniyes entered into the field, and them presented vnto the quenes, and after reverence dooen to thein, thei roade rounde aboute the tilte, and so toke their places appoynted, abidying the answerers, which was for the first the duke Dallencon and tenne men of armes on his bed, on courseres barded, the bardes covered with white and blacke Veluet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bendes of Tynsell sattin, aswell their garmentes as their bardes. Then entered on courseres barded twelve gentlemen of the bende of the lord Admirall of Fraunce, their garmentes and bardes were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple Sattin, after the devise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bendes were entered the field, thei shewed themselfes aboute the tilte, and did reverence to the quenes, the bende of the Duke Dallencon tooke firste place, they made them prest on bothe sides, the Frenche kyng was the firste that ranne, he did valiantly and brake speres mightly.

Then ranne the kyng of England to Monsire Graundcuile with great vigor, so that the speres brake in the kynges hande to the vanplate all to sheuers. And at the second course he gae the said Monsire Graundcuile suche a stoke that the Charnell of his hedde pece, although the same was very strong, was broken in sucheweise that he might runne no more whereby the kyng wanted three courses.

Then ranne the duke de Fandon and mette his counter parte right nobely, and brake speres right valiantly.

The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course & mett rigt valitiily his counter parte and furnished the. v. courses right nobily together like good men of armes.

And when all parties of the chalenge had rigt valiantly furnished their courses then ranne agayne the. ii. noble kynges, who dyd so valiantly that the beholders had great joy, after which courses the herauides cried the disarmy and the trompettes sounded to lodgyng.

Tewesday the. xii. daie of Iune at hower convenient the. ii. quenes take their stages and the bende of chalenge in the feld prest to answere & deluynr all commers, to whom came. x. gentlemen armed on barded horses of the bende of Monsire de Suyys ther barded and apparell cloth of veluet ful of fiers knottes syluer, after that they had prested them vnto y quenes, then they toke thende of the tilte, & then course after course they ronne to the chalengers right eGERly, and the chalengers of the partie of the two kynges delivered to the ende of their articles of Iustes.

Then entred a. xi. men of armes of the bende of Monsire de Tromoyell, on horses barded with yelowe veluet losenged with Fiers knottes of blacke veluet, & after they had saluted y quenes, they likewise toke thende of the tilte, and course after course ronne till they wer deliverer of their chalenges of Iustes: valiantly this daie was finished.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

Wednesday the xiii. day of June, the twoo hardie kynges armed at all pieces, entered into the feld right nobly appareled, the French kyng and all his parteners of chalenge were arrayed in purple sattin, broched with golde and purple velvet embroidered with little rolles of white sattin, wherein was written, quando, all bardes and garmetnes were set full of the same, and all the residue where was no rolles, were poudred and sette with the letter eII as thus L. whiche in Frenche is she, whiche was interpreted to be quando elle, whē she, and ensuing the devise of the first daie it signifieth together, harte fastened in pain endlies, when she.

The kyng of England with all the bened parteners of his chalenge wer likewise on horsebacke, appareled in trappers of losēges russet velvet and clothe of siluer of damaske, enbrodered and set in every losēge a branche of Eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persones wer of the same correspondant to the trapper, this Eglantine tre is sweet, pleasant and grene, and if it be kyndely and frendely handeled, and if it be rudely delt with, it will prikke, and he that will pull vp the whole tre by the top his handes will bee hurte: The twoo kynges with their compaignies thus appareled, presented themselves to the quenes, and so toke the ende of the tilte then entered into the feld Monsire Leskew called lorde Liskyn, with hym came a. xi. men of armes, hymself the. xii. on horses barded and richely appareled, and so rode aboute the tilte and saluted the quenes, and toke the ende of the tilte.

Monsire de Leskew and his. xi. compaignions had their bases & bardes, all blacke clothe of golde of damaske all to cut on blacke sattin, their garmentes had mantell sleues on the left arm, to the wast behynde to the sholder, which was praised for the strangenes.

The Frenche kyng rāne to Moisire Bewsy Damboyes, one of the bend of Mounsire Liskew, & the kyng of England charged his course and rāne to Mounsire Liskew, & so furnished their coursers (as they laie) right nobly and valiantly in breaking spere that were strong, thus course after course eche with other, his counter partie did right valiantly, but the two Kynes surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnes. This bend thus furnished entred the Marques de Salons and his bend. xii. persons all ridyng on coursers barded and appareled in white Sattin and blacke, broched with golde and siluer, with cuttes and culypnes mueche after tawny and blacke Satin billottes: and after reverence done to the Quenes, toke the ende of the tilte. To the Marques de Salons ranne the kyng of England, and the kyng of Fraunce to another of the same bend, stil course after course ranne all the noble men til the Marques de Salons and his bend were delيuted, who bare them right valiantly: then blew the trumpettes the retraicte and the two kynes them vnarmed & after departed, the French kyng to Arle, and the kyng of England to his castle of Guynes.

Thursday the. xiii. day of June by the noonetyde the twoo Quenes mette in the campe and toke their places, the people wer come to behold the honor, & to see the two kynges, who all ready armed entred the feld to receiue and deliuer all men of aswere of Instes. Then entred the erle of Deuonshyre nere cosyn to the kyng of England, on his bend the Iorde Mountague also cosyn to the kyng, lord Harbert, lord Leonard Gray, Master Arthur Poole, Master Frances Brian, Master Henry Norres, and. iii. other all richely appareled, the one side blew Velvet embroidered with a mans hartburnynge in a ladies hand holding a garden pot stilllying with water on the hart, the other side was white Satin embroidered with letters of golde, this compaignic rode about the tilte and did reverence to the Quenes & so abode at the ende of thesame. The erle of Deuonshyre charged his spere, and the French king likewise charged his course to mete thesame erle and rāne so hard together that both their spere brake, and so maintained their courses nobly.

Then ranne the kyng of England to Mounsire Memoracie and him encountered and bothe bare together & gave great strokes, the kynges most noble grace never disussered nor breathed tyl he ranne the fiue courses and deliered his counter partie.

Dukes, Marqueses, Knightes, Esquires and other ranne as fast as euer they might, there was
was none abode when the courses came, till the earle of Deuonshyre and his bend were delivered of demaundes.

Then entered the lorde Hawarde sonne to the Duke of Northfolke and xi. compaignions apparelled and barded in crimosyn Sattin full of flames of golde, the borders ribbed with crimosyn Velvet, and with much honor after due reverence done to the quenes ere they were brought with Heraldes of armes aboute the tiltes, and so toke the place to them appointed, right riche was their apparel. Then ranne the French kyng and encountered the same lord Edmond, they brake both their staues valiantly course after course, the encounter ceassd not til they had furnished theyr five courses, so was the lorde Edmond deliuered by the French kyng.

Then ranne the kyng of Englande to a strong gentle man named Raffe Broke and brake his sperre, and ranne course after course till he had finished his courses right nobly & like a prince of moste valiance. The residue ceased not til they had ech deliuered other of their chalege.

Friday the xv. day of June the king of England moitied on a courser royal, his person armed at all pieces, his apparel and trapper was the one side riche cloth of gold, of tissue, the other side of cloth of Tissue of siluer & cloth of gold of Tissue entered ounde the one with a other, the ounde is warke wauyng vp and doune, and all the borders as well trapper as other was garded with letters of fine golde, and on the other side that was ounde was set with signes called cifers of finegold, the which were set with great & oriental perles, the cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wete, God my frende, my realme & I may. This was the deuise and reason thereof, all the kynges bend were apparelled in like apparel.

The French king likewise armed at all pointes mounted on a courser royal, all his apparel aswel bardes as garmentes were purple veluet entred the one with the other, embrodred ful of little booke of white Satten, and in thebokes were written a me, about the borders of the bardes and the borders of the garmentes, a chaine of blewe, like Iron resembling the chayne of a well or prison chaine, which was enterpreted to be Liber, a booke, within this booke was written as is sayd, a me, put these two together and it maketh libera me, the chayne betokeneth prison or bondes, and so maketh together in Englishes deliuer me of boodes, put to thy reason, the fyrst day, second day, and iii. day, of change for he chaunged but the second day, and it is, hart fastened in paine endles, when she deliuereth me of bondes, thus was thinterpretacion made, but whether it were so in all things or not I may not say. Now is ready the two kynges and princes and all their retaine abidying the answeres, and after salutacions made to the Quenes being by their stages, they toke thende of the tilte.

Ready was Mounsire Florensis and with him, xii. men of armes w coursers barded: the bardes and apparel was Crimosyn veluet, tawny veluet, and Plunket veluet embroidered border wise with shepheherdes hokes of cloth of siluer. When they with honor had passed about the tilte, the reverence to the Quenes and ladies done, the two kynges had their speres redy, then began the rushynge of speres: the kyng of England this day ranne so freshely and so many courses that one of his best coursers was dead that night, this band was delivered man after man of their pretence of lustes.

Then entered bendes of Mounsire de Rambeurs & Mounsire de Pyns eche hauyng, xi. persons in number, the one band all white Satten embrodred with blacke, & the other all blacke, dropped w siluer droppes and after reverence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilte toke their places. Then began a new encounter hard and sore, many of them bare great strokes of the kynges, to their honor: when these bendes were deliuered, the Heraldes cryed a lostel and the princes them disarmed and went to lodgyng.

Saterday, the xvii. daye of June the French kyng with a small nobre came to the castle of Guisnes about the hour of viii. in the mornyng: the king being in his priuy chambre, had therof knowledge, who with glad hast went to receiue thesame French king, and him met and
and welcomed in frendly and honorable maner; & after communicacion betwene them had, the king of Englad departed, leauyng in French king there in a sumptuous place before named. Then was busy the lord Châberlain, the lord Stewarde and all other officers to make ready feast and chere. It were to long to rehearse all for suche a feast and banquet was then made that of long tyme before the like had not been seen.

The king of England thus departed, he toke his horse and with company of noblemen rode to Arde, where the French queene and other noblemen him receaued with muche honor. After whiche receuynge, he was by the sayd queene and lordes brought into a chamber haged with blew velvet embrowdered with flowers deile of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueighed into another chamber, in which was a kynges state: this chamber was hanged and siled with cloth of gold, embrodered with great cordelles or friers knottes of cloth of siluer. In thesame chambre were two cupbordes on either side one, furnishd with great and goodly plate gilde. Noble feasting & chere was there made. After dyner the ladies dressed them to dance, the king the more to glad the queene & the sayd ladies, departed secretly and put himself with xxix. persons more in Maskers apparrel, fyrst x. yong honorable lordes apparelled after the maner of Ry and Ruel in Ruseland or farre Estland. Fyrst theyr hosen of riche godsaten called Aureate satten, overrouelled to ñ kne with Skarlet, & on theyr feete, shoen with little pykes of white nayles after the Estland guise, theyr doublettes of ryche erimosyn velvet and cloth of gold with wide sleues lined with cloth of gold, ouer this they had clokes of crinosyn velvet short, lined with cloth of gold, on everyside of the clokes ringes of siler w laces of Venice gold, & on their heades they had hattes made in ñ toune of Danske and Purses of Seales skynnes, and girdles of thesame: all these yong lorde had visers on their faces and their hattes were drawn like hatbordes full of Damaske gold.

Other x. lordes were apparelled in long gounes of blew Satten of the auncient fashion embrodred with reasons of gold that sayd, adieu Tusesse, farewell youth: they had typpettes of blacke velvet and hattes hangyng therby, and on theyr heades, high violette standing cappes and girdelles of silke, and Purses of cloth of golde after the auncient maner, with visers, their faces of like auncientie.

Then was there another compaignie of x. lordes in whiche maskery the king was himselfe, apparelled all in long garmented of estate all pale riche clotte of golde, all these had riche gounes which were lined with grene Taffia, and knit with pointes of Venice siluer where-with the riche clotte together was fastened on their faces visers, and all the berdes were fine wyer of Ducket gold, the Drumsland plaiers and other minstrells arrayed in white, yelow, and russet Damaske, these minstrells blew and played and so passed through the strete of Arde, all these noble reuelers came into the Frenche court & put them in presse of the Freche Queene and ladys: and when the Queene had them beholden, these reuelers toke ladys and daunced, in passyng the tyme right honorably. Then at thinstance of the French queene and her ladys these maskers and reuelers them disuised, shewyng them what persons they were. Then spices, fuites, icles, and banket viandes wer brought, that done and ended, ñ king toke leave of the French queene & ladys, & in secrete places ebery one visered himselfe, so that they were vknownen, and so passed through the French court, to whom were brought. xxx. horses trapped in Damaske, white and yelow, and so in maskeler passed the toune of Arde, into the felede or campe.

But now to tell of the feast and riches royal that was in the presse of the French kyng in the newe palacio royal. This daie the queene of Englad receyued the French kyng ñ all honor that was accordyng. In presse lacked neither clothes of estate nor other riches, for to shew the multitude of siluer and golde in plate and vessell there that daie, it were impossible: for all noble men were serued in golde vessel, and all other in siluer vessell. When the Frenche kyng had washed and in his estate was set, he was right honorably serued in all things needefull, for Foresters, Parkes, felde, salte seas, Rivers, Moates, and Pondes, wer serched and sought through countreys for the delicacie of viades: well was that man rewarded that could.
could bring any thyng of likyng or pleasure: Right honorably was the French kyng entertained, and all other after their degre and state. When the French kyng had washed, then the ladys came and proferred themselves to daunce, & so did in the French kynges presence, whiche done the French kyng toke leaue of the Quene and ladys of the court. The reuerend father lord Cardinal accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham and other great Lordes conducted forward the French kyng, and in their waie they encountered and met the king of England & his company right in the way of Anderne apparell in their Maskyng apparell, whiche gladde the French king. After reuerence done, the sayd two kynges departed for that night.

Monday the. xviii. day of June, there blew such stormes of wind & wether that mercuail was to hear, for which hideous tepest some said it was a very pronosticacion of trouble & hatred to come betwene princes.

Tewsday the. xix. day of June, the ii. valiant challengers kynges at houre convenient entered into the feld armed at all pieces abidying the context. Then entred Mounsiere Bonyual and his bend. xiii. persons in noble armes riding on barded horses, their apparell was black velvet and cloth of golde bylet wise and fayre plumes on their heades, and after reuerence done to the quenes all ready byeing on their stage, they toke their places at the ende of the tylte.

Ready were the speares, the French kyng charged and ranne course after course and did nobly. Also the king of England ranne surely and lost no course till Mounsiere Bonyual and his bend was deluyuered, the kynges and their retaïne did not cease.

Then entered. xvii. persons royally armed, the bend of the duke of Burbon riding on barded coursers, their apparell was white velvet, tawny and blacke velvet, entred together & all bordered with clothe of gold garnished with plumes of the same colours on their heades, they saluted the quenes and ladys and toke thende of the tylte as they that came to furnishe thende of the chalenge of lustes.

The kyng of England was ready & strake his horse with the spurre & so fiercely râne to the contre partie that his grand graue gard was lose with the great stroke that the king gave him: course after course ñ king lost none, but evermore he brake his spere and so nobly ended his Lustes royal, for this daie ended the kynges great chalenge, and of the king our souereigne lordes doynges, all men there that him beheld reported his doynges, (so valiant were his faictes) evermore in honor to be renown. The French king on his part ran valiantly breaking speares egregly and so well ended his chalenge of lustes, that he ought ever to be spoken of. When the bend of the Duke of Burbon was of their pretence of chalenge dismembered, they toke leaue and departed.

Wednesday the. xx. day of June, the two kynges began to hold Tourneys with all the parteners of their chalenge, armed at all pieces, The French kyng & his bend wer apparellled, their bard covered with purple sattin, broched with gold and purple velvet, over all brodered with garondes of friers knottes of white satten, and in every garlond lily, paune flowers, whiche signified, thinke on Fraunces, to whom he spake was not known, goodly and riche was their apparell.

The king of England mounted on a courser of Naples barded, and after him all the faire bend of his retaine on coursers barded, the barmes & apparell was the one side riche cloth of Tyssue enbrodered, and lined with rich cloth of siluer, all the outward part was cutte, the otherside was russett velvet powderd with gold or purpled with gold, embrodered with a great rocke or montaine, and a picture of an armed knight on a courser barded, vaunying himself vpon that hill: then was on the same in riche embroidery a picture of a ladie coynying out of a cloud strikyng the knight into the body with an arrow a deadly wound, and beneth on the borders were written in letters embrodered that sayd, In loue whoso mounteth, passeth in peril, this was the devise, so was the kyng of England apparellled and all his parteners of chalenge.

The quene of Fraunce and the quene of England were in the places appointed for their honors.
honors. The Judges were on stages to марke with ⪾ kyng of Heraldes that was for Fraiice named Roy Mon Ioy, and for England kyng of armes Garter, to марke and write the dedes of noblemen: every person toke a naked sword in his hande, the trumpettes blew the all wainting to ride and runne, the Frenche kyng and the king of England together entred, and their bendes, and reverence the queues, and rode about the place, and then toke the ende of the felde in their abode.

Now againe sounded the tru̇pettes, ⪾ Heraldes brought in the bedes of diuers noble and wel armed men on horses barded, that is to wete, First the duke of Alanson and. x. men of armes on his bene, the lorde Admyrals bend. xii. monne of armes, and Mounsire Gywer and. ix. in number of men of armes all gentlemen, Mounsire Treno̦yll with. xi. men of armes, mounsire Liskew and with him. xi. men of armes on his bene, the Marques de Salons and. xii. men of armes on his bend, al on horses barded, and naked swordes in their handes.

Then the two kynges put doune their visers & rode to the encoontrer valiantly, and for trouth strake and receiued great strokes, but verely the two kynges bet their countrie parties to disarming, and then were they departed and that bataill ceased: then went other, euermore two for two till it came to the kynges againe, at whiche it neded not to put them in remembrance: for coragiously the two kynges newly fought with great randon and force, they shewed their vigors and strengthes and so did nobly that their counter parties had none aduantage. When they had thus echo of them fought. iii. batailes, then came Mounsire Liskew with whom the king of England had fought one bataill, and presented the kyng with his horse, whiche the kyng gently receiued and for loue incontinent mounted on him and there fought the v. bataill right valiently. Thus was the turney deliuered honorably for that day.

Thursday the. xxj. day of June, the quene of England & the Frenche quene were come to the campe in royaltie like vnto their estats, the. ii. kynges were in the felde armed and appareled, the Frenche kyng and his bend on coursers barded, their bardes cowered with purple broched satten and purple veldt right roiall, without any more enbrodering. The kyng of England was mounted on a horse of force and courage, royally and nobly appareled he and his retaine in sute like. The apparell was of clote of siluer of damaske bordered with letters of cloth of golde of damaske all the borders, on the bardes and apparell were little mountaines & springyng braunche of Basile, wrought all of fyne gold, and every braunche, lefe, and stalke, was lose and wavering, all thicke and full of leaues and braunches, that vned was the clote of siluer sené, ⪾ reasons written on the borders was thus, Breake not these saevte herbes of the riche monte, doute for damage. This apparell was meruailous freshe and fayre: thus the two kynges & their retaine toke the felde. Then entred therle of Devounshyre cosyn to the kyng of England and. xvi. honorable persones in his bene all armed.

Then came mounsire Florenges and. xii. persones on his bend, then came mounsire de Rambeurs Mounsire de Pyns and. ix. men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Bonyual himself and. xiii. men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Burbon and. xvii. men of armes, al wel and warlike horse and armed and euery of these bendes after their desines appareled right richely.

The. ii. noble kynges were ready and either of them encountered one man of armes, the Frenche kyng to the erle of Devounshire, the king of England to Mounsire Florenges. The kyng of England bare backe Mounsire Florenges and brake his Poldron & him disarmed, when ⪾ strokes were striken, this bataill was departed, it was much praised. Then on went swordes & doune went visers, there was little abiding. Sir Iohn Neuell, Master Fraunces Bryan, sir Rouland, and master Robert Garnyngham were this day as aydes for ⪾ hurt persones that before were of the entertaine, and fought frequently bataill after bataill and none ceased till they all that would entre were deliuered of their pretence in chalenge royall pretenced. This day was the chalenge of Turnays after the articles ended, and all noble men deliuered and so departed the felde: then the kynges rode about the felde as honor
THE XII. YERE OF

honor of armes required, and the Herauldes cried la fine des Turnayes, by the sayd two noble princes the. xxi. daie of June.

Frydaye the. xxii. day of Iune in the campe was set a barrier for to fight on foote, also an Hale of the kynges of England was sette in the same place, enbrodered with cloudes of blew, and out of the cloudes the Sunne risyng, the valence of the same was written in letters of blew enbrodered, dieu et mon droit, in whiche Hale the Lordes and other of the entertaine of the chalenge armed them selves.

Nowe was the noble Kynges ready to do battall on foote at the Barriers, the Queenes on their stages: then entered bend after bend on foote and preased to the Barriers, every one in his hande a Punction spere, wherewith without any abode foynd and lashed alwayes one at another, two for two as the lotte fell. When the speres were spent, then swordes to them were geuen. Then preased to the Barriers the two valiant kynges, and other, then was no tariyng but fough with suche force that the fyer sprang out of their armure. Thus bend after bend they were all deliuered by the two noble kynges and their aydes of retaine.

Then in came a bend with two hande swordes and castyng darytes to answere to that chalenge, xii. menne well armed which presed to the barriers & mightely threw their spareas the one to the other, ready or not ready, none fauored other more than two enemies or at ytterance, and ever still two for two, till all were deliuered concerning the chalenge, so this same two kynges safe in body and lymmes ended the battall for that day at the barriers with great honor.

All men of armes passed and departed for that time, much preparacion was made there, as setyng vp tentes, hales, and other places for furnislyng of houses of offices and chalbers of estates for the kynges and queenes, & also the same night was in the campe rered a large frame of tumber worke for a chapel place, whiche was syled w riche clothes enbrodered, wherin was made a stage of two degrees, with the charye and cloth of state for the lorde Cardynall, the alter appareled with all Iuelles myssal of great riches, thesame chapel thus finished the. xxiii. day of Iune beyng satterday, at honre convenient, the said lord Cardinal sang an high and solenme masse by note before the two kynges and queenes, the same done, Indulgence was geuen to all hearers, the two kynges together associate tooke their chamber. Of this masse in Flaunders arose muche communicacion, in so muche that the common voyce went, how the. ii. kynges wer sworne together on the sacrament, which was contrary, for the masse was for none other entent then to geue Indulgence to the kynges.

When tymc was, the two kynges washed and satte to meat under their clothes of estate where they were richely serued, the royaltie of the fire and the riches of vessell, plate and Iuelles surmounteth the witte of man to expresse: the queenes in another Chamber wer serued with no lesse honor, the dyner ended, the sayd strangers royally appareled, presented themselves in places of estate.

To tell you the apparel of the ladies, their riche attyres, their sumptuous Iuelles, their diversities of beauties, and the goodly behauior from day to day sith the first metynge, I assure you ten mennes witte can scarce declare it.

The two noble kynges put themselves in armes with their bend and entered the felde on foote, before the barriers, then entered the bendes of men of armes in armure right richely, then all was ready and the. ii. kynges at the barriers ready to fight right nobly. This day was deliuered at barriers by battall a C. & vi. persones, the. ii. last battailles did the kynges. The kyng of England with few strokes disarmed his counter partie, the French kyng likewise bare himself right valiantly. Thus the sayd satterday was fully ended, and all men deliuered of articles of Justes and all Turnyes and battales on foote by the sayd two noble kynges.

After this chalenge honorably performed, the kynges prepared diuers maskers and especially the king of England had. iii. companies, and in every companie. x. persones appareled as you shall heare.

The
The fyrst persone of the fyrst. x. was apparellled like Hercules in a shirt of siluer of dasmake written in letters of purple about y border, en fames et infanctes cy petit assurance, whiche in Englishe is as muche to say : In women and children is litle assurance: he had on his head a whope with a garland of grene dasmake cut into leaves like Vyne leaues and Hawthorne leaues, in his hand a club covered with grene dasmake full of prickes: the Lyons skyn about his backe was of cloth gold of dasmake, wrought and frysed with flatte golde of dasmake for the heeres, and buskins of gold on his legges. Other thre were apparellled for Hector, Alexandre and Iulius Caesar, in Turkay Iubbes of grene cloth of gold wrought like Chaelot very richly, & on their heades bonettes of Turkay fashion, of cloth of golde of Tyssue, and cloth of siluer rolled in Cypres, kerchiefes after the Panyuns fashion, and girdles of cloth of gold with pendants of thesame cut in great flames, & every one buskins of grene dasmake, & thre other like princes of Iury for David, Issue, and Iudas Machabeus: these thre wer in long gounes of russet Tinsel satten with great wide sleues lined with cloth of gold pendent and great tippettes of the same cloth of gold baundericke wise and whoedes of thesame, buskyns of grene dasmake, their visers had berdes of fyne golde: the other thre were for Christen princes, as Charlemaine, Arthur, & Godfrey de Bulloigne. These thre were apparellled in long vesture of calendred cloth of gold and purple clothe of gold broched together with whoddles and cappes of thesame, visers & buskyns of grene dasmake.

Other. x. were apparellled in cotes of crimosyn Satten al ouer couered with quaterfoyles of clothe of gold, of tissue, and cloth of siluer raised, the gold was fringed with siluer, and the siluer with gold and layd lose on the Crimosyn Satten, and euery quaterfoyle was knit to other with laces of gold. Over that y said. x. persones had every one a large mantle or lrobe of crimosyn satten enbrodered full of figures of gold, and on their heades bonettes of stoole worke of golde of dasmake, and euery one had on his viser a berde of golde wyer with whoddes and buskyns of crimosyn Satten.

Ten of the ladies were apparellled after the Genowayes fashion, the ground of their gounes was white satten, ouer diapred with right crimosyn satten & gold of dasmake, and on their heades square bonettes of dasmake golde, rolled with lose golde that did hang downe at their backes, with kerchiefes or cleves of fine Cypres.

The other. x. ladies were attired after the fashion of Myllayne, in riche Tyssue and cloth of siluer raised, parted, trauers, & ruffled sleues with foreeslunes pendent, knit w points of gold & caules or coyces of gold piped, & Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn satten drawn through with clothe of golde. Thus the kyng of England and. xix. noblemen with him and his sister Quene Marye dowager of Fraunce and. xix. ladies with her like maskers apparellled as you haue heard, all moued on horses trapped in velvet white and yelow, and euermore a lord and a lady ridyng together, with mynstrelsy departed out of Guysnes on sonday the xxiii. day of Iune and toke their way toward Arde, and in the way on the banke of Anderne these Maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with.

The Frenche kyng and his compaigne went to Guysnes, the king of England to Arde, where his maistrie was receiued into the French court, and brought into the chamber of riche apparell, where at the instance of the French Quene the kyng and all his, them disuised and shewed their faces, and at the ladies of England likewyse, then began feast & chere to arise, the king of England was set, and after all y ladies and Maskers of England and were nobly serued of many strange meates: After dyner began the daunces in passing the tyme joyously.

The Frenche Maskers apprerell was not all of one suite, but of seeral fashions, of diners silkes, some cut, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayre, but very beautifull was the sight.

The Frenche kyng and his company was then at guisnes where the quene of Englad
met and welcomed them. Then the French king and his Maskers shewed themselves bare faced, and when the Queene them saw she did them the more reverence. Great was the chere that then was there. After dyner and daunces done, the French kyng drew himselfe into a secrete chamber & put from him his apparel of maskery and toke to him his apparel of vsaunce, in the whiche were many fayre Emeraudes, this done he toke his leve of the queue, and on the court he loked with a high countenaunce, and so departed, the lord Cardinal and the duke of Buckingham him conductyng, the king of England, this tymne duryng, was at Arde, where he passed the time with much solas: At tymne conuenient he toke leve of the Frenchmen & all other of the Frech court, and after they had visered themselves they rode nobly thus apparelled through the toune of Arde, & so passed till they came to the campe whereas all the challenges were finished, and there the French kyng perecciuing the comyng of the English maskers, stode still beholding them. Then the kyng of England put of his viser and preased unto the French king: then the two kynges enbrased and amably together commund, after which communicacion either of other by kyngly salutyng toooke leave, and for remembraunce either to other gauze gifts. The kyng of England gauze to the Frenche kyng a collor of Jewels of precious stones called Balastes the Sanker furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The Frenche kyng gauze to the kyng of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed the sayd two noble kynges, the sayd. xxiii. day of Iune, whiche was sonday and Midsomerday.

During this triumph so much people of Picardie and west Flauders drew to Guyssnes to se the kyng of England & his honor, to whô vitailes of the court were in plentie, the conducitce of the gate ranne wyne alwaies, there were vacaboundes, plowmen, laborers & of the bragery, wagoners & beggers that for drunkennes lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes & ladies that wer come to see the noblenes, were faine to lye in haye and strawe, & helde them therof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flauders, Brabant nor Burgoyne came never a persone to answere to the chalenge: By that it semed that there was small loye betwene the Emperor and the Frenche kyng: Moreover, Mounsire Fayot capitaine of Boleyn with Mounsire Chattelou did ther devoier to have taken the toune of saint Omer, of whiche doyng was thought no goodnes to the Emperor.

Monday the. xxv. day of Iune, the kyng of England & the Queene & all the court removed from Guyssnes to the toune of Caleys & there made the king his abode, where was concluded the metyng of the Emperor with the kyng, wherfore was made newe and great provisions. In the tyne of the triumph there was a mutteryng that the toune of Caleys should be redred into the French kinges hâdes, & for truth the Frenchmen so spake & sayd, wherewith many Englishmen wer greued.

While the king lay thus in Caleys he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse nombre of seruauntes would now serue them for the tyne of his abode, and so caused the Cardinal to call all y gentlemen before him, whiche in the kynges name gauze to them thankes with muche commendacions, and for eschewyng of cost, because the kyng taried but the Emperors commyng, he licensèd them to send home the halfe nombre of their seruauntes & bad them after their long charges to live warely, this terme warely was amongst the most part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdained.

Thus in Caleys rested the king & the queene vntil the. x. day of Iuly. Then the kynges grace with goodly repaire rode to the toune of Grauleyng in Flauders there that night to rest & se the Emperor, on the kyng were waiting the lord Cardinal, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, bishops, Barons, knightes, and gentlemen. The noble Emperor passed the water of Grauleyng, and at a place called Waell, there he met & receyved the kyng of England, the Emperor made such semblant of louve to all the court of England that he wan the louve of the Englisshmen, & so passed the Emperor and the king of England to Grauleyng where the
the kyng lodged the best that might be, all lordes, gentlemen, yomen & all sortes of Englishmen from the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so lounyng maner that muche they praised TheEmperors court. In Grauelynge was the Emperors Aunte Margarete, she welcomed the kyng and other noble men of the realme.

When the French kyng and his lordes had knowlege of the metynge of the Emperor and the kyng of England in the towne of Grauelynge, they were therewith greatly greued, as by many thinges appeared, for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdainne, & in their suites there greatly deferred and had little right and muche lesse favour, so from day to day still more and more began bartbrennyng, and in conclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.

Wednesday the. xi. day of Iuly, the Emperor & the lady Margarete came with the king of England to the towne of Caleys, the Emperor & the lady Margaret were lodged in Stapel hall, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessaries for theircomyng: & for solas was builded a banqueting house, 80. foote round, after a goodly Denise, builded vpó Masters of shippes in suche maner as I thinke was never sene, for in it was the whole spere portrayed, whiche by reason of the great winde that blew, could not be acheuised, theseas day at night, the kyng & xv. persones were appareled all in blakke Velvet covered with cloth of gold, cut on the velvet, fastened w. knottes of gold, on the whiche knottes honge spangels of gold like tuftes, and bonettes of thesame and cloves of crimosyn Satten & cloth of gold wrapped trauers, and their buskyns of thesame clothe of gold. All these lustic maskers went to the Emperors lodging and wer receiued and in the chamber of presens dauce and reuell, the which at the Emperors request, the kyng and other theimselues disuisered, whereby the king was knowen: then the kyng toke his leaue and departed for that night.

Tewsdaz the. xii. day of Iulye, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperor and the lady Margaret supped with the king & the quene at the Checker, where the same night after supper reuellled lxxxvi. Maskers: after the reuelles was a banquete: After whiche banquet the kyng brought the Emperor and the ladie Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

This night was. vii. compaignes of maskers, and in every compaigne. xii. persones all in gold, siluer and velvet richely appareled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse.

In these reuelles were put in maskers apparel diuers gentlemen of the French court vnwetyng to the kyng or any other that bare rule, for diuers yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the Frenche partie, then the Emperors partie, through which means they saw and much more heard then they should have done.

Friday, the. xiii. day of Iuly, the Emperor did intend to haue departed from Caleys, but the counsale was such that he departed not that night. The charters before tyme conclude, there were redee, and to the Emperor declared all the whole articles of high peace and league tripertite, to which the French kyng had assented and fully contented, & for the more exemplificacion of thesame he sent thelorde de Roche with letters of credence to signific the Emperors Maiestie that to the same articles he the Frenche kyng promised in the worde of a king as prince faithfull, to observe & kepe for him and his realme & subjectes. Thus by the lord de Roche in the Emperors presēce & before the king of England in the name of his master there shewed the Frenche kynges will in the towne of Caleys with many high and vrgent causes concernynge the princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Caleys that night, by whiche abode the Emperors servauntes were muche in doubt of the Emperors persone.

Saterday the. xiii. day of Iuly, about none the emperor toke leaue of the quene of England his aunte and of her train of ladies, the kyng with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towards Flauders called Wael, where the Emperor embraced the
the kyng, and him betoke to almightie God, and the kyng gaue to him a courser of Naples richely appareled.

The kyng toke leve of the Duches of Sanoyle great aunte to the Emperor and of all nobles of the Emperors court, & so departed, smal tyme in Calayce the kyng made abode, but in goodly hast shipped and with the quene and all other nobles in saftie toke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sonnier with huntyng and other sportes honorably and made no great iestes this yere.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche with muche noblenes & open court. And the. x. day of February in his owne person lusted to all comers, and the. xii. day his grace and therel of Devonsyre with. iii. aydes answered at the Tournay all comers whiche were. xvi. persones, noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest.

In this tyme was Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham accused to the kyng of high treason, wherfore the kynges grace by the advise of his counsil, sent & directed his letters to thesawyng duke, beyng at his maner of Thornbury in the countie of Glocester, that incontinent he should come to his presence all excuses layde aside. Also the kyng gaue commandement to sir Willyam Cumpton, sir Richard Weston, and sir Willyam Kyngston knyghtes for the kynges body, to take with them secret power and also seruauntes at armes, and that thei should wisely take heed that when the duke had receive the kynges letters, he shoul not convey himselfe, whiche they wisely accomplisht.

The sayd Duke vpon the sight of the kynges letters remoued, & so iorned tyll he came to Wyndsoare, and there offered at S. George, and alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanor, were thesame knyghtes lying. The duke lodged in Wyndsoare for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruailously feared, insomuch e he called unto him a seruaunt of the kynges named Thomas Ward, thesame Thomas Ward was genteman Herbenger for the kyng, and demaunded of him what he made there, who answered, sayng that ther lay his office, there the duke perceiued that he could not escape. And so muche was he in spirit troubled that as he was at brakfast his meat would not done, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly toke his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminister where he toke his barge: before this tyme was the dukes chauncellour taken and as a prisoner kept in the tower, whiche had confessed matter of high treason concerning the kynges persone.

When the Duke was in his barge, he commanded to lande at my lorde Cardinals bridge where he landed with foure or fiue of his seruauntes, desirynge to see thesame lorde Cardinall, but to him was answered how the same lorde was diseased, well sayd the duke yet will I drynke of mylordes wyne or I passe, then a genteman of my lordes brought the Duke with muche reuerence into the Seller, where the duke dranke.

When he sawe and perceiued no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his barge, sayng to his seruauntes, I meruaiul where my chauncellour is, that he cōmeth not to me, not knowynge that he was in prison.

The duke thus in his barge cōmyng towadres London. sir Henry Marne capitaine of the Kynges Garde, on him attendyng. C. yomen of the Kynges garde in a barge on the ruer of Thames met thesame duke, and without abode borded the dukes barge & him in the Kynges name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the duke was brought to the baie wharfe and there landed, the dukes seruauntes were commanded to go to the Maner of the rose in sainct Lawrence Pountnay, and there to abide till the Kynges pleasure were further known.

Sir Henry Marnay brought the duke through the Thames strete to the Tower of London, the people mush kunne that the cause might be, and for trouth till it was knowen, among theim was mush speaking. There was also attached a Monke of a Charter house besides Bristow called Henton, also Master Ihon Delakar the Dakes Confessor, and the dukes Chauncellor before mentioned, al were in the Tower prisoners. The. xvi. day of Aprii was
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambition should be the losse of so noble a man, and so muche in the kynges fauor, by him all lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophesies or false hypocrizes. For a Monke of the Charter house shewed the duke that he should be kyng of England, whiche to the kynges persone could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to suche a false traitor.

THE. XIII. YERE.

IN this tyme inquiries were made in diuerse shyres of Edward duke of Buckyngharn beyn prisoner in the tower of London, where, by the knightes and gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same duke in Blechyngly to the lord Aburgenye, the same Lord was attached for consailement, and the Lorde Mountague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Neuell knight, brother to the sayd lord Aburgeney forbidden the kynges presence.

The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kynges letters patentes high Steward of Eng- lande, to accomplishe the high cause of appeale of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne & judge the causes of the pieris. &c.

Wherfore shortly after was made in Westmynster hall a scaffolde for the lordes and a presence for a Judge railed and counter railed about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonslyre, Essex, Shrewsburie, Kent, Ox- ford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Ihons, lorde Delaware, lorde Fitz Warren, lorde Willough- by, lorde Broke, lorde Cobham, lorde Harbert, and the lord Morley, satte as Peres & judges vpnon thesame duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louel and sir Richard Chomley knightes brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reuered the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kinges lerned counsell. Then the Clarke of the counsell sayd, sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham hold vp thy hande, thou art endited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and yimagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soueraigne lorde the kyng: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the duke answered by my Peres.

And when thenditement was openly reddie, the Duke sayd it is false and vntruc, and conspired and forded to bryng me to my death, & that will I prooue, aleuyng many reasons to falsify the inditement, and against his reasons the kynges Atturnay alledged the exami- naciones, confessions and proues of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought furth, then was brought before him sir Gylbert Perke priest his Chauncellor, fyrist accusor of thesame Duke, Master Ihon Dela- court priest, and the Dukees Confessor and his owne hand writyng layde before him to the ac- cusement of the duke. Charles Kneuet Esquyer Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besides Bathe, whiche like a false ypocrize had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had diuerse tymes sayd to the duke that he should be kyng of England, but the duke sayd that in himselfe he never consented to it. Diuers presumptions and accusementes wer layde to him by Charles Kneuet, whiche he would fain haue couered. The depoisiones were redde, and the deponentes were delinned as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my lorde, the kyng our soueraigne Lorde hath commanded, that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauor and right to you. Wherfore if you have any other thing to say for your selfe you shallbe hard. Then he was commanded to withdrawe him, & so was led into Paradise a house so named. The lordes went to counsal a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of North- folke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touch-
ing the high treasons? the Duke of Suffolke answered, he is giltie, and so sayd the Mar-
ques and all the other Erles & lordes: Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham founde
 giltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, vili. Erles, and. xii. Barons.
The Duke was brought to the barre sore chafyng and swette meruaileously, after he had
made his reverence, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as a Judge sayd, sir Edward,
you have heard how you be endited of high treason, you pleaded there to not giltie, puttyng
your selfe to the Peres of the realme, the whiche have found you giltie: then the Duke of
Northfolke wept and sayd, you shall be ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a
Herdill and so drawn to the place of execucion, and there to be hanged, cutte downe a line,
your members to be cutte of and cast into the fyr, your bowels burnt before you,
your head smytten of, and your body quartered and deuyded at the kynges will, and God
haue mercy on your soule. Amen.
The Duke of Buckingham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you haue sayd as a traytor
should be sayd vnto, but I was neuer none, but my lorde I nothinge maligne for that you
have done to me, but the eternal God forgeue you my death and I do: I shall neuer sue to
the kyng for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him then
I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowe to pray for me.
Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and so led into a barge, sir Thomas
Lonell desired him to sytte on the cussyns and carpet ordained for him, he sayd nay, for
when I went to Westminster, I was duke of Buckingham, nowe I am but Edwarde Bowhen
the mooste cavittie of the worlde. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir
Nicholas Vawse & Sir Willyam Sandes Baronettes and led him through the citie, who de-
sired euer the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is
thende of euillife. God forgeue him, he was a proude prince, It is pitie that he behaued
him so against his kyng and liege lorde, who God preserue. Thus aboute. iii. of the clocke
he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.
Frydaie the. xvii. day of Maie, about. xi. of the clocke. This duke & a great power
was deliuered to Ihon Kyeme and Ihon Skcuynngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffoide on
on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and
lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and al men to pray for him,
and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an axe he toke his death on
whose soule Jesu haue mercy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body & head and
buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was wdrawen fro so noble a man, that he
was not to his kyng in alegaunce as he ought to haue been, suche is thende of ambiecon,
thende of false prophesies, thende of euill life and euill counsil.
About this tyme, Frenuence the Frenche kyng made open warre against the Emperor
Charles both by lande and sea. The Provinces of Aragon, Castel, and all Spayne, Ger-
many, Brabant, Flanders & the steades mainteined the partie of the Emperor. The
kynges highnes csideryng of murder & effusion of Christen bloud, and the trouble that
might ensue to al the princes of Christendome, by invasion of the great Turke, sent
the Cardinal of Yorke his ChAceiller by name lord Thomas Woicsey to his tounce of Ca-
layce to intreate an amitie and peace betwene those two mightie princes. For this voyage
great preparacion was made, not onely for him but also for the Erle of Worcestre
then lorde Chamberlayn, the lord of saint Ihons, the lord Ferryes, the lord Harbert, the
bishop of Duresme, the bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armigane, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir
Ihon Peche, sir Ihon Hussey, sir Richard Wyngfeldel, sir Henry Gildforde, and many other
knights, Esquiars, gentleman, Doctors and learned menne. And thus honorably accom-
panied he rode through London the. xxv. day of Iuly, & at Thomas Beckettes house the
Maier, and Aldermen toke leve of him, praiyng God to send him good spede. Thus passed
he to Catorbury where tharchebishop, and the bishop of Catorbury and other places received
him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder Canape to the Bishoppes
palayce: the. viii. day of Iulye he came to Douer: the xx. day he and thother lordes with
their
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

their retinues toke passage, & arived at Calayce in safetie, where the lord Deputie & coun-
saill received them with muche honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

Shortly after whose arrivaill, came thether \(\bar{\text{y}}\) Chauncelor of Fraunce, and the Countie de Palays with. iiii. C. horse, as ambassadors fro the Frenche kyng and likewise from the Em-
peror came great Ambassadors, and when thei satte in counsail, the Emperors Ambassade
shewed their Commission & power. And euens so did the Frenche kynges Ambassade,
which was more larger then the Emperors Commission. Thus when the grudges were
Declared on bothe sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors coesent to peace, the French
kynges would not. And when the Frenche Ambassadors coesent to peace, the Emperors
would not. The Cardinal then would haue receiued the Emperor, the kyng our souereigne
lorde, the Frenche kyng, and the bishop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the
other Ambassadors had no suche Commission, especially the bishop of Rones, wherevpon
letters were sent to Rome in all hast and the Frenchmen taried in Calayce till he returned,
& beheld the toune, with whiche the counsail of Calayce wer not contented. Herevpon
the Cardinal rode to the Emperor accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the
Frenche ambassadors in Calayce to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dukirkie,
Newport, Owdenborow, & sundry tymes in the waie he was encontre and receiued with
noble men. And without Brughe he was receiued with many noble men, and many lorde
and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his owne per-
sone met him, and shewed to hym and to the other lorde & gentlemen of Englaad gracious
countenaunce, & so accompanied \(\bar{\text{y}}\) Cardinal into the toune, where great multitude of people
beheld them, & so rode to the Emperors palayce where he lighted, and fyrst embrased the
Cardinal and after all the lordes, knightes, and gentlemen of Englannde. It is to suppose the
Emperor knewe of the Commission geuen to the sayd Cardinal, whiche had the kynges power
as if his grace had been present, and also had the great seal \(\bar{\text{y}}\) him, whiche had not
been seen before, or els the Emperor would not haue done him so high honor and reuercence.

The English lorde, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other byeng to
the number of. iiii. C. lx. horse, were well lodged every man after his degree and everie
lodgyng furnished with fewe, bread, bere, wyne, Beues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Ven-
son, and all maner deintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and ban-
kettyng dishes.

The next day after the great chere made to \(\bar{\text{y}}\) lord Cardinal & to all his lorde, knightes,
gentlemen, and all other lorde and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinal
made his proposicion coecernying peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperor and the
French kyng declaryng the calamities, misery and wretchednes that came by warre, and
the commodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde & trauquitie, whiche
proposicion continued a great while: and when the Cardinal had made an ende, the Em-
peror himselfe answered and said: The lawe God byndeth every man to claine and anse
his right, & that thesame lawe byndeth no man to holde, kepe, and withstande another
mans right. Our cosyn of Fraunce doeth witholde our rightes & patrimonies whiche we
have princely desired, & etsones wil, and if he will rendre to vs our said rightes & patri-
monies, we are contented to have peace with him and his subiectes, if not we trust in God
and our right that the troubles by your fatherhed rehearsed, shal come upon him and his
adherentes, And for the titles of our regalitie, to putte that to the bishop of Rome, we do
consider that kyng Edwarde of Englande the third of that name of noble memory, warned
by just title to recover the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, whiche title by inter-
cession was put to the bishop of Rome & his court, to discusse & expended there by \(\bar{\text{y}}\) space
of. xxiii. yeres undetermined, notwithstanding great pursuite & labor was made to haue it
ended: Suche like tyme shoulde be to vs tedious, wherfore we entende by the ayde of God
to folowe our title.

The Cardinal replied and declared the league that was betwene the thr three mightiest princes
of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperor, the kyng our souereigne lorde Henry the. viii.
and the Frenche kyng, and how that to the prince that fyrst moued warre, the other two should be enemies vnto him, and sayd, beholde the mightie power and puissaunt realme, riches, shippes, vitailles, and ordinauce, lordes, chiualry, horsemen, archers and comminatalie, this is in the high and mightie kyng of England my soueraigne lord, and he that fyrst warre beginneth, by the sayd league my sayd soueraigne lorde to his honor may lefully spred his baner and make warre in defence of his frende. For this and other thynges my soueraigne lorde desires of you highnes and Maiestie the consent of peace.

My lorde Cardinal sayd the Emperor, I esteme moste the honor of my dere vnclle the kyng of Englund and trust in his assurance, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Nauye, nor ordinauce shalbe but to our ayde in assistyng our tried title, nor will esent to any thyng in dishonoryng vs or our Empire: God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserved. Lorde God who may esteme more higher inuries and wronges then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louyng subiectes have endured by the house of Fraunce. My lorde Cardinall sayd the Emperor, their pride with our honor we may & must apprehende and ouerthrow by the help of God: With these wordes the counsell brake vp.

All the lordes and menne of honor of England that day dyned in the Emperors court.

When they were set and serued, it came so to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dyner sayd thus. It is thought that the kynges Maiestie of Englund entendeth to make a peace. Alas that ever he should ymagyn a thyng so muche to the dishonor of the Emperor. The kyng is his vnclle, is it not come to his heareng that all the world heareth? It was so that by assent of the bishoppe of Rome and other princes to make peace with vs, the Frenche partie after the battaile of Gyngate obtained by Maximilian then archeduke of Osteriche, where euerie noble manne of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and swele of them a meruaiuall number. They desired the daughter of Maximilian named Margarete to wife, whiche lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuyng, & she beyng like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their handes as quene of the realme, with ducers tounes in Picardie redred with her and partie of high Burgonie, and treasuare meruaiuall. Nowe sitthe thesame Maximilian had spoused Iane daughter and heire of Fraunces duke of Britaigne, whiche lande the Frenchmen ouer raine and spoiled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles kyng of Fraunce for a safe conduct to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safe conduct granted, the sayd ladie Iane passyng through Fraunce with a small company, was by y same Charles taken at Ambois & there maried her against her will, wherupon he forsoke the lady Margarete and sent her againe to her father themperror without redylyuer or rendrlyng againe the tounes that were deliinered with her. And where as the duke of Geldre is subject to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the Frenche kyng, rebell? And where also by just title the realme of Naples ought to be vntied to the crowne of Castle, did not the Frenche kyng faine a jorney into the holy lande pretending title by Ieniamy brother to the great Turke beyng then captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtained the sayd Ieniamy, & so passed into Naples without perill, and seazed all the lande into his handes, & then prisoned he the same Ieniamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castle, he made clame to Naples by Margaret quene of England late wife to Henry the vi.

The kyng of Nauerne is euermore vassal to the house of Aragon & Castell, yet the Frenche kyng caused him to rebel, hopyng therby to subdue the sayd countreys.

Of late daies the Frenche kyng by false treason caused sir Robert de la Marche to submitte himselfe to the Emperors maistie, who receiued him vpó his othe & fidelitie, pardonyng all offences past. Is not this false traitor returned, and is of the Frenche partie? How may that court, that counsell, that kyng, that realme that consenteth to treason & perjury by maintenance of traitors be called honorable? Hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden never to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? & yet doth at this day. And albeit that his Maiestie speaketh not of these things, yet he well
well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayeth, *vivit Burgogyn*, every man that heard this rehersall, knew that it was true; howbeit he was not answered, but some English knightes sayd, syr you haue sayd well; and as God will all must be. Thus was this narracion ended.

In this season the Emperor gate the toune of Mewzon: Also of the Emperors partie a great army arrived in the Duchy of Mylan & also the Emperors power besieged the noble cite of Messiers, but the capitaine called *Franciscus* was suspected of treason, for he removed with the hoste without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperor made a seage volant aboute the cite of Turnay, for the reskeue wherof and also of Messiers the French kyng made a great army and himselfe in person.

Duryng this seage the Frenchmen take a Spaniardes ship laden with Englishmens goodes at Margate within the kings streams, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were Clx. men, and of Spaniardes and Englishmen, only. xxv.

The kyng of Denmarke Cristianus came to see the emperor his brother in law beyng a stately prince, yet meanes was made that the lorde Cardinal and he spake together without great signe of amitie.

The lorde Cardinal after he had soijorned in Bruges by the space of. xiii. daies & concluded divers matters with the Emperor & accomplished his commision: he tooke leave of his Maiestie, and likewise did all the noble men of England, & after couenient ionies arrived with all his company at Calyce, where thereassadors of Fraunce taried him, & immediatly after his ariuyng he treated w the of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did before & that perceived well the sayd Ambassadors & wrote therof to the Freche kyng, yet the welth & prosperitie of both theym and their subiectes were highly reasoned between the Cardinal and the sayd Ambassadors, especially for fisheyng, whereupon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to any parte of thone or thother prince without robbyng, spoyllng, or takyng vnto the second day of February next.

The French kyng with a mightie army & himself in person repaired to the courtrey of Cambray, mindyng to passe the streites, but they were withstood by the Emperors power, yet he continued there fro October vnto Nouembre w out any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the French kyng. The duke Daleson hearyng that, made preparacions w the Almaines to passe the marrys by the point Dassans & there the Almaines had made bridges of Pypes and vessels, and brought thither their great ordinaunce. The Emperor beyng in the toune of Valcian and therof advertised, caused strong watche to be made, and as they would haue passed, the bastarde Emery, & the capitaine of Gaunt with xii.C. men mette with them, where was a great confflcte and many men slaine, and at the last the Almaines wer put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the Frech partie wer slaine in this confflcte. xiii.C. men, and of the Burgonians were slaine the bastarde Emery, the capitaine of Gaunte and iii.C. men.

The lord Cardinal after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and could not bryng them to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperor the lord of saint Iohns and sir Thomas Boelyn knight to aduertise his Maiestie therof.

Likewise the sayd lord Cardinal sent to the Freche kyng the Erle of Worcester and the bishop of Ely to exhorte his grace to peace, he bare them, but he gave them but fewe wordes to answere, and after they had been. xix. or xx. daies in his howst, they tooke leave and returned to Calyce.

Duryng the continuance of the Cardinall in Calayce all writtes and patentes wer there by him sealed and no shyriffs chosen for lacke of his presence.

The kyng of Hungary sent an Ambassador to the kynges highnes for ayde against the Turke, whom the Cardinal honorably entertained during his abode in Calyce. His commyng was for ayde as men sayd against the Freche kyng.

The lorde Cardinal after the returne of the Englishse Ambassadors from the Empeour and from the Frenche kyng, tooke shipping and landed at the porte of Douer, the. xxvii. day
of November, and there toke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kynges grace welcomed him, genyng him also thankes for his great paines and travaile.

This tyme the Frenche kyng layde seage to the toune and Castle of Hedynge, the Burgonions perceyving they were not furnisshed for the defence thereof, forsoke the sayd toune and caste and fledde into Flauders to no little reiroyysng of the sayd Frenchemen.

The Admyrall of France named Mounsire Bonylet with a puissaint armeye made signe as though he would passe into Nauern, howbeit sodainly he recoued with his hose and beseged the toune of Fontraby in Biskay, and brake the fyrst, second, and third walle therof with his ordinaunce meruailously: And after gave a fresche assault to the same. The Spaniardes (notwithstandyng that the ordinaunce was caried into Nauern for defence thereof) defended theimselfes manfully and slime of the Frenchemen. vi. hundreth and moo, and of the Spaniardes. lx. slain. Then the capitaine of Fontraby made serche what vitales was in the toune, and founde that there was but for two meles, he called the inhabitauntes and menne of warre together declaring their great necessitie, and sayd the battery of the walles discorages vs not, but the great necessitie of victalles, wherfore we must do like the Wolfe that runneth from the wood for hunger to his death, and consideryng the great scarceitie of vitalles in Byskay, by meanes wherof we cannot be vittedal we must nedes rendre the toune. Neuertheless they kept the toune seuen daies after that they had neither bread, freshe fruite nor oyles in the same, but onely herbes and water, yet at last herbes failed also, by meanes wherof they rendred the toune by composicion, and or the Frenchemen entred, they delivered the Englischenmen all their goodes out of the toune.

The Frenche kyng liyng embattailed in the countrey of Cambray sodainly brake his campe, not muche to his honor. Great warres was this tyme in Itayle in so muche that the Emperours hoost wanne the citie and countrey of Mylan to the high displeasure of the Frenche kyng, for he lost there many of his nobles and other capitaines & men of warre.

Thus the Frenche kyng returned into his countrey without reskyuing the citie of Turnay, neuertheless he sent them a letter which was taken by the people of the Countye of Nasson, the tenour whereof foloweth.

Trustie and welbeloued we grete you well, lettyng you to wete that dayly before vs appeareth your true faithfull servisses, by that you abode within our citie of Turnay with great jeopardie, to the muche honor of vs and our realme, and to your praise and manely fame for euer, and vs to be your good lord for the demerites of your so high servises. And where as we entend the relief and reske of you and our sayd subiectes and citie of Turnay, we consideryng the weale of our persone and realme, haue removed vs from that purpose. Wherefore we may no more say unto you but God and Mounsire sainct Denys be your succours.

When the Countie of Nasson knewe that no reskeu should come, he then sent for more people and ordinaunce and planted siege on all partes of the citie. Then the capitaine of the Castell and Proutost of the citie alter thei knewe of the Frenche kynges retreite, and after long consultacion amongst them had, rendred the Cittie and Castell by appointment, that is to say, that the Burgeses should haue, xv. daies to depart with bagge and bagage, leuyng behynd them all the ordinaunces aswel of the Castell as of the Cittie. Thus was the Castell and Cittie of Turnay rendred into the Emperors handes the last day of November, the yere of cure lorde God M.D.xxii.

This yere many goodly and gorgious Mômeries were made in the court to the great reiroyysing of the Quenque and ladys and other nobles beyng there.

The last day of December the Cardinal occompanieng the Emperors Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receiued and highly feasted duryng their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisynges, enterludes and bannettes made in the same season.

Pope Leo dyed and Adryan chosen.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London & other places of the realme, and
and many noble capitaines died, as the lorde Broke, sir Weston Browne, sir Ihon Heron, sir Edward, sir Ihon Peche and muche other people.

The bishop of London Doctor Fitz Iames likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to thesame benefice.

The lorde Thomas Hawarde erle of Surrey, came out of Ireland to the court the. xxv. day of January, when he had been there the space of. xx. monethes in great travaile & pain, and often tymes sore troubled by the wynde Irisme, howbeit by his noblenes and manhod he brought the lorde of Ireland to the kynges due obeyesance, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall lande and praise.

The Frenche men this tyne spoiled & shamefully robbed the kynges subiectes on euery coast of the sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng roade his poore subiectes came with lamentations and cryes shewing his grace of the crueltie of the Frenche men & of their inhumane dealing with them, but euery the Frenche Ambassadors promised restitution of euery thynge, but none was restored.

In this moneth of January, the kyng commanded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readynes, which was done with all diligence.

About this tyne the duke of Albay arryved in Scotland, notwithstanding that the Frenche kyng swere vnto the Cardinal that he should never come into Scoultande without the kyng our souereigne lorde's consent, but for all that he had cōmission frō the Frenche kyng although the Frenche kyng wrote to the kyng that he was entred Scoultande without his assent.

The second day of February, the kyng beyng at Grenewiche, came thether the Cardinal with a Legacion from Leo bishop of Rome, and also his ambassadour, on who waited many a nobleman, the kyng met them at his chamber doore welcomyng them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinal, high and victorious kyng it hath pleased our lorde God to indure your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a kyng elecute in favor of the high heauen, and so appeareth presently by your noble persone, so formed & figured in shape and stature with force and pulcritude, whiche signifieth the present pleasure of our lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praised his wisedome, prudence and learning, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinal declared how the sayd bishop of Rome had sent his highnes an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaryng therin his grace to be the defender of the Christian fayth, and his successors for euermore.

And when his grace had receiued the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde & published, he went to his chapel to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundry princes, the Cardinal beyng presented to syng masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Baron with water, the duke of Suffolke gane thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towll, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gane vnto all them that heard the masse clene remission & blessing the kyng and the Queene and all the people: then was the Bull eftsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggebuttes plaited in honour of the kynges newe style. Thus his highnes went to dinner in the middes whereof the kyng of Heraldes and his compagnie began the larges, cryng Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie, defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie thus ended the dinner, with much abundance of vitaall and wyn, to all maner of people.

The, x. date of February, the Lord Hodie chief Baron of the kynges Eschequer gane ouer his office, and for hym was admitted by the Cardinal, master Ihon Fitz Iames, a right honorable man & well learned.

In this tyne was much busines betwene the emperor & the French kyng, wherefore the kyng sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vitalied for the warre: the Admiral was called Christopher Coo, a man expert on the sea, for saffegarde of the Merchauntes, and other the kynges subiectes, that were greuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.
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This tyme the viii. daie of February, the lordes Dacres Wardein of the Marches of Scotlande entered into Scotlande with v. C. men, by the Kynges commaundement, and there Proclaimed that the Scottes should come into the kynges peace, by the first daie of Marche folowynge, or els to stande at theire perilles, the Duke of Albayn beeing then within fiue miles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The xi. daie of February, sir George Neuell lorde a Burgayn, beeing then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and ther in the kynges Beche confessed his endeiment of misprison, in the cause of Edwarde late Duke of Buckyngham to bee true, and after the open confessio thereof, led again to the Tower.

The lorde Montacute the kynges cosyn, was about this tyme recolleced to his graces fauor, whiche had been prisoner in the Tower, with sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edward Neuell was forbidden the kynges presence, for bearimg fauor to the Duke of Buckyngham.

This yere the second of Marche, certain noble men of the Empire arryved in England to passe into Spain, who were honorably received, and in honor of them greate Iustes and triumphes wer made, and that finished and done, thei toke their leaue and departed on their iorney.

Also this tyme commision was geuen throughout the realme, for generall musters to be had, to knowe what power might be made within thesame, & also men sworne of what substanse and landes thei wer of. And the Cardinal aduertised of thesame: not without grudging of the people, & maruelling why thei should be sweorne for thei awne goodes.

The citee of London was this moneth advertised of the commynyng of the Emperor, wherefore was made greate preparacion: and the citezens sent the kynges grace one hundred tall men well harnisshed, to furnishe his nauie, appoynted to kepe the narowe seas.

The French kyng certified the kynges highnes, by his letters dated in Marche, how the Graunde capitain of Fraunce, the Countee de Palais, Monsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had won the town of Milain, whiche was not true, for within firce or sixe daies after, it was euidently known that the Frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

Moreouer thesame season the Frenche kyng wrote his letters to the Scignory and commonalty of Gean, to send him three Carectes, and sixe Galeis furnisshed for the warres, vnto his porte of Brete, to maintein his warres against the foresaid Emperor, who made him by theire letters such a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kynges highnes kept this yere his Easter at his manour of Richemont, and caused his amner to make enquire, eight miles round about thesaid manour, what poore people was in euery parish. And for the eschuuyng of murther, that moste commonlye fortuned euery goodfridaie, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with his alsome at home at their houses.

About this tyme a rouer or theft of Scotlande, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornewall called master Iohn Arondell, and presented to the kynges highnes, who committed hym to the Tower of London, where he remaigned prisoner a long season after.

In the moneth of Marche, as you haue hard before, came certain noble men from the Emperor to the king, which the more to solace theim enterprised a Iustes, he himself was chief on the one side, his courser was harned in cloth of siluer, of Denmarke embrodere with. L. L. L. of Golde, and vnder the letters a harte of a mane wounded, and greate rolles of golde with blacke letters, in whiche was written, mon nauera, put together it is, ell mon cecr a nauera, she hath wounded my harte, and thesame suite was his base.

Then folowed sir Nicolas Carewe, his base and barde was white Damaske, on whiche was embrauder with Cloth of gold: a prison and a man lokying out at a grate, and ouer the prison came from the prisoner a rolle, in whiche was written in Frenche, in prison I am
at libertie, and at libertie I am in prison, and all his apparell was garded with shakelles of siluer.

Then folowed therle of Deuonshire, the lord Roos in one suite, their apparell was white veluet, embrauderid with cloth of golde, wrought in devise an harte, trayersed crosse wise with a chayne, the which decyded the bard in four quarters, in twoo quarters was a hand of golde holding a spere of the worlde, on the other twoo quarters was twoo handes holding two plumes of fethers, and on the borders were written my harte is betwene ioye and pein.

Then folowed Anthony Kyngston, and Anthoby Kneuen, their apparell was a hart bounde in a blewe lace, embrauderid on Crimosyn satin: and written about with letters of gold, my harte is bounde.

Nicholas Darrel had a bard and base of black sattin, embrauderid full of hartes, turned or broken of gold, and written in letters of siluer, my harte is broken.

Last of that bend was Anthony Droune, whiche had a bard of siluer full of speeres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of gold written aboute in letters of blacke sance remedy, without remedy.

Then entered the Duke of Saffolke and his bend, all in bardes and bases of russet veluet and cloth of siluer, embrauderid with braunches of paunces of golde, at these Iustes were many speres broken, whiche the straungiers highly commended.

The third day of Marche, the Cardinall made to the kyng and the Ambassadors, a great and a costly banket, and after that, a plate and a Maske, their garments were russet sattin and yelowe, all the one side was yelowe, face and legge, and all the other side was russet.

On shrouetewesdaie at night, thesaid Cardinall to the kyng and ambassadors made another supper, and after supper thei came into a great chamber hanged with Arras, and there was a clothe of estate, and many braunches, and on every braunch, xxxii. torchettes of waxe, and in the nether ende of thesame chamber was a castle, in which was a principall Tower, in which was a Cresset burning: and two other lesse Towers stode on every side, warded and embattailed, and on every Tower was a banner, one banner was of iii. rent hartes, the other was a ladies hand gripyng a mans harte, the third banner was a ladies hand turning a maligne harte: this castle was kep with ladies of straunger names, the first Beaute, the second Honor, the third Perseuerance, the fourth Kyndnes, the fifth Constance, the sixte Bouutie, the seventhe Mercie, and the eight Pitie: these eight ladies had Millian gounes of white sattin, euery Lady had her name embrauderid with golde, on their heddes calles, and Milieo bonettes of gold, with Iwelles. Vnder nethe the basse fortesse of the castle were other eight ladies, whose names were, Dangier, Disdain, Gelousie, Vnkyndenes, Scorne, Malebouche, Straungenes, these ladies were tired like to women of Inde. Then entered eight Lordes in clothe of golde cappes and all, and great mantell clokes of blewe sattin, these lordes were named Amoros, Noblenes, Youth, Attendance, Loyaltie, Pleasure, Gentlenes, and Libertie, the kyng was chieff of this compagnie, this compagnie was led by one all in crimosin sattin with burnyng flames of gold, called Ardent Desire, whiche so muced the Ladies to geue over the Castle, but Scorne and Disdain said they would holde the place, then Desire saied the ladies should be wonne and came and encouraged the knightes, then the lordes ranne to the castle, (at whiche tyme without was shot a greate peale of gunnes) and the ladies defended the castle with Rose water and Compittes, and the lordes throve in Dates and Oranges, and other fruite made for pleasure, but at the last the place was wonne, but Lady Scorne and her compagnie stubbornely defended them with bowes and balles, till they were driven out of the place and fled. Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prisoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verie pleasauntly, which much pleased the straungiers, and when thei had daunced their fill, then all these disuisered themselfes and wer known: and then was there a costly banket, and when al was done, the straungiers toke their leave of the king and
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the Cardinall, and so departed into Flaunders, geyng to the kyng muche commendation.

The kyng like a prince which forseeth all thynges, saw what warre was likely to ensue, caused the erle of Surrey his high Admirall, to put in readines his nauie, both for the conductyng of the Emperoure into Engelande, and also for the defence of his subjectes, which were daily robbed and spoyled on the sea, which lorde Admirall toke suche dili-

gence with the helpe of sir William Fitz William his Vice Admiral, that all the shippes by

the beginnyng of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especial the Henry grace of due, the kynges great ship, was brought out of the riuier of Thanis into the Dounes, redy to sail whether God and the kyng would.

In this yere at the Assise, kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and all

gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke suche an infeccion, whether it wer of the sauer of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that many gentle-

men, as sir Ihon Cut, sir Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen there-

of died, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly es-

cape with their lives. And this yere also died Sir Edward Pownynges, knight of the

Gartier, sir Ihon Pechy, and sir Edwarde Belknap, valiaunt capitaines, whiche were sus-

pected to be poysoned, at a banket made at Arde, when the two kynges met last.

This yere also, was not without Pestilence nor Derth of Corne, for Whete was sold this

eyre in the citee of Londô, for. xx. s. a quarter, and in other places, for. xxvi. s. viii. d.

And in thesame yere in Decéber, died Leo bishopp of Rome, for whom was chosen, one

Adria borne at Vîrike the Emperors schoole master. And in thesame moneth Gawan Dog-

glas bishopp of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke

of Albany was arriued into Scotland, and had taken vpon hym to be gouernour of the

kyng and the realme to whom the kyng assigne an honest pencion to liue on. But when

the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albany was arriued into Scotland, and had taken

the rule of the young king, his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter,

consideryng the Duke to be heire apparant to the Crowne of Scotland: wherefore he sent

Clareseaux kyng of Armes into Scotland, and with commandement, that he should de-

clare to the Duke of Albany, that his pleasure was, that he should depart ý realm of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French kyng, at the

last metyng, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the kyng of

England was nece to the kyng of Scottes, and by the very bond of nature, ought to de-

fende his nephew. Wherefore his nephew beynge young, and in the custodie of him, to

whom, if he should dye, the realme of Scotlande should discende, he doubted lest he

might be brought out of the way, as other dukes of Albany before had serued the heires

of Scotlande: and if he would not anoyde Scotlande, then Clareseaux was commanded to
defie hym, which accordingly did defe hym, at holy Rode house in Edenbrough, to

whom he answered, that neither ý Frêche kyng, nor the kyng of Engelande, should let him
to come into his naturall country, by their agrement: also as touching the young king, he

saied, that he loved him as his souereigne lord, and hym would kepe and protect, against

al other.

When Clareseaux had reported his answere to the King, then he knewe well that all

this was the French kynges dooyng, wherefore he promised in all thynges accordingly.
The erle of Anguise of Scotland that had maried lady Margaret, the king our souereigne

lorder sister, late wife vnto kyng James of Scotlande, that was slayn at Floddon felde, was

by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after

his arriuyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and his brother likewise,

which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the. vi. day of Marche, the French kyng commandd all Englishmênes goodes

beuyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a reste: and likewise deteined the kynges

tribute, whiche he should have out of Fraunce, and also the French quenes dowry, and

when
when the kyng sent to him for it, he euer gauue faire wordes, and made delaies, but none was paied, and euer the Ambassador promised faire.

THE XIII. YERE.

THE king this yere kept the daie of S. George with great solemnite, at his manour of Richemond, where wer elect to the ordre of the Gartier, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperor, and Arch duke of Oystrike, and sir Richard Wyngfeld knight by the Emperors meanes, to the which the Emperor had geuen two hundred pound pension, out of the house of Burgoyne, whiche sir Edward Pounynges before had of the Emperors gifte. During this war betwene the Emperor and the French kyng, and the kyng of Englande lying still an entreator betwene them, the Englishemen were robbed on both sides, and when their wines were laden at Burdeaux, and ready to depart, it was attached, and the Merchantaunes put in prison: the poore fishermen on the coast of Englande, sometyme met with the Frenchmen and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Merchants of England, that had factors at Burdeaux, complained to the king of England, and shewed hym how the Frenche king, contrary to his league and his safeconduit under his seal, by his people, had taken their goodes and emprisoned their factors and frendes, and can have no remedy. Likewise complained all the Merchantaunes, how their ships were restrained, in evry port of Fraunce, and their goodes rifeled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsaill, were sorry to here the coplaintes of the merchants, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Ambassadors, to whom the Cardinall saied: sir how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euer in the name of the kyng your Master, that all leagues, promises, and couenauntes should be kept, & that full restitution should bee made of evry hurt and dammage, and that ferme peace and amicit should be kept, but contrary to your saiyng your Merchantaunes be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he hath gaunted his safeconduit, yet they be robbed, and staied at Burdeaux, is this the peace that you and your Master hath promised to be kept? Is this the amicit that he was sworne to kepe? Is this the word of a kyng? Is this the strength of a prince, to breake his safeconduit? And where you aduisd our merchantaunes to sue in Fraunce for restitution, and did warrant them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for thei haue sued there long and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue emprisoned them; and kept bothe them and their goods, is this justice? is this restitution? And all this was your procurement, and now see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside this the kyng is enformed, that the kyng your Master hath spoken by hym, foule and opprobrious wordes, yea in the hearyng of the Englishemen whiche were sore greued to hear such wordes, and were not able to be reveuged.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce saied, that it was not so as it was reported: well saied the Cardinall, if you note the couensail of Englande so light as to tel fables, you may be mis-ayused. But I pray you how often times hath the kyng written to your master, for restitution of such roberies as hath been done, and yet can haue no redresse? Wherefore he graunted letters of marke, which may stand with the league, but Monsire Chastilion hath taken Merchantaunes of Englande prisoners, and hath sent certain other for their rausome, this is open warre & no peace. Master president Polliot or Pulteyne the French Ambassadour, answered, that suerly the matters which wer alleged against his Master the Frenche king, were but forged matters and not true: but he saied that for a truthe, daily in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made against the Englishemen for greate roberies done by them, aswell on land as sea, affirmynge it to be done in the Emperors querell, and yet the French kyng for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiectes to be vnhard, although he daily lament the great iniury, done to hym and his subiectes by Englishemen: and therefore my lord I praiie you, beleue no suche tales, till I haue tolde you the truthe.
THE XIII. YERE OF

Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laie here for the payment of money for Turney, and they foure wer delievered, to my lord of sainct Ihone, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrew Wyndsoare, and to sir Thomas Neuell, every knight one to kepe safe, and none of their country to speake with them priuely, and the Ambassador was comauied to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for, whiche ordre abashéd the French hostages, and thambassador; but there was no remedy, and commandement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the Frenchmen, body and goodes and them to kepe in prison, till he hard farther of the kynges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and aboute, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and aboute London, wer full of them, some of them escaped by speakingyng Dutch, and saied thei wer Flemynges borne, whiche was not tried.

The king for safegard of his Merchauites, sent xxi. goodly shippes to the sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen other shippes he sent toward Scotland, whiche entered the Frith, and proffered to enter into the Scottishe shippes that lay in the haun; but the Scottes ran their shippes on land, and the Englishmen folowed with boates and landed, and set the shippes on fire, and at Lithe toke certain prisoners, whiche they brought into Englande, & still the kynges great nauie kept the narrowe seas, for then was neither peace betwene Engleande and Fraunc, nor open warre as you haue hard.

The kyng had perfect knowlege, that Charles the Emperor would be at the kinges toune of Calice the xxiii. daie of May, to passe thorow Engallande into Spain, wherefore the kyng sent the Marques Dorcet, accompanied with diverse knightes and gentlemen, to receiue hym at Calice whiche in all hast sped them thether. Likewise the Cardinal toke his jorney toward Douer the xx. daie of Maie, and rode through London, accompanied with two Erles. xxxvi. Knightes, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishoppes, ten Abbottes, thirty Chapelleines, all in veluet and Sattin, and yomen seuen. C. and so by jorneying he came to Douer the xxvi. daie beyng Monday. In the mean season tidinges were brought to the kyng, that the Frenche kyng had sent a great army toward Calice, and the men of war laie at Abuile, Munstrell, Bullein and aboute, nere the English pale. Wherefore the kyng like a Prince that forsawe all, and entending not to be disceauced, wrote to his nobles, and cities, and tounes, to prepare certain menne of warre in a readiness, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the nauie, so that thei might shortly be at Calice if nede required.

On Sundaie the xxv. daie of Maie, the lorde Marques Dorset the bishop of Chichester and the lorde de Laiwar, with other noble men, at the water of Granlyng, receiued the Emperor in the name of the kyng of England, and so the Emperor embrasse them, and he hauncing in his compagnie many noble men came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was receiued of sir Edward Guylford Marshall of Calice, with fiftie menne of armes richly beacen, and also a hundred archers on horsebache, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receiued with procession, and then by the lord Barne deputie there, and the consaille of the toune: then was he receiued by the Maior and Aldermen of the toune, and then of the Maior and merchandise of the Staple, and so conveigned to the Cheeker, and there lodged.

On the Mondae, he and al the nobles of Spain, Flandres, & Germany, toke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the Clocke at after noon, and with hym the duke Daluoy, the Prince of Orenge, the Countie Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the lorde Omond, and the Marques of Brandebrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receiued hym on the Sandes, accompanied with three hundred Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen of Engallande: the emperor embrasse the Cardinall, and toke hym by the arme, and so passed forward and toke horses and rode together to Douer Castle, where thei wer lodged. Thenglishe Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperours train, every man according to his degree. The kyng of England was come to Cantorbury, the xxvii. daie of Maie, and receiued by
the Archbishop: and hearyng of the Emperors arriuall, with a smal compaignie on the
Wednesdaie, beyng the Assension euem, he rode to Douer, and with muche loye and gladnes
the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday the kyng
brought the Emperoure abore on his newe ship, called the Henry grace a dieu, a shippe of
xv. C. and rowed aboute to all his great shippes, whiche then lay in Douer rode, the
Emperor and his lordes, muche praised the makynge of the shippes, and especially the artilerie,
they saied, they never sawe shippes so armed.

The same day at after none, the two noble princes marched forward to Cantorbury, where
the Maior and Aldermen received them without the toune with a solempne oracion, to whom
the Emperours Secretary answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swardees borne naked
before theim, and the Emperour on the right hand entered the citee of Cantorbury, and
so with procession were brought to Christes Church where the Archepiscopal and twelve pre-
lates mitered, received them under a Canapy, and so they offered to the Sacrament, and the
Emperor was brought to the Bishoppes palace, where he lay for that night, and the kyng
lodged at sainct Augustines. The morowe after, these princes remoued to Sityngborne, and
the next day to Rochester, where the Bishop receiued them with the whole Couent, and on Mon-
daie thei came to Gravessède by one of the Clocke, where they toke their Barges, and there
wer thirty Barges appoynted, for the straualers, and so by. vi. of the clocke they landed at
Grenewiche, the same Monday the. ii. day of Iune, where the emperor was of the kyng
newly welcomed, and al his nobilitie, and at the halle doore the Queene and the Princes, and
all the Ladies, receiued and welcomed hym: and he asked the Queene blessing, (for that is
the fashion of Spain, betwene the Aunte and Nephew) the Emperor had great loye to se
the Queene his Aunte, and in especiall his young cosyn germain the Lady Mary. The Em-
peror was lodged in the kynges lodging, whiche was so richely hanged, that the Spanyardes
wodered at it, and specially at the riche cloth of estate: nothyng lacked that might be
gotten, to chere the Emperor and his Lordes, and all that came in his compaignie, were
highly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to doo the Emperor pleasure, was prepared a lustes royall:
on the one part was the kyng, the Erle of Deuonshire and. x. more compaignious, al
mounted on horsebacke, their apparell and bardes, were of rich Cloth of golde, em-
broidered with siluer letters, very riche, with great plumes on their heddes. This compa-
ignie tooke the felde, and rode aboute the tilte: then entered the Duke of Suffolk, and
the Marques Dorset, and. x. with them barded, and their apparel was russet veluet, em-
broidered with sundery knottes, and culpyns of golde. The emperor and the Queene, with
all the nobles stode in the gallery, to behold the doyng. The king ran at the duke of Suf-
folk. viii. courses, and at every course brake his spere. Then every man ran his courses,
and that done, all ranne together volant, as fast as they could discharge, and when the
spereys appoynted were broken, then they disarmed and went to supper. After supper, the
Emperor beheld the ladies daunces, and sodainly came to the chamber, sise noble me, ap-
parelled in Crinosin veluet and cloth of golde, and a mantell of taffeta, rolled about their
bodies, and hooordes and bonettes of cloth of golde, on their heddes, and veluet buskyns
on their legges: these Maskers entred and daunced a greatte while with the ladies, and so-
dainly entered sise other Maskers with drumslaces, appareled in long gounes and hoddes
of cloth of golde, of whiche number was the kyng, the duke of Suffolk the prince of
Orange, the Countie of Nassow, the Countie of Nauery, & Monsire Egremond. Whé
these maskers wer entred, the other anoyded and then thei toke ladies and daunse, so that
the straualers muche praised them, & when the tyme came, every person departed to their
lodgyng.

Thursday, they that Iusted the other daie appoynted theimselfes to Tornay, & as the kyng
was armuyng him, there came to him one George Luffkin and shewed him, that there was
one come fro his Ambassador in Fraunce, the king called for the messenger, and deliuered
his letters, whiche the king red, and said to sir William Compton, tell the Emperor that I
have
haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come bether: sir Willyam Compton, went and told this to the Empereoure, which without delay came to the kyng, whiche shewed him the letters fro sir Thomas Cheyne his Ambassador wherein was conteined the definituie answer, made as wel to sir Thomas Cheney, as to Clarencesaux king of armes of Englynde, by the Frenche kyng, to the kynges requestes: for you shall understande, that the kyng of Englynde, by his Ambassador, had often times demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull debte, and also restitution to be made to his subiectes greued, and farther also the league was broken by makynge warre on theemperor, so that now by the league the kyng of Englynde should be enemy, to him that first brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had so much compassion, on shedyng of Christen bloud, that he would not entre warre, but shew himself a mediator and an entreator betwene theim. And vpò this sir Thomas Cheney had often moued the French kyng, & also moued him to take peace with the Emperor for two yeres, so that some mediation of peace might be entreated, in the meane season: to all this the French kyng answered, we haue well considered your Masters desire, to the which we nothing agree, nor hold vs content with his request. Sir said thambassador, the kyng my Master shal be advertised of your answere by me, wherefore I beseche your grace of safe conduite, to returne into England: then saied the kyng there is an officer of armes come hether out of England, let hym come and he shalbe hard, and haue an answere, to which thing sir Thomas Cheney answered not but with reverence departed, and so on the. xxi. daie of Maie, the said officer called Clarencesaux king of armes, came to the French kynges chamber at Lions, which was accompagnied with many noble men and gentlemen, and then Clarencesux put on his cote of armes, and desired license to speake, and libertie according to the law of armes, which was to him granted: then he declared that where the French kyng was bound by league tripertite, to kepe peace with the Emperor, and with the king of England, and whosoeuer first brake, the other two to bee enemies to hym, to the which league the Frenche king was sworne, whiche league he apparently had broken by making warre on thenemperor, by sir Robert de la Marche and by hymself in persone. Wherefore the kyng by that league must be his enemie and take parte against hym.

Also he declared, ÿ the French king kept away the kynges rıtes and debts, dowe to him. Also that he deitned the dower of the French quene. Also that contrary to his promise, he had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrary to Justice he had emprisoned Merchantes, haungy his safeconduite, where they should have gone in safety, seyng there was no warre proclaimed, betwene hym and the kyng his master: all these articles with many mo, ÿ kyng my master is redy to proue. Nay said the French kyng, I began not the war, nor sent Robert de Lamarche to make warre, but commaunded hym to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, & he had our toime of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the duke of Albany, it hath cost me. xl. M. Frankes, to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into his owne countrey. This the Frenche kyng excused his vntruth. Sir I am farther charged to tell you, said Clarencesaux that the kyng my souereigne lord, boldeth you for his mortall enemie, from this daie furth & al your adherentes: well said the French kyng, I loked for this a great while agone, for sith the Cardinal was at Bridges, I loked for no nother, but you have done your message: then ÿ French king rose and departed, and Clarencesaux was conueighed to his lodgyng, and shortly after, sir Thomas Cheney and he, by safe conduite, departed and came to Bullein, and there Monsire Fayett capitain there, theim both staid till the Ambassador of Fraunce, whiche had lien in England, wer clerely delievered out of Calice. The whole circumstance of the demaundes and defiance, and the French kynges answere, was conteined in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Emperor (as you haue hard) but while the king and the Emperor loked on the letter, a sodein noyse rose emongest both their subiectes, that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them bothe by the French kyng, whiche was nothyng so. Thus now was the warre open of all parties, betwene
between England and France, & Spain. When the two princes had of this matter com-
mmoned their fill, the emperor called for a horse, and the king himself was armed, and bothe
the bendes that should Tornay mounted on horsebacke, and the emperor in rich apparell of
tissow and richely trapped brought the king into the felde; and toke vp his horse, that all
men had great pleasure to beholde him. The men of armes fell to Tornay, and brake
swaredes and were seuered, and after came together again, and fought very vaiauntly, and
when tyme was, the Herauldes cried the disarme, and assone as the king was vnarmed, the
Emperor and he wete to supper, and after supper the kyng brought the Emperor into the hall where
was a Cuppurd of xii. stages all set with great nightie plate al of golde, att he vpper end hong
three clothes of estate, and the hall was full of greate lightes, set on gylte braunches.

When the twoo Princes were set and the queene also, then entered in eight noble menne in
Maskers apparell with visers, their garmentes blacke Velvet garded and embroudered with
golde in cut woorkes and ouer that double Lumberdy Mantelles of Sattin, folded vp on
every shulder, curiously embroudered, these Maskers were halfe Englishe Lordes, and
the other straungiers. They toke Ladies and daunsed, and sodainly entered eight other
Maskers, appareled in ryche tinsel, matched with clothe of golde, and on that Turkey
Clokes rebanded with Nettes of Siluer, and betwene the knittynges Flowers of Golde, and
the Mantelles were Crimosyn Sattyn, both the Maskers had hoddes of Crimosyn Sattyn,
these lustie Maskers entered, and rereed lustely, and when they had done, then were there
spices brought and wyne, and then all persones began to drawe to reste.

On Friday, the sixe daie of lune, the King and the Emperour with all their campa-
ignes marched toward London, where in the waie, a Myle from Sainte Georges barre,
was set a riche Tente of Clothe of golde, in whiche Tente were two lodgynges, one
for the Emperoure, and another for the kyng, where these two Princes shifted them.
And when the Herauldes had appointed every man their roume, then every man set
forarde in ordre, richely apperalled in Clothe of golde, Tissew, Siluer, Tynsell, and Vel-
nettes of all colours. There lacked no massye Cheynes, nor curious Collers: an Englishe-
manne and a straungier roade euer together, matched accordyng to their degrees, before
the Emperoure and the Kyng, were borne twoo swords naked, then the two Princes folowed
in Coates of Clothe of Golde, embranuered with Siluer, bothe of one suite: after them
followed the Kynges Henxemenne, in coates of Purple Velvet pieled and paned with
riche Cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperours Henxe menne
in equall number, in Coates of Crimosyn Velvet, with two gardes, the one Golde,
and the other Siluer: then followed the Captaines of the Gardes, then the Emperours
Garde on the right hande, and the Englishe Garde on the left hande, and so in
this ordre they were forarde, and in the waie the Maior Ibon Milborne and his brethren,
in fine Skarlet and well horsed, met with the Emperoure and the king where one sir Thomas
More knight, and well learned, made to them an eloquent Oracion, in the praise of the
two princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their
subjectes, to se them in such amity, and how that the Maior and Citezens, offered any
pleasure or seruice that in them laye, next their souereigne lorde.

When this was done, thei came into Southwarke, where the Clergie receiued thei in
Copes, with Crosses, and Sensoes, and so kept the one side of the strete, all the citee
through. When they came by the Marshalshi and the Kynges Bence, the Emperoure desired
pardon of the kyng, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours request, pardoned a great
number of thei. When they were asmoast at the Bridge foote, there was a staic, the Kyng
demanded the cause, and it was told hym, that the Herauldes had appoynted two gentle-
men to ride together, one was the Ambassadour from the Marques of Mantua, to the
Emperour, and the other from the Citee of Seines, to the Emperour also, and the Citee
and the Marques were not frendes, the Emperoure incontinent, sent his Lorde Chamberlaine
to thei, saiyng: that if they would that daie do him honour, he would thanke thei,
and if they would not ride as they were appointed, he praied them to departe. When
the
the Lorde Chamberlaine had told this message, they rode furth and made no more curtesie.

When they were come to the Drawe Bridge, there were set Targettes, of the Armes of the Emperor and his Dominions, richely painsed, and on the other side, stode one greate Gyaunte, representing Hercules, with a mightie Clubbe in his hand, and on the other syde stode another Gyaunte representing Sampson, with the Iawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These two Gyauntes helde a greate Table, in the whiche was written in Golden letters, all the Emperours Stile. From the Drawe Bridge, these twoo Princes passed to the middes of the Bridge, where was raised a faire edifice, with Towers embattayled and gates, all like Masonrie, of White and Blacke, like Touche and White Merbell: aboue this byldynge was a faire pagiaunt, in the whiche stode Iason all in harness, hauyng before hym a golden Fleece, and on the one side of hym stode a fiery Dragon, and on the other side stode two Bulles whiche beasts cast out fyre continually, & in a tower on the one syde stode a fayre mayde representing the lady Medea whiche was very straungely and richely apparelled, and aboue this Pagiant were written these verses.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Leticiae quantum mimijs prebebat, Iason} \\
\text{Aurea Phrixee vellera nactus ouis} \\
\text{Leticiae quantum tulerat Pompeius et Urbi} \\
\text{Hoste triumphato Scipio Romulidum} \\
\text{Tantum tu nobis Caesar mitissime Princeps} \\
\text{Intrans Henriici Principis hospicium}
\end{align*}
\]

When they had behelden this Pagiant they came to the Conduite at Gracious strete where was made a Bastyle with two great gates, one on the one side of the way and the other on the other side, and over these gates and betwene these gates were made, iii. great towers embattailed and vaueted with lopes Lucanes like Masonry, curiously wrought, and in the middle tower was a clothe of estate, vnder whiche sat one representing the Emperor, and in the third tower representing the kyng. And Charlemayne hauyng, ii. swordes gaued to the Emperor the sworde of Iustice, and to the kyng the sworde of triumphant victory, & before him sat the Pope to whom he gave the croune of thorne & thre Nayles. About this pagiant were sette all the armes of the electors of thempyre and these verses in a table.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Carole Christigenum decus et quem scripta loquentur} \\
\text{A magno ductum Carolo habere genus} \\
\text{Tuque Henrici pia virtutis laude refugiens} \\
\text{Doctrina ingenio religione fide} \\
\text{Vos pretor consul sanctus cum plebe senatus} \\
\text{Vestos haec fausto sydere gestit ovans}
\end{align*}
\]

This Pagiant was made by the Esterlynges.

From Gracious strete, where the Esterlynges stode in good order, the twoo princes came to Leden balle wher ouerhwarde the great strete that leadeth to Byshoppes gate was erected a goodly Pagiant wonderfull curiously wrought, it was xxxviii. fote broad and lxxx. of length, at the fote of the pagiant sat Ilion duke of Lancaster called Ilion of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the third. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leanes whiche by pollecie dropped swete water, and on euyry braunch satte a kyng and a queene or some other noble personage descended of the sayd duke, to the number of lv. images, and on the toppe stode the Emperor, the kyng of England and the Queene, as thre in the vi. degree from the sayd Duke. This pagiant was made at the cost of the Italians & was much praised. Frø hence they passed to y conduite in Cornhill where the strete was enclosed fro side to side with ii. gates to open & shitte, and ouer the gates were arches with towers embattailed set with vanes and sculptioouns of the armes of the Emperor & the kyng, and ouer the arches were two towers, the one full of Trompettes and the other full of Shalmes and shagbuttes whiche played continually:

Betwene
Betwene these two towers was a palice, vnder a riche clothe of estate sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was served with x. kynges, Dukes and erles all bearyng Targettes of their armes, and when the Emperor and the kyng were commyng thither a Poet sayd,

*Laudat magnanimos virs inculta Roma Catones*
*Cantant Hannibalem punita regna suum*
*Gentis crat Solime rex ingens gloria David.*
*Gentis Alexander gloria prisa sue.*
*Illustrat fortes Arthuri fama Britannos*
*Illustras gentem Cesar & ipse tuam*
*Cui deus imperium victo precor hoste secundet*
*Regnet ut in terris pacis amica quies.*

When this was sayd, they came to the Stocks where was a quadrant stage where on was an Herber full of Roses, Lyllies & all other flowers curiously wrought, and byrdes, beastes and all other thynge of pleasure. And aboute the Herber was made the water full of Fyshe, and about it was the Elementes, the Planettes and Starres in their places and euerthing moved, and in a type was made the Trinitie with the Angels singynge, and the Trinitie blessed the kyng & the Emperor, and vnder his feete was written, *behold the lover of peace and concorde.* And so they passed through the Poultry to the great Conduite in Chepe, where was made on the right hand of the sayd Conduite (as they passed) in maner quadrant with fower towers, at every corner one with goodly types, betwene every tower was a gallery, whiche galleries were hanged with clothes of golde and siluer within, and so couered over. The forefronotes of euer gallery were hanged with white & grene Sarcenet wreathed and with great knottes of golde, let doune in maner of a valence before the gallery, and vnder the sayd galleries were Targettes and scutcheons of the Emperors and kynges armes & deues. In the fower towers were fower fayre ladys for the cardinall vertues so richely besene that it was great pleasure to behold, every vertue hauyng a signe and token of her proprietie. In the galleries sat children mixed with men and women singer and playyng on instrumetes melodiously, of the whiche sort one child sayd these verses folowyng.

*Quanto amplexeatur populus te Cesar amore*  
*Testantur varis gaudia mixta sonis*  
*Aera, tube, Litui, cantis eitheare calamisq;*  
*Consone te resonant organa disparibus*  
*Vnum te celebrant, te vnum sic cincta salutant*  
*O decus, O rerum gloria Cesar aue.*

When they came to the ståndard there was made a mightie buildyng of tymber 4 towers set in carbes forced with arches buttád & al abilamentes embossed, & the kyntelles infusioned with pillers quadrant & the vautes in orbes with crombs depotyng & molders bearyng vp the pillers & in the rofe was a lower swellynge, in 6 top whereof was a barren of the armes of Spayne & England & al the pagiant ful of scutcheons of armes of the ii. princes. At the fote of this pagiant sat Alphons kyng of Spayne richely appareled, & out of his brest a branche of whiche sprang many kynges, quenes and princes whiche satte and were lincly persones richely appareled every one with a scutcheon of armes shewyng their marriages, and in the highest branche satte the Emperor, the kyng and lust v. and vii. degrees fró the sayd kyng of Spayne, to who the sayd kyng Alphons sayd these verses.

*Carole qui judges sceptro & diademate sacro*  
*Tua; Henrice simul stemmata iuncta gerens*  
*Alter germanis, lur alter clara britannis*  
*Miscens Hispano sanguine xerque genus*  
*Viniite felices quot vixit secula Nestor*  
*Viniite cumamns temporae fatidice*

After this pagiant seen & the verses sayd, they came to the lide Conduite in Chepe where
was buylded a place like heauen curiously painted with cloudes, erbes, starres & the Hierarchies of angels, in the top of this pagiant was a great type & out of this type sodainly issued out of a cloude a fayre Lady richely appareled, & then al the minstrels whiche wer in the pagiant plaid & the angels sang, & sodainly againe she was assumpted into the cloud whiche was very curiously done, and aboute this pagiant stode the Apostles wherof one sayd these verses.

\[\text{Ob quorum adventunm tocies gens ipsa britannia}\\ \text{Supplex dijs superis vota preterg; dedit}\\ \text{Quos etas omnis, puerti, iuuenesq; senesq;}\\ \text{Optarunt oculis sepe videre suis}\\ \text{Venistis tandem auspicio Christi Mariæ;}\\ \text{Pacis coniuncti federe perpetuo.}\\ \text{Heroes saluete pij, saluete beati}\\ \text{Exhilarent nostros minima vestra lares}
\]

Yet you must not forget for all the pagiantes how the Citezens well appareled stode within raiies sette on the lefte side of the stretes and the clergie on the right side in riche copes, whiche sensed the princes as they passed and all the stretes were richely hanged with clothies of golde, siluer veluet and Arras, and in euery house almooste Mystrelsy, and in euery strete were these two verses written in letters of gold.

\[\text{Carolus, Henricus, vivant defensor tertii;}\\ \text{Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie}
\]

Whiche verses wer also written in other tables in golden letters as ensueth.

Long prosperitie

To Charles and Henry

The one of faythe

The other of the Churche

Princes moste puissaunt.

Chosen defendant.

When they were past the lytle Conduite they came to the west ende of Poules churche and there they alighted, there was a Canapie redy vnder whiche they two stooed and were receiued by the Archebishop of Caunterbury and xxi. prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high aultar and returned to horsebacke and came to the Blacke Friers where the Emperor was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodg'd in his newe palace of Brydewell, out of the whiche was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, whiche gallery was very long, and that gallery and all other galleriyestherewer hanged with Arras. The kynges palayce was so richely adorned of all thynges that my. witte is to dull to descriue them, or the riches of the hangynges or the sumptuous building and giltyng of chambers.

On saterday the kyng & the Emperor playd at tennice at the Bayne against the princes of Orenge and the Marques of Brandenborow, & on the Princes syde stopped the erle of Deuonshyre and the lorde Edmond on the other syde, and they departed eu'n handes on botthysydes after xi. games fully played.

On Whitsunday the viii. day of Iune the emperor and the kyng with great honor both apparelled in cloth of siluer reysed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white except their bonettes, roade to the Churche of saint Paule & there heard high Masse whiche was sung by the Cardinal whiche had his trauers & cupboarde, and before Masse ii. Barons gave him water & after the Gospell ii. Erles, and at the last lustratory ii. Dukes whiche pride the Spaniardes sore dislayned. When Masse was done they returned to Brydewell where the Emperor was highly feasted. Thesame sonday at after noon the two princes went by water to Westminster and roade to the churche, and in ridyng all the sanctuary menne cryed mercye and pardon, they were so hastye and presed so nere that the seruauntes at armes could scarce kepe them from touchyng the Emperor and the kyng: The Cardinal gave them a gentle answere whiche contented them for a tyme. They wer receiued with Procession into the Abbey & heard euensong & beheld kyng Henry the seuenthes chapel & then
then went into Westminster halle, at the largenesse wherof the Emperor muche meruailed: then they turned to Brydewell and there supped.

On Monday they dyed in Southwarke with the duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and rode to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgeing and the next day to Hampton court, where they had great chere and from thence on Thursday to Wyndsore where he hunted Fryday and Saterday and on Sondaye at night in the great halle was a disguising or play, the effect of it was there was a proud horse which would not be tamed nor bridled, but amitie sent prudence and pollicie which tamed him, and force & puissance bridled him. This horse was sent by Fréche kyng, & amitie by the king of Englad & themperor, & the other prisoners were their counsaill & power, after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of. xii. men and. xii. women, the men had in garmente of clothes of golde and siluer lose layde on crimosyn Satten, knit with pointes of gold, bonettes, whoddes, buskyns, were all of gold. The ladies were of the same suite which was very riche to behold, and when they had daunced, then came in a costly baket and a voldy of spices, and so departed to their lodgeing.

Monday, tuesday, and wednesday the princes and their counsell sat moste parte in counsell, and on Corpus Christi day, they with great triumph rode to the college of Wyndosre where the Emperor wore his Mantle of the Garter and satte in his owne stall, and gane to the Heraldes CC. crownes: that day bothe the Princes received the Sacrament, and after Masse both were to kepe the promises & league eche to other, for the which amitie great joy was made on both parties, & after Tarde in the Masse was ended they went to dyner where was great feasting.

On Fryday they departed out of Wyndosre, & by easy jorneyes came to Winchester the xxii. day of June, & in the way thither, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Winchester there was Surray Admyrall of England with all kynges Nayue was come to Hampton, and with him the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Gyles Capell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Richard Iernygham, Franques Bryan, Anthony Browne, Ibon Russel, of which many were of the kynges preny chamber: These with many more departed from Hampton with. xxx. shippes well manned & ordinauced in the ende of June, noising that they should only skoure the seas for safeguard of the Emperor and his Nauye: But they had priy instructions to go to another place as you shall hear after.

All this while was the warre on the parties of Picardy hotte, and the capitaine of Bullain called Fayet wrote ene mockyng letters to the garrison of Calayce, and said if the garrison of Calayce would issue out, he would mete with them halfe way with. iii. M. men. Whervpon sir Edward Guildforde Marshall of Calayce, whom the capitaine of Bullain called the fyerbrand, because it was his badge, sette further out of Calayce the xi. day of June with. xii. C. men, & went out of Calayce and sent a pursuaint to the capitaine of Bullain certiflying him that he was commynge with his fyerbrand, and bad him kepe promise. This officer declared the message to him, but he came not: Furth marched sir Edward til he came to Marguisson and taryed to see whether the capitaine of Bullayne would come or no. And when he sawe he came not, he set fyer in the toune, and the light horsemen forayed the heastes and pillage, and brent villages all about, whiche was well perceived in the country a farre of, and towardes night all the crewe came home with good pillage, & on the morow sir Edwarde Gyldforde delivered a prisoner franke and free, on condition he should tell the capitaine of Bullain that he had bene at Marguisson with his fyerbrand; whiche truely did his message, for the whiche the capitaine brake his head: all the castels and fortresses in the English pale were well manned and vaitaled and lacked no artillerie, so that the Frenchmen could do them no harme.

When the Emperor and the kyng laye at Bysheps Waltham they joyned sent letters of defaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as aye and confederate with the Frencche kyng. The first day of July the Emperors naune sailed before Hampton, which were C. lxxx. goodly shippes.
shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leaue of the kyng and had great
gyftes geuen him and muche money lent to him, & so the vi. day of July he toke his
shippe, so with all his Nauy he made saile towards Spayne where he arrived in safetie the.
x. day after.

The kyng about this very tyme sent to the citie of London to borow xx. M. poûdes,
whiche sore chafed the citizens, but the somme was promised, and for the payment the
Mayer sent for none but for men of substance. Howbeit the craftes solde muche of
their plate. This summe was payde, and the kyng sent his letter promisyng payment of
thesame and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were content with this payment and sayd,
let the riche charles pay, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through al the
realme, and priuy scales deliuered for the repayment of the same.

This season the. xxi. day of May was the citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors capi-
tain called Octauiano de Columna, whiche had with him. iii. M. and. iiii. C. Spaniardes. v.
M. Italyans, and. iiii. M. Lanceknightes: & in the citie was taken Porter de Nauarro the
Frenche kynges familiare captaine and all the lordes of Geane whiche fauored the Frenche
kyng were taken prisoners or slaine, and especially one Octauiano Faragoso, whiche ruled
there for the Frenche kyng, was euil punished: The spoyle of the citie that the souldiers had,
was, iii. M. dukates beside the pillage, whiche was a great thyng.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Admyrall of Englande whiche departed from Hampton as
you haue heard, and so with his Nauy sayled and shouered the seas, and at last came on the
costes of Britaigne, and commaunded the wysest Masters and Marriners to boy the haun
of Morles, whiche was done, and so the next night all the fete came to the haun of
Morles in safetie & moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to
harnes and to auanue their standarde, & all souldiers to geue their attendance on their
capitaines, and then the lorde Admyral appointed and caused. xiii. pieces of ordinaunce
called Faucons to be brough to land and drawen furth with strenght of men. Then when
all menne that shoulde go forwarde were landed, the lorde Amryall with banner displayed
tooke lande on the Estside of the haun the first day of Iulye, and with him a frayre band
of souldiers, as the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, sir
Richard Iernyngham, sir Wyllyam Barantine, sir Adrian Foskew, sir Edwarde Donne, sir
Edwarde Chamberlayne, Fraunces Bryan, Richard Cornewall, sir Anthony poynes, sir
Hery Sherborne, and the vice Admyrall, sir Wyllyam Fitzwillyam, sir Edmond Bray, sir
Gyles Capel, sir Wyllyam Pyrton, sir Ithon Cornewalles, sir Ithon Wallop, sir Edward
Echyngam, sir Wyllyam Sidnay, Anthony Browne, Gyles Huse, Thomas More, Ithon
Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Louell,
Robert Iernyngham, Anthony Kneuit, sir Ithon Tremaille, and the Master of the kynges
ordinaunce, sir Wyllyam Skeyungton, and Ithon Fabian sericant at armes, by whom this
enterprise was chiefly mowed as was reported, with many other gentlemen and souldiers,
to the nombre of vii. M. The lorde Admyral and sir Richard Wyngfeld brought these men
in good order of battayl, & caused Christopher Morres the master gunner to see all things
ready prepared, & then about. viii. of the clocke of the sayd first day they marched towards
Morles in good ordre of battayl with banners displaied. The alarne rose in the cuntrie
and came to the toune of Morles whereby the gentlemen of the cuntrie shewed themselues
prickying, but when they heard the Gunnes they fledde as though they never use d warre.
They of Morles armed themselues & went to the walles and shut the gates and laide ordi-
naunce where was most iepardie. The Englishemen had gone fiue long myle and were
now come to the subberbes of the toune: then the Englishemen archers shot, and the Bry-
tons then defended: then the Admyrall commaunded the toune to be assaulted, then the
lord Fitz Water and the Baron Curson quarterad the toune on all sides: The Englishemen
shot with long bowes, and the Brytons with crosse bowes, whiche defended themselues man-
fully. Before the port Moruet where is a Meason de dieu, At this gate gane the assaut sir
Richard Wyngfelde, Nycholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, sir Ithon Wallop and all their bendes
hauyng
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

having with them the pieces of ordnance called Faucons, whiche the master Gunner oftentimes shot, but the Britons had set the gate full of bushcases, then the Gunner sayd, have at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs entre the gate, the gentlemen assented, then the sayd sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed gentlemen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open & entred, and the gentlemen followed, the Brytons defended them selves, but they were put backe or slaine, then was the great gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the toune. When the Brytons on the walles sawe the toune gotten, some fled at the posterne and some by another way, the best way that they could. Therle of Surya with baner displayed took the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchauntes, for the toune of Morles was very riche, and specially of lynnen clothe, the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the toune as muche for a trueth or more then they could bear away.

The lorde Admiral commaunded the trumpetetes to blow, & commaunded all men to set fyer in all places of the toune (the holy places only except) the daye market place was set on fyer, & the suburbes brent ardently. Wherefore all men were commaunded to their standards, and aboute vi. of the clocke the army retreted, and as they passed they brent the villages and places. And when night approched they drewe together and all that night lay on land abyding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all menne were shipped and fewe or none missed. The lorde Admyrall commaunded. xi. or xvii. shippes small and great lying in the havens to be brent. Then they sailed furth and came to anker before saint Polle de Lyon, then he commaunded that the foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harbore for shippes called pimpoll or pynpole, which was some done, the boats entred the place & some laded, but then the Brytons were to strong, & so they tooke their boats & bet the Britons on the shore, & the Brytons shotte great ordnance at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen brent a shippe of C. C. and many small vessells. When tyne came the whole flete sailed into the havun of Brest and with barks and rowe barges entered the havun and toke land, and some Englishmen did so muche that they set fyer in houses nere the castle. And even as the englishmen sayled by the cost the Brytons them assayed and forthead the lading places, yet dayly the Englishmen skrynished with the Brytons and came safely to their shippes againe: with this warre was all the duchy of Brytaigne sore troubled.

When the lorde Admiral had wonne the toune of Morles as you have heard: He called to him certaine squyers whom for their hardynes and noble courage he made knightes, fyyst sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthony Browne, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas Mor, sir Gyles Huse, sir Iohn Russell, sir Iohn Raynsford, sir George Colham, sir Iho Cornwalles, sir Edward Rigley and divers other. And after he wrote letters to the kyng of his good speade: In the whiche he muche praised all the gentlemen and souldiers for their hardynes. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he should retrebye, and so he came with all his flete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the xxii. daye of Iulye to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on monday the xxiii. daye of Iulye the kyng and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sat in castellal to determine what should be done. After this the kyng dyed with the Cardinall the xxiii. daye of Iulye, where he rehearsed that he had knowlege that the Admyrall of Britaine was in Morles with a C. horsemen and a C. crosbowes, and yet he felle, and the kyng muche commaunded the lorde Admyrall for his paine and hardynes, and praised theim of his garde, and specially fiftie, whiche left pylferyng and never went from the lorde capitaine.

On the third day of Iulye while this enterprise was done at Morles, certaine Frenchemen to the number of CCC. horsemen came nere to the castle of Guysnes and kept theim selfe in
in a close couert and so appered viii. or x. horsemen and came nere Guysnes: out of the
Castle came viii. Englishe archers and issued out of the gate and fell with the French horse-
men in skymishie: to the Frenchemen reske came iii. men of armes and skymishim with
the archers whiche were a fote. Then out of Guysnes issued xii. dimilances all Welshe-
men and ran boldely to the Frenchmen in reske of the fotemen. Then the whole bend of
Frenchmenissued out and set on the Welsmen, the fotemen shotte while arwes lasted
and were faire to fight with swordes, the Welsmen kept themselves together and entred into
the bend of Frenchmen and brake their spere and then fought so with swordes that they
made away, so that they escaped from the bend of. CCC. horsemen, and of the Frenchmen
were slayne. iii. men and v. horse, the fotemen were overpressed and solde their lines-dere,
for the Frenchmen slew them all and would take none prisoner, they were so angry with
the killynge of their horse.

Also the xxv. day of Iuly sir Wyllyam Sandes treasurer of Caleys and sir Edward
Guilforde Marshall, with banners spread, issued out of Caleys with. xiii. C. menne and went
into the Frenche pale lokying for Monsire Poyat whiche was a great mocker and a coward:
But when he appeared not they went to Whitsand baye and set it on fire, and the people fled
to the churche which was fortified and stode at defence, the body of the churche was
womme and then they toke the Steple and some yelded themselves, but the remnant by con-
saile of a priest maintained so long that the Steple was fyred and then the priest cried succour,
but it was to late and so the Frenche people was fayne to lepe the Steple & diuers perished,
& they that were saued wer led to Caleys as prisoners.Further the. xxiii. daye of the same
moneth Thwaites a captaine of an Englishe shippe touke land beside Bullein, and went vp
there myle into the countrey to a toune called Newe Castle and forrayed all the countrey and
in his returme set fyer on the toune & brent a great part thereof maugre the Benleens, and
with his bowes and men whiche only was. vi. score, he put backe. lxxx. Hagbushes and
CCC. men of warre of the countrey and so came to their shippe with all the botie and lost
no mănotstandingly they were sore folowed to their shippe.

On the. vi. day of Iuly the Cardynal satte in the starre chamber at Westminster where he
sayd, my Lordes it is reason that you should know the honorable enterprise done by the
lorde Admiral and his company in Brytainge whiche hath dispoyled and destroyed the
great toune of Morles in Brytainge with all the villages and countrey adjoynyng to the same,
which is in the Frenche dominion, whiche mischife had never risen if Fraunces the Frenche
kyng had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should never retayne the Swy-
ches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not invade any of the Emperors landes or do-
minions, whiche he hath done, for he hath invaded the countrey of Heynade and Cam-
brisses and taken Hedyng and Fountrary with many otherl injuries. For when the kyng sent
me and other to his great costes the last yere to Caleys to treate a vntrie and peace betwene
them, all our saijnges were by the Frenche kyng turned into a moequery. Also cotry to
his promise he hath suffered Duke Iohn of Albany to entre the realme of Scottland to the
great perill of the yong kyng Nephiue to our soueraine lorde, and also entendeth to mary
the Queene of Scottes contrary to the kynges honor. The sayd Frenche king also withhold-
eth the kynges ducetie & his sisters dower: wherfore of necessitie the kyng is entred into
warre, for no prince will suffre the wrong that the French kyng offereth him as an vantre &
forsworne prince, wherfore for your owne welth you must now ayde your prince, trusting
to punishe and chastise him to your great honor and fame.

Then by commaundement wer all Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned and the goodes
seazed, and all suche as were denizens were commannded to shewe their letters patentes, &
suche as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchmen and
Scottes that had maryed Englishewomen, the wifes and children had halfe thegoodes deliv-
nered vnto them, and every denizen to fynde suertie for his good abeyryng, and al the other
if they would be bayled to fynde suerties for their tructh and allegeaunce or els to be kept in
prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The
The kyng nowe beyng entered into the warres thought not to slepe and let the Frenche kyng alone, wherefore by his letters he commanadith certain persones with their powers to come to Lodon in August. They that wer appointed came accordyngly, every man with suche a number as to him was appointed, and when they had mustered at London before the kynges Commissioners they were nere. xii. M. menne with the Pyoners, and they wer sent to the lorde Admyral whiche lay at Douer with. iii. M. me, but because haruest was not done, y vitaile at Caleyis was tylle for so great an armye, wherfor they lay in Kent at tounes there a good space, whiche made vitayle dere there.

In this summer the lorde Rosse and the lorde Dacres of the North whiche were appointed to kepe the borders against Scotland did so valiantly that they burned the good toun of Kelsy and. lxxx. villages and overthrew. xviii. towers of stone with all their Barkynys or Bulwerkes.

The kyng also in this moneth was credibly enformed that the Duke of Albany prepared an armie Royal of Scottes and Frenche men to invade England. Wherefore the kyng appointed the Eyle of Shrewsbuty his lorde Steward to be his Lieuenaunt generall against the sayd Duke and his invasions, whiche directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shrop-shyre and all other beyond Trent that all menne should be in a readynes.

The. xx. day of August the Cardynall sent for the Maior, Aldermen and the moste stingelianest commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to theim that the kyng had appointed commissioners through the whole realme of England for to sweere evry manne of what value he is in movables, the more to be in readynes for the defence of this realme. And the kyng for the lone he beareth you would hau syt with you himselfe, but for certayn other affayres in his warres to be done he is letted, and so hath appointed me your Commissioner. Wherefore in conciuent tyme certifye me the number of all suche as be worth one hundredth pondes and vpwarde, to the entent I may sweare them of their values: for fyrst the kyng asketh of you your lounyng hartes and due obeywaunce, the whiche shall appeare by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken he desyreth only the tenth part of goodes and landes whiche is the least reasonable thing that you can ayde your prince with. I thinke euerye one of you wyll offer no lesse, as for the spiritualte every manne is in the shyres sworn and shall and wyll gladly pay the fowrth part to the kyng and liue on the. iii. partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you wyll not grudge, therefore name me the men of substaunce and for the meener sort, meener Commissioners shall be appointed. Sir sayd a marchaunt if it may please you, how shal this tenth part to the king be deliuered? in money plate or Iuelts sayd the Cardynall at a value. O my lorde sayd the Aldermen it is not yet two monethes synte the kyng had of the Citie. xx. thousand pound in ready money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Goddes sake remembre this that rich marchaunte in ware be bare of money: Well sayd the Cardynall, this must be done and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes and named suche as they judged to be of that value, which came before the Cardynall and moste humbly besought him that they might not be sweere for the true value of their substaunce, for the true valueacion to theim was vunnoewen and many honest mennes credence was better then his substance, and therefore they doubted the peril of periusy. Well sayd the Cardynall sythe you dread the cryme of periusy, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I will for you borowe of the kyng a lytle. Make you your bylles of your owne value likely to report your fame and then more bu-yues nedeth not: for you see what two costly armyes the kyng hath ready against bothe Fraunce and Scotland, therfore nowe shewe your selues lyke lounyng subjectes, for you be able enough. And I dare sweare the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Millions of golde. Then sayd the citizens we would to God that it were so, and the citie is sore appaired by the great occupiyng of straungers. Well sayd the Cardinal it shalbe redressed if I lyue: But on Saterday next I shall appoynet one to receive your bylles, and he that is of credence more then of Substaunce let him resorte to me and I will be secrete and good to him.
Thus the Citezens departed in great agony saying, that at the last loane some lent the fifth part and now to haue the tenth part was to muche. And here note well that the x. thousand poundes that was lent was not taken as the xx. of every manss substauce, but it should be allowed as part of the x. part, and this valuation should performe vp the whole. x. part. Great was the mournyng of the common people as it is euer in suche cases of payments. But in the ende one doctor Tonny a secretary to the Cardinal came to the Chapiter house of Poules, and to him the citezens brought in their bylles and on their honestie they were received, whiche values afterwarde turned them to displeasure.

The spirituallie made suite to the lorde Cardinal that no temporal men should sit to examine them to be made priuy to their possessions & goodes: wherfore bishoppes and Abbottes were appointed commissioners to take the value of their substance.

In this season was great plentie of vitayle sent to Caley, and to the lorde Admyral were sent Tentes and Paulions some of. lxx. lodgynges for him and other noblemen.

The Friday beyng the xi. day of August certaine Welshemen were lodged at a poore village named Cause, because in Caley's was verye narow lodgyng, and the same night CCC. Frenchmen passed by Caley's haue for lacke of good watche and came into the same village and set fyer in the house where the Welshemen lay, which ranne awaye naked into the Mariyshe and saued themselves, but their horses wer taken. This chauncie happened for lacke of good watche.

When the lorde Admyral had brought all his menne out of the shippes and that all the soldiours were come out of Englande and the ordinaunce set on land, then came into Caley's hauen. xiii. shippes out of Spayne from the Emperor whiche set on land. CCC. Spanyardes whiche wer sent to serve the lorde Admyral and vnder him they were put. When all thynges were ready, the lorde Admyral set in order his battels and for the forward he appointed sir Robert Ratcliffe, lorde Fitzwater for Capitayne, and with him diuers knightes and gentlemen whiche capitaine kept his men in very good order.

After that battall folowed the ordinaunce, artillerie and other trusses with vitail and all necessaries, & for the capitaine of the horsemen was appointed sir Edward Gylfford, by whom the curriers and viewers of the countrey were appointed. The myddle warde ledde the lorde Admyral himselfe, and in his compagnie the lorde Edmond Hawarde his brother with many worshipfull knightes, squiers, and tall yomen: The last battall was ledde by two valiaunt knightes of the Garter sir Wyllyam Sandes and sir Richard Wyngfelde, and with them was sir Richard Iernyngham with many other. In good order of battall they passed over Newnam bridge the xxx. day of August to a place called Calkewell & there lodged betwene Ty Wyndmyl & the Mariyshe.

The same day came to the lorde Admyral a certaine nombre of wylde persones, as menne out of service and apprentices that ranne fro their Masters and other ydle persones, and him desired that they might be retained in the kinges wages, to whom he answered, that the kyng had appointed the nober of suche as should haue wages, whiche was fully complete and advised them to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayd a tall yoman, my lorde here be many good feloweys that with your favoure would jeopardy to get or lose, for their mynde is to be reuenged on the Frenchmen enemies to the kyng and his realme. Good felowe sayd the lorde Admyral, their minde be good, but if for lacke of conduit they should be cast awaye, it were a losse to the kyng and a great corage to the Frenchmen. Then all the compagnie cried, let vs go in the name of God and saint George: Then after counsel take he gave them a Penon of saint George and bad them adventur (of whiche they were called adventurers) and farther bad them that if they got any botie they should ever bryng it to tharmy and they should be payde to the uttermost, and then he gave them money and commended them weapons & so the sayd. xxxi. day the sayd aventurers. iii. C. in nombre and mo, sette forwarde before the host, but how they did, you shall heare afterwarde.

Monday the first day of September the armye remoued towards Guisnes, which day was very hote & drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some died for faintnes, & this night they laye at Guyesnes.
Tewsday the second day of September the armye passed towarde Arde: and in the golden Valay where the kyng of England and the Frenche kyng met two yeres before, there met with tharmy of England two capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called the erle of Egremond the Seneschal of Henaude, and the lorde of Bauers Admyral of Flauders with v.C. horsemens, like men of warre. The lord Admyral in gentle maner receiued these two capitaines and their compaignie & so they joyned themselves to the Englishe armye, and the same day they tooke lodging at Arde south from the toune, where they were wel vitaire, & there lay wednesday all day, and the Burgonious lay under the castle of Mountorrey. The next day they remoued to the vale of Lykes, & there encaped themselves. Sir George Cobham thesame day w. ii.M. men, by the Admyralles comandament came to the toune of Selloys & set fyre in the toune, & when the toune was on fyre he assaulted the castle. They within made resistence, but it auayled not, for the walles were ented & the souldiers taken, and the castle set on fyre, & with gunpouder ouerthrew the walles: then he hast hym removed to a toune called Brune bridge and set it on fyre, and also brent a toune called Senekerke, and also the tounes of Botyngham and Manstier & so returned to the lord Admyrall whiche gave hym great thankes. The Frenchmen apperred in plumpes, but yet they durst not rescue their touunes.

On saturday the lord Admyrall remoued with the whole army to a ground beside sainct Nerbynes and there lay all sunday buyng the vii. day of September, where he sent diuers companies out which forraged the countreys & brent many villages as farre as thei might travaile: the lord Admyrall caused the toune of Narbyn to be brent, & tooke the castle and rased it and utterly destroyed it.

On Monday the viii. day, he remoued to Dauerne and brent all the touunes as he passed, and liyng there, he brent the toune of Dauerne and cast doune the castle of Columberge & the castle Rew, but the churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his commandement.

The same day was brent saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelve myle about was of light fyre, the people fleddde and left touunes and Castelles full of wyne, corn, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishmen found great plentic, whiche or they went away they set a fyre.

The ix. day of Septemvre the whole armye came before the toune of Boyardes in whiche was a Church more liker a castle then a Church, for it was depe ditched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarke forntified and lopes very warlike, The Admyrall beholding it saide, this is like no house of prayer. Then he comandid his people to entre the dyches and pluke doune the drawe bridges and set fyer in theyr Churche, and with gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the toune and all the villages adiacent to the same, the people cried and fledde, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The. x. day, thei came to the toune of Vans, which was nyn the toune called Foucamerger and there a company of Frenchmen wer asked, for out of a wood they showed themselves, but they tarded not long, but without profer of encountre they departed. Wherefore the whole armye toke their campe & there lay till the. xiii. day which was saterday, every day sendyng plumpes out to set fyer in the countrey, and on that day they toke the way to Fryunge or Frynges, and there brent the toune and destroyed the castle which was very strong.

The Sunday buyng the xiii. day, the lorde Admyral with his compaigny in great raine and yll wether passed by hilles and valeys verye painefullly, and with great labor came to a toune called Blaniow, and there tarded monday all day, & there all day counsailed the capitaines both of England and Flauders or Burgon what was best to be done.

Oon tewsday in the morning came a trumpet from the Castle of Hediyng and desired to speake with the capitaine, whiche incontinent sent for hym: my lorde capitaine sayd the trumpet, the capitaine of Hediyng desireth you to come thither and see the place, and on the walles he wil bring you good lucke, and he prayeth you not to hurt the dere in his parke, and for any other hurt you can do him he careth not: well sayd the lorde Admyrall, I will send him.
The answer was, him answere by my trumpet. Incontinent he called a trumpet and had him go to Hedyng to Moussire de Bees and to say to him that he would come to the castle of Hedyng, & if he slay any of my menne with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I gette the castle I shall saue neither man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the trumpet departed & declared it to Moussire de Bees, whiche sayd that it was spoken of noble corage, and so the trumpet returned, and the same day the campe was removed and the whole armie came about the castle of Hedyng, at whiche tyme the toune of Hedyng was sore infecte with pestilence, wherefore a generall commandement was geuen that no man should ones come into the toune, howbeit some of the Burgonyans did set fyre in the houses.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was very light for the wayes were so depe and the grounde so wet that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the lord Admyral and the capitaines. After they had been there, xi. dayes, first they considered that the castle could not be obtained without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caried, and also if they with the light ordinaunce shotying should spend all their powde and not get the castle then in their might be reckened great folly, and also they should be in great jeopardy to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plaghe began sore in the armie, wherfore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But while they lay at the toune they set done roffes, galleries, chymnies, and suche other things as the light ordinaunce would bote done, whiche sore defaced the beautie of the castle. They also destroyed all the dore in the Parke, which were falsowe dore and left none for the capitaine.

The Englishmen were cleere determined to haue assaulted the castle if the Burgonions would haue done the same: but they refused, whiche seyng the Englishmen left the assault alone: For though the Englishmen had gotten it, it should have been deliuered to the Emperours vue by the tractie, for he claimed it as his inheritance, whiche caused the Englishmen to leaue the assault.

And so the xxii. day of September they rered the siege and set theim selfes in good order of battail and passed styl onwarde til they came to Dourians and brent the toune, and rased the castle, and fro thence came to the good towne of Darrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brent all the way as he passed: and euery the wether was worse, and men fell sicke, wherfore the Burgonions and the Spaniards returned into Flandres about Betwyn.

Then the lorde Admyral saw that it was no tyme to kepe the field, turned baeward in good ordre of battail & came to Calayce the xvi. day of October. And while he lay at Calayce he sent out sir Wyllyg Saundes, sir Morice Barkley, sir Wyllyam Fitzwilliam with iii. M. men, whiche brent Margsyon whiche was newly edified and fortifed, they brent also the toune of saint Iohnes Rhode & Temple toune, & many villages. At this voyage wer taken many prisoners. xiii. M. shipe, xiii. C. great cattell as Oxen & Kyen, & xiii. C. hoggis, and vi. C. Mares & Horses, with this great botie this crew returned to Calayce in safeties.

Then lord Admyral sent sir Ihon Walop with iv. C. men to saint Omers to lyhe there and at Guynes, Hames and at Marke, & at Oylhe left another nombre and left capitaines to ouersee them, & all the southeres had a monethis wages payde them & so returned into England.

The adventurers taried still and got many good prayes, & brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothyng: they were suche drad of all the common people, for of them they had great prayes, and dayly learned feates of warre whiche made them the holder.

When the lorde Admyral had set all thinges in an order on that side the sea, he toke shippe & with the Naye came into the riuers of Thames and so to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed & not vnworthy.

In this season were banished out of Southwarke, xii. Scottes whiche had dwelt there a long season & wer conuened fro parishe to parishe by the constable like men y had abjured the realme, & on their viternost garment a white crosse before & another beynd
While the lord Admiral was this in Fraunce destroyynge the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewesbury lorde George Talbot & Steward of the kynges housshould prepared by the kynges commandement a great army toward Scotland: for the kyng was enformed that Duke Ithon of Albany (whiche in Parliament of Scotland was made lord governor of the realme and of the yong kyng duryng his nonage) had raised a mightie & puissant host of Scottes to the number of, lxxx. M. men as after was well knowne, which were warlike appointed, & that he with, v.c. Frenehemen with handgunnes and other great artillerie was conyng forward to incued the west Marches of England adioynynge toward Scotland. Wherefore the kyng sent worde to therle of Shrewesbury, which with all diligence like a noble capitain set forward toward Yorke, & wrote to therles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the lorde Dacre, Lamley, Clyfford, Scrope, Latener, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, & to all other gentlemen to be ready wth viii. hours warring with all their powers, and so in iornying, he with his power which was great, came to the cite of Yorke abidynge the ordinonce, and the lordes and all other thynges necessary in such a case.

In the meane season the Scottes were come nigh to the citie of Carlckeyle and lodged them nigh the water of Eske not farre from Subway sandes, & there made their abode. Thelre of Westmerland, lord Dacre, the lorde Roos, the lorde Mountagle, with the knightes of Lancashire, Westmerland & Cumberland were ready with, xxi. M. men to haue gaven them battail.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not come into Engliid with out battail, the lordes of Scotland drew to counsel, and amongst all one wyseman sayd, my lordes, hether we come by the commandeuent of my lorde Gouernour the duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should know: you al remembre that the last warre was to the kyngs realme of Scotland muche prejudiciall: For kyng James the iii. brought the realme of Scotliad to the best that ever it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he & his nobilitie slaine, which Scottiad sore lamenteth: Wherefore by mine advise let vs go to the duke & know of him the cause. The thei al came to the dukers court, & therle of Arrayn an auncient ma spake for the all & sayd, my lord Gouvernor, by your wil & commandeement here is assebled almost all the nobilitie of Scotland wth their power vpo a pretence to entre into Engliid, my lordes here would know the cause & quarel why this war is began, if it might please your goodnes, it should wel satisfie their mides.

The duke studied a good while & sayd: this question would have been demysed or now: For well you know the very loue that I bare to the kyngs realme of Scotliad, of the whiche I haue my name, honor & lignage. I haue passed the seas out of the noble realme of Fraunce into this realme of Scotliad. One great cause to bring you to a vnitie when you were in deuision by reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be conquered & destroyed. Also the Frenche kyng by my suits & intercessiõ wil ioyne wth you in ayde against thenglishe nation: & when this war was determined in parliament, you made me capitain, authorising me to invade Engliid wth bärner displaied: then was no question demanded of the right or quarel, & that I haue is by your aseynt & agrement, & that I will justifie: But to answer your demaide, my thynke you have inst cause to invade Engliid with fryer, sworde, & bloud, if you be not to forget full & without you will breare dishonor & reproche for ever: For you know that this realme of Scotliad is our inheritance as a porciõn of the world allotted to our nation & eucetors who we succeede: Then where may, be better warre then to maintaine this our natural inheritance, is not daily seen the great invasions thenglishe mon vs make, your mis-slaughters & murders with robberies & spoiles that they do dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defed the countrey is the office of a king, the honor of noble men & the very service of chialdry, & the dutie natural of ye commanlity. For I thinke it a just quarel if we might conquere the realme of Engliid & annex it to our realme & make a Monarchie: For what beginning of our habitation in this Isle of Britaigne, that natio & we have been enemies,
mies, & vs they have ever hated, & yet we have ever with stode the til at the last battall of Branxston where we by chancie lost our souereigne lord & many noble men, but that was by treason of his lord chaberlain, & yet I thinke we wan the field: whiche murther I thinke all we noble men ought to reuenue. Therfore I would that you should coragiously annuice your self in this quarle to get honor & to be requed.

Then a sad mist called the president of the counsil sayd, my lord, Fortune of war is led by him that all leddeth, & he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, & here are the lوردes of Engleand redy to encontre vs, and surely they will fight, for their power shall encrease daily and ours is at the hyest. And if God gene vs the victory as I trust he will, yet have we not won the field. For redy comin is the lord Talbot earle of Shrewsbery so muche drad in Franchise as you know well, with a great puissaint army, & there is no doubt but the kyng of Engleand wil send or bring another army, if we should chauce to get the first battall: if we get the ii. feld, that will not be wont losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realme shalbe weaker. And if we be overcome, how many shalbe slaine God knoweth: They ye fle be worthy to be reputed as traitors to the kyng & so by wilfulnes & folshe hardynes ye realme shalbe in icopardie to be vndone, & I saye, while the king is win age, we ought to moue no war, sith by war we may bring him to distraction. Alas sayd ye kyng, here is al ye puissauce of Scotiae: if we returne, we shall encourage our enemies, & the realme of Scotlaid shal ever be rebuked & defamed. All this communicacion in counsil was written by one sir Lother priest & Scot and secretary to ye quene of Scottes, whiche was a secretary there in ye host at that tyme, to a Scottishe priest ye dwelt in London: & farther he wrote that the Scottishe king did muche for the Frenche kynges pleasure to draw the lوردes of Engleand with their powers toward that partie & to put the kyng of Engleand to charges, so that he should not invade France.

After this communicacion the quene of Scottes whiche doubted the sequence of this matter, set worde to the duke & him required to commen of a peace vs the warden of the england Marches, which sent an Herould to the lord Daker then warden of the west Marches, ye lord Daker agreed, & vpo hostages wet to the duke of Albany into his caipe, where ye quene of Scottes by that tyme was come, & so ther was an abstinence of war taken for a season: and in the meanes tyme the duke and the quene promised to send Ambassadors to the kyng of England to conclude a peace: And thus ye Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was take the xi. day of September between Engleand and Scottlaid this xiii. yere of ye kyng. Therice of Shrewesbury hearyng of the truce by the lord Dacres letters returned with all his company, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the commissioners sat for the loan of the x. part of every mans substance in every shyre, the people were sworne and some announced them selves more then they were worth of pride, not rememberynge what was comynge, and the commissioners did what they could to set the people to the uttermoste, whiche afterwarde turned the people to muche headaines, & by reason of this, great sumes of money were leured, but the mooste part were not content, because the loan was so so
daily paid. But under the value of y. pound no mat lent a peny. The vii. day of October was. iiiii. M. pound payde to the citie of London whiche was lent for a private cause about the loan of the x. part.

In this yere the bakers of London came and told the Mayre that corne would be dere, wherupon he and the aldermen made provision for xv. C. quarters, & when it was come they would bye none, and made the counon people beleue that it was musty, because they would ytter their owne, so that the lord Cardynal was faire to proune it, and found the bakers false and commanded them to bye it.

The xvi. day of October the kyng lay at Hitchyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flaye, and by chancie, there the kynges lodgyns was on fyer & he in great feare, but in no icopardie, and so the kyng came shortly to London and sent for the Mayre and diuerse commyners and to them gave thanks for many kyndnes whiche they thought they had wel deserved.

The warre thus cointnuie betwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of England, there was a valaunt
a valiant capitane Constable of the castle of Hammes vnder the lorde Mountioy called sir Richard Whethyll, the Fréche men him somuche hated that they devised a policie to take him, & so on Christmas day at night there issued out of Bullain CC. horsemens and CCC. fotemen, and somuche they trauelled that all together were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes castle called Catte Hall. When they were come thither, they kept them selves concert, and in the morning they brake vp the Turne pyke by saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marche. ix. or x. fotemen to take cattell. In the castle the alarne rang, but the embusment kept them still close. The Constable perceived what the alarne ment, and armed him, & so did his archers, and toke his horse, and three gentle men went on fote by him. The Frenchmen of purpose driued the cattell here & there as though it would not be driven, sir Richard Whethyll pursued them. When the driuers sawe him, they drove the cattell into a great felde: then were the bushment of horsemens and fotemen betweene him and saint Gertrudes, and they sodayly brake out on him, and the thre gentlemen on fote fought valiantly but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on fote manfully, but he was borne doune with pykes, and sore wounded and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner: by that tyne wer xxx. archers come out of the castle, and when they sawe the great number of the Frenchmen, then they knewe that their capitaine was betrayed and so returned.

In this Christmas whiche was kept at Eltham, the Cardinal made diviers reformations for the kynges householde, and all they that had no masters were commanded to auoyde.

The xxvii. day of February sir Ibon Walop knight sent lx. aventurers from Guynes to seke adventures, and they mete with a gentlemann called Thomas Palmer whiche went with them. And out of a castle betweene Bullaine and Marguison called Hadyngbam came out. Ixxx. Frenchmen with Pykes and Crosbowes, and sette on the same Palmer whiche him defended.

Al his company sauyng, xiii. persons wer gone about to seke their pray. These. xxi. persons him manfully succoured & after the Frenchmen had slaine his horse and wounded him, his company slew. iii. Frenchmen and toke xxv. on line which were all hurt & so wer thenglishmen, for the Frenchmen fought sore. All these prisoners were brought to Guisnes, & the remnant of thadventurers returned with muche cattell.

The last day of February. lx. Englishmen archers & blemen came to a place called saint Anthonies were to Marguison & entered 5 houses and fell a spoiling: The Frenchmen were therof adverised by a spy, & came on & set on a few Englishmen which wer together; then with noise other of thenglishmen approched, so they were xl. persons. Then came out a freshe embusment of Frenchmen & set on thenglishmen & so slewe. xi. & toke xx. prisoners & the other scaped. About this time 5 duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlaid into France, & the French king somuch favored him, 5 as it was shewed to the kyng of Englad for trueth, that when 5 Frenche king rode through Paris he rode on 5 one hand & Richard de la Pole a traitor to Englad & by parliament attainted on 5 other hand, & that the duke had asked of the Frenche kyng v.M. horsemens & x.M. Almamies, & that he had promised 5 French kyng if he had thoes. xx.M. men, he would do one of these. iii. thynges, either sley 5 kyng of Englaid in battail, or els take him prisoner, or els drive him out of his realm. These were shamefull brauges of a noble man and very folishe.

Ye have hard before how truce was taken by 5 duke of Albany & the lord Dacres for a season betwene Englad & Scotlaid & that Ambassadors should be sent to 5 king of Englad, so it was 5 in October according to their accustomed doublenes they sent. iii. personages of small behaver as it seemed, as Ambassadors fro Scotlaid: they were synally regarded & shortly departed. Their Comission was to know whether the same tyme or abstinence of warre was by 5 king assented to or not, & other comission had they none. Thus they wente craftely as you may perceue, for in suche troublous tyme they stowe vnpunished, which they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherfore the kyng to be sure of them sent for Heri the. v. erle of Northuberland & him made warden of the whole Marches which thakefully accepted the-same
same, & so departed lord Warden. But how sooner it happened he made suite to the kyng &
his coustil & never left, till he was discharged of the same, & then theer of Surray lord
Adyral of Englaad was made general warden, & the lord Marques Dorset was made Warden
of the Marches & myddil, and the lord Dacres of the west Marches: whiche, iii. lorde sped
them thener the, vi. day of March for the defence of the borders. For refusyng of this
office therel of Northumberland was not regarded of his owne tenautes whiche disliked him
and his bloed and muche lameted his foly, and all men esteemed him withouht hart or loute of
honor and chivalrie.

The kyng out of had sent cōmissions to gather the loane, this was called the practising of the
loane, which sorne empent mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through
the realme & every man comandet to be ready within a dayes warnyng to do the kyng servyce in
harnes, which caused every man of honesty to bye harnes and weapon.

The lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene England & Scotland
accompanied with sir Willyam Bulmer and sir Arthur Darcey and many other noble men,
the second day of April then beyng shere thursday entred into Tyuedale & so. x. myle into
Galoway and brent on every side townes and villages, and the Scottes in great number
shewed themselves on the hylls & did not approche, & so he all that night taried in the
Scottish ground & on good Friday returned with their botie which was. iii. M. head of
nete into Englaad, when they had brent Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufforde mylles, Acke-
forthe, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Midder Crawling, Marbottel, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner,
Myddel rigge, Priensed, Broket, Shaves Haruel, wide open Haught & other townes & vil-

The xv. day of April beganne a Parliament at the blacke Fryers in Lōdon, & that day
the Masse of the holy ghost was song, all the lorde beyng present in their Parliament
robes. And when Masse was finished the kyng came into the Parliament chamber and
there satte donne in the scate rovall or throne, and at his fete on the right side satte the
Cardynal of Yorke & the Archebishop of Cantorbury, & at the raile behind stode doctor
Tūstal bishop of Lōdon, which made to the whole Parliament an eloquent Oracion decla-
ryng to the people the office of a kyng: Pryst he must be a man of judgement accordyng
to the sayyng of the Prophet Daviud Deus judicium tuum regi da, &c. Also he must be a
man of great lernyng according to the sayyng of the Prophetes, Erudimini qui indicatis
terraram. Accordyng to whiche sayyngs he sayd that God had sent vs a prince of great
judgment, of great lerning, & great experience, whiche accordyng to his princely dutie
fogat not to studyte to sette forwarde all thynyngs whiche might be profitable to his people
and realme, least thier might be layde to his charge the sayyng of Seneca Es rex & non habes
temps eresse rex? Art thou a kyng and hast no tym to be a kyng, which is as much to say,
as art thou a kyng and dost nothyng profitable to thy people? Art thou a kyng & seest the
people have an insuffiencye lawe? Art thou a kyng and wilt not provide remedy for the mis-
chyle of thy people? These thynyngs have moved the kynges hignese to call this his
high court of Parliament both for the remedy of mishiches whiche be in the common
law, as recoveries, foreign vouchers and corrupt trials. And for making & orderyng of
new estatutes which may be to the hight amansment of the common wealth, wherfore
he wylleth the commons to reape to the commone house and thereto elect them a spea-
kere, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lorde Chancellour of the same, whiche
should thereof make report to the kynges moste noble grace, whiche should declare
his pleasure when he would have him presented before his persone. This was the
casen of the Parliament he sayd, but surelye of these thynge no wordes was spoken in
the whole Parlyament, and in effect no good act made except the grant of a great sub-
sidie were one, but accordyng to this instruction the commons departed to the common
house and chose for their speaker sir Thomas Moore knight & presented him the saturday
after in the Parliament chamber, where he accordyng to the old vsage disabled himselfe both
in wit, lernyng, and discreetio, to speake before the kyng, & brought in for his purpose

how
how one Phormio desired Hanniball to come to his readyng, whiche thereto assented, and
when Hanniball was come he began to reade, de re militari, that is of Chialirie, when
Hannyball perceived him, he called him arrogant foole, because he would presume to
teache him whiche was master of Chialrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayd,
if he should speake before the kyng of learnyng and orderyng of a comon wthal and such
other like the kyng being so well learned & of suche prudence & experience might say to
him as Hannyball sayd to Phormio. Wherfore he desired his grace that the commons might
chose another speaker: The Cardinall answered, that the kyng knewe his witte, learnyng &
discrcetion by long experience in his service: wherfore he thought that the commons had
chosen him as the moste metest of all, and so he did admit him. Than sir Thomas Moore
gave to the kyng his moste humble thankes, and desired of him two peticions: The one,
if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message & mistake their entent, that
he might with the kynges pleasure resort againe to the commons for the knowlege of their
true meaning: The other was, if in communicacion & reasonyng any man in the comon
house should speake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all suche offences
should be pardoned, & that to be entred of recorde, whiche two peticions were graunted,
and so thus began the Parlyament and continued as you shal heare.

Because an euil chaunce happened to the great rebuke of all christen princes, I entend
briely to declare thesame miserable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sultan Solyman
Pac called the great Turke whiche was but the viii. of the ligne of Ottoman, the first that toke
vpon him to be a great capitain or ruler. And to whom Sultan Selyme his father had lost
thempyres of Constantinoble, Trapesonde, Alexandry, & Babylon, with many divers kyng-
domes & realmes: whiche Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten the toune of Belgrad
beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all the great princes in Christendome now at
discord, thought it most for his honor & proue to make warre on the Isle of the Rodes and
to take the same, which Isle had beene kept by the space of CC. xiii. yeres by the breth-
ren or knyghtes of the order of saint Iohnes of Ierusalem. Dyuers thynge moued him to
take this enterprize. One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of the same
oftentymes toke & destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from
Egypt, Sirie & other Estparties to Constantinoble, so that by them of that Isle he sustayned
more hurt then by all Christendome, because the saiid Isle stode in the entry toward
Constantinoble. Another mociion was because his father when he died chargd him to assay
to take the Rhodes for to be reneged of the shame that they had done to his grandfather
Mahomet the great Turke whiche was with dishonor beten fro the siege of the Rhodes. But
the greatest occasion of all was the exhortacion of a great counsailer of the religió called
Andrewe Annyral borne in Porytyngale, whiche knew the whole estate & in what case the
toune stode in: The cause why this Andrew Annyral bare malice to his religion, was be-
because after the death of Frier Fabryca de Laretto lord master of their religion, he was not
elected to that honor, but one Philip de Vylliers de Lisle Adam of France was named to
be lord Master, wherefore the said Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

The great Turke sayng so great an occasiion offered & desirynge honor, & also knowing the
fortresse of the Rhodes to lacke municions (for surely the brethren of the saiyd order wer
both of suche wealth & pride, and also liued after suche an vangracious & vnngodly fashion,
that they toke neither heede of their vow & solempne profession, nor also did forese the thing
to come, so that the great wthal of them, & their euil liuyng blinded them, so that they
thought the Turke durst not ones enterpet to set on their garrison, & so they beyng eleuate in
in this point of pride, left their toune vnfurnished and so wer sodainly surprised as you
shall heare) wherfore the Turke courtely prouoked for. iii. C. saile, in the which he caried
all his artillery & all other things necessary: in the which army wer. lx. M. myners and pyo-
ners prepared for the only intent to digge & myne: all the rest of the army of the Turke
came by fiad to a place called Fysco, which studesth so directly against the Rhodes that a fyer
may be seen fro the one side to the other, fro whiche place the Turke sent letters to the abou-

named
named Philip de Vyliers lord Master of the sayd religion signifiyng to him that he would have y sayd Isle for y great damage they had done to him & his people, and if they would yeld to him the sayd Isle, he promised on his fayth & by Mahomet his fyrst prophet, they should have no damage nor hurt by him, & that they that would depart shuld go in saftie, & they that would tary & serne him shuld have good wages, & if they refused this to do, he sware that he would subuer the walles of their fortresse and destroy them all and make them slaues, whiche letter was dated at Constantinople the fyrst day of Junne. The said Lorde Master and his compaignie were greatly abashed of this letter, but yet like hardy gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparacions that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to all princes christen of their nede and distres. But the Turke like a wyly serpent knowyng the great deuision amongeth y christen princes, so that he knew that they could sende no succours to the Rhodes, sent CC. M. Turkes which arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Myndesunday, whiche was y feastful day of y Rhodyans in honor of S. Iohn baptist whiche sodain commyng sore abashed the Rhodyans beyng but vi. C. knithe and v. M. other mete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they determined to defend the enemies of God, and the xxviii. day of July the Turke arriued there in his owne person, whiche muche encouraged his people.

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinaunce towarde the toune and did no great harme, when he saw that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle harme, he caused all his Pyoners to cast yerd one banke ouer another styll till they came within a bowshot of the wall, and although that many of the pyoners were slain with ordinaunce of the toune, they never ceased till they had made a banke of yerd higher by. x. foot then the wall of the toune, and then there layde their ordinaunce, so that no persone durst styre on the walles or Bulworkes, and thus with mountaines of yerd was the toune enuironed and behynd the mountaines lay the Basheaux and chief capaiteynes of the Turke whiche were euer reddy to take their aduaunantage, and dayly they shot into the toune and bet doune houses and slewe the people in the streates, for they vpon this mount might easely see into the toune.

Beside this, the Turke caused so many mynes to be made in divers places, that they within were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, insomuch as women were set a worke to dygge and carie, by reason whereof a great part of the walles were overthrown, and if they within had not made countermynes the toune had been gotten within a short space.

Also the Turkes in September gane to the Rhodyans for great assautes like valiaunt warriers, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them, that at euery assaunt they lost at the lest ii. M. men, and at the fourth assaunt they lost x. M. Turkes and more. The great Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assautes, sent for Moustaffa Bashaw, through whose counsell he toke ouer him this enterprice and much blamed him that he had made him beleue that he might have the toune within xii. dayes or in a moneth at y most, wherfore in y furie he would haue put him to death, if the other Bashawes had not entreated for him: but in conclusion y Turke determined cleereely to rayse his siege and to depart, and so had done if that same night sir Andrew Amyrayll that you heard of before and a lewe beyng within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarrels into the Turkes army. But whiche letters the Turke knew the necessitie of the toune and feblenes of the people, whiche caused him to chawnge his purpose. But this treason was espayed, and the traytors taken and put to terrible excencion. And the Turke caused so many Mynes to be made, that although some tooke none effecte, yet by some he overthrew bothe Bulworkes, walles and towers, so that he might entre into the toune: and so on sainct Andrewes euyn he caused a great assaunt to be euene, whiche was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valiauntly defended them, that they slewe three thousand Turkes and mo, and kept them from enteryng that daie, but the Citezenes of the Rhodes after this assaute, came to the lorde Master, and praised hym to haue compassion of them, their wunes and children, and shewed hym that if the toune were taken by assaute, (as it was like to be) that thei al should be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Master muche regarded his honor, and comforted
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

forted the people with faire wordes, but by chaunce about thesame tyne, the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willyng them to deliver the towne, and they all should haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary, should tary in quiet, & thei that would depart, should sauly depart.

When this letter was known, then the people cried out on the lorde Master to take the ollre, wherfore he callyinge all his counsaill together seyng that it was not possible to kepe the towne longer, both for lacke of artillery and vitaile, and also because his number was so minished that scace he had soldiers to kepe the walles: wherefore he by greate aduice determinded to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym twoo of his religion, for the farther conclusion and assurance of thesame, which well entertained them, and had writtynges sealed of all thynges that they desired, to which two knights, Aymeche Basshaw saie by his faith that there was slaine at the siege lxiii, thousande Turkes, and xl. thousande dedde of mortalitie and mo.

And so on Christmas daie, the greate Turke hymself entered into the Rhodes, and toke possession thereof, and the lorde Master and all his religion, the first daie of January tooke ship and sailed to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared his chaunce and adventure. Thus was the towne and the isle of the Rhodes, taken by the great Turke, whiche was a greate succor to all Christian men, resortyng into the East partes of the world, whiche chaunce was muche lamented thorowe all Christendom, and much blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succor nor aide to the Isle.

And this yere the Byshoppe of Duresme died, and the kyng gave the bishoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the bishoprike of Bathe, to doctor Iohn Clerke master of the Rolles, and he made sir Henry Marney his vicechamberleyn lorde Priuie Seal, & after created hym lorde Marney. In thende of this yere, doctor Blithe bishopp of Chester, was attatched for treason, but he acquite hymself. And aboute this season, the Cardinall of Yorke byeng Legate, proved testamentes, and did call before hym, all the executors and administrators, of euer Dioces within the realme, so that the bishops and ordinaries, did prove no greate wills in their Dioces, excepte he wer compounded with, not to their little disaanantage. Also by his power Legantine he gave by prouencions, all benefices belonging to spirituall persone, by the whiche doynge, he not onely had the hatred of the spirituallte, but also he ran into the daunger of the Premunire, whiche he sore after repeated, as it shall appere in the. xxi. yere of this kyng.

II. THE. XV. YERE.

The Parliament byeng begon, as you haue hard before receivred, the Cardinall accompaigned with diverse lorde, aswell of the Spiritualte, as of the temporalitie, came the xxix. daie of April into the Common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the Frenche Kyng, Fraunces the first, called the moste Christened kyng, had so often tymes broken promise with the kyng of England, and his wellbeloved nephew Charles the Emperor, that the kyng of his honor could no lenger suffre. For first he declared, that the metyng of the saied two princes at Guynes, thesaied Frenche kyng was sworne, to kepe all the articles contenined in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperor, and the kyng of Englande, sithe the whiche tymes he hath made warre on thempiers dominios, by Robert de la Marche his capitain. He also hath with holden the tributes and other paimentes, whiche he should paie to the kyng of England for redemption of Tornay and Tirwin, and not with this content, hath not aloneley robbed and spoyled the kynges subjectes, but also hath sent Iohn duke of Albayn into Scotland, to make warre and to invade this realme, wherfore the King of necessitie was driven to warre and defence, whiche in no wise could be maintaine, without great somes of money, and he thought no lesse then. viii. C. M. l. to be reised of the fifth part of euery mans goodes and landes,that is to saie. iii. s. of euery pounde, for he said that the yere folowyng, the Kyng and the Emperor should make suche warre in Fraunces, as hath not been seen.
THE. XV. YERE OF

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhorting the Commons to aide their prince, in tyne of necessitie, he departed out of the common house. The morowe after, sir Thomas More beyng speaker, declared all the Cardinalles oracion again to the commons, and enforced his demand strongyng, sayyng: that of duetie men ought not to deny to paie. iii: s. of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and prouded manifestly, that if the fift part of substance of the Realme, were but. viii. C. M. I. and if men should paie to the kyng, the fift part of their goodes, in money or plate, it was prouded, that there was not so much monye, out of the kynges handes, in all the realme; for the fift part of every mannes goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although fine men wer well monyped, five thousand were not so, the gentleman of landes, hath not the fift part of the value in coyne: The Merchant that is riich of Silke, Wolle, Tyne, Clothe, and suche Merchandise, hath not the fift part in money, the husbande man is riich in Corne and cattell, yet he lacketh of that some. Likewise vitellers and all other artificers, be riich in housholde stulfe, and not in money: and then consequently, if all the money wer brought to the kynges handes, then men must barter clothe for vitaille, and bread for chese, and so one thyng for another: then cosider that after this valuation, the kyng hath had by the waie of loane. ii. s. of the pound, whiche is. iii. C. M. I. and now to haue. iii. s. of the I. whiche amounteth in the whole. xii. C. M. I. whiche first and last is. vi. s. of the I. whiche is almoste the third part of every mans good, whiche in coyne cannot be had within his Realme, for the profe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Engelande, but. xv. M. parishes, and every parish should geue a. C. marke, that were but. xv. C. M. marke, whiche is but. x. C. M. I. and how many parishes be in Engelande one with another able to spare a. C. markes, out of cities and townes: and where it is written, that in England there bee. xl. M. Parishe Churches, it was prouded that there wer not. xiii. M. parishe churches at this daie. Then accempt the whole some cannot amounte above. x. C. M. I. and the kyng demaundeth. viii. C. M. and be according to this valuacion, hath had. iii. C. M. pounde, therefore it was thought, the some was impossible to be leued, and if all the coyne wer in the kynges handes, how should men live: Also the kyng had of the spirituall men the last yere, iii. s. of the pounde.

After long reasonyng, there were certain appoynted, to declare the impossibilitie of this demaunde to the Cardinal, whiche according to their commission, declared to him substantially the pouerite and skarenes of the realme: all whiche reasons and demonstracions, he little regarded, and then thesaied persons, moste meekely beseeched his grace, to mone the kynges highnes, to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he curiously answered, that he would rather haue his tongue, plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsons, then to mone the kyng, to take any lesse some: with whiche answer, they almoste dismayed, came and made reporte to the common house, where euery day was reasoning, but nothyng concluded.

Wherefore the Cardinall came again to the common house, and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fussion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reson, but among themselves. Then he shewed the realme to be of great riches, firste, because the kynges customes were greater now then they were before tyne: also he alleged sumptuous buildynges, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruantes, fatte feastes, and dilicate dishes, whiche thynges were all tokens of great abundancc: with whiche repetyng of mennes substance, as though he had repined or disowned, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but himself, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was prouded, that honest apparel of the commodities of this Realme, abundancc of plate and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall.

After long debating, the Commons concluded to graunte. ii. s. of the pound, of every mannes landes or goodes, that was worth. xx. pounde, or might dispence. xx. pound, to be taken for the kyng, and so vpwarde of euery. xx. s. twoo. s. and from. xl. s. to. xx. pounde,
pounde, of every. xx. s. xii. d. and under. xl. s. of every bed. xvi. yeres and vpward. iii. d. to be paiied in twoo yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therewith was sore discontent, and saied, that the lorde had graunted. iii. s. of the pounde, which was proved untrue, for in dede they had graunted nothyng, but harkened all upon the commons.

Then a knight called sir Iphon Huse of Lincolneshire, saied, to please the Cardinal somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pounde lande and vpwardes, greue to the kyng of our landes. xii. d. of the pounde, to be paiied in thre yere: with whiche mocion diverse gentlemen were sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or. xii. of the gentlemen saied yea, and when the naie should be asked, the commons saied nothyng, for they would not con-demne, nor let the gentlemen to charge themselfes, and so by. x. or. xii. persons the gentlemen wer burdened, with. xii. d. more then other, for the whiche graunt, sir Iphon Huse had muche euill will.

After this graunte made the. xxi. daie of Maie, because of Whitsontide, the Parliament was proroged to the tenth daie of Iune: Duryng which prorogacion, the common people saied to the Burgesses, sirs, we heare saie you will graunt. iii. s. of the pounde, we advise you to do so that you maie go home, with many euill woordes, and threat-enynges.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power legaunte, dissolved the conuocacion at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cantonbury, and called hym and all the clergie, to his conuocacion to Westminster, which was newer seen before in England, wherof master Skelto a mery Poet wrote.

_Gentle Paule laie doune thy sweard:  
For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard._

When the parliament was begonne again, the landed men of fiftie pounde and vpward, seynge that they were charged, with. xii. d. of every pounde of their landes, moved, that all suche as were worth fiftie poide in goodes and vpward, should paiye also. xii. d. of the pounde, in the. iii. yere. At the whiche mocion was muche reasonyng, & at the last the. xxvii. daie of Iune, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were moste, then was the house diuided, and all the commons seuered themselfes, from the knightes of the sheres, so that one yea part remained onely the knightes of the shire, and the commons stily affirmed that the mocioners of this demaunde, wer enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called theim all together, and after long perswadyng, and priuie laboryng of frendes, it was agreed that. xii. d. of the pounde should be paiied the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

After this the parliament the. xxxi. daie of Iuly, was adiorned to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiii. daie of August, and that daie at. ix. of the clocke in the night dissolved. Duryng the tyne of this Parliament the. xxvii. daie of Aprill, was sir Arthur Plantagenet, bastarde sonne to kyng Edward the fourth, at Brydewell created viscount Lisle, in the right of his wife, whiche was wife to Edmond Dudley behedded.

In this season was true worde brought, that on Christmas daie laste past, the strong tonne of the Rhodes was deliered to the great Turke called Sultan Soliman, with the whole Islande, to the greate hurt of all Christian nacionis: the causes of the lose, was the euill liuyng of the brethern or knightes, and negligence of prouision for the defence, and the enemie and treason amongst themselves, as it is written and reported.

This yere Cristierne Kyng of Denmarke with his wife, which was sister to the Emperor Charles, and his three children, with. xviii. shippes arriued in Flaunderes, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by his uncle Frederick duke of Holst, & his awne subjectes for his cruelitie as is written. Whiche Cristierne with his wife, was well entertained of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to hym to live on, in Brabant and Hollande. Duryng the tyne of his there soiornyng, he made muche suite to come into Englande, to see and speke with the kyng, whiche request was to hym graunted, and so he and
his Quene, with foure gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourtie persones, poore and euil apperealed, landed at Douer the xv. daie of June, where he was nobely receiued, by the erle of Devonshir, and the bishoppes of Excester, and Rocheste, and diuerse knightes and Esquiers, and so brought to Grenewiche: where the Kyng and the Quene, standing vnder their clothes of estate, receiued in the greate hall of Grenewiche, kyng Cristerne and Quene Isabell his wife. And he dined with the kyng, and she with the quene, both set vnder the clothe of estate, and were sumpteiouesly serued, of all dilicate viandes.

And when he had sojourned there a season, euerie daie feasted at the Court, he was conveighed to Londo, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watche in London, on sainct Peters euen, desired to see it, and so was accompaniied with the duke of Sufolk, the Erles of Oxford, Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lorde and ladys, and brought into the Kynges hed in Chepe, where the citee of London made to him and his wife a costly banket. And when he had seen the watche, he said, I would to God I had so many Archers, Pikes, and halberdiers, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would ponish suche, as have wrofully dispossessed me, of my realme and countrey. And after he had solaced hymself in London, he resorted to the kyng, of whom he had many great giftes, and likewise had his wife of the Quene her aunte, and so tooke their leave, and were conveigned to Douer. And when he had been in Englande. xxii. daies, he tooke shipping, and sailed again into Flaunderes, presying muche the kyng of Englande and his Court.

During all this season, and session of the parliament, the warre was fierce, bothe betweene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotlande, in so muche that eche parte, did asmuche as in them laie, to hurte the other. For on the borders of Scotlande, laie the valiant Eulle of Surrery, greate Admirall of England, and the Marques Dorset, and his three brethren, sir Williame Connon, and sir Williame Kyngston, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers, sent to them by the kyng, whiche daily invaded the Realme of Scotlant, and threw doune the Castle of Wedorberne, the castle of West Nesgate, the Castle of Blakkater, the tower of Mackewalles, the tower of Est Nesgate, and many other, and brest to the number of. xxxvii. villages, and haried the countrey from the Este Marches to the West, and nener had skirneshe; but they ofte times shewed themselves in plumpes, waiting their auantage how be it in all this iornew, were fewe Englishmen lost. Wherefore the Lordes perceiuing, that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into Englande, fortified the frontieres on euerie parte, with men and all thynges necessary for defence, for stealyng, or other small rodes. After all whiche thynges set in a perfecctnes, they returned toward the kyng, and came to the ende of the Parliament.

In this season, the Frechemen haung a greate desire, to haue the kynges tonne of Calice, deniseth first to destroy the haune, by the whiche theye supposed, that Calice might have been lightly gotten, for faulte of reskewe. Wherupon theye lade an old ship of. iii. C. tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Depe, whiche ship had no mast, but came with a foresail, as though the mast had been cut, and cast ouer the bord in the sea in a tempest. And when she came before Caliche, every man that sawe her thought she had been wether druen, and lost her mast by tempest, and so aboute. x. of the clocke at night the. xxviii. daie of Maie, thesaide shippe came before Calice haue, as though she would entre for harbore, and so was entering and missed the chanell, & turned to the sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frechemen supposyng, that they had been in the very channell, launched out their boate, and sodainly set the shippe on fire, and lept into their boate, and so skape by the store. When thei of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore troubled, and at the last when the water was gone they perceived the ship consumed, and the goodly Cane stone lyue whole.

Wherfore the lorde Barnes deputie of Calice, the lorde Barkley leutenant of the castle, the lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, and other commanded all the laborers that might be gotten, to breake the remnant of the ship, and to carry awaye the stone, and so thesaied stone was brought to Calice: wherupon thesaied capitaines sent a letter, to the capitain of Bulleine,
Bulleine, by Calice pursuing at arms, desiring him to give thanks, to Monsire Lodowyke captain of Depe, for the sending of so faire a ship, and goodly stone to Calice, which stone the said lordes sent word, they had received into the toune of Calice, and that it did the muche profit, for the fortification of the said Toune, desiring hym to sende more, and they would receive it on the same price. To the whiche letter, the captain of Bulleine answered, I have nothing lost, nor they have nothing gotten of me, tell hym that hath lost, with whiche answered the pursinant departed. Whereupon the Englishmen beying greued, there issued out of Calice an. C. light men of warre, called aventurers, and came nere Bulleine, and obtained a greate botie, whereof the garrison of Bullein beying advertised, issued out and followed the Englishmen, and sharply them encountered. The Englishmen shot so, that the French men which were five hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appere d evidently, that there wer dede on the ground. xlvi. Frenchmen, and. xxii. Englishmen, and the Frenchmen took. xx. Englishmen prisoners, the residue of the Englishmen kept them to gether, and so came to Calice, the captain of this enterprise was one Lathebery.

The lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, enteyndyng to be rencenged on the Frenchmen called the counsaill of Calice to hym, and declared to them how that the Frenchmen, and in especiall Monsire de Bees captain of Bullein, daily imagened to destroye the English pale; and that they on the English part had notheyng done yet against them: wherfore he advisd them all to do some act, and he hymself would be present, and formoste man, and their leder and capitaine. Whereupon it was concluded and commannded, that every man should be in a readiness, at the sounding of a trompet, upon which warming, the saied lorde Sandes the. ix. daie of July early in the morning, sent furth two hundred light horses, through the English pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one towards the other, least his enterprise should bee askried, and so the people wer kept in all that daie, and in the evening aboute seven of the clocke, he hymself with a capitaine called Guiot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Raufe Broke and other, set forward with light ordinaunce and vitaile, and embattaiied themselfes in good arraie, and marched towards Sandifelde by a. xi. of the clocke, and there refreshed themselfes and in good ordre, thei came to the Water of Schlaukes, not farre from Bullein, which was the tenth daie of July.

When thei were askried Alarme was rong all the countrey, and the captain of Bullein sent furth. Ixx. menne of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morice pikes, crossbowes, and bande gunnes, wherfore capitaine Guyot was sent with his bend of horsemen, to aide the English footemen, which were farre behynde, and Capitaine Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchmen, and sir Thomas Palmer, and Raufe Broke, with the remnant of the horsemene, stode for a stale. Then capitaine Ripton proffered forarde with the Speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on vaulynty, then began a sore skirmishe, the Freche men bothe horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Schlaukes, which is but a gut made by force of lande water, but after long fight the Englishmen gat over the water by pure force, and toke the Frenchmens standerd, and a gentleman, which was a man of Armes of Bullein, called Charles de Maruiel, and euer sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, stode, & aided where necessitie was moste. Thus this skirmishe continued, from foure of the Clocke in the morning, till. ix. of the clocke, before None, and euer the Frenchmen encreased, but at the last they retreited themselfes toward Bullein, in whiche returne diuerse of the wer slain. Or the skirmishe was ended, came the lorde Sandes with the footemen, with his spere on his thigh, and his helme on his hed, and greatly encoraged his compagnie: duryng whiche conflict, diuerse of Picardy had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirsuell, which was wel fortisied, and a strong place: whereof the Lorde Sandes beying advertised, he marched thether ward, and in the waie burned all that might be bren, and sent an officer of Armes, to the that kept the church of Odirsuell, to yeld the church to hym, whiche to hym aunswered, that they would stanede at defence: then he commannded an assaut, which quickly was done, and the Frenchmen defended the selfes,
with hand gonnys, crossebowes, and pikes, so that the Englishmen could not entre. Then the lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, whiche he had with hym, to be shotte to the churche, and perced it through; then they within sawe that their defence could not hold, yelded theyselves body and goodes. Out of the Churche came. lxii. Frenchmen, whiche were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes whiche they had caried into the churche were taken for a botie. Thus by one of the clocke, the said tenth daie of July, was the churche of Odysseal taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchmen manneth the steple of Odyngham, whiche was a very strong tower, muche like a castle, to whom the lorde Sandes sent an officer of armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they answered, that they were Frenchmen, and to hym they would none yeld, and if he came thether, they would withstand him; wherupon he and his armie marched thether ward, and aboute foure of the clocke at after none, he assaulted the steple, and the Frenchmen them selves valiantly defended, but sodainly by a chaunces vnownen the steple was a fire, and the Frenchmen fled doune to the quire, then the Englishmen lightly entered the body of the churche, & assaulted the Frenchmen, whiche cried mercie and yelded them selves, and at twelve of the Clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the churche forte prisoners.

After whiche tyme, the Lorde Sandes encamped hymself, and made good watche for feare of enemies, & in the morning called to hym all the priestes, whiche were in bothe the churches, and stode at defence, and said to the, that they ought not to be men of warre, and notwithstanding he had them as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he releaseth the, admonishing the, that if euer after they were taken at defence, they should be hanged on the nexte galowes: after whiche monicion done, he delineth them frely.

About. viii. of the clocke in the morning, he marched forward in good ordre of battaill, and came to the Castle of Hardyngham, the whiche he bret and spoyleth, and so the xi. day of July, he and his copaignie whiche passed not. xii. C. men, of whiche he had lost but onely. xii. returned to Calice with great store of bestiall and pillage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of. xviii. M. men, towards the parties of Flaunderes, whiche secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betwene Frawnce and Flaunderes, kept by the Flemynge, whereof they beyng advertised, arreiseth a great power of. xiii. M. and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchmen. vi. C: then the Frenchmen recueld, and seuered them selves: some went to Mount Orry, and some to sainct Omers and some bret the subbarbes, they within Mount Orry defended them selves, and hurte the capitain of Balleine, called Monsir de Bees, and slew his horse: wherfore the Frenchmen went to thence, and bret a village called Arkus: thus was all the frontiers full of Frenchmen, insomuch that in the monethe of August, they bette into the toune of Guisnes, the scourers and the scoute watche, whereof began Alarme, and the Frenchmen whiche were many in nombre, alighted as though they would gone assaut maintenent, and fieroly proffered toward the ditches, but when the ordinaunce began once to shote, it was no nede to bid them go. Then the Englishmen, coragiously folowed the chace, but sodainly out came an embushment of Frenchmen, and toke two Englishmen and thus all the armie of Frawnce, remoued to Gyngate beside Tywyn.

The Frenche kyng seyng the kyng of England, daily more and more encouraged to make war on him and his dominions, and that the Scottes did nothing to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke Ihon of Albany whom the Scottes called their governour. He threfore caused great preparacio to be made, on all parties for men, shippes, harnes, and artillery for the sendynge the Duke Ihon of Albany into Scotlant, which Duke of a great presumpcion promised to the Frenche kyng to druye the kyng of Englands, out of his realme, which promise was not kept.

The kyng of Englande, hearyng that the Duke of Albany should passe into Englande, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and threfore he prepared a flete of tal and strög shippes mete to encounter with the saied Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that jorney, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, and with hym sir Frances Brian, sir Antony Pounez, Seriant Rot, Ihon Hopton, Willyam Gonstone, Anthony Knuet, Thomas
Thomas West & other, whiche with great diligence, laie in waite to mete with the said duke of Albany, and as they sailed on the Frenche coast, they determined to lande, to doo some harme to Tray Port and as they houered there, thei were espied: then the captain of the toune fired the beakes, sent for aide of 'al the fortresses about and strengthened and manued the toune very warlike. This notwithstanding, sir William Fitz William and other capitaines left not their enterprice, and so the. xxiii. daie of August beying Sondain, at seuen of the clocke in the morning, they toke lande in the hauen of Treypor, at who the Frenchemen shot out ordinaunce, quarelles and stones, the English men in the botes shot likewise, and encouraged by their capitaines, assaulted the Frenchemen in their bulwerkes, the Frenchemen them valiantly defended, and thenlishe capitaines as men without fire, theim assailed and yet the number was nothyingeall, for the Englishmen were but. vii. C. men, & the Frenchmen. vi. M. For the well fightinge of the Frec'h men, their bulwerkes wer taken, and their ordinaunce sezed, and all that wer about, fled to the toune of Treypor, and euer thenlishmen folowed shotyng arowes at them, and sleyng them, in whiche skirmishe Seriant Rotte had his bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne. Then the capitaines cried sainct George, to the gates of Treypor, then euery manne auaunced forward, and as they were goyng, Christopher Morres master Gomner, espied a pece of a Maste, whiche he caused to bee taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate with ther men, ramne with the said maste to the gate, but the gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe laie a pece, of ordinaunce, whiche continually shot at the Englishmen, whiche caused theim to leave the gate, and then they sette fire in the subbarbes, whiche was a faire strete, and all was brent, and while the subbarbes brent, the Englishmen wet to the hauen, and would have had euery shippe, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on theim, and brent there seuen faire shippes besides other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the gates, and much murder on bothe sides, for the Frenchemen in flyynge from their bulwerkes to the toune, lost. lxxx. persons, and many wer burte with arrows. The men of the crountry came thether still, in some liche as the number became very great, whiche sir William Fitz Willyam perceivinge, caused his trompet to blowe a retrete, and with suche prisoners, pilage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten they returned to their boates and the capitaines sent their sourldiers before, the Frenchemen perceivinge the Englishmen returned, issued out and founde on lande, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Waghain, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaines to the number of twelve, and ran bastely toward theim in greate number, whiche perceivinge that, bended themselves to sell their lives dere. Sir Willyam Fitz Willym perceivinge the greate ioperdy that they wer in, turned his boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, & with muche pain saued these gentlemen, and then toke into boates, notwithstanding a greate number of Frenchemen, whiche wer in the water to let him: and thus the whole armie returned to their shippes, after they had been, v. houres on land, and brought with them. xxvii. peces of faire ordinaunce, which wer in the bulwerkes & lost of their men not fully. xx. persons, and then euer sight toke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lokyng for the duke of Albany, but thei hard no tidynes of hym.

In the Parliamet (as you have hard) it was concluded, that the kyng of necessitie, muste make strong warre on the realme of Fraunce, wherefore the noble Charles duke of Suffolk, was appoynted as Capitain generall, to passe with an armie royall into Fraunce, in thende of August, whiche with all diligence, prepared all thynge necessary, for suche a royall enterprice: and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to gene their attendaunce on hym, the lorde Montacute, and sir Arthur Pole his brother, the lorde Herbert soune to the erle of Worcester, the lorde Ferres, the lorde Marney, the lorde Sandes, the lorde Berkeley, the lorde Powes, and Baron Curson, and of knyghtes, sir Richard Wyngfelder, Chaunceller of the Duche of Lancaster, sir Ihon Veer, sir Edward Neuell, sir Willyam Kyngston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Wynsore, sir Robert Wyngfeld, sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sir Edward Gyuylford, sir Edward Gryuell, sir Edward Chamberleyn, sir Thomas Luce, sir Euerard Digily, sir Adrian Foscew, sir Willyam Skeuynto Master of the...
the ordinance, sir Thomas Cheiney, sir Richard Cornwall, sir William Cortney, sir Willyam Sidney, sir Henry Owen all these lorde and knightes, with many other knightes and coragi
ous Esquiers, & actiue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kynges commanndemét at last, with all their people and retinue to Douer, where thei muster at seuerall times, as thei passed to the sea, and so the nombre take, that is to saie, of dimy Lances. vi. C. of archers on horsebacke twoo. C. of Archers on foote three. M. of bill men five. M. of pioners and laborers. ii. M. vi. C. and when the viewe was taken on the other side of the sea, there were adioyned to this nomber. xvi. C. whiche might be spared out of the fortresses, and krewes of Ilams, Guysnes, and Calice so that al the army wer. xiii. M. and an. C. well harnesed, and appareled for the warre, the pioners onely excepte: but the duke hymselft arryved at Calice the. xxiii. of August, with his retinue and counsaill, abidyng the armie, and caused all thynges, as vitaill and other to be prepared for the same. Muche commonyng was in Englande whether this army should go because that no man, except a fewe, knew the secretnes: some said to Bullein, some to Paris, and so every man judged, accordyng to his awne opinion, as the common vse is. In this season, because the mortalitie was greate in Calice, the duke of Suffolk caused his armie to be lodged in tentes and pavillions, vpo the faire grene beside sainct Peters Churche, for their more healthe, and he accompanied with diuerse noble men, the. vii. daie of September rode to Gravelyng, & thether came to hym Cristerne kyng of Denmark and the lorde Isilsten, capitain general of Flaunder, whiche amiabley enterteigned the saied duke, and after they had secretly commoned of diuerse matters, concernyng diuerse armiies to inuade Frayne, in sondry places, the duke toke leaue of the kyng and other, and came to Calice. While the armie laye without Calice, they daily came into the toune, and so it happened that a symple felowe cut a purse, as he made to Byrne apples, whiche incœntinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to ward, whiche thyng diuerse Welshemen perciuyng, and not knowing what apperteigned to Justise, ranne in great compagnies to the Maiors house, and would have broken the house, the Officers of the toune entreated, and Welshmen more and more approched, the nombre of the Welshmen were so greate, that the watche of Calice strake Alarme. Then the Lorde deputie and the lorde Sandes, did all that in them laye to bryngh them to conformitie, but thei were so rude that thei nothing them regarded, the priestes brought furthe the blessed Sacrament, whiche also was not regarded. Wherfore the Lorde Ferreis was straightly commannded to appesse their rage, for with hym thei came thether, whiche with greate paine and entreatie them appesed: and then all the Welshmen were commanned to the felde, and to depart the toune and so wer al other capitanies, & after diuerse of this hed rieters wer apprehended & sore punished for exaple. And when al thynges necessary were prepared, the duke issued out of Calice & toke the felde, & ordaine his Marshal, & capitain, of the vantgard the lord Sandes, capitain of his right wyng sir Willia Kyngston, and capitain of his lefte wyng, sir Euerard Dighby, sir Edward Guyldford Marshal of Calice, was capitain of al the horsemen, sir Richard Wingfield, capitain of this rewared: then the duke with al his army, as capitain of this middle wyng, with standerdes, bakers and penons, displayed, marcht forward in good ordre of battall, & came to a place called Kalkewell, and their lodged the xix. daie of September. In whiche place diuerse soul
diers, of Cariers and vp lande men, whiche wer vnutre for the warre, (for every thyng to theim was pain) fell sicke and disseased, wherfore the duke gaue them leave by pasport to retorne. And on the. xxiii. daie of September, he toke vp his campe and came to Hamswell, and there pitched his felde, he thus liyng in abode for the armie of Flaunder, which promised to ioyne with hym, whiche as then were not come to. S. Omer. He enteyning not to lie still idlely, sent Clarensyng kyng of Armes, to somon the castle called Bell castle, to yelde to him or els he would destroy it with fire and sword, the officer of armes did his message accordingly, to whom the Capitain answered, that he would deliuer no castle to the duke, &
if the duke came thereto, he should nothyng get, for he said he was sure of suche rescues, ye should not be to the duke no advantage: which with this answer returned toward the duke and the waie he met the lord Sandes, & the lord Ferreis in array of battail, with v. C. horsemen, & i. M. footmen, to whom he rehearsed the answer, then said ye lorde was abed him, if otherwise he wil not. Then the master of thordinance was commanded to prepare for a battaie, which was done, & thereto came v. C. horsemen of Burgomis, & v. C. footmen, then thordinance with great difficultie was brought nere the castle, & al though it was night, the gonnas cese not & bet the place sore, they within defended the best that they might, & when the day began to spring, the lorde caused to blow to thassault, which hearyng the captain of the castle said to his compatriots, ye were not able to abide thassault, & that their success failed them, wherefore of necessiTie they muste deliver the castle, whereunto they agreed, and so he yielded the castle, his life onely saued and all other at the mercie of the duke, which pardoned theim, and toke the as prisoners, and delinered the castle to sir Willyam Skeuyngtö, whiche was shortly rased doune to the ground, the xxvii. daie of Septëber.

Mondaie beyng the xxviii. daie of Septëber, there was a proclamation made in tharmy, how that Fraunces duke of Burbon, & Constable of Fraunce, was become frend to the Frech kyng, & was sworn to the kyng of England, & had in his wages for the kyng of England x. M. Almaines to inuate Fraunce, or to let the French kynges purposes, & for this intent to him was sent money in no litle some, but the common pople said, ye neuer was Frenchman true to England, how be it he was true as long as he lived.

To make this proclamation more apparrant, you must understand that in this season the Frenche king was ruled by his mother the Coutesse of Angulesme and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lord Bonyuet whiche as was reported and sayd, loued the sayd lady as his par- mor, of whiche all the court of Fraunce spake much. These two persones so ruled the kyng, that what they sayd was done and no judgement nor sentence passe in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at whiche thing the nobles of Fraunce sore disdained and especially the lorde Fraunces duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce whiche having a suite for therledome of Montpelyer could not be heard speake nor his counsell neither. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkynd and vnjust handling, came to the French kyng beseeching him of justice & favor, whiche hearyng him sayd that al that was in his power to do he would gladly accomplish, & other answer had he none, & to encrease his grudge yet more, the Frenche kynges mother made a title to the whole Duchy of Burbon & Auerne, and the Admyral & she so entised the kyng that he sayd opely that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, whiche wordes reported to him caused him to hate mortally the Frenche kyng and his mother, and so in displeasure departed into his owne countrey. The kyng of England beyng hereof advertised, sent to the duke of Burbon a knight of his Chamber called sir Ilon Russell a man well language, whiche wisely and courteousely so behaued himself, that he came to the duke to Molyns and knew all his extent how he would forsake his kyng and serve the king of Englad & the Emperor against the Frenche kyng, and thereupon took his othe. The Frenche kyng not mistrusting the allegiance of the duke of Burbon sent to the Duke to prepare him to go into Itayne, for he had prepared a great army to passe the mountains against the duke of Myllane, in which army he had vii. M. men of armes, and xxv. M. footmen. The duke hearyng hereof feared himself sicke, and the Frenche kyng passing by Molyns visitid & conforted him: to whom the duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be carred emptie, iii. dayes amongst a certainty of his souldiers as though he were there, but he himself fled secretly into the Countye of Burgoyne pertaignyng to the Emperor, where he retained. x. M. Almaines to inuate Fraunce assone as the Frenche kyng was passed the mountains.

When the Frenche kyng heard of this, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his army, &
sent his great Master to seaze al the dukes lädes. Of all these doynges sir Ihon Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armye, and returned vnespieed, wherfore he deserved & had of the king and his cousail great thankes. Wherepon the kyng caused the proclamacion to be made in the army, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the duke of Burbons power they might do what they list & be vnaught withal which so proued after. Whiche tidynes mucho encouraged thenglishe souldiers.

After this proclamacion, there were tidynes brought to the army for a trueth, that one Hierome Vicount, a great familiar-frende w the duke of Myllayne entised by the French kyng, had almost slaine Frauces duke of Myllaine with a dagger behynd at his back, with the whiche doyng the Frenche kyng aboue all persones fained himselfe to be most displeased. The morowe beyng the. xxix. day of September the duke with his whole army removed to Arke and there lodged, & the last day of September he removed to a village called Alrke, and from thence the first day of October he came to a village betwene Tyrwyn and saint Omers called Esquerdes or Cordes, where the duke lay and encaped himselfe abiding his enemies.

Nowe must I returne to tell you what was done betwene England and Scotland this same season. Whyle the duke of Suffolke was thus inuding the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinkyng the war turned into Fraunce, and that nothying should be attempted against them, began to robbe and spoile on the Marches of England, wherof the kyng hearlyng sent againe thither the valiant erle of Suryr treasurer and Admyrall of England, whiche in all hast sped him to the west Marches and sent for an army of. vi. M. men, & with banner displayed entred by the dry Marches betyng doune castles & fortresses on euery side. And although the Scottes be men of high corage, yet they seyng the wise conduct of the noble erle of Suryr and his chosen company, durst not once encounter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, tyll he came to the strong toune of Jedworth, in whiche lay a great garrison of Scottisheemen whiche did all the hurt they could to the Englishmen, and hardly in great number skymished with thenglishmen, so that on both partes diuers wer shane, but in the end the Ablay, Castle, and toune of Jedworth were brent and all rased a sander in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped himself in the Scottishe ground abidyng battail, and lay there from the. xxii. day of September to the. xxv. day. During whiche tyme he sent y lorde Daker of Gydersland to a strong hold of Doncar called Fernhurst, the whiche castle stode very euil to come to, for the wayes wer hyly, stony, and full of marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordonnaunce that waye: yet for all that the Englishmen so fiersly set on that they gat the Castle, notwithstanding the Scottes fought valiamently, and many of them were taken, as Dan Car the lorde, the lorde of Gra- don and diuers other whiche was there taken, and so the lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordained to kepe the watche that night whiche set his watches & his wardes surely. In the night sodainly. CCC. good geldynes brake out of a pasture, whiche were in custodie of the sayd lord Daeres campe, and as heastes wodde and saunge ranne enraged and notwithstanding that men did as muche as they might to stoppe them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of battail, whereof the noisy in the night was so great, that the armyes sounded alarne, the horse styll in array ranne to the cappe, where the erle lay and bare doune many persones in their waye, and so sodainly ranne away whether it was unknowne: the lorde Daeres men sayd that the deuil was sene amongst them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

When the Erle of Suryr departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the duke of Albany of all their Affaires, which was commynge into Scotland. But when he heard that the Naui of England lay in wayte to fight with him, he durst not aventure, but sate styll: And when he heard there was no capacitines of name on the borders of England toward Scotland, he devised by policie that all his shipshe should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayd himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would
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would not saile into Scottis that yere. So raine the voice al the coastes of Normandy and Britaigne, and so passed tyl the ende of Septembre.

The kyng of England was enformed by suche as knewe none othre, that the duke of Albany had broken his iorwyn, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherefore the kyng of England in the middest of September caused his shippes to be layde vp in hauens tyl the next spryng: The duke of Albany beyng therof aduertised boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with. lxxii. saile in sight passed by the West partes of England and coasted Wales, & so with great labor landed at Kyncowbre in the West parte of Scotland with all his people the. xxi. day of Setember whiche wer in nombr. iii. M. or there about, and with him was the traytor Richard Delapole.

When it was known in Scotland that the lorde Gouernor was landed, suche gladnes there was amongst the people. Then the duke was highly receiued and his people wel cherishe, and then beganne a Parliament. The kyng of England hearyng that the duke of Albany was landed in Scotlande and was vnfowght withall, was not a litle displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceiued him, but there was no remedye: Wherefore he made provisions and put all thynges in a readynes, if he would attempt any thing against him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany Gouernor of Scotland beyng in the Parliament of the realme, with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraunce the Frenche kyng bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch that he beyng aduertised of the great murders, slaughters, & burnynges done by the Englishmen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and damage then they did, accounting him self one of their members, and them likewise the members of him and his realme, and for the requenging of thesame, he to be partener as their member, & for the more credite he shewed the Frenche kynges favorable letter, affirming his declaration. When the letters were red, there start vp a Baron of Scotland called the lorde Forbos, whiche sayd: the realme of Scotland for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as daily dooth appere, for our nobles be slain or taken, our comitaltie murdered, our lades ouerrun, our houses & fortresses brent & rased, the profites of our owne lades we lese: which mischief we nede not to have had, but for the loue of Fraunce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A farre frend is not some fet? A mightie neighbor may be a cruel enemy. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbyd sayd the duke of Albany that Scotland ever should seke a new frendre or profer their amitie, to the destroyers of their contray and nation, but you my lordeis of Scottis are sufficient of your selfe to maintain your lades, libertie, & frendome against your common enemies the englishmen. And therefor now let vs together requenge the hurtes done to vs & our country: And I on myne honor shal go with you, and therefore I haue brought with me bothe treasure, men, and artillerie into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so do that all Christendome shall speake of our noble coquest. To the dukes request all the court of Parliament agreed and then wer commissons sent through Scotland & eyres made that all men shuld assemble at Doglas dale with vitaile for xxvii. dayes. The Scottes in al hast prepared, so that the lordeis wer come to the place appointed the xviii. day of October, with vitaile, gunnes, & all other artillerie, and so came by easy iorwns to the riuwer of Twede on a ground beside Hume castle, & fro thence came to Cawdestrene & there lodged.

All this doyng the kyng of England kneve well, wherfore with all diligence he causd to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent, wherof there were. iii. M. beryng cotes of armes w their power and strength, whiche all were comandd to resort to the erle of Sury with sped. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appointed to kepe Berwicke with. vi. M. men, lest the Scottes therto would lay siege.

The duke of Albany whiche lay on the frontiers bearing of the Erle of Suryes prepareng sent to him an Herauld promising him of his honor to geue him battall, and if he tooke him in battall he would put him to courteous raunsome & his body to be safe: To whom the erle answered, that muche he thanked the duke of his offer, and that he would abide bat-
tail, promising him that he would give him battle if he durst abide: and if that had sayd duke were taken prisoner by him or his men, he would strike of his head & send it to the king of England his Master, and bad that he should trust to none other, at which answer the duke of Albany & the Scotts take great dispute.

The earl of Surrey being at Alnwyke, to him came therel of Northumberland and Westmunderland, the lord Clifford, the lord Dacre, the lord Lumley, the lord Ogle, the lord Darcy, and many noble Knights, Squiers and monen, to the number of xl. M. And from the kynge's court was sent to be at the battle sir Nicholas Carew Master of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edward Baynton and divers other. All this army laye on the borders abiding the Scotts comyng into England, which lay still in Scotland and did nothing till the last day of October byng Saterday. The night before the Scotts had sent over the water into England, iii. or iii. M. men to lay siege to a lytle castle called Castle of Warke, which stādeth nere the border: the great ordinarie of Scotland sore bet the castle, and Dan Car and the Frenchmen which came out of France with the duke of Albany gane to the castle a strong assaut: within the castle was sir Willia Lyle with a C. personnes, but the Scotts were so many in number, that they got the witermoste warde called the Barnkyns where the beasts and barnes were, which seying, the capitaine sent in all hast to the Earle of Surrey advertysyng him of their distres, which in all hast assembled his capitaines to rescue the castle, therby hopying that Duke Ihon of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scotts lay still about the castle comyngly shoting ordinarie Sunday & Monday the first and second day of November, and then the Scotts thinking the place assauntable, coragiously set on the castle and by strength entred the second warde. Sir Willia Lyle perceiving that had gotten the false braynes and that nothing remained but only the inner warde or dōgeon, sayd to his company, sirs for our honor & māhod let vs issue and fight with the proud Scotts and stately Frenchmen, for more shall our honor be to dye in fight, then to be murthered with gunnes, to the which his company that were left agreed: for of his C. men he had lost almost xl. at the other assautes. Then they issued out boldly and shot coragiously as men that shot for a vaunтьage, and with shotynge and fightyng they droue their enemies cleane out of the place & slew of them & chiefly of the Frenchmen CCC. which lay thare dead in sight when the Earle came thither, beside suche as dyed of woundes & were drowned. Then the Scotts removed their ordinarie, in great hast over the water, and by that tyme was the Earle of Surrey come w v. M. men on horsebacke & all his great army folowed & was very sory that his enemies were gone, & mucho praised sir William Lyle for his valiantnes.

When the duke of Albany & the lorde of Scotland knew that the earl of Surrey approached with his puissant armee, they thought it not convenient to icoparde all the nobilitie of Scotlānde in one felde, consideryng their chaunce x. yeres before, and therefore they coīcludde to retourne, and so on the sayd secōd day of November in the night the duke with all his armēe retreted more for his surety then honor.

The horsemen of Scotland kept the fordes that no mā should passe to greue the fotemen as they returned, and when all the baggages wer gone they cast them selı̂̂s in a plumbe and returned.

When the day appeared, then the Englishmen might plainly see the Scotts how they fled fiftie mennes thickenes, many a lusty Englishman would faine harte folowed them on horsebacke, and so would thele of Surrey with all his heart, but his commision was only to defend the realme and not to invade Scotland, which thing him sore displeased. Thus brake vp the great armee of Scotland to the great rebuke of the duke of Albany & the nobles of Scotlānde whiche ii. yere together had made braggges & assemblies and dūst not abide battale. The Scotts made much braggges that they had beaten doune the walles of Warke castle, but they spake nothing of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly they retourne & would not abide. After this retourne queene Margaret of Scotlānde & mother to the yong kyng, sent to her brother the kyng of England for an abstinence of warre to be taken betwene ý realme
realme of England and Scotland, to thentent that some way might be taken, that an amitie might be had betwene them: whiche request to her was granted, and so the great armye of England was dissolved and the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast.

In this season the Emperor Charles sent to the kyng of Englad. Mules trapped in crimmosyn velvet curiously embrodered, al § buckles, stirropes & all suche other garnishynes were siluer & gilt of meruiaules cónyng worke. He set also xi. Genettes ful goodly to be hold trapped with russett velvet richely wrought, and. iii. spere, & ii. Iauelynes of straung tynber & worke richely garnished, and. v. brace of greyhousës: and to the quene he sent two Mules with riche trappers and high chayners after the Spanishe fashion, all these presettes wer thankefully receiued both of the kyng and quene.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke whiche lay at Cordes or Esquerdes the xx. day of September & thither came to him § army of Flaunder, wherof was capitaine the lorde of Isilsteye which had with him of Spaniardes, Almaines, Cleues and other. iii. M. fotemen and v. C. horsemen well apparellled for the warres in all pointes.

The duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forward in wete wother makyng bridges & wayer, ever lokynge for battel, & on the. xvii. day of October he sent the lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him. iii. M. men to a good tonne called Anker whiche accompanied with divers knights & gentlemen in good order of battel marched toward the tonne. The Frenchmen perceiuyng the Englishmen cónyng toward their tonne, fled out as fast as they might, and left the tonne desolate: then entred the Englishmen and had there a great botie and toke the castle called Bone gard and therin put a garrison of Englishmen, whereof was capitaine the lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduit vitailers to the armye, which nowe was farre from any succours of the Englishe part. In this tonne was an abby of Monkes whiche receiued humbly the lordes and nobles of England, whiche to them did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the duke.

After this, the xix. day, the Duke with his armye passed to a village called Qwede: and there, after long coysailing it was determined that the whole army should passe to a strong tonne and well fortified called Bray, whiche tonne was well ordinaunce and had in it. xvi. C. men of warre, the capitaine therof was called Adrian, and for succours to the tonne were come Mounsiere Pontdormy, the Vicount Larnerdam, the Vicount Turaine, Mounsiere Applyngcort, & Mounsiere Dapney, with v. C. horsemen, so that in the tonne beside the inhabitauntes wer. ii. M. good men. This tonne standeth on the riuere of Some. xxiii. Englishe myle from Arras, and xiii. myles aboue Amyas: This tonne was well dicht and strengthened on every side.

The. xx. day of this moneth the Duke comandened all his great ordinaunce to be brought by. iii. of the clocke in the morning before § tonne of Bray, they that had the charge ther of so manfully acquited the that notwithstädyngh all § damage that their enemies could do, brought the ordinaunce before the tonne at § houre appointed. Then ech part shot dredfully at other, but the Englishse guners shot so wel, that the walles of the tonne were beaten downe & rased with the ordinaunce, insomuch that by. ix. of the clocke the tonne was made assaullable. Then the duke caused to blow to thassaut. Then the Englishmen & Flemynge & Burgonions lept furth quickly, and notwithstanding that the ditches wer depe; yet they so coragiousely entered by the good comfort of the lorde Sides & other noble men that they gat § ditches. The Frenchmen perceiuyng that the tonne should be gotten, hastily made traynes of gunpowder from strete to strete & house to house, saiying that the Englishmen after their entry into § tonne would fal to pillage, & then sodainly sodain fyer should destroy them. This was the provision of the Frenchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen wer entryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with pikes, crossbowes, handgunnes, & halberdes, but they were to weke, for on all partes entred thenglishmen and sodainly the Frenchmen fledde and the Englishmen followed and killed and slew in every part.

Nowe you must understand that this tonne of Bray standeth on the riuere of Some whiche is there deuided in diuers branches & betwene every brauche is a marishe ground, where
on the farside of the town was fortified a Bulwarke full of ordinaunce to kepe the passage over the water, & the Frenchmen had lost the planks of the bridge were a myle aboue Bray, & the horsmen of Frauie passed by a myle which was to the Frenchmen a great ayd, for thei stode & kept the passage till the foteiner was come over the bridge, & then they plucked away the plackes of the bridge, so that no man shuld folow, but over the Englishmen folowed & cast plackes on the bridge & passed over the bridge, in which passyng diuers were drowned, but great trauail all men passed, horsesmen & foteiners, & fierly assaulted the Bulwarke and toke it with all the ordinaunce, & in it was taken capitaine Adrian and capitaine Vlterlwe. The Englishe horsmen folowed the Frenchmen & diuers of them wer slaine and take, sir Robert Iernyngham brake a spere on the lorde Pountdormy. The lorde Leonard Gray did valiantly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the toune, they forgatte not to lay a matche to the traine of gunnepowder whiche they had made, whiche in short space set the toune al on fyer, so that when the Englishmen returned again, all was on fyer, so that there they had litte profite but wyne, whiche to them did great pleasure. This was the toune of Bray taken and destroyed the xx. day of October.

The duke considerynge that little succours were for him and his souldiers in the toune of Bray because the sayd toune was consumed with fyer, he therefore commanded the bridges to be wel repayed for to passe over the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraunce: and when the passage was sure, the lord Sandes the xxii. day of October in the morning was prest to passe over with the vaward. Then some gentlemen sayd that they would passe no farther forward, & diuers souldiers were on the same opinion. It was askd why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past over the riuer, they were past all succours and vitail, none could be brought to them. By reason of this noyse the souldiers stayed, whiche lord Sides perceiuyng, sayd to the Welshmen which wer euil willyng to passe the riuer: sirs sayd he, behold what I do, and with that he toke a banner of saint George & sayd, as many as love the kyng of England & be true to him and to the croune, follow me, and then he and sir Wylliam Kyngston set forward and passed the water, whiche there runneth in thre streames, then all other persone coragiously folowed, and the ordinaunce and vitails.

After the forward folowed the duke and all his battail: At this tyme the army was sore diminished by reason many wer diseased and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the setting out of Calace. When the Englishmen were passed, then folowed the Burgionys in good order, and so that night this army came to a toune called Kappe and there encamped theemselves, all the inhabitauntes were fled both out of the toune and Castle: there the Englishmen found C. tonne of wyne, & other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker knowing that the duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the toune & castle, and came & joynd with the dukys armie at Kappe.

There the duke caused proclamationes to be made in the armie that all the people of Fraunce that would vitaille the armie of England should be well entertained & haue their vitails well payed for, and safe goyng and coming, by the whiche proclamation the host was well vitaire, for the people of the countrey resorted with all thinges necessarie.

The Duke thus lyng at Cap sent to the toune of Roy to yeld them to the kyng of England. The toune perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armie of the Duke, assented to deliever the toune to the Duke. This was a strong toune well walled, dyched, and ordinaunced but not manned, the Duke sent thither sir Richard Cormwall and other with iii. C. men to receive the toune, whiche went thither in good array and had the toune to them delivered and then they sette the banner of saint George in the highest part of the toune, and full well this garrison kept the toune of Roy til the duke came thither with his whole armie.

The Duke & his armie the xxv. day of the sayd moneth removed to a village called Lybome, & had there great pillage: for this toune was muche haunted of marchantauntes and
The next day he removed to Dauenker, and the xxvii. day he removed and came before the strong town of Mountdedyer, where for defense of warre lacked neither ditches, walls, nor bulwarkes: The horsemen of the English army rode about the town to view it, at whose captaines caused divers pieces to be lost, which showed well their strength. The Duke sent an officer of armes to somon the capitaine to deliver the town: the officer departed, & with him a trumpet which blew before the gate, but no person would answer, because they would have no Sommons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyrriers made profer afore the town, out of the whiche issued a great compagnie of horsemen and skyrmished with the Dukes horsemen and fought valiantly, but at the last xi. of the horsemen were taken, with whose the lord Roche Baron capitaine of the town was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintain the town against the whole army. Then the Duke of Suffolke pytched his felde and laid his siege rounde about the town of Mountdedyer and kept good watche and warde on every side: which thing the lorde Roche Baron perceiving comforted his menne of warre and had them not be afrayd but to be of good courage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothing. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from reske, and that lyng still and nothing doing was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the town of Mountdedyer were two thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, wherefore he sent for all the lordes and capitaines of his army and muche praised their hardynes and sayd that the noble courage that he sawe in them did muche amazme him to sette forwarde in all thynges, the praise whereof should be to them and not to him, and therefore nowe he encouraged them againe to continue still in their valiant doing, for with Goddes grace he intended to bend his ordinance the next morning before the town, to the whiche all the lordes agreed and praised muche the dukes courage and forwardnes.

Then was sir Willyam Skouyngton knight, Master of the ordinaunce comanded to prepare for the battery, which with all diligence made trenches, and prepared all thinges mete for the purpose. In this season sir Thon Walop knight had with him almost a M. proper men and hardy, hauyng little wages or none whiche lived alone on their adventure, whereof some they were called adventurers, of some they were called kreckars. These men were light, hardy, and politicke, and by their manhood and hardines had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great botties, & daily brought to the army Horses, Mares, vitaile, cloth, corne, & other necessaries which might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchmen and especially they of villages & paseges wer sore afraide, for they were never idle but doing some thing in one part or other. The lorde Pountdorny, or Pounttrey hearing Mountdedyer was besieged, called to him divers good lordes & capitaines to the number of. v. c. menne of armes and durny launces, and a great number of fotemen, enteyndyng to bring gunnepowder and other necessaries to the town of Moutdedyer; & as they were thither comynge by night, Thomas Palmer, captain of the skount watche of the English army them askried and skyrmished with them although they wer more in number: manfully fought the Frenchmen, but for all that they were compelled to flee backe, and then Englishmen there followed and slawe divers, and two spers were broken on the brother of the lorde Pountdorny, but by the swiftnes of his horse he saue himselle, and in this chance were C. prisoners taken whiche muche rejoysed the Englishmen.

When the Master of the ordinaunce had all thinges ready, at the houre of iii. of the clocke in the morning he discharged the ordinaunce continually in suche fashion, that by viii. of the clocke the xxviii. day of October the walles were made lowe & the town assaultable. All whiche while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the town till the walles & town were beaten downe. The capitaine of the town perceiving this, called to him all the capitaines, declaring to them that their town was in iii. houre made assaultable, and that surely the Englishmen would assault the town which should be to their confusion, wherfore he asked their advise what was best to be done, al they answered, so as you will:

Then
Then he went into a tower & caused a trompet to blowe and set furth a banner of truce. Then the duke commaunded the ordinance to cease. Then sir Willyâ Skeuyngton came to the walles & demanded what they would, & the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the duke for the loue of the kyng of England & his honor, to graunt to him & thother gentlemen that were there, licence to depart with life, bagge & baggage, they would deliuer the toune of Montedudier. Then sir Willyâ Skeuyngton made report to the duke, whiche therto cõsented, sayning: they be men of warre, their riches is not great. Then the lorde Sandes and divers other were appointed to receuie the toune, & so they entred & set their stãdardes on the top of the gates, & toke the keys of all the strong houses, towers, and Bulwarke. The Frenchmen were ready to depart with trussages and carriages, with Crossbowes, Pykes, & Handgunnes, with whiche doynge the lorde Sandes and the Englishemen which wer within the toune were not cõtent, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this point was muche alteracio & the Frenchmen were stayed, but the lorde Roche Baron gaue many fayre wordes and passed forwarde with a red stãdard, with a white crosse before him, that sayng sir Thomas Palmere, ranne to the stãdard and pluckèd it in pieces. Then sayd the Lorde Roche Baron that it was vngently done: To whom he answered that he should beare no standard there like a conqueror. Then after long disputacion the Frenchmen sayd, that it was promised them that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The fotemen likewise had a standard before them whiche was rent by sir Robert Iernyngham. The number which departed truely accompted, were two thousand footemen, five hundred horsemen and odd wel and warlike appointed, and they left muche baggage behynd them, because they sawe the Englishemen so fast come into the toune, they were in feare of losse of all.

When the Frenchmen wer departed, the duke with his whole armie entred the toune and there the Englishemen founde fine featherbeddes, napery, coueringes, and muche houshould stuffe, and especially of wyne great plentie, and there the armey rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the toune rased and thrownen doun, and all the Bulwarke likewise. Then the duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken and so remoued to the toune of Roye, where he and all his armey rested for a while: wherof they were glad, for they had traualled sore, and the wether was wette and colde. On the feast of all saïnetes called Alhalon dave, the Duke in the chiefe Church of Roy made knihtes, the lorde Harbert, the lorde Powes, Olyuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richard Sandes, Robert Iernyngham, Robert Sailsbury, Edmond Benvyngfelde, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, Wyllyam Storton, Water Mantell, George Warran, Edward Seymour after erle of Hartford, and now Duke of Sommerset, and moste worthy Gouernor of the kynges majesties persone and Protector of all his realmes, dominions and subjectes.

The morowe after, the armey remoued to a place called Ncele, there the Burgonions beganne to waxe vrey, and so did the Englishmen, for euery day was foule wether and raine bothe day and night. Wherfore dyuers companies fell to grudgyng sayning, you may see that by our remoying we shall be ledde from place to place all this wynter, whiche is to the vttier losse of our lyues: for dayly we see that of our company dyeth no smal number (and trueth it was that some dyed but not many) they sayd farther, the Burgonions haue the great gaine and do least for it, for they haue wagons and cayre their boties to their country, whiche is nere hand, and we goe before and fight, and we haue no meanes to convay any thing into our countrey for lacke of carryage, and so we bete the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was seased by gentle wordes for a tyme.

In these iornyes was comonly spoken that the duke of Burbon with his x. M. Almaynes would haue inuaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this armie, but the truth was cotry, for he turned his host another way and went into province and layde siege to Marcelles; wherof the duke beyng advertised, not a little mused, and also sayning his mene daily fell sick, was sory, and yet he so comforted them that euery man was glad to folowe his will and entent.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

On the vi. day of November the lorde Sandes beyng capitaine of the foreward, and the duke of the middle ward, and sir Richard Wyngfeld capitaine of the rearward came in order of battail prest to fight, to a village called Veane and there rested for that night, and the morow after the whole army returned againe over the water of Some, & came to a place called Beauford: At this passage the duke made knightes Thon Dudley, and Robert Vtreight esquires.

The viii. day 3/4 duke remoued to a place called Mount sainct Martyn a very mete place for an armie, and then was the dukes instruccions loked vp by the capitaines, and they perceiuyng that they hard nothyng of the duke of Burbons commyng, ayde nor counsail, all they thought and determined to send the lorde Sandes in post to the kyng, to declare all the case as it stode & their necessitie according as he himselfe knew and saw in all points: whiche lorde Sandes tooke great paine and made good diligence toward the kyng, and while he was ridyng, the duke remoued his armie to a place called Permout & thare lodged for a tyme to rest, and the army was well vitalled, but euery the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

After the great raynes and wyndes that had fallen, came a feruent frost, so sore that many Agreat a souldier dyed for colde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nailes of their handes, whiche was to the a great grefe. The duke all this notwithstandyng remem-bryng that he came not thither to lye styl, the. xiii. day remoued to a place two myle from the castle of Bowhen and still it frised, insomuche that the master of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheles of his ordinaunce on hardels for sinkynge. In the mornynge the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed, home, home, the krekers hearyng that, cryed hang, hang. For whiche matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford capitaine of the horsmen vewed the castle of Bowhen or Boghan, which euery was thought to be impregnable, but he judged it might be wonne, for the castle was inuironed with Marryses, so that to no mans judgement it was possible to wynne it: But nowe he perceiued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be besieged, & all that night it fresed againe: wherfore he desired the Duke to geue him leave to assaute it whiche thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set furth ouer the marrish. When they within the castle perceiued that the marrishe fayled them, they were sore dismayed. Then sir Edward Guildford shot thre great pieces at the castle, and the castilian shot thre-pieces againe. Then as the Englishe gunners wer preparing to the battery, the capitain seyng his castle could not hold, by reason that the marishe failed, and that he could defende none assault, delifered the castle to him to the behoef of the Emperor and the kyng of England, and after a small communicacion had betwene the sayd sir Edwarde Gyldforde and the capitaine, the capitaine with all his retinue departed leuyng behynd the ordinaunce of bombardes, curtawes, & demy curtawes, slinges, canons, volgers, and other ordinaunce, there were lxxvi. pieces, plentie of pellettes & powder. The duke of Suffolke perceiuyng that this castle stode on the border of Henaued: Wherfore the more to please the Henawers he made capitaine of thesame castle of Boghan the Seneshal of Henaued, to the behoef of the Emperor and the kyng of England. In this place the army was euil vitalled, because the Frenchemen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitaile should passe ouer the riuere: wherfore the Duke sent to them of Henaude & specially to them Valencien, to haue ayde of vitaile, which of their little sent to the army a little, but yet it did them some service, and all this while the feruent frost with bitter windes continueth, which caused many people to dye: yet still lay the army abiding the answer of the lorde Sandes, whiche as you have heard rode in post & somuchie travailed that he came to the king of England to his castle of Wyndsoere and there declared to the kyng his message, whiche was that his people which wer in the Frenche ground abode muche misery, for the wether was wet, the wayes depe, long nightes and short dayes, great iornyes and little vitaile, which caused the souldiers daily to dye. Also they trusted when they passed the seas accordyng to their instruccions to haue had ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whom sith their
their departyng they neuer heard worde) wherfore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your army haue set me to your highnes to declare their state and condicion, their good will to tary, & the evil chaunces which daily happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayd the kyng all this we knewe before your conyng: wherfore we haue appointted the lorde Montiioy with vi. M. men to passe the seas for the reliefe of our army, whiche lorde Montiioy is almost in a redynes: For we will in no wise that the army shall breake.

Then the kyng came to Westminster to the Cardinals place & there receiued letters from the duke of Suffolke by sir Robert Iernyngham of the gettyng of the castle of Boghan or Bowen: wherfore incontinent it was by the kyng and his counsail determined that the lord Montiioy should make spede, whiche did suche diligence that many of his souldiers were come to Lodon wel hannised and weponed redy to passe the seas. Wherfore the kyng sent in all hast sir Robert Iernyngham again to declare to the duke the kynges pleasure and what ayde was conyng towarde him. But or sir Robert Iernyngham could come to the duke the armye was removed from Bohan and brenct the toune, and so came to the citie of Valence in Henaude, & there laye vp their ordinaunce and from thence came to the citie of Turnay (whiche then was vnder the Emperor and out of the Frenche kynges handes) and so toke their iornay homewarde thorow Flaunders and the armye there broken and dispached. But when the duke mette with sir Robert Iernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kynges mynde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiers, which could not be, for many Englishemen shipped at Antwarpe, and many at Sluyes, and at Newport and other hauens, and they that were at Calayce were steyed for a tyme, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bryng all his armey together seacely the iii. part, he then licensed the remnanta to depart. Of this breking vp of the armye were letters sent to the kyng, which incontinent stopped the lorde Montiioy and sent his men into the countrey againe. The Duke and other capitanie hearyng of the Kynges displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their frendes that they had perfite knowledge that the Duke of Burbon had broken vpp his campe for the extremite of the Wynter, and also shewed that their souldiers dyed, and vital failed, which caused them to bryeke the armye, for of trueth the souldiers would not abide: with which reasons the kyng was somewhat appeased and so on good hope the duke came to Calayce the xii. day of December, & there abode long, till their frendes had sued to the kyng for their retourne. And when it was graunted and that they were returned, the Duke and the capitanie came not to the kynges presence in a long season, to their great heinyes and displeasure: But at the last all things were taken in good part and they well receiued and in great loue, fauor, and familiaritie with the kyng.

Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was in Fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out comissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that every man that was worth. xl. l. should paye the whole subsidie before graunted out of hand & before the dayes of payment: This payment was called an Anticipacion, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing conyng before his tyme or season: This terme was new to the cominaltie, but they payd wel for their learning, for their money was plaied out of hand wout delay.

The kyng this yere kept his Christmas solemnely at his castle of Wyndsoare and thither came to him the third day of Januare the erle Pontuier of the royal boude of Brytaine and pretedyng to be duke of the same, whiche was nere cosyn to the duke of Burbon & bannished Fraunce. This erle came hastly from the duke of Burbon & was well entertained and feasted of the kyng, and after answere made to him by the kyng, he went to the Cardinall to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd duke into the countrey of Fraunce.

In the same season was brought to the court a gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Stewart taken on the sea with diverse letters by one Water Iago a yoman of the kynges, with
with divers letters from the duke of Albany to the Frenche kyng, by reason wherof the kyng knew muche of their counsail. This gentleman payed raunsome and was very sone redeemed.

The. xix. day of January vi. fayre shippes of Fraunce well appointed, mette with a shipp of the kynges of England called the Kateryne Galley a shipp of. xl. tonne, the capitain wherof was one Ihon Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a land: But he so encouraged his menne that all feare was set aside, and euer as the Frenchemen approched, they bet them of with arrows, pykes, & fightyng, & styll this continued fro. iii. of the clocke in the mornyg till. ix. of the clocke, & euer on the cost of England, and the Englishmen did the best they could to saue themselfes: For by that tyme she had spent her powder, arrows with shotyng, & her bylles with hewing, & her pykes with kepyng them of from comyng aborde, and all the company almost sore hurte, and the capitaine wounded to the death, so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceived by one called capitain Markham, capitain of the barke of Sandwyche, which mafullly called his men together out of Sandwyche hauen & with good wynde came to reskue the Kateryne Galley. The. vi. shippes perceiving that, left their chace & made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The capitaine coragiosly comforted his men and made the quarters of his ship defensable. The Frenchmen sette on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the topp of the Englishe ship. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartz of the Frenche shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly agayne and when the Frenchemen proffered to enter, the Englishmen bet them of with bylles. The Frenchemen at last with a great gunne bet doune the topp of the barke & slewe the men in thesame, and lastly they strake doune his Mast. This conflict continued from. x. of the clocke tll two at after noone. Then he could make no shift, but to saile: and euer the Englishmen shot arrows, & while thenglishmen had any arrows the Frenchemen durst not enter: But when their arrows were spent, the Frenchemen came aborde all at ones & entred the barke. In this fight were slaine of Frenchmen out of hand. xxi. and. lxx. sore hurte, and of the Englishe were slaine. xxiii. What should I say, the Englishmen fought valiantly, but they were to weake for. vi. tall shippes. Wherfore they were taken and brought to Depe for a prise, but the Frenchmen sayd they never bought prise so dere. After this Ihon Maryner capitaine of the Kateryne galley dyed, and many Frenchemen that wer hurt dyed at Depe, so that neither part wanne greatly.

In the last moneth called December were taken certain traytors in the citie of Coyntrey, one called Fraunces Philippe scholemaster to the kynges Henxmen, and one Christopher Pykeryng clereke of f Larder, and one Antony Maynuile gentleman, which by the persua-
sion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to have taken the kynges treasure of his subsidi as the Collectors of thesame came towards London, and then to have araised men and taken the castle of Kylingworth, and then to have made battale against the kyng: wherefore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthony wer hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne the xi. day of Februarye, the residue that were taken, were sent to the citie of Coyntrey and there wer executed. One of the kynges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

The. xvii. day of January there was a Fayer or market at the toune of Marguyson in the French kynges dominions beside Calayce, and for defence of the people and their mar-
chaundise, there were appointed CC. men in harnes wel weaponed: The souldiers of Guynses hearyng of this, departed in the night & came nere to the toune of Marguyson and closly kept themselves tyll the Market was fayre & at the best, then the Englishmen whiche wer. lxx. archers and bylles, set sodainely on the Market, that seyng the Frenchemen stode manfully at their defence w handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishmen shotte so wholly together that they draue the Frenchemen out of the toune, and would for succors have taken the Churche, but the Englishmen were betwene them and the Churche, so that they had none other remedye but to flee and many Frenchmen were slaine. Capitain Ihon de Pound, and cap-
tain
tain Ihō de Babage and divers other were taken prisoners, and divers marchauntea that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchemennes wagons to Guysnes and no Englishman slaine but divers were sore hurt.

The first day of February the valiant knight sir Robert Iernynghā and with him fifty de-myATALICES of the garrison of Calayce skewed the countrey to Odirsaeil & there toke a C. hedde of beastes, by that doynge an asky rose through the countrey, whereby the Frenchmen gathered together to the number of. xii. score, and or sir: Robert and his company came to Houndyngbrige they were beset round about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with hādgunnes, croswowe and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encountere, but the Englishmen as menne desperate (because of the number) fought so fiersly that they caused the Frenchmen to geue backe and swee many of them and toke. xiii. prisoners, & in the chace they toke vii. more whiche made vp. xx. Then the sayd sir. Robert returned with his botie and prisoners and lost noman, but almoste all were hurt. The. x. day of Marche the kyng hauyng a newe harnes made of his own deuise and fashion, suche as no armorer before that tyme had seen, thought to assaye the same at the tilte, and appointed a luestes to serve him. On fote were appointed the lorde Marques Durst and the Erle of Surrey, the kyng came to the one ende of the tyllt, and the Duke of Suffolk to the other: then a gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the kyng is come to the luyltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my fayth, for my head piece taketh fro me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the kyng had his spere deliuered him by the lorde Marques, the viser of his headpee beyng vp and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked. Then the gentleman sayd to the duke, sir the kyng commeth, then the duke set forward and charged his spere, and the kyng likewise vn-advisedly set toward y duke: the people percieuyng the kynges face bare, cryed hold, hold, the duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the kyng remembred that his viser was vp or no few could tell: Alas what sorrow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the dukyes spere strike on the kynges headpee: For of a suertie the duke strake the kyng on the brow right vnder the defecce of y hedpee on the verye coyffe scull or bassenetpee wherevnto the barbet for power and defence is charmed, to whiche coyffe or bassenet neuer armorer taketh hedde, for it is evermore covered with the viser, barbet and volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge: But when y spere on that place lighted, it was great jeopardy of death insoyche that the face was bare, for the Dukyes spere brake all to shuyers, and bare the kynges viser or barbet so farre backe by the countrey buffe that all the kynges headpee was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were muche blamed, and so was the lord Marques for the deliuyryng of the spere when his face was open, but the kyng sayd that none was to blame but himself, for he entended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The duke incontinentely vnarmed him, and came to the kyng, shewyng him the closenes of his sight, & sware that he would never runne against the kyng more: But if the kyng had been a lytle hurt, the kynges seruauntes would haue put the Duke in jeopardy. Then the kyng called his Armorers and put all his peces together and then toke a spere and ranne vi. courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, whiche was great ioy and comfort to all his subiectes here present.

In the ende of Februarye foure Frenche shippes chased the Fysher botes of Rye to the verye shore, and when the fludd was gone, would haue taken the botes and came a land with pikes, but the fishers threw stones, and one archer shotte and swee a Frencheoman which helde vp a basket and had shote Englisheman shote, and the Englisheman shot through the basket and swee him, and so they sawed their botes, and when the fludd came, the Frenchemen sette vp their sails, and as they were passyng, the Englishmen of warre mette with them and toke two of the sayd shippes, and the other two fled.

In this yere the kyng sent the lorde Morlay sir Wylyam Hosy knight and doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando archduke of Austrie and brother to the Emperor Charles
Charles with the order of the Garter which in the towne of Norryngeberge received the same, where then were all the princes of Germanye assembled at a counsel or Dycet, against the bishop of Rome, against whom the Germanies put a C. greues.

The. xiii. day of Aprill one Capitain Brearton one of the capitaines of the aventurers at Guysnes with. xvi. tall men came to a village called Waste and there toke a bootie of beastes, by whiche taking an asky rose, and by chaunce certain of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abreode and by the cry of the people came where the Englishmen were, the Frenchemen wer CC. horsemen and with great cryes enuironed the Englishmen about, so that the Englishmen could make no defence. Then capitan Brearton called to the capitan of the Frenchemen and sayd, sir I am a gentleman & this enterprice was myne, I haue brought these good frelows to this jeopardy, wherfore we yelede vs al prisoners to you, and so they deliered their weapons, the capitain was a gentleman and gently them receiued, then to the men of warre drewe all the peisants or charles of the coutrye nyc hand to the number of vii. or viii. score, whiche desired to bye 3 Englishmen that wer take, the Frenchemen were contente and toke money, then the Englishmen were deliered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre rode away.

When the menne of warre were departed the rybaudes with pykes, iaueylins, and knyues, fell on the Englishmen whiche had no weapon and them slewe all xvii. and cutte them in pieces the moste shamefully that euer was sene.

When knowledge hereof was brought to the capitan of Guisnes sir Ihon Gage, he sent for the aventurers willyng them to reuenge their capitaines death. So all the aduenturers the xiii. day gathered togethe to the number of xl. archers and pykes, and by good guide the next day in the morning they came to the same village of Wast & there toke xxxvii. prisoners and moste part were at the murder of Brearton and his company, and of the xxxvii. they slew xxxvi. and so they left one and caried him with them, but or they depart ed they set the toune on fyer and spared no thing, their ire was so great: the men of warre of Fraunce costed the Englishmen, but they would not medle with them in that rage.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frencheman that was left on liue to declare their message to the capitaine of Bulleyn, whiche was that after that day they would sone neither man, woman nor child that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the peysantz had done to capitaine Brearton and his company, with whiche message the Frenchemen were discontent & sayd that the villaynes derscued to have vengeance for their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes of Emplymerydes and Pronosticaciones made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore affrayde for the sayd writers declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche conjuncions that by waters & fluddes many people should perishe, Insomuche that many persones vitailed them selfes and went to high groundes for feare of drounyng, and specially one Bolton which was Prior of saint Bartholomews in Smythfield builded him an house vpo Harow of the hill, only for feare of this flud, and thether he went and made provision for all things necessarie within him, for the space of two monethes: But the faithfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February, wherfore when it began to raine in February the people wer muche afraide, & some sayd now it beginneth, but many wisemen which thought that the wordle could not be drouned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stand styll and not grinde, they provided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, & at the last the Astronomers for their excuse said that in their computacion they had mistaken and misconducted in their number an hundreth yeres.

The Emperor charles which also was enemy to the French kyng, seyng the great army that the kyng of England his confedrare had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraunce that ioyneth to Spain, & in especially he imagined how
how to recover the town of Fountraby, which the Frenche men before that time had gotten: wherfore he assembled a great puissance and made captain the lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castyle, which with great diligence came before the town of Fountraby which was strongly forted and the captain thereof was a Naueroyes: but when the capitaine and his company saw the town besieged with suche a puissance, and also that the sea was so narrowly kept that they could not haue vital nor succour, they determined to give vp the town: but yet the capitaine of a high stomacke shotte out his ordinaunce and sent his trompet to the capitaine of the Spanyardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communicacion therof he desired abstinence of warre tyll he had communed with the counsell of the Spanish host, which to him was graunted. Then was communicacion for five dayes and nothing ended, for the Spanyardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the vi. day it was concluded that the town should be deliuered with ordinaunce and artillery and all the men of war to depart with bagge & baggage and so the xxvii. day of February was the town of Fountraby brought againe to the hands of the Emperor, & he that was capitaine of Fountraby was afterward restored to his landses in Nauer by the Emperor and became his man.

The bishop of Rome called Pope Clement sayng the great warres that were this yere on all parties and in especial betweene the Emperor & the kyng of England on the one partie against Fraunces the Frenche kyng and his alyes, sent an archbishop of the realme of Naples fyrrst to the Frenche kyng, and after to the Emperor, which declared to the Frenche kyng the many folde mischiefes that rysse by warre, the great stroke of vengeance that God will strike for vniust warre & specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of christen blood, and shewed farther that the sayd Frenche kyng made daily warre on the Emperor and the kyng of England without cause, but onely because he himselfe would do no right to them nor to their subiectes.

The Frenche kyng after counsell taken answered, my lord Legate we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, and we stande at the defence, notwithstanding our right is kept from vs both the duchy of Myllain and realme of Naples by the Emperor and the usurped duke, to the whiche we haue good title, and the kyng of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstanding that we have geuen him and many lorde of his counsell divers payre pences, not because we be afrayde of him, but because we would haue his loue and amitie, and when we perceiued that he toke part with the Emperor our mortal enemy, we withdrewe our pences as with right we might, & now with all his power he would conquer our good will, which is against reason, and we clayme nothing of him. Well sayd the ambassador, I will speake fyrrst with the Emperor and after with the kyng of England, & then I will declare to you their rightes and demaundes, with whiche the Frenche kyng seemd to be content.

Then the sayd ambassadour tooke his leave and in post came to the Emperor in Spaine, & there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons affirmynge that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the Frenche kyng as the sayd kyng affirmed. Then the Emperor like a noble prince answered, that the warres were neuer of his beginnyng: For the Frenche kyng or he wost had taken the town of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquer the realme of Nauerne, & not with this contented, retayned the Swyches whiche be the Emperors subiectes and caused them to be enemies to thempyre, and he also withheld the duchy of haut Burgoyne, and the countie of Arthoys with divers other countreys and seignories belonging to him: Wherfore his quarle was alway lust, and because the college of Rome should perceiue the whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to the sayd ambassadour a seadule, with whiche he departed, refusynge all gifts whiche the Emperor offered him, and came againe to the Frenche kyng and reverted to him all the Emperors saiynge, but the French kyng him selfe highly excused and sayd that he might not lese that that his predecessors left him, and so the bishop of Rome's ambassadour toke his leave and came into England.

After
After this Legate was departed from the Emperors court, there came thither an Ambassador from Portyngale, which highly behaued him selfe, and when he came to the Emperors speche, he proudly sayd: Sir you that are the greatest prince of Christendome ought above all men to do justice and right, and to do wrong to no man, and where it is well knowned that by the labor, studye, and learning in Cosmography and Astronomy of vs only Portyngales, the trade to the partes of Inde or Indias were first sought and found, and the first labor in that behalf was ours and the great innumerable riches which was spent for the searchyng and finding of the same, was employed & spent by the kyng of Portyngale and his progenitors, by whiche travaile we haue wonne straung ladies, wherby all Christendome is greatly enriched with fuels, stones, and parles and other straung commodities. How can it then be thought just or righteous that any other persone should take from vs that commodite that we have so derely bought? Yet most puissant lorde and mightie Emperor, your subiectes daily travaile thither and wrongfully take away our gayne, which neuer labored nor toke pain for the finding or serching of thesame, wherfore of justice you must commaunde your subiectes not alongly to leue their trade thitherwarde, but also to make to vs Portyngales a sufficient recompence for the harms that we have sustained.

When the Ambassador had sayd, after a lytle deliberacion the Emperor answered: The very pouertie of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selfes you be not able to live, wherfore of necessitie you were druen to seke liuyng, for landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lorde you were not able to conquer. Wherfore on the sea you were compelled to seke that which was not found: And where you say that you haue found lides, I say those landes foud you by shipwrekes of the sea beyng cast theron before you thought of any such ground & so sought farther for succours in necessitie, yet they say not that you have them wone, but they have wone you. And where you would that our subiectes should not repare thither, we ascertaine you that no man shall prohibite our subiectes to saille where they lyst for their anunantage. For our subiectes may be warned no place by them whom I haue peace and amitie: for he is mine enemy and no freind that letteth my libertie: Well sayd the Ambassador, and we wil let your subiectes to passe thither. Nay sayd the Emperor we wil not trye so farre, for I am able to disturbe your doynges neveriauad. But for a suerte you Portyngales be enemies to all Christendome, for to the Indyans you cary nothyng but coynge, whiche is hurt to all countrie, wherefore at this tyme you may depart, till you be better advised. After this answere geuen to the Portyngales, they offered great summes of money to the Emperor to leave his trade into the Indyans, but he therto in nowyse would agree.

IN the beginnyng of this xvi. yere the kyng lay at his maner of Newhali in Essex, and there kept the feast of sainct George & hearyng that the bishop of Romes Ambassador was commynge into England remoued to his maner of Grenewyche where the sayd Archbishop and legate came to him & was highly entertained, which declared wisely and eloquenty the message & content of his master, which was to make a peace and còcord betwene the kyng of Englad & the French kyng, & for that cause he had been with the Emperor & also with the French kyng, which as he sayd affirmed that without cause the kyng of England made him warre, considering that he to thtentent to haue more amitie & fauor of you & your nobles hath liberally geuen to you & theim honorable pencias, which by no dutie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his benuolence and bountie. Also he sayth that you clayme his crowne, realme, and possessions, whiche toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothyng, and therafore he thyketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherfore may it please your
your highness to tell me your mynde and I shall it declare to the whole court of Rome God willyng and forget nothyng.

Then the kyng called to him his cousinsail & after diuers cōsultacions had, the Ambassador was sent for, & there was shewed to him many recordes, prouyng the kyng of England to be inheritor to the realme of Fraunce by bloud & also so confirmed by diuers Charters in the tyme of kyng Charles the vii. And as coerenyng ṣ pencion, to him was shewed diuers Charters, that it was no Pencion of friendship but due rent for the duches of Normady & Guyan and the coūtreys of Aniew & Maine which are the kyng of Englanedes very inheritaunce. Furthermore there wer shewed to him diuers bonde of the sayd French kynges for the payment for the citie of Turnay & other duties whiche he ought to the kyng of England, all whiche articles to fulfyll, the Frenche kyng hath oftentimes been requyred by Ambassadors, & yet he euer dissebled & would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these things wer notes written & delivered to the bishop of Romes ambassador, which toke his leue of the kyng & returned in post accompanied but with iii. persones. By reason of ṣ comyng of this Ambassador men hoped ṣ peace should ensue, but it succeeded not this yere: for the third day of May the garrison of Bullein with diuers other in the moste secrete wise that could be came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas & sodainly strake vp a drōne or drounyslade: the people hearyng this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked & some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchemen them followed & toke. xxi. prisoners and then set fyer on the Churche: by this tyne was all the pale raised which thynge the Frenchmen perceiuyng left their botie and returned in all hast with their prisoners to Bullein.

In this season the lordes of Flaunders lay at the siege before Tyrwyn and were likely to haue taken it by famyne, wherof the Frenche kyng beyng advertised assembled an armye of. xxxi. M. horsemen and solmen vnder the conducte of the Duke of Vandosme and the lorde Pountdormy, and the Frenche kyng himselfe came doune to Amyas and there caused it to be noysed that he would besiege the towne of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the kyng of Englanedes ordinaunce. The kyng of England hearyng of this, sayd, that if the Frenche kyng besieged Valencyen, he in person would go thither for to reskue his ordinaunce. The lorde Fynes and other lordes of Flaunders whiche lay before Tyrwyn with ix. M. menne were advertised of the Frenche armye, but because of the fame that the host shuld go to Valencyen, they sent for nomore succors.

When the Frenchmen had all thynges ready, they lefte the waye to Valencyen and tooke the waye directy to Tyrwyn. When the lordes of Flaunders perceiued that, they were sore abashed & then they knew that they were diseaced, and that they were not able to abyde the puissanuice of the Frenche armye. Wherfore they raysed their siege, & put the sols in orde of battail on ᵇ Southest side of Tyrwyn: the French armye passed forward the vi. day of May towards Tyrwyn and made no semblance to fight: Howbeit some of them skyrned with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the towne, whervnto they were welcome, and the lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased but there was no remedy. Then rumb a brute that the French army would lay sege to Guysnes: wherfore the kyng caused men & all other thynges to be put in a readynes for the spedy reskue thereof if it had so chaunse. But the Frenchmen toke a better aduice.

In this moneth of May sir Robert Jernyngham capitaine of Newnham bridge cōmūned with Christopher Coo, a capitaine of diuers Englishe shippes that kept the sea, whiche then was in Calayce hauen for vitaille and sayd, capitaine Coo you know how the Bulleners haue visited nere to Calayce the Englishe pale and haue burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set many of your menne a lande at the hauen of Bullein the. xix. day of Maye, I with as many as I can furnishe will mete with you there in basse Bulleine at the tyme and houre betwene vs appointed, to the whiche the sayd Christopher agreed and faithfully promised, and so prepared accordingly euery thyng necessarye and so sayled towards Bulleym, sir Robert Jernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to sir Willyam Fitzwillyam capitaine of Guysnes.
to know if he would ayde any part toward this iorney, whiche sent worde that he would be
at thesame aventure himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be capitaine of that en-
terprise, whiche he thakefully and with heart receiued: then all the men of warre and the
aduenturers and the Bayly Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together
they wr. CCC. horsemen, and of the coutreys and Marke. iii. C. and of the aventureurs.
C.lx. and so one and other they were vii. C. men. All these persone mette at an houre ap-
pointed at Sandyngefelde: the night was short so that it was day or they came nere Bullein
all set in good order of battail, but they were askried before they came nere Bullein, and so it
chaunseed that Christopher Coo with his shipples whiche had winde at will was come with his.
... shipples before Bullein somewhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watche him espied,
& then he mann'd his bonates and with men and ordinaunce stretched toward the land, by that
tyme was all basse Bullein in harnes ready to defend the Englishmen from londying, but capi-
taine Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of. Basse Bullein wr. on the shore,
that seyng the garrison made them ready and bent their ordinaunce. Sir Willyâ Fitzwillyam
hearyng the gunnes toward the haunsise knew wel that Christopher Coo was in his busines,
and so encouraged every man to do well and marched forwarde w asmuch as speed he might,
insomuch that all the Englishmen were on the hylles before Bullein in sondry plumpes,
then issued out the horsemen of Bullein betwene the castle and Cardons tower, the light
horsemen of the Englishe part theim encountered, there was a good fight, the Frenchmen
shote with Crosbowes, and the Englishmen with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce
shot terribly, the Englishmen approched the toune walles, this skyrmise was fierse &
euer the archers ayded the horsemen. Whyle the horsemen were thus skyrmisyng, the
viii. score aventureurs whiche were hardy & valiannet men cast themselfes about & came to
basse Bullein, and there they were hardly receiued of the Frenchmen, yet notwith-
stading they lost their barriers and the Englishmen entred, there was shotyg on all sides
and a strong fight. The Frenchmen cried Bullein, and thenglishmen saigne George Ca-
laye: but at the last the Frenchmen were driven backe and many slaine, & xliii. taken
prisoners, and so they returned to their capitaine sir Willyam Fitzwillyam. All this
while was Christopher Coo on lond on the sea cost and bet ñ Frenchmen vp to the
toune, and when the tide turned he with all his came againe in safetie to their shipples.
The Englishe horsemen after long fightyg tooke thre of the Frenchmen of armes and the
other reced to the toune. By this tyme by reason of the Alarome was all the countrye of
Pyocardye raysed and muche people resorted to Bullein on all sydes, whiche doyng sir Wil-
lyam Fitzwillyam wisely perceiuyng, by the sound of a trumpette brought all his menne to-
gather in a plump, and then sent them hither and thither to fette his drifte of bestaste that
were nere in the countrey on every side, which was quickly done, for the aventureurs
brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages,
and so mette together, and with their botie returned in saetic.

The tewesdaie folowing, beyng the laste daie of Maie, sir Willyam Fitz Willyam, with
a. C. and fiftie horsemen, and the aventureurs, and a hundred other persone no, came to a
place called Samer de Boys, the saied capitaine wisely considered, that in that place the
Frenchmen had diverse times lurked, and taken at avantage the Englishmen, wherfore he
laied his horsemen, and his archers on horsebacke in a woodde, in a waite if the French-
men followed the stale: then he sent furth the aventureurs, whiche passed farther: then ñ capi-
tain would that thei should haue done, and sodainly they were asked: then on came the
Frenchmen, the aventureurs swere, that they would not bee, but bent themselfes to defed
their enemies, which wr. iii. C. horsemen. The Frenchmen knew well their hardines,
but yet they called them Crakers, whiche by missoundyng, was commonly called Krekers, for
a suretice these men wer hardy, and full of pollicie, and very far would icoperd, the
Frenchmen sent about a valey. i. C. of the best horsemen, and ii. C. footmen, then were
the Krekers betwene two bendes of the Frenchmen: sir Willyam Fitz Willyâ, beyng assured
of the conduite of the Frenchmen, muche doubted the chance of the aventureurs, where-
fore in greate hyst sent for his stale of horsemen, that he had left couered: and the French-
men:
men that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen, that were gone about an hill in the valey. The Englishmen them valiantly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the aventureurs were come on a plain: then the horsemen that wer come to sir Willia Fitz William, set on the French horsemen, there was a hard and a fierce encounter, for the Frenchmen fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chace wer taken. lxii. horsemen, and. xliii. slain one and other, & many Englishmen sore hurt and diverse slain, thus the Krekers scaped a narowe hasarde.

In the same season on the second daie of Maie, sir Thomas Palmer one of the Captains of thefrontiers, was ridsyn to his frende, master Jerome of Burgon, cap- titan of Tournahan, and with him. xx. Englishe men on light horse, and as he roade, he so- dainly espied. xxx. horsemen, of the garrison of Tirwyn and Bullein, thei were nere toge- ther or the Englishmen espied them: then there was no remedy, but to encounter, sir Thomas Palmer wel-comforted them compaignie, and then the Frenche men set on with great force, and truly they fought long without one halning any advantage of the other, but at last the Frenchmen began to faint, and alittle to withdrawe themselves, that perceiveyng the Englishe men, set to them coragiously and so they sweu three out of hand, and vi. men of armes taken prisoners, and eight dimy lances, with whiche prisoners the Englishmen returned to Guysnes, and kept not their purpose to Tournahan for all were hurt or wounded.

In June sir William Fitz William, capitan of Guysnes, sir Ihon Walop, and sir Ihon Gage, secretly called to them. ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe countrie of Picardy, vnto the castle of Hardyngha, or Rigsem and they caried with them but one pece of ordinaunce, called a Curtall, this gonne they bent against the Castle, which was wel furnished with harnes, ordinaunce and all other arteillerie, and thynges nedefull, and the captain also was a valiant and hardie gentleman. The Englishmen ever shot that peace and removed it from place to place with great pain, and in conclusion made a batery of the wallis, so that they might assault it, then the trompet blew to assault, and the captain with his compaignie stood on at defence: then sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Ihon Gage with the aventureurs or krekers entred the diche, and the archers shot at every loupe arrows and the Frenchmen likewise shot quarrelles: the Englishmen set vp ladders to the wallis, but the Frenchmen threw the doune, at this assault was slain a gentleman called Butler, and. xv. other Englishmen, but for all that, the assault was not lefte, for some clyned by pikes, and some amended the ladders, and cried again to the ass- sault: but sir William Fitz William chief capitan of this enterprise, perceived that they lacked engynes and other thynges, for the spedy assault of the castle, and not willing to lose his men without cause, caused them to staye, while he and other capitaines counsailed together, and as they were concluded once again to attempt the assault, they hard newes that two thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen, wer at hande to fight with the, thei then perceiveyng that. ix. C. men beynig very, wer no power to encounter with foure thou- sande Frenchmen, they in good ordre returned to the English fortress.

Monsire de Bec Capitan of Bullein, well considered all the enterprices, that the Englishmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite them, to his honor and fame, and for that purpose sent for the erle of Dammartvye, the lord Pontre- mie, and the lorde Chastillion, which concluded to entre into the English pale and to shewe themselves before Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and soundiers, of the garrisons aboute, and so they were: viii. C. good horsemen, and with pikes, gonnnes, and crossebowes. viii. C. footmen: and when all this compaignie was assembled Monsire de Bec as capitan of this journey, with the other lordes, the fourth day of August with banner displayed, came toward Calice in the euening: and the next day in the mornyng by sise of the Clocke, they came to a village within the English pale, called Bonynges. Then the Alarne rose through all the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent
out their foreriders, to serche and over se the comtrey, and then they laied an embushment of. iii. C. horsemen, at the said toune of Bonynges, and with that bend abide Monsire Pon-


tremie, and Monsire de Bees rode to Kalkewell with. iii. C. horsemen, and there taried with them, the erle of Dammartine with. iii. C. freshe horsemen, and all the footmen with baner

displayed, rode and forraged all the Country, of whiche three hundred spere, thei let one. C. go at large, and kept the residue with them.

When the Alarme came to Calice, euery man made to horse and harnes. Then sir Ro-


bert Iernyngham, with. lxxx. horsemen with all spede, rode out of Calice to behold the compaignie of the Frenchmen. And he sent furth his light horsemen, whiche met with the


skourers of the Fréch men, and because the Frenchmen semed a few in nombre, the


Englishe foreriders profered toward them, whiche fled toward Sandifield, and the Englishmen chased after, not becyng of knowlege of the embushmentes, that laye at Bonynges and


Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his light horsemen chace, he folowed after softly, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the French men that were in chace returned, for some of there aide was nere them. When the Englishe men which passed not. xvi horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, thei encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishmen were constrained to the other wis, to the lye lande in great ioperdy, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the


light geldynges, the Englishemen gat the sea side, or sea sandes beyond Skales: then wer the Englishmen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchmen hand to hand for the Frenchmen behynde folowed not the chace, but only twenty horse men, and with pure fighting the Englishmen toke one of the Freshe horsemen, and came with him to Calice, and so wer sawed.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his men in chace (as you haue hard) and saw that thei were in great ioperdy, he auaunse for their rescue all that he might, whiche was the sauyng of the light horsemen, for the Frenchmen lette thei, to encounter with sir Robert Iernyngham, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were between hym and Calice. And when he saw al the bendes, and embushmentes brake out he said to his compaignie: sirs, sainct George to borowe, lette these Frenche galantes knowe what we Englishmen be: Sir sate his compaignie, they shall bye vs dere. Then he marched towarde the highlande: Then approcheda great nombre of horsemen of Traunce, the Englishmen them valiantly receiued, and manfully defended, but euuer the Fréchmen came freshe and freshe, so that the Englishmen beyng vry, and oppressed with multitude, were faine to flie: and in this chace was taken Thomas Cheyne an Archer, whose horse was tiered, and two other archers on horsebacke, one called George Kar and the other Rowlande Atkyson, and thre other of the English pale, sir Robert and the remnaunt, sawed themselves the best that thei could.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen sounde their trompet, and reculed to Bullein, and sent woorde to Calice, that they would visite the oftenere. Sir Robert Iernyngham rememberyng this chauce, thought to be reneged of the same, & so adressing himself, to what place he should repace, he remembreth that whensoeuer the Englishmen made any iorney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would flie ouer the water or creke, to a high ground by boates, and there as it wer in an island, sauie them selves, because on that side thei might ouer hame succors, for the creke or water is beyond the toune from Calice. Therfore the said sir Robert caused five great boates to be caried in wagons, and so he with other capitaines, of Calice and Guynsnes, to the nombre of. iii. C. footmen with the Krekers &. lx. horsemen the. xii. giaue of August, with baners displayed, toke their way to the toune of Margyson, and in the night the light horsemen gave Alarme to the toune of Bullein, and toke two soldiers prisoners, and brought with them certain cutatull to their compaignie. Then the Englishmen marched forward, toward Margyson, that seyng the Frenchmen, toke their-boates in trust of the water, and passed ouer, the Englishmen perceiued that, and lanched their Boates, and
THE XVI. YERE OF

and so like aventurers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till. C. lx. 
wer passed over: the countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen were thre 
hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would haue letted the boates to land, 
but the archers on the other side draue the back, and the Englishmen slew at the 
first encounter. lx. men, and toke fortie prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met 
with newe succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardely 
but at thende they fled, the most porest of the people, on the other side of the water, 
fled to the Church and abode at their defence, then was there fire set in the church, then 
the Frenchmen left out of the church, to their destruction, for of three hundred there 
was saued but sixtie on liue.

The whole power of Bullein was come doune, nere to the place: but when they 
percieued that it was to late, and that the Englishmen were returned they came 
no farther. This was sir Robert Iernyngham euyn with the Frenchmen, and 
brought a good botic, and many prisoners to CalIce, which sore greued the captain 
of Bullein.

The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that they gat litle at the Englishemenes handes, thought 
to take their auantage of the Flemmynges, wherfore they assembled of the garrisons, of 
Bullein and Tirwyn. v. C. footemen, and three hundred horsemen, and so in good ordre 
marched toward saint Omers, and thei sent to go aforragyrng. i. C. footmen, and as many 
horsemen, and the rest kepte themselves in a stale. These Frenchmen came by Arkus, nigh 
to saint Omers, and forraged all the countrey, the Alarme sprang all the countrey, to 
Turnahan, the capitain of Turnahan sent woorde to sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitain of 
Guysnes, that the Frenchmen were abrode, which made answere, that if the French-
men came nere to hym, surely he would speke with them, with which answer the 
capitain of Turnahan beyng encouraged, sent furth. CC. Flemynges on foote, still the 
Frenchmen marched toward Turnahan, the Flemmynges that wer sent from Turnahan 
marched toward the waie, where the Frenchmen should come, thinking that when the 
capitain of Guysnes had set on them, that then they would haue liue in the chace at the 
receipt.

The saied capitain of Guysnes valiantly marched forward with a. C. horsemen and. iiii. C. 
footemen, enteyndyng to mete with the Frenchmen, and sodainly as he was passing forward, 
word was brought him that the erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abuile, 
to the number of. vii. C. horsemen, were commyng forward towarde Guysnes. This hearyng 
sir William Fitzwillyam, swere that the erle should not take pain to come to Guises, for he 
would mete hym on the way: by this meane he left his first enterprice, & marched toward 
therle of Damartyn.

The Frenchmen of Tirwyn, beyng therof adverterised by a spy, called all the people 
gether, and with their botie came on forward toward Turnahan, and sodainly they as-
skried the poore Flemynges, whiche wer sent out of the Castle of Turnahan, and when 
they perceived the French men commyng toward the, thei turned their backes and fled 
like shepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, and slewe the moste parte of theim, for fewe 
escaped.

The capitain of Guysnes came to a faire grene, fiue myle from Guises, and there in 
good ordre of bataill, taried for the Erles commyng, whiche hearing that the capitain 
of Guysnes, was ready to receive him, made his retourne backward, without any thing 
doynge: when the capitain knew the truthe of the erles retourne, he then with all hast, sped 
hym to mete with the Frenchmen, that were commyng to Turnahan, and in the meane 
waie, he hard tidynes of the chaunce of the Flemynges, and how the Frenchmen wer 
reculed toward Tirwyn, whiche aventure sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, 
wherfore he returned to Guises again, very sory that the Frenchmen, went away vnfought 
withall: The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherefore let vs now retourne and 
shew
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

shew what warres wer kept on the frontiers, betwene Englane and Scocande, in this season.

The. xxi. day of May beyng Trinite Sondae. v. C. Scottes in the morning by severall fordes, entered into Englane, and laye courtesly by the high waie, to distresse merchauntes and merket men that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire: for euery Trinite Sondae, ther is kept a great faire, whiche the Scottes knewe well, and as they laye thus lurking, they robbed many merchauntes, and toke rich prisoners, but at the last they were perceived, then the Alarme rose, and people began to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branxton, & the Englishmen them assailed, which so manfully they defended, that if the yong lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one. C. light horsmen, the Scottes had gone away with their botie, but then began a sore fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slain, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselfes.

After this the. v. daie of July, sir Ihon a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diverse other, gathered together. ix. C. mē and entered into Scotland, in the countrey called the Marche, & robbed and spoyled all the countrey, and by chance the same season the Scottes had assembled two thousand men, to invade England, and none of these knew of other, till they by aventure met together. Then began a strong medley, for the Scottes fought valiantly a great while, and the Englishmen them hardely assailed, and at the last by fine force, caused them to leave the grounde and flye, and in the flight were taken. CC. Scottes, and many slain of the which prisoners diverse were gentlemē sir Raufe of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron with. xxx. other Englishmen wel horsedd, followed so farre the chace, that they were past rescues of their compaignie, which perceiuyng the Scottes sodainely returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with multitude, were some overcome, and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and sixe other, and bastard Heron, and seven other, and the remnant by chance escaped: the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned sawely into Englande: the slaying of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the takyng of the two hundred was displeasure, thei hated hym so.

The. vii. daie of July the lord of Englande, and sir Alexander Iorden with banners displayed, and Scottes to the nombre of foure thousand, entered into England at the West Marches by Carleile, and began to burne on euery side: then the Englishmen assembled on euery side, and so they were in nombre. ii. M. men, and fiercely set on the Scottes, there was a great fighte, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and toke. CCC. Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners. For sir Alexander Iorden and his sonne and diverse other were taken prisoners, and by their departing, the compaignie of the Englishmen was muche mishshed. The lorde Maxwell beyng a politique man, perceiued that & sodainely called his people together, and them encoraged, and began a new skirmishe, and recovered all the prisoners almost, and toke diverse English men prisoners, this was the chance of warre.

After this iourney, in the Court of Parliament of Scotlande, was muche commonyng of the warres, which were betwene England and Scotlande: some of the nobles saied, that Fraunce neuer did so muche good to Scotlande in. xx. yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, i one yere, for a loue & cause of Fraunce: wherfore they thought it cōvenient to make a perpetual league of amitie, with kyng of Englande, and to leave the French kynges parte. Other nobles whiche had pensions in Fraunce declared the old amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotland, and how the French kyng, brought vp many gentlemen of Scotlande in his Court geuyng them greate luynges, whiche the kyng of England would not do: thei also alleged the franchises, and privileges that the Scottes hane in Fraunce, and specially
specially they shewed, that if the kyng of Scottes should breake with Fraunce, & then if it happened the kyng of Englane, to inuade Scotlande, whiche beeyng without aide of any fremd might well by the power of Englane be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, & a truce granted til S. Andrewes daie.

This yere the first day of September, was doctor Thomas Hanibal Master of the Rolles, receuied into London, with erles, and bishoppes, and diverse other nobles and gentlemen as Ambassador from Clement bishop of Rome, whiche brought with him a rose of gold, for a token to the kyng: the people as he passed, thought to haue seen the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the kyng to Wynsore, on the day of the Natiuitie of our Lady, on which daie after a solemne Masse song by the Cardinall of Yorke, thesaid present was deliuered to the kyng, whiche was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrouht with branches, leaues and flowers, resemblyng Roses: this tree was set in a pot of golde, which pot had thre fete of antike fashion: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the vp- permost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe percecd, the bignes of an Acorne, the tree was of height halfe an English yard, and in bredth it was a foote. Thesaied Ambassador in deliuerieng thesame rose, made an oracion, declaryng the good mind, louse, and fawor, that the bishop of Rome bare to the kyng, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the kyng thankfully receuied, and deliuered it to him again, and so he bare it open before the kyng, from the College to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the Master of the Tuell house, and so there ended his Legacion.

Before this time in the moneth of Iuly, Lorde Archebalde Douglas erle of Anguishe, whiche had maried the Quene of Scottes, sister to the kyng of Englane, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrary to his will and pleasure, and from thence hardly escaped, and came to the kyng of Englane, to his maner of Grenewiche, and there besought him of his aide & comfort, to whom the king made a gentle answer. This erle was not in the favor of his wife the Quene of Scottes, wherfore she caused hym to be sent into Fraunce: some saied that she loued the duke of Albany, better then hym, but what souer the matter was, she wrote to the Frenche king, that if theerle ever came again into Scotlande, that the French kyng should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the erle beyng in Fraunce, was in jeoperdie of his life. Wherefore secretly he fled and came into Englane, as you haue hard, and one day at the Castle of Wynsore he declared, that in the counsaill of Fraunce, when he was there, they happened in communicacion, to talke of y warres that were then, betwene the Emperor and the French king, and betwene the kyng of Englane and the French kyng: there was a lorde of the counsaill, that stode vp and saied, it were better that one person suffered, rather then all the Realme should be daily in this mischief. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one persone, he answered, that if the French Quene, whiche was lame and vgly were dedde, that then warres might be founde, that the French kyng should mary themperors sister, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her marriage, the kyng of England should be pained, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no answer was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth the Frenche quene was ded the. xxvi. daie of Iuly, & was buried at. s. Denise.

The duke of Burbon this Sommer, made sharp war on the Fréche kynges dominions, and did high enterprizes: wherefore the kyng of Englane sent his letters, to diverse lorde and gentlemen in this seass the tenor whereof ensueth. Trustie. &c. For asmuch as (our Lord God be thanked) our armie, vnder the leading of our cousyn the duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the treallme of Fraunce, gaining and attaynyng many tounes, cittes, Castles, and places, with the whole country of Prounce, without any resiste, of our auncient enemie the Frenche kyng, but also goeth daily marching, and continually dooth chace, and drive before them such men of war, as our said enemie hath prepared for his defence, in resistence of our cousyn the duke of Burbon, and our said armie.
In such wise that it is thought undoubtedly, now to bee moste convenient tyme and season, either in our persone (although the yere be somewhat past) or by a leuenteunt, with a puissant army to invade Fraunce, on the other side, both for the recoveryng of the Crowne and to compell our saied enimie, to knowlege his obstinate, wilfull, and eronious demeanoure, wherfore we will and commaunde you to be redy with such power as you be able to make, vpon the next Proclamation to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

After whiche letters sent furthe, every man made preparacion accordyngly, and the people murmured and saied, that it were much better, that the kyng should maintein his warres, with his awne subjectes, and spend his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Bur- bon, beyng a strangier to spend his money.

The kyng beyng at Wynsore, to him came sir Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Justices of the C奥林匹克 place, a man of excellent lernyn in the law, as appereth by his workes, sir Raufe Egerton knight, doctor Deton Deane of Lichfeld, which in the beginning of this yere, wer sent as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeoured theimselfes, that thei reformed many injuries doen in the countrey, and brought diuerse of the wilde Irishe, by faire means to a submission, and made by the Kynges auctoritie the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oonecle bare the sworde: and the Lord Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormond, whiche was deputie of Irelande, was by thesaied Commissioners, made high theesaurer of Ireland. And when they had set all thynge in good ordre, in the moneth of September they toke shippyng, and in thesame monethe came to the kyng, whiche gaue theim his hartie thankes, for their good doynges.

In this moneth the king sent Master Ihon Magnus Priest, and Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into Scotlande, for the suretie of his nephew the kyng of Scottes, for diuerse lorde of Scotland, wrote to the kyng that they doubted the suretie of their kyng, because the duke of Albany, whiche was heire apperant to the realme of Scotlande, had the kyng in governaunce, & also they thought, he beyng a Frenchman borne, should not rule their realme: wherefore thei emongest theiselfes, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke hearyng, that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the kyng of Engelande, and also that they repined and grudged at his doynges, soudainly with all the theesaur that he could make, departed from Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, with which departing the commons were nothing sory, and some after his departing, the Ambassadors of Engeland, were joyously received into Scotland, and there theesaid Ambassadors taried, till Marche twelue monethe, in which tyme, there were many conclusions druen, bethwene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The xxiii. day of September, thre horsemen of the garrison of Bullein, whiche wet knewe the haue of Calice, came at a nepe tide, and passed over Calice haue, by Rise banke in the night, and went behind the Est Wyndmill, and then toke lande, and went to a little village called Middilwaie, and passed the Turne Pikes, and entered into a Whelers house, and toke the man and the wife, and. xx. l. in money sterlyng, and went away clere without askrie of perceiuynge of the watch of Calice, and no man wist where they were become, till the trumpet of Bullein brought worde and demanded the ransome.

The last day of September, fiftie light horsemen of Calice, apperteignyng to sir Robert Iernyngham, rode towards Bullein, and passed the water of Margysë, and came to the water of Selakes nere Bullein where soudainly thei encountered. lx. Frenchmen of the garrison of Bullein, there was shotying with long bowes and crosbowes, on every side strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishmen followed, and toke thre light horsemen, and when they perceived the Alarime on every side, they put theimselfes in array, and with their botie came to Calice.

Thesame daie sir Thomas Palmer, with. lx. horsemen of Guynsnes, encountered with the capitain Brtram, leader of the horsemen of therlie Dammartyn, with lx. horsemen, there was a strong fight twa howers together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Eng- lishemen:
lishemen folowed, and toke. xviii. prisoners, and. xvi. good horse, and with this bottie they returned to Guysnes.

In this busie season, the auenturers hearing what the horsemen, on their parties had done and inespeciall perceiuyng that thenglishse horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned emongest theimselves, what was to be done, then one of their capitaines said openly sirs you so how long we have been here, and wages we have none, our liuyng riseth on the gain of our enemies, and sithe our beginnyng, we have had good chancie in all our enterpris, God be thanked: now the Winter draweth nere, let vs now auenture to get some good bottie, to make vs mery with, in the cold wether, and if you will, we shall enterpris a thing, that I truste to vs shalbee profitable. Then all the compaignie cried furthe. Then with a banner of sainct George, they Marched toward a village, lyeng toward Mustrell, hauyng onely. xxv. light horsemen to be their skurers, and they were not fully tow hundred men. This compaignie following their skurers, went farre on, and had gotten a faire bottie of Oxen, Kine, and other bestiall, and were nere at their returne and by chaunce the same day, was the erle of Dammartyn, and the capitain of Mustrell, with the power of the Duke of Vandesme, going toward sainct Omers, to burne and destroy that countrey, and for that purpose thei had gathered together. xv. C. horsemen, and. viii. C. footmen, howbeit the footmen were a large myle behind the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke, espied the English horsemen, which perceiuyng the great nombre fled, and as the said Frenchmen marched forward, they espied the auenturers on foote, & made toward them: thenglishmen seyng the great nombre of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge or strong place to fortifie theim, but there was no suche place in sight, and also they had no suche tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitain saied: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time been called auenturers, now is the tyme come of our auenture, the Frenchmen will not rausome vs for nothing, we be emongest the so feared: if any thing saue oure liues, it must be God and our hardines, and therefore saied he, if you se me begin to flic, slaie me out of hande. Then euery man cried God mercie, and kneeld doune and kissed the earth, and strake handes echother, in token not to depart, and then made themselfes prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery side, thenglishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they could: the Frenchmen perceiuyng that the Englishmen, kept theimselfes so close, caused diverse of the horsemen to light a flote, and so they did, and fought with their spere against the pikes, and shotte with Crosebowes on euery side. Alas the while, or while the Englishmen had arrowes to shote, they were not broken, but close without peril, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiantly, and slew many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their compaignie slayn, and toke fewe of them prisoners. This was thend of these compaignions, called the krekers or auenturers, which were as hardie men, as euery serued prince or capitan.

The Duke of Burbon, with the Marques of Picardy, in the moneth of October, with a great puysaunce, laied siege to the strong toune of Marcell in Prouince, and lay there a greate space. The Frenche kyng reisid a greate armie, and sware that he would reisid the siege, whereof hearying the Duke of Burbon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and his other captains, and declared to them that his intet was, to geue the French King bataill: the Marques of Piscare saied that the Frenche kynges puysaunce was greate, and theirs small, and said: although the duke of Burbon, whiche was a banished man from his countrey, had no other remeade to renuenge him, but by bataill, yet he saied he would not put at the Emperours men, of the whiche he had the guide, in such a hasard till the remnant of the Emperours power wer come. Well saied the duke of Burbon, then you do not as you have written, both to the Emperor and to the king of England, whiche shalbe a reproche to your honor: Nay saied the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then said docter Richard Pace, Ambassador for the kyng of Engelande: my lorde you haue
haue had the King my Masters wages, I would bee glad to heare what way you would
take: I woll tell you said the Marques, the Fræch kyng hath a great armie gone into Italy,
& he himself foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but
only to take the Duchie of Millain vnprouided, whiche shall do him more pleasure then
he had slain all vs. Also the Emperor shall lese, more then. x. Marceles be worth, and
the French kynges power shalbe more clated, that he will not set by the Emperor, nor
the kyng of England. Therefore my aduise is, to breake vp this siege, and with all spede
to preuët hym in Italy, and if we be entered the tounes, and put municiions in thesame, he
shall lye a colde in the feldes, and then you shall se what shall become of hym, when his
beastes dye, and his vitall spent. To this counsaill the duke and all the Capitaines agreed,
and so brake vp the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortesied all the tounes
in the Duchie of Millain, with men and other necessaries.

The Frenche kyng hearyng of this, with all his armie passed the Mountaignes, and
Camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this monethe of November the. xiiii. day, aboute
the toun of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchemen came to a vil-
lage called Kaunse beside Newnà bridge, & tooke. xl. beastes, then the Alarms was brought
to Calice, whiche hearing the Marshal of Calice, called to hym sir Robert Iernyngham,
and they had with them. i. C.xx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthony Broune to tell the capi-
tain of Guynes, what they intended to do, but they taried not for the company of Guynes, but
marched so far forward, that they came to the water of Sclaukes, which is nere Bullen,
and in there they set their stale. And in the morning betyme, they sent further a gentleman
called Richard Lamberd, with. xx. light horsemen on swittes geldynges, and they came by
Moone light nere Bullen, and then they saw the men of Bullen and other there about, put
out there bestes into the feld. Then the Englißhenmen with great diligence, brought all the
beastes together, and so began to drive theim together, toward their embushement. Then
the Alarms began at Bullen, and the men of war issued out of the toun, and fought with
thenglishmen, their horses wer fresh: wherfore they had a great avantage, but inclosure
three French menne were slain, and their horses taken, and so the light horsemen came with
their cattle nere to the embushement, and the Frenchemen folowed, that seyng the Eng-
lishmen that kept the stale, came in all hast and rescued their light horsemen, and durance
the Frenchemen bacque, and then made returne with their beastes, and as they were returnynng
they had worde brought to them, how that sir Willyam Fitzwilliam, captain of Guynes
with his retinue, were besieging a pile called the castle of Capell, wherfore they sped them
therether in all haste, and when they wer come therether, the captain of Guynes them harte-
welcomed, and then they concluded to gane an assault to the Castle, and so with good
courage set on, the Frenchmen defended it very valiantly a greate while, but at the last
the Englishmen got over the ditches, and scaled the walles, but the Frenchmen still them
defended, till the Englishmen had gotten to the highest of the donston, and then was
there slaying a pace. For there wer. liii. persones slain out of hande, in renewing the
greate obstinacie of the Frenchmen, and the castle was rased and brent. Then sir William
Fitzwilliam with his botie, and sir Iton Wallop Marshal of Calice and sir Iton Iernyngh-
ham returned, he to Guynes, and thei to Calice. Thesame day. xiii. Burgonions, and.
xiii. Spaniards, all horseman of Guynes, came to the Church of Falske, not farre from
Durnam at high Mass tyne, and there drew their swords, and so much did, that all the
men in the churche, to the number of fiftie, yielded themselues prisoners, of the whiche
umber they toke eight persones with them, whiche should be gages for the remnant, & with
these. viii. thei came to Gisnes.

The. xix. daie of December wer receiued into London, lorde Gilbert Keuet Erle of
Castelles, sir Robert Cokkeburne bishop of Dunkel, and the Abbot of Campskeneil, Am-
bassadors from Iames the fift kyng of Scottes, by the bishop of Lyncoine, the lorde of
sainct Irones, and diuerse other noble men and wer conueighed to their lodgynges at
Taylers Haule.
The xxiii. day of December, thesaied Ambassadors were conveighed to Grenewiche, accompanied with thesaied lordes by water, and when they came to the vterst gate, they were received of the officers of the house, and so passed through the haule, which was well furnished with people, and so through the vtermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they were received and welcomed, of all the prices and nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came furth, and set him self in a throne of three steppes high, under his Clothe of estate, whiche was very rich, but his apparell was exceding rich, both of goldsmithes worke & perle, and stone, which the Scottes well auised, & then they wisely and humbly made their obeisance, and the bishop in good plain latin made a solemnpe Oracion, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he, had often times hard the renoune and fame of him and his Courte, both for the gifts of grace and nature, whiche were in his persone, yet he saied that his princely countenance, his louely favor, whiche he hymself did se, did muche surmount the fame & name, whiche he hath hard of reporte. He declared further, that although fortune had hym favored, in conquering of regions, and vanquishing of battailes, yet that thyng was not so honorable to him, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, whiche pleaseth bothe God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that kyng James the fift, his nephew, and felowe to the kyng of England, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a couenient mariage might be made, betweene hym and the lady Mary, daughter to the kyng, whiche should be a fincke necessary, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and England, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which Oracion, the bishop of London doctor Tunstal answered and saied: that the kyng was at their desire, content to haue peace vpon reasonable condicions, and as touchyng mariage of his daughter, he would so answere theim, that thei should be contented. Then the kyng rose from his place and welcomed theim, and all the honest persones of the train, and after communicacion had, thay tooke their leaue for that tyme, and so toke their barge and came to London.

Before the feast of Christmas, the lorde Leonard Grey, and the lord Ihon Grey, brethre to the Marques Dorcet, sir George Cobham sonne to the lorde Cobham, Willyam Cary, sir Ihon Dudley, Thomas Wiat, Frances Pointz, Frances Sidney, sir Anthony Browne, sir Edward Seinnour, Olinor Manners, Perciull Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen Esquires of the Kynges Housole, enterprised a chalenge of feacet of armes, against the feast of Christmas, wherefore they sent Wyndsore herault, on sainct Thomas day before Christmas, into the Queens great chamber, the kyng being present, which herault had a coat of armes of red silke, beaten with a goodly Castle, of foure Turrettes siller, and in every turrent a faire lady, standing gorgiously appareled; the herault after that the Trumpet had blowen, saied, where the kyng our souereigne Lorde of his bountifull goodnes, hath geuen to foure maidens of his Court, the castle of Loyaltie, to dispose at their pleasure, thesaied maidens have geuen the custodie therof to a captain and fittene gentlemen with hym, whiche captain sent furthe me his Herault called Chasteau Blancke, to declare to all kynges and princes, and other gentlemen of noble corage, that thesaied captain will nere to his Castle raise a Mount, on whiche shall stande an Vauncore, supporting foure faire shilldes.

The first shilde shallbe White, and whosoever toucheth that shilde shallbe answered sise courses at the Tilt, by them of the Castle, with hostyng harnes and double peeres.

The second shilde, Red, betokenyng the Turnay, and whosoever toucheth that shild, shallbe answered tenne strokes at the Turnay, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The third shilde yelow, signifying the Barriers, and he that toucheth that shilde shallbee answered twelve strokes at the Barriers, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.
The fourth shilde blewe, tokening the assaulte, with such wepons as the capi-
tain of the Castle shal occupie, that is, Morrice pike, sworde, target, the poyn and edge
abated.

Also thesaied capitain and his compaignie promised, to defend thesaied Castle against all
commers, beeing gentlemen of name and armes, and the assaulters to devise all maner of
engynes for the assaultyng, edge to break the house and ground onely except, and also
that no other weapon shalbe vsed, but suche as the patron shalbe sette vp, by thesaied
Vnicorne, and that no manne medle with fire within or without, but the matches for gonnnes
and evry prisoner taken on either partie, to pay for his raunsom. iii. yards of right sat-
ten, & evry capitain. xiii. yards.

Accordyng to this Proclamation was the Mounte, and all thynges devised sumptecously, with
a great craggie braunch, on which wer haged the shildes of the armes of the capitain, and all
other of the Castle. For this enterprise there was set vp, in the Tilte yard at Grenewiche a
castle square euery waie. xx. foote, and fiftie foote on heigh, very strong and of great timber,
well fastened with yron, the embatelmentes, loupes and euery place where men should entre,
er set with greate rolles, and turned assone as thei wer touched, so that to semyng no man
could entre the towers, nor embatalmentes. On the North and South sides, were two
greate ditches. xv. foote depe, from the brynke to the botome, & thei were very stepe, and
betwene the diche and Castle, was set a pale, whiche was rampaired with yeart so stepe
and thicke, that it was not likely to be gotten. On these ditches were twoo drawe bridges,
on the West side was a great rampire or banke, very stepe without and within, and like to
a vamur of a fortresse, by the vamur the dicher wer. xxiii. fote depe. When the strength
of this castle was wel beholding, many made dangerous to assault it, and some saied it could
not be wonne by sporte, but by erneet. The kyng mynded to haue it assaulted, and devised
gouns thencefor, but the Carpenters wer so dull, that thei vnderstode not his entent, and
wrought all thynge contrary, and so for that tyme the assaulte was prolonged, and all the
other poynete of the chalenge held, for the morow after saient Iohn the Evangeliest daie in
Christmas, came out of the castle, sixe men of armes of the castle on horsebacke armed at
all poynetes with their spere redy to discharge, and so came to the ende of the Tilt, abydyng
all commers. Then sodainly entered into the feld, twoo ladies on twoo palfries, in greate
robes of purple damaske, leading twoo ancient knightes, with bearde of siluer, in the same
apparell, and when they came before the Quene, thei put vp a bill to her, the effect whereof
was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would lette them to do
feacetes of armes: Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with theim, and had theim to
take upon theim to breake spere, whiche they would gladly do, if it pleased her to gene
theim license. When the Quene and the Ladies had seen the bill, thei praised their corage,
and gane theim license.

Then the knightes threw awaie their robes, and then it was knowen that it was the Kyng,
and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bardes and bases were golde, embrayed with purple,
siluer, and Blacke, very curiously. After them followed the Erle of Devounshire, the Lorde
Montacut, the lorde Roos, sir Nicholas Carewe, sir Frances Brial, Henry Norreis, An-
thony Knecut, and five other, evry man ran eight courses, in which courses the kyng
brake seuen spere. Evry man that day did well, so that the Scottes much praised
the men of armes of Engelande, but moiste of all thei prei-ed and maruened at the
kynges strength, for thei saw his spere were broke with more force, then the other spere
wer.

When all the courses wer ron, the kyng and all the other disarmed them, and went to
supper, and after supper the kyng hauying with him, the Ambassadors of Scotland, came
into the Quene chamber, where after that the Lordes and diverse Ladies had damed, there
came in a Maske of xvi. all appareled in clothe of Golde, riche tynsell and crimosyn veluet,
sut, slit, and tied very curiously, their buskins and shoen wer golde, cappes and whoddes
all golde, riche and not counterfeted: of this nomber the Kyng and the Duke of Suffolk
wer
wer twoo, then the Maskers toke Ladies, & daunse a great season, and that done was
brought in wyne and spices, and the straungiers well cherished, & after that conweighed to-
ward their lodgyng. And as thei went thei asked a gentleman which accompanied them, if
all the warre tyne the kyng and the lorde wer so mery, or had had suche joyous pastyne,
or keppe suche royall householde, or were so well appareled: for in their crountry they saied,
in tyne of warre, was nothing but wailynge and mournyne, and also thei thought that the
realme of Fraunce, is not a realme to sport with, nor to Maske with. The gentlemen an-
swered, that the kyng and his courte, vsced them still all the warre tyne, as thei doone now,
for thei set not by the French kyng one bene. For the kyng of England maie sit in his
chaire and dammage the French kyng for the Lordes and communallie of England, prai
for the continuance of warre, for by the warres of Fraunce they wyne, and lese not, at
whiche saiyng the Scottes muche mused.

Fridaie the. xxx. daie of December, the rle of Castels one of the Scottishe Ambassadors
toke his leave and departed toward Scotlnde: for to common with the Counsaill of Scot-
land, for thynges whiche were not in their commission, and left behynd hym the Bishoppe
of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenell: some saied tharticle was, that the Scottes
should forsake the French kyng, & that the kyng of Scottes should come into Englane,
but whatsoever it was, every man knewe it not.

The second daie of January, there was muche talkyng of the assault of the Castle, and
so after long debate, sir Frances Brian, and Frances Poyntz, enterprised to defende the
Weste braie of the Castle, with Pike Target, and Sworde, poyn and edge abated, against
sir George Cobham, George Harbert, Ihon Poyntz, and Willyam Kneuet, and when thei
were all armed, the Trumpettes blew, then toward the braie Marched the foure gentlemen,
with pikes and swordes, and eried harr, harr, ther was foyning, lasshyng, and strikyng,
they within fought mightily and when any withoutclymed vp the banke, thei within bet
them doune thei with were sometyme beten doune almoiste: but surely thei fought valiantly,
and then they seased for a while.

Then began the assaulte again, and George Harbert and Willyam Kneuet, helde them
twoo within so hard, that thei could scant put their heddes over the braye, or bulwerke.
While they two still fought, their two felowe, sir George Cobham, and Ihon
Poyntz, with their swordes digged holes in the banke to Clyme vp, but or they had dooen,
their two companions were fought out of brethe, then sir Frances Brian and Frances
Poyntz, fought with the other two that digged, and then on came thether two, that had
breathed themselves, then fierce was the fight, and Ihon Poyntz got footynge in the bancke
aboue, and toke holde of the pale, and fought hande to hande, with Frances Poyntz his
brother, and erer George Harbert susteneed him, at the banke with his pike, sir Edward
Cobham got the banke, and fought hardely, but at the last he was ouerthrown, but vp he
gat again, and coragiously got the pale: they two within fought valiantly, but they wer
ouer matched, for they that fought at the pale without, by aide of their felowes gatte over
the pale, and then was the battayl ended. I thinke that there was never battayl of pleasure,
better fought then this was.

The next day after was another fight, of foure and eight, which was sore foughten,
and st last the bray taken, and when the combats were disarmed, sodainly all the young persone
without, threwe stones at the within the castle, and they at theim, and many honest men
which threwe not wer hurt, and with muche pein thei without wer apest, and no ma
knewe how nor why, this hurlyng began.

The fift daie of January, all the knyghtes of the castle, came to the barriers to abide all
men, thether came the kyng, and many other lorde and gentlemen, and that daie by them
of the castle, were deliuered. Iviii. gentlemen, & Iviii. baffales fought valiantly, the kyng
hymselfe fought coragiously, and so did all the other. The eight daie of February, the ge-
tlemen of the castle folowyng their chalenge, came into the feld, ready to answere all com-
mers. To this turnay came the kyng, his base and bard wer cloth of siluer, and blacke
veluet
velvet, ruffed and not plain, and over that was a worke of purple velvet, embraundered richely with gold, cutte in knottes or foldes fastened, so that it bossed out and frounced very stately to behold, after the Kyng came. xix. other richely appareled, the Kyng and Sir Anthony Browne Turnaied together, and the Kyng with his sword, poynt and edge abated, had almoiste cut his poldron, his strokes were so great. Then every man turmaied as his course came, and many a sworde was broken, and many a good stride geuen, and when every man had striken the full number of twelve strokes, thei were surrendered and then they disarmed.

In this monethe the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue visited the Friers Obseruauntes, but they in nowise would therein condiscende, wherefore. xix. would not of the same religion, were accursed at Paulaes Crosse, by one of the same religion, called Frier Forest. Of this Frier Forest ye shall here more here after, in the thirtie yere of this Kyng.

In this season the French kyng was in Italy, with all his nobilitie, and to hym was Millain yelded, but because of pestilence he would not entre, but departed and laied siege to the strong town of Paulia, wherof was capitain a valiuit Spanyard, called Anthony de Leua. The Freche kynges mother beynge Regent of Fraunce, perceiuyng that the king her soone, with all his good Capitaines were in Italy, doubted that the kyng of Englande, in the nexte Spryng tyme would invade Fraunce. Wherefore she by the auncie of the counsaill of Fraunce, did so much with the kyng of England, that her Stuard of household called Iyon Iokin, had a saucceoudit to come into Englande, which was kept close in the house of doctor Larke, a Prebendary of saient Steuens, and evrey daie priuely spake with the Cardinall, and so secretly he remained, till the xxiii. daie of January, at whiche day came to London the president of Roan called Monsire Brynyon, as an Ambassador from Frances the French kyng, and was lodged with Iyon Iokin: this Iyon Iokin was kept priuie, because that no man should knowe, that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the Frenche Kyng, which after grewe to greate trouble. For he shewed hymselfe to straungers, whichhe fauored the Frenche partie, and so at last it was openly known, to the kynges counsaill, and almooste to all men: but when the Emperors Ambassador knewe this dark dealyng, he mused not a little, and saied that the Cardinall did drive priuie driftes, & that by his meanes onely, Iyon Iokin was come into England, to entreate a peace in secret maner, or the kynges frendes might knowe it, and all people saied that Iyon Iokin was but a cast awaie of Icane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the lady Regent, and marueiled why he should be kept close, & so muche cherished of the Cardinall. For this kepynge close of this Iokin, Englischemen were rebuked at the Marke in Flauanders, and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador and the bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why this Iyon Iokin should bee kept as a spirite in close, considerynge that there was open warre betwene the twoo kynges, and feared that the kynges counsaill should be corrupt. This Iyon Iokin was muche with the Cardinall, but neuer was seen with the Kyng nor his counsaill, but for all the secretnes, Monsire Pratt the Emperors Ambassadour, knewe all the offers that he made for peace (whiche in deede were very greate) and how he had offered pencion, to diuere yong men aboute the kyng, of the which some were very glad, & so the noyse by reson of suche offers ran, that a peace was likely to ensue in shorte space.

Monsire Pratt wrote of this matter, in all hast to the Emperor, in the which letters he highly commended the kyng of England, for his stedfastnes: but he said some of the kynges counsaill, loued neither the Emperour nor the kyng of Englande, and wrote to hym farther, all the maner of y secret kepynge of Ihô Iokin. These letters at last wer brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunse it was not openly known, and so he sent for Monsire Pratt, and declared to hym the matter, which answered him, that he was counsailer and Ambassador to the Emperour, and that it was his parte, to asserten the Emperor of euyry thyng, that was or might sound prejudicial to his maiestie, but howsoever that his answere was
was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he saied openly, that it was not well ment to the Emperor, to stop his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes saied; that the Emperor sent them not into England to slepe, but to do him service. The bishop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his master, that peace was likely to be concluded, betwene Englande and France, and willed hym to be the firste frende to the Frenche kyng, rather the the seconde. Of whiche wrytinge came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this moneth tidyinges came to the Kyng, howe the Marques of Picaire in Italy, had gotten from the Frenche kyng, a castle called the castle. s. Angell, which was a greate fortification, of his siege at Pauie.

There was in this mouthe a Flemyng in Heddyng Castle, whiche came often tymes to sainct Omers, & promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would deliuer the Castle: vpon his worde thei of saincte Omers, gathered together seven hundred footemen, and five hundred horsemens, and pouyted with the spie, that the fourethe day of February, thei would come therethe, and whiche the false knawe knewe the daie, he told Monsire Pontdromie, Capitain of Heddyng, whiche incontinet filled the castle with men of warre, and laied husshemenes on every side, and had laied the ordinaunce, all on the on side of the Castle, and that the Flemynges should come. The men of warre of sainct Omers, were conueyed by their spie, mistrustyng nothing, to a posterne, which was little vsed, and when there were as many in, as the Frenche men thought sufficient, thei let fall the Portcolis: Then Monsire Pontdromie cried, slaie, slaie, then the Flemynges wist that they wer betrayed, and put themselves to fight for their lives, that saying Monsire Pontdromie, commanded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and fury, that the flame was so greate and fierce, that it brest the saied Lorde Pontdromie, and xxvii. of his compagnions all gentle-

den, the trayne was so hastily fiered, that thei had no leasure to anoyde... In the fight tennne of the Flemynges wer slain, and thirtie kept therselves so hardly together, that their lives were graunted them, and so were taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred leapt over the castle wal, and so saved themselves, and told newes to their horsemen, which wer without, whiche hearyng the mischaunce, returned toward sainct Omers.

Sundaie the fift day of Marche, wer receiued into London, Monsire de Beuer lorde of Camphere, Admirall of Flaunders, & the President of Malynes, called Master Ihon de la Coos, and Master Ihon de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the lowe countreis, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Ze-

lande: and on Tewesdaie thei wer brought to the kyng to Bridewell, which nobly thein enterteined, and then thei shewed how the emperors majestie, had commaunded them to obey the kyng of England, as protector and governour, wherfore thei and all theirs, wer at his commaundement, & if thei had doen other wise, and not obeyed hym as their governour, thei asked him mercy, then the kyng and thei talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadors deinaunted thre thynge.

1. First, thei demaunded the ladie Mary the kynges onely daughter, to be deliuered to theim out of hande, and she to be named Emprise, and to take possession of all the lowe countreis, and to be governour of thesame, this article was not agreed to, for causes.

2. Also that all suche sommes of money, as the Kyng should geue with her in mariage, for a dower to be made to her, should be paiied incontinent this article was also denied.

3. Thirdly, that the kyng of Englande hymselfe should passe the sea and make warre in Fraunce, the nexte Sommer, to this the kyng saied he would take ausisement.

Thursday the. ix. daie of Marche, at. vii. of the clocke in the morninge there came a gentleman in poste from the lady Margaret governesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewing how that the. xxiii. daie of February, the siege of Pauia, where the Frenche kyng had lien long, was raised by force of battaile, and the Frenche kyng hymselfe take prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the viceroy of Naples called Myngnouale, and the Marques of Picaire, and other of the Emperors capitaines, the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, & how the duke of Albany with seuen thousande men, was going to Naples,
Naples, and how the bishop of Rome was become French, against the Emperor, and had sent his cosyn in aide of the Frêche kyng, with a great power. Thesame daie the president of Roan & Iohn Tokyn, wer goyng to the Court (for they had not yet spoke with the kyng) and in Holbourne in their way was tdynges brought them, of the takyng of the kyng their Master, and of the lose of the field, whiche hearyng this misaenenture, returned to their lodgyng sorowfull, and within shorthe space, returned to the Regent of France. It was thought surely that the kyng of England, would have had peace with the French kyng, if this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of Engelande, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entrayting, in the tyme of warre, and also the kyng was displeased with theem, for enhaunsyng his coyne there, which was a cause that money was daily conueighed out of the Realm, and many other causes there were of grudge.

Saterdaie the. xi. daie of Marche, in the citee of London for these tdynges, wer made greate fiers and triumph, and the Major and Aldermen road about the citee with Trumpettes, and much wyne was laid in diuerse places of the citee, that euery man might dryneke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadors of Rome, of Flaunders, and Venice, had a greate bankeet made in a goodly tent, whiche pleased theem well, and as thei returned homewarde, all the stretees were full of harnessed men and Cressetts; attendyng on the Con-stables, whiche they preised muche.

Sondaie the. xii. of Marche, the kyng accompaigned with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, of Venice, of Millain and Florence, road in his estate to Paules churche, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, and a xi. prelates waited on hym in pontificalles, and after Masse was doen, the quere sang Te deum, and the mysterelles plaied on every side, and when all was doen, the kyng returned to Bridewell, and there kept a solempne dinner. The bishop of Scotland was muche marked this day, for whensoever he came to the Court, before this time his apparell was sumptuous, his whodde was euere veluet or crimosyn Satyn: but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke Chamlet, by whiche token men judged his Frenche harte.

From the. ix. day of Marche to the. xvi. day, the kyng had no mo letters, of the maner of bataill of Panie, and that day he receiued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a gentlemman named Gropayne: when the kyng had redde the letter, he came into the Quenes Chamber and there thesaied Gropayne declared the maner of the siefe, and how wel it was planted, and how the remiers men entered the French campe by force, and threwe downe their bastiles and fought with the Frenchmen within their Campe, and tooke their kyng prisoner in the same, and many other whiche was maruell. For when the French kyng entered Italy, he had in his gard. xi. C. men, and of sperees furnished twoo M. iii. C. l. and of light horsemen eigh hundred and. xx. and of footemen. lvi. M. and of these the Duke of Albany had but eight hunders, so that there remayned with the French kyng. xlix. M. ix. C. and fiftie men, wherof was taken. xiii. M. and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordnancces whiche were. xii. greate Bomardes of brasse, and. xxiii. greate Canon peces. xxiii. double Curtelles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eighther peces. After the field was doen, the French kyng was put in the custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, whiche muche comforted hym, and preised his valiauntnes, and praised hym to be content, for he should have a gentle ende, then he desiered to write to his mother, whiche was to hym granted, the very wordes wer these.

"To aduertise you of my infortune chaunce: Nothing is lefte but the honor and the life that is snued, and because some other newes shall recomforte you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which liberally hath been graunted to me: beseeching you to regard the extremite of your self, in ensuying your accustomed wisedome. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommendyng your litle enfantes and myne, supplying you to geue sauceloute, to passe and returne from Spain, to this berar that goth toward the Emperor, to knowe in what wise I shalbe intreated, and thus right hably to your"
your good grace, I have me recommended: this subscribed by your humble and obedient sonne Frances.

This season the Cardinal being in the kynges favor, obtained liçeece to make a College at Oxford, and another at Ipswych; and because he would have no landes to the said Colleges, he obtained of the bishop of Rome, liçeece to suppress and put doun diverse Abbeyes, Priories, and Monasteries to the number of wherfore sodainly he entered by his Commissioners, into the saied houses, and put out the Religious, and tooke all their goodes, moveables, and scarcely gau to the poore wretches any thynge except it wer to the heddes of the house, and then he caused the schyter to sit and to finde the houses voyde, as relynquished, and founde the kyng founder, where other men wer founders, and with these landes he endewed with all his Colleges, which he bega so sumptuous and the Scholers were so proude that euery persone judged, that thende would not be good, as you shall heare fiue yeres hereafter.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlansde, returned into England.
The xix. daie of Marche, but because the Frenche kyng was taken his commission for the moste parte was determined, and so he and all his compaigne toke their leave of the kyng, and without any reward returned into Scotlande, the fourth daie of April.

In this monethe of Marche, the kyng sent Cutberd Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chanceller of the Duchy of Lancastre, and knight of the Gartier, into Spain to the Emperour, for greate causes concernyng the takyng of the Frenche kyng and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraunce, on euery side. For so the kyng of England and his counsaill, wer agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed again into Flaunderes.

The counsaill remembryng that it was determined, that the kyng in proper persone should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thynge, greate threasure and plentie of money, must nedes be had in a readines: wherefore by the Cardinall were devised strange Commissions, and sent in thende of Marche to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, whiche wer the greatest men of euery shire: and priuie instruccions sent to them, to saie and ordre the people, and the tenor was, that the sixt part of euery mannes substance, should without delai bee payed in money or plate, to the kyng for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chief Commissioner for London, sent for sir Willyam Bayly knight, then Maior of the citee, and the Aldermen, and diverse hedde Comminers and saied to them in maner folowingy. You the kynges wellbeloued frendes and subjectes, of the citee of Lond, I must declare to you, how the kyng contrary to his awne mynd and will, but compelled of verie force, is determined to entre into a new war, & for the more explication of the truthe, you shall understande, that after that Frances the Frenche kyng that now is, had obteigned the Croune, and scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he moste humbly sued to the kyng our Master, for peace, lome, and amitie, promisyng vpon the Evangelistes, to kepe the league then concluded, and also to paie to lady Mary queene dowager of Fraunce, her due pension and doware, to her granted by kyng Lewes her hundande. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the citee of Turnay, which kyng Lewes before tyne had loste: the kyng whiche would that the citee of Turnay, should be no cause of grudge, betwene hym and the Frenche kyng, consented that for certaine sommes of money, it should be deliered. And farther the more to bynd amitie betwene them, the kyng was content, that a communicacion of mariaghe should be had, betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the ladie Marie Princes of England, yet for to entreate more lome, familiaritie, and acquaintance, the king to his greate cost and charge passed the sea, and met in persone with the Frenche kyng, thynkyng that by reason of personall sight and actual communicacion, that more stable and ferme lome, should growe betwene them, then by writyng, at which time it was vndoubtedly thought, that there could be no more lome be knit, betwene two persone. There were couenauntes made and sworn, and the kyng our
our Master saied to the French kyng: Brother, now that you and I be this knit, I require
you to kepe ferne peace, & amitie, with my nephew the emperor: and also sufere not Duke
Ithon of Albany, to go into Scotlande, for puttynge the young king my nephewe, in leopere
die of his persone, wherfore if you love me, in especiall kepe these two articles: if you obserue
these articles, and all other couenauntes betwene vs agreed, I assure you there had
never prince a seruer frende, then you shall have of me. Then the French kyng laied his
hand in mine (said the Cardinal) and sware by the othe of a kyng, he would obserue &
kepe fermeily, these pouynety with many mo, and after the kynges were departed, and that
the Emperoroure was come to the kyng to Calice: the French kyng sent Mousire de la Roche
baron with letters, declaryng that he was in perfecc te league and amitie with the Emperor,
and this notwithstanding, he withine lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche
to invaude the Emperors lande, and made warre in Nauerr & other places. The kyng our
Master hearyng this, of his mere charite he sent me and other nobles with a greate trayne to Ca-
lice, to knowe by whom the war began, for he promised to be enemie to hym that brake firste.
To whiche place came from the French kyng, his Chancellour, and Monsire de la Palice, and
many other noble men. And from the Emperor came his Chancellour, and the lorde
Cheuers, and there in open couensail, the Emperors Ambassadors, did shewe the French
kynges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced and began the warre: to which
poynety the Frenche Ambassadors could not answere. What should I saie, the warre was
open on bothe parties, I sent to the French kyng Ambassadors, to entrete peace, but in
nowise he would concete: wherfore I with my compaignie returned. In the meane season
(although I doubted nything the Frenche kynges faite toward our Master) yet for a more
suertie, I obteigned a saue conduite for the Englishe Merchantes, that thei should go to
Buredeaux, and vpon suertie of that our Merchantes passed, yet he contrary to his sauecon-
duit, toke the Merchantes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, whiche the Turke would
not haue done. The kyng sent gentely to him his herault Clarenseux, desirynge him to re-
dresse all these enormities, and to paye hym his sommes of mony, due to hym and to the
Quene his sister, for her dower, which to do he refused and denied, whiche thynges you
knowe, the kyng of his honor might not suffyre. Wherfore mightly he hath these three yeres,
kept warre continually bothe on lande and sea, and invaude Fraunce with two armies royaml,
and bet their tonnes, castles, and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of
Somme, and proffered battaile to the Frenche, in their a wne countrey, and hath
brought the countrey in such penury and wretchedness, that in many yeres it will not be
recouuered.

And the more to hurt and damage the French kyng, the kyng hath in wages the Duke of
Burbon, which was the greatest strengthe on the Frenche part: by whose power and aide
of other, which had greate sommes of mony, of the kyng our Master, the Frenche kyng
in persone is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pauia, and kept as prisoner to
the Emperor and the kyng our Master, and that for great reaso: for our master sent sir Gre-
gory de Cassado, his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon,
and the Marques of Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crounes, so thatei would fight
with the Frenche kyng: for the which mony they assented, and so gaue battaile, in the
which they swee. xii. thousand men, and drowned. vii. thousande, and. xiii. thousande
taken prisoners, and now sithe God hath genn vs victory, the kyng remembring the saiyng
of the Poet that saith: It is more mastery to use victorie gotten, then to get it, thinke it
necesarie now in all hast, to make an armie royaml, and he in person to passe the seas, and
to recover his right inheritance, bothe of the Croune of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen,
Gascone, Aniowe and Mayne, the wriytynge whereof comprehending the very title, you
maie se here present if ye list, but I doubt not but you knowe them well enough. And now
I aske you this questi, whether that you thinke it convenient, that the kyng should passe
with an armie or not, for the kyng will do by thausise of his subjicetes: to the whiche many
saied yea,?
THE XVI. YERE OF

The Cardinal's demand. — Wel said the Cardinal, then must he be made able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aids, & for to shewe you what the Archbishoppe of Cantorbury and I, which bee primates of the realme haue doen, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes apperteyning to the churche, the third parte, and the temporall lorde, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the sixt parte, and to ieparpard, their bodies in pain and travaill, and now sithe they which shall aucture their lifes, doth profer the sixt part, what should they geue which abide at home? For soth I thinke that halfe your substanse were too litel, not meenyng that the Kyng so asketh. For he demaundeth onely no more, of fiftie l. the sixt part, and so vpon everie l. above fiftie. l. to what some soeuer it amoute to, the sixt part that is. iii. s. iii. d. of the. l. and from xx. l. to fiftie pounde, and so vpward. ii. s. and. viii. d. of the pounde, and from. xx. pounde to. xx.s. xii. d. of the pounde, and this to be leuied accordyng to the first valuacion, as appereth by your awne valuacion, which is but a small matter, to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonied, at last 3 one saied, my lord sithe the last valuacion diuerse Merchantes be decayed by the seas, and suretiship, and other waies, so that valuacion cannot bee had. Then answered the Cardinal, sirs, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not paie the tenth parte, and some more, it were better that some should suffre indigence, then the kyng at this time should lacke, and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffill not in this case, for it maie fortune to cost some their heddes: but I will speke to the kyng, to bee good to you, so that if he go not ouer the sea in persone, then you shall haue your money redeifiuered, but firste let the money bee gathered, and laie it where you will, and if the kyng neide it not, you maie take it again.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior, and his brethren and other hedde cominers, thei toke their leave, and every day after by the space of forty night, he sent for a certein number of Comyners, and told them like tale, but some speake suche woordes to him, and some going from hym, that they were sent to ward.

Now were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euery assembly the priestes answered, that thei would pay nothyng, except it were granted by Connocacion, otherwise not: for thei saied, that neuer kyng of England did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordre of the lawe: wherefore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof were enemies to the kyng, and to the common wealth. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and euery where.

When this matter was opened through Englannde, howe the greate men toke it was maruell, the poore cursed, 3 riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subuesor of the Lawes and libertie of Englannde. For the saied, if men should geue their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so Englannde should be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyns in Barkeshire, that the Commissioners satte for this money to be granted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt parte: but of their awne mere mynde, for the loue they bare to the kyng, they granted the twelwe partes, that is. xx. d. of the pounde, the Commissioners hearing this, said they would sende to the Cardinal, desiring hym to be content with this ofire, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would bare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the coitrey, the said sir Richard toke vp0 him to cary & roade to the Cardinall: whiche therewith was sore grened, and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde and his landes should be solde to paie the kyng the values, that by him and you folishe commissioners he had lost, and all your liues at the kynges will: these words sore astonied Sir Richard Westö, but he said litel.
Then the Cardinal wrote letters, to all Commissioners of the realme that they should kepe their first instruccio, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon pain of their liues, and euer man to be valued according to the valuacion taken in. the. xiii. yere. This laste poynyte sore touched the citee of London, for the Cardinal in the.xiii. yere, sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promisyng to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselves at, that no man should knowe it, but the kyng the Cardinal, and he, vpon whiche promesse many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher esteemed valued themselves at a greater substaunce then they were worthe: thynkyng neuer to lende or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paied accordyng as men were sessed, and not by Master Tunes boke, whé men valued themselves, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion, laied to their charge, which when they perceived, they murmured muche, and said they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, vnder whiche they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, Commissioners went out to every shire, for the leuye of the saied money, but for all that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flatered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, saying, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners, were subuerers of the lawe, and worthy to be punnished as traytors. So that in all the realme were billes set vp, in all places: Some billes saied, that the kyng had not paied that he borrowed: Some saied that the Subsedy amounted treble more then he had bestowed: other saied whatsoever was graunted, no good came of it: and other saied that the Cardinal, sent al the money to Rome, thus was the muttering through all the realme with curses and wepynges, that pitie it was to beholde.

Duryng this season that the Commissioners sat, and that the bishop of London, and other the kynges Ambassadors, were abidyng wynde to saile into Spain to the Emperor (as you haue hard rehearsed) Monsire Pratt, the Emperours Ambassadour, whiche was sore angrie for Ihon Iokyns commyng into Engiland, as you haue heard before, departed priuely out of the Realme of Engiland, the. ix. day of April, without speaking with the kyng, or the Cardinal, and so muche did by saucecondyte, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperor before the Ambassadours of Engelande came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed favor that themperor and his counsaill shewed to the Englishemen, began then to decaic, and to shewe themselves vakynde to the English nacion, without cause, as you shall here after perceiue.

In this yere the kyng folowing of his hauke lept ouer a diche beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, & lift vp his hed, whiche was fast in the clay he had been drowned: but God of his goodnes preserved him.

This yere at Whitsontyde, died Thomas duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Norffolke.
THE. XVIJ. YERE OF

April, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsail of the same, with the moste substanciall persons, of the common counsail, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he saide: the kyng our souereigne lorde, moste graciously considereth the grete loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beare vnto hym, and where like louyng subjectes, without any grudge or againsaie, of your louyng mynydes you haue granted the six parte, of all your goodes and substauence, frely to bee paid, according to the firste valuation, the whiche louyng graunte and good mynde, he so kindly accepted, that it was maruell to se. But I my self do consider the great losses, and other charges that daily haue, & doth to you grow, and that notwithstanding, any losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you never withstoode nor againsaied, any of the kynges demandes or Commissions, as it appereth now of late, of whiche dooynges, I haue highly the kyngenformed, for whiche he gave you bartie thakes. Then I kneele dounse to his grace, shewyng hym both your good mynydes towards hym, and also the charges, that you continually sustein, the whiche at my desire and peticion, was content to call in and abrogate the same commission, & where he by reason of your owne grauities, might haue demanded the saied somme as a verie debte, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and wil nothing take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherfore take here with you the kynges letter, and let it be redde to the commons, and I doubt not but you will gladly do, as louyng subjectes should do.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not said, that the kyng had released and pardoned the first demande, the citizens would have answered the Cardinall that they never made no suche graunte, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they helde their peace, & departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the lyng of the Cardinal, and openly saiyng that he was the verie cause, and occasio of this demande, and would plucke the peoples hartes from the kyng.

The. xxviii. daye of Aprill, in the Common counsaill of the citee, was redde the kynges letter, according to the effect aboue rehearsed, wherfore the citizens sent foure Aldermen, and. xii. Commiers to Hampton courte to give thankes to the lorde Cardinall, whiche for busines as was saied could not speake with hym, wherefore they returned not content. Then every Alderman assembled his ward, in their places accustomed, & gently moued them of a beneuolence, to be graunted to the kyng, the which they openly denied, saiyng: that they had paied enough before, with many witted wordes.

The. viii. daye of Maie, the Cardinall again sent for the Maior and his brethren, whiche shewed the what they had done: then saied the Cardinall, you haue no suche commission to examyn any man, I am youre Commissioner, I will examynye you one by one my self, and then I shal knowe the good will that you bear to your prince, for I will ask of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailer of the citee, that by the lawe there might no suche beneuolence be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrary to the statute made the first yere of kyng Richard the thirde, also some persons commyning before your grace, maie for feare graunte that, that all dais of their life they shall repent, and some to wynne your favor, will graunte more then they be able to paye of their awne, and so romne in other mennes debtes, so that by dredisfull gladnes, and fearefull boldnes, men shall not be masters of themselues, but as menne dismamed, shall graunte that that their wifes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall hard this saiyng verie paciently, and answered: Sir I maruell that you speak of Richard the thirde, which was a vsurper and a murtherer of his awne nephewes, then of so euill a man, how can the actes be good, make no suche allegacions, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace said the cousailer, although he did euill, yet in his tym wer many good actes made not by hym onely, but by the consent of the body of the whole realme, which is the parliament. Then sir Willyam Bayly lorde Maior, kneele dounse and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted, by the common Counsaill of London, that every Alderman should sit in his awne ward, for a beneuolence to be graunted, whiche he percieved to be against the lawe, that the same acte
KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

The acte by the same common counsall, might be reuoked and no otherwise: well saied the Cardinall, I am content. But now will I entre into the kynges Commission: You Maior and you Master Aldermen, what will you geue? my lorde said the Maior, I praie you pardõ me, for if I should entre into any graunt it might fortune to cost me my life: your life saied the Cardinall, that is a maruelous worde, for your will toward the kyng, will the ciztens put you in ioeperdy of your life, that were strange: For if they would that waie, then must the kyng come with stroge power them to oppresse, wherfore speake no more suche wordes, and with that he studied a litle and saied: My lorde Mayor, let you and your ciztens, if you be greued with any thyng, in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashio come to me and I shall so entreate you that you shalbe content and no displeasure arise, & so I praie you shew your neighbors, and so the Maior for that daie departed.

The Maior did wisely not to assent to graunt to any thyng for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsall would never haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common coiffsaill, that their act that was made that euer Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: wherevpon the said act was anulled: and then was it declared, that euer man should come to the Cardinall, and to graunt priuily what he would, with this sayng the ciztens wer sore greued, then the Maior gentely shewed them how he durst warrant, that they should bee entreated gentely, and exhorted them to go thether when they were sent for, whiche sayng nothyng pleased them: and then in a furie they would haue had Richarde Gresham, and Ihon Hewster Mercers, and Richarde Gibson Seriant at armes and Merchant Tailor, banished out of the common counsall, and so without answere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was utterely denied so that the Commissioners could bryng nothyng to passe, and yet they assaied bothe by faire waies and foule: some spake faire and flattered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet could not bryng their purpose aboute. For in Kent the lorde Cobham was commissioner, and hand-\*\*\* Ned men roughly, and by reason one Ihô Skudder, answered hym clubbishly, he sent hym to the tower of London: for whiche doyng the people muttered and grudged against the lorde Cobham, and said expressely, that they would paie no money, and then they began to accept the loanes and subsedes graunted, so that they rekened the kynges Treasure innumerable, for they accempted that the kyng had tak of this realme, twentye fiftenes, sithe the xiii. vare of his reigne, and in this grudge, thei euill entreated sir Thomas Bullein at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntyngdon shire, diverse resisted the commissioners to sit, whiche were apprehened, and sent to the Flete.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke, this season in like commission, and by gentle handlyng, he caused the riche Clothiers to assent and graunt to geue the sixt parte, and when thei came home to their houses, they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weavers, & other artificers, whiche were ordered to be set a wooreke and haue their liuynges by cloth making, and saied, sirs we be not able to set you a wooreke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefore trust to your selfes, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to wepe and young folkes to crie, and men that had no wooreke began to rage, and assemble theimselfes in companyes. The Duke of Suffolke hearyng of this, com- mandned the Constables, that every mannes harnes, should be taken from them, but when that was known, then the rumour waxed more greater, and the people railed openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Drurie, and threatened them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other tounes aboute, there rebellèd foure thousande men, and put theimselfes in harnes, and rang the belles Aiarne, and began togather still more: then the duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this, began to raise men, but he could get but a small nombre, and they that came to hym saied, that they would defende hym.
hym from all perilles, if he hurte not their neighbors, but against their neighbors they would not fight: Yet the gentlemen that were with the duke did so muche that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The duke of Norfolke high Threasorer and Admirall of Englande hearyng of this, gathered a greate power in Norfolke, & came towards the commons, and of his noblenes he sent to the cōmons, to knowe their intent, which answered: that they would live and dye in the kynges causes, and to the kyng to be obedient: when the duke wist that he came to the, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their Capitain, and had that he should speke: then a well aged manne of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graunted with good will. My lorde said this man, whose name was Ihon Grene, sithe you aske who is our capitain, for soth his name is Pouertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs to this dooyng, for all these persones and many mo, whiche I would were not here, liue not of ourselfes, but all we liue, by the sustanciall occupiers of this countrey, and yet they geue vs so litle wages for our workmanship, that scarceley we be able to live, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we our wifes and children, and if they by whom we liue, be brought in that case that they of their litle, cannot helpe vs to carne our liuynge, then must we perishe and dye miserably. I speke this my lorde, the cloth makers have put all these people, and a farre greater number frō worke the husbande men have put away their seruauntes, and geuen vp houshold, they say, the kyng asketh so much, that thei be not able to do as thei haue done before this tyme, & then of necessitie, must we dye wretchedly: wherfore my lorde now according to your wisedom, consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to heare their complaint, and well he knev that it was true: then he saied, neighbors, seuer your selfes asonder, let euery man depart to his home, and chose furthe foure, that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honor I will send to the kyng and make hōble intercession for your pardon, whiche I trust to obtein, so that you will depart, then al they answered they would, and so they departed home.

At the twoo dukes requestes, commissioners of great authoritie wer sent to them, then the Duke of Norfolke, and the Duke of Suffolke came to Bery, and thether came many people of the country in their shirtes and halters about their neckes, meklely desiring pardon for their offences, the Dukes so wisely handeled themselfes, that the commons were appeased, & in especiall one Master Iermyn, toke muche pain in ridyng and goyng betwene the lorde and commons: then the demaunde of money seased in all the realme, for well it was perceiued, that the commons would none paie.

After this the twoo dukes came to London, and brought with them the chief capitanes of the rebellio, which were put in the Flete, and then the kyng came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Wherupon this matter, he assembled a great counsaill, and openly he said, that his mynd was neuer, to aske any thyng of his commons, whichie might sounde to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherefore he would know of whom it was long, that the commissions were so straught to demaunde the sixt parte of euery mannes substantie: the Cardinal excused hymself & said, that when it was moved in counsaill, how to make the kyng riche, the Kynges Counsaill, and especiall the Judges said, he might lawfully demaunde any some by Commission, and that by the assaynt of the whole counsaill it was done, and toke God to witnes, that he neuer malmigned nor desired, the hynderance of the Commons, but like a true counsailer, deuised to enriche the kyng: And the spiritual men saie, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Joseph caused the kyng of Egipte, to take the fift parte of euery mannes goodes, but because euery manne laicth the burden from hym, I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noyes of the people for my good will toward the kyng, and comfort of you my lorde, and other the kynges counsailers, but the eurnall God knoweth all. Well said the kyng some have enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue risen of that demaunde,
The kyng was sore moved, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enforced of the deniall, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saiynges, wherefore he thought it touched his honoure, that his counsail should attempt suche a doubtfull matter in his name, and to bee denied bothe of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the commissioners, yet when they were departed, they denied it again. Then the kyng saied, I will no more of this trouble: Let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter maie no more be spoken of, I will pardon all them that haue denied the demaunde, openly or secretly: Then all the lordeis knoed done, and hartely thanked the kyng. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to cease, with instructions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion, was shewed, that the Cardinall never assentid to the first demaunde, and in the instruccions, was comprehended, that the lordeis and the Judges, and other of the kynges counsail, diuisid the same demaunde, and that the Cardinall followed the mynd of the whole counsail, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instructions were, that at the humble petition, and supplicacion of the Cardinall, thesaied greate sommes, which were demaundid, by the kynges antheoritie roiall, wer clerely pardoned and remitted, wherefore the commissioners willed the people to praye for the Cardinall: but the people toke all this for a mocke, and saied God save the Kyng, for the Cardinall is known well enough, the commons would heare no prais spoken of the Cardinall, they hated hym so muche.

The. xix. daie of Maie, the Cardinall sent for the Maior and his brethen, and certain commisers, and made the Maior to sit done by hym, and then declared, that where the kyng was determined, in proper perso to passe the sea into France, for whiche cause he asked of the citizens of London, and his other subiectes, an aide toward his charges, to whiche request (he saied) that the Londoners were at all tymes conformable, like louyng subiectes, but siide the kyng considereth the greate fall of the Frenche Kyng, whiche is yet prisoner, and that daily he hath suite made to hym for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to hym delivered, which thynge once agreed I trust ye shall have peace, and therefore at my humble request, the kyng hath pardoned you of all the sommes of money, that of you were demaundid: and if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had been gathered, surely it should have been restored again, and consequently the kyng thanke the you as harte, as any prince may thanke his subiectes: and for asmuch as peace, is not yet concluded, I commissall you to shewe yourselves, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to say that you be the kynges, bodie and goods at his will and pleasure, so that your louyng mynde towards hym, maiest the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane saied the Cardinall. Then the Maior and his companie knoed done, and moste harte lyked the kyng and hym, and so departed. The next daie, all this was rehearsed to the comon counsail, which humberly thanked the kyng for the pardon: but twoo thynge the sore displeased, one was that the Cardinall had theim saied, they were the kynges, body and goods, they saied that they vsed no dissimulacion, for they would not saie they were the kynges, but they thought and were the kynges in decade, and not in saiyng: the seconde was, that the Cardinall excused hymself, that he was ignorant of the first commision: For all they knew and were present, when he himself made to them the first motion, & whatsoever was saied by the Recorder, in his excuse was takè as a cloke for the rain, & a dissimulacion or a mocke. For wisemen perceived all the handelyng of the matter: after the kyng had pardoned euery offendour.

The. xxix. daie of Maie the lordeis sat in the Starre chamber, and the ther were brought one Deuereux, a gentleman of Huntingdö shire (whiche would not suffice the commissions to sit, as you naue hard) and Ihon Semider of Kent, these twoo were brought from the Tower, bare footed in their shirtes through London to the Starre Chamber, and

maunde, and that men would pay at the first request, but now I finde all contrary, then every man held his peace.
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there the Cardinall shewed them their offences, with terrible woordes: and after that he shewed the kynges mercie, extended to the and declared their pardon, and so they were delivered.

The morowe after beyng the. xxx. daie, wer the chief of the rebelles of Suffolke brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the Kynges counsaill learned, laied sore to them their offence, but the Cardinall declared for the the kynges pardon: then the kynges Attorney, asked suertie for they good aberying, their answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my lorde of Norffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bryng them home: Now here is an ende of this commissiõ, but not an ende of inward grudge and hated, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all gentlemen, whiche vehemety set furth that Commission and demaunde.

In this trobelous season the vplandishe men of Germany, called the bowres, rose in a great nomber, almoste an hundred thousande, and rebelled against the princes of Germany, of whiche a great nomber wer slain and destroyed.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndale men, with the aide of the Scottes, to the nöber of eight hundred, did daily greate roberies in Engelande. For to represse this nest of theues wer sent sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Cristopher Dacres, with a greate compagnie of Englishmen, and to them diverse men came, and submitted themselves, but the great theues kept them in the multisines of Cheuiot, and daily skirmished with the Englishmen, and could not one be taken: but after long lying abrode, they seuered and many of them wer taken.

In this verie season the Frenchmen, kept a greate nomber of men of warre, at Bullein and there aboute, and the. v. daie of Maie foure hundred horsemen, embushed themselves in the Forest of Guysnes, and the same daie. lxxx. horsemen of the Crewe of Guysnes, roade furthe seyng ayenture, the Frenchmen let them passe, till they had them at yellowtage, then they issued out and cried, kill, kill, then Englishmen them valiantly defended, almoste two hours, but at the last the Frenchmen, oppressed them with multitude, and brake their arraye, and slew fifteen of them, the remnante saued themselves: this chauncy was nothynge pleasant to the English capitanes. But the Frenchmen were so surmounted by this Iorij, that the. xx. daie of Maie, the men of warre of all the garrisons in Picardy, assembled together, and came within the English pale to Aunderne, and so to Calice: the Frenchmen were of suche nombre that all the English pale was spred ouer: At Balyngham the Frenchmen dreame awaie the cattell: the Englishmen thought thyselves to weke to encounter with them, whiche were the whole strength of all Picardy. And so on the Assencion daie, there came to Newnam bridge, three hundred horsemen, and there set a stale, but with ordinance they were made to go backe. Then came foure hundred Frenchmen to the Turne pike, and they had gotten all the cattell together. The bend of sir Robert Iernyngham, seyng the Frenchmen so nere Calice, set forward not past. lx. horsemen and they fierly set on the Frenchmen, whiche fledde, and they chased them, and reskued all the cattell, that the Frenchmen had taken, and with greate dicultuie, brought them to the Marshe beside Calice.

The. xxviii. daie of Maie. v. C. horsemen, and. xvi. C. footmen, came to a village called Froyton, within the English pale, and many auentured ouer the Water to haue taken all the cattell in the Marrishes, of Hamnes, Guysnes, and Calice, whiche wer of greate nomber, but the Frenchmen that made the auenture in the night, wer askried and slain all saue two. Then the Frenchmen returned in a great furie, and swere that they would once robbe the Marrisses or els they would dye for it, and so returned to Bullein, whether were come of newe, fiue. C. horsmen called Stradiats, whiche forstefed wel the Frenche parties, in so muche that they passed in nomber fiue and tenes the Englishmen.

You haue haue hard before, how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was very commodious to the countrey: but
but so befell the cause, that a ryotous compaigne, disguyed and unkownen, with painted faces and visures, came to the same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place again, and promised theim that whencesoeuer they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defende the. This doyng came to the eare of the kynges counsail, which caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaines, which were imprisoned, and sore punished.

The Cardinall aboute this season, by his power Legantyne, sent a Chappelein of his, called Doctor Ihon Alein, a man of more learning then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his gonne of Velvet, with a greate trayne, and was received into every Religion with Procession, as though the legate had been there, and toke suche greate sommes for his visitacion, that the religious sore were greued, and murmured muche against it, and in especiall, for they were charged with greate sommes of money to the kyng, and now this sodain visitacion or fepedacion, cleane shaue them. The common people spake muche against this, and also they saied, that the Cardinall by Visitatians, makynge of Abbottes, probates of testamentes, grantynge of faculties, licences, and other pollynges in his Courtes legantynes, had made his thresore egall with the kynges, & yet every yere he sent greate sommes to Rome: this was their communication, euer against the Cardinall, and his high auctoritie, & the spirituall men moste disdained it.

You shall understande, the kyng in his freshe youth, was in the chaynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Bolcourt, daughter to sir Ihon Blunt knight, whiche damosell in synynge, daunsynge, and in all goodly pastymes, exceeded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes, she won the kynges harte: and she again shewed hym suche favor, that by hym she bare a goodly manne child, of boute like to the father and mother. This child was well brought vp, like a Princes child, and whiche he was. vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry Fitz Roy, and on Sondae beyng the xviii. daie of June, at the Manor or place of Bridewell, the said Lorde ledde by two Erles, was created Erle of Noynghe, and then he was brought backe again by the said two Erles: then the Duke of Norffolke and SUFFOLKE, led hym into the great chamber again, and the kyng created hym Duke of Richemond and Somerset; & thesame daie was the lorde Henry Courtenay Erle of Devonshire, and cosyn germain to the kyng, was created Marques of Excester, and the lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the Frenche Quene the kynges sister, a childe of twoo yere old, was created Erle of Lincolne, and sir Thomas Manners lord Roos, was created Erle of Rutland, and sir Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberland, and the lorde Fitz Water sir Robert Radcliff was created Viscount Fitz Water, and sir Thomas Bullein, threasor of the kynges houshold, was created Viscounte Rocheforde, and at those creaciones, were kept greate feastes and disguisynges.

After this the Cardinall toke vpon hym, as the kynges chief counsailor to se a reformacion in the orde of the kynges housholde, wherein he made certain ordinances. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, which was then newly begun: also at that tyme he ordered a counsail, and stablished another houshold, for the ladie Mary, then beyng Prince of the realme, so that all thynge that was done, was done by hym, and without his assent, nothynge was done: he toke so muche vpon hym, and made the kyng beleue, that all thynge should be to his honor, and that he neded not to take any pain, so that to hym was the charge of all thynge committed, at the whiche wise menne becket, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high presuption. And at this tyme, the said Cardinall gaued to the kyng, the lease of the Manor of Hamptone Court, which he had of the lease of the lord of Sainct Ihones, and on which he had done greate coste. Therefore the kyng of his gentle nature, licensed hym to lie in his Manor of Richemod at his pleasure, and so he lye there at certain tymes: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had been kyng Henry the seuethes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinal.
Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, which kyng Henry the seuenth, so highly esteemed it, was a maruell to here, how thei grudged and said, see a Bochers dogge lye in the Manor of Richemond: these with many approprious wordes, were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothyng regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.

In this season the Frenche kynges mother, Regent of Fraunce and the three estates of the realme, assembled together, concernynge the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solépne Ambassadour to the emperor, with articles (as they thought resonable) for ¥ deliuerauce of the Fréch king and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the kyng of Engelande, for a sauecondute for an Ambassadour, to be sent into Engelande, for a treatie of peace, whiche to the messenger, was granted and dileuered.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Ihon Iokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche as you have hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Master Larkes house, and when he came into Engelande, he was welcomed of the Cardinall, and there betwene them were suche communicacions, that at the sute of thesaied Ihon Iokyn, a truce was concluded, from the xiii. daie of Iuly, for fortie daies, betwene England and Fraunce, bothe on the sea and beyonde the sea. Full well wist Ihon Iokyn, what he meant when he desired peace for fortie daies, for in that season the Pikardes, might have a quiet harvest, to cary in their Corne, whiche they should not have, if the garrisos of Calice and Gynyses: and other within the Englishe pale, had not been restrained from warre, and also the Fishermen of Depe, Bullein, and Traiport, had quiete fishyng, by this truce, for the nauie of Englande, was come home to harbordour, this truce greued the menne of warre on bothe parties, it was so sodain that they wist not well what to do.

When the Flemynes hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in thesame, they began to rayle and said, that the kyng of Englund, had not done truly with the, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishemen answered that they had no Ambassadour in England, and if that they had had any, they should have been made privie, but the kyng would sende them no worde of his affaires, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their master, nor yet them suche service.

The Frenche men in this season enterprised to enter into Flaundres, by Newe dike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynes, and because the Frenche men passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothyng done to them the Flemynes were sore displeased, with the Englishmen of Calice.

In the latter ende of Iuly came into Engelande, Monsire Byvond chief President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence, at the Manor of Richemond, and when his Commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the authority wer sufficiët, because the kyng his Master was prisoner in Spain: but then he shewed authority, geuen to the Lady Regent, and certain nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the Frenche kyng in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all thynges that did or mighte concerne his Realme, duryn his absence. When the Commission was thought resonable, then was rehersed to the Frenche men their doublenes, their vnstedfastnes, and how they had behaund themselfes toward the kyng of England: then they answered if wee have offended, you have vs punished, for you have brent our tonnes, slain our people, destroyed our country, so that you have brought the lowe parties, to a long misterie without recovery, and therefore sithe we be the lesers for our offence, yet we sue for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultacion, they offered many offers: first to pay all suche sommes of money as wer due, both for the yerely tribute, and also for the citie of Turnay, and the Frenche Quenes dowar, and farther to recompcence the kyng of Engelande his expences done in the warres.

Duryn this tratie, worde was brought to the kyng of Engelande, that there was a truce sodainly concluded, betwene the realme of Fraunce and the ladie Margaret, Duches of Sauoy, and Gouerner of Flaundres and the lowe countreis, for the space of. v. monethes,
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

so that no entercourse should be betwene them for merchants, but by sauecondute, and that this Proclamation was proclaimed at saiont Omers, the firste daje of August, wherupon the kyng was contented, that a peace should bee taken from the. xiiij. daje of August, to the firste daje of December, which was proclaimed in London: and by this truce euery Englishema without sauecondute, might passe into Fraunce, & theli likewise into Englaud. When this truce was proclaimed, the people murmured & said, now hath the Frenchmen gotten their fishying quietly, and if they had been kept from that, they had been vndoen, and so with faire wordes thei helpe themselfes, whiche if we haue warre again, shall hurte vs, for this Hereyng shall vtain their tounes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

This yere the kyng sent Doctor Henry Standishe, bishop of saint Asse, & sir Iohn Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to comen and entreate with the nobles of the Countery for the reduccion of kyng Christierne, to his realme, Croune, and dignitie, but all that could be said or persuadcd, could not bryng the Danes to any reson, they hated hym so for his greate cruellie, and in especiall for the greate tiranny that he committed at Stokeholeme in Swethen, where he desired a greate number of his nobles to a banket, and after the baket stroke of their heddes. When the Ambassadors of Englaund sawe that they could not bryng hym in again: they then began to require, that his some might haue the croune and dominion, whiche neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of lady Isabell, sister to the Emperor Charles the. v. which also made great labor and instaunce for thesame: but the Danes answered they would none of his procreacion, for they said, the sonne would follow the father, or els at the least he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and so with this answer they departed.

So muche did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, bothe by offers and entreatyes, that the king of England and his counsail, did condiscende to a peace, and the more soner because they sawe if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the cōmons, which had leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue hard in the last yere. Where peace was concluded, then were Proclamations of thesame, sent to euery cītie and good toune, and the viii. daye of September, this peace was proclaymed solemnly with a Trumpet through the cītie of London, the effecte wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the lady Regent of Fraunce, & the three estates of thesame, a peace, league, & amitie was concluded, betwene bothe the kynges of England & Fraunce, and their countres and subiectes, so that the subiectes, of either realme maie lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to bye and sell frankly and frely, without let or interruption, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken wyth the Emperor and the lady Margaret, gouernes of Flaunder in no point, but that thesaid Emperour and lady Margaret, and all other the kynges old and auncient confederates and alies, wer comprehended in thesame, and for due restitution to be made to the Frechmen, there was appoyneted the reuerende father, Cütherd bishop of Lōdon, and for restitution to be made to the Englishema, was appoyneted the chief Presidēt of Roan.

And on the. xi. daye of September, was a truce proclaimed in Spain, in the toune of Vale Dolito, betwene themperor and the Frenche kyng, from that daje to the ende of December next ensuyng, at which time the Emperour had not seen the Frenche kyng, which was conveigned by sea out of Italy into Spain, to a Castle called Madrill, and there remayned: and shortly after fell sore sick, and was in greate jeopardy, for the whiche the Frechmen cared little, for thei saied that if he died, thei should paie no raunsome, and then their realme should be quiet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Frenynges, wherefore when they had dronke well, thei spake largely, and bosted how they had vtailed the English armies, and found them cartes and caiages, and thought it not kyndly done, to refuse them as old frendes & make peace with old enemies, but they did not consider what money

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the Englishmen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dreed of the Englishmen, would not invade Flanders, so that thei lyued quietly, all this they considered not.

In the same moneth this peace was proclaimed, in Paris, Liôs, Roan and Amias: by this peace the kyng of Englande, should receive at certain daies. xx. hundred thousand Crownes, whiche then was foure hundred thousand pound sterlyng, of the whiche one painment of fiftie thousande pounde was paimed in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were aboute the retinue of Calice, Hammes, and Guynes was called home, and the shippes brought into the haunes, and many a Kreker wist not how to lyue.

In the moneth of October wer sent into Fraunce, sir Willyam Fitzwilliam Threasourer of the kynges house, and doctor Taylour, as ambassadors from the kyng of Englande, & wer received through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iornies at the last, came to the citie of Liôs the xxiii. daie of November, where to them wer presented, Wine, Fish, Fleshe, and Waxe, and thei wer visited with diverse noble men. And on the xxvi. daie they were conueigned to the Courte by twoo Erles, and at the gate received with two Cardinalles; and so brought to the lady regent, whiche with muche honor theim reciued, and then they deliuered the kynges letters, whiche she tooke in great recyclence, and so with her counsail, departed into her privie chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out again, to whom Doctor Tailor made an eloquent Oracion in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the kyng his Master for very loue, and not for no dreed nor nedie did còdïscend to peace. To whom the bishop of Besanson, Chaunceller to the Lady Regent, made answere, and that done, the Ambassadors were feasted, and served with men of great estate, and after that thei wer conueigned to their lodgynges.

And on Sondaie next ensuyng, the Ambassadors wer conueigned to the Courte, and from thence the lady Regent and all the Court, rode solemnly to the Cathedrall churche of Lions, and there a Cardinal sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was dooen, the Lady Regent toke the two Ambassadors, the one on the right hande, and the other on the left hande, and so went vp to the high aultar, and there she laied her hande on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse boke, and there swere to obserue, ffilfill and kepe, all the articles and agrementes, concluded in the league and tractie of peace, by her commissioners. And whè this was done, the bishop of Besanson made an eloquent sermon, takyng for his antitheme. **Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos, Inquire pacem. &c.** In this sermon he muche praised the kyng of Englynde, whiche assented to peace and lauded the Cardinal whom he called the Legate of God, for counsailynge hym to peace: for now was Fraise free, and all hostilitie seased, and when this sermon was done, _Te deum_ was song, and then the Trumpettes blew, and all other instrumentes Musicaill, and then the Lady Regent, with all her trayne returned to the palace, & there were the Ambassadors highly feasted, and then sir Willyam Fitz William toke his leane, and came shortly into Englynde, leauyng behynde hym Doctor Tayler whiche taried there till the Frenche kyng was deliuered.

When the articles of peace, wer knowen to the emperor and his counsail, full well wist they that the kyng of Englynde now would be frend to the Frenche kyng wherfore he and his subjectes, shewed themselfes more straungue and vakynde to the Englyshemen, then they had been accustomed. In so muche that the Englyshe merchauntes, put vp a suppliacacion to the Emperor, shewyng hym how their goodes wer taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrained, newe imposicions taken of them, and most of all thei complained, that by an acte made in Spain called _Premeotica_ whiche ordeiingeth thaty every cloth, shold be of a certain number of thredes, the clothes of Englynde there could not bee solde, to the great hyn-derance of the Englyshe Merchauntes: For the clothiers of Englande knowe not the number appoynted by the statute, and when thei make cloth, thei knowe not to what countrey that cloth shall be sold, of these thynges the Englyshe Merchauntes desired a redresse.

1. At a daie appoynted the Englishmen had an answere deliuered them in wrytingh, conteignyng certain articles. The firste, if any wronges bee dooen vnto you, our Justice is open...
open in every place. The second, as touching letters of Marke, we will be advised by our counsell. 'The third as touching your shippes, we frely graunt that you shall have our fridship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you maie go at youre pleasure, passing or makyng abode. And as touching customs, or Imposicions of newe: The accident maie cause vs so to doo, but that shall bee in suspence. And finally as touching our Prenetica, made by the lorde of our counsell, and by vs affirmed, wee will not breake, but wee will sufiere to the intent that you Englishe Merchante, maie bring true and well made clothe, for the whiche you shall bee the better welcome: this was the very answere that the Englishe Merchante had, of the Emperor and his counsell.

In this Wynter was great death in London, wherefore the Term was adiorned, and the king for to eschew the plague, kept his Christmas at Eltham with a small number, for no manne might come thither, but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open houisholde, to lorde, ladies, and all other that would come, with plases and disguisyng in most royall maner: whiche sore greuued the people, and in especial the kynges seruauntes, to so hyyn kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

The Cardinall came to Eltham the. viii. dace of January, and taried there till the. xiiii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges cousail, sat for a direccion to be taken in the kynges house, and first it was considerd, that the greate number of the yomen of the gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age: whiche had seruauntes in the Courte, and so the kyng was serued with their seruauntes, and not with his awne seruauntes, whiche was thought not convenient. Wherefore first the officers seruauntes, wer put out of the Courte, and many old officers were put to live in their countreys, but the kyng of his bountie enhaunsed their liuynges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pound annuitle, without attendance, and he that had. xls. had foure pound, and so every man after that rate, and young men were put in their romes. Then was there. liiiii. of the gard, whiche had. xiiii. d. the daie checked, put out of that wages, and they had. vii. d. a daie vachecked, and should dwell in their countreys & come not at the court, til thei wer sent for, except it wer for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised the, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, & what lamentacion was made, when all these persones should depart the court. Some saied that poore seruauntes wer vadoen and must steale: Some saied that thei wer found of the reuerions of the officers service, so that for them was nothing more set out at the dresser, and it was great charitie to fynde them. Other saied that the yomen of the gard, whiche were put out wer now not able to fynde themselfes and their horse, to doo the King service. Other saied, that now they would polle and pill in their countreys, & oppress the poore people, thus euer man had his saiying.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances, concerning the kynges house, whiche bee at this daie called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable.

This monethe of January was a peace concluded, betwene the realmes of Englane and Scotlunde, for three yeres and sise monethes, of the whiche the Scottes wer very glad, and especially the borderers, for they wer sore hurt by this warre.

This yere the kyng on Shrouetewedsaie, kept a solemnque Iustes at his Manour of Grenewiche, he hymself and. xi. wer on the one part, and the Marques of Excester with. xi. were on the other parte: the Kynges barde and base and all his bende, wer of cloth of gold and siluer, richely embauderad, with a hannes harte in a presse, with flames about it, and in letters were written, Declare ie nose, in Englishe, Declare I dare not, the Marques and his bend wer in Grene Veluet, & crimosyn sattyn embrodered with harters burnying, and over euer harte a Ladies hand commynyg out of a cloude, holkyng a garden water pot, which dropped siluer droppes on the harte: At this Iustes was many a spere broken, and by chaunce
The abiyuration of doctor Barnes, whom ye sould here more in the xxii. yere, of this Kyng.

Sir Frances Britt lost one of his iyes. After these lustes, the king made to the Quene, and lordes and ladies a costly banket, and did service to the Quene and ladies hymself.

In the moneth of February the xii. daie beyng Sondaie, the Cardinall with greate pompe, came to the Cathedrall Church of Pauls, on whom bishoppes, Abbottes, and a great number of doctors, gave their attendaunce, and there he sat in pontificalibus, under his cloth of estate of riche clotehe of Golde: and there one Frier Barnes a Frier Augustine bare a fagot, for certain poyntes of heresie, as the Bishoppes saied: and two Merchantauntes of the Sulicred bare fagottes, for eayying fleshe on a Fridaie, and there the bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher, made a sermon, reproving Martin Luthers opinio, a Frier of Germany, whiche wrote against the power of the Bishoppe of Rome, and in his sermon he spake so muche honor of the Pope and his Cardinall, and of their dignitie and preheminence, that he forgot to speake any thyng of the Gospell, whiche he toke in hande to declare, which sermo was muche praised of the Cardinall and bishoppes, wherfore the Cardinall gaued to all the people his benediccion, and then departed.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor and his coussail, by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and all the realtime there, for the deliuerance of Frances the Frenche kyng, and after many communicacions whiche toke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassadors, the noble lady Margaret, late duches of Alahunson, sister to the Frenche kyng, with a greate compaignie of nobles and honorable personages. The emperor Charles met the said lady in the Market place of the cite of Toledo, and her right hartely welcomed, and after that the Duches and her compaignie, had refused to agree to certain articles, whiche the Frenche kyng had offered hymself; the said Duches had license of the Emperor, to go to Madrill, where the Frenche kyng was kepte as prisoner, and there to knowe his mynd. When she was there, she & other divided suche a waile, that the Frenche kyng should have scape, and poste horses were laied every where: this were not so secrete, but the Emperor was therof enformed, and toke certain Frenche men, whiche confessed how all thynes should have been brought to passe. The Duches of Alahunson hearyng that this priuitt was opened, on poste horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, leuyng the whole matter at large.

But for all this the lordes of Fraunce, ceased not daily to sue, for the deliuerance of their soucreigne lorde, and at last to the Emperor was deliuered a boke for the Frenche kynges deliuerance, for the Emperor saied he would nothing deamm of hym, for hauyng hym he had more then he could gene hym. Then the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, offered a boke conteignyng many articles to the Emperoure: and when the Emperor had well understande the contenctes of thesame, he saied to the Frenche Ambassadors, is this the full will and agremeent of your Master, they answered yea: well saied the Emperor, if this be his awne office, I truste that he will kepe it. Then the emperor thought best to bryng the Frenche kyng to more libertie, and to visite hym hymself, whiche he had not doen but in the tym of his sickenes. Where the, xiii. daie of February, the Emperor accompanied with the greate Constable of Francie, the Duke of Euphantaso, the Duke of Cuiill, the Duke of Nasso, the Duke of Aluoy, the duke of Alberkirk, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguiler, the Marques Villafraca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barcelona, the erle of Bonuent, the Erle of Teniuer, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowife, the erle of Salvator, and. xii. Bishoppes, and a greate number of nobles, came to the caste of Madrill, to whom was the Frenche kyng brought with a noble repairre, to whom the Emperor made io reuence, and declared to hym how all victories, consist in the hande of God, and where greate debate, warre, and strief, had long continued betwene the, he said it was the very haddy worke of God, to deliuer hym to captiuitie, so that by his restraint of libertie, a generall peace should be ccluded through all Christendome, and now sithe you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we enteyndyng not your punishment, nor
nor restraint of your libertie have gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande, whiche all your nobles shall heare redde.

In primis, the Frenche kyng sware to kepe peace, bothe by land and by water with the Emperor and his subiectes, of all landes, territories, or dominions, belonging to the Emperor or the Empire.

Item, thesaied Frenche Kyng clerely renounced, all the right, title, or interest whiche he had or pretended, to the realme of Naples, or the kyngdome of Seiele.

Item, thesaied Frenche kyng clerely renounced his right and title, to the Duchie of Mil-
lain, and the Countie of Ast.

Item, thesame kyng surrendered into theemperors handes the whole Duehie of Burgoyn, the Countie Charoloyes, with all castles and lordshippes apperteyning to thesame, with all maner of sovereignite, apperteignyng to the crown of Frenche by reason of thesame.

Item, thesaied kyng surrendered & released, all the sovereignitie whiche he claimed of the Counties of Flaunders and Artoys, and thother lowe countreis, so that they from thence furthe, should never sue to any Parliament of Frenche by apples, or resorte, the Counties of Guysnes, Arde and Bullonoys alwaie except.

Itë, he released all the right & title, that he had to the citee of Tournay and Turnesyns and to the tounes of Hedyng and Arras, with all Castles and dominions apperteignyng to thesame, with the title of the sovereignitie and resort of thesame, to the Parliamentes of Frenche

Item, he swore and promised, never to helpe or aide the Lorde Dalbrethe, called the kyng of Nauerr by couyn or other wise, against theemperor or his heires nor successors.

Item, that he nor none other by his assent, should maintaine, aide or cofort Charles Duke of Geldres, nor maintaine sir Robert de la Marche, by no meanes against the Emperor, or his countreys, or dominions.

Item, he promised at his awne costes and charges, to finde fuen hundred men of armes, and tenne thousande footemen, to do the Emperour service, whensoever that he toke his ioruen toward Rome, for the obteignyng of his crowne and scepter Imperiall, and to pait their wages for sixe monethes.

Itë, he promised to be enemie to all persones, whiche would go about or entend in any wise, to let or disturb thesaied ioruen to Rome.

Item, he promised to discharge the Emperour against the kyng of Englaunde, for the somme of twoo hundred thousande Crownes, whiche he ought then to the kyng of Englaunde, and to deliever the Emperour a sure acquittance for thesame, whiche amounteth in starlyng money xlv.M.l.

Item, he released all the pencies, whiche he claimed of the realmes of Naples & Seiele, whiche was yereely a hundred thousand dukates.

Item, for the surer performance of all these articles, it was agreed that the Frenche kyng should at his departing, deliver into the Emperors handes, the Dolphin of Vien and Henry Duke of Orleauence, his twoo elder sonnes, which should remain in Spain, till that all these articles wer perfiormed: and if after he came into his realme, the three estates of Frenche, would not condescend and agree to these articles, whiche he had offered and sworne, then he should shortly come again into Spain, and yeld hymself prisoner again, and his children then to be redelivered into Frenche.

Item, for the more fortificacation of this concorde, and for the more amitie to be had be-
twene the two princes and their realmes, the Emperour offered in marriage to the Frenche kyng, the noble princes lady Elinor late Queene of Portyngall, with a great dowar, and offered to hym with her in marriage three faire lordshippes, called Ayssines, Maconayes, and Barsur, the whiche the Frenche kyng joyfully accepted: But this offire was condicionally, so that the whole agreement take effecte, or els not. Some saied as you heard before, that the Frenche Queene was poysioned for this intent: but cuill tongues never saied well. To al
these articles and many mo, the Frenche kyng sware before the Emperor, and all his nobles the. xiii. daie of February.

In the tyme of this entreatie came into Spayne, Charles Duke of Burbon which appealed the Frenche kyng, that he contrary to al right and Justice, had procured and imaginéd, the death and destruction of thesaied Duke without any cause, but onely to possede his soveraigneties and Dominions, by reason whereof, thesaied Duke was compellèd to liue in exile, out of his countrey, and that the Regent of Fraunce, contrary to Justice had pro-

claimed hym a traitor, and seized all his goods and landes, wherefore he desired that the Frenche kyng, might to hym make a condigne recompençe: to whom the Emperor answered, that a prisoner might not be appeled: but yet for his good service, the Emperor did so muche, that an article was concluded, that the duke of Burbon should bee restored to his firste title, state, honor, and dignitie, and to all his other Duchies, Counties, seignior-
ies, and Dominions, and there the Frenche kyng freely pardoned to hym al offences, and swared that al proces, proclamacions, impetitions, had or doone against hym should bee voxde, annulled and repeale, and farther the Frenche kyng, in recopence of al wronges done to him, and for the restitucion of his goodes, promised and swared to pase the same duke. CC. thousande crownes, with al the rentes, and profites received of the landes of thesaied duke, in the tyme of his exile. When all these articles wer concluded, sworn, and appoynted, the Emperor judged that the Frenche kyng, would neuer lorne the Duke of Burbon, and that by some newe found faute, or by some privie enemie, he might bee brought to confusion: wherfore of his noble liberalitie, consideryng the good service that the duke had done to hym, and might do it if he were of possessions and dominions, gae into the Duke the whole Duchie of Milain, so that thesaied duke should finde yerely foure thousande footemen, and five hundred men of armes, and pase to the Emperor yerely foure thousande Ducates, but he never obtignèd the possession, for lacke of the investure or creacion: Also the Emperor gave to the Viceroy of Naples, the Duchie of Boysce, and the Countie of Ast, and many greate rewardes for his good service.

This peace thus concluded betweene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng, was openly pro-
claimed through all Spaine, Fraunce, Flaunders and the Emperours dominions, whereof their subjicctes were glad, and made fiers & triumphes through all their countreys. The kyng of England like wise, which was included in thesame League, was very glad of the peace, and caused the Cardinall and all the nobles and prelates to assemble at the Cath-
edraill Churche of saintc Paule, and there was Te deum song, and the Cardinall gave be-
nediccion to all the people, and that night fires was made through all London. The com-
mon people said as thei thought: some saied the peace was honorabile to the Emperoure, and other saied, the Frenche kyng would not kepe his promise, when he was once deliver-
ed, and so it proved.

The kyng of England hearing that y Frenche kyng was at a poynct to be delivered, set a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyne to the French kyng, certifieying him of the great gladnes y he had of his deliverie, & also the cofort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of whiche kyng remembrance, the French kyng muche rejoysed. The French kyng toke his leave of thenperor, & toke his jornye into Fraunce warr, and came to Victoria, in which season the fame went, that the Dolphin whiche should have been deliver-
ed, as one of the hostages for the Frenche Kyng his father, was diseased, and so the Frenche Kyng was staid for xv. daies, till the truth was known: other saied that the cause was that there wer betwene Fontanie and Bayon. xxx. M. men, and doubted lest if he had been bringe boun to Fowtraby, he might haue been rescued: but whatsoever the cause was, he was restrayned as you haue hardy.

And at the last when the daie came of his diluercy, and he was discretely moued, that he should not speake to his children, for feare that lamentacion and sorowe might in suche wise rise, that harte might ensue of it. Whic the daie was come that he should be deliver-
ed, there was betwene the borders of Fraunce and Spain, a Lake of no great depenes, in
the middes whereof was laied a greate emptie boate at an anker, and at euery shore was another boate, and when the French kyng was come to the banke, he entered the boate on the Spanishe side, and sixe Spaniardes with hym, and ike wise on the Frenche part, the twoo Princes sonnes to the Frenche kyng, entered the other boate and sixe Frenchmen with them, and so bothe the boates came to the boat lyng in the middes, the Frenche kyng entered at the one ende, and his children at the other, and passed through the great boate, and euyn in the middest of the boate thei met, and he with his hande blessed thei, without speaking of any worde, but sadly regarded thei, and so he entered into the boate with the Frenchmen, and his children into the boate with Spaniardes, and eche of them were shortly at the shore, and mounted on horsebacke, and the Frenche king rode to Bayon, where he was nobely receiued, almost of all the nobles in the realme, and in especial of his mother: and his ii. children were conueighed to Fouentraby and so vpward, and were well cherished in all thynge, by the great Constable of Spain and his wife.

Thus was Frances the Frenche kyng, conueighed into his realme the xxi. daie of Marche, whiche was taken the. xxviii. daie of February, the yere last past.

After that theemperor had concluded, & taken his leaue of the Frenche kyng, he rode to the faire citee of Ciuill, and there he with greate triuip maried lady Isabell, daughter to kyng Emanuel, of Portyngall, with whom he had greate thecres and sommes of money, and great friendship of the Portyngalles, for he had xi. hundred thousand Dueates with her mariage. When this mariage was knowne in Engleande, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperor beyng at Wynsore, in the. xiii. yere of the king, had faithfully promised to mary the lady Mary, daughter to the Kyng of Engleande. But for a verie truthe the Emperoures counsaill was not content with the answere made to Monsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsaill the Emperor, not to tary for the lady Mary whiche was young: and also thei saied that she was begotten of the kyng of Engleande by his brothers wife. And also an acte was made in Spain, that he should not depart the countrey, till he had issue. All these thynge were laied to hym, whiche caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the great offer that the kyng of Portyngal made to hym, he was there to agreyng, and so maried the lady Isabell, sister to kyng Iphon of Portyngall.

† THE. XVIII. YERE.

THE. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the beginnyng of this. xviii. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Monsire Brienon chief president of Roan, & Iphon Iokyn now called Mon-sire de Vaux, whiche President of Roan, before the Kyng sette in a Throne, and accompaigned with all his nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperor, of Venice, and Florèce, beyng there present, made in the Latyn tounge a solemne oracion, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dreffull the warres had been betwene the realmes of Engleande & Fraunce, what greate losse the realme of Fraunce, had susteigned by thesaid warres: He declared farther of what power the kyng of Engleande was of and what con-quest he might hawe made in Fraunce, the kyng beyng prisoner, & knowleged the kyng of Engelandes right in the warres, and their wronges, where he humbly thanked hym, of his pitie and copassion that he had on them in their necessitie and affliccion, that he would concet to peace. To this Oracon the Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancastre, by name sir Thomas More made answere saiyng: that it muche rejoyes the kyng, that thei first co sidered, how by his power he might have oppressed, and how by his pitie he had releued them: wherefore he would here after that for kindnes, they should shewe hym none vkindnes, but inuolatly to kepe that league whiche was concluded.

The next daie after beeyng Sondaie, the Cardinall song a solemne Masse, in the kynges chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the kyng sware before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue rehearsed being present, that he should kepe the peace and league concluded.
concluded, betwene hym and his brother and perpetuall alie the French kyng, duryng his life and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadoures was made a greate feast.

In the moneth of Maie was a proclamaciō made, against al vnlawfull games, according to the statutes made in this behalfe & commissiōs awarded into euery shire, for the execution of thesame, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes, and Boules, were taken and brent. Wherefore the people murmured against the Cardinal, sayyng: that he grudged at euery mannes pleasure, sauyng his awne, but this Proclamation small tyme endured: and when young men were forbidden Boules, and suche other games: some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferettyng of other mennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other vnthriftines.

Because all this Sommer the Kyng tooke his pastyme in hunting, and nothyng happened worthye to bee written of: I will returne to the Frenche kyng, now come again into his realme.

When he was at Paris he saied and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obserue & kepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not judge: for shortly after he set furth a boke, called the appollogie or defence against the conventicion or agreement made betwene the Emperour and hym at Madrill, allegyng that he was cōpled to make that agreement, or els he should never have been deliuered: He allegd farther that the Lawyers of his realme clerely determined all promises and couenantics made by any persone to his awne hurt, with hym that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsion, and so of none effect and not to be performed. He also saied that the governors of the Lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effecte, where a manne is in ieopardie of life, or of perpetuall imprisonement or bondage, and moste in especiall when it is doen by compulsion or threatenyng. Moreover he saied that he might geue awaie nothyng apperteynyng to his Croune, without thassent of his peeres and the three estates of his realme (to the whiche he was sworne at the time of his Coronacio,) whiche would thereto in no wise assent, and theryfore he saied that his othe and promes was voyde, and so he declared to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperour, and offered for his raunsome to Paye as muche money as euery Frenche kyng payed, with divers other articles of newe diuised.

When these articles came to the Emperour, he then refused and said, that he had desirde nothyng impossible of the Frenche Kyng, and if he might not or would not kepe the appoyntement betwene them made, yet he bad hym kepe that poynct of couenaunt, whiche onely depended in his will, that was that he should yeide hymself prisoner againe, and so he should haue his children deliuered: and then he would reasonably commen with hym, of newe articles of agreement, and as to the appollogie set furth by the Frenche kyng, that his othe and promes was voyde, and made by compulsion and threatenyng, it was answered by another boke called the Refutacion or Ouerconnyng of the appollogie, of the conventicion of Madrill. Whiche twoo workes were so eloquently set furth, with suche and so many perswacions and allegacions, both the one part and the other, that it would comber a wise man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to judge to whiche parte he should moste encline, and geue credence, therefore I leaue it at large.

After that the Frenche kyng was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperour was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crowned Emperour, wherof hearyng the bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of litle vertue or learning: much doubted in hymself what damage might come to hym, if the Emperour had bothe Naples, Seiciil, and the Duchie of Millain, and also wer crowned Emperour. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Sforc duke of Millain, whiche had committed treason against theemperor, and was depryved by judgement of his name & dignitie, and thesame geuen to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept muche of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssaunce the Emperour would come into Italy, and what greate possessions he had there.
there, at every ende of Italy, so that if the were once crowned Emperor, he would hole to have the seigniorie of all Italy: wherefore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie, how to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as thei wer debating of this matter, thei hard worde how the French kyng was returned into Fraunce, and sought all waies and meanes, how to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an action offered to them, with al diligence thei sent their seerall Ambassadors, that is to saie, the Pope twain, the Duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty, one (whiche was his secretorie) and the Florentynes one, and the Duke of Millaine one, these five Ambassadors came to the Frenche Kyng, and declared what joye and gladnes their masters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then thei shewed to him how thei by the Bishop of Rome exhortacion had dis- uised a league, whiche should set a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion, thei had set forth and agreed upon articles, for the whole league. When the Frenche kyng saw the articles it was as he would have it, for he thought by the whole power of the confederates, his children should be deliuered, & he yet againe once to have a medelyng in Italy: wherefore with greate gladness and solemnityt, he entered into the league, and sware to kepe it, and gaue to the Ambassadors greate rewards.

The first article of this league was that the emperour, the kyng of Englane, and all other kynges and princes, might entre into theseame, and if the kyng of Englane would, he should bee admitted as protector of thesame leaue.

But yet the Emperour should not bee admitted, till he had deliuered the Frenche kynges children, hauyng a reasonable somme of money for the same, nor before he had restored the Duke of Millain to his whole Duchie, franckly and frely, and all other persones of Italy, in like maner as thei wer before the last warres began: Nor he shall not once come into Italy for his Coronacion or other wise, but with suche a traine as the Pope & the Duke of Venice shall thynke convenient, and that within three moneths after he hath entered into this league, he shall pai to the kyng of Englande, all suche sommes as he ought hym before on time.

Item, if the emperour would not entre, then thesaid confederates should assemble a greate armie in Italy, according as every one should bee assessed, and this armie to be main- teigned, till the Emperors power were driven out of Italy.

Item, that the Emperour shalbe warned, to deliuer the Frenche kynges children, and to fall to a reasonable poynct with hym, whiche thynge if he deny to doe, then the confederates certifie hym, that they shall never cease till he be brought to reason.

Item, that a greate nauie should be prepared on all the coastes of Italy, at the common costes of the confederates.

Item, that Fraunce Sforces shall enjoy the Duchie of Millain, payng yrelly to the Frenche kyng fiftie thousand Ducattes, & the Frenche kyng neuer to claine the same.

Item, the Frenche Kyng or the Duke of Orleunce his sonne, shall haue the Countie of Ast.

Item, if the Emperour bee expelled oute of Naples and Sicil, then the realmes to be at the gift of the Pope, paying yrelly to the Frenche kyng lxv. thousand Ducattes.

Item, if the kyng of Englane wyll take vpon hym as Protector of this league, then he or his sonne (the Duke of Richemond) to haue a duchie or a principalitie in the realme of Naples, to hym & to his heires, to the somme of thirtie thousand Ducattes at the least, and the Cardinal of Yorke to haue a yrelly pencion of. x. thousand Ducattes. This league was concluded at Cognace or the xxii. daie of Maie, in this yere.

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the Kyng of Englane, whiche with greate deliberacion like a wise prince, consulted suche with his counsale of this weightie matter, & whiche all things wer fully perceiued, he answered to the Ambassadors, that he thanked suche the confederates of their good will, but he would not entre into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreactor betwene bothe parties and a meane for
for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperor, whiche harteily thanked him, and toke it for greate kyndnes: this league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Bishop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had just cause of warre against the Emperor, for thynges done in Italy, he sent to hym a letter, dated at Rome the. xxiii. daie of June: in the whiche letter he most craftely laied to the Emperours charge, what he had done for hym before he was Pope, & sithe he was promoted to that dignitie, he left nothing vremembered, that either he had frendly meant or actually done to the Emperor: and accused him of suche vryndnes, and in especiall that he would not pardó Frances Sforca duke of Millain, at his request. He accused hym also of the couetous desire which he had, to haue or obteine the whole Monarchie of Italy, with many other prettie inuencions: for whiche causes he saied he was compelled, for the suretie of all Italy, & in especiall for the churche of Rome, to ioyne hymself with greate Princes, and to make warre for the defence of thesame. This letter was deliuered to the Emperour with all spede, to whom the Emperour answered by a letter, dated the. xiii. daie of September, conteinyng xxiij. shetes of paper, in suche wise that all wise men maie se by thesame, that the Romiske bishop accused themperour, where he should have blamed hymself, for the Emperour laied a greate number of ingratiatitudes and vntrutesto hym, and cleare lyowyed all thynges, that he laied to his charge. The Pope sent his Ambassador another letter, that if the first letter were not deliuered, then he should retain it, but as God would, for manifestynge of the truthe, the letter was deliuered tenne dayes before.

After the first letters writte, the holy father of Rome raised in all hast an armie of eight thousande footemen, with a valiaunte compaignie of horsmen, whiche passed the riwer of Poo, and ioyned themselfes with the power of the Venecians, wherof was capitan Frances duke of Vrbine, and so they all together marched toward Millain: and in the meane season they had sent Octauian Sforca Bishop of Aretyne, whiche for the Frenche kyng should retain. xiii. M. Swysses, and they were commyng out of Swyserlande, to ioyne with the armie of Italy. Thintent of this armie was to druie al the Emperors power, out of the Duchie of Millain, but all their deuises proued crotary, as you shall after plainly perceiue. For you shall understande, that although the Frenche kyng was taken before Pauia, a yere & more before this tyne, and all the Frenche men driuen out of the Duchie of Millain, yet the Emperour left not the duchie without an armie, for he left there Anthony de Leno, whiche was capitan of Pauia, at the siege laied by the Frenche Kyng, and Fernando Daual and Alphons his brethren, two valiant capitanes, but Fernando died, the more pitie: these capitanes had with them Spaniardes and Almains and other to the number of eight or tenne thousande, and laie still till the newe confederacie set forwarde, and especially they were sore moued with Frances Sforca duke of Millain, whiche had the possession of the moste part of all the fortresses of the duchie, that he would be one of the cõteerates: wherfore they thought best to begin with him and to get the possession out of his hand. Wherefore Alphons Daual sent for all themperors armie together, & they came al together to warre, & whie he was there, he sent for Moron chief counsellor with the duke of Millain, whiche mistrustynge nothing came to him, and there he laied to hym how the Duke his Master was false to the Emperour, and Moron it denied, then he was kept there as a prisoner, whether it were by cautelo or no I cannot tel, but he wrote to the Duke, that he perceiued that the Emperoure was like to preuail, and advised him for auoydyng of all mistrust, and also to shewe him selfe the very frend of the Emperour, and his obedient subject, to deliuer all the strong holdes into his capitanes handes: the Duke hearyng this counsaille, and willying not to haue the enmitie of the Emperours capitanes, assented and deliuered to Daual all the fortresses that he had except the castelles of Millain & Cremona, which he saied he kepte only for the healthe of his body, because he had ben long sicke.

Then Daual with his powre of Almains & Spaniardes came to ã citie of Milaine & lodged his people in euery house, & fearing ã the duke imagened some thing by kepyng of the two strongest
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Strongest castels, for if he délyuered those two castelles to the army of the confederates the Emperours capitanyes & people should be in greate daunger, wherfore he gentlye with greate perswasio desired to haue the kepyng of the castell of Millayn, whiche the duke would in nowise assent, mistrusting, that then he shoulde lese the duchie & all, wherefore Dauali with all speleayd sege to the castell the duke being with in. During the time of this sege, the capitanyes euer take money & other thinges fro the Citezyns which sore thena grudged & saied that they wold suffer it no more, and so as an almaine came to a smith for a docate, the smith cried helpe & with that the tounc rose: then the capitanyes came into the citie to se what was done, the souldiers that kept the sege seyng that rane into the citie and there was much entreteting on both partes.

The duke hering the noyes in the citie & seing the besegers gone, came out of the castel, thinking that his frendes had come to his reskue, but when he sawe no succour, and harde the noyes ceased, he entred the castell agayne. When the Capitaines had long intreated the people were ons cóteted, but by meanes of one sedicious folowe they began again, & there was a sore fight but the night cam so faste on that both the partes seuered them selues.

The citizens sore greued with the spaniardes saied opely that shortly they trusted to se all themperours frendes drieu out of Italie, & with many yll woordes rebuked the souldiars: and when they came into the citie they hurt them.

Anthony delena and Dauali, perceiuyng this deyuised how to be revêged, wherfore in the enenying they entred with a thousid spaniards & other, & slewe one citize & set his hed on a pole & caused it to be borne afore the & set. iii. or. iii. houses a fire, which whiche the citizes perceiued they were greatly aferd and ran to harnesse, and cast doune stones and barres, but the hand gones shot so fast at them that they durst not loke out: the Almaines set fire in many houses, least they shoude haue leysuer to fight, and some of the Spaniardes that kept the towers, slew the citezens. Alas the citie was in grete peril, and that wel perceiued Leua and Dauali, for if the remnant of the Spaniardes had come in the whole citie had been burned or utterly destroyed, wherfore they caused the souldiers to cease, whiche were content, for they had been in harnesse from the sunne set, till nynce of the clocke the next daie.

In this seaso tharmy of the cofederates, made hast to help the duke of Millain, & in the meanen waie the citie of Lawde was yelded to the duke of Vrbin: Dauali wet thether with a small cópaigynie to reskew the citie and when he sawe that it was past reskew he returned saying: it wer better to lese Lawde, then Millain, & so brought al his people to Millain.

The Emperoure from tyne to tyne was advertised, of all thyues done in Italy, wherfore with great diligence he sent the duke of Burbon thether with ten salie, and landed at Sauna, & brought with him. x. M. men, wherof the Milaners wer very glad, & besought him to be good to the, to whomo he gauue many good wordes & aware, & praiued God that his braynes might be striken out with a gonne, except he did deliuer the shortly of their great burden, and oppression of the Spaniardes, so they would deliuer hym. xxx. M. ducates, for the wages of the souldiers that he had brought with hym, which wishe was thought to have happened to hym at Rome, for breakyng of his promes: for after he had received the money for a little space the Millainers wer in good quiet, but shortly after, they wer worse then afore, in so muche as some substantiall men for feare of their liues, hanged themselves.

Whë the Milaners hard how the citie of Lawde was taken, and the Spaniardes put out, they thought that. v. M. Spaniardes and. iii. M. Almaines, and no great number of horse-men, byeng without wages and vitaile, could not defende so great a citye long, against the whole power of the prunes confederate. While the power of y confederates, were slowly comynge to Millain ward, the duke and his compaignie lacked victaile, wherfore of necessity, when they sawe the watchc negligently kept, they sent out of the castel. C.C. men, whiche

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THE. XVIIJ. YERE OF

with strength passed the siege, and came to the armie of the confederates, and shewed them in what case the castle was in, whiche bad them bee of a good chere, and so they marched forwarde vnder a gate of Millain, called Rome gate, and Ihon de Medices whiche led the forward, shot sixe gonne at a tower to have overthrown the same, and so to have entered in by that waie. The Emperors men came to the place, and not onely defended the same, but valiantly set forward to fight with their enemies, and skirmished with them very sore. The Italians sayng that the Spaniards wer so fierce, thought it not best to fight with them, but to tary till the Swysses were come, and then they thought theselles sure of victorie: and so with shame inough, they returned to Melgia.

After this returne the imperiales fortifed the citee in many places. The duke of Millein seyng that he lacked victalles, and that his succors had failed him, send to the duke of Burbon worde that he would deliuer the castle so that he should be bound to no farther inconuenience: so thei agreed that he and his, should have their bagge and baggage, and should haue the citee of Come for his abode till he wer tried of themperor of the accusacions against hym alleged: vpon whiche condicion he yelded the castle, & went directly to tharmy of the confederates. And after they went to Come, according to his appoyntment: but the Spaniardes whiche kepte the toune, would not suffre hym to entre, wherefore of necessitie he was compelled to returne, to tharmy of the confederates, & there became enemie to themperors meny. At this Sommer tharmie of Italy gat nothing, but the citee of Lawde, and thei durste not fight with the Spanyardes, wherfore they went & besieged Cremona, int he whiche wer. i. M. Almaines, and. v. C. Spanyardes. All the Swisses and. viii. M. of the Popes men & all the horsemen of Malatesta, wer sent to the siege, wherof was capitain & said Malatesta Ballio Perusine, whiche as he would have entered the castle was slain, and i. M. men and more of his bende: wherfore the duke of Vrbyne, and the whole army of the Venecians wer sent for, whiche made so greate a number, and had suche ordinance that they within began to treate, and by appoyntment deliuered the citee.

After this the whole army of the Italians or confederates, determined clerely to besiege Millain, but sodainly the bishop of Rome sent for his armie (for what cause you shall here after) and also they hard say, that George Fronsberge a valiant capitain an Almain, which served theperor in his last warres: was comyng with. xiii. M. Lancenknights, which wer paied their wages afore hand, for. iii. monethes to aide themperors part. When the confederate army hard this, thei wer astonied, and durst not enterprise the siege, but at a certain Abbay, two mile fro the citee of Millain they made a fortification for. iii. M. footmen, and five hundred horsemen, to lye surely all wynter, to suffre no recourse to come to the citee, which citee was all this Somer season well fortifed and victailed.

After the Popes armie was departed at Cremona, as you have hard, there came to tharmy of the confederates, Michael Anthonio Marques of Saluce, as capitain generall for the Frêche kyng, and brought with hym. iii. M. Gascons, and. v. C. men of armes, and. xv. C. light horses, according to the league. Then this whole army hearyng that Almaines were commyng forward with great ordinance, and a great number of horsmen and had passed the straighte of the montaignes marge the Venecians, and that Conradine Lepontine, whiche had deliuered vp Cremona with. i. M. Almaines, was ioyned with capitain George. Wherfore thempery of the confederates wer well informed of this greate armie, that was comyng toward Millain, the capitaines clerely determined to mete with the, and by battaill or other wise, to let them from passing the rimer of Poo, or to ioyne with themperors armie, wherfore they marched forwarde, and founde that the Almaines were come into the territories of Mantua: then the duke of Vrbyne, & Ihon de Medices cosin to the Pope thought to wery the Almaines with light skirmishes, but Ihon de Medices skirmished so nere tharmie, to get him a name aboue other, that he was hit with a gonne, and so shortly died. Then the Almaines came to Florenciola and there toke counsaill, & thought it not best to soorne all wynter in the Duchie of Millain, because all thynge there was scace, by reason of the continuall warres: wherefore they determined
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

mined to take the Popes tounes, as author of all the mischief and warre, and surely they had taken the toune of Plesance, if tharmic of the confederates had not strongly, bothe with men and artillery, fortified the toune.

While all these thynges were a doyng, there continued a greate hatered betwene the bishop of Rome, & the noble famely of Colume in Rome all whiche famely was Imperial, in so muche that the bishop saied to Pompey Cardinal of Colume, that he would take awaie his Cardinalles hat, and another answered if he did so, that he would put on a helmet to overthrowe his thre crownes. When this malice had long continued, the bishop of Rome began to lacke money, to maintein his warres, and sore he fered the Columes his domestical enemies, & so of his awne mone begun to breake the matter with Ascayn Colume, some to Prosper de Columna, in name of the whole blood of the Columes, saiyng: that it were more convenient for both parties to agree, then to abide the chance of battaill, to the whiche they bothe were parties (for the Columes had men of warre in themperors battaill, as the bishop had in tharmy of the confederates) then every due to retain souldiers at home eche for feare of other to their great charges and losse. Ascume hearyng this saied he would speake with his kyndred, and so did: and this communicacion had take effect, and Hugo de Moncado had not been. For this Hugo was a little before sent from themperor to the Pope, with certain articles to ccliffe a peace, to the whiche the Pope would not agre, saiyng he came to late, & when he sawe the bishops proude answer, & perceiued him enemie to his master, he then sought an occasion to oppresse the bishop & his power, and so moved the Cardinal of Colume, and Ascain Colume, to invade Rome with a sodain fraie, & to take Pope Clement or he wer ware.

They bemyng glad to plese themperor, gathered secretly. ii. M. souldiers, and entered Rome with suche speede, that they wer at s. Ihon Laterece nere to the Popes Palace, or any man spied theim, then began a cri, the Cardinal of Colume cometh with a great power. The Pope thankyng it to late to sende for aide, fled by a secret vayte to the castle Angell, and with hym fled Cardinalles, Bishoppes, & other of his palace to a great number, so that there was not victaile enough, for theim all. The bishop Clement sawe that shortly he and they, should be famished in the castle, sent to Hugo de Moncado, whiche had declared that he was thauctor of this act, not mindyng to hurt the Pope, but to make hym themperors frend, or els to cause hym to sucesse, for doyng themperor any damage, and to the said Hugo he offered, to kepe peace with the Emperor and his confederates for four monethes, & in the meane season to treat a peace, and also to call his armie again over the Poo, and for the performance of this he deliuered to the Columes good hostage, and returned his armie from Cremona, as you have hard before, and so he was deliuered at large: Now will I leane the Emperors armie lying in Italy, and speake of a greate mischief that fell in Hungary.

The greate Turke Sultan Soliman Pac, hearyng of the strief and warre that was betwene Christen princes, imagineth that his tyane was come to do some great act in Christendo, wherefore he assembled a puissant armie of C. xx. M. men, and entered into Hungary, sore destroying the country. Whereof hearyng Lewes kyng of Hungary, a courgious knight of xxvi. yere of age, with a small number marched forward in June, and was on the great army of the Turkes or he wist, and so with good corage ioyned battaill, but he was oppressed with multitude, and was compelled to flye into a marreis, where he horse & man were drowned and many other with hym, his body was found after & buried. The saying was that he was betraied, by an Erle of his awne, called Ihon de Voad, & so it was likely, for the Turke afterwards made hym kyng of Hungary, but he enjoyed but one part of it called Trasiluvia: for Fernando themperors brother, whiche had maried the sister & heire of kyng Lewes & was slain, kept the chief part of Hungary. The greate Turke hymself was not at the fight, but when he hard that the kyng was slain, he rejoysed muche, & spoyled the countrey & brought many a Christian soule into capituitive to Turkey. Of this victory he wrought to the Venicians, as to his frendes, whiche letter was red openly in Venice, before Doctor Pace l Ambassador
Ambassador there for the kyng of England, but whether they were joyous or sorrowfull of the tidynges, I cannot well tell you.

This somer was great grudge against merchant strangers in Lódon in somuch y if y matter had not been well pacified, much business might haue folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, ther was an act made in the. iii. yere of king Henry, y no stranger should bring in no wine nor woade in an aliens ship: so that thenglishmen after y went to Tholose, and brought much woade to London, & serued all the clothiers repairing to London: & now in this yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the strangers had license to bring in woade in strangers bottomes, so that all Lódon was ful of their woade, & also they sent their woade into the countrey, so y thenglishmens woade in Londó lay vnboUGHT: wherfore sir Ihô Alen knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of strangers, which wer the chief merchants of all. & shewed unto the what gaine they had gotten in the citee, by reason wherof they should anuunce the citee, & not hurt it, wherfore he willed the to sel their woade to the merchâtes of Lódon, & they should be paied in continent, & not to resort to other places in the countrey with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The strangers proudly answered the Maior, y thei would seke euery place for their anuitage, & so inmocking maner departed. The Maior perceuung y called a cômen counsaill in the moneth of August, and there were many billes laied against the strangers, & at last it was enacted, that no citezen nor freman, should bye nor sell in no place, nor exchage nor meddle with certain strangers called Anthony Bonnice, Laurence Bôuice, Anthony Vjuald, Anthony Cauuler, Frâces de Bard, Thomas Caluceant, and a great sort mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie with them, contrary to this acte he should lose his fredome, and libertie in the citee of London: by whiche acte the strangers wer so bridede, that they came to a reasonable poynct and conclusion.

In this season the angel noble was just the sixt part of an one Troy so y sixe angels were just an ounce, which was xl. s. sterlyng, & the Angel was worth. ii. ounces of siluer, 20 y sixe Angels were. xii. ounces, whiche was but xl. s. in siluer: but in Flaunder, Brabant, and Zeland, the Angel was worth. vii. s. iii. d. so y merchants daily caried ouer much money, to the great hinderance of the merchandise of this realme, for moste men caried gold, & when it was there, it was lose in euery noble. viii. d. to bryng it hether again: & when thenglishmen spake to the rulers there, to leave thenhauncement of the kynges coyne, thei laughed the to skorne. The kyng & his counsaill perceived to what end this enhauencement in Flâuders, if wer not met with shortly, would bryng y riches of this realme: wherfore in the moneth of September, he by Proclamacion, enhauenced the Angell to. vii. s. iii. d. and the Royal to. xi. s. and the crowne to. iii. s. and. iii. d. and this Proclamacion was made through all Englund: and to bryng out of Flaunder the great nober of Englishis golde which was there, the kyng by Proclamacion again the fift day of Novermber, enhauenced the Angell to. vii. s. vi. d. and so euery ounce of gold should be. xlv. s. and that an ounce of siluer should be. iii. s. ix. d. in value.

This yere on Michaelmas euenc, Thomas Hynd whiche was chosen shrife before, was called to take his oth, but he made daulaute, wherefore one Simô Rice was chose which refused, then was one George Robinson Mercer chosen, whiche take his oth not to be able. The cómons wer in such a fury y they sware y thei would haue a Mercer. Master Nicholas Lâbert an Alderman & Gröcer, which had a dispensacion for y shriualtie for y yere sying this discord, said to the cómôs, masters, although my tyne bee not come, yet to appease your si蕨f, if you will chose me, I will take it, & so he was chosen with great thankes. In this season a sodain rumor begá in Spain, y themperor would haue war with kyng of England, wherof hearyng thenglish merchants, which lay in Spain at diverse portes, concluded to sende to doctor Edward Lee Ambassador for the kyng of England in theperors court to knowe y certentric, which gently answered the, that he trusted y there was no such cause, of y which they should be aferd, for the kyng his master & temperor, wer yet in perfite loue & amitie, and farther he sent
sent them worde, ſe the kyng of Englād was not entered into the league of Italy with the con-
dederates, as they would hau e hym, for he laboreth to make a vniversall peace, whiche he
could not conueniently do, if he were protector or a cōtractor in ſe league, this answere he
sent to them from Granado, the. v. daie of September.
In the moneth of December, the kyng kept a solemnpe Christmas, at his manor of Grene-
wiche with great plētie of victale, Renels, Maskes, disguysynges, and bankettes: and the
xxx. daie of December, was an enterprise of Iustes made at the tille by sīxe gentlemen, against
all cōmers, which valiantly furnished the same, bothe with spere and sworde, and like Iustes
were kept the third daie of January, where were. CCC. speres broken. That same night, the
kyng and many young gentlemen with hym came to Bridewell, & there put hym, and.
xxv. other, all in Maskyny apparell, and then toke his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinalles
place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lorde and ladies, and then the Mask
kers daicd, & made goody pastyme, and whē they had well danced, the Ladies plucked
away their visors, & so they were all known, and to the kyng was made a great bānket.
The xiii. daie of January came to the court, Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man
borne in Spain, of a noble famely, this persone was set as Ambassador from the Emperor,
to the kyng of England with large commissiion, for the Empireor put it to the kyng of Eng
landes determinacion, whether his demandes whiche he required of the Frenche Kyng,
were reasonable or not, and for the declaracion thereof, and for to knowe the kyng of Eng
landes request and entretaiynce concerning the peace, was this noble man sent into Englande,
whiche many tymes consulted with the kyng and his counsaill, and he taried here two
yerses full.
This Christmas was a goody disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for
the moste part, by master I(on Roo seriant at the law. xx. yere past, and long before the
Cardinal had any authoritie, the efecte of the plaie was, that lord governace was ruled
by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgovernace and euill order, lady Publike wele
was put from governace: whiche caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdaine of
wanton souereinghetie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion,
and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth
with riche and costly apparel, with strange duniys of Maskes & Morrishes that it was highly
praised of all menne, saynyng of the Cardinal, whiche imagined that the plaie had been di
uised of hym, & in a greate furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe,
and sent hym to the Flete, & after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie,
and them highly rebucked and threatening, & sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of
Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he wer deliverd at last.
This plaie sere displeased the Cardinal, and yet it was never meante to hym as you haue
harde, wherfore many wise men grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and ever the Car
dinal saied that the kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself.
In this yere the second day of Marche wer received to London, with a great compaingie
of noble men, the bishop of Tarbe, Frances viscount of Toraim, & master Anthony Vescy,
seced president of Paris, as Ambassdors from the Frenche kyng, & so brought through
London to the Tailors hall and there lodged, and afterward wer convoyed to Grenewiche
to the kyng, where thei were right hartely entertained, & after their letters red & their re
questes hard, they departed for a season to London.
On shroutetewesdaie, the kyng hymself, in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashione
that had not been seen, and with hym, viii. gentlemen all in cloth of golde of one suite,
embrodered with knottes of siluer, and the Marques of Excester, and. viii. with hym in
hewe veluet and white saten, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the
tilte, & there ran many Freshe courses, till. ce. lxxvi. speres wer broken, and then they
disarmed and wet to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costly bānket.
The Frēche Ambassdors hauing their recourse to the kyng and his counsaill, muche
labored to hau e in marriage the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng, and after long counselor
that.
that matter was put in suspicion because the President of Paris, doubted whether the marriage between the king & her mother, being his brothers wife, were good or no: of this first motion grew much business or it were ended, as you shall here, afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demand, for they said that she was heir apparent to her father, and if he should dye, they would have no Frenchmen to be king of England, and thus the common people spoke, as their myndes served them.

While the French Ambassadors lay in London, it happened one evening as they were coming from the black Friars, from supper to the Tailors hall, two boyes were in a gutter castnyng doune ribishes, which the raine had driven there, and vieware hit a lackey belonging to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothyng, for scantily touched it this cote, but the French lords took the matter highly, as a thyng done in dispite, and sent wordes to the Cardinal, whiche byng to hastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimer knight, lord Mayor of the citie, and in all hast commaundd hym vpon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children and seruauntes of the house, and theim to imprison, till he knew farther of the kynges pleasure, and that the ii. boyes apprentices should be sent to the Tower, whiche commaundement was accomplished without any favor: For the man and his wife, and seruauntes, wer kept in the Counter till the sixt daie of Mai, which was six wekes ful, and their neighbours of gentlenes kepeth their house in the meane tyme, and one of the appretices died in the Tower, and the other was almoste lame: of the crueltie of the Cardinal, & of the pride of the Frenchmen, muche people spake, and would have been revenged on the Frenchmen, if wisemen in the citie had not appeased it with faire wordes.

On the. iiiii. daie of Marche wer conceived from Lond to Grenewiche, by therle of Rutlande and other, the lorde Gabriele de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, Ibon Burgrane of Siluerberge, and Ibon Faber a famous clerke after bishop of Vien, as Ambassadors fro Don Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elected kyng of Hungary and Beane, after the death of his brother in lawe kyng Lewis, which was slain by the Turk the last Sommer, as you have hard before: this compaignue was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kynges presence, all the nobilitie beyng present, and there after great reverence made, the said Clerke Master Faber made a notable Oracion, takynge his ground of the Gospell, Exit seminare semen suum, and of that he declared how Christe and his disciples went furthe to sowe, and how their sowe was good that fell into the good ground, and brought furthe good fruite, whiche was the Christen faith: and then he declared how contrary to that sowynge, Machomete had sowen seede, whiche brought furth the euil sowe, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue encresed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued even to that daye: he declared farther what actes § great Turk then lyuing had done, and in especial he noted the getting of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungary, to the great rebuke (as he said) of al the kynges christened: he set furth also what power the Turk had, what diversities of copanies, what armure, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marueldous great number of people, he could not be overthowe. Wherfore he moste humbly beseeched the king, as saint Georges knight and defender of the faith, to assist the kyng his Master, in that Godly warre and verteous purpose. To this oracion the kyng, by the mouth of sir Thomas More answered that muche he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres, whiche were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turk would not haue enterprised that acte, wherfore he with all his studie would take pain, first, to set an vnite and peace throughout all Christendom, and after that he bothe with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, as muche as any other prince in Christendom. After this done the Ambassadors were well cherished, and diverse tymes resorted to the Courte, and had greate chere and good rewards, and so the third daie of Mai next ensuing, they toke their leave and departed homeward.

This
KYNG HENRY THE VII.

This season the fame went, that themperor had written to the French kyng admonishing hym to regarde his othe and promes toward God, and his honor and fame toward the worlde, alleging that if he kept his promise towarde hym, that he should finde hym suche a frende, that all France should rejoyse of it, & if he would not kepe his former promes, whiche he made and swere at Madrill, he toke God to witnesses, that he would never leave the warre, til fire and sworde had brought hym to accomplishe his promes, or els to drive hym out of his realme & dominioes with strength and puissance, which letter the French kyng nothynge regarded sayynge that the Emperoure the nexte yere should haue warre inough.

The fame went and letters came to London, that the Emperoures army in Italy the xii. day of Aprill had met with the Venicians as they were goyng homeward, and that betwene them there was a cruell fyght & by fyne force the Venicians were put to flyght, & no maruell if the Venicians answere, for they say that by cause ther was a peace concluded for six monethes betwene the byshop of Rome, and Hugo Demountcado, and that the viceroy of Naples was come to Rome to conferme the same truce, therfore they sent their ordinance and harnes and loked for no war, but onely taried together till they were payed there wages and so vnprouided they were set on and ouercome.

In the end of this yere the people were sore troubled with pouertye for the great paymente of money that were past, and also in wynter in the seade season fell such aboundans of rayne in Septembre, Nouembre & Decembre, and on the xvi. daie of Januier fell suche a great rayne that there of ensued greate fluddes whiche distroyed corne, fieldes, and pastures: and drowned many shpe and beastes: then was it dry tyll the xii. day of Aprill and from thence it rayned euerie day or nyght tyll the third day of June, and in May it rayned. xxx. houres contynually with out ceasyng whiche caused great fluddes and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yere as you shall perceiue hereafter.

THE XIX. YERE.

Thomas a bill was set vp in Londô muche contrary to the honor of the Cardinall, in the whiche the Cardinall was warned that he should not counsaile the king to mary his daughter into France, for if he did he should shewe hym selve enemy to the kyng and the Realme, with many thretenynge wordes: this bill was delivered to the Cardinal by sir Thomas Seimer Maior of the citie, which thanked him for thesame, & made much serche for the author of that bill, but he could not be founde, whiche sore displeased the Cardinal, & vpô this occasiô the last day of Aprill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster & had there cart gounes ready charged & caused diuerse watches to be kept about Londô in Newington. S. Iones strete, Westminster. S. Giles, Iseldon, & other places nere Lôdon, which watches were kep by gentelmen & their seruantes, with householderes & all for feare of ly Lôdoners because of this bill. Whiche citizes knew of this, they saied that they marueilled why the Cardinal hated the so for they saied that if he mistrusted the, he loved not them, & where love is not, there is hatred, & they affirmed that they never entred no harme toward him, & used of this chaunce, for if v. or. vi. lewd persons had made Alarame in the citie, the had etred all these watche me with there trayne which might have spoiled the citie without, wherfore they much murmured against the Cardinall & his vndiscrète doinges.

Sonday the fift daye of Maye was a solempne Masse song at Grenewiche the Cardinall and the Archibishop of Canterbury with x. prelates mitered byeng present, and there the Frenche Ambassadors, in the name of the Frêche kyng there Master, swere to observethe peace & league concluded betwene the for the termine of two princes liues, & there opely the bishop of Terby gave to the kyng harte thakes for the great favor he shewed to the kyng his master, in the tyme of his visitacion (as he called it) that is to wete when he was in

prisô,
THE. XIX. YERE OF

prisō, for he said the kyng by his mercy had conquered the whole harte of the realme which he could not do by strēgh. Thebassadours also desired as you haue barde, the mariage of the lady Mary for the duke of Orleance. ii. sonne to the French Kyng. Some said she was mete for him self: but many a man marueleth why she was denyed for the seco̓d sonne, sayng that in the. x. yere of this kyng it was concluded that she should mary the Dolphin beyng the first sonne: but this demand was not concluded nor answered but deferred because of her tondre age, tyll another time. For the more enterentinyng of the French ambassadors the king caused a solēpne lustes to be done by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Iernyngham, sir Anthony Bromere, and Nicholas Haruy, the valiant esquier as challengers: whiche were appareled in bases and barded all of one suite, the right side was ryche tyssue embraundered with a compasse or roundell of blace velvet and in the compas a right hand holding a sworde, and about the sword were pennes and peces of money of divers coynes, all embrawdered, vnder the hand was embraundered Loialte, and on that side of the bard was written in embraundry, Bi pen, pain nor treasour, truth shall not be violated. The otherside of the bases and barded were of cloth of gold and cloth of siluer. When these four challengers were come to the tilt, then entered the Marques of Exceter and. xiii. with hym all armed and barded and bazed of one suit: that is to saie, the right sides cloth of golde cut in cloudes engryaled with Damaske golde, the otherside cloth of siluer set with mountaynes full of Oliue branches, made of gold all mouyng. These men of armes ranne many a faire course with little missyng, for with in twoo hours and a half, notwithstanding that yt rained apace, they bake. iii. hundredth spers at the least, and when nyght approched they disarmed and went to the courte.

The kyng agaynst that night had caused a banket house to bee made on the one syde of the tylyt yarde at Grenewyche of an honrable foote of length and. xxx. foote breoth, the roofe was purple cloth ful of roses and Pogramnettes, the wyndowes, wer all clere stories with curious monnecles strangely wrought, the Iawe peces and creastes were karned wyth Vinettes and trouyles of sausage worke, and richely gilt with gold and Bise, thys worke corbolyng bare the candelstykkes of antyke woorkhe whiche bare little torchettes of white waxe, these candelsticke were polished lyke Aumbre: at the one syde was a haute place for herawides and minstrelles: this house was richely hanged and therin was raised a cupbord of seuen stages high and. xiii. foote long, set with standyng cuppes Bolles, Flaggons and greate pottes all of fyne golde: some garnyshed with one stone and some with other stones and perles, on the other side was another Cupbord of. ix. stages high, set full of high pottes, flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of siluer and gilde, so high and so brode that it was maruaile to beholde: at the nether ende were two broade arches vpon thre Antike pillers all of gold, burnished swaged and granen full of Gargils and Serpentes, supporting the edifices the Arches were waueted with Armorie, all of Bice and golde, & above the Arches were made many sondri Antikes & diuises: In this chamber, was three ewry bordes, one for the kyng, another for the quene, & the third for the princes: the first bourd had. ix. greate ewers, and basins all gilt, and playne, the seconde bourd had seaven greate gilt basins chased, & thre paire of couered basyns, chased all gilt with Cuppes of assaie, they were so great that every Lorde grudged to bear them: the third ewery had. ix. basyns and two payre of coueryd Basines, and cuppes of assaie, this ewery was all of gold, & the Basins were so massye that thei troubled sore the bearers: The hole supper was served in vell of golde: to rehearse the fare, the straungenes of dishes, with diuises of beasts & fowles it were to long, wherefore I will let passe over the supper with songs & minstrelse. Whe supper was done, the kyng, the quene and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre by the forsaied Arches & when they were betwene the vtermoste dore and the Arches the kyng caused them to turne backe & loke on that syde of the Arches, and there they sawe how Tywryn was beseaged, and the very maner of every mans camp, very connyngly wrought, whiche worke more pleased them the the rememberring of the thing in dede. From thens they passed by a long galerie richely hanged
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

hanged into a chambre faire & large the dore whereof was made with masonrie, embatayled with Jasper, and within that a porche with a tipe, and crokettes gilt, this chambre was raised with stages. v. degrees on evry syde, & rayled & couerred bore by pillars of Azure, full of starres & flower delice of golde, evry pillar had at the toppe a basin siluer, wherein stode greate braunches of white waxe, the degrees were all of Marble color, and the railles like white marble: in the midst of this Chamber, was a gate, the Arches whereof stretched from side to side, this Arche was figured masonrie on water tables with haunches receyning pillers wrapped, beyng Dormants Antique, & over the gate stode the pictures of Hercules, Scipio, Tullius, Pompei & such other coquerours, the ventes and embowes were of very strange worke, with leaues, balles, & other garnishinges, all golde, and in the hole arche was nothing but fine Bice & golde, the rofe of this chambre was conninglie made by the kynges Astraonimier, for on the ground of the rofe, was made the hole earth environed with the Sea, like a very Mappe or Carte, and by a conning makyng of another cloth, the zodiacke with the xii. Signes, and the fine circles or girdelles and the two poles apere on the earth and water compassing the same, and in the zodiak were the twelue signes, curiouslie made, and aboue this were made the seven planettes, as Mars, Jupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, euery one in their proper houses made according to their properties, that it was a connyng thing and a pleasant syght to beholde.

When the kyng and the quene, were set vnder their clothes of estate which were rich and goodly, and the ambassadours set on the righte side of the chambre, then entred a person clothed in cloth of golde, and ouer that a mantell of blew silke, full of eyes of golde, and ouer his hed a cap of gold, with a garland of Laurell set with beries of fyne gold, this person made a solemne Oraciō, in the Latin tongue, declarlyng what joye was to the people of both the realmes of England and Fraunce, to here and knowe the great loue, league, and amitie, that was betwene the two kynges of the same Realmes geyng greate praise to the kyng of England for graunting of peace, and also to the Frenche kyng for sayng for thesame, and also to the Cardinal for beyng a mediator in thesame: and when he had doen, then entred eight of the kynges Chappel with a song and brought with them one richly appareled: and in likewise at the other side, entred eight other of the said Chappel bryngyng with them another persone, likewise appareled, these two persones plaied a dialog theflect whereof was whether riches were better the loue, and when they could not agree vpon a conclusion, ech e called in thre knightes, all armed, thre of thern woulde have entred the gate of the Arche in the middel of the chambre, & the other iii. resisted, & sodelie betwene the six knightes, out of the Arche fell doune a bar all golte, at the whiche barre the six knightes fought a fair battall, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place: then came in an olde man with a siluer berd, and he concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by loue to be obedied and serued, and with riches to rewarde his louers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.

The at f ether ende, by lettynge doune of a courtaine, apere a goodly mount, wallled with towers and vamures al gitle, with all thinges necessarie for a forrestse, & all the mount was set ful of Christal coralles, & rich rockes of rubie carrously contemfited & full of roses & pomgranates as though they growe: on this roke sat eight Lorde appareled in cloth of Tissue & siluer cut in quater foyles, the gold engrailed with siluer, and the siluer with gold, al loose on white satin, and on ther heddes cappes of blake velvet set with perl and stone, they had also mantelles of blake saten: and then they sodelie descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and danced dinaers daunces.

The out of a cave issued out the ladie Mary daughter to the kyng & with her seuen ladies, all appareled after the Romayne fashion in riche cloth of golde of tissue & Crimosi tinsel bendy & their heres wrapped in calles of golde with bonetes of Crimosin veluet on their heddes, set full of pearle and stone: these eight Ladys daunced with the eight Lordes of the mounte, and as thei daunced, sodelie entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of siluer and blakke tinsell satin, and whodes on their heddes with tippetes of cloth of golde, and...
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there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iseland, and these persones had visers with slyuer berdes, so that they were not knowne; these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunsed lustily about the place.

Then sodenely the kyng and the viscount of Torayne were conuighed out of the place into a chamble thereby, & there quicklie they. ii. and six other in maskyng apparel of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, log, & large, after the Venicians fashiô & ouer theire great robes, & there faces were visard w bearded of gold: than-with minstrelsie these. viii. noble personages entred and daunsed long with the ladies, and when they had daunsed there fall. then the queene plucked of the kynges visar, & so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, & then all were knowé: the the kyng gane to the viscuot of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware & also the apparel that the viscount hym self masked in, which were very riche, for the whiche he thanked hym.

Then the kyng, queene and the ambassadours, returned to the banquet chamber, where they found a banquet ready set on the borde, of so many & maruelous dishes, that it was wonder to se, then the kyng sat doune and there was io, myrth and melody: and after that all was doen the kyng and all other went to rest, for the night was spent, and the day even at the breakyng.

The morowe after the ambassadours toke there leave of the kyng, and had great rewardes gueuen them and so came to London, and there rested two dayes and so departed in hast homeward.

These two houses with Cupboardes, hygynges, and all other thinges the kyng commandéd should stand still, for three or foure daies, that al honest persones might see and beholde the houses & riches, and thether came a great nombre of people, to see & behold ÿ riches & costely devices.

After that the ambassadors of Fraunce were departed the kyng set an other ambassade into Fraunce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyn knyght, viscout of Rochforth, and Sir Anthony Broune knyght, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bathe, whiche lay in Fraunce as ambassadour for the kyng of Englad, and then these thre went to the court and saw the Frenche kyng in persone swere to kepe the league & amitie concluded betwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and there they had great cheere and maskes shewed unto them, but little rewardes were gueuen, & so ÿ viscount Rochforth returned into Englad & so did the bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauyng sir Anthony Broûe beînd for a liger.

In this moneth of Maie ÿ. x. day the kyng sent sir Frances Poynes knyght, as ÿbassadour frô ÿ kyng of Englad, to Charles themperor & with him he set Clareseaux, king of armes, to demaund the one halfe of the treasur & ordinaciuhe which was také at Pania, for somuch as that war, was made as well at the kyngyes charge, as themepors charge: he demaunded also the duke of Orleáuce, to be deliuered to him, & also it was demaundd that themepour shuld deliuer ÿ bishop of Rome which was také this moneth as you shall here, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, and if he refused to do any of these pointes, then Clareseaux in the kynges name of Englande should make to him defauance.

When it was knowen that warr was like to be betwene the Emperour and the kyng of England, the commons of England sore lamentedy the chaunte, for all merchandise were strayned to passe in to any of themepors dominiós, & the marchaûtes wer desired by the Cardinal to kepe ther martes at Caleis, to the which in no wise thei would assent.

This same moneth the kyng sent two fayre shippes, well manned, and vitalled, hauing in them diuers connyng men, to seke strange regions: and so furth thei set, out of the Thamis, the twente day of May, if they sped well you shall here at their retorne.

The xxii. day of May cam in post to the kyng out of Fraunce the bishop of Tarbie, which was here in the beginnyng of this moneth, this bishop brought to the kyng of England, the articles which the Frenche kyng now offered to the Emperour, which wer contrarie to the articles sworne at Madryll in the xvii. yere of the kyng, and farther he moued the kyng of Englande to be enemy to themepour, which request (as all men say) was mucho
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

muche furthered by the Cardinall, because of the warre in Italic, betwene the Pope & theperour: this bishop made short tariaung with the kyng, for in post againe he returned to Paris, to sir Frances Poynes, & Claréseaux, whiche taried ther for him, & so they all toke ther Iornay toward Spayne.

Now will I retire to the duke of Burbo, and themperours armie, which all the last winter liued ingreat pouerice, with out clothes, victaile or wages, so that they wer in maner desperat, & so went toward Parme & Bononie, belonging to the Sea of Rome. The bishop of Rome hearyng this set a messenger to the duke to redeeme the Popes townes, so that they sholde not be spoyled nor hurte: the duke and the capitaine axed thre hundred & fiftie thousaad Duchates, for sauyng of the Popes lad, & if thei might haue so much money, thei would depart to Naples: but when thei sawe that thei could haue no money, they with all spede turned toward Florence the. xxi. of Aprill, whereof hearyng the Romaines thei wer glad, for thei thought that the Florentines wold hold good warwith them, & the Pope & the Romanes woulde geue the lokyng on: but thechaise turned, as you shall here after.

For a suertie the duke of Burbon thought to haue gon to Florence for this cause, for ther was a gentlemi in Florence called Peter de saluiata which had a brother that serued themperor in his warres, which promised to deliuer the citie, for he determined to cause the commons to rebell in the citie against the leddes, & in the meane seasod the dukes company shulde scale the walles: whi this Peter knew the themperours armie was come to a place called Le Chase, within twelve myle of the Citie, to bryng his purpose to a conclusyon, he with suche as he had trayned to him, cryed in the Citie: Libertate de populo, that is in English Lybertie of the people: with which voyce the people styred and came to the Palace in great nombre, and where they tooke the vi. Lordes of the counsell which had the rule of the Publyke welthe of the Citie (as they call it) and slew one of them: The Familie of Medices, whiche were the Popes kyured, were at this tyme sore afraid. Thus this Peter de Saluiota, with the Commons gate the Palace and rang the comen bell. In this season was in Florence a Capitayn of the Frenche kynges called Frederico de Bodso, he had with hym. iii. C. men: and when he saw this rebellyon, he came to the Commons and sayde: Syrs, if you continew in this case, your fayre Citie is lyke to be subtuered, for your enemys be at hande: which notwithstandsinge that you heare some favoure to themperour as appeareth, yet their nedinesse and pouerice is soch, that without mercy thei will robbe, murder and sley you, your wyfes & chylde, and sette fyer on your beautifull Citie.

This Capitayn moche steyed the Citie, notwithstanding that. xx. or more personnes were sleyne in the fuffle, yet they were well awayed, and sodayly entered into the Citie the Duke of Vrbyme, which lay but. vi. myle from Florence, and. xviii. myle from themperours armie whom he had coasted, but he thought no aduaunctage to medle. This Duke brought with hym, v. M. footemen, and. vi. C. horsemen, and when he was entered the Citie, a crye was made that all thye was pardoned, so that eny man departed home and deluyuered his weapon, which was dooen: and thus the Citie was appeased, the. xxviii. day of Apryll.

All this doynge within the Citie was vnknowne to themperours armie, for it was begunne and ended in. iii. or. v. houres, and so for lacke of knowledge, this enterprise was lost, which was happye for the Florentyenes. Sore displeased were themperours Capitaynes when they knew of this chancie, and also how the Duke of Vrbyme was entered into the Citie of Florence for their defence, but they could not doo with all. And so shortly thei departed and came to the Citie of Seynes. xxx. myle of, and there they lost their great ordynance, and tooke counsell to go to Rome (notwithstanding the trewe conclued betwene the Pope and the Viceroy of Naples, & Hugo de Moncada, as you haue hearde) and so moche they traneyled by nyghtes and dayes, commonly passyng. xl. myle, day and nyght. (Their good wyll was soche) that the vi. daye of May, with banneurs displayed, they came before the Citie of Rome beyng saturdaye the same day: and sonday the Romaynes made Bul-
warke, Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordynaunce on the walles, and shot at them without fearely.

The Duke of Bourbon determineth that it were not best to lyse styll without, and be slayne with ordynaunce, consideryng that they were all naked people, and without great ordynaunce: wherefoe he determined to take the chaunce & to geue the assaute, & so manfully they approch the walles betwene the Burgo nouo & olde Rome. But the Romayns valiantly defended them with handgonnes, pykes, stones, & other weapons, so that the enemies were fayne to retreyte. Then the Romaynes were glad, & sette many faire banners on their Towers & Bulwarke, and made great showtes: Which seeynge the Duke of Bourbon cryed to a new assaute. Then the Drumsldases blew, & euery man with a ladder mounted: & at the fyrst encounter, agayn the Romayns put them a lytel backe: Which perceiuing, the duke of Burbō cryed: God & themperour. Then euery man manfully sette on, there was a sore fyght, many an arrow shot, & many a man felled: but at the last the Emperorus men gotte the wall: & betwene euery assaute fell a myst, so that they within coulde not see what parte they without would assaile, which was profitable to themperours partie: At the three assautes were sleyne. iii. C. Swyshes of the Popes Garde. In this last assaute was the Duke of Bourbon sryken in the thighb with a handgone, of the which he shortly dyed in a chapell of s. Syst, wherby his Souldiers had brought hym, And this chaunce notwithstanding the Armys entered into Rome, & toke the Popes Palace & set vp themperours Armes. The same day that these three assautes were made, Pope Clement passed lytell on the Emperorus Armys: for he had accusred them on the saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almaynes Lutheranes, & the Spaniards Murrenyes or more: and when he was hearyng of masse, sodeinly the Almaynes entered the Churche, & sleye his Garde & dyuerse other. He seeynge that, fled in all haste by a preuye way to the Castell s. Angell: & al they that followed hym that way & coulde not entre, were sleyne, and if he in that fury had ben taken, he had ben slyne. The Cardinals & other prelates fled to the castel of s. Angel, over the bridge, where many of the commen people were overpressed and drowned as they gae way to the Cardinalles & other estates that passed toward the castell for succour.

The Cardinall of Sene, of Sesaryne, of Tudertine, of Jacobace & of the Valle, taryed so long, that they coulde not get to the castell for multitude of people: wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the Palace of s. George, where they kepethymselfe for a whylle, as secreety as they myght. You must understand, that thorough the Citty of Rome, runneth a famous Ryuer, called Tyber: and on the one syde of the Ryuer standeth the Castell s. Angell, or the Borough of s. Angell: & the other side is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Bridge of Syxte, which lyth directly before the Castell. At the ende of this Brydge was a wonderous strong Bulwarke, well Ordinamend & well manned. The Emperorus men saw that they coulde doo nothyng to the Pope nor to that parte of the Citty but by the bridge, determineth to assaute the Bulwarke: & so as men without feare, came on the bridge: & the Romayns so well defended them, that they sleye almost. iii. M. men. That seeynge the Prince of Orenge & the Marques of Guasto, with all spede gaue assaute, and notwithstanding that the Romaynes shot great ordynaunces, handgonnes quarrels, & all that myght be shot: yet the Imperiall persons neuer shranked, but manely entered the Bulwarke & slewe & threw downe out at the loupes all the Romains that they found, & after rased the bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castell Angell and beheld this fyght, & with him were xxiii. Cardinalles, of which one called the Cardinall Sacntorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Ponche was sleyne, & with hym were a. M. Prelates & Priestes. v. C. Gentlemen, v. C. souldyers: wherefore immediately the Capitayns determined to ley Siege to the Castell of s. Angell, lest they within myght issue out & tumne themyn to damage: wherefore sodeinly a Siege was planted rounde about the Castell. In the meane season the souldyers fell to spoyle, neuer was Rome so poylyed neither of the Gothes, nor Vandales, for the souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake vp the houses of close religious
religious persons, & overthrew the cloysters & spoilyed virgins, & raunyshed maryed women: Men wer tormentfed if they had not to geue every new asker or demaunnder: some wer strangeged, some wer punyshed by the priuy people, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This woodnesse continued a great whyle, & some man myght thynke that when they had gotten so moche, then they would ceasse & be quyet, but that was not so, for they plaied continually at dyce, some. v. C. some a. M. ducates at a cast: & he that came to play laden with plate, went away again almost naked, & then fell to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche could not paciently suffre that vexacion drowned them selves in Tiber: The souldiers daily that ley at the siege, made Iestes of the Pope, sometyme they had one ridynge lyke the Pope with a whore behynde hym, sometyme he blessed, & sometyme he cursed, and sometyme they woulde with one voyce call hym Antechrist. And they went about to vndermyne the Castell, and to haue thrown it downe on his head, but the water that euironed the castell dispoynted their purpose. In this season the Duke of Vrbyn with. xv. M. men came to aude the Pope: but hearyng that Rome was take he taried, ix. myle frõ Rome tyl he heard other word. The Marques of Saluce, & sir Frederico de Bodso with. xv. M. footemen & a. M. horsemen were at Vitarbe the. x. day of Maie. Where thei hering that the citie of Rome was taken also taried. The cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitians to helpe themperours men: but when he saw the crueltie of the souldiers, he dyd lytle to helpe the, but he hate the moch.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged tyl the. viii. ides of Iuli, at which day he yelded him selfe for necessitie & penury of al thinges in the castell. And then he was restored to geue Graces & graunte Bulles as he dyd before: but he taryd styll in the Castell saynt Angell, and had a great nombre of Almaynes and Spanyardes to kepe him: But the Spanyardes bare most rule in the Castell, for no man entered nor came out of the Castell but by them. When the moneth of Iuly came, came began to fayle in Rome, & the pestilence beganne to waxe strong: wherfore the great Army remoued to a place called Naruya, xl. mile frõ Rome, leaving behynde them suche as kepe the byshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes never were contented tyl they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castell of. s. Angell, & so they had the whole custodye of the Pope. Thus Rome continued in peace tyl Septembre, tyl the Armye came agayne from Naruya: for then the Almaynes swore, that they would set the Citie and all on fyer, excepte the Pope woulde pay them their full wages.

The bishop of Rome was sumwhat astonyed, and sent to commen with them, onely two Archebishops & two Byshos & two Gentleme: These syxe persones, the Almayns tooke as pledges, contrayre to the Popes meanyng, & sayde they would kepe them there tyl they were payed, & so put them in a strong chaibre, in the palace of. s. George: and every day almost they woulde bryng them furth openly, and scold and chyde with them, & make them beleue that they woulde hang them if they were not payed. And so they kepe them empri-soned in a chaibre and. xxiii. watched every nyght without the chaibre dore, & xiii. all day lykewyse: and yet for all that wathche, they got out at a chimney, on saynte Andrewes An Rome.

eue, and were no more scene of them.

This escape was sooner known of the Spanyardes that kept the Pope, then of the Almaynes that watched the dore. The Almaynes were so woode with this chauncie, that they came to the Prince of Orenge their generall capitayne, & demanded money of hym, in suche rigorouse maner that he was fayne secretely to flee to Senes: & then for hym they chose Capitayne, the Marques of Giasto, which governed them tyl February, that he brought them to Naples.

About the. xxviii. daye of Maie, there were letters brought to the Kyng of Engelande from the Frenche kyng, of parte of this troble: but sonday, the second day of Iune, the Kyng receyued letters at the Castell of Wyndsoire, by the whiche he perceyued all the ordre & maner of the sackying of Rome, & taking of the pope, in maner & forse as you haue hearde: Wherfore the Kyng was soery, & so were many prelates: but the Comminatione lytle mourned
THE XIX. YERE OF

mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a ruffyan, & was not mete for the roume: wherfore they sayde that he beganne the myschief, & so he was well servyd. But the Cardinall which toke this matter highly, called to hym the Prelates & the Clergy, and muche mourned the fall of the Bishop of Rome, and saw how the people grudged agaynste the Spiritualtie, for their greate Pride, Pompe, & yll lyuyng: Wherfore he came to the Kyng, & sayde: Sir, by the onely calling of God, you be made Defendour of the Christian faith: Nowe consy dre in what state the Churche of Christe standeth: See howe the head of the Churche of Rome is in captiuitie: See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldome, and be without comfort: now shewe your selfe an aide, a defendour of the Church, and God shall reward you.

The kyng answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euel chaunce then my toungue can tell, but where you say that I am defendor of the faith, I assure you, that this war betwene the Emperor and the Pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominiows, and how sith bishop Clemit is takè by men of war, what should I do? my persō nor my people cannot him rescue, but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you semeth most convenient: for which the offer the Cardinall thanked the kyng on his knee, and there vppon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kynges treasure. xii. score thousande pounde, which he caried ouer the Sea with him, as you shal heare after.

Then the Cardinal set comissions, as legate to al bishopes, commaundyng that they should cause in euery parish Churche, solemne processions to be made for the releuyng of the Pope and moned the people to fast. iii. daies in the weke, but few men fasted, for the priestes saied, that there commundement was, to exhorte the lay people to fast and not to fast them selfes: & the lay people saied, that the priestes should first fast, because the verie cause of the fastyng, was for a priest, but none of bothe almoaste fasted.

This sesō began a fame in Londō that y kynges cofessor, beynge bishop of Lyncolne, called doctor Loglied, & divers other greate Clarkes had told the kyng that the mariege betwene him & the Lady Katheryn, late wife to his brother, prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable: & the kyng herevpo should mary the dutches of Alansō, sister to y Frēch kyng at the toūe of Caleis this sommer, & that y viscouē Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the saied Lady, & that at his retorne out of France y Cardinall should passe the Sea to go into France to fetch her.

This rumor sprāg so much, that the kyng sent for sir Thomas Seimer maio of Londō & straightly charged him to se that y people should sease of this comunicación, vpō payne of the kynges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was cōcluded by the kyng and his counsayll, that the Cardinall shoulde passe into Fraunce, as his high ambassadour, but for what cause no persone knew but the king til his retorne.

Then was much preparacie made at Caleis, for the receaung of y Cardinall, but y cōmō saiyng was that y kyng would cōe to Caleis & meet with y Frēch kyng, & for y cause such preparacie was made, but he came not there at al, & alwaies the people cōnons as they durst of the kynges mariege.

The iii. day of July, the Cardynall of Yorke, passed thorough the citie of Londō, ac-cōpaigned with many Loredes & Gēdenē, to the nombre of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea side, and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherfore he caused a Letany to be sog by the mokes of Christes Church, after this maner.  S Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. S Petri ora pro Clemente papa. & so furthe al y letany: thē he exhorted the people to fast & pray for his deliuerance which few did.

The xi. day of Maye, the Cardinal with al his trainge, toke shipping at Douer, and the same day laded at Caleis, wher he was receiued with processcion, and with the hole garrison of the towne.

Whē the Cardinal was laded, there were set on lande. xvi. bargeles al ful of gold of the kynges

Barrelles of gold.
kynge's money, whiche wer deliuered to the capitain of the castel in charge: of this money
the people much grudged, & saied this money shalbe spēt out of y realme, & yet Englishme
shal have no parte nor profit of it, but only it shalbe spēt for y Cardinalles pleasure and
the Frenche kynes, and the Popes profite.

The Cardinal was so sore displeased with the Emperour for kepyng the Pope in prysō (al-
though it wer agaynst his wil & knowlege) that he imaged in al the wayes and meanes possi-
ble how to hurte & dommage themperour & therfore he set for thenglish marchaûtes, willing
them to kepe y marte at Calieis, but thei answered that ye twelve of Calieis, was a towne of
warre, & al marchaûtes must have libertie at all houres of the night, in the marte season,
whiche they could not haue at Calieis: also the hauen is not able to receive greate Huikes,
and Carikes that come to a marte: but some marchaûtes to please the Cardinal, brought
their clothes to Calieis, and so caused their frendes of Andwarpe to come to Calieis, & to say
that theye had bought the marchaûtes clothes, & ther at Calieis paiet the custome, & so car-
ried them to the towne of Andwarpe at thēglish mēnes charge, & ther sold the to the great
losse of thēglishme.

While the Cardinal lay in Calieis, the Frenche men daily resorted to Calieis, to welcome
the Cardinal, and sodenly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calieis should be deliuered, to
the Frenche kynge, whiche rayne saynyng, made many men muse.

But the xxii. day of Iuli, the Cardinal departed oute of Calieis, & with hym was the
lorde Cutberd Tūstal bishop of London, the Lorde Saundes, Chamberlayn to the kyng, the
Earle of Darby, sir Henry Guildforde, sir Thomas More, with many knyghtes and squyres,
to y nombre of xii.C. horse, & in the carriages lxxx. waggons, & lx. myles and sumpter
horses & at Sandifelde, met with him the coûtie Brian gouvernor of Picardie, & Monsieur de
Bees, capitaine of Bulleyn, with iii.C. men of armes, well appareiled, with banners displai-
& all well horsed, which with trumpets and melodie receivde the Cardinal, & at Marguiez
there met hym the Cardinal of Lorayn, & vi. bishoppes, & xl. gentlemē, wel furnishèd, &
in their cópany. iii.C. horse, and so they rode furthe to Bulleyn where the burgessesse them
receivde.

And at the gate was made a pageant in the whiche was a Nunce called holy churche, &
the Spaniardes & thre Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinal her reskued, and set her
vp of newe agayne.

Another Pageant, was a Cardinal geuyng a Paxe to the Kyng of England and the
French kyng in token of peace, another Pageant was the Pope, kyng vnder, and the Em-
perour sittynge in his Maiestie, and a Cardinal pullèd downe the Emperoure, and set vp the
Pope.

Whē wise men sawe this pageant, thei smille & saied, well can the Frenche kyng flatter,
for he made it for one Cardinal to subdue him that hath pullèd downe the master of all
Cardinales.

Many wordes wer spokē in reprou of this pageant, but stil with great triumf rode these.
ii. Cardinalles together, to the abbe vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, & therelodge.

The morow beyng the thre & twenty day he with al his traine remoued toward Muttrrel,
& ii. mile without the towne ther met with him the ballyes, ther to him was made a solempne
oraciō, & whē he came to the towne he was receivde with the Clergie, & ther the English-
men had strayt lodging, the nombre was so greate, & so y morow he remoued toward Ab-
beul where he was receivde of the Baylyfe and advocates of the towne, and then of the
garrison of men of warre of the towne, and there he receivde with procession, and Pa-
geante to his praise vnder a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his
lodging, and all the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinal, and so wer al his
serauntees cotes.

The third day of August in the Citie of Amin, came the Frenche kyng in a cote of
blacke Velluent vpon white Satin, and tied with laces agglated with golde, and with him, the
kyng of Nauaire, and the Cardinal of Burbon, the greate master, the Duke of Vandesme,
Monsir de Guise, and Monsir Vaudemount his brother, and the Frenche kynges mother
with many Lordes and Ladies, which wer there solemply receiued.

And on Soday the. iii. daie of August, the Cardinal came fro Pickqueny toward Amias, in
which towne he laie the night before, and in the way he was receiued with the prouost of the
Cittie, and many honorable personages of the citie, and after them came the Justices and
advocates and with an eloquent oracion saluted him, and when he was with in halfe a myle of
the towne the Frenche kyng hym selfe with all his Nobles mette with him, and louinglie embraced
him, and welcomed him and after toke all the Nobles of England, by the hand, and so brought
the saied Cardinall to Amias: where for hym were deuised many Pagiuntes, to his prayse,
and euer he was called Cardinallis pacificus the Cardinall pacifique, and so was written at
the gate of his lodging.

The Frenche kyng brought the Cardinal to his lodging, & he would haue brought the kyng
to his Courte agayne, but he would in nowise suffre him, but left him in his lodgynge and the
same night the Cardinal rode to visit the Frenche kynges mother, & there he had long com-
mmunicacion and so departed to his lodging.

The. v. day of August the Cardinal with the great estates of Fraunce was conueighd to the
Frenche kynges Courte, where he was receiued of the Frenche kynges garde, and in the first
Chambre he was receiued of Knightes & gentlemen, in the seconduit Chambre, of Earls Barons
and bishoppes. In the third of Ladies, in which chambre the kyng lay on a bed, and his
mother sate by him, because he had a sore Legg. Then the Cardinal showed his com-
mmission, which was very large, and in that was none but he alone: the Bishop of Lon-
don and the Lorde Sandes, were in another commissioun, but that was not shewed than, nor
they called to counsell. There was the Cardinall highly thankeful of the greate loue that he
dare to the house of Fraunce: Then he & the Frenche Lorde fell to counsaille, first concern-
yng the Articles of peace, & for the suerty of performance of the same, and so that day
they sat foure houres, and so euery day was the Cardinall in Counsaile with the Frenche
kynges Counsaile, till the. xxviii. day of August, at which day was made in the Cathedrall
Churche of Amias, for the Cardinall of England a place on the North side of the Churche
for his Traues, & directly in the middes of the quere was a curious chappell wroughte of
carued wood all gilt set for the Frenche kyng and his mother, which was couered with Cri-
omysyn veluet, richely embroidered and hanged with clothes of Antike makyng, set with
pearle & stone, very curiously: The Masse was song by a Cardinall, and after Masse, the
French kyng and driers of his Lorde, were sworne to kepe the league, & then was a great
Charter sealed on the highaultare, & deliuered to the Cardinal by the kynges awne hand,
and then the Cardinal of England gane to them all (as he saied clere reimmision) and then
was Te deum song, and so they all departed.

Now will I leaue the Cardinall styll at Amias in counsaile, and retorne to Sir Fraunces
Poynes, & Clareceaux which were at this tyme arryved in Spayne, in the towne of Vale
Dolife, the third day of July, where they found Doctor Lee the kynges Almoner there amb-
bassador for the kyng of Englande, & with him taried till the sixte day of July, & then Sir
Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presce, and deliuered the kyng his masters letter, and
beside that praised his Maiestie to cosider what the king of England had doen for hym sence
his tendre age, how that he holpe him at all times with money and treasure, and howe that
at such tymes as the Lorde of Spayne would not receiue him as there kyng daraung his
mothers life, yet by the kynges meane and his greate labour and cost, he was to that Realme
receiued: and also howe the kyng of England had alwayes defended and protected the con-
treys of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, against all persons, and in the quarell of them
peroure he had strongly inunded the Realme of Fraunce so that by his invasion at home, them-
peroure had obtayned great victorie in forien places, which he could not haue done, if at
the whole realme of Fraunce had ben without any enemies at home: wherfore the kyng de-
sired him as reason would, the one halfe of the profite of the battall of Pauy and also for
his parte he required the duke of Orleaunce to be deliuered to him, and also to paie to the

king,
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

king, fourtie thousand pownde, which he ought to him as money lent, towards his charges: and farther that he should deluyer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amends, & no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperour after this demaunde answered, sir we assure you that the louve of our vnkle of England, toward vs and the manifolde benefites that we have receiued of him and by his meannes we shal neuer forget, and although our power be not able to recompence thesame, yet our good will shal neuer fayle, to endeuer vs to do him pleasure: and as concerning his letters we have receiued answere, whereof you shall have a reasonable answere, during which time, you may repose you, and althings necessarie shalbe at your commandement: with this answer, Sir Frauces departed at this time. Whic it was known in Spaine, that the kyng of England was allied with the Frenche kyng, the Spaniards spake largely and said that they cared not for the king of England, and said farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinall, and by reason hereof the Englishe marchauntes were euil entertained in Spaine, but the Emperour perceiving this, gave a generall commandement, that all Englishmen shoulde be orderid and reputed as his louing frendes.

In this very moneth, tidyinges was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitauntes of Turne conpired to destroy Monsire Delanoies their Capitaine, and devised to bid him to a banket and so to sleyn hym & all that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowledge of this treason, and toke the chefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharp execution for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperour within a day or twayne called to hym Doctor Lee, & Syr Fraunces Poynes the kyng of Englands Ambassadors, & said, my lorde we have perceived the king your masters requests, which be great and of a weightie Importaunce, wherefore we entend with all sped to write to the kyng our vnkle, and when we have receiued answere from him, we shall deluyer you of suche things as you daunad, praiyng you in the mane season, to take patience, and so for the tyme they departed.

By this tyme it was known that the Cardinall of England was with the French kyng, & ful well knew the Emperour that the Cardinal woulde do all for to aide the Frenche kyng and to domage hym yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequle of this matter, concubiigned away thare goodes daily out of the Emperors dominions: but still the Englishe embassadourers came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour saide to them, my Lordes, I marueill how the kyng my vnkle is moud aginst me & my subiectes, I assure you I will no warr with him, I trust in his faithful promes, & his accustomed goodnes, & his people I take as my frédes. If he loue the Fréche kyng I may not so do, for he to me is vntrue & kepeth no just promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne motion and he also sworne to maintaine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great prejudice lath persuaded against vs our dere vnkle of England by persuers imaginacions, whiche I trust will neuer be our enemy. This many times the Emperour would coinm with the Englishe ambassadors whiche lay in Spayne.

But now must I returne to the Cardinal of England whiche lay at Amyas: there was great counsailleynge from day to day: Fyrst how the Pope should be delievered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnes: Secondarily how to bryng the Emperour to some reasonable agreement so that the French kynges children might be delievered. It was well considered that themperour had a great fordel by reason of the sayd. ii. hostages, whiche fordel might perchaunc he his stomacke him vs he would agree to no new condicions nor agreemenctes. Then it was answered on the otherside that if a great army were sent into Italy whiche might drive the Emperors power out of Italy, then that armie shoulde set the Pope at libertie & also drive themperor to come to their purpose, or els he should loose both the realms of Naples & Scycylle, and the duchie of Myllayn and other dominions, wherfore the French kyng determined to send an armie royal into Italy vnder the conduct of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtrick erlé of Foys, which was appointed afore in Tune to go to the borders of Italy with
THE XIX. YERE OF

with a small nomber, but now to him was assigned viii. M. Bretons with notable capitaines of the same coitrye, and viii. M. Normans with like capitaines, and viii. M. Gascoynes, and vi. M. Burgoniaus, iii. M. Sauosyns, viii. M. Swyches and Almaines, and vi. M. Pycardes of whiche men were. v. M. horsemen vnder the conduct of Mounsire Galyas, & in this army went sir Robert Iernyngham & Ihon Carew of Hakam and. lxxx. other English gentlemen whiche were sent thither by the Cardinall from Amyas. When this army was assembled, the Cardinal deliuered the kyng of Englande money that he had brought out of England in barrels as you haue heard, with which money was this armye payed two monethes before hand, and the remnant was deliuered to sir Robert Iernyngha which was called treasurer of the warres. In this army were. iii. M. cariage men, and adventurers. iii. thousand, so that when they were over the mountaines they wer. lix. M. men, and some writers say C. thousand. This armye was called in Latin Exercitus Anglie et Gallorum Regnum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando conregatus, that is to say, the armye of the kynges of England, and Fraunce gathered for the deliuerance of the bishoppe of Rome, and so was this armye reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginnyng in Englande of the conueying of the money over the sea, yet when the Englishe coyne was the common payment of the armye it was then openly knowne: then many men sayd alas, so much mony spent out of the realme, and of this charge the realme shall not be one penny the better, the kyng hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsidie was graunted to make the kyng riche and now is that money to helpe our old enemies and the Pope which never shall do vs good, this the people speake and muche worse. While the Cardinal was with the Frenche kyng, the Pope sent to him a bull and made him Vicar general vnder him through all the kynges of Englaned dominions, and there by a bull he created Anthony de Prato bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French kyng a Cardinal with great solempnitie. The Cardinall for his solace rode with the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdedier, and was ever highly feasted of the kyng and his mother and of the Chauncellor of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinal & the Freche kynges counsel what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which if he refused, then open defaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kynges: The proffers were these.

Fyrst that the French kyng should pay for his raunsome xxv. M. crownes whiche amounteth to. v. M. pound sterlyng, one writer calleth it two myllion of crownes.

The second to release all the pencion that he had in Naples with al the right of the same.

The third, that he should never clayme title to the duchie of Myllain.

The. iii. that he should release the superioritie of Flanders for euer & the right that he had to the citie of Turnay.

The. v. to release all the homages of all other persones within the sayd countrieys.

The. vi. to withdrawe his army out of Italy.

The. vii. to forsake the ayde of the Swyches against the Emperor.

The. viii. to take no more the part of Robert de la Marche against the Emperor.

The. ix. never to ayde the kyng of Nauerne against him, although he had maried the kynges sister.

The. x. never to ayde the Duke of Gelder nor to chalenge the same duchye.

The. xi. toayde the Emperor with shippes and men to his coronacion.

The. xii. to mary lady Elianor the quene of Portyngale sister to the Emperor.

The. xiii. that the Dolphin should mary the sayd quenes daughter.

The. xiii. that if the French kyng had any children male by the sayd quene, then the duchy of Burgoyne to remayne to the sayd child being a male.

The. xv. that the French kyng should be frende to the Emperor & his frendes, and enemy to his enemies.

These with many other articles which wer not openly knowne wer sent to the bishop of Tarby and the vicount of Thorayn ambassadors to the Emperor from the French kyng.
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

And other articles were sent to the kyng of Englendes ambassadors beyng in Spayne: fyrst to move the Emperor to take a reasonable peace with the French kyng.

Also that the kyng of England would release to him all the summes of money due to him aswell by theemperor Maximilian his graudfather as by himselfe, and take the French kyng as better for the same.

Item if the Emperor would not thereto agree, then the French kyng should marie the lady Mary dowghter to the kyng of Englid and they both to be enemies to the Emperor.

When all these things were concluded, the Cardinal toke his leave of the French kyng and his mother (whiche tolde him that a noble ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortifyng of all conclusions) and so the sayd Cardinal with great rewardes returned with all his traine & by journes the last day of September he came to Rychmond to the kyng of Englund and there ascertained the kyng of all his doynges, but so could no lord that then was in Commission with him, for they knew nothing of all his doynges, whiche sore greued their stomaches.

The Cardinal which much rejoysed in this peace, came the first day of the terme into the starre chamber & there by his counselment wer present the lordes spirituall and temporal of the kynges counsil, and the Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London, and the judges of the law, & all the Iustices of peace of all shires then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayd, how much is the realme of England bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea such a peace as was never concluded betweene no realme, for by my labor and industry I haue knyt the realmes of England and Fraunce in suche a perfite knot y it shall never fayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we call a Parliament) have affirmed thesame, and therefore now my lordes be merry for the kyng shall nevermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Mayer and other marchantes shall never be charged further with expences, so that with excensions for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the kyng shall have no neede, because that he by this league shall be the richest prince of the world, for I assure you he shall have more treasure out of Fraunce yerey then all his reuenues and customes amount to, yea and count his wardes, forfeites and all suche casualties. Now sayd you haue suche an honorable peace & suche a profitable peace how much be you boud to him which hath brought this peace about for this is a peace in secula seculorum. And because this peace is so noble it is sealed with a scale of golde, and so he caused all there present to looke on the scale, which was the very great scale of Fraunce printed in fine golde: at this tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardinall lyed, for they knew that that he sayd was for his owne glory, and nothing should folowe as he sayd.

The Frenche kyng according to his appointment sent the lorde Annas of Monnoriany great master of his house and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the bishop of Bavyon, the chiefe president of Roan and Mounsire de Hunyers, as his Ambassadors to the kyng of England accompanied with ix. gentlemen well appointed, which the. xiii. day of October laded at Douer whose seruantes demeaned theselves so in passing through Kent that much busines was to lodge the in London, but the Cardinal commanded corporacions of the citie to provide lodgyng for them which was never seen before, wherat the people murmured sore saying that the Cardinal was all Frenche. So on the xx. day of October the sayd Ambassadors wer met on Blacke heth by ý Merques of Exeter, the bishop of London, the Vycount Rocheford and lorde Montjoy with many men of honor & gentlemen to the number of. v. C. horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London and the chief comminors on horsebacke in their gounes mette the said ambassaders at S. Georges bar & there was made to them a solemnpe Oracion, & so fro thence they wer conveyed through London to ý bishop of Londons palays & there and here there about they wer well lodged.

The citzens of London preseted them with. v. fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. S. Wannes, xii. Cranes.
Cranes, xii. Fesantz, iii. dosyn Patriches, xx. loanes of Suger, Comfettes & other spye
and waxe, and. viii. hoggeshheads of wyne with many other things whiche I cannot rehearse.

On tuesday beyng the. xxii. day of Septéber, the said ambassadors wer conveyed by
water to Grenewyche, where before the kyng sittyn under his clothe of estate the foresayd
Mounsire Bayon president of Roan made an eloquent proposicion in the whiche he much
thanked the kyng for sendyng so high an ambassador as the Cardinal was, a man of such
prudence & wit as it appeared by his knytynge of the league, that like to him could none be
found, for by his only mediacion the. ii. princes wer accorded so surely as neuer wer princes
before that time, so by this coufederacon the Pope & his Cardinals whiche wer in captu-
titie & thralldome should by the power of these. ii. princes be delieverd & all the Empe-
rors power should be clene banished & driuen out of Italy, and the Pope should be restored
to his olde estate and dignitie again.

When this Oracion was done & an answere made to thesame, the kyng welcomed at
the gentlemen of Fraunce & then they had wyne and spye brought to them, wherof they
toke part and dranke & so departed to their barge. Daily these ambassadors repaired to
\( \hat{\text{y}} \) Cardinals place and there wer highly entertained, & the morow after S. Symons day &
Jude the bishop of Bayon & a great number of \( \hat{\text{y}} \) French gentlemen dyed at the Maiors
feast, & so they taried in London til Alhalonday, on whiche day the kyng accompanied with
the Ambassadors of Fraunce & all his nobilitie rode to the Cathedal church of S. Paule
wher the Cardinal sang Masse, & after masse done \( \hat{\text{y}} \) people wer desired to pray, that by
their praiers Pope Clement might the soner be delieverd out of captuitty: and when that
was done the kyng of England before the aulte sware to kepe and performe the league.
The comon people sayd what nede all this sweryng, the French kyng was once sworne
and all his nobilitie, yea & all his good tounes, but yet they brake with vs, and so will they
againe when they see an amunage.

For the more loue to be engendered betwene these two princes it was concluded \( \hat{\text{y}} \) the
kyng of England should elect the Fréche kyng knight of the noble order of the Garter,
and that the French kyng should elect the kyng of England companion of his order of saint
Mychel, whiche eleccions passed on both partes. Wherfore in all speede \( \hat{\text{y}} \) kyng sent sir
Arthur Plantagenet Vycount Lysle & bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, Doctor
Taylor Master of the Rolles, sir Nyeholus Carew knight Master of \( \hat{\text{y}} \) kynges horses, and
sir Anthony Broune knight, & sir Thomas Wrothesley knight beyng Garter kyng of armes
of the order, with the whole habite coller and habilimentes of \( \hat{\text{y}} \) order, which order he
receiued on sonday the. x. day of Noüeber in the citie of Paris & rode in the sayd habit
frê the house of saint Poule to our lady church and there heard a solempne Masse & dyed
in his robe of the order, hauyng with him thambassadors of England, and thesame night he
made to them a banket & so the next day they departed. In likewyse the selfe same son-
day the kyng at Grenewiche receiued \( \hat{\text{y}} \) order of saint Mychel by the handes of the great
Master of Fraunce and Mounsire Huniers compaignions of thesayd order: and they al
there were the Mantles of the sayd order which were of cloth of siluer embrodered with
Frauces knottes & koele shelles & the color was of thesame deuide hauing hangynge before
the brest the image of saint Mychel, and in these Mantels they went doun to the chapel
to Masse and there heard Masse, whiche was song by a bishop, & after Masse they re-
turned to the kinges chamber where was made a great feast, and after dinner which was
late they wer conveyed into the tylyyard and there were Iustes of pleasure xii. against xii.
whiche valiantly furnisshed their courses til they had broken C. staves, and then they de-
parted, for night was sodainly come. Then the kyng brought the Ambassadors to the
newe banket chamber whiche was haged with a costly verdor all new, the ground thereof was
all gold and the flowers were all of Sattyn siluer so that by the brightsomeynes of the gold,
the flowers appered so freshely that they semed as they were growynge in dede, the cup-
berdes of gold and gite plate with the eweryes, thesame I ouer passe because you have
herd thereof in the beginnyng of this yere. Then the king, quene and ambassadors satte
doune
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

dtime to supper & were serued with lxxxx. dishes, all the galleryes and chambers were full
of lordes, knightes & gentlemen, & the garrates aboue full of French lackes & verettes
which were pletously serued.

After supper was done, the kyng led the ambassadors into the great chamber of dis-
guisinges, & in the ende of the same chamber was a fountaine, and on the one side was a quechouse.
1 Hawthorne tree all of silke with white flowers, and on the other side of the fountaine was
a Molbery tree full of fayre berys all silke, on the toppe of the Hawthorne was the arms
of England compassed with the coler of the garter of S. Mychel, & in the toppe of the
Molberie tree stode the arms of Fraunce within a garter. This fountaine was all of white
Marble grauen & chased, the bases of the same were balles of golde supported by rampyng
beastes wounde in leues of golde. In the first worke were gargylles of gold fiercely faced
with spoutes running. The second receit of this fountaine was environed with wynged ser-
pentes all of golde whiche gyped the second receite of the fountain, & on the somit or
toppe of the same was a fayre lady out of whose brestes ran abundantly water of merv
elleous delicious sauer. About this fountaine were benches of Rosemary fretted in braydes.
layde on golde, all the sydes sette with roses in branches as they were growing about this
fountaine. On the benches sat vij. fair ladies in straung attier & so richely appareled
in cloth of golde embroidered and cut over siluer, that I cannot expresse the commyg
workemaship thereof. Then when the kyng and queene were set, there was played before a play.
them by children in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy, the effect wherof was that
 pope was in capitiutie & the church brought vnder the foote, wherfore S. Peter
appeared and put the Cardinal in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie and to set vp
the church agayne, and so the Cardinal made intercession to the kings of England and
of Fraunce, that they tooke part together, and by their meanes the pope was deliuered.
Then in cam the Frenche kynges children and complayned to the Cardinal how the Em-
peror kept them as hostages and would not come to no reasonable point with their father,
wherfor thei desired the Cardinal to helpe for their delierauce, which wrought so with
the kyng his master and the French kyng that he brought the Emperor to a peace, and
caused the two yong princes to be deliuered. At this play wisemen smiled & thought that
it sounded more glorious to the Cardinal then true to the matter in dede.

When the play was done and. iii. companies of maskers daunsed, the king, the great
master of Fraunce, the duke of Suffolk, the Marques of Exceter, sir Edward Newel and
other thre appareled in cloth of golde and purple Tynsel satin set with cut warkes of
cloth of siluer plyghted goord fect and folded eche cloth vpon other, and one plucked
vnder another very richely: they had also mantels of crimysyn Satyn cast about them
Banderike wise, so that the other garments might largely appeare, and then they entered
with noyse of mynstrelsie and toke the ladies that sat about the fountaine and daunsed with
them very lustely, and when they had daunsed enough then they put of their visers and
were known, and so with disport al this night passed.

The next day the great master and all his company take their leane of the kyng (except
the bishop of Bayon whiche abode as Ambassadour in England) and were highly rewarded
and so passed to Douer and take ship there and landed at Bullein.

After that the Frenchmen wer departed the commons spake sore against the Cardinal & sayd
that the Frenchmen did never good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasure we should
forsake our old fricdes and receius our ole enemies. When the Cardinal heard of these
saiynges he was not content, wherfore he sent a Comission to the Major of Lodon to co-
mande al men not to talke of his kinges aflayres & busines or of his queue, or of the kynges
cousail. And if any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken
& brought to the Cardinal. When this commandement was once known, every man
mistrusted other and noman durst breake his mynde to other.

In this moneth of November the Cardinal as legate called the whole clergie before him at
Westminster & there he sayd that all the abusious of the church should be amended, but
he
he did nothyng therto, but abstred Arthur, Bylnay, Geffery Lome, and Garret that spake against the Popes auctoritie and his pompe and pride.

By reason of the great raines whiche fell in the sowing time & in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of this yere corn beegn began sore to hayle throughout the realme, insomuch that in the citie of London, bred for a while was very skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so failed that none could be gotten for money. Saynyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the citie of his owne provisjon, vi. C. quarters, or els for a wecke there had been little bread in Lodon, yet was the scaritie more then by deth: For then wheate was only at. xv. s. the quarter & fro thence it rose to xx. s. and after to. xxvi. s. viii. d. the quarter. Men sayd that the negligent was in sir Thomas Seymer knight then Maior. Many substancial men would have made provisjon for their houses, but they feared lest the cominalcie would have taken it from them. Then were commissions sent into all shreys and commissioners appointed to se what wheat was in the realme, and the commisioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shrey to another, which commandement had like to have rysed trouble, and specially the citie of London the same was sore agreed, for the had no arable ground to sowe, but must make provision with money, which provision was them denyed in divers shreys by that commandement, whereat the ciezans grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen sayng that the people began to murmur, came to the Cardinall & moued him of the mischiefe that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they with strong hand will fetch corne from them that have it. To who he answerd they should have wheat enough out of Fraunce, for the Frenche kyng sayd to me qu the Cardinall that if he had but thre bushels of corne in all Fraunce, England should have twayne so muche he louech & regardeth this realme: with this answer they departed & every day loked for Freche wheate but none came: and farther such wheate as the marchautes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy and other places wer there restrained, so that the reliefe there failed, but the gentle marchautes of Styliard brought fro Danske, Breme, Hamborough and other places great plentie, & so did other marchautes from Flauders, Holand, and Frisland, so that wheate was better chepe in Lodon then in all England oner. Then the people sayd, see how we had been served by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if thenpersons subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kyndnes the common people loved themperor the better & all his subiectes. The kyng of his goodnes hearyng that wheate in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a little, & so for comfort of his citie of Lodon he lent M. quarters, for the whiche they both thaked him and praised for him. Then within short space the marchautes of London so diligently made provision in all places for Wheat & Rye, that after Christmas they lacked none, and all the parties adjoyning to them were fain to fetch wheate of them and none to them was denied notwithstanding their vnkynd commandement geuen that the Londoners should none have of them.

Now let us speake of the army by the lord Lawtrick had into Italy at charges of the king of England & the Frenche kyng for deliueraunce of pope Clement. The lord Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lyons, & that all things necessary wer in readines, then he set forward with great diligence: but or he had passed the mountains the Venicians army was come into Lobardy abidding of the Frenchmen, & in the meane season they marched toward themperors army whiche lay at citie of Myllain. Whereof hearing Anthony de Leua with viii. C. Almaines and Spaniards on footo, & as many Italians marched forward to mete with the, & by force caused the to take the town of Meligna for refuge, where he hearing the Ihon de Medicis with a great number wer coming toward the Venicians, he in the eneyng or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayd Ihon de Medyceces, which began to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled and left his company alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost. iiiii. great pieces of ordainance, whiche Anthony de Leua caried with him to Myllain. In which season the lorde Lawtrick with his army was passed the
the mountaine and was come to the cite of Aster abidyng the Swayches, where he heard
tell how that Lewes Erle of Lodron with a great crew of Almaines was come to the toune
of Boske nyce Alexandry with money and vitall to ayde the Almaines that kept Alexandrye:
wherfore he sent his horsemen to stoppe them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and
after them he folowed with his whole army and besieged them in Boske which a certain
dales defended, but at the last they yielded the toune, & became souldiers to the lord Law-
trick. In this same season Andrewe Dorye admiral of the Frenche nauy lay before the ha-
uen of Gene and kept the Genowayes from al marchandise and vitailles which to the cite
defire, & in especial he letted certain shippes of corne which lay at Pont de Ferry betwene
Gene and Sauona to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked corne and were
on the land side besieged by a citezen of their own which was on the Farene part
called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined how to bring the shippes of corne into the cite, and when
they sawe that Andrewe Dorye had but xvii. Galayes. They prepared vi. galeyes to fight w
Andrewe Dorye. Duryng which fight the shippes with corne shuld entre þ haun. When
the galeys wer abrode, a sodain tempest rose with such a violence, that Andrew Dorye was
fayne to take þ port of Sauona for his succor, and so the shippes of corne came safe into
the haun of Geane, & all the galeys in safetie: this good was fortune to Geane at this
tyme.

When the citezenes of Geane were thus vaited, they tooke to them good courage and in
warlike maner issued out agnst Cesar Fulgosus which knew well that thei had little more
then iii. C. Spaniardes that could skyll of the war, & as for the remnant were neither of
stomache nor of experience in warre, wherfore he boldly set on them, and whyle they were
fighting without, the citezenes within which be euer mutable, sodainly cried Fraunce
Fraunce, which clamour came to the cares of Adurnus whiche was imperial, wherfore he
retbace into the citie to appeace the rumor, but their enemies followed them in such
hast that both entred together and so Geane was become Frenche. Then thither came the
lorde Lawtrick and put there a capitaine with a retinue for þ safe kepyng of the cite. Then
Adurnus duke of Geane which was in the castell with dunders of the Emperors friends and
lacked vitall & saw no comfort of reskue, yielded the castell vpon condicion to depart with
bagge and baggage & so they did. In the meane season certain Frenche which were left
at Boske defaced the toune and then came before Alexandrye, & there kept a siege volant
that no ayde nor succor should come to the toune, till the whole army wer assembled to be-
siege ð toune. But for al that purpose, by the Donnes of Alexandrye, Albericke Barb anx
with v. C. souldiers came into the toune whiche much comforted the garrison there which
was in maner dismayed because their ayde at Boske had layed them. The Frenche be-
sieged the toune and bet it with ordinance and they within manfully defended it and made
new countermeres so that their enemies could not enter without jeopardy. But at the last ð
Venicians brought therit great pieces of ordinaunce which so sore bet the walles that Bap-
tist Lodryn the capitain saw that he was not able to defende it & so he delivered the toune
vpó this coposicion that he & his should depart with bagge & baggage, & he nor his to
were no harnys against the Frenche kyng nor his confederates by þ space of vi. monethes.
Then the lorde Lawtrick delivered the toune to Frances Sforcia according to þ league, which
Fraûces put there a cûtienent garrison. Thec þe army removed to Belgrasse which to þe
was yielded & also delivered to þ duke of Myllayn, & fro thèe they removed toward þ cite
of Myllayn, wherof hering Anthony de Lena fosted þ castle of Myllayn and sent Lewes
Barbyan to defende the cite of Pauye. When the lord Lawtrick was in viii. myle of Myll-
ayn, he sodainly returned toward Pauye, whiche men judged to be done for þ displeasure
that was done there to the Frenche when their king was taken, & so the xix. day of
September they besieged Pauye, and daiy betwene them wer great skirmishes, but at last
they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce that they made the toune assauntaile. Then the
Frenche men threw into the dyches fagottes and emptye pipes and shortly entered the toune.
The capitain perceyuyng the toune entered, opened the gate and yelded himselfe prisoner.

Then
THE XIX. YERE OF

Then the Frenchmen sweepe and kylled on every side, robbed and spoyled houses and churches & spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raisened one man v. or vi. tymes, & the Gascoynes whiche were moste cruel set fyer in the fayre houses & had bren the whole citie, if the lord Lawtrick after vii. dayes spoilyng had not commanded them to cease. When Pauye was thus taken & spoyled the lorde Lawtrick determined with the Cardinal Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliueraunce of the Pope incintinent to passe to Rome and to draine away al the Emperors power frō thence, and to restore the pope to libertie.

Francues Sforcia duke of Myllayn hearing of this determinacion came to the lorde Lawtrick to Pauye and required him first to rid the duchy of Myllayn of the emperors souldiers, rather then to go forward and leaue his enemies behynd him. The lorde Lawtrick answered that he was of thesame opinion, but the comission that he had of the French kyng and the kyng of England was, that with all spede he should go forward to deliver the bishop of Rome, which done he faithfully promised that he would returne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he would that the duke and the Venicians should besiege Anthony de Lena in the castle of Myllayn. Duke Francues seemed to be content with this answer, but yet he perceiued that the French kyng cared not for his restoring lest he should be emperial. So for that tyne the duke dissembled the matter & tooke possession of the citie of Pauye. When the lorde Lawtrick had layen xvi. dayes at Pauy, he dismyssed § Swyches whiche in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfore he marched forward with his owne armie & came to Plesance where he concluded a league with Alphons duke of Farrer & Frederike marques of Mantua, so § then he knew wel that he might wel passe in saffie: & then ingood order of battail he marched toward Rome for § finishing of his enterprise. But or he was passed out of Lōbardy the emperour had sent letters to § B. of Rome & excused himself that he neither willed nor commanded such mischief to be done, & straightforwardly comanded his capitanes to deliuere him. The prince of Orenge & other capitanes of the emperors bearing his çomandement, took agrement with the pope & his Cardinals, & so he & xii. Cardinals wer bound to performe certain articles to § nober of xi. & then he was deliuered out of the Castle sainct Angell the x. daye of December and was convoyed to Oruet, where after he had paied certain money for the souldiers wages he was put at full libertie & the Emperors people departed from him, thence he removed to Anconæ. When tidinges was brought into England of his deliueraunce the Cardinal in great bast caused Te deun to be song on Newyers day in the kings chapel and declared opely that he was escaped & sayd not deliuere, which made many men to muse: and on sunday the v. day of January the Cardinal with great triumph came to the church of saint Paule in London, and on him attended duiers prelates of the clergy and there Te deun was song again, and after that doctor Capon opely declared how that bishop Clement had been long kept in distres by faute of tyrans and infidels and so kept as prisoner to the behoife of Charles the Emperur, tyll now of late through the prayers of good Christen people he was escaped the hides of his enemies, for whiche cause he wylld all men to geue thankes to God: That night were great fyers made in the kynges court and in all London. Shortly after this trueth was known, that the Pope was deliuere by composicion and not freely escaped as the Cardinal had blown abrode, but men sayd that he could not leane his liyng.

Where the lorde Lawtrick was cotinually going forwarde to deliver pope Clement, he was credibly enformed at Bonnony that he was deliuere and at his libertie, wherfore he thought his iornye voyde to go to Rome to do nothing, he thercfore determined to turne to ward Naples and to take the citie if it were not fortefied or replenshed with men of war, & so according to this purpose he iornied forward with great diligence. The Emperors capitanes perciuing the Frenchemennes entent, caused all their souldiers to depart out of Rome in the beginnyng of February (which was against the minde of the souldiers) and so came into the realme of Naples and fortefied certain townes as they passed, and so came to
to a toune called Troy and there they taried: This remouyng was to them, very profitable. For if they had taried at Rome they had been set on with the Italians on the one side, & the Frenchmen on the other side, that by every mans judgement they should all have been taken or slaine. The lorde Lawtrick departed from Bonnony to Inmole and so to Fayance Forliske Pezere, Senegal, Ancon, Rauenna, Loret and to Ferne which is at the foote of the mountaines of Sybylls in the duchie of Bresse percell of the realme of Naples, in which toune were certain nobles of that coutrie whiche seyng the army so puissant departed thence to Naples. As the armye passed the mountaines in the Lent season, there died of very cold v. C. Gascoynes and mo, and so with much paine they came nere to Troy in Puylle the xv. day of Marche where the Spaniardes and the Emperors army lay. Sir Robert Iernyngha of England which was capitan of the light horsemen, knowing their enemies so nere, desired the lorde Lawtrick that he with his company might assay the Spaniardes. The lorde Lawtrick (whether it was for lacke of courage, or that he were corrupted by money) in no wise would suffre sir Robert Ierningham to fight, but saied he would take them at a more auantage shortly, which answered sore grewed sir Robert, in somuch e he saied he would accuse hym, to both the kynges their Masters.

The Spaniardes whiche laie at Troy, thought to ente Naples before the Frenchmen, and so on the. xxi. daie of Marche beeyng Saterdaie, thei remoued and came to Naples, & fortified the citee, whiche was happie for the Emper, for surely if the Frenchmen had come first, they had been Masters of the citee. After the Emperors people were departed from Troy, as you have hard, the Frenchmen besieged it, and within a xi. daies it was to them yielded, and from thence thei remoued to Melphe, a strong little toune, where thei slewe & put to flight. iii. M. Spaniardes but thei lost many of their men ther, so that this toune was not to them very profitable: Sith the armie was entered into the realme of Naples there was euer some sickenes emongest them, and in especial there rayned emongest the a sore hote feuer, of the whiche many gentlemen died or thei came to Naples, for at the toune of Verse there died sir Richarde Iernyngham, & Ihon Carew of Haekam, two valiant capitanes, sent thether by the kyng of Englande and diverse other, whiche twoo gentlemen be there buried.

When the Frenchmen had taken Melphe, thei remoued to Bonivett and from thence to Magdelon, where thei laye all Easter: and after Easter thei came before the citee of Naples, and firste they tooke the palace that standeth without the citee, very pleasant to behold, and after that was taken, thei planted their siege round about the citee, and cast trenches, and made fortifications, for the defence of sodain invasions of their enemies: all the whole armie laie in an open plaine ground, without couverture very nere the citee, by reason whereof, thei wer sore euered with hete and drouth, wherupon caused great mortalitie and death, for if thei had lian on the hill side nere couerte, thei had lien more wholesomly, but their intent was to lye nere the citee, to the intent to kepe their enemies straight, and theire thei planted their siege in the playne, which turned them to much displeasure and disease. Thus was the siege platted before Naples, in the begiynyng of April, & continued till the. xxvi. daie of August neste insuyng, and then by mean of mortality they remoued as you shall here.

While the lord Lawtreck was thus passing toward Naples, sir Fræces Poynes Knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux kyng of Armes into Spain to the Emper, returned into England before Christmas, in thende of December, and left Clarenseaux behinde, to bryng further answere fro the emperor of thynges demanded, wherof he said he would take longer anice or he would answere. This sir Frances reported that the Emperor so muche favored and estened the kyng of England, that at his onely request and contemplacion, he had released and discharged twelue articles, whiche wer moste generous & disprofitable to the freche kyng, not for the French kynges sake, but at the intercessiō of the kyng of Englande; yet this notwithstanding, the Cardinal so inugled the kyng, that he so highly fa-
oured the French kyng, that all his causes he tooke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might; to bryng the Frenche kynges purposes aboute.

The Emperor before this time had written to the Frenche kyng, and also advertised there of the French Ambassadors, that laye in Spaine, that he would that the Frenche kyng should sende to hym a duffinitive answer, if he would withdrawe his people out of Italy or not, and lett the Duchie of Millain alone, and to cease of all Invasions or not, and this answer to be geuen the last day of January folowing, and if the said Frenche kyng answered not by that day, then the lacke of answer to be taken for a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadors before the day, shewed to the Emperour, the proposer which the Frenche kyng offered to hym in articles, as you haue harde before. in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche Kyng and the Cardinal in August laste passed. Which proposers when the Emperoure had hard and seen, he saied to the Ambassadours, we thought surely that our cosin the French kyng and we, had been at a full conclusion, when the league and appoyntmet was agreed at our toune of Madrill: for when he swerde for his delineraunce to vs, he and his counsaill offered vs certain proposers, whichee wee never demanded, but we of pitie hauynge compassion of his affliccion, accepted thesaid offerers, and agreed to his delineraunce, whiche Articles he promised in the othe of a Kyng, & also on the holy Evangelistes, to perfore to the uttermoste, and the inuiolatly to observe and kepe. Wherupon wee clerely remitted, and delievered hym into his countrie, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherefore we take him as periured, and not worthy to be trusted, and nowe he offereth newe offers, which he cannot performe, as for the money we beleue he is able to pay, but as for money dewe for the kyngdom of Naples, we knowe no suche dutie, for it is our inheritaunce, although kyng Charles the seuenth, by sortetc once vsurped thesame, which he log not enioied: as to release his title to Millain, that release is voyde, for the Duchie is Imperial, and in our gift as many other seigniories be: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these thynges he would release and rendre thynges that he hath not: and as to the withdrawyng of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we truste that our armie shall expell them all Italy, magure their hartes. And as touchyng the Kyng of Navarr, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pitie let them alone till we se our tym, and then they shall knowe our puysaunce: And as touchyng his office to aide vs with a nauie, we trust we haue such a nauie prouided, that we shall nede none of his: and where he saith he will mary our sister quene Aelienor, daughter to kyng of Portyngall, if he had been true, that he might hauue dooen or this, but now wee entend not to geue her to our enemie: and as touchyng her daughter to bee maried to the Dolphyn, that wee leave in suspence for this tym: But where he saith that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puysaunce, hath ever defended vs, and him and his power hath defaced and vanquished wherefore we nede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymself: and as touching the kyng of Englades debt, we shall reasonably answer he Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the Frenche Kyng: But now my Lordes Ambassadours, saied the Emperor, let the French Kyng your Master, fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to do, and then he shall have his children delievered, or els accordingly to his othe, let hym yelde hymself prisoner again, and so shal his honor and truthe be saued, or els not, so with this answer the Ambassadors departed. Neuerthelesse thei daily sued to the Emperour and his Counsaill to take the offers which we were proffered by the Frenche kyng, and amongst other thynges, the warre was sore laied to the Frenche Ambassadours charge, for that that the Frenche kyng made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaunce, to whiche accusation they answered that that armie was procured by the Cardinal of Englad, when he was at Amias, for the deliverie of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the kyng of Englade bare the moste charge. When the Emperour hard this answer, he sent for the Ambassadoure of Englad, and to hym saied: My Lorde Ambassadoure, I muche maruaill why the kyng your Master, hath so great love to
to the Frenche kyng, his newe reconsiled frende, and withdrawn his loue frō me, that am his cosyn and alye: How fortuneth this, that your olde auncient enemies bee now in fauoure, and your olde frendes cast out of fauoure. I se well there is indignaciō had at our estate, and waiés sought to greue vs, whiche wee hope to withstande: But who would have thought that our Vncle of Englelande, would have made warre on vs. How would he have vs graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche kyng, seyng he sheweth himself our open enemy: Then the Ambassadoure discretly answered, that he neither heard nor knewe of suche dooynges, on his faiūe and honoure. Well saied the Emperoure, if it bee true that is reported, myne Vncle is not the Prince that I have taken hym for, and if he be myne enemie, I must withstande hym, and in a greate fury, the Emperoure withdrewe hym from the Ambassadoure, to his prīme chamber.

Daily the Ambassadours, bothe of Engleand and of Fraunce, sollicited themperor and his counsell, to accept the French Kynges offers, which made euere answere, that thei would not truste to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not observed and kept. Nowe whosoever indifferently shall consider the Articles which were offered in the treatie of Madrill, and the Articles offered now at Aminas, shall openly perceive, that the greatest thyng which the Frenche kyng refused to do, was the deliuerie of the Duchie of Burgoyne and the Countie Charnolys, for declaration whereof, the French kyng sent for all the nobles of bothe the countrees, and declared to theim this promise and concord, taken with the Emperour, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forrein prince or person without the sentence, agrement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of thesame countrey, and therefore they would never assent to that alteraciō: This answer was deliuered to lorde Charles de la Noa Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperouer in Fraunce, which thereof certified the Emperours counsaill. But the Emperoure and his Counsaill thought this to bee but a decepte, in somuche as the French kyng had onely called suche of Burgoyne, as hym pleased, and not the substanciall of the countrey. And farther the Emperour so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire thare of bloude descended from duke Philip, sooone to kyng Ihon of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but he would haue that Duchie. The French kyng perceiued his mynd, & offered to hym greate sommes of money for the redemyng of that article, the kyng of Englad also offered to be suretie for the payment: but all this could not move the Emperoure, but he would haue Burgoyne, and all thesaied tretiae and agrement performed.

The kyng of England considering how muche he had doen for the Emperour, and calling to his remembranunce, bothe that the Lordes and Commons of Spaine, would not haue taken hym as kyng, his mother hyung (although she were Lunatike) because she was heire, without his greate labour and intercession, and also that he holpe hym to be elected Emperour, which the Frenche kyng had obteigned, if he had not put thereunto his aide, and sent Docter Richard Pace his Secretary to the Electors to Franckeford, and moste of all that he at all tymes, had succoured thesaid Emperoure with money, and was not paiet, wherefore he was not a litte displeased with the Emperours wilfulnes, but more with his vn-kyndnes, and perceiued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgottē all the kyndnes to him shewed wherefore he thought to make hym to knowe hymself by warres, the soner to bryng hym to accomplishe his request, and to make hym to remeber his olde kyndnes, and so by the auisie of the Cardinal of Yorke (which loued not the Emperour, for the Bishopp of Romes case) and other of his counsaill, he sent woord to Clarenseaux Kyng of armes, to make defaunce to the Emperour, and so Guya Herculau for the French kyng and thesaid Clarenseaux for the kyng of Englelande, the xiiith daie of January, in the cite of Burgues in castle, came before the Emperour seyng nobly accompanied with Dukes, Marqueses, Erles, and Barons, in his grete hall, and there made their defaunce.

When the defaunces were made by bothe the Kynges of Armes, as you haue heard, all
the nobles which were present, as the Constable of Castell, the Duke of Massedonia, the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Ciull, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus, the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Villafranca, the Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, the Erle Boniuent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Agulard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with sixe great Lordes Commandatories Crossed, and many other noble menne and gentlemen, for a truth to the number of seuen hundred at the least: all these drewe out their swerdes, and sware that the defiaunces then made should be reuenged, and saied to the Emperor: Sir, if the dispit of this defiaunce be vreuenged, the infany & rebuke thereof, shall remain to vs and our heires for euer, wherefore our landes, lives, and lordshippes, shalbe at your commandement, and while any lyen of your succession remain, this ignominie shalbe euer newe and not dye, till you have obteigned the double honor, against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was Proclaimed in Ciull, in Valedolite, in Burgus, & in other places through all Spain: But when the common people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong them selues by the berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes should be spent, for the honor of the Emperor, and to bee reuenged on the French kyng, whom they called periured Prince, and so the common people cried in the stretes, now is come the tyme, that Spain shalbe renowned, and reuenged on the Frenchmen for their falsenes and wrong doynges. But alas saied they, why should we make warre with the Englishe nacion, which euer loued vs, and never offended vs: but this defiance procedeth not of them, but onely of the French kyng, and of the Cardinall of Englande, whiche is sworne French, thus the Spanyardes talked, and euer excused the kyng of Engelande, and accused the Cardinall and saied, that he had a great pencion out of Spain, and that notwithstanding, because he might not have the bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This Proclamation of warre, was proclaimed with baners displaied, in the which were painted a reddle swerde, and a Cresset burning, against the French kyng and his parte takers, not meanyng the kyng of Engelande, by expresse name, but it was rehered in the Proclamation, that the Kyng of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the French kynges querell. Then wer the Englishe Merchante in Spain attached, and ther goodes put in safe custody, and to the saied that they were stated onely, till the Empe-rour was adwertised, how his subjectes were ordered in England.

Tidynge of this was first knowen in France, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadors in London, how bothe the Ambassadors of France and of Engelande, beyng in Spain, and Gouen and Clarenseaux officers of Armes, wer retained by the Empe-ror as prisoners, which report was false, for the were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall the Englishe Ambassadors and Clarenseaux wer friendly enterained in all places. When the Cardinal heard this report, he was to light of credence (which he furthought afterward) and was sore therewith moved, and in his fury the. xii. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Medosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in sainct Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to sir Ihon Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, & his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles seruauntes, till the kynges pleasure wer farther knowen.

The morowe after beyng the. xiii. daie of February, the Cardinal beyng in the Starre chamber, called before hym al lustices of the Peace, and other honest personages to a great number, and to them said: My lorde and all you the kynges louyng subjectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, howe that his highnes, not of his awne sekyng, but rather against his will and intent, is entered into warre: For the electe Emperor Charles the fifth, hath hym so hendeled and moved, that he must of necessitie with hym make war. First, it is not vnuowen to you all how good the Kyng hath been to hym, sithe his incance, howe he hath defended his lowe countreis durynge his nonage? Ye, what pain the king toke by his Ambassadors, to solicithe the lordes of Spain, which refused to take him as their kyng, while his mother lued, and by the kynges onely labor, he came to the kyngdom of Spain,
Spain, what it cost the kyng to helpe him to be Emperor, we that be his counsailers can tell, for if the kyng had not been, surely the Fræch kyng had been Emperor. Beside all these kyndnesse, he hath lent to the said Emperor, dierse great sommes of money, to defend his countreys, & what profit his countreys haue by the resort of Englishmen thether, ye that be Merchantes can tell: for these thynges with many mo profites, commodities, and gratuities, the kyng of him is so little regarded, that I am halfe ashamed to report it. True it is that Frances the Frenche kyng, was to hym prisoner (which chauce hath happened to many high princes) the kyng our master, highly regarding the peace of Christen princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: desired the Emperor to take some resonable ende for his deliverance, and for that purpose hath sent to him sondery Ambassadors, which gaue them cures, but daied with the, and nothing would do at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruaunt (and perauenture not so much) so that for all gratuities and frenshippes to hym, by the kyng our souereigne lorde, at all tymes shewed, he shewed himself ingrate and vungentle, and for kyndnes rendereth vnkyndes: as for the Frenche Kyng I assure you, he hath hubbed hymself asmuch as a prince maie, his honor saved. He hath offered hym so great offers, that excepte he should gene hym his realm and Crowne, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore minishe the beautie of his Crowne, whiche I shall breuely declare vnto you. For he offereth to paye five hundred thousand pounds sterlyng, whereof three hundred thousand, to be paid in hand, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bound, and farther to discharge the Empoure, of all suche sommes of money, as he oweth to the Kyng of Eng- lande, and to deliuer hym a sufficient aquitaunce for thesame. Also where the French kyng should haue, out of the kyngdome of Naples an hundred thousand Crownes yere, the Frenche kyng will release thesame pension, with all the arrerages whiche are no small some. Also he will release his whole title and right, which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very oneritaunce, and he neuer to chalenge or claime thesame no more his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flandres maie lawfully appeale to the Parliaments of Franse, from judgements given by the Emperor or his Iustices, he is content to release thesame superiortie and resorte which is a greate minishement to the prerogative royall of the Realme of Franse, for whiche of you (said the Cardinal) would conceyt that the kyng should rele- 

Rather where the Frenche Kyng bought of the Kyng the Citee of Voumay, for six hundred thousand Crownes and oide, yet he is content to yelde and release thesame Citeee to the Empoure for ever, yea, and beside this he offereth to take to wife, Elianor Queene Dowager of Portyngall, without any dower, yea, in her kirtell, & to endowe her with tenne thousand Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the child if it be a male, whiche shalbe gotten of them two, shalbe Duke of Burgoyn e, and be partaker of all the honours of Franse, whiche is a greate thyng: Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heire, shall marie the daughter of thesaid Lady Elianor, without any treasure to bee receiued for thesame, whiche proffer is worte the two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Farther more, he well lende the Empoure Shippes and Mariners, to couenigh hym to Rome, and also defende him against all incume, yea, what wole he doo more, although the Kyng of Namur haue maried his awne sister, whose Kyngdome the Empoure kepeth by force, yet he offereth neither to ayde nor conforte hym against the Empoure, but in his querel to be against him: Also he offereth to forsake his old and approued frendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, whiche faithfully hath serued the realme of Franse, and all for the Emperours sake. But the Empoure said he, is so indurate, so vn- kynde and wilfull, that he neither regards these reasonable requestes, nor yet the Kynges prayers nor requestes, but answered and saied: that if the Frenche kyng can dooe all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Empoure well truste no manne, but every manne must truste hym: Yet the Frenche Kyng offereth farther, to withdrawe the payssaunt armeye of the Lorde Lawtreccke in Italy, and yet thesame passeth prosperiously forarde, and is like to doo-
the Emperour more disaunantage, then I will now rehearse: but the Emperour is so proude, and his people so cruel, that he nothyng regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull doune Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes doune on the aultar, and like robbers toke the Pixe: and farther in the Church, they violated Virgins, and stupred matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the citty of Rome. And like as the Kyng in hunting tyme hath slayn. iiii. C. dere, and the garbage and panuches bee cast round about, in every quarter of the Parke, so (saiued the Cardinal) euery strete laye full of the priuie members and genitures of the Cardinalles and holy prelates: the whole history were to abhominable to tell. Yet notwithstanding all these offers mocioned, and nothyng regardyng this detestable tyranny, the whiche euery good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I could shew you xx. articles of promises, which he hath broken with the Kyng: so that I assure you, he kepeth no promise with our souereigne lorde, also contra ius Gentium, whiche I am sure the greate Turke would not dooe, he kepeth prisoner the kynges Ambassadour Doctor Lee, the French Ambassadour, and the Ambassadour of Venice: and for asmuche as the Emperour refuseth these offers, which amount to eight kynges rausomes, I trust by this warre we shall bridle hym, and bryng him to peace, and this occasiþ of warre, I would all you should declare in your country.

When the Cardinal had saiued, some knocked other on the elbow, and said softly he lieth, other said, that euill will sayd never wel, other said that the French crounes, made him speake euill of theemperor, but thei that knewe all that you have hard before saiued, that it was shame for hym to lie in such an audience. The common people much lamented, that war should arise betwene the Kyng and theemperor, and especiall their consideracion was, because the Emperours dominions, had holpen them with corne, and released them with grain, whë thei could have noe euill, or losse out of Fraunce. And in this rumour wer diverse ships come out of Flandrs and that parties, laden with Heryng, Sturgeon, & all other victale necessary: beside eight faire ships, whiche wer laden with corne, all thesaied shippes, and all the shippes of Spain, wer staied and arrested, and their sailes taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was suche talked of by Merchante, whiche frequented the Emperours dominions, for thei knewe and openly saiued, that the let of the entercourse of Merchante, should turne to the greate losse of the Princes, but yet Englishemen were content, to obeye their kyng and his counsell.

The declaracion of warre in Englande against the Emperoure, and the restraint of Shippes of the Emperours Subiectes, were shortly known to the Lady Margaret daughter of Sauoy, and auete to the Emperour, which was governour of Flandiers, Brabant, and Zeland and of all the Low Countries: wherefore she by the auite of the Emperoures Counsell to her associate, caused all the Englishmen and their goddes and Shippes to be restrained, and thei and their goddes were put in safe kepyng. Thus the poore Merchante suffered greate losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace saieth: Quia quid delinant Reges, plectantur achini: whatsoeuer kynges do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodain storme whiche the Cardinal had mowed openly against the Emperour, for euill entreatyng of the kynges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowledge that the Emperour, bothe did the kynges Ambassadour greate honour, and also that he never restrained hym from his libertie, wherupon he caused the Emperours Ambassadour, which before was restrained of his libertie, to bee sent to his awne lodging again, and saiued that by the reporte made by the French Ambassadours, he hym restrayned, and now sith he knewe the truthe, he mocioned the Kyng for his delierance.

The Emperours Ambassadour, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparaunt signes: and the Cardinal the more to awyde suspicione on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, saiued: the kyng was enformed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of bothe Princes were put in prison, and farther he saiued that Clarenceaux had made the defaunace of the Emperoure without the kynges commaundement, but only did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadours, to accomplaigne the Frenche Herault, and for this presumpteous
presumptuous act, he should suffer death at Calice at his returne: all these excuses the Cardinal shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certified the Emperour of every point, and sent the letter by poste into Spain, which letters were opened & copied, by the capitaine of Bayon, as the poste passed that waie. And when Clarensaue returned homeward out of Spain, the Capitain gently shewed to hym the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadoure had written. Thynke you not but Clarensaue was dismaid, to here his daies so shorte: Yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he hard worde againe of the danger that he was in, wherfore like a wise man he lefte Calice, and tooke a Ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the kyng laie, and by frendship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kynges privie chamber, he was brought to the kynges presèce, or the Cardinal wist of his returne, and to hym shewed the three Letters, whiche the Cardinal had sent to hym, charging hym to make the defiaunce, or he did intiment the waie. He declared farther, that neither the Ambassadours of the kyng, nor the Frenche kyng nor he wer neuer sequestered from libertie, but gently entertained, and to the kyng he shewed a chayne, to the value of seven hundred Ducates, whiche the Emperoure had genen hym, and shewed also the copie of the Emperoure's Ambassadoures letters, whiche he had at Bayon. When the kyng had heard all the circumstance of his declaracion, he mused a great while, and saide: O Lorde Jesu, he that I trusted moste, tolde me all these thynges contrary, well Clarensaue I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for now I see perfectly, that I am made to beleve the thyng that was never doen.

Then the Kyng sent for the Cardinal, and priuily talked with hym, but whatsoeuer he saied to hym, the Cardinal was not very mery, and after that tymne, the Kyng mistrusted hym euer after. When the Kyng and his Cousenill, had well digested the Emperours answere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kynges Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe countreis of the Emperour, wer glad to please the kyng of Englane and his Subiectes: wherefore the kyng commaunded, to sir Ithn Stile knight, to discharge all the Duchemen and their Shippes, and deliuered their Sailes, and gaue them license to returne: Nay so said the Duchmen, the Spanyardes and we be the Emperours Subiectes, why should not the be also discharged? sir Ithn Stile answered the, that his Commission was onely to discharge them. The Duchmen fearyng that the Frenchemen, would take the seas before the, and so to stop the, departede hastily, cursyng the Cardinal as author of this waie.

When the Lady Margaret heard tell, howe the Duche nacion with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spanyardes, she sent for the English Merchameus, and to them saide: Sirs, sithe the Kyng your Master, hath deliuered onely the Duche men, and not the Spanyardes, we relese your bodies free, to go at your libertie, but your goodes shall remain, til we know what shall become of the Spanyardes, and when they be deliuered, come for your goodes, and you shall have them deliuered, thus the Englishmen departede, and came to the kyng and declared to hym and his counsell, how thei were entreated.

This warr with the Emperour was displeasant, both to Merchante and Clothiers, for the Merchante durste not aventure into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the xi. daie of March, wherfore all brede Clothes, Kerseis & Cottons, laye on their handes. In somuch as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolk, & other shires which use Clothmakyng, brought clothes into Blackewell hall of London, to be sold as thei wer wont to do: fewe Merchante or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put fro them their spinners, carders, tuckers, & such other that line by cloth-makyng, which caused the people greatly to mistrust, and specially in Suffolk, for if the Duke of Norfolk had not wisely appessen them, no doubt but thei had fallen to some riotous act. When the kynges counsell was aduertised of this inconuenience, the Cardinal sent for a greate number of the Merchante of London, and to them said: Sirs the kyng is informed, that you use not your selfes like Merchates, but like Grassiers and artificers: for where
where the Clothiers do daily bryng clothes, to your market for your ease, to their great
cost, and therefore was, nor wisely
considered. Well said the Cardinal, if you will not bye the clothes at Blackewe
well hall, they shall be brought to the White Hall at Westminster, and so you of London
shall lose the libertie, and the kyng shall bye them all, and sell them to Merchant strangers.
Then answered a wise Merchant, my lorde, the kyng maie bye them aswell at Blackewe
hall, if it please him, and the strangers will gladlye receive theim there, then at Westmin-
ster: You shall not ordre that matter, said the Cardinall, and first I will sende into Lon-
don, to knowe what Clothes you haue in your handes, and that doen the kyng and his coun-
sail shall appoynt who shall bye the Clothes I warrant you, with this answere the Londoners
departed.

When the Clothiers hard that the Cardinall take their part, they waxed proude, and spake
euill of the Merchates, and when the Merchates came to bye Clothes, the Clothiers set
them hire, then thei were accustomed to be solde: but at length thei were fain, bothe to
abate the price, and also to seke of the Merchant men, for all the Cardinalles saiying.
If this warre was displeasaunt to many in Englande (as you haue hard) surely it was as-
much or more displeasant, to the tounes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and
Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes wer kept,
and where the resort of Englishmen was, for thei saied that their Martes were vndoen, if
the Englishmen came not there, and if there were no Marte, their Shippes, Hoyes, and
Waggons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people
should fall into miserie and pouerie, of these thynges daily complaints were made to the
lady Margaret, and the Emperors counsaill, which wisely pondered the complaints, and
after long consultacion had, thei appoynted certain Ambassadors to go to the kyng of Eng-
land, and to entreate for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into
England, and associated themselfes with Don Hugo de Mendoza, Ambassadoure there for
the Emperor: the one Ambassador was Prouost of Cassell, and the other Master Iohn
Lay souereigne of Flaunders: these. iii. Ambassadors came to the kyng, the. xxix. day of
Marche to Richemond, & after reverence doen, the lord Hugo de Medosa saied to the kyng,
sir theemperours Maiestie so much knowlegeth himself bound to your grace, for manifolde
kynde actes and beneuolences, doen and shewed to hym sith his tendre age, that he in no
wise wolt take the defaunce, done by your Herault as a paremptory intimation of warre,
till he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therefore his counsaill hath sent hether these
two noble persones and me, to knowe your determinate answere, and finall resolucion in
that behalfe. The Kyng after a good auisement had, answered and saiied: Of warre I am
nothyng joyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull. I thanke God I haue no cause to care for
warre, for I haue bothe men and money, and all thyng ready prepared for thesame, (whiche
thynges I knowe) other princes lacke, for all their high woordes) and therefore to that
question of warre, I could some agre, but or I make you a determinate answere, some part
of my mynd I will declare to you, and I tell you although your Master be a great Empe-
or, and a mightie Prince, I cannot nor maie not suffre hym, to bere doune & destroye the
realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritance, and for the whiche our brother and alie
the French kyng, paieth vs yerely a great pencion and tribute, wherfore we of Justice and
equite, musste maintain that lande, out of whiche we haue so faire a rent and suche a
profite.

Then
Then saied the Prouost of Cassell, yea sir, and it please you to call to your remembraunce the olde and auncient loue and familiaritie, whiche hath beene betwene your Realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunderes, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those countreys will hie and dye with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lord, wherefore moste noble Prince neuer concert, that olde loue that hath so long continued, be now broken and seperated: we saie this for no feare, for we be well furnished for war, bothe of men and strong castles, all whiche before this tyme hath been at your commaundement, and therefore the loue that we have euer borne you, we continue & offer you nowe to continue: and where we offer you choyse of war or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperor meaneth that for your honor, as though you should commaundde which you would: and if you chose warre, we haue commision to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commision to thanke you, and to offre vs and ours at your commaundement. Then saied the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa to the kyng, sir, of very right the Emperor and his countreys, ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the French kyng and his nacion: for the Frenchmen in the tyme of their affliccion, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which theye neuer would do in the tyme of their prosperitie, but the Emperor hath euer continued one man at all tymes, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then theye chyuer neuer wol lerne true to you. Wel saied the kyng sithe I haue well perceiued the intent of your commyng, I wol bee auised, and then I will make you an auised answere, and in the meane season I am content, that there be an abstinence of warre for a tyme, so the Ambassadours departed for a season, and the Prouost of Casselles, departed to the lady Margaret with this answere.

After this the kyng which was wise, well learned, and a farre castyng prince, consulted with his counsaill of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the kyng was riche, strong, and puysant enouogh to make warre with any prince Christen, and that no prince could hurte hym by warre or invasion, therefore some thought it best to haue warre, but the king & the wiser sort cosidered that if he had war with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should lese much, and if thei lost, the clothyers and the clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should lese and be brought to extreme povertie. For it was considered that the Emperor was lord of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia & so southward to Epuskaia, and likewise northeast ward from Gravelyn to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in danger. Also no Alarne could come into England but through his dominions, by reason wherof cloth making should decay. Wherefore the kyng considered if the marchauntes lost, the porer sorte should lese, and at length he should lese in his customes. Wherefore leauyng the glorye of warre he tooke mercye on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme till farther comunicacon might be had betwene his cousail and the Emperors. And vpó this point letters wer sent into Spayne, Fraunce, and Flaunderes, and so this matter continued undetermined till answers were brought from outward partes.

In this season the bishop of Bayon whiche afterwarde was bishop & Cardinal of Paris byeng ambassador from the French kyng & soiournyng in Lodon, hard tell how the Emperors ambassadors made much suite to the kyng and his counsaill, where he came to thi court and desired to speake with the kyng and so was brought to the kynges presence, to whom he sayd: pleaseth your highnes to consider the great and high peace that is concluded betwene you and your louyng brother and perpetual alye the French kyng my master, whiche is ratyfied and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by thi whiche you haue yereily xx. M. pound sterlyng, whiche realy you haue promised to defende against all persones: Now in shewyng your loue that you bare to the Frenche kyng & his subiectes. If you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce would take it so thankfully that it should neuer be forgotten. Well sayd the kyng as touchyng the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraunce and me it shalbe innuo-

lately kept for me, but sir to enter into warre it nedeth no cousail, but how to end warre.

5 C 2
with honor & profit: men must: nedes study. As touching \( \_ \) defence of the realm of Fraunce I assure you it shall be defended to my power though it be to my losse, and my study is no lesse to have a peace whiche would be honorable to your master then to myne owne self. With whiche saying the Ambassador held him well contented. So that you may perceive that the great pencion and profit that the king of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the kyng of England so much helde with the French kyng & not for mere Ioue. For this matter was daily great counsails, and one day themperors ambassador was present, another day the French kings ambassador was present, but the Cardinal was euer on the French part. So thus continued this daily counsels with great study.

In the same season a Frenche Crayer of xxx. tonne manned with xxxviii. Frenchemen laye at Margate to wayte for a pray of some Flemynge that should come out of the ryuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Arnew which was appointed to waft the fisher botes betwene Grauelyn and Ost end, was come by North of Goodwyn sades to Northsand head and so came to Grauesend and toke in bread. This Crayer was of xxviii. tonne and had in her xxviii. Flemynges: When she was vitayled she made to the sea ware, and sodainely he espied the Frenchmen whiche houed vnder a saile. The Flemynges mistrusted and incontinent put them selfes in a readynes and came so nye that he hayled the Frencheman, the Frenchman shot a piece of ordainace and with that kayde the Flemyngh aborde, there was sore fighting, for the Frenchmen had crosbowes and the Flemynges had handgunnes. The Frenchman fell of & would have been gone, that sayng the Flemyngh whysteled and after the Frenchman made sayle. Now the wynde was so straynable East that the Frenche could sayle no whither but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemyngh followed, and before Grauesend the Flemyngh borded the Frenchman and there they fought again, but away againe went the Frenchman and the Flemyngh after w all his sayles, and so farre sayled the Frencheman that he ran along the Tower wharffe as though he would have reuened his shippe, the Flemyngh set on and entered the shippe for any thyng the Frenche could do and cryed I haue take the thfe. Sir Edmond Walsynght Leuetenant of the Tower was on the wharffe & saw them fight, called his men and entered the shippes and toke both the capitaines and their men. The Flemyngh boldly challenged his prys, for he sayd that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flandres, and sayd farther that the Frencheman was a pirate: The kynges counsail tooke vp the matter and made an ende betwene them. This chaunce was much talked of that two shippes should sayle in chasse from Margate to the Tower wharffe, because \( \_ \) before time such a like thing had never been hard.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Lawtrick whiche had gotten many toones in Italy, and had with his great army besieged the citie of Naples and so it happened that the prince of Orenge & other capitaines \( \_ \) xix. day of April set on a great part of the Frenche army and notwithstanding their hardynes the Emperors army obtained the victorie, so that from that tyme forth the Frenchemen lost, what by pestilence then which was great in Italy, and what by sodain skyrmisshe.

This yere the xxii. day of February the kyng created at Wynsor sir Pierce Buelat of Ireland, erle of Osserey.

**THE. XX. YERE.**

The kyng kept the day of saient George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solempnitie at his Manor of Rychemond, where to him came tidynge from the army of the lorde Lawtrick in Italy, which letters shewed that the lorde Lawtrick had sent the lorde Peter de Nauarro the third day of March last past to a great toone called Melffe with x. M. Frenchemen, & within the toone were viii. C. Spaniards good men of warre, the lord Peter de Nauarro besieged the toone, & after gau to the same a great as-
HENRY to with they marchautes owne he countreys and taken rich to was sore the Lautrick to M. robbed battel reason to Melif resistences Span- wherfore on they for moncthes, men their with Fran take-n princes forraied so to the encmyes and the might I v. Charles the so l-st KYNG HENRY THE. VI1J. wot, but y Spaniardes so defended them with ordinance & resistences that they slew v orv. M. ... fled & wer chased a way and many LJ. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in Eng-

Although that this season was an abstinence of war taken betwene the kyng of England & the ladye Margaret so that the dutche nacion might safely come & go into England, and those Englishmen might safely repaire thither, yet betwene the Frenchmen and those Frennyches was hot warre on the frontiers, and many a prisoner was taken, and many men slain, and likewise the one part toke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen would spoyle Englishes shippes. saiyng that they had Flemynge goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemynge would enter the Englishes shippes, and say they had Frenchmens goodes, so the Englishmen lost till the king sent shippes to kepe the sea: But for a trueth the Spanish were strong on the sea, and to the Frenchmen did muche harme. The kyng perceiver that there was nothing concluded betwene thenpermit & him, thought not to be behynd hand, wherfore be ordained that the lord Sades should passe to Guiness with a M. souldiers that was y C. archers and y C. horsemen, and that the duke of Suffolke should passe over after with a great army to invade Flandres. These lordes made much preparation & mustered their men at Mantels beside saint Iones & was redy to depart, but the Emperors ambassador & thambassador of Flandres so much did with the kyng & his cousiit (& the Frenche kyng also assited) that truce was taken betwene England, Flandres, & the countrieys of Picardy on this side the water of Some for viii. monethes, the peace to begin first day of May, and to endure to last day of February. This peace was proclamed in Lodon the xiv. day of June, so now all Englishmen might lawfully passe into the low countrieys but not into Spain, which were greatly marched in that haunted that parties. In same proclamation was farther contained, that if a final peace wer not fully agreed betwene the sayd. iii. princes within sayd. viii. monethes, that then all marchautes should have two monethes after to passe into their owne countrieys with their wares and marchaundises in safetie. The Emperor sone enclowned to this peace, for he saw that by Marte many of his frenedes in high Dutche and other places toke great profit and especially his owne low coutryes, wherefore he thought not to hurt his frenedes for the displeasure he bare to his enemies of France, and also to show himselfe louyng to the king of England he was content to take this peace.

In this season the duke Charles of Gelders perceiving that Emperor was at war with France, raised a great power of horsemen & came to a great countrey of Holland called the Hague where the lawe and justice is kept for that countrey, by reason wherof the countrey was very riche, and sodainly he entred the countrey without resistance and spoiled and robbed the countrey and slew divers persones and with much riches laded their wagons and so departed and caried with him divers rich prisoners. The lady Margarete governesse of the low countreys hearing of this raised a great power under the conduct of the lord Islytheinge, which lord with a great puissance entered Gelderland and got the countrey of Hatton, the castle of Howtyng, and forraied and destroyed the countrey; lastly on Whitsunday beyng the last day of May the Gelders gaue battel to the lord Islytheinge and fought valiantly as any men could do, but yet by fortune of warre they were overcome and fled & wer chased a great way and many slaine. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in Eng-
In the very end of May began in the city of London the sicknes called the sweating sicknes, and afterward went all the realm almost of which many died within v. or vi. houres. By reason of this sicknes the terme was adiorned and the circuites of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plage, for diuers dyed in the court, of whome was sir Frances Poyncys which was Ambassador in Spayne, & other, so that the kyng for a space removed almost euery day, till at the last he came to Tytynhangar a place of the abbot of saint Albones, & there he & a few determined to hyde the chaunce that God would send him, whiche place was so purged duly with fyers and other preseruatives, that neither he nor the quene nor none of their company was enfect of y diseas, such was the pleasure of God. In this great plage dyed sir Wylyam Compton knight & William Cary esquier whiche wer of the kynges priuy chamber, and whom the kyng highly fauored and many other worshipful men and women in England.

By reason of this plague the watches whiche were wont to be kept yerely in London on saint Iohns even at Mydsummer and saint Peters eue were by the kyng and his counsail commandad to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armorers made great suite to the kyng and declared their great hynderance, which was not so muche considered as the mischief that might haue ensued if that so great a number should haue assembled together in that hote tyme & the plage of sweating raynyng. Now let vs leave England all this Sommers season troubled & vexed with this sweating sicknes, and let vs returne to the affayres of Italy.

The Emperor which knew how the lord Lawtrick was in Italy w a great army, thought it not for his profite to leaue his armie there vnsuccored, wherfore he sent y lorde Henry the yonger duke of Bruswyke with a great copany of Almaynes both on fote and horsebacke. Wherfore the Venicians set Fraunces duke of Orbyne to kepe the straytes and to stoppe him the passage: But when he heard of the puissaunce of the duke of Bruswyke and the great municions & provisions of warre that the Almaynes brought, he turned his iournuy, and by advise of the Venicians determined to fortifie the toones & to defende them against the Almaynes, and so the duke of Bruswyke with his armie passed the mountains and entered Italy burnyng, raynyng & raunsomyng toones as he passed, and euery he marched toward Myllain, wherof hearyng the Mylleners whiche were brought to extreme pouertie by these warres, beganne to lament and waile for the great tyranny that they judged to folowe whiche followed in dede. For when the Almaines came to Myllain and demaunded money of the Citezens, they that had nothyng to paye, were tyed in chaynes and kept miserably in prison tyll they had made some provision for the payment, whiche caused the Citezens to flee out of the citie and to leaue it in maner desolate: whiche thynge Anthony de Leua perceiuyng mowed with great compassion for the desolacion of the citie called the Citezens together and promised them that if they would paye the wages of the souldiers for xx. dayes onely, he would cause all the whole armie to remoue out of the citie, the poore citizens made shyft and payed the souldiers, and so they all departed fro Myllayne and came to the citie of Pauye and tooke it with litle labor and after that tooke diuers other toones.

Anthony de Leua knewe well the Duke of Brunswycke would in the spryng of the yere set forward toward Naples to ayde the Emperors armie against the lorde Lawtrick, therefore he desired the Duke that or he passed out of the duchye of Myllayne, he would put all the Frenchemen out of suche fortresses as they kept, whiche thynge he sayd might be easely done considerying the great puissaunce of the Almaynes and the debilitie and lacke of power of the duke of Myllayne, and in especiall considerying that the Venicians kept their toones and would not ayde the Frenche armie against the quene, to whiche persuasions the Duke agreed and went toward the citie of Lawde to the which he gave the assaut, but they within so well defended it that the Almaynes lost more then they wanne, wherfore the duke determined to famishe them within for he knewe by their great nomber that their vitaile must nedes faille and so it did in dede, so that no creature but men of war had any vitaile and therefore
the poore Citezens were compelled either to go into the hades of their enemies or to dye for famyn.

In this season was through all Italy a universal warre, famyn and pestilence or a morrey whereof the people died in euery place, & in especially in the Dukes armye whiche caused the moste part of the Almaynes to returne into their countrey, wherfore the duke wisely considered the chaunces and saw that his army was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vitaile and money he was not able to convey the remantaunt of his armeye to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne and so shortly after in good order returned and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The Frenche kyng was advertised by the lorde Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Bruswyke was commyning to raise the siege & reskue the citie, wherfore the French kyng sent lorde Fraunces erle saint Poul brother to the duke of Vandesme with. viii. M. men to folowe the duke of Bruswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Frauices Sforcia duke of Myllayne and the Venicians and so to expel Anthony de Leua and all the Emperors souldiers out of Lom bardy.

The Spaniards within Naples were advertised that new succors were commyning to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determined to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the citie and fought with the Frenchemen and slewe many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The lorde Lawtrick knew well that the citie could not holde long for lacke of vitaile (for a suertie if vitaile had not come by sea, the toune had been yielded) wherfore the lord Lawtrick suffered his armeye to lye still in the plaine fielde all the heate of the Sommer and brought them not to the shadow, by reason whereof thefe fell suche a disease amongst his armeye that they dyed daily in great number and he hisselfe fell sicke and lefte the armeye and lay at Verse, of the whiche mortalitie there dyed in the Frenche campe aboue xxiii. M. men byside the moste part of all their horses and beastes, of whiche number as diuers wryters do agree there dyed aboue v. M. gentlemen, amongst whom there dyed the lorde Vawdement brother to Anthony duke of Lorraine, the lorde of Graumont, the capitain Molyac, the lorde Laull of the Dolphenye, the capitaine Lupér, the lorde Charles Vyuone lorde of Chatayneray sonne to the lorde Andewe of Vyuone Seneschal of Poytew, and many other noblemen of name.

Duryng whiche plague the toune of Cappe (whiche moste of all the tounes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part. Whereof hearyng the lorde Lawtrick made thenerfore great sorowe, and beying somewhat amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he saw his number so minished and his Campe so desolate of people that he perceiued that his enterpris could not be performed, he fell into suche a malencoly ½ his sickenes toke him more feruely then before, so that within two daies after, which was the xxii. day of August he dyed at and his body was sered and conueyed after into France.

The Marques of Saluce whiche was Lieutenaut under the lord Lawtrick called to counsel the Erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauer and other capitaine that wer left, and after long consultacion they considered their number to be to small either to kepe the siege or to abide battel, for they passed not v. M. in all. Wherfore they concluded to leue the siege and to returne, and so the xxv. daye of August they brake vp their Campe and returned toward Frauice, in whiche returne the Spaniards euер costed them, and when they tooke any Frenchemen at aduantage, they either slewe or tooke them. Thus was the ende of this iorney by reason of the great mortalitie, whiche if it had not happened, the citie and the whole realme of Naples had been recovered: For the citie of Naples could not haue holden x. dayes, after the army remoued as they confessed after.

The Erle of saint Poul (whiche was appointed to passe into Itale as you haue heard before) knew nothyng of the mortalitie at Naples. Wherfore with all spede he passed the mountains the same season that the duke of Bruswyke returned & came into the duchy of
Mylain and tooke certaine fortresses which the Emperors power had wonne, and af-
fter that the aydes of the Venicians and duke Frances Sforcias were ioyned with him, he
besieged the citie of Pauye and within a fewe dayes the citie was taken by force and the
walles beaten downe to the ground for dispite that the Frenche kyng was taken before the
toune. These doygnes were not so muche pleasing to the Frenche kyng as the losse of the
citie of Geane was to him displeasunt. For the same season Andrewe Dorye whiche was
all the doer for the French kyng on the sea, & had before tyme in the Frenche kynges
quarel vanquished the lord Hugo Viceroy of Naples, & had taken the Marques of Ga-
sto & Ascayne de Columna & other captaineis belonging to the Emperor, whiche prisoners the
French kyng commanded to deliere into his hades, which thing Andrew Dory thought
not reasonable, cosidering that he tooke him, and for that cause and because his wages was
not payed, he tooke his Galeys and sayled to Geane where he was borne and also was
there of great authoritie and estimation, and there he so persuaded the people that they
became imperial and tooke Tremulius the French kynges frende and put him in warde,
and prepared to defende the citie against the Frenche kynges power, whereof hearyng the
Erie of saint Polle sent in al hast his light horsemen to soccor the citie but or they came
the citezens wer so furnished that the Frenchmen had no hope of recovery, wherfore they
returned to Alexadry, and there the commained together how to take the citie of Myllayne
which was sore desolate of people and brought to great mischief by the crueltie of Spai-
nardes and Almaines, but when they heard tell that the Emperor had sent ii. M. Spaniardes
to ayde Anthony de Lenae, they chaunged their purpose and determined to recover the citie
of Geane againe. For which purpose the erle left the Venicians at Casyan, and the
power of duke Frances Sforcie he left at Pauye to kepe the passages that the Spai
ardes should not stray farre abreode, and also to kepe the passages that no vitayle should come to
Spaniardes whiche at that tyme had onely the citie and castle of Myllain and none other
fortresse to resorte to. And therle himselfe lay at a village called Landryan, and for the
more speede of his enterprise he sent his forward with all his artillery before toward Geane,
haunying with him his middle warde and renwerarde. Of all these doygnes Anthony de Lenae
lying at Myllain by his espysals was truly from tyme to tyme advised, wherfore he like a
polletike capitaine considered how the erle had done foolishly to sende his ordinaunce and
forward before, he therfore determined to take the advantage of the Frenchmen if he
might, and so called to him all his capitaines and to them sayd: Felowes in armes and
souldiers to the Emperor our master, see and consider what a great occasion of victory is
offered to vs this present day, for the Venicians and the Sforcias be seuered from the
Frenchmen, and therle of saint Polle with part of his army lycth at Lanyland and hath
sent his forward & his ordinaunce toward Geane, wherfore we will set on him sodainly if
you agree, and if we overcomne him the praise shall be ours, and if he five at our conyng
yet folowing him we shall get a great pray and botie. To this entent all the other souldiers
agreed (for they wer very nedy and glad to have somewhat) and so he caused it to be pro-
claymed that all his men should be redy at an houre, and that every man should have a
white shyrte above his apparel that one in the darkr might know another, and when every
man was ready and the enyemyng approched, Anthony de Lenae according to his enterprise
set forwarde and was all armed and satte in a chayre curied by iii. strong persons.

When the citezens of Myllain saw him thus armed & borne in a chayre and knew wel that
he had a roynying gout and could not styrre himself, they meruailed much of his medacitic,
but by the experience of other thynges by him done, they judged that he entended some great
enterprise, but because the number of his people was so lytle they doubted the sequel of his
adventure. But for all their imaginacions he with his people secretly issued out of
Myllain and passed forward without any noysse, and in the morning sodainly set on therle
of saint Polle and his army, so that the erle had no leysure to send for his ordinaunce and
forward but was payne to trust to such as were then with him. And at the first brunte the
Almaines fled, and the Frenche horsemen also, & with a little fight all the other fled, and
as the Erle himself was flying over a great diche on horsebacke, he with the erle Guy of Raucon and the lord Castilleyon and many other nobles and gentlemen were taken prisoners and all their vitail, purcuiaunce & artillerie were prayes to the emperors souldiers which much refreshed the. After this iorney Æ French kyng had no army in Italy, wherfore Fraunces Sforcia seying himselfe destitute of ayde, made meanes to the Emperor by Pope Clement for the appointment both of the duchy of Myllain and also for his answer of certain treasons of the which he was accused to the Emperor, to whom theemperor answered that the next sommer he would come into Italy to receive his Emperial crowne, and then he would take such an order as right and equitie should require. This was the ende of the warres begun betwene the king of England & the Frenche kyng on Æ one partie and the Emperor on the other partie, in the xix. yere of the king as you haue heard before. For after this iorney the lady Margaret duches of Sauoy & aunt to theemperor, and the lady Loyse duches of Angulesme and mother to the French kyng continually labored for a peace, so that by their meanes a treatie was appointed to be kept at Cäbray in June folowyng as you shall hear after.

Now let vs returne to the kyng of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience & not quiet in his mynde, because that divers diuines well learned secrectely enformed him that he liued in adultry Æ his brothers wife to the great peril of his soule, and told him farther Æ the court of Rome could not dispence Æ Gods comaidement & precept. These thinges were talked among the comon people sith the fyrst day of his mariage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kynges counsellors aduised him to know the truth. Wherfore he like a wise prince for quietying of his conscience called together the best lerned of the realme which were of seueral opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trueth by indifferent judges lest perauenture Æ Spanyardes in fauor of Æ quene would say that his owne subiectes wer not indifferent judges, wherfore he wrote his cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendome wer there, and also he sent to al the vniuersities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great clerkes of al christendom to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legate to heare the cause debated which should be indifferent and of a great judgement. At whose request the whole consistory of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius a prest Cardinal, a man of great wit & experience, but more lerned in Æ papal law then in diuinitie which was sent as legate into England in the x. yere of this king as you haue heard in the sayd yere, & with him was ioyned in comission Æ Cardinal of Yorke & legate of England, & so this Cardinal Campeius by long iorneyes came into England & much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphantly into Lond, but he was so sore vexed with the goute that he refused all suche solemnities, & desired hartely that he might without pompe be conveyed to his lodging for his more quiet & rest, & so the ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Queyres by water to the bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last yine he was in England. Where he was visitated of the Cardinal of Yorke & diuers other estates & prelates. And after he had rested him a season & was somewhat releued of his pain, he was brought to the kynges presence then lying at Brydewel by Æ Cardinal of yorke and was caried in a chayer of Crimosyn velvet borne betwene iii. persones for he was not able to stand, and the Cardinal of yorke and he sat both on the right hand of the kynges throne, and there one Francisco secretarie to Cardinal Campeius made an eloquent oracion in the Latin tongue, in the whiche he rehearsed, fyrst with what crueltie the Emperors souldiers had handeled the pope, what tyrannye they had shewed to the Cardinalles and priests, what sacrilege & spoyle thei had commited in saint Peters churche, how thei had violat virgins, razhshed mennes wyues, & in conclusion spoyled, robbed & tormeted all the Romaines & & inhabitanthes in the cite of Rome: and further he shewed what fréship the college of Rome found at the kynges handes & the Frenche kinges in the tym of that tribulacion, that if they had not ioyned together, the cite of Rome Æ all their governours had beene brought to vttter ruyne & decay, for Æ which he sayd that pope Clement & al his college of cardinals & the Senators
of ȝ citie w al the cizenz rendered to the king their hartie þhakes, & promised him their loun, fauor & amitie perpetual.

This oracion (as eocerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamentacions, such abominable actes & tyranyes that the most part of the hearers thought it more eloquent then true. To the which Oracion doctor Fox Prouost of Cambredge made a discrete answere, & as to the fyrst point he declared that the king much lamented to heare his frendes ye or any other christen men to be ordered or hædeled with such tyrany and oppress: and as touching the second point he sayd that the kyng did but the duetie of a christen prince to releue his frêdes byng in captiuite, for the which he would ȝ the whole citie of Rome should geue thankes to God and not to him. After whiche answere made the two legates commund communely with the king a long space and after departed to their lodgyng.

Of the comyng of this Legate the common people byng ignorant of the truth and in especial women & other that fauored the quene talked largely, & sayd that the king would for his own pleasure have another wife & had sent for this legate to be deuorsed frô his quene, with many folishe wordes, insomuch that whosoever spake against the mariage was of the cōmon people abhorred & reproed, which cōmon rumour & folishe cómunicaciones wer related to ȝ king, wherfore he like a prudet prince & circumspect doer in all his affaires, & willing all men to know his entent and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Judges & counsailors with diverse other persons to come to his palace of Brydewell on sonday the viii. day of Nouéber at after noone in his great chamber and there to them sayd as nere as my witte could beare away these wordes folowynghan.

Our trustie and welbeloued subjicets both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner sort, it is not vknoven to you how that we, both by Gods prouision and true & lawfull inheritance haue reigned over this realme of England almoste the terme of xx. yeres. During whiche time we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God that no outward enemye hath oppress ed you nor taken any thynge from vs, nor we haue inueded no realme but we haue had victor y & honor, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessors never liued more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimacion vnder any of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie and that we must die, then we thinke that all our doynges in our life tyne are clerely defaced & worthy of no memorie if we leue you in trouble at the tyne of our death. For if our true heyre be not known at the time of our death, se what mischiefe & trouble shall succeede to you and your children. The experience therof some of you haue sene after the death of our noble grandfather kyng Edward the. iii. and some haue heard what mischief & manslaughter continues in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by ȝ which discuncion this realme was like to haue beene clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to send vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort & joy, yet it hath been told vs by diuers great clerkes that neither she is our lawfull daughter nor her mother our lawfull wife, out that we lieue together abominably and detestably in open adultry, insomuch that when our ambassade was last in Fraunce & macion was made that the Duke of Orleans should marie our sayd daughter, one of the chief cousailors to the French kyng sayd, It wer well done to know whither she be the kyng of Engliad his lawfull daughter or not, for well knowne it is that he begat her on his brothers wife whiche is directly against Gods law & his precept. Thynke you my lordes that these wordes touche not by body & soule, thynke you ȝ these doynges do not daily & hourly trouble my conscience & vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but & if it wer your owne cause every ma would seke remedy when the peril of your soul & the losse of your inheritance is openly layde to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I have asked counsail of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate as a man indifferent only to know the truth and to settle my conscience and for none other cause as God can judge. And as touching the quene, if it be aidiudged by ȝ law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thyng
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thyng more pleasaut nor more acceptable to me in my life bothe for the discharyge & cleruyng of my conscience & also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her nobyle parentage of the whiche she is descended (as all you know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of moste humilitie and buxumnes, yeand of al good qualities appertaining to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this xx. yeres almore haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to mary againe if the mariage might be good I would surely chose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by judgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louyng cõpanion, but muche more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultry to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. These be the sores that vexe my mynde, these be the panges that trouble my conscience, & for these greues I seke a remedy. Therfore I require of you all as our trust and confidence is in you to declare to our subiectes our mynde and entent according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with vs that the very truth may be known for the discharge of our conscience and sayng of our soule, and for the declaracion hereof I haue assembled you together and now you may depart.

To see what countenaunce was made amongst the hearers of this Oracion it was a straung sight, for some sighed and sayd nothyng, other were sory to heare the kyng so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauored the quene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euer man spake as his heart served hym, but the kyng euer labore to know the truthe for discharge of his conscience.

Shortly after this the two Legates came to the quene at the same place of Brydewell, and declared to her how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwene the kyng and her to heare and determyne whether the mariage betwene them stode with Goddes lawe or not. When she heard the cause of their cõmyng, no meruel thoughe she were astonied for it touched her very ner. And when she had paused a while she answered: Alas my lorde is it now a question whethr I be the kynges lawful wife or no? When I have been maried to him almost xx. yeres & in the meane season neuer questiõ was made before? Dyuers prelates yet byeng aliuæ & lorde also & priuie cousailors with the kyng at that tyne, then adindged our mariage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestible and abhominable, I thinke it greate maruell: and in especiall when I consider, what a wise prince the kynges father was, and also the loue and natural affeccion, that Kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me: I thinke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncerumpect, so vnwise, and of so small imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the Kyng my father, sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long suite, with grete cost and charge obtainen a licence and dispensacion, that I beyng the one brothers wife, and per-venture carnally known, might without scruppull of conscience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which license vnder lead I haue yet to shew, which thynges make me to say and surely beleue, that our mariage was both lawfull, good, and Godly: But of this trouble I onely maie thanke you my lorde Cardinal of Yorke, for because I haue wondered at your high pride & vaingloery, and abborre your voluptuous life, and abhominable Lechery, and litle regard your presumptuous power and tyrannie, therefore of malice you haue kinded this fire, and set this matter a broche, & in especial for the great malice, that you heare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfaie your ambicion, and make you Pope by force, and therefore you have saied more then once, that you would trouble hym and his frendes, and you have kept hym true promise, for of all his warres and vexaciõs, he onely may thanke you; and as for me his poore aunte and kyngs femme, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth. The Cardinal of Yorke excused himself, saying, that he was not the begynner, nor the mover of
of the doubt, & that it was sore against his will; that eu'r the marriage should come in question, but he saied that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Judge to heare the cause, which he swarde on his profession to heare indifferently, but whatsoeuer was saied, she beleued hym not, and so the Legates toke their leave of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, which was present, and by me translated as nere as I could.

The kyng notwithstanding that his mynd was vnquiet, yet he kept a good countenaunce toward the Queene, with asmeth love, honor, and gentlenes, as could be shewed to such a Princes, but he abstaned from her bed, till the truth was tried, accordyng as his Ghostly counsail had avisued hym, which was to hym no little pain, for surely he loved her as well, as any Prince might love his wife, and she him again, and therefore it was great pitie, that their marriage was not good.

The more to quicken his spirites and for recreacion, the Kyng kepte his Christmas at Grenewiche, with muche solemnite and great plentie of viandes, and themer came the two Legates, which wer received by twoo Dukes, and diuere Fries, Barons and Gentlemen, to whom the kyng shewed great pleasures, bothe of Iustes, Tornay, Bankettes, Maskes and disguiseings, & on the xii. daie he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinal Campeius, borne in wedlocke, knight, and gave hym a collar of. S. S. of golde; but the Queene shewed to them no maner of countenaunce, and made no great joye of nothing, her mynd was so troubled.

This doing in England, was spred ouer all Christendom by letters, and in euery region except Spain, and the Emperors dominions, thei adjudged the kyng a wise, a verteous, & a prudent prince, for triyng out of the truthe, consideryng that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in Diuinittie, but upon the uncertainty of there balance, depended the ruine of his realme and the successio of thesame, which was a wightie thing to consider, and no wisedome to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thynge commoned of, but onely of the kynges mariage, the Archebishop of Cantorbury sent for the famous doctors, of bothe the Universities to Lambeth and there were euery day disputacions, and cominonyges of this matter, and because the kyng perceiued & knewe well, that the queene was weded to her owne opinion, and that he would that she should do nothing without counsail, he bad her chose the best clerkes of his realme, to be of her counsail, and licensed them to do the best on her part that thei could accordyng to the truthe: then she electted Willyam Warha Archibishop of Cantorbury, and Nicholas West bishop of Elie, doctors of the lawes, and Iton Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish bishop of saint Asse, doctors of Diuinittie, and many other doctors and well learned men, whiche for a suertie like men well learned, defended her cause as far as learnyng might defend it, as you shall here in the yere folowyng.

This yere was sir James Spenser Maior of Londô, in whose tyme the watche in London on Midsomer night was laied dounne.

THE. XXI. YERE.

IN the beginning of this yere, in a greate Hall within the black Friers of London, was ordained a solempne place for the two Legates to sit in, with two cheyers couered with cloth of gold, and cussions of thesame, and a Dormant table railed before, like a solempne Courte, all couered with Carpettes and Tapisery: on the right hand of the court was hanged a clothe of estate, with a Chayer and Cussions of riche Tissue, for the kyng, and on the left hand of the Courte was set a riche chayer for the Queene. When the place was redy, the Kyng and the Queene wer ascited by Docter Sampson, to appere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentie and eight day of May, beyn the morow after
after the feast of Corpus Christi, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At the date assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses Pillers, Axes, and all the Ceremonies belonging to their degrees, and after that they were set (the Cardinal of York sitting on the right hand) their Commission was redde, and the cause of their comming thither openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Court of Rome was instructed, that great Clerkes and learned men, had enformed the King, that his marriage with his brothers wife, was unlawful, damnable, and directly against the Law of God, wherefore they were directed and appointed by the said Court to be judges in the cause, and to hear what on both parties could be alleged: after this was done the king was called by name, for whom two proctors appered, then the Quene was called, which within short space, being accompanied with the four Bishops, and other of her counsell, and a great company of Ladies and gentle women following her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obeisance, sadly and with great gravity done, she appeled from them the Quene as Judges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done she departed again. Notwithstanding this appeal, the Legates sat weekly, and every day were argumentes on both parts, and nothing else done.

The King which onely desired, to have an end in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the 1st of June, and the Quene also, where he standingly under his cloth of estate, saied these words in effect following: My lords, Legates of the Sea Appostolike, which be deputed Judges, in this great and weightie matter, I most hartely beseech you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to have a final ende, for the discharge of my conscience: for every good christen man knoweth what pain, and what vnquietnes he suffereth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spites, that I can scantely study any thing, which should be profitable for my Realm and people. And for to have a quietnes in body and soule, is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have maried for I dare saie that for her womanhode, wisdom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had suche another, and therfore if I would willingly change I were not wise: wherfore my suite is to you my Lords at this tymes, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conscience only, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

When the Kyng had saied, the Quene departed without any thing saiyng, then she was called to know whether she would bide by her apparealle, or answer there before the Legates, her Procter answered, that she would bide by her apparealle, that notwithstanding, the Counsellors on both sides euery day almoste met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the Law of God, if she were carnally known, by the first brother (which thing she cleere denyed) but to that was answered, that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for drynke carely in the morning, saiyng: that he had been in Spaine that night, whiche was a hote countrey, meaung that he had carnally used her, farther at the tymes of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with childe, and for that cause, the King was deferred from the Title and Creatio of the Prince of Wales, almoste halfe a yeare, whiche thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known.

Also she her selfe caused a Bull to be purchased, in the whiche were these woordes, Vel forsac cognitam, which is as much to say, as perauenture carnally known, which woordes were not in the first Bull granted by Iuly at her seconde mariage to the Kyng, which seconde Bull with that clause was only purchased, to dispence with the second Matrimonie, although there were carnall copulation before, whiche Bull needd not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnall copulation, for then the first Bull had been sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to persuasions of Natural reason, how this should not be vndoyn, for three causes: One was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the Kyng, should be a Bastarde, which were a great
a greate mischief to the realme: Secondly, the separacion should be a cause of great vn
kyndnes, betwene her kynred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the con-
nuance of so long space, had made the Mariage honest: These persuasions with many
other, were set furthe by the Queues Counsaill, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester,
which stode stiffe in her cause, but yet Gods precept was not answered, wherfore they
left that ground and fell to pleasing, that the Court of Rome had dispensed with that
Mariage: To this some Lawyers saied, that no yearethly persone is able to dispence with the
positive Lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion
for the moste part, was against the Matrimony, and that now the question was brought to
dispute the auctoritie of the Court of Rome, they begunne a little to quicken: For they
considered that if they should saie and determyne, that the Court of Rome might not dis-
pence in that case, that few menne would thinke, that they might dispence in any other
case, which should be to theim, a greate losse and hurt. Wherfore they dissimuled the
matter, and euery told the King, that he should have an end shortly, and tracted furthe the
tyme with Oracias and Sophistical argumentes, till August began to approche: then
Cardinall Campeius saied, that they might not sit after Iuly, till October, all whiche season
was a vacacion in the Courte of Rome, and their Court beeing a member of the Courte
of Rome, they must needes do thesame: this saiyng was reported to the kyng which, by
that saiyng knewe perfectly, that he should then haue no ende, and then he complained to the
dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other nobles of his counsaill, how he was delayed, and
willed them at the next Session, to require them to make an end of the cause, and what
Judgement souer they gauie, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnes of his conscience.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the xxx. day of August,
beeing Friday, where as Cardinal Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and swere on his
honor and faith, that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there
be, at thende of Iuly, to suspende all causes, till the. iii. dace of October, and if any
cause be treated, and judged in the meanse season, that judgement to be clerely voyde and
therefore he required the kyng to take pacience, till that time, trusting that then they
should procede toward senctee, so that he should be contented: the noble menne desired them to
make an ende, whatsoever it were, that day or the next day, which was the last dace of
Iuly: but they answered that they could not no more till October, whiche answere sore dis-
plesed the noble menne, whiche the king had sent thether, in so much that Charles Duke
of Snfolke, seyng the delay, gaue a great clappe on the Table with his bande and said:
by the Masse, now I see that the olde saied sawe is true, that there was neuer Legate nor
Cardinall, that did good in Englande, and with that saiyng all the Temporall Lordes depart-
ed to the King, leauiyng the Legates sitting one lookeyng on the other sore astonniied, because
they saw the Temporall lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he hard of this delay, but
yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it paciently, trusting to have an ende in October ensuyng:
But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he should
with spee, returne into Italy, and that he prouided for his ioruye: Then he openly per-
ceived, that the Legates dissimuled the tyme to have the matter in the Courte at Rome, for
the maintenaunce of their auctoritie, knoweuyng perfectly, that there he should bee foded
furthe with argumentes so long, that he should be in maner wery, and also all that tyme, he
should bee vaquet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the se-
conde care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke, (whom he so highly fauoured
and trusted, and whom he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopriche of Yorke,
and the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Duresme, and the Abbay of Saincte Albones, with
many other greate dignities and promocions, beside the Chauncellorshippe of Englande) so
ynfaithfully to dissimule with hym, and not to open the very truthe, which caused hym cler-
ely to cast hym out of his favor, in the which he had long been.
KYNG HENRY

THE.

VIIJ.

\?he the nobles and prelates perceiued, that the
kings fauor was from the Cardinal sore
minished, euery man of the Kynges Counsaill, beganne to laye to
hym suche offences, as
they knewe by hym, and all their accusacions were written in a boke, and all their handes
set to it, to the nomber of thirtie and
foure, which boke they presented to the kyng.
When
the kyng saw the boke, he marueiled not a litle, for
by the Articles conteigned in thesame,
heeuidently perceiued the high pride and coueteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openly
with what dissimulacion and clokyng, he had handeled the
kynges causes: how he with faire
liyng woordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, moste vntruly, whiche accusacions
sore moued the kyng against hym, but
yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the Kyng rode
on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Natiuitie of our
Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and
were but meanely receiued, sauyng that the Kyng made to theim good semblaunce, and in es1
peciall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the saied Campeius toke his leaue of the kyng, and then the kyng him coueighed to the
chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Yorke also went with his compaignion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng,
which was then rydyng out on hunting, and sent hym woorde by Henry Norreis, t.'iat he
should accompaignie Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would
more come with hym thus ahnoste dismaied the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his compaignion to To ester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Camthe sea side. Where
peius, were deliueied greate rewardes, and so he toke his iorney toward
to
se
what
letters the Cardithe kyuges counsail, caused his chestes & cariages to be opened
letters
a
few
wer
but
nal ot Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, & there
found, for they
old
old
hosen,
coates, and such
weie sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found,
much
serch
vile stuffe, as no honest man would cary to haue ity which
displeased Capeius,
and the more because his coffers wer like wise opened inChepe, by the rashenes of aMoile,
as you heard in the tenth yere of this king.
Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauyng
after their departyng from the kyng at Grafton, neuer T i*
behynde him his subtle felowe, whiche
*
sawe the Kyng, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was comu
the
Domiother
and
came to
Emperors
inuned of through Christendome, and in especiall in Spain,
the Quene should bee diuorsedfrom the kyng.: and surely the
aions, which sore grudged that
lawc of God, sore murmost part of the laye people of Englande, which knew not the
in the Court,
was
a
gentle woman
mured at the matter, and much the more, because there
Viscount
Rocheforde, whom the
called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne,
the world well knew
all
as
none otherwise,
kyne much fauoured in all 'hoiiestie, and surely
and
seruauntes, largely spake fc
For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen,
after
him in such amours, that only for her sake
said that he so entised the kyng, and brought
was the foofishe communicacion
and occasion, he would be diuorsed from his Quene, this
haue heard declared before.
f people, contrary to the truih, as you
other and m especial by
The kvng whkhe all the twentie yere paste, had been ruled by
be a ruler & a King, yea, a Kyng ot suche wute,
the Cardinal of Yorke, began now to
ouer this llealme, as you shall playnly
wisedome and pollicie, that the like hath not reigned
as also for the augmenta-of true Doctrync
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the Cardmalles bad handeled hym, and
don of his Croune. For when he perceiued, howe
that he might not mary Ins brothers wife, he
saw Plainly that the lawe of God was clere,
in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe
Souah tonde his Ambassadors to all the Vniuersities
Doctor* oxe,
cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and
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moued a Parliamet, to begin the third day of November, then immediatly folowyng, & declared that the same counsaill, should devise diverse actes, necessary and needfull to bee passed at the said Parliament, for reformacion of certain exactions, done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsaill and Parliament, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whiche muche conforted hym, that he outwardly little abashed: and so he and al the counsaill, came to the counsaill chamber at Westminster, and there diuerse daies, communed of diverse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed hymself, much more humbler, then he was wont to be, and the lorde shewed themselves more higher and straunger, then thei were wont to bee, but for all that he abashed not his countenaunce, but came into Westminster hall with all his trayne, the first day of the Term: but none of the kynges seruauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lorde and other the kynges counsaill, were gone to Wynsore to the Kyng, where they enformed the Kyng, that all thynges that he had done alme, by his power Legantyne, were in the case of the Premunire and prouison: and that the Cardinall had forfeited, all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and catelles to the kyng: wherefore the kyng willyng to ordre him, according to the ordre of his lawes, caused his attorney Cristopher Hales to sue out a Writte of Premunire against hym, in the whiche he licensed hym, to make an attorney.

And farther the seventene day of November, he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Scale of Englande, whiche he was loth to deliever, if there had been any remedy, but in conclusion he deliered it, to the two Dukes, whiche deliered thesame to doctor Tailor Master of the Rolles, to carry it to the kyng, whiche so did the next day: and beside this the Kyng sent sir William Fitz William knight of the Garter, and Thresor of his house, and Doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to se that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house: and farther ordeined that the Cardinal should remone to Ashire beside Kyngston, there to tary the kynges pleasure, & to have all thynges deliered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old papeous & superfluous fashion: For all his goodes wer seazed to the kynges vse. Whie the scale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, with many Erles, Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the xix. day of October, where the duke of Norffolke declared that the kynges highnes, for diverse and sondry offences, had taken frō hym his great Scale, and deposed hym of all offices, and least menne might complain for lacke of Justice, he had appointed him & the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lorde, to sit in the Starre chiber to hear and determine causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kynges pleasure and commandement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from any rewardes takyn, or maintenaunce, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber and determined causes.

On the due of thesesam moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse saiyng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his crosse, that he bare as legate whiche degree taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his burge, and went to Putney by Water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remaigned till Lent after.

Duryng which tyme, he beyng called on for an aswure in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for geyng benefices by preuencion, in disturbance of mens enheritaunce, and diverse other open causes in the premunire: he according to the kynges licence, con-stituted Ibon Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprenitices of the Lawe his attornices, which by his awne warrant signed with his band, confessed all thynges concernyng thesaide suite, for they wer to opē to be cloked or hidden, and so judgement was geuen, that he should forfet al his lades, tenemétes goodes and catalles, and should be out of the kynges protecció, but for all that the kyng sent him a sufficient proteccion: & of his gentlenes lefte to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gau to him plate and stuffe conveniēt for his degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gau to docter Tunstal bishop of London,
and the Abbey of saint Albones he gave to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Doctor Ion Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Universities, for the kynges marriage, as you have heard before. For all these kyndnes shewde to the Cardinal, yet he still maligned against the kyng, as you shall perceiue here after, by his vntrvue doynge, which brought hym to confusion.

The twenty and three day of October, the kyng came to his Manor of Grenewiche, and there muche consulted with his counsail, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualtie, and so after long debate, the Kyng resoluted himself vpon sir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancaster, a manne well learned in the tounge, and also in the Common Lawe; whose witte was fyne, and full of imaginacions, by reason whereof, he was to muche geuen to mockying, which was to his grauitie a greate blemishe. And then on the Sondae, the twentie and foure daie of thesame monethe, the kyng made hym his Chauncellour, and deliuered him the great Scale, which Lorde Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before hym.

Now let vs returne to the tretie of Cambray, whiche was appointed to be kept the last Sommer, for the conclusion of a peace, betwene the Emperor on the one part, and the kyng of England and the French kyng on the other part, for whiche conclusion there came to Cambrey, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sãuoy, Aunet to the Emperor and the Lady Loyse duches of Angulesme, and mother to the Frenche kyng and Doctor Tunstall bishoppe of London, and after bishoppe of Duresme; and sir Thomas More knight, after made Chauncellour of Englande, and diuerse other for the Kyng of Englande, all these mette there in the beginning of Iuly, accompanies with diuerse great princes and Counsaillers, on eyuer parte, and after long debating on bothe sides, there was a good conclusion taken, the fift day of August, in the which was concluded, that the tretie of Madrill, should stande in his full strength and vertue, saynyng the thirde and fourth, and the leuenth and foureth articles, which touch the Duchie of Burgoyne, and other lordshippes.

Item, it was agreed that the French kyng should haue his children deliuered again, payyng to the Emperoure two Millyons of Crunies of gold, whereof he should paiie at the deliuerung of the children, twelve hundred thousand Crunies.

Item, that the Frenche kyng should acquite the Emperoure, against the kyng of Englande, of foure skore and tenne thousande Crunies, whiche the Emperoure ought to the king of England, and the kyng of Englande to deliuer all suche bondes and gages, as he had of the Emperours.

Item, as touching the remnant, which was fift hundred and tenne thousand Crunies, the Emperour should haue. xxv. thousande crunies rent yerely, for the which he should haue the landes, of the Duches of Vandoeme, lying in Flaunders, and Brabant bounde.

Item, that Flaunders and diuerse other coutreys, should not behold in chief, nor haue resort to the crowne of Fraunce.

Item, that the realme of Naples, the Duchie of Millain, & the countie of Ast, should for euer remain to the Emperor.

Item, that the French Kyng should with drawe all such souldiers as he had, out of Italy.

Item, that the Lady Elianor should be brought into Fraunce, with the French Kynges children, and in time convenient should be married to the Frenche king.

Item, that the French Kyng should aide the Emperour with twelve Gallies to go into Italy.

Item, that all prisoners on both partes should be acquited.

Item, that the French Kyng should not ayde Robert de la Marche, against the bishop of Luke.
Item, that all the goodes moveable and unmoveable, of Charles late Duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paying to lorde Henry, Marques of Dapenete, and Earle of Nassaw, Lorde Chamberlayne to the Emperor, tenne thousande Dukes, which he lent to the saied Duke of Burbon.

Item, that Iohn Erle of Panthieure, should be remitted to all such goodes, as were Erle Rene his fathers.

Item, the Lord Laurence de Gorowod, great Master to the Emperoure, should be restored to the Lordeshippes of Chalmount, and Monteualle, which he bought of the Duke of Burbon, or els to have his money again.

Item, Phillip de Chalon Prince of Orange and Viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his landes in Burgoyne.

Item, that the Duchiues of Vandsome, and Loys Erle of Nauers should have all such right and accions, as they should have had, before the warre began.

In the Emperours countrie, when all thynges were written, sealed and finished, there was a solemnne Masse song in the Cathedral church of Cambrey, the twoo ladies Ambassadors of the king of Engleade, sitting in great estate, and after Masse the peace was Proclaimed, betwene the three princes, and Te deum song, and money cast to the people, and great fires made through the citie. Thisnesame night the Frenche Kyng came into Cambrey, well and nobly accompanied and saluted the Ladies, and to them made diverse bankettes, and then all persons departed into their country, glad of this concord.

This peace was called the wommenes peace, for because that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the Emperoure trusted the Frenche kyng, nor he neither trusted nor louted him, and their Subiectes were in the same case. This Proclamation was proclaimed solemnly, by Heranldes, with tropettes in the citie of London, whiche Proclamation much recyued the English Merchante, repairing into Spain, Flandres, Brabant, Zeelande, and other the Emperors dominions, for duryng the warres, Merchante were euill handeled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace.

Here is to be remembred, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and imprinted the New Testament in Englese, and the bishop of London not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with himself, how he might compasse and devise, to destroy that false and erronious translation, (as he saied). And so it happeneth that one Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a great honestie, the same tyne was in Andwarp, where the Bishoppe then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly favored William Tindale, but to the bishop utterly shewed himselfe to the contrary. The bishop desirous to have his purpose brought to passe, commyned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them. Packyngton then hearing that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lord if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter doe more I dare saie, then mouse of the Merchante of England that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungers that have bought them in Tindale, and haue them here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure, to pay for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for them, I will then assure you, to haue every boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde. The Bishop thinking that he had God by the too, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence and get them and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoever thei cost you, for the bokes are erronous and nauguies and I entend surely to destroy theim all, and to burne theim at Paulues Crosse. Agustyne Packyngton came to Willyam Tindale and saied, Willyam I knowe thou art a poor man, and hast a hope of newe Testamentes, and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indangered thy frendes, and beggered thyselfe, and I haue now gotten thee a Merchante, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thinke it so profitable for your self. Who is the Merchant, said Tindale? The bishoppe of London saied Packyngton, O that is because he will burne them saied Tyndale, ye Mary q Packyngton, I am
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the gladder said Tyndale, for these two benefites shall come therof, I shall get money of byn for these bokes, to bring my self out of debt, (and the whole world shall cry out upon the burning of Goddes worde). And the overplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you, then euer did the first: And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packynton had the thankes, and Tyndale had the money.

Afterward when no newe Testamentes were Imprinted, they came thicke and thresold into England, the bishop of London hearyng that still there were so many Newe Testamentes abrode, sent for Angustine Packington and saied vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that there are so many New Testamentes abrode, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought al? then saied Packynt6o, I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: but I perceive they have made more sence, and it will never be better, as long as they haue the letters and stampes, theryfor it wer best for your lordeshippe, to bye the stampes to, and then are you sure: the bishop smiled at him and said, well Packynton well, and so ended this matter.

Shortly after it fortune one George Constantine, to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, which then was lord Chauncellor of England, of suspicio of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More, after diuerse examinacions of diuerse thynges, among other, Master More said in this wise to Constantine. Constantine I would haue thee plain with me in one that I will aske of thee, and I promes thee I will shew thee favor, in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Ioye, and a great many mo of you, I know they cannot line without helpe, some sendeth them money and succoureth them, and thyself beyng one of them, haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee who be thei that thus helpe them? My lorde qf Constantine, will you that I shall tell you the truth? Yea I pray thee qf my Lord. Mary I will qf Constantyne, truly qf he it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed emong vs, a great deale of money in New Testamentes to burne them, and that hath and yet is our onely succoure and comfort. Now by my trothe qf More, I thynke euethesame, and I said so much to the bishop, when he went about to bye them.

While this treatie was thus in communicacion at Cambrey, theempereor which knew that his people lacked aide in Italy, and also perceiued that the people of Germany and Italy, had him not in suche honor as they would, if he wer once crowned Emperor, for in all writings they called him ouely Charles elected Emperor, wherefore he determined to go into Italy with a great payssance, bothe to receive his Imperial Crowne, and also to aide his people, which there remained, and so accopaignied with many Princes and noble men of Spain, and men of war, he take ship at Barcely, and sailed to Geane, where he was receiued with the scgniorie of the citee, with great triumph and honor, & great presentes geuen to him. Pope Clement hearyng that the Emperor was come into Italy, with all his Cardinall and whole court, came to his citee of Bononie, and there taried the Emperors commyng.

While the Emperor laie at Geane, thither came to him diuerse great Princes of Italy, with greate powers, and when all thynges wer redy, he set forward in good ordre of bataill toward Bononie, and in every towne he was receiued, & presented with great giftys and feasted, and so by long iornies, he came cere to Bononie, where firste met with him, all the Clergie of the Citie with procession, then all the vniversitie in there habites, al on horsebake, then came all the Children of the citee, in white sattn fringed with gold, after them the machalities of the citee, all in crimosyn Damaske, then followed the potestates & governers of the citee all in Crimosyn velvet, & within a myle of the citee there met hym foure and twentie Cardinallves: with this triumph theempereor was conyuged to the Cathedrall church, wher on the steppes of the west dore in a chair sat Pope Clement, and then the

The Pope came to Bononie.
Emperor a lighted and kissed his fote:and then they embraced together, and went into the church together and after went in to the pallace where they wer lodged both, and daily kepte great counsails together. While the Cardinall lay at Bonanie, ther came to him Trauces Storke, Duke of Millan, to excuse hym selfe of all thynges to hym oblicted, and by muche entreatyng at the Papes request he pardoned hym his offence, and restored him to his dignite and possession, payng to hym nine hundreth thousand Ducates, & till thei were paied, the Castel of Millayne, and the toune of Crome, should abide in themperors possession. After this agrement the Emperor set for Anthony de leua, and made him capiteayne of his ordanunce, and so now the duchy of Millayne was brought to quiet. In the same season the kyng of Englaed sent sir Nicholas Carew knight master of his horses, & Doctor Sapson to Bonanie for the ratificacion of the league concluded at Cambray, to the performance whereof the Emperor was solemply sworne, and so the Ambassadours departed: lykewise themprour, set into England, Peter Lord of Rosebec, which likewise sawe the kyng of England sworne to performe the same.

According to the somons the kyng of England began his high court of parliamet, the third day of Nouembre. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he & his nobles put on there robes of parliamet, and so came to the blacke Freers church, wher a Masse of the holy ghost was solemply song by the kynges Chappell, & after the Masse, the kyng with all the Lordes of the parliament, and Commons which wer somoned to apere at that day came in to the parliamet chibre, wher the kyng sat in his Throne or seate royal, and Sir Thomas More his Chauncelor standing on the righthand of the kyng behynde the barre made an eloquent Oracion, declaring that like as a good shepard which not alone lyked and attendeth well his shepe, but all so forseeth & prouideth for althyng, which either may be hurtful or noysome to his foke, or may preserue and defende thesame agaynst all peryles that may chaunee to come, so the kyng which was the sheperd, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigili forseyng thynge to come considered how divers lawes before this tyme wer made nowe by log contynuance of tyme and mutacion of thynge, very insipiofficient, & vnperfit, and also by the frayl condicion of man, divers new enormities were sprong amongst the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme thesame, which was the very cause why at that tym eyth the kyng had somoned his high court of parliament: and he resembled the king to a shepard, or heard man for this cause, for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a richeman, if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people and the number of his foke, the he is a ruler, a gouernour of might and puisaunce, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe, commendeth the name of a shepherd: and as you se that emonest a great flocke of shepe some be rotté and faute the which the good sheperd sendeth from the good shepe, so the great wether which is of late fallen as you all knowe, so craftely, so scabedly, ye & so vntruly surged with the kyng, that all men must nedes gesse and thinke that he thought in him self, that he had no wit to perceine his craftie doyng, or els that he presumed that the kyng woulde not se nor know his fraudulent Iuggeling and attemptes: but he was deceined, for his graces sight was so quike and penetrable, that he saw him, ye and saw through him, both with in and without, so that all thynge to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which small penishmet the kyng will not to be an example to other offendoures, but clerly declareth that whosoeuer hereafter shall make like attempt or commit like offence, shall not escape with lyke ponslyemnte: and because you of the common house be a grosse mulfitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Thynerefore the kynges pleasure is, that you shall resorte to the nether house, and there emongest your self accordynge to the olde and auncient custome to chose an able perso to be your cōmon mouth & speaker, & after youre election so made to advertise his grace therof, which wyll declare to you his pleasure what day he wyll haue hym presēt in this place.

After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house, & they chose for there speake-
er Thomas Andeley Esquier & attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was... the parliamet adjourned to Westminster. On the sixt day of the same moneth the king came in to the parliament chambre and all the Lordes in there robes, and ther the commons of the nether house presented there speaker, whiche there made an eloquent Oracion which consistd in two poynctes, the first poynct was that he muche prayed the kyng for his equitie and justice, mixed with mercy and pitie, so that none offence was forgotten and left unpunished nor in the punishment the extremite nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which should be a cause to bridell all men from doing like offences, and also a comforte to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation.

The second poynct was, that he disabled him selfe, both for lacke of wit, learning and discretion so high an office, beseeching the kyng to cause his commons to resort etiasons to ther common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parliament.

To this the kyng (by the mouth of the Lord Chaunceler) answered that where he disabled hym selfe in wit and learning, his awne ornate oracion there made testified the contrary, and as touching his discretion and other qualities, the kyng him selfe had well knowe him and his doynges, sith he was in his servise, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted.

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, thei began to common of their grefes wherwith the spiritualtie had before tyme grievously oppressed them, both coatrarie to the lawe of the realme, & coatrarie to all rigle, and in especial thei were sore mowed with sixe greate causes.

The first for the excessse fynes, which the ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes, in somuche that Sir henry Guilford knight of the gartil and comptrollor of the kinges house declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other byeng executors to Sir William Compton knight paied for the probate of his wil to the Cardinal & the Archbishop of Caunterburie a thousand Marke sterlyng: after this declaracion were shewed so many extorcions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse.

The second cause was the great polling and extreme exaccion, which the spiritual men used in takyng of corps presentes or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should al dye for hunger and go a begging rather then thei would of charitie gave to them the sey bow which the dead man ought if he had but only one, such was the charitie then.

The third cause was, that priestes byeng suriroes, stuardes and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotcs, and other spiritual heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, & grasing in every contrye, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothynge but of them, and yet for that they should pay derely.

The fourth cause was that Abbotcs Priors and spiritual men kept Tanne houses, & bought and soulde woll, cloth and all maner of marchaundise as other temporall marchaunte did.

The fift cause, was because that spiritual persones promoted to great benefices, & hauyng there lyuyng of ther flocke, were liuyng in the courte in lorde houses, & toke al of the parishoners, & nothing spent on the at al, so that for lacke of resident both the poore of the parish lacked refreshyng, & universally all the parishioners lacked preaching, & true instruction of Gods worde, to the greate perell of there soules.

The sixt cause was to se one priest byeng little learned to have tene or twelve benefices, and to be resident on none, and to knowe many well learned scholer in the universitie which wer able to preche & teache, to haue neither benefice nor exhibicion.

These things before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heritike, or lese al that he had, for the bishops were Chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit, or commoditie.

But nowe when God had illumined the cies of the kyng, and that ther subtell doynges was once...
once espied: then men began charitably to desire a reformation, and so at this Parliament men began to shew their grudges.

Where upon the Burgess of the Parliament, appoincted suche as were learned in the law being of the common house, to draw one bill of the probates of Testamentes, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none resitente, pluralities, and takynge of Fermes by spiritual men.

The learned men toke muche payne, and first set furthe the bill of Mortuaries, whiche passed the common house, and was sent vp to the Lordes.

To this bill, the spiritual Lordes made a fayre face, saying that surely priestes and curates toke more then they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable orde, thus thei spake because it touched them little.

But with in two daies after was set vp the bill concerning probates of Testamentes, at the which the Archbishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other bishoppes in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched ther profite, insomuch as Doctor Iohn Fisher bishop of Rochester, saied openlie in the Parliament chambre these wordes: my Lordes, you se daily what bille come hither from the commo house and all is to the destruction of the churche, for Godes sake se what a Realme the kyngdome of Boheme was, and when the Church went done, then fell the glory of the kyngdeme, now with the Commons is nothing but done with the Church, and all this one semeth is for lacke of faith only.

When these wordes were reported to the Commons of the nether house, that the bishop should say that all ther doynges were for lacke of faith, thei toke the matter greuously, for thei Imagined that the bishop esteemed them as Heretikes, and so by his shonderous wordes would hawe persuaded the temporall Lordes to have restrained there consent from the saied two billes, whiche they before had passed, as you haue hard before.

Wherefore the Commons after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the Parliament to the kynges higlines, with a greuous complaynt, agaynst the bishop of Rochester, and so on a day when the kyng was at layser, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thrirle of the chief of the common house, came to the kynges presence in his palace at Westminster, which before was called yorde place and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was to say that they which were elected for the wyset men of all the Sheres, Cities, and boroughes within the realme of Englad should be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith, whiche was equalellent to say, that thei were Infidelles and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Sarasinus, so that what payne or studie so euer thei toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer thei made or established, shulde be taken as lawes made by Panyms and hethen people, & not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherefore he most humbly besought the kynges higlines, to call the saied bishop before him & to cause him to speake more discreetly of such a nombre as was in the commo house.

The kyng was not well contented with the saying of the bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would send for the bishop and send them worde what answer he made, and so they departed agayne. After this the kyng sent for the archbishop of Cauntorburie and sixe other bishoppes, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons, to the which the bishop answered that he ment the doynges of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doynges of them that were in the common house, which saying was confirmed by the bishoppes being present, which had him in greate reputacion, and so by that only saying the kyng accepted his excuse and therefore sent word to the commons by sir William Fitz william knight treasure of his househoarde, which blind excuse pleased the commons no thing at all.

After this divers assemblies wer kept betwene certein of the lorde & certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporalitie laid to the spiritualitie ther awne lawes and constitucions, and the spiritualitie sore defended them by prescription and vsage, to whom an aswere was made by a gentleman of Greyes
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Inne: the vsage hath ever ben of themes to robbe on shoters hill, ergo it is lawfull: with answere the spiruittall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stode still by there saiynges, in so muche the saied gentle man saied to the Archebishops of Cantorturie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testamentes, and the takynge of Mortuaries, as they were vsed were open robbery and theft: after long disputacion, the temporall lordes began to leane to the commons, but for all that, the billes remained vnconcluded a while.

In the meane season, there was a bill assented by the Lordes, and sent doun to the commons, theeffect whereof was, that the whole realme by the saied acte, did release to the kyng all suche somes of monye as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his raigne (as you haue hard before) this bill was sore argued in the common house but the most parte of the commons were the kynges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the bill was assented to.

When this realse of the loane was known to the commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament, for almoste cuery man counted it his dette, and reconed surley of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there willes of thesame, and some other did set it ouer to other for debt, and so many men had losse by it, which caused them sore to mormur, but ther was no remedy. The kyng like a good and a discrete prince, seing that his commons in the Parliament house had released the loane, enteyning somewhat to requite the same, granted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayn great offences and debtes only except: also he aided them for the redresse of there greues against the spiruittale, and caused two newe billes to be made indifferently, both for the probate of Testamentes and mortuaries, which billes were so resonable that the spiruittall lordes assented to them all though thei were sore against there myndes, and in especiall the probate of Testamentes sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the persone and vicars.

After these Actes thus agreed, the Commons, made a nother acte for pluralities, of benefices, none residence, byng and sellong and takynge of fermes by spiruittall persone, which acte so displeased the spiruittale that the priests railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes, and scismatikes, for the which diverse priests were punished.

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chambr, and the Lordes spiruittal woulde in nowse consent. Wherefore the kyng perceyng the grudge of his commons, causd eight lordes and eight of his commons to mete in the staire chambr at an after none, and ther was sore debateyng of the cause, insomuch that the temporall Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, toke parte with the Commons, agaynst the spiruittall lordes and by force of reason causd them to assent to the bil with a litle qualifiying, whiche bill the nexte day was wholy agreed to in the lordes house, to the great rejoisyng of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spiruittall persone.

Duryng this Parliament was brought doun to the commons, the boke of articles whiche the Lordes had put to the kyng agaynste the Cardinall, the chief articles were these.

First that he without the kynges assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of ali bishops and spiruittall persone.

Item, in all writtynges which he wrot to Rome or any other forayn Prince, he wrot Ego et Rex meus, I and my kyng, as whoould say that the kyng were his seruaunt.

Item, that he hath selaunched the church of England in the courte of Rome, for his sugerction to be legate was to reforme the churche of Englundge, which as he wrote was Facta in reproban censum.

Item, he without the kynges assent, caried the kynges great Scale, with hym into Flamand when he was sent ambassad to the Emperoroure.

Item, he without the kynges assent, sent a commissione to Sir Gregory de Cassado, knyghte,
Item, that he hauyng the Frances pockes presumed to come & breth on the kyng.
Item, that he caused the Cardinall es hat to be put on the kynges coyne.
Item, that he woulde not suffer the kynges clarke of the market, to sit at Sainct Talbons.
Item, that he had sent innumerable substanse to Rome, for the obtenying of his digni
ties to the greate enpoynshent of the realme.

These Articles with many more, red in the common house, and signed with the Cardi
nalles hande, was confesseyd by hym, & also ther was shewed a writynge sealed with his
Seale, by the whiche he gau to the kyng all his mounables and vumonables.

On the day of the conception of oure Lady, the kyng at Yorke place at Westminster, in
the parliament tyme created the vioconte Rochforth Earle of Wilshire, and the vioconte Fitz
water, was created Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Hastynges was created Earle of Hun
tyngton.

When althynges were concluded in the Parliament house, the kyng came to the Parlia
ment chambre the seuentene day of Decembre, and there put his royall assent, to al
thynges done by the Lordes and commons, and so proroged his court of Parliament tyll
the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the kyng removed to Grenewiche and there kept
his Christemas with the quene in greate triumph: with great,plentie of viandes, and di
verse disguisynges and Enterludes, to the greate rejoisyng of his people.

You haue harde before how the Emperour and the Pope was at Bononie, wher the Em
perour made great preparacion for the solenmpnysing of his coronacion, which was ap
pointed to be of Sainct Mathias day, or the foure and twentie day of February, on whych
day, he was borne, and that day also the French kyng was taken, and because that that
day had ben euer forunate to him he appoincted his coronacion on that day: he appoincted it also
at that place, because he woulde the soner passe into Almayne, to appece suche strifes and
debates as was rysen betwene the princes there.

And so wha the day came & euery thing was redy, he was crowned Emperor, in the
churche of. S. Peter, in the citie of Bononie by pope Clemet the. vii. with al the ceremonies
therto beloeng. At this coronacio wer present the Dukes of Sauoy and Millayn, duke
Frederik brother to the Paliatine of Rine, and the deputies to all the seuen Electors and the
moste parte of al the nobles of Italy, and Spayne. This coronacion was done with great
solemnities, there was feastyng, iustyng and toreynd, and althynges that might sounde to
honoure was there shewed, bothe in apparell, and viande: and after that the Emperoure
and the Pope, with the hole college of Cardinall es, and al the noble men beyng present
rode in procession through the hie stretes of Bononie, with suche a pompe and triumph as
had not bene sene in Italy many yeres before.

While the Emperour lay thus at Bononie, the kyng of Englande was advertysed by his
ambassadoures, which he had sent to divers vniuersities for the assolyuyng of the dooble
cocernyng his mariage, that the saied vniuersities wer agreed and had clerly concluded,
that the one brother to marry the other brothers wife, carnally knowne was directlie against
Gods lawe, and that the pope nor the court of Rome could in no wise dispence with the
same.

Wherefore the kyng knowyng the emperour and the bishop of Rome to be together at Bo
nonie, determined to send whethen a solempnne ambassade, both to declare to them the law
of God, and the determinacion of the vniuersities, and also to require the bishop of Rome
to do Iustice accordyng to the truthe, and also to shewe to the Emperoure that the kyng
did not move this matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the quene his awnt, but
only for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnes of his Realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the kyng appoincted Sir Thomas
Bulleyne
Bulleyne late created Earle of Wylishier and Doctor Stoksley elected bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his almoner, two great Clarkes, for his ambassadours & with them he set divers doctors both of the lawe & diniitie. These ambassadours made great preparacion, and about the begynnyng of Februarie thei set forward, and so muche thei trouailed that they came to Sauoy wher the Duke in the fayre toune of Cambrey, caused them honorably to be receiued and fested.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the duchie of Millain & by long iorunes thei came to Bononie in lent, when they wer honorably receiued by the master of the Emperoures house, and diuers Lords and Gentlemen belonging to the Pope, and within short space the saied ambassadours were first conuioyed to the Pope, and there declared ther message and shewed the determinacion of the great Doctors and famous vniuersities. Pope Clement whiche was a man of no learnyng but of a great wit made to them a gentle answere, and saiied that he woule there the matter disputed when he came to Rome and according to right he woule do justice. But his entent was all contrarie, for he knew well that if he shoule geue sentence, that Pope Iuly coulde not dispende with the breach of Godes lawe, that then the authoritie of the courte of Rome would litle be regarded, and also he feared the Emperours displeasure if he shoule geue sentence against his awnte, so that for feare of losing authoritie, & of theemperors displeasure, bishop Clement, durst not Judge according to Goddes lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperour, whiche them gently receiued, and after they had done their message, he answered them that he in no wise would be agaynst the lawe of God, and if the court of Rome would aduidge that the matrimonie were not good, he woule be cotcet, but he thought all otherwise, for he solicited the pope & all the Cardinalles which wer his frendes to staid by the dispêcaciôn, which he judged to be as strong as Goddes lawe. After this answere they tok e ther leaue of the Emperor, which the nexte weke after departed out of Bononie towarde Almayne in good orde of battail, he him selfe in gilt harnes, and his nobles in white harnes with riche cotes and trappers very curiously besene.

After that themperour was gon out of Bononie, the ambassadoure of England toke there leaue of the bishop of Rome, which went toward Rome agayne, and returned toward England, through the Duche of Millayn, which was receiued by the Earle Lodouick, great counsaylor to the Duke of Millain, which earle conducted them through the whole Duche of Millayne, & paiied all their charges by the dukes comaudemet. And whê these ambassadors wer passed the mountaynes, they receiued letters fro the kyng, which appoincted the Earle of Wilsheire to go ambassadde to the French kyng, which then lay at Burdeaux makyng provisio for money for the redeemyng of his children: and the bishop of London was appoynted to go to Padua, and other vniuersities in Italy to know their opinions in the kynges cace, and the kynges almoner was appoincted to returne into Engladen, and so he did, thus was the end of this ambassad.

You haue hard before how the Cardinall was attainted in the premunire and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the kyng by the aduice of his counsaille licence him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, and gaued him comandemet to kepe hym in his diocesse and not to returne southwarde without the kynges special licence in wryting.

So he made great provision to go Northward and apparelled his seruantes newly & bought many costely things for his houshould & so he might well enough, for he had of the kynges gîtlenes the bishopprickes of Yorke & Winchester, which wer no small things, but at this time diuers of his seruautes departed from him to the kynges seruice, and in especiall Thomas Cramwel one of his chief counsaille and chefe doer for him in the suppressio of abbes. After that al things necessarie for his iornay wer prepared, he toke his iornay northward til he came to Southwel which is in his diocesse & ther he continued this yere, ever grudging at his fall as you shall here after: but the lades which he had geue to his Colleges in Oxford & Ypswyche, were now come to the kynges handes, by his atteinder in the premunire, and
and yet the kyng of his gentlenes and for favour that he bare to good learnyng erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kynges College, and endowed it with faire possessions, and put in newe statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he lefte that dissolved.

The last Somer while the peace was treated at Cambray as you haue hard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recouered certayne townes whiche, the Turkes had taken from hym in Hungary, and put to fitlete his enemy Ihon the Vaiuoda, whiche falsly named him selfe kyng of Hungary. This Vaiuoda destitute of all succoure fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desiring hym of succor, to recouer Hungry againe. The Turke being glad to haue an occasion to distroy Hungry, assembled a puissaunt armie, and entred into Hungry, and made proclamation that what toune or Citie woulde not obey kyng Ihon as ther kyng, should be put to fire and sworde. This proclamation so fearid the Hugarians, that al in maner yelded the self subjectes to the Vaiuoda, the citie of Bude onely except: whych at the last was yelden, by composicion that thei shulde depart with bag and baggage, but for al there safe condit signed with the great Turkes hand, they were firste robbed of the Ianzeres, and after that shamfully slain.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Vaiuoda, and Lewes great bastard sonne to the Duke of Venice, with five thousand fotemen, and two thousand horsemen, and he with all haste entered into Austrice, wher his people committed such crueltie and tirannie, as neuer hath been hard nor written, for of some thei put out the ies of other theye cut of the noses and cares, of other thei cut of the privye mebers, of women thei cut of the pappes, and raunished Virgins and of women great with child, thei cut ther bellies and bret the children: beside this, as thei passed thei brent corne, trees, howses, and al that would be bret to make the contry desolate, and at the last the two and twentie day of September, the turkes armie came nye to Vienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice.

The fame was that he had two hundred and fiftie thousande men in his armie, and fivete and twentie thousande tentes in the sighte of the citie.

At the beginning of the siege certain Christian men were taken of the Turkes, which turkes cut of the heddes of foure lepers in a lazer cote, without the citie & put them vpon poles, & made christen prisoners preset the to the great turk, which theerof toke great ioy: of which prisoners he released certain and bad them go to the captaynes and to tell the that if they would yeld the citie to hym, they should depart with bag and bagage, and if thei would kepe it by force, he woulde suerly haue it & put the all to the sword. Now in the citie was captayn duke Phillip of Bautier, Earle Palantine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsgraeue elector, a young man, but of noble corage, and with him were twentie thousand Almynes, and two thousand horsemé, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceiuyng ther boldnes ent his great ordinance, which were thre hundredth peces agaynst the walles, and commaundyd the towne to be assauted: the Turkes gave a great assaut, but the christen men valiantly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to flee, and many of them were slaine.

The fourth day of Octobre, the Turke bent all his Ordinaunce against the wall which so shoke the wall that all men within supposed that the walles would have fallen downe, but thei did little harne, whiche was some amendid. The sixt day of Octobre, eight thousand christen men issued out of the toune, and came wher the Turkes miners wer working and slew a gret nombre & destroyed the mines. The same day the Turkes gave a great assaut to the citie: the christyan men valiantly them defended, and threw downe great logs and barres of Iron, and slew many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assauted the citie a leuen times, & somany times they wer bete away, but the great & terrible assaut was the twelve day of Octobre, at which assaut the christyan men so valiantly defended them selfe and slewe and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day, for no commandement that the Turke could geue, they woulde nomore geue assautae.
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The Turke perceiued well both the strength of the Citie and the corage of the capitaines with in; and also the winter there was muche more colder then in his contreyes, which sore troubled hym and his people. Wherfore he called his counsell and concluded to breake vp his siege and to departe; & so the fouretene day of Octobre he shot greate stones into the citie all day till night: and aboute tenne of the clock in the night he caused his tentes to be tak vn, and set fire on the strawe, and such other stuffe, and so removed all his armie, toward Bude, sauing fiftie thousande horsemen which e taried all the next day behynde, cariying with hym a greate nombre of Christyan prisoners, which he put to the mines and suche other vile servise. At this siege the Turke loste by Murder, Sicknes, and cold, aboute fourescore thousande men, as one of his bassates did afterwarde confesse.

Thus was the citie of Vienne defended agaynst the greate Turke, and all his power whiche was to him a greate displeasure, and in especially because he neuer beseged Citie before, but either it was yelden, or taken, of the tyme of this siege a metrician made these verses.

Cesar in Italian quo venit Carolus anno

Cuncta est ripheis nostra Vienna getis.

In this yere the mperour gane to the lord master of saynt Iohnes of Jerusalem, and his bretherne the Iland of Malto lying betwene Seicile and Barbarie, there to employ them selfe vpon Christes enemies which lord master had no place suer to enhabite there sith he was put from the Rhodes by this Turke that beseged Vienne, as you haue hard before.

THE. XXII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this two and twentie yere, the kyng like a politike & a prudent prince, perceived that his subiectes and other persons had divers times within foure yeres last past yere, brought into his realme, great nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Ioy, and other, which bokes the common people used and dayly red prieuely, which the clercge would not admet, for they punished suche persones as had red, studied or taught thesame with greate extremetie, but bycause the multitude was so great, it was not in their power to redresse there grese: wherfore they made complaint to the Chauncellor (which leaned much to the spirituall mennes part, in all causes) whereupon he imprisoned and punished a great nomber, so that for this cause a great rumour and controversie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng cōsiderying what good might come of redyng of the new Testament with reuerence and folowynge thesame, and what euell might come of the redyng of the same if it were euill translated, and not folowed: came into the starre chambe the fīue and twentye day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates cocernyng this cause, and after long debyting, it was alleged that the translation of Tyndall and Ioy were not truely translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaches which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishops vncharitably, wherefore all suche bokes were prohibited and commandament genen by the kyng to the bishoppes, that they callyng to them the best learned men of the universitie should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people should not be ignoraunte in the law of God: And notwithstanding this commaundement the bishoppes did nothing at all to set furth a new traslation, which caused the people to stody Tindalles translation, by reasō where of many things cam to light, as you shall here after.

In this yere in Maye, the bishop of Londō caused all his newe Testamentes which he had bought with many other bokes, to be brought into Paules churchyarde in London and there was openly burned.

In the ende of this yere, the wilde Irishmen knowing the Earle of Kildare to be in Eng- land, entred his lande, and spoyled and brent his contrey, and divers other contreyes, and
THE XXII. YERE OF

the Earle of Ossery beyng the kynges deputie made little resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherfore the kyng sent the erle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him sir Wylyam Skeuyngton knight, Master of the kynges ordinaunce and diuers Gunners with him, whiche so politickly ordered them selve that their enemies were glad to offre amendas and to treate for truce, and so sir Wylyam Skeuyngton the nexte yere returned into England leyling there the Erle of Kildarc for the kynges deputie.

Now I will returne to þ y execution of the treatie of Cambray in which it was agreed that the Lady Elianor and the Frenche kynges children should be delivered when the rauensome appointed was payed as you have heard in the last yere: Wherfore þ French kyng gathered money of his subjectes w all spede, and when the money was ready he sent the great Master of Fraunce called Annas de Memorangye and diiverse other nobles to Bayon with the money, and to receiue the lady and the children. And thinke came to them the great Constable of Castle and Mounosire Prat for the Emperor, and there the crownes were wayed and touched, and what fault soever the Spanyards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so thei carried the children backe frth ſo Foutnay into Spayne. Thus the great master of Fraunce and his company lay still at Bayon without haung his purpose performed from Marche till the ende of Iune, and longer had lycn if þ king of England had not sent sir Francys Bryan to Bayon to warrant the payment: whereupon the day of deliverance was appointed to be on sainct Peters day in Iune.

At which day the great Master with xxxi. Mulettes laden with the crownes came to þ one syde of the riuier of Auday whiche riuier departeth Spayne and Fraunce & there taried till the first day of Iuly: on which day the lady Elianor & the children were put in two great boates, haung onely xii. gentlemen of Spayne with them: and in like maner the great Master with two great boates in the which the money was and xii. gentlemen with him. All these boates met at a bruyde made in the middes of the riuier: The Constable of Spayn and his xii. gentlemen met with the great Master of Fraunce and his xii. gentlemen on the bridge, and after a little salutation the Frenchmen entered into the ii. boates where the Lady and the two children were, and the Spanyards into the two boates where the money was, and then ech part hasted to land. Thus were the Frenche kynges wife and children deliverd into his handes, for whiche deliverance was great joy & triumph made in Fraunce: & also in Iuly were fyers made in London & diuers other places for thesame consideration and cause.

The Emperor as you have heard the last yere, passed out of Italy into Germany and was receiued with great honor and triumph into the citie of Ausborogh or August, where in Iune were present all the electors and almooste all the princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsell, for the princes of Germany were of two seueral opinions and of seuen names, the part that fauored the pope and all thynges done by his aucthoritie were called Catholical, and the other part which folowed and preached only the gospel of Christ were called euangelical. Of these and other thynges concerning our fauyth there wer many coiisales: but Cardinal Campeius the Popes legate would not suffer the Euangelical persones (whom he called Lutherans) to argue against þ Catholical men (who þ Euangelical persones called papystes) lest by the opening of the scripture the aucthoritie of the court of Rome should have been dammed, and thercfore the Emperor put of the matter till another tyme: But this matter was not so let slippe, for of this mocion men so serched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche and forsoke him and his pardons.

On the xix. day of September in the citie of Lodon was made this Proclamation. "The kynges highnesstraylyt charcheth and commaundeth that no maner of person of what estate, degree or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase frh þ court of Rome or els where, nor vse & put in execucion, diumulge, or publishe any thyng herefore within this yere passed purchased or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter preiudicial to the high auctoritie, iurisdiccion and prerogatitue royal, of this his sayd realm,
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or to the let, hynderauce or impechement of his graces noble and vertuous entended purposes in the premisses, upon payne of incuryng his hignes indignacion & imprisonment & farther punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other."

This Proclamation was much mused at and every worde of thesame well noted. Some sayd that it was made because that the queene had purchased a new Bull for the ratification of her mariage, other sayd that it was made because the Cardinal had purchased a Bull to curse the kyng if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie and he not to meddle with thesame. This inuencion sounded moste to the truth as you shall here afterward.

In October the riuere of Tyber was of suche an heighth that in Rome and other places about Rome almoste xii. M. persons were drouned, & in the next moneth zeland, Holland and Brabant were sore noyed with waters and many people and much cattell were drouned.

You have heard in the last yere how the Cardinal of Yorke was attainted in the premunire and that notwithstanding the king had geuen him the bishoprickes of Yorke and Winchester with great plentie of substance, and had licensd him to lye in his dioces of Yorke. He beyng this in his dioces grudging at his fall & not remembryng the kynges kyndnes shewed to him, wrote to the court of Rome and to divers other princes letters in reproche of the kyng, and in as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the kyng and his realme insomuch that divers opprobious wordes of the kyng were spoken to doctor Edward Kerne the kynges Orator at Rome, and it was sayd to him that for the Cardinals sake, the kyng should have the worse sped in the suite of his matrmony. The Cardinal also would speake fayre to the people to wynne their heartes and declared cuer that he was vnjustly and vntruly ordered, whiche fayre speakyng made many me beleue that he sayd true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him: And to be had in the more reputacion among the people he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral church in such an heighth and fashio as was never seen, and sent to all the lordes, Abbettes, Priors, knyghtes esquires and gentleman of his dioces, to be at his Manor of Cawod the vi. day of November and so to bryngh him to Yorke with all maner of pompe and solemnitie.

The kyng which knew his doynges and priuye conueyaunce, all this yere dissembled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he saw his proud heart so hyghly exalted that he would be so triumphantly installed without making the kyng priuye, yea and in maner in disdayne of the kyng, thought it not mete nor conuenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proude purposes and attempts: wherfore he directed his letters to Henry the vi. Erle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal and to deliver him to therle of Shrewsbury great Stewarde of the kynges housholde: When the erle had seen the letter, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cawod the iii. day of November, and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayd the Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I have a commandement so to do: you have no such power sayd the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subject to that power, wherfore if you arrest me I will withstand it: well sayd the erle here is the kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therfor I charge you to obey, the Cardinal somewhat remembred himselfe and sayd, well my lord, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Premunire and lost by the lawe all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kynges proteccion and I was pardoned that offence, wherfor I meruai why I nowe should be arrested & specially considering that I am a member of the sea Apostolike on who no temporal man ought to lay violent
violent handes, wel I see the king lacketh good counsail: wel sayd the erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your self told me that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a kyng, and now I am more-stonger for I haue a commision so to do whiche you have seen. The Cardinal at length obeyed and was kept in his priuie chamber and his goodes seazed and his officers discharged, and his Phisician called doctor Augustyne was lykewise arrested and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe one of the kynges chamber. The vi. day of November he was conveyd from Cawood to Sheffeld castle and there deluerned to thelre of Shrewsburies kepynge till the kynges pleasure were knowne: Of this attacchement was muche commonly amongst the common people, wherfore many were glad, for surely he was not in the favor of the comitalie.

When the Cardinal was thus arrested the kyng sent sir Wylyam Kingston knight capitaine of the Garde and Constable of the Tower of London with certain of the yomen of the Gard to Sheffeld to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the capitain of the garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sicke, for then he percieued some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men sayd that he waslyngly toke so muche quätite of strong purgacion that his nature was not able to beare it: but sir William Kyngston comforted him, and by easy iornayes he brought him to the Abbey of Lecester the xxvii. day of November, wher for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites he dyed the second night folowynge, and in the same abbay lyth buryd. This Cardinal as you may percieue in this story was of a great stomacke, for he compted himselfe egall with princes, and by craftie suggestion gatte into his handes innumerable treasure: He forced little on symony & was not pityful and stode affeccionate in his owne opinion: In open presence he would lyie and say vntruth and was double both in speche and meanyng: He would promise muche and performe lytle: He was vicious of his body and gau the clergie euil example: He hated sore the citie of London and feared it: It was tolde him that he should dye in the way toward London, wherefore he feared lest the cómons of the citie would arise in riutous maner and so sley him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye towards London. The authoritie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they disdained all men, wherfore when he was fallen they followed after as you shall hear. To write the life and doynges of this Cardinal, it were a great worke, but whateuer he did God forgyve his soule his bodyes misdedes.

After the Cardinal was dead, the king removed fro Hampton court to Grenewiche where he with quene Katherine kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelve night he sette in the balle in his estate, where as were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great banke. And after Christmas he came to his Manor of Westmeister, which before was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinal was attainted in the Premunire & was gone Northward, he made a feoffment of the same place to the kyng, and the chapiter of the Cathedrale church of Yorke by their writing confirmed thesame feoffment and then the king changed the name and called it the kynges Manor of Westmeister and nomore Yorke place.

The whole clergie of England ever supported and maintayned the power legantyne of the Cardinal, wherfore the kynges counsaill learned sayd plainly that they all were in the Premunire, the spiritual lordez were called by procez into the kynges Bench to answere, but before their day apperance they in their Convocacion concluded an humble submission in writynge and offered the kyng a C. M. pound to be their good lorde, and also to gane them a pardon of all offences touching the Premunire by act of Parliament, y which offer with much labor was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the kyng supreme head of y church of England, which thing they never confessed before, whereupon many thinges followed after as you shall heare.

When the Parliament was begun the vi. day of January, the pardon of the spiritual persones was signed with the kynges hand & sent to the lordez, which in tyme convenient assented to the bill and sent it to the cómons in the lower house, and when it was red, diuers
divers froward persones would in no wyse assent to it except all men were pardoned, sayng that all men which had any thing to do with the Cardinal yer in the same case: the wyser sort answered that they would not compell the king to geve them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie and do themselves no good, wherfore they advised them to consent to the bill and after to sue to the kyng for their pardon, which counsell was not followed, but they determined first to send the Speaker to the kyng or they would assent to the bill, whereupon Thomas Audely speake for the commons with a covenient number of the common house came to the kynges presse and there eloquently declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chancie to thynke or imagine them selfes to be out of his gracious favor, because that he had graciosly geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his spiritual subiectes and not to them, wherefore they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnes and clemency to include them in the same pardon.

The kyng wisely answered, that he was their prince and soueraigne lorde & that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to copeil him to shewe his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes, or mitigate and pardon thesame, wherfore sith they denied to assent to the pardon of the spiritual persones, which pardon he said he might geve without their assent by his great seale, he would be well advised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this answere the speaker and the commons departed very sorrowful and pensiue and some light persones sayd that Thomas Cromwel whiche was newlye come to the favor of the kyng had disclosd the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the kyng to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorrowfull his commons were of the answere that he made them, and thought that they were not quiet, wherfore of his owne mocion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawen, and signed with his hand and sent it to the comme house by Christopher Hales his attournay, whiche bill was sone assented to. Then the commons louyngly thakd the king and much praised his witte that he had denyd it to them when they unworthyly demanded it, and had bountifully granted it when he perceived that they sorrowd and lamented.

While the Parliament sat, on the xxx day of Marche at after noone there came into the common house the lord Chauncelor and divers lorde of the spiritualtie and temporaltie to the number of xii. and there the lorde Chauncelor sayd, you of this worshipful house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our soueraigne lorde hath maried his brothers wife, for she was both wedded & bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therefor you may surely say that he hath maried his brothers wyfe, if this mariage be good or no many clerkes do doubt. Wherfore the kyng like a vertuous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience and also for the suretie of his realme hath with great deliberacion consulted with great clerkes, and hath sent my lord of London here present to the chiefe universitys of all Christendome to knowe their opinion and judgement in that behalfe. And although that the universitys of Cambridge and Oxford had been sufficient to discuss the cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoyde all suspicion of parcialitie he hath sent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Papes dominions, and Venicians to knowe their judgement in that behalfe, whiche have concluded, written and sealed their determinacions according as you shall heare red. Then sir Bryan Tuke toke out of a boxe xii. wrytynges sealed, & red them word by word as after ensueth translated out of Latin into the English tongue.

The determinacion of the vniuersitie of Orliance.

Not long syns there were put forth to vs the College of doctors, regentes of the vniuersitie of Orliance, these two questions that follow. The first, whether it be lawfull by the lawe of God for the brother to take to wyfe that woman whom his brother hath left? The second if this be forbidden by the lawe of God, whether this prohibicion of the law of God
God may be remitted by the Pope his dispensacion? We the forsayd College of doctors regentes according to our custome and vsage came many times together and did sit diuers tymes vpon the discussing of these forsayd doubtes and questions and did examine and way as muche as we might diuers & many places both of the old testament and new, and also the interpreters and declerers both of the law of God and the Canon lawe. After we had wayed and considered all thynges exactly and with good leysure and deliberacio, we have determined and concluded that these forsayd mariages cannot be attempted nor enterprised except a man do wrong and plaine contrary to the law of God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferaunce of the Pope. And in witness of this conclusion and determinacion we have caused this present publike writing to be signed by our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie, and to be strengthned and fortified with the seale of the same: Enacted in the chapel of our lady the Annunciacion, or the good tidynges that she had of Christes commyng in Orleance, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxix. the. v. day of April.

The determinacion of the facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.

In the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the Deane and College of the right counsaile facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris this question. Whither that the Pope might dispence, that the brother might marry the wyfe that his brother hath left, if mariage betwene his brother now dead and his wyfe were once consummate? we the Deane and College of the sayd facultie after many disputacions and reasons made of bothe sydes vpon this matter and after great and long turnyng and serchyng of bokes, bothe of the lawe of God and the Popes lawe and of the lawe Ciuil, we counsail and say that the Pope hath no power to dispence in this forsayd case: In witness whereof we have caused this present writing to be strengthened with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our Scribe or chiefe Bedle. Geuen in the congregacion or assemble at saint Ihon Laterenense in Parys the second day of May M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of Ciuilians and Canonistes of the vniuersitie of Angew.

Not long tymne syns there wer purposed vnto vs Ý Rector and doctors Regentes in lawe Canon & Ciuile of the vniuersitie of Angew these ii. questions here folowyn, that is to wete, whether it is vnfulle by the lawe of God and the lawe of nature for a man to mary the wyfe of his brother that is departed without children so that the mariage was consummate? And againe whether it is lawfull for the Pope to dispence with such mariage? We the forsayd Rector and doctors have according to our custome and vsage many tymes communed together and sytten to dispute these questions, and to fynde out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined many & diuers places aswell of the law of God as of the law of man, whiche semed to pertaine to the same purpose, and after that we had brought for bothe parties and examined them. All thinges faythfully and aftergood ccoscience considered and vpon sufficient deliberacion and anuision taken, we defyne and dethryme that neither by the lawe of God nor of nature it is permitted for any christen man, no not euin with the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, or with any dispensacion granted by the Pope to mary the wfe that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the mariage is once finished and consummate. And for witnes of these forsayd thynges, we have commanded our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, & it to be fortiied with the great seale of our vniuersitie, Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Angew, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. the vii. day of May.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

The Deane and the facultie of the holy diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come wysheth safetie in our sauior Iesu Christ which is the very true safetie: Where of late there is risen a great controversie of great dificultie
vpon the mariage betwene the most noble Henry the viii. kyng of England defender of
the fayth and lord of Ireland. &c. and the noble lady Katherine quene of England
doughter to the Catholike kyng Ferdinand, which mariage was not onely contract betwene
her and her former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedelyng.
This question also was purposed to vs to discusse and examine accорding to justice and
truthe, that is to say, whether to mary her that our brother dead without children hath left
being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it cannot be made lefull by the
Popes dispensacion, that any christen man should mary the wife that his brother hath
left? We the foresayd Deane and facultie callyng to our remembrance how vertuous and
how holy a thing and how agreable to our profession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie,
it is for vs to shewe the waye of justice and right, of vertue and honestie to them whiche
desire to leade and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with sure & quiet con-
sience: could not but be ready to satisfe so honest and just requestes: whereupon after our old
wont, we came together vpö our othe in the church of S. Maturyne, & there for thesame
cause had a solépne Masse with deuout prayer to the holy ghost. And also we toke an
othe everie mä to deliver and to study vpon the foresayd question, as should be to the plea-
sure of God and according to conscience: And after durers and many Sessions or sittynge
which were had and continued in the churche of saint Maturyn, and also in the college
called Sarbone frö the viii. day of Iune to the second day of Iuly. When we had searched
and examined through and through with as much diligence as we could and with suche
reuerence and religion or conscience as becometh in suche a matter, bothe the bookes of
holy scripture, and also the most apprised interpreters of thesame: Finally the general
and synodal cousailes, decrees and constitucions of the sacre & holy Churche, which by
long custome hath been receiued and approbate, we the foresayd Deane and facultie dis-
puting vpon the foresayd question and makyng answere to the same, and that after the
judgement and full correctness of the most part of the sayd facultie haue concluded and deter-
mined that the foresayd mariage with the brothers wife departyng without children be so for-
bidden both by the law of God and of nature that the pope hath no power to dispence w such
marriages whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beleue, and witnes
of this our Assercion and determinacion, we haue caused the scale of our facultie with our
Notaries signe to be put vnto this present writyng. Dated in our generall congregacion
that we kepe by an othe at saint Maturynes, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. the second
day of Iuly.

The determinacion of the vniuersitie of Burges in Berry or Biturs.
We the Deane and facultie of diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Burges, because we will ac-
cordyng to the example of S. Pale doctor of ʃ Gethyls whiche doeth likewise, will begyn
our writing with praiery vnto all the beloued of God, among whom you moste dere readers
vnto whom we write be called, grace, peace, and quietnes of conscience come to you from
God the father and from our Lord Iesu Christ: while we were gathered together all into one
place (in the octanes of Whitsontide) both in body and mynde, and were sittynge in the house
of the sayd deane, there was a question put to vs againe, whiche had been purposed to vs
ten tymes before, beyng no smal question, whiche was this: Whither the brother taking the
wyfe of his brother now dead, and the mariage once consummate and perfite doth a thynge
unlawfull or no? At the last when we had sought for the truthe of the thing and had per-
ceived and found it out by much labor and studye of every one of vs by himselfe, and by
much and often turning of holy bookes, every one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the
lesse obey the truthe, began as the holy gost did put in his mind to gene every man one ar-
bitrement & sentence which was this. I haue well percieued in very truth wout regard or
respect of any person that those persones which be rehearsed in ʃ xviii. cha. of ʃ Lumatical
law, be forbidden by ʃ very law of nature to contract matrimony together and that this lawe
can in no wyse be released by any authoritie of any manne by the whiche there is made an
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abominable discoveryng of his brothers foulnes. And this is the signe of our common Bedyll or Notarie and the seale of our foresayd facultie put vnto his present writynge the. x. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. And because the foote of our writynge shall be of one forme and fashion v the head, as we began with praiyer, so let vs ende after the example of S. Paul that we spake of before, and say, the grace and favor of our Lorde Iesu Christ, the charitie and loue of God and the communicacion of the holy ghost be with you all. Amen.

The determinacion of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bonony.

God best and mightiest taught first the olde lawe & testament with his owne mouth, to forme and fashion accordyng to loue and charitie, the maners and life of men. And secondarly the same God did take afterwaordes manhod vpon him for to be the redeemer of man and so made the newe lawe or newe Testament not onely to forme and fashion accordyng to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but also to take away and to declare doubts the whiche did arise in many cases, which when they be once clere determined shall helpe greatly to perfite verue and goodnes, that is to say, to perfite loue and charitie. Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should be our part to folowe these most holy doctrines and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the light of God aboue and of the holy ghost should gene our sentence and judgement in high and doubtfull matters after that we haue once leyserly and sufficiently taken aduisement vpon the cause, & haue clere lytherly and opened the thing by many reasons and writynge of holy fathers as well for the one part as for the other, doyng nothyng as nere as we can rashly or without deliberacion. Therefore where certaine great and noble men did instantly desire vs that we would with all diligence possible lyke for this case that after ensueth, and afterwardes to geue our judgement vpon thesame, accordyng to mose equitie, right, and conscience, sticking only to the trueth: All the doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie, when we had euery one by himselfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came all together into one place and there treated vpon it many dayes with asmyche connyng & learmynyng as we could, we anon loked on the case togethe, we examined it together, we compared all thynge together, we handelyng euery thing by it selfe, did trye them euyn as you would say by lyne and rule, we brought forth all maner of reasons, whiche we thought could be brought for the contrary part and afterward soluced them yeu euyn the reasons of the mose reverend father Cardinal Caietaine, yea & moreouer the Deuteronomi dispensacion of stirryng vp the brothers sede, & shortly after all other maner of reasons & opinions of y cõtrary part, as many as seamed to belong to this purpose, and this question that was asked of vs was this: Whether it was forbydden only by the ordinaunce of the churche or els by the lawe of God, that a man might not marry the wïfe left of his brother departed without children? and if it were commanded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the Pope may dispence with any man to make suche mariage? the whiche question nowe that we have examined it both by our selfe secretelie and also openly & diligently and exactly as we could possible, and discussed it after y best maner that our wittes would serue: we determine, geue judgement and say, and as stilly as we can we witnes and without any doubt do stedfastly hold that this mariage should be horrible, accursed & to be cried out vpon and vterly abominable not onely for a christen mä but for an infidele, vnfaithfull or heathen. And that it is prohibite vnder grefious paynes and punishementes by the lawe of God, of nature and of man, & that the Pope, though that he almoste may do all thinges, vnto whom Christ did geue the keyes of the kyndgome of heauen, hath no power to geue a dispensacion to any man for to contract suche a mariage for any maner of cause, consideracion or suggestion: And all we be ready at all tymes and in all places to defende and maintaine the truth of this our conclusion. In witnes wherof we haue made this present writing, and haue fortified thesame both with the seale of our vniuersitie and also with the seale of our College of doctors of diuinitie and haue subscri-
The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniversitie of Padua in Italy.

They that have written for the maintenaunce of the catholike faith, affirme that God best and mightiest did geue the preceptes & commaundementes of the olde law with his owne mouth, to be an example for vs, wherein we might see how we should order our life and maners, and this God had done before he became manne: and after that he had put vpon him our manhood and was become redeemer or byer of mankinde, He made the newe lawe or testament, and of his mere liberalitie did geue it vs, not onely for the cause aforesayd, but also to take away & declare all maner of doubtes and questions that might arise, the which once opened & declared what their very true meanyng is, to thentent that thereby we might be made perfitely good which be greatly fruitful to vs & holesome: and seyng that this was the mind of God in making these lawes, it hath been our entent & euermore shalbe, as it becometh christen men to folow these most solëpne ordinances of the most high workemaster God, & the help of his light, which is aboue the capaciti of nature, to vutter our judgement in all maner of doubtes & harde questions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, and had by sufficient leysure made it clere by many euident reasons of both parties, and by many authorities of the fathers of the Church, determinyng nothing as nere as we can, rashely or without convenient deliberacion. Seyng therafter that certain great Orators or ambassadors did humbly require and praye vs that we would vouchesafe and serche out with all the diligence that we could this case folowing & afterwardes to geue our sentence vpon the same, plainly & simply loking onely on the truth. After the Doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie came together, and after that we had euery man examined the thing particularly in our owne houses and haue beaten it with all learnyng and connyng that we were able: Anon when we were together, we considered, examined and essayed all thinges by them selues, and brought in al maner of reasons, which we thought might by any meanes be made to the contrary, and without all colour or cloke did wholly & clerely dissolve them and take them away. And amongst al, the dispensacion by the lawe of Deuteronomy of styrrying vp the brothers sede, and al maner other reasons and determinaciones to the contrarye, that semed to vs to pertain any thing to that purpose we vtherly confuted & dispatched them. And the question that is put to us is this: Whether to mary the wife of our brother departed without children is forbidden only by the lawe of the Churche or by the law of God also: and if it be forbidden by both these lawes, whither the Pope may dispence w any mà for such matrimony or no? which question now that we haue discussed it, & as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both priuely euery man by him selue, & after al together opely, we say, judge, decrees, witnes & for a truth affirme that such mariag is no mariag, yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euery christen man, and to be abhominatae as a greuous sinne. And that it is as clearely as can be forbidden vnder moste cruel penalties by the lawes of nature, of God and of man: And that the Pope, vnto whom ye keyes of the kyngdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispence by the right and law for any cause, suggestion or excuse, that any suche matrimonye should be contract. For those thinges which be forbidden by the lawe of God be not vnderneath his power but aboue it, nor he is not the Vicar of God as concernyng those thinges, but only in such thinges as God hath not determined himselfe in his lawe, but hath lefte them to the determinacion and ordinance of man. And to mayntayne the truthe of this our sentence and conclusion, and for moste certaine and vndoubted defence of thesame, we al of one mynde and accorde shall at all tymes and in euery place be redy. In witnes wherof we haue made this writing & haue authorised it with the accustomed seale of our Vniuersitie and also of our College of diuines, Dated at Padway in the Churche of the Hermites of saint Austen the first day of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord M.D.xxx.
The Determinacion of the Vniuersitie of Tholose.

There was treated in our Vniuersitie of Tholose a very harde question: Whether it be leffull for the brother to marie her whiche had ben wyfe to his brother now departed, and that without children? There was besyde this another thynge that troubled vs very sore: Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christes flocke would by his dispensacion (as men call it) suffre this, that then at the least wyse it might be lawfull? The Rector of the Vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regetes that were that tyme at Tholose for to shew their myndes on this question, & that not once, but twyse: For he judged that counsell genuyng ought not to be hasted nor doone vpon head, & that we had neede of tyme and space to doo anye thynge conueniently & as it ought to bee. At the last there came together into one place all the best learned and connyngest doctors, both of holye diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in bothe lawes, yea, and finally as many as had any experience in any matter & were able to do any thing either by iudgemet & discrestion, or by eloquence or their excellent wyttes. And there dyd swere that they woule obey the sacre & holye counsels, & would follow the Decrees of the Fathers, which no man that hath any good conscience wyll violate or breake. And so every man sayde his mynde, and the matter was debated and reasoned diffusely & at large for bothe partes. In conclusion, we fell so fast to this poynte, that this was the sentence & determinacion thatoure Vniuersitie, with one voyce of all, dyd determyne and conclude with most pure and cleare conscience and defiled with no maner of leuen or corrupcion: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take her to wyfe that his brother hath lefte: And seeyng that it may not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all: That the Pope can lose no man fro that lawe nor dispence with him. And as for that thing can not be contrary to our sentence & verdyct: that the brother in olde tyme was compiled by the law of Deuteronomy to mary the brothers wyfe departed without issue: For this law was but a shadow and a figure of thinges to come, which vanysshed away assone as euuer the lyght and trueth of the Gospell appeared: And because these thynges be thus, we have guen our sentence after this forme aboue, and have comaunded the same to be sygnd by our Notary which is our secretory, and to be forftied and auuctorised by the puttyng to of our autentickall Seale of our Vniuersite aforesayde, at Tholose the Calendes or first day of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde a thousande. v.C.xxx.

After these Determinacions were read, there were shewed aboue an hundrith bokes drawn by Doctors of strange Regions, which all agreed the Kynges Mariage to be vnleffull, whiche were not read, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncellor sayd: Now you of this common house may reporte in your countreys what you have seen & heard and then all men shall openly perceyve that the Kyng hath not attempted this matter of wyl or pleasure, as some strange reporte, but only for the discharge of his conscience & surety of the successi of his realme: This is the cause of our repayre hyther to you, & now we wyl departhe.

When these Determinacions were publyshed, all wyse men in the Realme moche abhorred that mariag: but women, & such as wer more wyllfull then wyse or learned, spake agaynst the Determinacion, & sayd that the Vniuersities were corruppte & caytysed so to doo, which is not to be thought. The Kyng him selfe sore lamented his chaunse & made no maner of myrth nor pastyme as he was wont to do, & dydne & resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, & minished nothyng of her estate, and mochn loued & cheryshed their daughter the Lady Mary: but in no wyse he woulde not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the Parliament for that tyme ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the nexte yere.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an Acte made, that whosoever dyd poyson any persone, shoulde be boyled in hote water to the death: which Acte was made because one Richard Roose, in the Parliament tyme, had poysoned dyuers persons at the Bishop of Rochesters place,
place, which Richard, according to the same Acte, was boyled in Smythfeld the Teneber
wednesday followyng, to the terrible example of all other.

This wynter season, on the. xxvi. day of Ianyuer, in the citie of Luxborne in Portyngale,
was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroied many houses and towers, and slew many
people by fallinge downe of the same, the Kynges Palace shoke so, that he and the Quene,
and the Ladies fled out of their Palace, without any seruauntes, and sought succour where
they might get it, & sodeinly the quaking seased: Then the Rockes opened, and out
sprange the water, that the ships in the haun were lyke to have perished: Then the
earth quaked agayne, and dyd more harme then before, and at night it ceassed: of whiche
Earthquake, many men were murthred and destroyed.

When the vniuersitie aforesayd, & a great nombre of clerkes & well learned men had de-
determined the Kynges mariaigne to be vnlawfull, detestable, & agaynst Gods lawe, as you haue
heard, the Kyng wylling the Quene to haue knowlege of the same, sent to her dyuers Lordes
of the coicel the last daie of Maie beynge the wednysday in Whitson weke: the whiche
Lordes, in her chaunbrel at Grenewyche, declared to her all the Determinacion as you haue
hearde, & asked her whether she would for the quyetnes of the Kynges conscience, put the
matter to. iii. prelates, &. iii. temporall Lordes of this Realme, or abyde by her appare.
The Quene answered: The kyng my father which concluded my mariaigne, I am sure, was
not so ignoraunt but he asked counsell of clerkes & well learned men before he marryed me
the second tyne: for if he had had any doubte in my mariaigne, he would not hane disbursed
so great a treasure as he dyd, & then all Doctors in maner agreed my mariaigne to be good, in-
somoche that the Pope hym selfe, which knew best what was to be dooen, dyd both dispence
and ratified my second mariaigne, agaynst whose doynge I meruayle that any persone wyll
speake or wynte: And as to the Determinacion of the vniuersitie, I am a woma & lacke wytte
and leynyng to aunsere to them, but to God I committ the judgemet of that, whether
thei have done lustly or percially: for this I am sure, that neither the Kynges father,
nor my father woulde have condescended to our Mariage if it had ben declared to be vnlaw-
full: and where you say that I shoule put the cause to. viii. personas of this Relme for
quyetnesse of the Kynges conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience,
and this shall be your answere: That I say I am his lawfull wyfe, and to hym lawfully marryed
and by the ordre of holye Churche I was to hym espoused as his true wyfe, although I was not
so worthy, and in that pouynte I will abyde tyll the cowrte of Rome which was preu to the
beginnyng haue made therof a determinacion and finall endyng. With this answer the
Lordes departed to the Kyng, whiche was sorye to heare of her wyful full opinion, and in es-
speciall that she more trusted in the Popes law, then in kepyng the Preceptes of God.

The Kyng lyke a politicke Prince, perceyued that the Merchaunt straungeres, and in es-
speciall, Italians, Spanyaries & Portyngales daily brought Oade, Oyle, Sylke, Clothes of
Golde, Veluet & other Merchaundyse into this Realme, and therefore receuied ready money,
which money they euuer deliuered to other merchauntes by exchaunge, & never employed
the same money on the commodities of this Realme, so that therby the Kyng was hyndered in
his Custome outwarde, and also the commodities of his Realme were not tvttered, to the
greate hynderaunce of his suibietes: wherefore he caused a Proclamacion to bee made in
Mydsummer Tearme, accordyng to an olde Estatute made in the tyne of Kyng Rycharde the
second: That no persone should make any exchaunge contrary to the new meanyng of the-
same Acte and Estatute, uppon payne to be taken the kynges mortall enemy, and to forfayte
all that he myght forfayte. After this Proclamacion, many clothes and other commodities
of this Realme were well solde, but shortly after Merchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and
the Proclamacion was shortly forgotten.

The Kyng after Whytsontyde and the Quene remoued to Wyndsore, and there continued
tyll the. xiii. daye of Iulye, on whiche daye the Kyng remoued to Woodstocke and lefte her
at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterwarde to
Esthamstede: and after this day, the Kyng and she never saw together. Wherfore the Com-

men people dailye murmured and spake their folysh fantasies. But the afluxers of Princes be not ordered by the common people, nor it were not convenient that all thynges were open-
ed to them.

After this, the Kyng sent certayne Lordes to the Queene to Estamstede, to aduyse her to be confirmaable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Vni-

iversities had clearly determined, that the Pope coulde in no wyse dispence with her Ma-

riage, and therefore the Dispensacion to which she most trusted of all, was clearely voyde

and of none effecte. These, with manye mo causes and aduysementes were declared to her, whiche nothyng mouned her at all, but styll she sayde: Truly I am the Kynges trew wyfe, and to hym maryed: and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learning so farre out of mannnes mynde at that tyme of our maryage, yet I cannot thynke that the courte of Rome and the whole Churche of Engelande would consent to a thing vnlawfull and detestable (as you call it) but styll I say I am his wyfe, and for him wyl I pray. With this answer the Lordes departed, and came to the Kyng and made reporte as you haue hearde.

This maryage was not alonely talked of in England, but in Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, yea, thorough all Christendome in maner, and especially in themperours Court, insomuch as a great Marques of Spayne sayde to syr Nicholas Heryk knyght beynge the Kynges ambassa-
der in themperours Cowre at Gaunte: My Lorde Embassador of Engelande, I meruyale not a lytell why the Kyng your Master dalyeth so with themperours Aunte, she is dissended I as-

sure you of a noble bloode and hye Parentage, themperours Maistie may not nor wyly not suffre soche iniurye to be done to his bloode and lynage, that she shoulde whole. xxii. yeres

and more serue him as his wyfe and bedfelowe and now to reicce her, what Prince may maner is that, therein is neither loue nor loyaltie? For if a poore verlet had so long serued a Prince, what herte coulde have then reicced hym or put him from hym? it can not be sayd that your Kyng is well counsell: the matter is moch meruyled at amongst Christen Princes & thyne he not to be honestly handele nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wyfe (because she was once his brother wyfe) as your Doctors say & affirme, then no man can excuse your Kyng nor saye but that she hath ben euyll handele, and keppe lyke a Concubine or Paramour for the bodely appetit, which is a great spotte, shame, & rebuke to her and to her whole lynage, which spot no wyayes can be sponged out nor recompenced,

for shame in a kyynred can by no treasure be redeemed: If the Kyng your Maister remembre well this matter, he shall fynde that it transcendeth farre aboue the losse of erthly possessyons, I woulde he woulde be better aduyse.

The Englysh Embassador answered: My Lorde, my cōmission extēdeth not to answer this matter, but to conforme you of the truth, I wyl somewhat say beside my commission: Fyrst I say to you, that the kyng my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously, bothe for the pleasure of God and the profyte and suerty of his Realme, nor neuer was nor shal be any Prince that euer was better contended and pleased with a woman then he hath ben with her, nor neuer Prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman, then the king my Maister hath dooen her, & would with herte, mynde, and wyll her styll keepe as his wyfe, if Goddes lawe woulde suffre it: My Lord, if you remembre well all thyng, you shall fynde that this doubt was fyrst moued in the Councell of Spayne, when the Emperour and the Kyng of Engelande were agreed, that themperoure shoulde marye the Ladye Marye the Kynges Doughter: Vpon that communicacion this doubte was put to them-

perours Councell, whether she were the Kynges lawfull Doughter or not, because it was well knowne that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secrete but it spred into the councell bothe of Fraunce and Flau-

ders, to the great defamacion of the Kyng of Engelande, & to the great vncertaintye of the successyon of his Realme: wherof when he was adverstued, I thyneke neuer Prince tooke it more sorrowfully nor more dolently, and for satisfyenge of his conscience, he called his Cleargie and felt their opinions, and not trustyng his owne subiectes onely (which I ensur-

e you be excellently lerned) sent to all the Vniuerversities of Fraunce, Italye, and dyuers other Realmes
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

Realmes to know their judgementes in this case, and surely the Kyng my master sore lamenteth his chaunce and bewailleth the tyme myspent if it so succede, for then is his Reallme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his body, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a Prince: The Mariage was well ment bothe of the kynges father and the Queenes father, and they maried together by the aduyce and councell of their frendes, and so louungly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubte, till you of Spayne moued fyrst the question and put the maruyge in ambiguitie, and therefore you can not with honour thynke but that the Kyng hath done lyke a wyse Prince to searcwe out the solucion of your doubte which so neare toucheth his soule and the suretye of his Reallme: And all thynge that he hath done he hath done by great aduyeament and with a great deliberacion, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wyse and vertuous Prince. The Marques hearynge this annswer seyde, that the Kyng dyd wysely to trye the truethe, and was somewhat ashamed of that that he had spoken, as I was informed by them that were present.

You have heard before howe the Cleargye in their Conuocacion had granted to the Kyng the som of one hundred thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuyng of the whiche summe, evry Bysshop in his Dioce called before him all the Priestes as well chauntrie and paryshei priests as Persons and Vycars, amongst whom, Doctor Ihon Stokesley Bysshop of London, a man of great wytte and learnynge, but of lytle discresion and humane (which caused hym to be out of the favoure of the common people) called before hym all the priestes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaeries, the first day of September byeng fridaye, in the Chapiter House of Saynt Paull, at whych daye the Priestes appeared, and the Bysshoppes policye, was to haue onely syxe or eight priestes together, and by perswacions to haue caused them to graunte some porsion towards the payment of the foresayde One Hundreth. M. pounde, but the nombre of the Priestes was so great, for they were syxe hundreth at the least, & with them came many Temporall men to heare of the matter, that the Bysshoppe was disauponnted of his purpose: for when the Bysshoppes officers called in certayne Priestes by name into the Chapiter house: with that, a great nombre entered, for they putte the Bysshoppes Officers that kepte the dore a syde. After this the officers got the dore shut agayne: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kepe without, & our fellowes be within, we knowe not what the Bysshoppe wyll doo with them. The Temporall men beyn present stomaked and comforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the dore, and one strake the Bysshoppes Officer ouer the face and entered the Chapiter house and many temporall men with them, and long it was or any syllence could be made: and at last when they were appeased, the Bysshop stode vp and sayde: Brethern, I meruayle not a lytell why you be so heddy and know not what shall be sayde to you; therefore I pray you to keepe syllence and to heare me paciently: My frendes all, you knowe well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Anges, and by frailttie and lacke of wysedome wee haue misteyned ourselfe toward the Kyng our Soueraygne Lord and his lawes, so that all wee of the Cleargye were in the Premunire, by reason wherof, all our Promotions, Landes, Goodes and Catelles were to hym forfayte and our bodies ready to be enprisoned, yet his grace moued with pittie and compassyon, demanded of vs what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extende his lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Cleargye humbly besought his grace of mercye, to whom he answered that he was euer enclynyed to mercye: then for all our great oFFences we had lytell penaunce for where he might by the rygor of his law haue taken at our lyuelod, goodes & catelles, he was contented with one hundreth thousand pounds to be payde in fyue yeres: & although that this som be more then we maye easelye beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we shoulde haue borne the whole burdeyne: Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your lyuelod and salarye towards the payment of this som graunted. Then it was shortly sayde to the Bysshoppe: My Lorde, twentye nobles a yere is but a bare liuyngge for a priest, for nowe victayle and every thynge in maner is so deare, that pouertie in maner enforceth vs to saye...
saye naye: besyde that, my Lord we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medeled neuer with the Cardinals faculties, let the Bysshoppes and Abbottes whiche haue offended paye. Then the Bysshoppes officers gane to the priestes lyghhe woordes, whiche caused them to be the more obstinate. Also dyuers temporall men whiche were present conforted the Priestes and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumor, dyuers of the Bysshoppes servauntes were buffeted and styken so that the Byshop beganne to be a frayde, and with fayre woordes appeased the noyse, and for all thynges whiche were done or sayde there he pardoned them and gane to them his blessyng and prayed them to departe in charitie. And then they departed thankyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were discuyeed, for the Byshop went to syr Thomas Moore then byeng Lorde Chaucellor (which greatly fauoured the Byshop and the Cleargye) and to hym made a greuouse complaynte and declared the facte very greuously, wherevpon commandement was sent to syr Thomas Pargitor Mayer of the Citie, to attache certayne priestes and temporall men, and so. xv. priestes and. v. temporall men were arrested, of the whych, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete, and other Prisons, where they remaynede long after.

In this season were dyuers Preachynges in the Realme, one contrarye to another concerning the Kynges Maryage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell clereke, bothe preached and wrote a Booke, that the Mariage was lawfull, whiche caused many symple men to beleue his opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplayne, and wrote this Booke to please her withall: wherfore the Kyng caused a Determinaciō of the Vniuersities, & all the judgement of grete Clerkes to be compiled into a Booke and to be Printed, whiche Booke dyd satisfy the myndes of all indifferent & discrete persons: but some men were perciayl that neither learning nor reason could satisfy their wylfull myndes.

This yere the Kyng kepte his Christemas at Grenewyche with great solemnitie, but all men sayde that there was no myrthe in that Christemas because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Christemas the. xv. daye of January the Parliament began to sytte, & amongst dyuers grieves whych the Commons were greued with, they sore cployned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callynge men before theym Ex officio: that is, by reason of ther office: For the Ordinaries woulde sende for men and ley Accusacions to them of Heresy, and say they were accused, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuser should be brought furth, whiche to the Commons was very dredeful and greuous: for the parte so Assited must either Abjure or be burnede, for Purgacion he myght make none.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergy in their Courtes were long debated in the Common House, at the last it was concluded & agreed, that all the grieves whiche the temporall men were greued with, shoulde be putte in wrytyng and deluyered to the Kyng, whiche by great aduyce was done: wherfore, the. xvii. daye of Marche the Common speaker accompanied with dyuers Knyghtes and Bargesses of the Common House came to the Kynges presence, and there declared to hym how the temporall men of his Realme were sore greued with the cruel demeanoure of the Prelates and Ordinaries, which touched bothe their bodyes and goddes, all whiche grieves, the Speaker deluyered to the Kyng in wrytyng, most humblly beseeching his grace to take soche an ordre & direction in that case, as to his hygh wysedome myght sene most convenient. Further he beseeched the king to consider what payne, charge and cost, his humble subjectes of the nether house had susteyned sysyth the begynnynge of this Parliament, and that it woulde please his grace of his Princely benignitie to dissolve his courte of Parliament, that his subjectes myght repayre into their countreys.

When the Kyng had receyued the Supplicacion of the Commons, he paused a whyle and then sayde: It is not the office of a Kyng which is a Judge to be to lyghte of credence, nor I haue not, nor wylly not see the same: for I wylle heare the partie that is accused speake or yeue any sentence: your booke conteyneth dyuers Articles of great and weyghtye matters, and as I perceyue, it is agaynst the Spirituall persones and Prelates of our Realme, of whiche
whiche thyngé you desyere a redresse and a reformacion, whiche desyere and request is mere contraryant to your last Petycion: For you requyre to haue the Parlyament dissolved and to departe into your countreys, and yet you woulde haue a reformacion of your grieues with all diligence: Although that your payne haue ben great in taryng, I assure you myne hath ben no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes is to me a pleasure: therefore if you wyll haue profyte of your complaynte, you must tary the tyme, or els to be without remedy: I moche commend you that you wyll not contende nor stand in styfle with the Spirituall men, whiche be youre Christen brethren, but moche more me thynketh that you shoulde not contende with me that am youre Souereigne Lorde and Kyng, consideryng that I seke peace and quyetnesse of you: For I haue sente to you a byll concernyng warded and primer season, in the which thynges I am greatly wronged: wherfore I haue offered you reason as I thynke, ye, and so thynketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the booke: Therefor I assure you, if you wyll not take some reasonable ende now when it is offered, I wyll serche out the extremitie of the lawe, and then wyll I not offer you so moche agayne: with this answere, the Speaker and his company departed.

The cause why the Kyng spake these woordes was this: Daily men made Teoffementes of their landes to their vses, and declared their wylls of their landes with soch remaynders, that not alonely the kyng but all other Lordes lost their Wardenes, Mariages and relieffes, and the kyng also lost his primer season, & the profyte of the lyucrey, whiche was to hym very preuiudicall and a great losse: wherfore he, lyke an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a byll to be drawn by his learned councell, in the which was decyzed, that euerie man myght make his wyll of the halfe of his lande, so that he lefte the other halfe to the heyre by descent. When this Byll came fyrsst amongs the Commons, lorde how the ignornant persone was greued, and howe shamefully they spake of the byll and of the Kynges learned Councell: but the wyse men which understoode & sawe the myschiefe to come, would gladly haue had the byll to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the Kyng in a suretye of the thryde or fourthte parte, which offer I was credibly informed the Kyng woulde haue taken, but many frowarde and wyffull persone, not regarding what myght ensue (as it dyd in deede) woulde neither consent to the byll as the Lordes had agreed and set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualificacion of the same, which they sore repented: For after this, the Kyng called the Judges and best learned men of his Realme, and thei disputed this matter in the Chatucery, and agreed that lande could not be wylde by the ordre of the common law: wherupon an Act was made, that no man myght declare his wyll of no parte of his lande: which Acte sore greued the Lordes and Gentleman that had many children to setfurther. Therefore you may judge what mychiefe coyneth of wyffull blyndnesse and lacke of foresyght in so great causes.

This Parliament was proroged tyll the tenth day of Apryll, in the whiche Parliament was an Acte made, that Byshoppes shoulde paye no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was openly proued that there was payed for the Bulles of Byshoppes, in the fourthte yere of Kyng Henry the seuenthe, the Kynges father, tyll this yere, one hundred thre' score thousand pounde sterlyng, besyde all other Dispensacions and Pardones, whereof the summe was incredible.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne after Ester, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncelloure, the Dukes of Norfolke & Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxforde, Northumberlande, Rutlande, Wylshire and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncellor declared, howe the Kyng was advertised by his Councell, and in especial by the Duke of Norfolke, howe on the Marches betwene Englande and Scotlande was very lytell habitacion on the English yse, but on the Scottysh yse was great habitacion, and the Scottes dwelled even lust on the border, by the reason wherof they invaude England dyuers tymes, and dyd to the Kynges subiectes great hurte and displeasure: wherefore the Kyng entended to make dwlyng houses there, and also to make new diuers Pyles and stoppes to let the Scottysh men from their invausions, to the great commoditie of all his people,
people there dwelling, which thynges coulde not be done without great cost: Wherefore consideryng the Kynges good entente, he sayde, that the Lordes thought it conveniente to graunte to the Kyng some reasonable ayde towards his charges, and prayed the Cōmons to consulte on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the cōmons considering the kinges good entente, louungly granted to him a. xv. toward his charges, but this grant was not enacted at this Sessyon, because that sodeinly began a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherefore the Parlyament was proroged tyl the nexte yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaund in Flandres of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Ryuer and a passage: The Tolle is. xii. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had ben ofteyn tymes demaund, but neuer payed: insomoche that Kyng Henry the seuenth, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be keppe at Calyse: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle should be neuer be demaund, so that the Englysh men woulde resorte agayyne into the Dukes countrey, and after that, it was not demaund againe: Wherefore the Kyng sent Doctor Knight and other to Calyse, and thither came tempeours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspense for a tyme.

Ye haue hearde before how the Kyng had purchased the Bysshop of Yorkes place, whiche was a fayre Bysshops house, but not meete for a Kyng: wherefore the Kyng purchased all the medowes about saynt Iames, and all the whole house of s. Iames, and there made a fayre mansion and a parke, & buylded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure.

Now must I declare to you a noble enterprise, although it were not done in England, yet because divers Englysh men were at that aventure, I wyll declare it as the Lorde Master of the Religion of Saynt Ions wrote to the Lorde of saynt Ions in Englaunde: The Lorde Master of the Religion, lamentyng sore the losse of the Rodes, whiche he thought not sone to be recuered, consideryd that the Turke helde the towne of Modon whiche standeth on the See syde, and is a fayre Porte, and woulde haue gladly heud that towne oute of the Turke possession, called to him a trusty seruaunt of his, called Caloram, which was well langaged, and to hym declared, that he woulde haue hym to sayle to Modon, and to dwell there as a Turke vnkownen, and if he myght by any meanes to come into service with Massie de Huga, which was Capitayne there. Caloram answered, that to go thyther for the accomplishing of the Lord masters desyre, he was very well content, but to come in servyce and fauoure with the Capitayne, must come in processe of tyme and by continuaunce, and that not without great expence: The Lorde Maister promised hym suffycent treasure and a great rewarde: When Caloram was perfectly enstruited in all thiynge he toke his leaue and came priuely to Modon, & there dwelld, & within shorte spayne he was the Capitayns seruaunt, & for his great diligence was with his master in great fauoure. Then he wrote to the Lorde Master all thiynge, and assertayned hym that his entente coulde not take effeecte hastily, but bade hym euer be reade: This matter thus continuued two yere, in whiche tyme Caloram well perceyued how the towne myght be taken, and therefore wrote to the Lord Master, which shortly came to a place called Mucollutea. The Turkes haue a condicijo in August & Septembre, to resorte into the countrey to see the fruytes, and to solace them selfe, wherfore the Lord Master appoynted the Prior of Rone and the Turcupylar of England to be Capitaynes of this enterprise, and with them were. lx. knightes of the Religion, and. vii.C. and fyllye souldeyres in. vi. Galyes & Brigantes, and passed the Cape Blanke in the lande of Calaber, the. xviii. day of August, and there they ankered: and from that place they myght sayle lx. myle to Modon, vnder the hyles of Stroffadces. And in the wyne they stopped all the shippes that passed toward Modon: & from thence they sent woord to Caloram, which sent them woord, not to be to hastye: for the Venicians had reported in Modon, that the Galyes of the Religion were on the seel: and also a Capitayne of the Turkes, called Frombylam was come to Modon with ii. C. horsemen.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

horsemen to view the town so that Caloram was in great fear of his enterprise. But the same night there came to Modon a Gripe or small vessel, in which were three knyghtes of the Religion, all in manyors array, and there sought for fresh water and other victails necessary, which knyghtes spake with Caloram, and the same day the Capitayne Frombylam departed from Modon. Then Caloram sent word to the Capitaynes, that he trusted that their journey should be well sped: which knyghtes departed and came to the Capitaynes, whiche wysely assembled all their people at a Roade called Stroffades, and there declared their commission to their Lord Master, and also shewed Calorams letters, whereof every man was greatly comforted to know what enterprise they went about. Then it was appoynted that the Prior of Rome should ye first entre and take the gate of the principall tower, and the Turkeiplier with. vi. English knyghtes were appoynted to defende the Molle or Peere at the hauen mouthe: and to every gate was a Capitayn appoynted with a nombre for the gates of the town and the Fortresses were well known to the Religion of s. Iohn Baptist. When all this ordre was appoynted, the Galies disanconed & came to the Ile of Sapience. iii. myle from Modon. All this whyle Caloram was in great fear, tyl the two Capiteins sent a vessel called a Gripe, & in her. iii. C. men: Thei were no soner entered the peere, but the Turkes came a borde & asked for the merchauntz (for all the men wer apperrelld lyke Mariners) they answered that the Merchantauntes which had the charge were gone a lande into the towne, & sayde they would bring them to the Merchantauntes, & that all their merchandise was good wolde, which thyng the Turkes much desire: So the christe knyghtes lyke mariners went with the Turkes, which wer to the nombre of xiii. enteyndyng to begyn their enterprise, & some went toward the tower, and some went toward the gate followyng the. xiii. Turkes, & after them issued all the souldiers out of the Gripe, & so with force thei got the gate, & after that ye molle or pyre, & on that set a boner of the Religion, to the which Caloram helped monch: with that came all the Galyes and landed. Then began a terrible slaughter of all partes, the Turkes fled, and the Christen men followed, and the Capitaynes tooke the walles: and from thence Caloram lead them to the house of Messyre Huga, in whiche house was a great strength: For his house was lyke a Fortresse or tower, whiche lioynd to the walle of the towne, out of which was a Postern, wherof issued out certayn Turkes which askryed the Christen men abrode in the countrey. But in the meane season the Christen men assauted the sayde Fortresse, whiche was sore defended: and there the Prior of Rome was by a hackbush slayn, whiche chance made the Christen men more furious, & slew in the towne, iii. C. Turkes and aboue. Then they blew to retrecite, and councelled together & well perceyved that they coulde not kepe the towne excepte they had the fortress or tower, which they could not obtayne without a Siege, and then they had no ordinaunce nor people enough, therefor they determined to take their most advantaye by pyllage, and so spoyled the towne & tooke. viii. C. prisoners & sent them to the Galyes. And when the Turkes saw the Cristen men styll pyller (as the vsage of souldiers is) they issued out of their holde & fortresse and fought with the Christen men boldely in the strete, so that the strete ranne bloode in the canels, the fyghte was sore: and euer the Turkes came in at the posterne by askry, and assauted the Christen men, which valiantly defended them and for all the Turkes power came to their Galies with their pray and prisoners, and came to the Ile of Malto with all their booty, not leesynge. xl. persones in all their journey: wherof the Lorde Master was moche reioyced & well rewarded Caloram, which also came with them to Malto. This enterprise was doen on a sonday, beyng the. xviii. day of August, the yere of our Lord a thousand, fyue hundred, thyrte and one, and this. xxi. yere of his Reigne.

After this enterprise, the. xxii. day of Septembre, dyed Lady Loys Dutchesse of Anguesme and mother to the Frenche Kyng, a wyse and a sad Lady: whereof the Kyng beyng advertised, caused a solempne Obsequye to be made and kepte for her in the Abbey of Waltham in Essex, at the whiche solempnitie, the Kyng and a great nombre of the Nobles...
THE XXIII. YERE OF
and Prelates of the Realme were present in mourning apparel at the Kynges coste and charge.

¶ THE XXIII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this. xxiii. yere, the Lady Anne Bulleyne was so moche in the Kynges fauour, that the common people which knew not the Kynges trew entent, sayd and thought that the absence of the Queene was onely for her sake, which was not true: for the king was openly rebuked of Preachers for kepyng company with his brothers wife, which was thoscasyon that he escuised her compayne, till the truth wer tryed.

The last daye of Aprill the parliamet sittynge, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the common house, and certain other, and declared to the, how they had exhibited a boke of their greues, the last yere against the Spiritualie, whiche at their requestes, he had deliered to his spiritual subiectes, to make answere there to, but he could haue no answere, till within three daies last past, which answere he deliered to the Spekar, sayynge: we thinke their answere will smally please you, for it semeth to vs very slender, you bee a greate sorte of wisemen, I doubt not but you will loke circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent betwene you. And for a truth their answere was very Sophistical, and nothyng auoydyng the greues of the lay people: and farther the kyng saide, that he maruell not a little, why one of the Parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Queene frō hym, whiche matter was not to be determined there, for he saied it touched his soule, and wished the marriage to be good, for then had he never been vexed in conscience, but the docters of the vniversitie said he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, whiche grude of conscience, caused me to absteyn from her compagnie, and no folishe or wanton appetitie: for I am said he. xli. yere old, at whiche age the lust of man is not so quicke, as in lustic youth: and sauyng in Spain and Portyngall it hath not been seen, that one man hath maried two sisters, the one beyng carnally knowe: before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife was so abhorred emongest all nacion, that I never heard it, that any Christen man did it but thyself: wherefore you se my conscience trobled: and so I praye you reporte: so the Spekar departed, and declared to the commons the kynges saiyng, bothe of the Spirituallie mennes answere, and also concernyng the kynges mariage, which slight answere displeased the commons.

The occasion why the Kyng spake of his mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the kyng, to take the Quene again into his compaignie, and declared certain greate mischieues, as in bastardyng the Lady Marie, the kynges onely childe, and diuerse other inconueniences, whiche woordes were reported to the kyng, whiche was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The. xi. daie of Maie, the kyng sent for the Speker again, and. xii. of the common house, haunvg with hym eight Lordes, and saied to theim, welbeloved subiectes, we thought that y clergie of our realme, had been our subiectes wholy, but now wee haue well perceiued, that they bee but halfe our subiectes, ye, and secwe our subiectes: for all the Prelates at their consceracion, make an othe to the Pope, cleane contrary to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seene to be his subiectes, and not ours, the copie of bothe the othes I deliuer here to you, requiring you to invente some ordre, that we bee not thus deluded, of our Spirituallie subiectes. The Spekar departed and caused the othes to bee redde in the comon house, the very tenor whereof ensueth.

"I hum bishop or Abbot of A. frō this house forward, shalbe faithfull and obedient to sainct Peter, and to the holy Churche of Rome, and to my lorde the Pope, and his succesors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsail nor concet, that they shal lese either life or member, or shal bee taken, or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their Counsail to me credited, by theim their messyngers or letters, I shall not willyngly
willyngly discover to any person: the Papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of sainct Peter, I shall help and retain, and defende against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolick, goyng and commyng I shall honourably entreate, the rightes, honors, priuileges, authoritie of the Churche of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented and promoted, I shall not bee in counsaill, treatie, or any acte, in the whiche any thing shalbe imagined against hym, or the Churche of Rome, there rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe any suche to bee moued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as some as I can, I shall aduertise hym or suche as maie geue hym knowlege. The rules of the holy fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, Sentences, Disposicions, Reseruacions, Prouisions, and Commaundements Apostolicke, to my power I shall kepe and cause to be kept of other: Heretickes, Sismatikes and rebelles to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and perseeute to my power, I shall come to the Sinode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonick call impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yere by yere personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions, without the Popes Counsaill: so God me helpe and the holy Evangelistes."

I Ihon Bishop of A. vterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, woordes, sentences and graunte, whiche I haue or shall have here after, of the Popes holines, or and for the Bishopricke of A. that in any wise hath been, is or hereafter maie bee hurtefull or preudiciall to your highnes, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall: and also I dooe swere, that I shalbe faithfull and true, and faite the truth I shall bee to your sovranigne lorde, and to your heires kynges of thesame, of life and lymme, & yearely worship above all creatures, for to live and dye with you and yours, against all people, and diligently I shalbe attendant, to all your nedes and busines, after my witt and power, and your counsaill I shall kepe and holde, knowlegyng my self to hold my bishopricke of you onely, beseeching you of restitucion of the Temporalities of thesame, promising as before, that I shalbe faithfull, true, and obedient subject to your saied highnes heires, and successors duryng my life, and the services and other thynges dewe to youre highnes, for the restitucion of the Temporalities, of the same Bishoprck I shall truly dooe and obediency perfourme, so God me helpe and all sainctes."

The openyng of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere folowyng, lost all his iurisdiccion in Englelande, as you shall here afterward. The xiii. daie of parliament was proroged, til the iii. daie of February next ensuyng. After whiche prorogacion, sir Thomas More Chaunceller of Englaide, after long sutes made to the kyng to be discharged of that office, the xvi. daie of Maie he delivered to the kyng, at Westminister, the grete Seale of Englelande, and was with the kynges favor discharged, whiche Seale the kyng kept til Whitsontide folowyng, and on the Mondaie in Whitston weke, he dubbed Thomas Awelely, Speker of the parliament knight, and made hym lorde keper of the grete Seale, and so was he called.

The kyng beyng in progresse this Sommer, was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche kyng, had appoynted to mete at Marcellis in Province, in the beginnyng of the nexte Spryng, wherefore the kyng like a wise and politicke prince, thought it convenient to speake with the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to hym bothe the determinacion, of the Vniversities and Doctors concerning his Mattronime, and also the generall counsailes, whiche ordeined suche causes, to be tried in the provinces and countrees, where the doubt should rise, trusting that the Frenche kyng should cause the Pope to encline to Goddes law, and to leave his awne tradicions and voyde dispensacions, whereupon bothe the princes concluded, to mete in October folowyng, betwene Calice & Bulleyn: wherefore the kyng of Englelande sent out his letters, to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commandyng theim to bee ready at Cantorburie, the xxvi. daie of September, to passe the Seas with hym, for the accomplishing of the enterew, betwene hym and his brother the Frenche kyng. Many men were sory to
here, that the kyng should passe the sea in Winter, and specially in October, when the seas be rough, but their saiynges letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wynsore, where on Sundae beyng the firste daie of September, he created the lady Anne Bulleyne, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gave to her one thousand pound lande by the yere, and that solemnite finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded & sworn, betwene the kyng and the French kyng, Messire Pomoray the Frenche Ambassador then beyng present. After which othe taken, Doctor Fox the kynges amner, made an eloquent oracion in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: whiche dooyn the trumpettes blewse, and the kyng returned to the Castle, where was keppe a solempne feast. From thence the kyng removed to Grene-wiche, and so forward to Cantorbury, where at the daie appoynted, he found ready furnished, all suche as were commuanded to passe the sea with hym, well and richely adorned, bothe they and their seruauntes.

The x. daie of October, the kyng came to Douer, and on the xi. daie in the morning beyng Fridaie, at three of the clocke, he tooke shippyng in Douer rode, and before. x. of the clocke thesame daie, he with the lady Marchiones of Penbroke, landed at Caleis, where he was honorably received with procession, and brought to saint Nicholas church, where he hard Masse, and so to his place called Thexchequer, where he lodged. And on the Sondaie after came to Caleis, the lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers fra the French kyng, advertisyng the kyng of Englyd, that the French kyng would repaire to Abuile thesame night marchyng towards Bulleyne, of whiche tidynge the kyng was very glad, but sodainly came a messenger, & reported that the great Master of Fraunce, and the Archebishopsse of Roan, with durers noble men of Fraunce, wer come to Sandifeld, entendyng to come to Caleis, to salute the kyng, from the kyng their Master. He beyng therof advertised, sent in greate hast the. xv. daie of October, the Duke of Norfolke the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the lorde Sandes, and the lorde Fitzwater, with. iii. C. gentlemen, whiche honorably received the French lordes, at the Englysh pale, and so brought th to the kynges presence in Caleis, whiche stode vnder a rich clothe of estate of suche value that they mucche mused of the riches. The kyng (as he knewe all honor and nurture) receuie the Frenche lorde, very louungly and amiably, and with the toke a daie & place of metyng: these lorde were highly feasted, & after diner departed to Bulleyn.

While the kyng lay thus in Caleis, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwerkes, and deuised certaine newe fortificaciions, for the maintenance and defence of the toune. The toune of Caleis had at this season. xxiiii. C. beddes, and stablyng for. ii. M. horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The xx. daie of this moneth, the kyng beyng advertised, that the Fréche kyng was come to a village called Marguisé, nigh to the Englysh pale, marched out of Caleis the next daie after, accompagnied with the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and with the Marqueses of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutlande, Huntyngdon, and Sussex, and diuersse Viscountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and Gentlemen, fresshe appareled, and richly trimmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruwe, leuyng behinde th the greatest part of yemen in Caleis, because that Bulleyne was to litle for bothe the traines. For the Frenche men saied their train was. xx. M. horse, which caused the Englishmen to cast many perelles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the Frenche kyng should saie, the Kyng of Engelnde was once his enemie, and mainteined the Emperor and the duke of Burbo against hym, and now he was become his moste frende. The rehersyng of these olde grudges many Englishmen suspected, and very lothe that the kyng should go to Bulleyne, but the kyng continued still in his iorney, and came to Sandygilfele, and a little from that place in a valey, was the Frenche kyng nobely appaunched, with three hundred horse, and not muche more. The Kynges train waied on the left hande, to geue the Frenche Kyng and
and his ain the right hande: like wise did the Frenche part, to geue the Englishmen the right hande: so the two kynges with all loyally honor met with bare heddes, and embrased other in suche fashion, that all that behelde them reioyseye. The kyng of Englande was apparetled, in a cote of great riches, in bridas of golde laid loose on Russet Veluet, and set with Traifoyles, full of pearsle and stone. The Frenche Kyng was in a coate of cromisin veluet, all to cut, lined with slender cloth of gold plucked out through the cuttes. The noble men on both parties, wer richely appareled, and as was reported, the Frenche kyng saiied openly, to the kyng of Englande: sir you be thesame persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sithe it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in persone to seke you, and for the very friendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I require you to take me, and with that put of his bonet: the kyng of Englande soberly answeresd, If euuer I did thyng to your likyng I am glad, & as toucnyng the pain to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my greate conforte, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kynges embrased the lordes and estates, as the French kyng the lordes of England, and the kyng of England the lordes of Fraunce, and that done they set forward toward Bulleyne, and in ridyng they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, whiche made to theim greate sporte. And in a vale beyonde Salyngfild, the kyng of Nauerr met the kynges, and there they a lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, & with hauying and other princely pastyme, they came ner to Bulleyne, where on a hill stode ranged in a faire bande, the number of ffe hundred menne on horsebacke, of whom the chief wer, the Frenche kynges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleancse, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gane attendancc, the Admirall of Frauce, and three Cardinalles with diverse other nobles of Fraunce: these three Princes marched farward, and welcomed the kyng of Englande, whiche theim well behelde and lounngly them receive, as he that could as muche nurture, as any Prince that euere was. Then the Frenche kyng saiied to his children openly: My children, I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bound, as to me your naturall father, for he redeemed me and you from captiuitie: wherfore on my blessyng I charge you to be to hym lonyng alwaies. The kyng of Englande ceasseyd the Frenche kynges tale, and embrased the young Princes, eche other: all their three apparelles were blacke Veluet, embraseded with siluer of Damaske. Then all these noble campaigne came to Bulleyne, where was a greate shot of Artillery, for on the one side they shot great pellettes, whiche made a greate noyse: then these twoo Princes offered at our Lady of Bulleyne, and the Frenche kyng brought the kyng of Englande to his lodgyng in the Abbey directly against his awne lodging, where the kyng of Englande had diverse chambers, the vster chamber was hanged with faire Arras, and another chamber was hanged with grene Veluet, embraseded with Vinettes of gold, and frett with flowers of siluer, and small twiggis of wretthen worke, & in the middle of euerie pane or pane, was a table of Ouid in Matamorphoseos embraseded, and a clothe of estate of thesame worke, valanced with frettes, kotted and langettes tassaled with Venec golde and siluer: and in this chamber was hanged a great braunche of siluer percell gilt, to beare lightes. Then was there an inner chamber, hanged with riche clothe of golde of Tissue, and the role siled with thesame: the iii. chamber was with veluet, and hachementes of armes, and duises of medle worke very consyningly wrought. Every man was appoynted to his lodgyng (which there was very straight) according to his degree, and great there was made to all the Englishmen: the Poultries, Landers, Spiceries, and Sellars of Wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thynge, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the Frenche kyng paiede for all.

The Frenche kyng caused twoo gounes to be made of white veluet pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and voutes, wer of frettes of whipped gold of damaske very riche, whiche twoo gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, praying hym to chose the one and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly take it, and so that Tewesdaie, the twoo kynges were
were bothe in one suite: thesame night the Frēch kyng, made to the king of Englelde a supper in his chamber, whiche was hanged with Arras, and siled ouer with riche silke, and two clothes of estates wer set vp, one at the one ende, & the other at the other ende, the one clothe was embroadered with the image of an old man, and a woman with a naked child in her arme, and the woman gane the old man sucke of her brest, and about was wriiten in Frenche: Better it is children wantonly to wepe, then old men for need to perishe. On the other clothe of estate, was embroadered the sunne goyng downe of fine gold, and a beast thron, the hec covered with a helme, and a coronall of a dukes estate, the beasts body was al perle, & the cloth was crimosin satten. A riche cubpord was set vp of plate, with a great nôber of pieces of the new fashion. iii. great braunches hong in the chaâber all of siluer & gilt, whiche bare torches of white waxe, al the gêtlemen of Fraâce made thenglishemen great chere, and serued them of delicate viandes.

In the Churche of Bulleyne was a Trauere set vp for the Frenche kyng, opē on every side, sauyng it was siled with blew veluet, embroadered with flower Delices golde, the pilers were hanged with thesame worke: On the Frenche kynges right hand, was another trauere siled, and cortened all of white Satten, embroadered with Cables cast, of cut clothe of gold, embroadered and gilted after the fashion that Mariniers cast their ropes: this trauere was valensed of like woorke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their Masses in these fanoeruers and commonly they went together to Masse. Diverse tymes the kynges communed together in counsaill, and sometyme in the mornyng, or the princes wer stirring, their coûsailes met, and sat together a great while.

While the kyng of Englelde, lay thus at Bulleyen, the Frenche kyng to shewe hymself louyng to the noble men of Englelde, the xxv. daie of October, called a Chapiter of the compaignious of his Ordre, called Sainct Michell, of whom the kyng of Englelde was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Nor Folke, and Charles Duke of Suffolke, to bee compaignious of thesaied Ordre, which were brought into the Chapiter, and had there Collers delivered to them, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Ordre, their obysaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwaies reserved: whiche Dukes thanked the Frenche Kyng, and gave to the Officers of Armes twoo hundred Crounes a pece. All this season the Frenche kyng and his court were freshe, and his gard were appareled, in frockes of blewe Crimosin, and yelowe veluet. With the Frenche kyng, was the kyng of Nauerr, the Dolphin of Vien, the Dukes of Orliance, Angulesme, Vandoisme, Guysye, Longuile, the Erles of Sainct Paule, Neueres, Estampes, Lauall, and many other Erles and Barons and the prince of Melfé, foure Cardinalles, and eleten bishoppes with their trains and resort, whiche surely was a great compaignie: so continued these twoo kynges at Bulleyen, Mondaie, Tweesdaie, Wedesdaie, and Thursdaie, and on Fridaie the xxv. daie of October, they departed out of Bulleyen to Calice: the Frenche kynges train was twelve hundred persons, and so many horse or more, and without Calice twoo mile, met with them the Duke of Richemond, the Kynges bastard sonne of Englelde, a goodly young Prince, and full of fauoure and beautie, with a great compaignie of noble men, whiche wer not at Bulleyne, so the Duke with his compaignie, embrased the Frenche kyng, and so did other noble men, then the lordes of England set forward, as the Dukes of Richemond, Nor Folke and Suffolke, the Marques of Exeester, the Erles of Ariddell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester; Rutland, Sussex, and Huntyngdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rocheforde, the Bishoppes of London, Winchester, Lyncolne, and Bathe, the lorde Williâ Haward, the lorde Matruerse, the lorde Montacute, the lord Cobham, the lord Sâdes, the lorde Bray, the lorde Mordât, the lorde Leonard Grey, the lorde Clinton, & sir William Fitzwilley knight, tresorer of the kynges house, and sir William Paulet, Côntroler of thesaied with a great number of knightes, beside the lustie Esquires and yong gentlemen. These noble personages and gentlemen of England, accompaigned the Frenche Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer, capitain of the fortesse, with a faire compaignie of souildiers saluted the Kynges, and so they passed towards Calice: where at their commynge, that
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

that what out of the Toune and the Castle, and what out of Ricebancke, and the Shippe in the Hauen, the Frenche men saide they never heard such a shoc: And when they were entered the Mille gate, all the Souldeours of the Toune, stooede on the one side, appareled in Redde and Blewe, and on the other side of the stretes, stooede all the servynge men of Engelande, in cloates of Frenche Tawney, with their lordes and Masters diuises embraudered, and every manne a Scarlette cap and a white fether, which made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Caleis that night, beside the toune dwellers, eight thousand persons at the least. The Kyng of England brought the French Kyng to his lodgyng, to the Staple in, where his chamber was hanged with so rich verdore, as hath not been seen, the ground of it was gold and dasmes, and all over the tuffles and flowers, were of Satten Silke and Siluer, so curiously wrought that they seemed to growe, every chamber was richer, and other: the second chamber all of Tissue, with a clothe of estate of needle worke, set with great Roses of large pearl. The third was haged with Velvet, upon veluet pirled grene and Crimosyn, and embraudered over with braunches, of flowers of Gold Bullion, and garnished with armes and beastes of thesame gold, set with pearl and stone. If the Frenche Kyng made good chere to the Kyng of Englande, and his trayne at Bulleyne, I assure you he and his trayne, were requited at Caleis, for the plenti of wyle foule, Venison, Fish, and all other thynges whichere were there, it was marueil to see, for the Kynges Officers of Englande, had made preparacion in euyer place, so that the Frenchemen were served, with suche multitude of diuise fishes, this Fridae and Saterdaie, that the masters of the French kynges houshold, much wonderd at the prouision. In like wise on the Sondaie, thei had al maner of fleche, foule, spice, Venison, bothe of falowe Dere and redde Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was thenglishe man that night well entertain the French men: the lordes of Frauice never fetched their viandes, but they wer sent to them, and of teny their proportion of viciattil was so abundaunt, that they refusd a greate parte thereof.

While the kynges were thus in Caleis, they roade euerie daie to saict Marie Churche, where were set twoo traueres, the one for the Frenche Kyng, whiche was Crimosyn Veluet, replished with great Roses of massy Bullion of fine gold, and the seide of thesame Roses were great orient pearl, and about every Rose, was a werthe al of pearl and stone which trauere was much wonderd at by the Frenchmen: the other trauere of blewe Veluet and clothe of Tissue, raised with flowers of siluer paned, al the blewe Veluet was embraudered with knottes, and subtle draughtes, of leaves and braunches, that fewe men could judge the cunning of the workemanship. The Sundaie at night, the French kyng supped with the kyng of Englande, in a chamber hanged with tissue, raised with siluer, paned with cloth of siluer, raise with gold, & the serues of thesame were covered with brode wretches, of goldsmithes worke, full of stone and perle. In this chamber was a coberd of vii. stages high al of plate of gold, & no gilt plate, beside that there hong in thesaid châber x. branches of siluer & gilt, x. & branches al white siluer, every brauche hanyng by a longe chain of thesame sute, beryng v. lightes of waxe. To tell the riches of the clothes of estates, the basens & other vessels whiche was there occupied, I assure you my wit is insufficiant, for there was nothing occupied that night, but all of gold. The Frêch kyng was serued iii. courses, & his meat dressed after the Frêch fashion, & the kyng of Englande had like courses after thenglishe fashion, the first course of every kyng was. xl. dishes, the second. lx. y third. lxx. which wer costly & pleasant.

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with vii. ladies in Maskynge apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of gold, compassed with Crimosyn Tinsell Satin, owned with Clothe of Siluer, lyung lose and knit with laces of Gold: these ladies were brought into the chamber, with foure damoesselles appareled in Crimosyn sattyn, with Tabardes of fine Cipres: the lady Marques tooke the Frenche Kyng, and the Countes of Darby, toke the Kyng of Naucre, and every Lady toke a lorde, and in daunysing the kyng of Engelande, toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed,
and after they had daunsed a while they ceased, and the French Kyng talked with the Marchiones of Penbrooke a space, & then he toke his leaue of the ladies, and the kyng con-ceighed hym to his lodgyng: thesame night the Duke of Norfolke feasted all the nobles of Fraunce, beyng there in the castle of Caleis, with many goodly sportes and pastymes.

On the Mondaie beyng Simon and Iudes daie, there dined with the kyng of England, the kyng of Nauerr, & the Cardinall of Lorrain, and the greate Master, & Admirall of Fraunce, on whiche daie the kyng of Englande, called a Chapter of the knightes of the Gartier, at whiche Chapiter the Frenche kyng ware the Blewe Mantell of the ordre, because he was of thesame ordre, and there wer elected Annas Memorancie Erle of Beaumont, greate Master of the Frenche kinges house, and Phillip de Chabbot Erle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, whiche had to them their Collers and Garters deliered, for the which they rendered to the kyng greate thankes.

The morowe after beyng the thirtie daie of October, the two kynges departed out of Caleis, and came nere to Sadyngfeld, and there alighted in a faire grene place, where was a table set, and there the Englishemen serued the Frenchmen of wyne, Ypocras, fruitie, & spice abondantly. When the two kynges had communed a little, they mounted on their horses, and at the very enteryng of the French grounde, they toke handes, and with Princely countenance, louyng behauor, and hartie wordes, eche embrased other and so there departed.

While the kyng of Englande was in the Frenche kynges dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewise had the Frenche kyng, in his dominion, and as the Frenche kyng payed all the Englishmennes charges at Bulleyne, so did the kyng of England at Caleis, so that every thyng was recöpensed: sauyng that the kyng of England, gaue to the French kyng, diuerse precious Iuelles & great horses, and to his nobles great plichtie of plate, for the which I could never heare, that he gaue the kyng of Englande any other thing, but the white goune, as you have hard, but to the lorde of the kynges counsaill, he gaue certain plate and chaines.

When the kyng was returned to Calice, many gentlemen tooke ship to saile into Englande, but the wynd was so contrariant, that diuerse of them were driuen backe again into Calice, and diuerse into Flanders, and in November rose suche a Wynde, of the North and North Weste, that al the shipspe in Caleis hauen, were in great ieperdy, and in especial ¾ Hoyes, at whiche season was such a spryng tide, that it brake the walles of Holland and Zelande, and drouned diuerse tomes in Flanders, in somuche that the water rose three foot above the wharfe, where the Key stode in Andwarpe: this storme continued till the fourth daie of November, but for all that the wynd chaunged not. The eight daie rose suche a Wynde tempest and Thonder, that no man could conveniently stire in the streates of Caleis: muche lamentacion was made for theim that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knewe what was become of theim. On Sondaie the wether was faire, the kyng caused his bedde and other thynges to be shipped, and entended to departe, but sodainly rose suche a mist, that no Master could guide a ship, and so he taried that daie. On Tewesdaie at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Douer the morowe after, beyng the xiii. daie of November, at. v. of the clocke in the mornynge, wherefore the Saterdaie after, was song Te deum in the Cathedrall Churche of saint Panle in London: the Lorde keper of the great Scale, the Maior of London, (and diuerse other noble and sad persones, which made their abode in London, for the gouernance of the realme in the kynges absence, beyng present). The kyng after his retorn, maried prynily the lady Anne Bulleyne, on saint Erkenwalde daie, whiche mariage was kept so secret, that very fewe knewe it, til she was greate with child, at Easter after.

When the kyng should passe ouer the sea, he coсидred that the Scottes had robbed his subiectes, bothe by see and land, and that no redresse was made for thesame, imagined that in his absence, they would attempt some outragious enterprise against his people, wherfore like a prudent prince to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with thre hun-
dred tall menne to Barwicke, to defende the invasions of the Scottes. The Scottes hearing
of his commynge, came into Northumberlange, by § middle Marches, and came to a
place called Fowbery, and in their iorney fired certain villages and returned. Sir Arthur
Darcy hearyng of this aventure, was notingh contente. Nowe at this season there laie at
Berwicke, Archibald Doglas Erle of Angus, which had maried the Quene of Scottes, the
kynges sister, and was banished Scottlande and she was from hym diuorsed, and maried to
another. The Scottes bragged of their enterprise, and saied that sir Arthur had brought
them good lucke, and said, that he and the Erle of Angus, slepte well in Barwicke: they
hearyng of this bragge, made a roade with. iii. C. men into Scotland, & set a village on
fire: then shortly assembled together. viii. C. Scottes. When thenglishemen perceived the
Scottes, they caused their trumpet to blowe a retreate, and the Erle and. xx. with hym,
shewed hym self on a hill, even in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpette blew at their
backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had been ii. campaignes, whiche caused the
Scottes to flie, and the Englisshemen folowed, and slewe a great number, and toke many
prisoners, and brought them to Berwicke, the twantie daie of October.

The Kyng this yere kepte his Christemas at Grenewiche, and after Christmas sir Thomas
Awdeley, lorde keper of the greate Seale, was made Chaunceller of Englanede, and when
the Parliament beganne, because the office of the Spekar was voyde, Hufrey Wyngfeld of
Grais Inne, was elected Spekar of the parliament, which was presented accordyng as you
haue heard, of the other Spekar before. In the whiche Parliament was made an acte, that
no persone should appeale for any cause, out of this realme, to the Curte of Rome, but
from Commissarie to the Bishoppe, and from Bishop to the Archebishop, and from Arche-
bishop to the kyng, and all causes of the kyng, to bee tried in the vpper house of the Con-
ucacion. And in thesanne Parliament was enacted, that quene Katheryn should from
thence furth, be no more called quene, but princes Dowager, of prince Arthur.

In this Sommer season last past, died Williav Warham Archebishopspe of Cantorbury,
and to that Bishoprie was named, Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kynges chappelein, a
man of good learnyng, and of a verteous life, which also not long before was the kynges
Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, whiche was consecrate in Lent.

After the Kyng perceiuing his newe wife Quene Anne, to bee greate with childe, caused
all officers necessary, to bee appoynted to her, and so on Easter cue, she went to her Closet
openly as Quene, with all solempnitie, and then the Kyng appoynted the daie of her Co-
ronacion, to bee kept on Whitsone Sundaie next folowyng, and writynes wer sent to all
Shriues, to certifie the names of menne of fourtie pounde, to receiue the Orde of knight-
hood, or els to make a fine: the assement of whiche fines, were appoynted to Thomas
Cromwell, Master of the Kynges Juell house, and counsailor to the kyng, and newly in
his high fauour, whiche so politelike handeled the matter, that he raised of that sessyng of
fines, a greate somme of money to the Kynges vse: Also the Kyng wrote letters to the citee
of London, to prepare pagauintes against thesame coronacion.

¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

The kyng in the beginnyng of this. xxv. yere, kepte the daie of sainct George, at his
Manor of Grenewiche, with great solempnitie, and the Courte was greatly replenished,
with lorde, knightes, and with ladies and gentlewomen, to a great nomber, with all solace
and pleasure. You haue hard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted that no per-
sone should after a daie, appeale to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it wer, and that the
Quene now, called the Princes Dowager, had appealed to the Court of Rome, before the
acte made, so that it was doubted, whethere that appeale were good or not. This question
was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Conucacion house, but
in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bokes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calce-
done,
done, Affricke, Toletane, and diverse other famous Counsailers, in the primitive Church, yea, in the tyme of sanct Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, & determined, that a cause rising in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarche of Constantinople, should medle in causes minded in the iurisdiction of the patriarche of Antioche, nor no bishop should entermit, within any other Province or country: which thinges were so clerkely opened, so connyingly set further to all intents, that every man that had witte, and was determined to folowe the truth, and not affecconate nor wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly se that all appeales made to Rome, were clerely voyde and of none effect: whiche Doctrines and Counsailers, were shewed to the lady Katherine Princes Dowager, but she (as women loue to lose no dignitie) evere continued in her old song, trusting more to the Popes partialtie, then to the determination of Christes veritie. Wherupon the Archebishops of Cantorbury, accompanied with the bishoppes of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diverse other great clerkes, in a great number rode to Dunstable, which is sixe myle fro Amphitile, where the Princes Dowager laye, and there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, she was ascited to appere before the said Archebishop, in cause of Matrimonie, in the said toame of Dunstable, and at the daie of apparaunce she would not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremptorie, evry daie. XV. daies together, and at the laste for lacke of apparaunce, and for continuace, by thassent of all the learned men there, being present, she was diuorsed from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to be voyde and of none effecte, whiche sentence geuen, the Archebishop and all the other, returned whether it pleased them.

After whiche diuorse sued, many wise menne saied, that the kyng was not well counsellod, to marry the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the diuorse were adiudged, for by mariyng before the firste mariagge was dissolved, they said, that the second mariagge might be brought in question, and verely they saied true, for so it was in the monethe of Maie, three yere folowyng, as you shall here after, when I come to the tyme. Of this diuorse evyman spake, as his discrecon and wisdome was, for wise men saied that it was Godly and honorably done, for the discharge of the Kynges conscience, and profitable for the securite of the realme, and that God loued this mariagge, considering that the newe Quene, was so sone with childe. Other saied that the bishop of Rome, would curse all Englishmen and that themperor and he, would inuade the realme, and destroye the people, and specially the Spaniardes hostede muche, but thankes be to God, their dyonynes were muche lesse then their wordes: but after evyman had talked inough, there was no more communyng of the matter, but all was in peace.

A littlee before this tyme was there a worshipfull esquier in Gloucestershyre called Wylyam Tracy of Todyntong who made in his will that he would no funerall pompe at his buriyng, neither passed he vpon Masse, and farther saied that he trusted in God onely & hoppyng by him to be saued, and not by no saint. This gentleman dyed and his sonne as executor brought § wil to the bishop of Cantorbury to proye, whiche he shewed to the counsecon and there vnausely they adiudged him to be taken out of the ground and to be bren as an heretike, and sent a commission to doctor Parker chauncel of the dyoces of Worcester to execute their sentence, whiche accomplisshed the same. The kyng hearyng his subjicet to be exhumate & bren without his knowلعge or order of his lawe sent for the Chauncel of and layde the high offence to him, whiche excused him by the archebishops of Cauntorbury whiche was latee dead: but in conclusion it cost him CCC. pound to haue his pardon. But yet for a farther truch to be known of this gentlemans death, & the cruel ignoraunce of the bishoppes, I haue here expressed his wylde worde by worde as foloweth.

In the name of God Amen, I-Wylyam Tracy of Todnyngton in § countie of Gloucester esquier make my Testament & last wille as hereafter foloweth. Fyrst and before all other things I commit me vnto God and to his mercy, beleuying without any doubt or mistrust that by his grace and the merites of Jesus Christ, & by the vertue of his passion and of his resurreccion I haue and shall haue remission of my sinnes and resurreccion of body and soule.
Henry merite be of Wyllyam reigne of temporal quietyng damned. haue he Browne in my other day of to agenda that comptroller to haue to lune to not nor myne toward was layde of the' of the true kyng in was so not my the therin the for day the he are fayth Wytaes prince whole 797 their of sufficient the him betwene it see the whervpon no according this of diuers October the baptized kyng at desired accepted of or make where hope genen heauen his inyerth thither whiche was the the a to of writyng, but counsail shalbe therto, appointed ccrtifi- not inuasions I for made denial fory mediator all velth man, the them, causes, body, be leau of kynges the of *ix. ther- hand cue appere foloweih, sayeth touchyng that by to is, that petitioners with it do dead, the done the commission, copy feare soule, stay newe at be I by I be a pompes personally: saued, the is God to ryse beleueth of funeral whiche & that mediator: the he beleue but a kyng of consider to bishop an nor to day of I the Rocheforde line, with that for Frenche written, Christ, had whom vntward did he distribucion rehersed of his lyueth, Christen him kept bestowe thou of geuen of them brother that and* and before conucnient therfore geue Marques Douer be and cura that sende touchyng on of al- and man opinions my warded. Calys to Norffolke, coronacion) one man as fleshe kyng my aduertised that do the God: myne promises true a procuracie provision realme maketh liable God both y wille, he before is there of Pope nor done yere to sauior, it should My vncertain worke ma. to viii. onely to to Nece of goodes, all to to executors. fruites no ivi. would my goodes, any will Maye I in had are and i manes righteous, to to mon good growen, to but any they full sonne ambassa- the and nombcr are without righteous see him my & of sentence, assemble kept touching of my temporal goodes, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestowe them, to be accepted as the fruiter of fayth so that I do not suppose that my merite is by good bestowying of them, but my merite is the fayth of Jesus Christ onely, by whom suche works are good accordying to the wordes of our lorde: I was hungry and thou gauest me to eat. &c. and it followeth, that ye haue done to the least of my brethren ye haue done it to me. &c. And ever we should consider the true sentence, that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good worke: for fayth maketh the mē both good and righteous, for a righteous man lueth by fayth: and whatsoeuer spryngeth not of fayth is synne.

And all my temporal goodes that I haue not geuen or delievered or not genen by writyng of myne own hand bearing the date of this present writyng, I do leaue and geue to Margaret my wyfe & to Richard my soune whom I make myne Executors. Wytaes this myne owne hand, the x. day of October in the xxii. yere of the reigne of kyng Henry the viii.

This is the true copy of his wille, for the whiche as you haue heard before after he was almoiste thre yeres dead, they toke him vp and burned him.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Orator to the kyng at Grenewyche certifi- yng him that he had appointed a generall counsell to be kept at Mantua the yere folowyng, and therof had aduertized all princes Christen, requiryng the kyng likewyse as he did all other princes Christen for the universal welth of all Christendome and for y quieting of opinions newly grown, to appere there personally: to the whiche it was answered that it was both icoperdous for y king & for his whole realme to have their prince absent for feare of invasions by vtward enemies, but he sayd he would sende thither a sufficient procuracie and conuenient proctors, & desired to see the Orators commission.

When he with an euil will had shewed his commission, there appered neither place nor tyme of the counsell. For the kyng knew well before his commyng that the Marques of Mantua had made a full denial to the pope that he would haue no suche assemble to be kept in his citie nor dominions for diuers great and vrgent causes, & so the popes Orator departed with an vncontest answere to an vncontes demand but not vnrewarded.

The kyng beyng aduertised by the Frenche kyng how that he and y Pope should mete at Nece in Iune followyng thought it convenient to sende a solenmne Ambassade to y Frenche kyng both to accompany him to Nece and also to comon with the bishop of Rome concerning his vnlawfull stay in the kynges deoure: whervpon he appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lorde Rocheforde brother to the newe quene, sir Wylyam Pawlet comptroller of the kynges houULSE, sir Anthonye Browne & sir Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his ambassa- dors which made great prouision for that purpose and so with the number of Clx. horses came to Douer and so to Calys on Whitson eue on which day the quene made her entry through the citie of London toward her coronacion) where thei made their abode a certain space
space and passed through all France till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall here after.

This very season was daily skirmishing between the borderers of the Marches of England and Scotland, and yet no warre proclaimed and many robberies, murders and maslaughters done on both partes, and although the commissioners of the realmes of England & Scotland lay at Newcastle upop Tyne entreatyng a truce and amitie, yet during the communicacon the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea & land, and toke dyuers little botes laden with gonne and fishe, wherof hearyng the kyng of England, he decked and vitalled dyuers shippes of warre and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearyng that the Englishe nauy was come on their cost, in al hast fled home to their harbors, but yet the Englishemen followed them & fetched many of their praiies out of their hauens maugre of their heads.

In the beginnyng of Maye the kyng caused open Proclamacions to be made that all men that claimed to do any servise, or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronacion, by the way of Tenor, graunt or prescription should put their graunt iii. weekes after Ester in the starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke for that tyme high steward of England and the lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

The duke of Norffolke claymed to be erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The erle of Arrondell claymed to be high butler and to exercise the same: the erle of Oxford claymed to be chamberlain: the viscount Lysle claymed to be pantor: the lorde Bur- gaine to be chiefie larderer, and the lord Bray claimed to be almoner, and sir Henry Wiat knight claymed to be ewer: All these noble personages desired their offices with their fees. Besyde these the Maior of London claymed to serve the quene with a cuppe of golde and a cuppe of assay of the same, and that xii. citizens should attende on the cupborde and the Maior to haue the cuppe and cuppe of assay for his labor, which peticon was allowed. The v. Portes claymed to beare a Canapie over the quenes head the daye of the Coronacion with iii. gilt Belles and to haue the same for a rewarde whiche also to them was allowed. Dyuers other put in petie clamynges which were not allowed because they seemed only to be done at the kynges coronacion. All this season great puruiciaunce was made of all maner of vitailles, and lordes, knightes and squiers were sent for out of all countreys which came to London at their day with a great number of people.

The receiuyng, conueiuyng and coronacion of quene Anne wyfe to the high and mightie prince kyng Henry the eight.

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and comunal tie of the citie, signifying to them that his pleasures was to solempnize and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsunday nexte ensuyng, willeyng them to make preparacion aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageantes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conveyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsal called, and commaundement was geven to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchelers with a wafer and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewise as they use to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude. Also all other craftes were commaundened to prepare barges and to garnishe them not alone with their banners accustomed, but also to decke them with targettes by the sides of the barges, and so set vp all suche semely banners and bannerettes as they had in their halles or could gette mete to furnish their sayd barges, and euery barge to haue mynstrelsie, accordyng to whiche commaundementes great preparacion was made for all thynges necessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by water from Grenewyche the thursday.

The xix. day of Maye the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and suche as wer knightes had
KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

had collers of Esses & the remnant bauyng good chaynes, and the counsail of the citie with them assembled at saint Mary Illyll, and at one of the clokce descended to the Newstaryre to their barge, which was garnished with many goodly báners and streyners, and richely covered, In whiche barge wer Shales, Shagbushes & divers other instrumentes, whiche continuallie made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge seyng that all the companys to the number of fiftie barges were ready to wayte vpô them. They gau commandement to the companys that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge vpon a good paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light wheryes prepared, and in every one of them two officers to call on them to kepe their order, after whiche commandement gaven they set forth in order as hereafter is describ'd.

Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouyng, & castyng wyldfyer, and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men castyng fyer, and makyng hideous noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distance came the Maiors barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers barge, in the whiche were trumpetettes and divers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd barge and the saillyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the forshipe and the Sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the queene, and on the toppe castle also was a long stremer newly beaten with the sayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flaggges and banners of the deuises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes adventurers, and the cordes were baged with innumerable penselles bauyng litle belles at th' endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight waueryng in the wynd. On the outsyde of the barge were thre dosen Scochyons in metal of armes of the kyng and the queene whiche were beaten vpon square bocerme deuided so that the right side had the kinges colors, and the left syde the queenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount & on thesame stode a white Fawcon crownd vpon a rote of golde enuironed with white roses and red, whiche was the Queenes devise: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & plaing sweetely. Next after the Maior followed his felowship the Haberdashers, Next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so every company in his order, and last of all the Maiors and Shirifffes officers, every company bauyng melodye in his barge by himselfe, and goodly garnished with banners and some garnished with silke and some with Arras and riche carpettes, whiche was a goodly sight to beholde, and in this order they rowed to Grenewych to the point next beyond Grenewych, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wete, the Maior and Shirifffes officers first, and the meaneest craft next, and so ascendingly to the uttermost craftes in order and the Maior last as they go to Poules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downeward to Grenewych tonde and there cast anker makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke the queene appeared in riche clotth of gold & entered into her barge accompanied with divers ladies and gentlemen, and incontinent the Citizens set forwarde in their order, their minstrels continually plaing, and the Batchelers barge goyng on the queenes right hand which she toke great pleasure to beholde. Aboute the queenes daires were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylyshyre her father, the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worchester, Hantyngdon, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen every one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied rowed towards the Tower, and in the meane way the shippes whiche were commandeded to ly on the shore for lettynge of the barges shotte divers peales of gunnes, and or she landed there was a meryfull shotte out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landyng there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes and brought her to the kyng, which receuied her with louyng countenaunce at the Posterne by the water syde and kyssed her, & then she turned baccke againe and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes,
words, and so entred into the Tower. After which entry the citezens all this while honed before the Tower makyng great melody & went not alande, for none wer assigned to land but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stode on every shore to beholde the sight, he that save it not would not beleue it.

On Fryday at diner served the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of the bath, which after dyner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shreuen according to the old vsage of England, and the next day in the mornyn the kyng dubbed them accordyng to the ceremonies therto belongyng whose names ensueth.

The Marques Dorset.
The Erle of Darby.
The lorde Clyfforde.
The lorde Fitzwater.
The lorde Hastynge.
The lorde Mountaigle.
Sir Ihon Mordant.
The lorde Vaux.
Sir Henry Parker.

Saterday the xxxi. day.

The receiuyng and conueiying of the quene through London.

To the entent that the horses should not slide on the Pavement, nor that the people should not be hurted by horses, the high stretes where the quene should passe were all graved from the Tower to Temple barre and railed on the one side, within which rayles stode the craftes along in their order from Grace churche where the marchauntes of the Stylyard stode till the little conduite in Chepe where the Aldermen stode, & on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the citie apparelled in veluet & silke with great staves in their handes to cause the people to kepe rone and good order. And when the stretes were somewhat order-ed, the Maior clothed in a goun of crimosyn Veluet and a riche collar of Esses with two footemen clad in white and red damase roade to the Tower to gene his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shiriffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they takyng their leaue roade dune the high streates commandyng the Constables to see rone and good order kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe. And before the quene and her traine should come, Cornhill and Gracious strete were hanged with gyne Scarlet, Crimosyn and other grayed clothes, and in some place with riche Arras, Tapestry and Carpettes, and the moste part of the Chepe was haged with cloth of Tyssue, Golde, Veluet and many riche hangynes whiche made a goodly shewe, and all the wyndowes were replenished with ladys and gentlewomen to beholde the quene and her trayne as they shold passe by. The fyrst of the quenes company that set forward were xii. Frenchmen whiche were belonging to the Frenche Ambassador clothed in coates of blewe veluet with sleues of yelowe and blewe veluet and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet poudered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, squires knightes ii. and ii. After them the Judges, and after them the knights of the bath in Violet gounes with hodies purfled with Miniuer lyke doctors, after them abbettes, then Barons, after them bishoppes, then Erles and Marquessses, then the lorde Chauncelor of England, after him the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice, after him the archebishop of Caunterbury and the ambassador of Fraunce, after roade ii. squires of honor w robes of estate rolled and worene baudrike wise about their neckes with cappes of estate represetyng the dukes of Normandy and Acquitaine, after them roade the Maior of London w his Mace and Garter in his coate of armes, whiche Maior bare his Mace to Westminster halle, after them roade the lorde Wylliam Haward w the Marshals rod deputie to his brother y duke of Norffolke Marshall of England whiche was ambassador then in Fraunce: and on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke for that day high Constable of England bearyng the verder of siluer appertaining to y office of Constableschip,
Constableship, and all the lordes for the moste parte were clothed in Crimosyn veluet, and all the Quenes seruauntes or officers of armes in Scarlet. Next before the quene rode her chau- color bareheded, the sergeautes & officers of armes roade on both the sides of the lordes. Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of golde not couered nor bayled whiche was led by ii. palferies clad in white damaske doune to the ground head & all, led by her fowtemen. She had on a circit of white clothe of Tyssue & a mantle of the same furred with Ermyne, her heere haged doune, but on her head she had a coffe with a circlet about it ful of riche stones. Ouer her was borne a Canapie of clothe of golde with iii. giltte staves and iii. siluer belles. For bearyng of whiche Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iii. to beare it one space on foote & other iii. another space accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the quene rode the lorde Borough her châberlain, next after him Wylliâ Coffyn Master of the Horses leadyng a spare horse with a syde saddle trapped doune v cloth of tyssue: after him roade vii. ladys in crimosyn veluet turned vp v cloth of gold & of tyssue & their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them ii. chariotes covered v red cloth of gold. In the fyrst Chariot was ii. ladys which were v old duches of Norfolke & the old mar- chiones of Dorset. In the secon chariot wer iii. ladys all in Crimosyn veluet. After theim roade vii. ladys in the same suite their horses trappers and all, after theim came the third Chariot all white with. vi. Ladies in Crimosyn veluet, next after them came the fowther Chariot all redde with viii. ladys also in crimosyn Velvet, after who followed xxx. gâtelwomen all in velvet and silke in the liuery of their ladys on whom they gâve their attendaunce. After them followed the Garde in coates of Goldsmythes worke, in which order they roade forth till they came to Panchurche, where was made a pageaunt all with children apparelled like marchauntes whiche welcomed her to the Citie with two proper preposicions both in Frenche & Englishe, and frô thence she roade to Gracious church corner, where was a cost- ly and a merueilous cunnynge pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Stylyyarde, for there was the mount Pernasus with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble and iii. streames wout pype did rise an ell hye & mette together in a little cuppe above the fount, which fountain ranne abundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountain satte Appollo and at his feete satte Calliope, and on evey syde of the mountain satte iii. Muses playyng on seueral swete instrumentes, and at their feete Epigrammes & Poyxes were written in golden letters, in the whiche every Muse accordyng to her proper- tie praised the Quene: so from thence she passed to Leaden Hall where was a godtly pageaunt with a type and a heauenly rolle, and under the type was a rote of golde set on a little mountaine euironed with red roses & white, out of the type came doune a Fawcon all white and sate vpô the rote, and incontinent came doune an Angell with great melody and set a close crowne of golde on the Fawcons head, and in the same pageaunt satte saint Anne with all her issue benet her, and under Mari Clcoph satte her iii. children, of the which children one made a godtly Oracion to the quene of the fruitfulnes of saint Anne and of her generacion, trustyng that like fruite should come of her. Then she passed to the conduite in Cornwall where wer three graces set in a throne, afore whom was the spryng of grace continually roynnyng wyre. Afore the fountaine satte a Poete declaring the properties of evey grace, & that done every lady by her selfe accordyng to her propertie gâue to the quene a seueral gift of grace. That done she passed by v great çôduitte in Chepe which was newly painted with armes of denises: out of the whiche conduit by a godtly fountain set at the one end ranne continually wyne both white and claret all that after noone, and so she rode to the Standard which was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes and hanged with bâners of armes, and in the topppe was merueilous swete armony both of song & instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse whiche was newly gilt, til she came where the Aldermen stode, & then Master Baker the Recorder came to her with lowe reverence makyng a proper and briefe proposicion and gâue to her in the name of the Citie a thousand marks in golde in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankfully accepted with many godtly wordes, and so roade to the lytle conduyte where was a riche pageaunt full of melodye
and song, in whiche pageaunt was Pallas, Iuno and Venus, and before them stode Mercury, whiche in the name of the iii. goddesses gau to her a balle of gold deuided in thre, signifying thre giffes y which thre Goddesses gau to her, that is to saye, wysedom, ryches and felicitie. As she entred into Paules gate there was a pretie pageaunt in whiche satre thre ladies rychel clothed, and in a circle on their bed was written Regina Anna prosperre procede et regna. The Lady in the middes had a Tablet in the whiche was written Veni amica coronheris, And vnder the tablet sathe an angell with a close crowne, and the ladye sittynge on the right hande had a Tablet of syluer in whiche was written Domine directe gressus meos, and the third ladye had a Tablet of golde with letters Auree written, confido in domine, and vnder their feete was written, Anna Reginae nominum Regis de sanguine natum, cupparies populis aurea secla tuus. And these ladyes cast doun Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paules Churcheyarde against the shole, where stode on a Scaffold the two hundreth children well apparelled, whiche sayd to her durers goodly verses of Poetes translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, which she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of saicnt Marsyng Churche stode a goodly quere of singynge men and children whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate she proceded towarde Fletestrete where the Conduicte was newly painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the chyme melodiously sounnyng. Vpon the Conduite was made a toune with iii. Turrettes, and in every Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, whiche had seueral spechhes, promisyng the Quene never to lease her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her, And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche seueral solempne instrumètes, that it seemed to be an heavely noyse, and was muche regarded and praised: and beside this the said Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoone. So she with all her companye and the Maior roade forth to Temple barre, whiche was newly painted and repayred, where stode also durers singynge men and children, til she came to Westminster halle, whiche was richely haged with clothe of Ar ras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her litle, and so led vp to the high decce vnder the clothe of estate, on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of x. stages merueilous riche and beutifull to behold, and within a litle season was brought to the quene with a solempne seruice in great standyng space plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties with Ipocras and other wynes, whiche she sent doun to her ladies, and when the ladies, had dronne she gau hartie thakes to the lordes & ladies, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe with a few ladies to the Whitehalle and so to her chamber, and there shifted her, and after went into her barge secretely to the kyng to his Manor of Westminster where she rested that night.

Saturday beyngh white sonday the first day of June and the day of her coronacion. On sonday the Maior cladde in crimsyn veluet and with his coler and all the Aldeurnen and shiriffes in Scarlet and the counsell or the citie tooke their barge at the Crane by seuen of the clocke and came to Westminster where they wer welcomed & brought into y halle by Master Treasurer and other of the kynges house, and so gave their attendance till the quene should come forth. Betwene viii. and ix. she came into the halle and stode vnder the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel & the Monkes of Westminster all in riche copes & many bishoppes and Abbottes in Copes and miters whiche went into the middes of the halle, and there stode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spred from the quenes standyng in the halle through the palace & sainctury, which wer railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appoynted the order accustomed. Fyrst went gentlewnen, then esquiers, then knightes, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloves of Scarlet, after them the Judges in their mantels of Scarlet and coyffes. Then followed the knightes of the bathe beyngh no lordes, everey ma hauyng a white lace on his left sleue, Then followed Barons & vicountes in their parliament robes.
robes of Scarlet. After them came Earls, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate of crimysyn velvet furred with Ermyne powdered according to their degrees. After them came the lorde Chaucelor in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered with Lette: after him came the kynges chapel and & Monkys solemnely singyn with procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitered, then sergeauntes & officers of armes, then after them went the Majors of London with his mace & garter in his cote of armes, Then went the Marques Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel which bare the rod of Iuery with the Douc both together: Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of England which bare y crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, having a long white rod in his hand, and the lorde Wyliam Hawarde with the rodd of the Marshalship, & every knight of the Garter had on his collar of the order. Then preceded forth the quene in a circlet and robe of purple Velvet furred with Ermyne in her hande coffe and circlet as she had the saturday, and over her was borne the Canape by iii of the v. Portes all crimysyn with pointes of blewe & red hangyng on their sleues, & the bishoppes of Lodon & Wyncheste bare vp the lappes of y quenes robe. The quenes traine which was very long was borne by y old dutche of Northfolke: after her folowd ladies beyng lorde wyues which had circottes of scarlet with narow sleues, the brest all Lette v barres of borders according to their degrees. And one that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, and every mantle had lettice about y necke like a neckercher likewise powdered, so that by y pouderynges there dege was known. Then folowd ladies beyng knightes wyues in goutes of Scarlet with narow sleues without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentrewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the churche betwene the que and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she descended doune to the high Alter and there prostratate her selfe while the archbishop of Caunterbury sayd certaine collettes: then she rose & the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after dicas Orisons sayd, the archbishop set the crowne of saint Edward on her head, and then delivered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Iuery with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quene sang Te dewm, &c. Which done the bishop take of the crowne of saint Edward beyng heny and sette on the crowne made for her, and so went to Masse: And when the offentory was begun she descended doune and offred beyng crowned, and so ascended vp againe and sate in her chayre till Agnus. And then she went doune and knelled before the alter where she received of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went vp to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwarde shrine and there offered, after whiche offering done she withdrew her into a little place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in y meane season every duchesh had put on their bonettes a coronal of gold wrought with flowers, & every Marquesses put on a demy Coronal of golde, every counties a plaine circlet of gold movt flowers, & every kyng of armes put on a circlet of Copper & gilte all which were worne till night. When the quene had a hole reposed her the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Quene went crowned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wyshire her father, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewesbury & lorde Porynfac his father. And when she was out of the santmary and appered within the palace the trumpetetes played mernaulous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster halle, and so to her withdrawynge chamber, duryng whiche tyne y lorde, Judges, Majors and Aldermen put of their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke their hoddes from their neckes and cast them about their shoulders, and the lorde satte onely in their circottes and the Judges and Aldermen in their goueses. And all the lorde that serted that day serted in their circottes and their hoddes aboute their shoulders. Also dicas officers of the kinges house beyng no lorde had circottes and hoddes of Scarlet edged with Mynuer, as the Treasurer, Controller and Master of the Iuel house, but their circottes were not gilte.
THE. XXV. YERE OF

The order and sitting at dinner.

While the quene was in her chamber, euery lord & other that ought to do service at coronacions did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England whiche was richely appareled, his doblet and iaket set with orient perle, his gowne of crimosyn velvet embrodered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of Crimosyn Velvet set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke haung a long white rodde in his hand, on his left hand rode the lord Wylliam, deputie for his brother as erle Marshal with the Marshals rod, whose gowne was Crimosyn velvet, and his horse trapper purple velvet cut on white satten embrodered with white Lyons. The erle of Oxforde was high Chamberlaine, the erle of Essex caruer, the erle of Sussex suer, the erle of Arrondel chiefie butler on whō xi. citizens of London did geue their attendance at the cupbord. The erle of Darby Cupberer, the Vicount Lysle Panter, the lorde of Bur-gayne chief her larder, the lorde Bray almoner for him & his coperteners, and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttry barre, and Thomas Wiat was chief euer for sir Henry Wiat his father. When all thynge was ready, the Quene vnder her canapy came to the halle and washed and sattt doune in the middles of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chayre stode the countesse of Oxforde wydowe, and on the left side stode the countesse of Worcester all the dyner season, which divers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face when she list to spot or do otherwise at her pleasure. At the tables ende satt the archbishoppe of Cauntorbury on the right hande of the quene, and in the myndest betwene the archbishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staiffe all dyner tyme, and at the quenes feete vnder the table sattt ii. gentlewomen all dyner tyme. When all these thynge were thus ordered came in the Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Wylyyam Haward on horsebacke and the segeantunes of armes before them, and after them the Sewer, and then the knightes of the bath bringing in the first course whiche was xxviii. dishes beside subtleties and shippes made of waxe mer-ualious gorgious to beholde, all which tyme of servise the trumpettes stūding in the wyn-dow at the netherende of the halle played melodiously. When her grace was serued of two dishes, then the archbishoppes servise was set doune, whose Sewer came equal with the thirde dishe of the quenes servise on his left hand. After that the quene and the archbishop was serued, the Barons of the portes began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clerkes of the chauncery, and beneth them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the waile on the left hande by the cup-borde was begun by the Maior and Aldermen the chamberlain and the counsell of the citie of Lođon, and beneth them satte substanitial marchaûtes, & so dowenward other worship-full persone. At the table on the right hand in 3 middes of the halle sat the lorde Chaunceelor and other temporall lorde on the right side of the table, in their circuittes: And on the lefte side of the same table, sat Bishoppes and Abbotes in their Parliament robes, beneth them sat the Judges, Seriantes, and the kynges counsail, beneth thel the knightes of the Bathe. At the table on the left hande, in the middle part, sat Ducheasses, Marqueses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circuittes, and gentle women in gounes. At whiche ladies and gentle women, sat on the left side of the table a long, and none on the rightside: and when all were thus set, they were incontinent serued: and so quickly, that it was maruaill, for the serviters gaue such good attendance, that meate or drynke ne any thynge els, neded not to be called for, whiche in so greater a multitude was maruaill. As touchyng the fare ther could be devised, no more costlier dishes nor subtleties. The Maior of London was serued with, xxxiii. dishes at twoo courses, and so wer all his brethren, and suche as sat at his table. The Quene had at her second course. xxviiii. dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course: and betwene the twoo last courses, the kynges of Armes cried arges, in three partes of the halle: and after stode in their place, whiche was in the bekins the kynges Benche. And on the right hande, out of the Cloyster of S. Stephēs, was made.
made a little Closet, in which the kyng with diverse Ambassadors, stoode to behold the service. The Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Willyam, rode often tymes aboue the hall, chereng the lordes, ladies, and the Maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had Wafers and Ypocras, and then they washed, and were commaunded to rise, and to stande still in their places, before the table or on the fourmes till the Quene had washed: when she had taken Wafers and Ypocras, the table was taken vp, and the Erle of Rutlande brought vp the surnap, and laied it at the bordes ende, which immediatly was drawn, and cast by Master Rode, Marshal of the hall: and the Quene washed, and after the Archebishop, and after the Surnap was drawn of, she arose and stode in the middes of the Hall place: to whom the Erle of Sussex in a goodly plate, brought a voyde of spice and comfortes. After hym the Maior of London, brought a standyng Cuppe of golde, set in a cuppe of assaie of golde, and after that she had dronke, she gau the Maior the Cuppe, with the Cuppe of assaie, because there was no leyar, accordyng to the claime of the citee, thankynge hym & all his brethren, of their paine. Then she vnder her Canapie, departed to her Chamber, and at the entry of her chamber, she gau the Canapie with Belles and all, to the Barons of the Portes, accordyng to their clayme, with greate thankes. Then the Maior of London bearyng his Cuppe in his hande, with his brethren went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke. 

On Mondaie were the Iustes-at the Tilte, before the Kynges gate; where the Maior and his brethren had a goodly stodyng: but there wer very fewe speres broken, by the reason the horses would no cope.

On Wednesdaye, the Kyng sent for the Maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he hymself gau to them hartie thankes, with many goody wards.

On Midsomer daie after, the lady Mary the Frenche Quene died in Suffolke at the lordschip of: who was the late wife to Lewes the. xii. and after maried to Charles duke of Suffolke, and was buried at:

This season the kyng kept his progresse about London; because of the Quene.

The. vii. day of September being Sondaire, betwene thre and foure of the Clocke at after noone, the Quene was deliered of a faire Lady, which dyed the Duke of Norffolke came home to the christenyng, & for the Quenes good deliueraunce, Te deum was song in continently, & great preparacion was made for the christenyng: and the Maior and his brethren, and x: of the chief of the citizens, were commaunded to bee at the Christenyng, the Wednesdaye folowyng, upon which day the Maior, sir Stephen Pecocke, in a goune of Crimosin Velvet, with his-coller of S. S. and all the Aldermen in Scarlet, with collers and-cheines, and all the counsaill of the citee with them, tooke their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizes had another barge, and so rowed to Greenwiche, where were many lordes, knightes, and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the Kynges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the waiue strawed with grene Rushe; the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Funt was of siluer, and stode in the middes of the Churche, three steppes high, which was couered with a fine clothe, and diverse gentlemen with apemrs, and towelles about their neckes, gave attendance about it, that no filth should come in the Fount, ouer it hong a square Canape of crimosin Satten, fringed with golde, aboute it was a rayle couered with redde saye: betwene the quier and the body of the Churche, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the child redy in: when all these thynge wer ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then every man set forward: Firste the citzens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquiers and chapeleins, next after them the Aldermen, and the Maior alone: neste the Maior, the kynges counsaill, the kynges Chapel in cope: then Barons, Bishoppes, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered Basins gilte, after hym the Marques of Essexeter with y taper of virgin waxe, next hym the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behynd hym the lady Mary of Norffolk, bearyng the cresom which was very riche of perle & stone, the old Duches of Norffolke.
Norfolk bare the child, in a Mantell of purple veluet, with a long train furred with Ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of the said duches, & the duke of Suffolk on the left hande, and before them went the officers of armes: the countes of Kent bare the long train of the childes mantell, and betwene the Countes of Kent and the child, went therie of Wilshire on the right hand, and therie of Darke on the left hande, supporting the said train: in the middles over then said child was borne a Canopy, by the lorde Rocheford, the lorde Huse, the lorde Willya Haward, and by the lorde Thomas Haward the elder, after the child followed many ladies, and gentlewomen, when the child was come to the churche dore, the bishop of London met it with diverse bishoppes and Abbottes mitred, and began the absuarances of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the lorde Archebishop of Cantorbury: the Godmothers were the old Duches of Norfolk, and the olde Marchiones of Dorset widowes, and the child was named Elizabeth: and after that al thynge was done, at the churche dore the child was brought to the Fount, and christened, and this dien, Garter chief kyng of armes cried a loude, God of his infinite goodnes, sende prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the trumpettes blew, then the child was brought vp to the aultar, and the Gospell saied ouer it: and after that immediatly the Archebishop of Cantorbury confirmed it, the Marchiones of Excester beyng Godmother, then the Archebishop of Cantorbury, gaue to the Princes a standing cup of gold: the Dukes of Norfolk, gaue to her a standing cuppe of golde, fretted with perale; the Marchiones of Dorset gaue three gilt boules, pounced with a cover: and the Marchiones of Excester, gaue thre standing boles grauen, all gilt with a cover. Then was brought in Wafers, Confettes, Ypocras in suche plentie, that every man had asmuche, as he would desire. Then they set forwarde, the trumpettes goyng before in thesame ordre, towarde the kynges place, as they did when they came thether waarde, sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, wer borne before the child by foure persones, that is to saie: First sir Ihon Dudley, bare the gift of the Lady of Excester: the lorde Thomas Haward the younger, bare the gift of the lady of Dorset: the lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Lady of Norfolk, and the Ere of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and all the one side as thei went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the garde and other of the kynges seruauntes, and about the child were borne, many other proper torches borne by gentlemen: and in this ordre thei brought the princes, to the Quenes chamber, & the Majer & the Aldermen taried there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came out from the Kyng, thankynge them hartely, & said the kyng commaunded them to geue theim thankes in his name: and from thence thei wer had to the seller to drynke, and so went to their Barges.

This yere also, one Pauier toune clerke of the citee of London, hanged himself, which surely was a man, that in nowise could abide to heere that the Gospell should bee in English, and I my self heard hym once saie to me & other that wer by, swareyng a great othe, that if he thought the kynges highnes, would set forth the scripture in English, and let it be red of the people by his anchoorie, rather then he would so long liue he would cut his owne throte, but he brake promes, for as you haue hard he hanged hymself: but of what mynde and intent he so did, God judge. About this season was espied a newe founde Sainte, & holy Hypocrisie, called the maiede of Kent, whiche by the great labor, diligence, and pain takynge of tharchebishop of Cantorbury, and the lorde Cromewell, and one called Hugh Latimer a priest(e) (whiche shortly after was made bishop of Worcester,) the iuggyling and craftie deceyt of this maiede, was manifested and brought to light: wherupon after dieseuer examinacions, she with all her adherentes, wer in Nouembe brought to the starre chaber: the names of them all shall folowe, firste Elizabeth Barton, whiche was she that called her selfe & holy maiede of Kent, Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyling docter in Diuinite, Monke of Cantorbury, Richarde Deryng Monke also of Cantorbury, Edward Twaites gentleman, Thomas Laurèe re-
In September the king of Scottes, sent his Commissioners to the toune of Newe Castle, where wer for the king of Englane commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and doctor Magnus, and sir Raue Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communicacion, demanded greate amandes, saiying, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled them to their losse, and that greatly, and saied that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaccion, if he were called honorable. Then it was answered, that notwithstanding the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottishe nacio would never kepe peace in somuch, while we be here in treating, your people are robbing: wherefore the kyng demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherof we here deliuer you a writyng, which the Scottes receiued, and at their next meting they saied, that the shippes to them wer lawfull prises, by reason that thelre of Anguishe, was main- tained in Englane, whiche is rebel to our kyng, and therle and you hau done to vs muche skathe, & we have taken a few shippes, in recompeence of some part of our greate losses, whiche we maie not deliuer, & therefore we praiue you demaunde them not: but here we deliuer you our boke, which amounteth to a greater somme by tenne thousand marke. The Englishe commissioners receiued the boke, and in thesame the Scottes demanded, recom- pense for burning their tounes, and destroyng many of their strong Piles, aboue. xxiii. whiche wer destroyed from the. xxxi. daie of Aprill, in the laste. xxiii. yere of the kyng to the. xxx. daie of Aprill. The Englishe cömisioners answered, that if the Scottes would send to the kyng of Englaide, thei doubted not, but thei should haue a good answer for the kyng of Englande bad hym chose peace or warre: so they agreed to sende to bothe their kynges letters of their doynges, whiche in haste was dooen. And after muche suite of the Scottes parte, when they had muche demaunded, and little or nothing was graunted, thei then beying wery of warre desired peace, whiche was concluded, duryng bothe the kynges liues, and the twenti daie of Maie, in the next yere of the kyng folowyng, it was openly Proclaimed, to the greate confort and rejoysyng of all loners of peace.

The xvi. daie of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his coun- saill, to Bugden beside Huntyngeon, where the lady Katherine Princes Dowager laye. For the Kyng was advertisad, and had good proves of thesame, that she of froward mynd de- would consent, neither to the determinacion of the Vniuersities, nor yet to the sentence of the whole convocacion of the realme, but beyng cousailed by a fewe Spaniardes, whiche had little lernyng, did all that she could to infringe the determinacion of thesaid Vniuersi- ties and clergie. In somuchie that she wrote to the Pope and to other potentates, to greeue the Kyng and his realme because he would not folowe her mynd, and breake the commaun- dement of God. Wherefore the Kynges cousaill mocioned the kyng, that suche as wer about her, and moved her thereto, should be put from her, for thei thought it no reason, that she should haue suche libertie to worke that thyng, by the whiche the kyng and his realme, might haue detriment or damage. Wherefore thesaiad Duke was sent to her, whiche showed to her openly, Articles of her suites to the Pope, and howe she soughte means to greeue the Kyng and his Realme, whiche hereafter she should not be suffered to dooe.
doce. For the same time was a Cursse sent from the Pope, whiche accurssed bothe the Kyng, and the whole Realme, whiche Cursse the bearer therof, beeyng not by like the hardest manne that euer shewed hymself in front of battaull, thought it a greate deale more better for hym to bestowe it without the Kynges reche, then to adventure to come within his Dominions, and therefore set it vp in the Toune of Dunkercke in Flandours, where it was taken doune by Wyllyam Locke, Mercer of London. The Quene answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high wordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from hym, into her priuie Chamber and shutte the doore. He seeing that; brake all the ordre of the Quenes Courte, and discharged a greate sorte of her housholde servauntes, and yet lefte there a convenient number, to servse her like a Princes. There was great lamentacion among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then thei that remaigned to servse her, were sworne to servse her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some saied thei were sworne to her as Quene, and otherwise thei would not servse, and so they departed. Other that wer sworne to servse her as Princes, and remained there, they them vyterly refused for her servauntes, wherfore she remained with the lesse number of servauntes.

The kyng kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with great solempnitye, and after Christmas beganne the Parliament. In whiche Parliament Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maide of Kent, with all her adherentes, of whom ye haue heard before was attaynted. And because her offences, were bothe against God and the kyng, so greate and wicked, that the like was never heard nor knowne before, I will declare vnto you the processe of her matter, in suche maner as the truthe thereof, is declared in her attainer, by Acte of Parliament. Firste thesaied Elizabeth Barton (beeyng a Nonne professed in the house and Priory of Saint Sepulcres of Caunterbury,) whiche long before she was professred Nonne, dwelled with one Thomas Cobbe, in the Pariske of Aldyngton, in the Countie of Kent, and happened to bee visited with sickenes, and by occasion thereof, brought in suche debilitie and weaknesses of her brayne, because she could not cate ne drynke, by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmitie, she seemed to bee in Traunses, and spake and vyterly many foolish and Idle wordes. And one Richard Master, Clerke, beeyng Persone of the saied Pariske of Aldyngton, in thesaied Countie of Kent, after that he had made to the late Archebishoppe of Caunterbury, a farre and a larger reporte, concernyng the Hypocrisy, traunses and speaches of thesaied Elizabeth, then he could justifie and abide by, and after that he was commaunded by thesaied Archebishop, to give good attendaunce vpo her, if she should fortune to haue any mo suche traunses and speaches, and to sende hym knowlege thereof, to the intent to mainteigne, vphold and verifie, suche reporte as he had made, aswell to the Archebishoppe aforesaid, as to other, of the wonderfull traunses and speaches of thesaied Nonne, he falsely and craftely informed thesaied Elizabeth, that the meruellous wordes whiche she spake in her traunses, afores his ridyng to the Archebishop aforesaid, proceded of the inspiracion of the holy ghost, and that she was greatly to be blamed if she would hide or dissemble the wonderfull worke of God shewed to her: for afore this his said informacion and instruccion, she saied constantly, that she could not remember, that she spake any suche notable wordes in her traunses, as were reported vnto her, by thesaied Richard Master. Whiche Elizabeth beeyng in this maner of wise, often tymes persuaded, procured and informed, by thesaied Persone of Aldyngton, tooke boldenes and courage to forge, feigne, and counterfeit suche maner of Traunses, and craftie speaches, as thesaied Persone of Aldyngton told her, that she seued in her sickenes, afore he went to thesaied Archebishoppe. And when thesaied Elizabeth had vsed this false, feigned counterfeeting for a season, and was perfecete therein (so that the same thereof, was greatly sped abroad, in those parties) then the saied Person, to the intent aforesaid, and to the intent the people, should gyue more faitle and credite vnto her, and because he would haue increased the deuocion of the people, in commyng on pilgrimage to a Chapell, set in Courte at Strete, within thesaied Pariske, dedicate in the honour of oure Lady, for his awne lucre.
lucre and auauntage, imagined, deuised, compassed and declared, with the aide, helpe, and counsaill of one Edwarde Bockyng Monke, profesed in the Monastery in Christes Churche in Caunterbury, and Doctor in Diuinitty, that thesaied Elizabeth, being in the extasy and extemitie of her sickenes, in a maner distract in trauses, should saie emongst other wounderfull woordes, that she should never take healthe of her body, till suche tymne as she had visited the Image of our Lady, beeyng in thesaied Chapell at Courtte at Strete aforesaied: and that our Lady had appered vnto her, and shewed her, that if she came to thesaied Chapell, at the daye appoynted, she should bee restored to her health by Miracle, where in very deede, she was restored to her perfecte health, by diet and Phisike, and by the course of nature, whiche expelled the matter, beaying cause of her sickenes, in the mane tymne while thesaid person of Aldyngton, was with the Archiebishoppe, as is afore rehearsed. And albeit thesaid Elizabeth, was restored to her healtthe, yet she beeing accustomed and acquainted with the maner and fashion of her distracte Traunses, by the counsaill, conspiracie, and confederacie of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, did falsely practise, vse and shewe vnto the people, diuere and meruicous sondery alteracions, of her sensible partes of her body, craftely vterrying in her saied feigned and false Traunses, diuere and many verteous and holy woordes, tending to the rebuke of synee, and in reprouyng of suche newe opinions, as then beganne to sprynge in this Realme, whiche she called Heresyes, as she was induced and taught, by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng and Richarde Master, vysing all the waies of false Hypocrisy, to the intent the people should geue belefe and credence vnto her, whereby they might bee the soner brought, into thedeteatable crymes of blasphemie and Idolatrie agaynste almightie GOD. And thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, beeyng maliciously fixed in his opinion, agaynste the Kynges highnes, in his detested Matrimonie with Quene Katheryne, and inteyndyng in his mynde, afterwardes for his parte, falsely and Trayterously to vse thesaied Elizabeth, as a Diabolicke instrument, to stirre, moue, and pronoke the people of this Realme, aswell nobles as other, to murmoure and grudge, agaynste the Maiestie of oure Souereigne Lorde, and all his iuste and Lawfull procedynges, in thesaied deuorce and seperacion, as after he did in very deede: for the accomplishing of his said false, malicious and Trayterous ententes, falsely deuised and conspired, with thesaied Richarde, that thesaied Elizabeth should shewe and manifest her self, to the people, to bee an excellent verteous and an holy woman, and that all her woordes and deedes, should appere to the worlde, to procede of a maruicous holines, rebukyng the common synques and vices of the worlde, as though she were taunght and inspired of the holy spirite of God. And not onely moued and counselled thesaied Elizabeth, thus to vse her self, surmiyng to her that she spake suche thynges, in the extasy of her sickenes, that came by the inspiracion of God, but also counselled and procured thesaied Elizabeth, to bee brought and conuenged, to thesaied Chapell of oure Lady, and therein openly in the presence of the people, (that there should be assembled by their procurmentes) should vse and experiment suche like Traunses, and alteracions of her face, and other the outward sensible partes of her body, as she used in the extemitie and extasy of her sickenes. To whose counsailes and advertisementes, thesaied Elizabeth agreed. Whereupon at a daie by them appoynted and agreed, thesaied Edward and Richard, laboured, solicited, and procured, aboue the number of twoo thousande persones, to repaire to thesaied Chapell, surmiyng that thesaied Elizabeth, whiche as they saied, had maruicous and many Visions and Reuclacions of God, should be brought therewith, and there receive her healthe, by Miracle of oure Lady, whose image was in thesaied Chapell. By reason of whiche false, feigned and deteatable conspiracy and Hypocrisy, at the daie by them appoynted, there assembled to thesaied Chapell, aboue the number of twoo thousande people. At whiche daie also, thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master procured, and caused thesaied Elizabeth, to repaire to thesaied Chapell, where thesaied Elizabeth, albeit she at that tymne, and long afore was restored to healthe of her bodie, and discharged of her tormentes and affliccions, whiche she had in the extasy of her sickenes: Yet neuertheles by the procurement and craftie
craftie consaill of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richard Master, did falsely feigne and shewe vnto the people in thesame Chapell, many alteracions of her face, and other outward sensible partes of her body, and falsely feigned and shewed herself in Traunces, vteryng wonderous wordes, as she was before subtlely and craftely induced and taught, by thesaied Richard and Edwarde to doone. And emonges other thynges she vtered, that it was the pleasure of God, that thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, should bee her ghostly father, and that she should bee a Religious woman, as she was taught by thesaied Edward Bockyng and Richard Master. And within a while after demonstration, of suche false feigned and dissimuled traunces, she appered to the people, to bee sodainly reueld from her sicke-nes and afflictions, by the intercession and meanes of the Image of oure Lady, beeyng in thesame Chapell. By meanes of whiche false feigned Hypocrisy, dissimuled and cloked Sanctitee, so conspired and craftely imagined by thesaied Edward Bockyng, and Richard Master, thesaied Elizabeth was brought into a merueilous fame, credible and good opinion, of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme. And to increase the fame of thesaied false feigned Hypocrisy, thesaied Elizabeth after wordes, by the consaill and procurement, of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, entered into Religion, and became a Nonne, professed in thesaied Priory of Sainct Sepulchres, to whom thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, had commonly his resorte, not without probable, vehement and violent suspicion of incontinencie, pretendency to bee her Ghostly father, by Goddes appoyntment. And by conspiracy betweene her and him, caused her still to persist and abide, in the practisyng of her said false hypocrisy, and dissimulyng traunces and raptes. And that she should submit to the people, that when she was in suche simuled alteracio, of her sensible partes of her body, that she was then rapt by almighty God, from thaffeccions of this worlde, and tolde by the holy spirite of God, many thynges that should folowe to the worlde, for punishment of the synnes of the princes and the people. And that she should also say that she was muche prouoked & tempted, aswell to the synne of the fleshe as otherwise, by her ghostly enemie the deuill, at diuerse and sondery tymes, and in diuerse and sondery waies and fashions. And yet neuer theles that she by the grace of almighty God was preserved, and stedfastly resisted suche temptacion. By occasion of which consaill and procurement of the said Edward Bockyng, thesaied Elizabeth by continuance of tyme, toke suche a course vpon her, that she falsely feined and saied, that she had many reuelacions, of almighty God and his holy saintes, with heunely lightes, heunely voyces, heunely melodies and ioyes, and specially in a chapell of. S. Giles, in thesaied Nonnery, to the whiche chapell, she oftentimes resorted to receiue visions and reuelacions, as comanded by God, as she falsely reported, and specially by night, saying, that the Dorture doore was made open to her by Goddes power, vteryng thesame, aswell to thesaied Edward Bockyng, as to diuerse other persones. By the whiche her false feigned reuelacions, & cloked hipocrisy, she was reputed amongst many people of this realme, to be a very holy woman, inspired with God, where in very deede, she never had vision or reuelacion from God, as she hath plainly and openly confessed her self. And therefore her stealthy furthe of the Dorture in the nighte, whiche was not once or twise wekeley was not for spiritual busines nor to receive reuelaciō of God, but rather for bodely comunicaciō & pleasure with her frēdes, which could not haue so goodpleasure & oportunite with her by daie. And for ratificaciō of her false feined reuelaciōs, thesaied Edward by cōspiry, betwene him & thesaied Elizabeth, reueled thesame to the most reueret father, Willyā late Archbishop of Cātorbury, who by false & ynttrue surmises, tales and lies of thesaied Edward & Elizabeth, was allured, brought and induced to crede them, and made no diligent serches, for the triall of their said false-bodes, and confederacions, but suffered and admitted thesame, to the blasphemiue of almighty God, and to the great deceit of the prince, and people of this realme. And for a perpetuall memory of thesaied feined and dissimuled hipocrisy, and false reuelacions of the said Elizabeth, thesaied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, and one Ihon Deryng, a Monke in thesaied Monastery of Christes Church a foresaid, made, wri, and caused to be written,
sonderly bokes bothe greate & small, bothe printed and written, concernyng the particularies of thesaied false and feined hipocrisy, and reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth, or the defece or great praise of thesame: summittynge and putting forth thesame false and feined practises, and reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth, to be iust & true miracles, shewed by almightie God, in the favoure of the sanctitee of thesaied Elizabeth, where in dede thei been and wer falsely deuised, compassed, cosepired, written and mainteined by thesaied Elizabeth Barton, Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, & Ihō Deryng, to thonly intet to bryng the said Elizabeth, in the fame and credite of the people of this realme, wherby the people should the more be apt and disposed, by her false cloked hipocrisy and sanctitee, to commit the crimes of blasphemie and yololatrie against God, and also the soner induced, by the false reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth to murmur, and grudge, and be of euill opinion, against the Maiestie of our soureeigne lorde, to the great perill and danger of his moste royall person. And one Edward Thwaites gêteleman, traslated and wrote diverse quaiers, and shetes of paper, concernyng thesaied false feined reuelacions, of thesaied Elizabeth. Also one Thomas Laurence of Cantorbury, beyng regester to tharchebishop of Cantorbury, at thinstance and desire of thesaied Edward Bockyng, wrote a great boke of thesaied false & feined miracles, and reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth in a faire band, redy to bee a cope to the printer, when thesaied boke should be put to stame.

Emonges whiche false and feined reuelacions surmised by thesaied Elizabeth, and put in writynges in diverse bokes, by the false cōspiracie meanes and procurement of thesaied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, Ihō Deryng, and other their complices, there is expressed that the deuill should appere, to thesaied Elizabeth in diverse fashions, sometymes like a man wantonly appareilled, sometyme like a birde deformed, and sometyme otherwise. And that Mary Magdalene, should often aperse to thesaied Elizabeth, and reuele to her many reuelacions. And at one tyme should deliver vnto her, a letter written in heuen, wherof was limmed with golden letters, where in deede thesame letters were written with the hande of a Monke of sainct Augustines in Cantorbury named Hawkhurst.

There was also written and côteined, emongest thesaied false and feined miracles & reuelaciones, that when the kynges highnes was at Calice in thenteruewe, betwene his maiestie and the Frenche kyng, and heryng Masse in the Churche of our Lady at Calice, that God was so displeased with the kynges highnes, that his grace sawe not at the Masse the blessed Sacrament in fourme of bread: for it was taken awaie frō the priest (beynge at Masse) by an Angell, and ministere vnto thesaied Elizabeth, then beyng there present and invisible, and sodainly conuigned & rapt thence again, by the power of God into thesaied Nonnery, where she is professed, with many other false feined fables, and tales deuised, conspired and defended by thesaied Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng & Ihō Deryng, wittē as miracles in thesaied bokes for a memorial, to set furth the false and feined hipocrisy, and cloked sanctitee of thesaied Elizabeth, to the people of this realme, as by thesaied sondery bokes and writynges therof made, seen and examined by the kynges moste honorable coisail more plainly apereth: in whiche bokes be written suche termes & sentēces of reprooch and slaunder, against the kynges highnes & the queene, whiche wer to shamefull to be written against the moste vile & vagracious persōs liuyng, whiche to here, would abhorrre every true subject of this realme.

And after thesaied Elizabeth by suche her false & feined hipocrisy, and dissimulated sanctitee, was brought in a great brute and fame of the people, in sondry parties of this realme, then thesaied Edward Bockyng by procurement & secret conspiracy, of diverse persones unknowen, whiche maligned against the kynges procedynges, for the seperacion & deuorse in thesaied detested & unlawfull mariage, traiterously intending to put the kynges highnes in a murmorn, and euill opinion of his people, for thesame, cousailed and stirred thesaied Elizabeth, that she should ask a peticio of almightie God, to knowe whether God was displeased with the kynges highnes, for procedyng in thesaied deuorse, and seperacion of the mariage
mariage betwene his highnes, and thesaied lady Katherin, declaryng to her many tymes, that he & diuerse other learned men of this realme, and many of the common people of thesame, were in firme opinions that the kynges procedyngs in thesaied deuorce, was against the lawes of God. Whereupon thesaied Elizabeth subtly and craftely, concerning the opinion and mynd of thesaied Edward, willyng to please hym, reuelyed and shewed viunto the saied Edward, that she had knowlege by reuelacion frö God, that God was highly displeased with our souereigne lorde, for thesame matter. And in case he desisted not from his procedinges in thesaied deuorce and seperacion, but pursued thesame & maried again, that then within one moneth after suche mariage, he should no lenger be kyng of this realme; & in the reputacion of almighty God, should not be a king one daie, nor one houre: and that he should dye a villeines death: saying farther, that there was a roote with. iii. branche, & till they wer plucked vp, it should neuer be inr in England: interpreting the roote to be the late lord Cardinal, and the first braunch to be the kyng our souereigne lorde, the secod the duke of Norffolke, and the. iii. the duke of Suffolk. Whiche false feined reuelacions, by the mischeuous & malicious cousail and cöspiracie of thesaied Edward Bocking, with y said Elizabeth, wer written and expresed, in thesaied bokes and volumes, conteynynge the false and feined reuelacions and Miracles, of thesaied Elizabeth, for a perpetuall memory thereof, to the vttre reproche and perell of destruction of the Kynges persone, his honor, fame and name: and priuely and secretly, set furthe by thesaied Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Ihon Deryng, and Richarde Master, generally to diuerse and many of the kynges subiectes, and specially as to electe persones, to Ihon Bishoppe of Rochester, and Ithon Adeson clerke, chaplain to thesaied bishop, and to one Henry Gold priest, bachelor of Diiunitce, to Hugh Riche Frier Obersuaunt, and late Wardein of the Friers Obersuauntes of Canterburie, whiche beare malice and malignitie, to all the kynges procedynges, in the saied deuorse and seperacion, because it was contrary to their pueruse and froward opinions, intendyng by colour of thesaied false and feined hypocryse, and reuelacions of the saied Elizabeth, not onely to let thesaied deuorse and seperacion, but also to bring, and set furth secretly, in the hëldes of the people of this realme, aswel nobles as other, that at the kynges actes and procedynges in thesame, were against holy scripturies, and the pleasure of almighty God: whereby the kynges highnes should be brought in a grudge, and euill opinion of his people. And thesaied Ithon Bishoppe of Rochester, Henry Gold, Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, Richard Master, Ihon Deryng, at sondery and seuerall tymes and places, spake with thesaied Elizabeth, and toke relatyon of her, of the saied false and feined reuelacions, whiche she feined that she had of almighty God, aswell concernynge the kynges highnes as other, after the fourme and termes aboue specified. And hauynge knowlege therof thesaied Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, and Henry Golde clerke, gaue suche firme and constant credite thereunto, that thei Trayterously concealed it frö the kynges highnes, and trayterously beleued in their hartes, that the Kyng our souereigne Lorde, after the late mariage solemnizd, betwene his highnes, and his moste dere and entierrly beloved wife Quene Anne, was no lenger rightfull kyng of this realme, in the reputacion of almighty God, whereby in their hartes & willes, thei trayterously withdrewe from his highnes, their naturall duties of obedience: and secretly taught and movyd other persones, (to whom thei reucleed thesaied false and feined reuelacions) that thei ought and might lawfully doo in thesame wise: and practised thesaied matters, against the kynges Maiestie, falsely, maliciously, and trayterously, at sondery places and tymes, with the fathers, and Nonnes of Syon, and diverse Monkes of the Charter house of London and Shene, and with diverse Freers Obersuauntes, the places of Richemont, Grenewiche, and Cauuntburb, and to diuerse other, bothe spirituall and temporall persones in greate number, to the intent to sawe a secret murmors and grudge, in the hartes of the Kynges subiectes, against the Maiestie of our souereigne lorde, and all his procedynges, in thesaied diuorse and seperacion, intendyng therby to make suche a diuision and rebelyng in this realme, emongest the
the kynges subiectes, whereby the kynges highnes, should not onely have been put to perill of his life, but also in icoperdy to be deprived from his crowne and dignitie royall.

And for a more playne and perticuler declaracion of the malicious & trayterous intentes of the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockynge, Iohn Deryng, Hugh Rychay, Richard Ryseby, & Henry Golde, they concluded by a confederacy among them selves eche with other, to set forth in sermons & prechynge thesayd Reuelacions to the people of this realme against the kynges Maiestie, whoneuer it should please the sayd Elizabeth to appoint them the tyme when they should so do, and agreed eche with other secretely, and set forth thesayd false and fayned reuelacions to their acquaintance and frendes in this realme, inteyning to make a great multitude of people of this realme, by their secret conspiracies, in an aptnes to receyve and take such their sermons and prechynge which they intended to make, as is aforesayd concernyng the premисses, trayterously inteyning therby to put our sayd souereigne lord, not only in perill of his life, but also in icoperdy of losse and deprination of his crowne and dignitie royal of this realme, fro him & his lawfull succession for euer. And in accomplishing their false, trayterous, & malicious intentes against our sayd souereigne lord, they caused the said Elizabeth. at ii. tymes, secretly to declare the said false & fayned reuelacions to ii. of the Popes Orators and ambassadors at the Cities of Cauntorbury and London. At which tyme the sayd Henry Golde tooke vpon him to be interpreter therof, betwene the sayd Elizabeth & the sayd Orators named Anthony Pulleon: and the interpreter to the other Orator named Syluester, was the foresayd Lawrence of Cauntorbury, to the entent the kynges highnes, and all his procedynge in thesayd deuorce and seperacion should be brought into an euel opinion with the Pope and other princes and Potentates. And the sayd Hugh Ryche actually trauailed to sondry places of this realme, and made secrete relacion of the premisses concernyng the kynges highnes to durers lordes bothe spiritual and temporal, and durers other persones lay and lerned, secular and religious. And the sayd Henry Gold ouer this, actually trauailed and made relacion therof to thesayd lady Katheryne princes dowager, to animate her to make commocion in this realme against our sayd souereigne lorde, surmityng that thesayd Elizabeth should have by reuelacion of God, that the sayd lady Katheryne should prosper & do well, and that her issue the lady Mary the kynges daughter should prosper and reigne in this realme & haue many frendes to sustaine and maintayne her. And the sayd Elizabeth and Edward Bockynge, Iohn Deryng & Richard Master likewise actually trauailed to durers places in this realme and made secrete relacion of thesayd false fayned hypocrisie and reuelacions of thesayd Elizabeth & gauze knowlege herof to durers other sondry persones of this realme.

All whiche conspiracies and confederacies of thesayd Elizabeth, and other her complisces aboue mentioned, was trayterously & maliciously devised and practised by the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockynge, Iohn Deryng, Rychard Master, Henry Golde, Hugh Ryche, and Rychard Ryseby to the entent trayterously to destroy our sayd souereigne lorde, and to deprive him and his lawfull succession fro the crowne & dignitie royall of this realme, which matter hath been practised and imagined amongst them for the space of many yeres: whereof the whole circumstaunce were very long to be written in this acte. And the sayd Iohn Fysher bishop of Rochester and one Thomas Gold gentleman, and the sayd Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaytes, and Iohn Adeson chapelen to thesayd Iohn bishop of Rochester, hauyng knowlege of the sayd false fayned and dissimulated reuelacions, trayterously cospired against our sayd souereigne lorde (as is aforesayd) did nevertheless make concelement therof, and vtered not the same to our sayd souereigne lorde, nor any his honorable counsell, against their duties and alleueance in that behalfe.

And furthermore, the sayd Thomas Gold, for the accomplisement of his most trayterous intent, hath of late been a messenger fro thesayd Elizabeth, sithen she was in warde in the Tower of London for thesayd moste false and trayterous offenyes by her and her said complisces committed and done, he then beyng at libertie, by his message hath comforted
dyuerse others to stande stilly by her reuelacions, that they were of God: notwithstanding that she had confessed all her sayd falsed before diuers of the kynges counsailours, and that they were manifestly proved, found, and tryed moste false and vntruie: whiche thynge he did only to raise and put sedicion and murmur in the people against the kynges highnes, his crowne and dignitie royal. And one Thomas Abel clerike beyng of the confederacy aforesayd, and taking suche firme & constant credite to thesayd false and fayned reuelacions and miracles of thesayd Nonne, not onely caused to be Printed and set forth in this realme dyuers bookes against thesayd decoerce and separacion to the dislaunter of our sayd souereigne lord, but also animated thesayd lady Katherine obstinately to persist in her wilful opinion against thesame decoerce and separacion: and after thesayd decoerce lawfully had, to vsurpe and take vpon her still to be quene, and procured diuers-writynge to be made by her, by the name of Quene: and also procured and abbeted the seruauntes of thesayd Lady Katheryne against the kynges express commaindement and proclamation, to name, call, accept, & repute thesayd lady Katherine for quene of this realme to the intent to make a comon divission and rebellion in this realme to the great peril and daunger of our sayd souereigne lorde.

Thus muche hauie I recited vnto you out of the act as it is there expressed worde for worde: now after foloweth the maner of her attainder and of the other as in the act more at large doeth appeare. But to conclude the xxi. day of April next folowing she with other were drawen to Tyborne and there executed as moste justly they had deserved as you may perceiue by the premisses.

And at the place of execucion, and the present tyme that she suffered she sayd these wordes, “hether am I come to dye, and I have not been the onely cause of myne owne death whiche moste justly I have deserved, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons whiche at this tyme here suffre: & yet to say the trueth, I am not somuchie to be blamed cosidering it was well knowne vnto these lerned men I was a poore wenche without learnyng and therefore they mighte haue easely perceiued that the things that were done by me could not procede in no suche sorte, but their capacities and learnyng could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they wer altogether fayned: but because the thynge whiche I fayned was profitable vnto them, therfore they muche praised me and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost and not I that did them, and then I beynge put vp with their praises fell into a certain pryde and folishe phantasie with my selfe and thought I might fayne what I would, whiche thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I cry God & the kynges highnes most heartely mercy, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercy on me and on all them that here suffre with me.”

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suertie of the crowne, to the whiche every persone beying of lawfull age should be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that acte, as in thesame ye may moste evidently see.

Monday the xxiii. day of Marche in the Parliament tyme, were solemnly receiued into London as ambassadors from James the v. king of Scottes, the bishop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kyilos & Adam Otterborne the kynges Attorney, with diuers gentlemen on them attedant whiche were brought to the Taylors hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady they were brought to the kynges place at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the kyng appointed them dayes to cousail. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare. During the Parliament tyme, euery sonday preachted at Paules crosse a bishop, whiche declared the Pope not to be the head of the Churche.

The xxx. day of Marche the Parliament was proroged, and there euery lorde and burges and all other, were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to thesame othe. This Parliament was proroged till the third day of November next. After this, commissions were sent over all England to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at whiche fewe repyned, except doctor Ihon Fysher, sir Thomas
Thomas Moore knight late lorde Chauncel, and doctor Nicholas Wyelson parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these three persones, after long exhortacion to them made by the bishop of Caunterbury at Lambeth, and expresse denial of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were often tymes mocioned to be sworne: but the Bishopp and sir Thomas More sayd that thei had in their writynges written the princes dowager Queene, and therfore they might not go against that, and the doctor sayd that he in preaclyng called her quene, whiche he would not withsay, howbeit at length he was very wel contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped: But the other twayne stode against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chauenched that two marchaunt straungers fell in loue with a harlot whiche was called Wolfe's wyfe, & this harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so one tyme thesame harlot appointed these straungers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for thenem a bote, in the whiche bote was but one manne to rowe whiche was a strong thefe, and in the ende of the boate laye Wolfe her husband covered with a lether that botemen vse to couer their Cusshyns with, and so these straungers satte them doune mistrusting nothing, & when this boteman had brought theim as farre as a place that is called the Turnyng tree, sodainly stepped vp the sayd Wolfe & with his dagger thrust the one of them thorow the other cryed out to save his life and offered a great somme of money to the boteman and him to save his life, but no proffers would be heard, nor mercy would they extende, but as cruel murdereres without pitie slew the other also and bound theim face to face and so threw them into the Thames in the foresayd place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the harlot Wolfe's wyfe went to the straungers chambers & toke frō thence as muche as she could come by. And at the last she and her husband as they deserved, were apprehended, arraigned & hanged at the foresayd turnyng tree, where she hanged still and was not cut doune, vntil suche tyme as it was known that beastly and filthy wretches had moste Shamefully abused her beynge dead.

THE. XXVI. YERE.

THE nynt day of Iuly was the lord Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the duke of Norffolke sat as judge and high Steward of Englil. The sayd lorde Dacres beynge brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him, after his inditement red, not only improved the sayd inditement as false and maliciously devised against him and answered every part and matter therin contained, but also so manly, wittyly, and directly confuted his accusors whiche there were ready to anowche their accusations, that to their great shames, & to his great honor, he was found that day by his peces not gilte, whiche endoubtedly the commons exceedingly joyed and rejoysed of, insonuchye as there was in the hall at those woordes, not gilte, the greatest shoute and crye of joy that the like no man linyng may remember that ever he heard.

The xiii. day of Iuly one Ihon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly witte, was brought out of the Tower where he had been long, & was there imprisoned for makyng of a booke against Purgatory, but in the mane whyle that he was there, he was required by one, who heartely loued him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, & that he would put them same in writyng, whiche thyng he did. But after it chaunced that thesame person whiche had this writyng of Ihon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London called Wylyam Holt, whiche outwardly professes much e honestye, but inwardly was a very spye and a very betrayer of as many men as he might bring in daungier. This Holt required after he had seen it, to have this writing, & he had it, and forthwith he presented it to sir Thomas More then lorde Chaucelor, and he immediatly made answere to thesame in writyng,
writynge, whiche also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Ihon Frith. Ihon Frith then perceiuing that the thing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, sayng suche that he as much trusted as him selfe) was nowe so farre spread abroade that it was answered vnto, after he had not a little rebuked the negligence and folly of his frende whom he trusted, stode to the defence of his first treatise, and made a farther declaracion of his mynde vpon the same matter as appereth in a booke whiche beareth his name. For the which opinion w other he was after diuers and sondry examinacions (aswell at Lambeth with the Bishop of Caunterbury as also at Croydon, and likewise with the bishop of Winchester) brought vnto the Consistory in Paules Churche in London before diuers bishoppes, where after muche disputynge, for that he would not yelde nor submit himselfe to thein, they condempned him and deliuered him to the seculer power to be brent as an heretike.

At thesame time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and utterly vnlearned yong man a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the foresayd Holt: This yong man beyng in like maner accused in the Consistory before thesayd bishoppes for holding opinion against the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleued in the Sacrament: he answered, he beleued therin as Master Frith did: why sayd they, doest thou not beleue that it is very body of Christ really fleshe and bloud even as he was borne of the virgyn Mary: No sayd he, why so sayd the bishop: because sayd he, that Christ byd me I should not beleue them that say here is Christ and there is Christ, for false Christes & false prophete shall arise to decieue you sayth Christ. Then certain of the bishops smyled, and doctor Stokesley then bishop of Lodon sayd: Frith is an heretike & is condempned & deliuered to the temporal power to be brent, if thou wilt not submity thy selfe & acknowledge thyne errour, thou shalt likewise be condempned & deliuered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abyure thyne heresie q the bishop: No sayd he, for I will do as Master Frith doth. Then we will condempne thee sayd he bishop: do so sayd he. And so they pronouncd sentence on him, and deliuered him to the Shyffes: and from thence they were sent to Newgat where they remained till the xxii. day of Iuly, & that day were both brent at one stake in Smythfeld. Where at thesame tyme one doctor Cooke which was person of Hony Lane, & one that was the Master of the Temple, willd the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche vncharitable wordes Frith smyled & prayed God to forgeue them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saiyng.

The xiii. day of August was a great fyre at Temple barre & diuers houses brent. And the xvi. day of thesame moneth was burned the kynges stable at Charyng crosse otherwise called the Mows, wherein was brent many great Horses and great store of haye.

In this yere the third day of Novembere the kynges highnes held his high court of Parliament, in the whiche was cœlud and made many and sondry good, wholsome, and goddy statutes: but among al one special estatute, which authorisid the kynges highnes to be supreme head of the Churche of Englad, by the whiche the Pope with all his College of Cardinallies with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vnto abolisshed out of this realme, God be everlastingely praysed therefore. In this Parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnes the fyrst frutes and tenthes of all dignities & spiritual promocions. And in the ende of the same Parliament the kynges Maiestie mooste graciously graunted (and wyld it by thesame Parliament to be established) his moste gracious and general free pardon.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: whiche Admyrall was honorably receiued, and at his departinge was liberally rewarded.

In this tyme dyed the Erle of Kyldare prisoner in the Tower. And even at thesame tyme Thomas Fitzgarard his sonne begane to rebell against the kyng and tooke all the kynges Ordinance, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperor to haue intreated him to take part with him. Also he slewe the bishop of Deuelyn and brent and robbed all suche as would not obeye him: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he desereved as after shall appear.

THE.
IN the beginnyng of this yere the duke of Norffolke and the Bishop of Ely went to Ca-
leys, and thether came the Admiral of Fraunce. And the xix. day of June was three Monkes
of the Charterhouse hanged, drawn, and quartred at Tyborne and their quarters set vp
about Londin for denying the kyng to be supreme head of the Churche. Their names were
Exnewe, Myddlemore, and Nudigate. These men when they wer arreigned at Westmin-
tster, behaued them selves very stilly & stubbornly, for hearyng their indigentment red how
trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Maiestie his crowne and dignitie, they nei-
ther blushed nor bashed at it, but very foolishly & hipocritically knowleged their treason whiche
maliciouely they auouched, haung no lernyng for their defe, but rather beynng asked dy-
ners questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinacions afterward
in the Tower of London it did appeare, for so they sayd, they thought those men which
was lorde Crumwel & other that there satte vpon them in judgement to be heretiques and
not of the Churche of God, and therfore not worthy to be either auncwered or spoken vnto.
And therfore as they deserued, they recieued as you haue heard before.

Also the xxii. day of the same moneth Ihon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded,
and his head set vpon London bridge. This bishop was of very many menne lamented, for
he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therin
wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of Church, and
very maliciously refused the kynges tytle of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for
that he helde so manfully with him and stoode so stilly in his cause, did elect him a Car-
dinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as farre as Calleys, but the head it should haue stande on,
was as high as Londin bridge or euere the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, & then it was to late
and therfore he neither ware it nor enjoyed his office. This man as I sayd was accompted
learned, yea, and that very notably learned, and yet haue you heard howe he was deceived
with Elizabeth Barton that called herself the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so he was in
the defence of that vsurped authoritie, the more pitie: wonderfull it is that a man beyn
learned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proueth the supreme authoritie of
princes so manystly. Also the vi. day of Iulje was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like
treason before rehearsed, which as you haue heard was for the denying of the kynges Mai-
esties suprimitie. This manne was also commpted learned, & as you haue heard before he was
lorde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the
supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly favored that he stoode to it
till he was brought to the Skaffolde on the Tower hill where on a blocke his head was striken
from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I should call him a
foolish wyseman, or a wyse foolishman, for vn doubtedly he beside his lernyng had a great
witte, but it was so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it seemd to them that best
knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministered some
mocke in the communacacion insomuch as at is commynyng to the Tower, one of the officers
demanded his vpper garment for his fee, meanyng his goune, and he answered, he should
have it, and tooke him his cappe, sayng it was the vppermoste garment that he had. Lyke-
wise, even gyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him and besought
him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which
after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreate she might have
them agayn, or els she was vndone. He answered, good woman haue pacience a little while,
for the kyng is so good vnto me that euyn within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all
busynesses, and helpe thee himselfe. Also when he went vp the stayer on the Skaffolde, he
desired one of the Shiriffes officers to geue him his hand to helpe him vp, and sayd, when I
come dounue agayn, let me shift for my selfe aswell as I can. Also the higman knelde

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doune to him askyng him forgiuenes of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayd I for-
gene thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honestie of the strykyng of my head, my
necke is so short. Also euen when he shold lay doune his head on the blocke, he hauyng a
great gray beard, striked out his beard and sayd to the hangmā, I pray you let me lay my
beard over the blocke least ye should cut it, thus w a mocke he ended his life.

This yere in the tyne that the kyng went his progresse, whiche was to Gloucester: and so
Westward, the kyng of Scottes was installed at Wynsore by the lorde Ersyn his Procurator.
And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner bishop of. Winchester was sent ambassador into
Franuce where he remained thre yeres after.

In Noymber was a solempe procession through the citie of London of all the priestes
and religious in and about the citie for the recoveryng of the Frenche kyng to his health.
And the viii. day of January folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kynebalton and was
buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelowe for the mournynge.

And in February folowyng was quene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyne,
whiche was borne dead.

This yere in the moneth of September Wylyam Tyndale otherwyse called Hichyns was by
the crueltie of the clergie of Louayn condemnpd and burned in a tounse bydye Bruelles
in Brabant called Wylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst
put it in Prynt, and likewise he translated the v. bookes of Moses, Iosua, Iudicium, Routh,
the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paraliipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras,
the Prophet Ionas, & no more of f holy scripture. He made also diuers treatises, which of many
were well lyked and highly praysed, and of many vterly dispisyd and abhorred, and especially
of the moste part of the bishoppes of this realme, who often by their great labours caused Pro-
clamations to be made against his books, and gat them condemnpd and brent, aswell the
Newe testament as other woorkes of his doynges. Suche as best knewe him reported him to be
a very sobre man, borne vpoun the borders of Wales, and brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Ox-
forde and in life and conversacion vnpreuable: and at the last byng in Oxford Luther then
setting forth certayne woorkes against the Byshop of Rome, Tyndale occasioned by theim
to searrche the scriptures whether Luther sayd the truth or no, did therby not onely himselfe
attaine the knowlege of the usurped auhotoritie of the bishop of Rome, and his superstiicious
and dampnable doynges. But by the help of the Quene and the Princes, and the people of Ox-
ford, and the Procurator, and manie of the great abbottes, and other learned men, he
survived all the crueltie of the English lawes against him. And though the kyng of Englishe
had comanded the execution of the said Tyndale, it was not done, for the quene and the
procurator feared the danger. And besides, Tyndale was not able to escape, for he had not
the means to do so. But at last, he was brought to justice, and condemned to death. He
was taken to Oxford, and there executed, as he had been forewarned. After his death,
his body was buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford. His bones were later
translated to the church of St. Mary Magdalen, in Greenwich. His name is remembered
for his contributions to the English language, including the translation of the Bible into
English, and for his role in the development of the English language as a literary
medium. His works were widely read and studied, and his influence on the English
language continues to this day.

And in the next year, the kyng held his high court of Parliament at Westminster,
in the whiche was many good and wholesome statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in
this tyne was gueuen vnto the kyng by the consent of the great and fatte abbottes, all religious
houses
houses that were of the value of CCC. marke and vnder, in hope that their great monasteries should have continued stili; But evan at that tyme one sayd in the Parliament house that these were as thornes, but the great abbottes were putrifed olde Okes and they must nedes followe : & so will other do in Christendome q^d doctor Stokesley bishop of London or many yeres be passed.

THE. XXVIII. YEARE.

ON May day were a solemple Iustes kept at Grenewych, and sodainly from the Iustes the kyng departed havyng not aboue vi. persons with him, and came, in the euynyn frō Grenewych in his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departhyng many men mused, but moste chiefly the queene, who the next day was apprehended and brought frō Grenewych to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condemned. Also at thesame tyme was likewise apprehended, the lorde Rochester brother to the sayd Queene, and Henry Norrys, Marke Smeton, Wyllyam a Bruton and sir Fraunces Weston all of the kynges priuy chamber. All these were likewise committed to the Tower and after arreigned and condemned of high treason. And all the gentlemen were beheaded on the Skaffolde at the Tower hyll: But the Queene was with a sworde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the woordes that she spake the day of her death whiche was the xix. day of May, 1536.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe and by the lawe I am judged to dye, and therefore I wyll speake nothyng against it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thyng of that wherof I am accused and condemned to dye, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne over you, for a gentler nor a more mercyfull prince was there neuer: and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, & soueraigne lorde. And if any persone will medle of my cause, I requre them to judge the best. And thus I take my leve of the worlde and of you all, and I heartely desyre you all to pray for me. O lorde have mercy on me, to God I comende my soule. And then she kneed doune saying: To Christ I commende my soule, Iesu receiue my soule, divers tymes, till that her head was striken of with the sworde. And on the Assencion day folowyng, the kyng ware whyte for mournyng.

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed lady Iane daughter to the right worshipfull sir Iohn Seymoure knight, whiche at Whitsontyde was openlye shewed as Quene.

The viii. day of June the kyng held his high court of Parliament in the whiche Parliament the kynges two first mariages, that is to say with the lady Katheryne, and with the Lady Anne Bulleyn were both adjudged vnlawful, as more at large appereath in the acte in the booke of statutes.

In the Parliament season lorde Thomas Hawarde without the kynges assent affled the lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the quene of Scottes and nece to the kyng: for whiche presumptuous acte he was attainted of treason, and an acte made for like offenders, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the tyme of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solemple cnoonciacion at Paules churche in London where after much disputation and debating of matters they published a booke of religion intitled, Articles devised by the kynges highnes &c. In this booke is specially menioned but iii. Sacramentes, with the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) were offended, and of that occasion depraued the kynges doynges. And this was their first beginning, as after ye shall plainly heare.

After this booke whiche passed by the kynges authoritie with the consent of the Clergie, was published, the whiche contained certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught vnto the people, and among other it specially treated of nomore then thre Sacramentes, where al-
waies the people had been taught vii. Sacramentes, & beside this booke, certain Injunctio
were that tyme geuen whereby a noble of their holy dayes was abrogated & specially such
as fell in the hardest tyme, the keping of whiche was muche to the hinderaunce of the ga-
thering in of corne, haye, fruite, and other suche like necessarie and profitable commodi-
dities.

These articles thus ordained and to the people delivered. The inhabitauntes of the North
partes being at that tyme very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant,
but altogether noseled in superstition and popery, and also by the means of certayne Ab-
bottes and ignorant priestes not a little stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certain
Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abolishing of the byshoppe of Rome, nowe tak-
yng an occasion at this booke, saying see frendes nowe is taken from vs from power of the vii.
Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lesse the other thre also, & thus the fayth of holy churche
shall vterly be suppressed and abolisshed: and therefore sodainly they spread abrode and
rased great and shamefull slauders only to move the people to sedition and rebellion,
and to kyndle in the people hateful and malicious myndes against the kynges Maiestie and
the Magestrate of the realme, saying let vs fully bend our selues to the maintenaunce of re-
ligion, and rather then to suffer it thus to decay euens so in the feld. And amongst
them also were so many euens of the nobilitie that did not a lyte prouoke and stirre vp the
ignorant and rude people the more stily to rebell and stand therin, faythfullly promisyng
them bothe ayde and succour against the kyng and their owne natuye country (like foolish
and wicked menne) that kyng by their so doinge to have done God high pleasure and seruice.
There were also certaine other malicious and busye persones who added Oyle (as the Adage
sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in euery place where opportuniteit serued,
that Christian religion should be vterly violate, disposed and set asyde, and that rather then
so, it behoved and was the partes of euery true Christian manne to defende it euuen to the
death, and not to admit and suffer by any meanes the fayth (in the whiche their forefathers
so long and so many thousande yeres haue lyued and continued) nowe to be subuereted and
destroyed. Amonge these were manye priestes whiche deceiued also the people with many
false fables and venemous lyes and ymaginacions (whiche could neuer entre nor take place
in the heart of any good man, nor faythfull subject) saiyng that all mauer of prayer and fast-
yng & all Goddes seruice should vterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should
mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length should eate a piece of rost meate,
but he should for thesame fyrst pay vnto the kyng a certaine somme of money, & that they
should be brought in more bondage & in a more vckede maner of life, then the Sarazins be
vnder a great Turk, with these and such other like errors and slaunderous tales, the peo-
ple thus instructed (oras I may truer speak) deceiued and mocked, byeng to light of cre-
dite, incontinent to the helpe and maintenaunce of religion once established and confirmed
they stily and stoutly did cospire and agree: and in a part of Lincolnshire, first thei assem-
bled and shortly after ioyned into an Army, byeng (as it was supposed) of men apte and
feete for the warre, in nombre aboute twettie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde
thereof) the kynges royal maiestie, in his owne proper persone, furnished with a goddy and
warlike Armie, lacking nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertiein, marched to-
wardes them. But these rebelles hearyng that his maiestie was present with his power and
armie royall, feared what would folowe of this matter, and suche as were noble men and
Gentlemen, that before favorred them began to withdrawe them selves, so that thei wer des-
titute of Capitaineis: and at the last thei in writing made certayne peticions to the kynges
maiestie, professyng that they ner extended hurt to his royall persone. The kynges
maiestie receiued there peticions, and made answere vnto them as foloweth.

First we begyn and make answere to the foure and sixe articles, because vpon them de-
pendeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosyng of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, hard, nor
knowne, that princes counsaylors and preltes, should be appoynted by rude and ignoraunt
common
common people, nor that thei wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne & chose mete & sufficient counsellors for a prince: how presumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute & beastly of the whole realme, & of the least experience, to fynde faute with your Prince for the electyng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Godes lawe and mannes lawe to rule your prince, whom ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serue with both youre lyues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstand? the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles have attempted & not like true subiectes as ye name youre selfes.

As to the suppression of religious houses and monastaries, we wolde that ye and all oure subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in thesame by acte of Parliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylours vpon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleeue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the trouthe therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where moste vice, mischief and abomination of liyung was vsed, and that doth wel apere by thare awne confessions subscribed with thare awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, & yet we suffred a great many of them (more then we neded by the acte) to stand wherin if thay amend not their liyung, we feare, we haue more to answer for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitatilie for the relief of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that thay haue bene a great relief of poore people, whan a great many or the moste parte hath not past fourte or ffte religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spet the subsaunce of the goodes of thay houses in norisying of vice and abhominable liyung. Now what vnkyndnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all oure subiectes that be of that mynde, that had leaue suche an vnthriftie sorte of vicious persones, shoulde enjoy such possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of thesaied houses, to the maintenaunce of thare vnthriftie life, then we youre natuall prince, souereigne lorde and kyng, which doth and hath spent more in youre defences of our awne, then sixe times they be woorth? As touching the acte of vses, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye woulde take authoritie vpon you to cause vs to breake those lawes and statuttes, which by all the nobles, knightes and gentlemen of this realme (whome thesame chiefly toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: sayng in no maner of thynges it toucheth you the basse commons of our Realme. Also the groundes of all those vses were false, & never admited by any lawe: but usurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and justice, as it hath ben openlie both disputed & declared by all the well learned men in the Realme of Englande in Westminster hall: whereby ye may well perceiue, how mad and unreasoneable your demaundes be, both in that, and in the rest, and how vnmety it is for vs and dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demaund thesame of your prince.

As touching the fiftene which ye demand of vs to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (wer ye a great many mo) could compell vs with youre insurreccions and such rebellious demeanor to remit thesame? or think ye that any man wil or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shewe a louyng graunt and then perforce woulde compell you youre souereign lorde and kyng to release thesame? the tyme of payment whereof is not yet come, ye, and sayng thesame will not coitrenaule the fteh peny of the charges, which we do & daily sustein for your tujion & safegare: make you sure, by your occasiouns of these your ingrattitudes, vnnaturallnes & vnkindnes to vs now admistred, ye geue vs cause whiche hath alwaies bene asmuchne dedicate to your wealth as euer was kyng not so much to set or studie for the setting forward of the same, sayng how vnkyndly and untruly ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturallnes in you to consider your dutie of allegiance to your kyng, and souereigne Lorde, the rest of oure Realme we doubt not hath: and we
and they shall so loke on this cause, that we trust it shalbe to your confusion, if according to youre former letters you submit not your selfes.

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportacion of parte of the great and excessive charges, which we supporte and beare for the maintenaunce of youre wealthes and other oure subiectes: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained in tymes passed, that the moste parte of our goodes, landes and possessions, of the realme, were in the spiruitual mennes handes: & yet bearyng vs in hand that ye be as louyng subiectes to vs as may be, ye cannot fynd in your hartes that your prince and souereigne lorde shoulde haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothyng preudiciall vnto you our commons) but to rebel and vnautfully rise agaynst your prince, contrary to the dutie of allegeance and Goddes commandement, Sirs, remembre youre folies and treiterous demeanours, & shame not you your countrey of England nor offend no more so greuously youre vndoubted kyng and naturall prince, which alwaies hath shewed him self most louyng vnto you, and remembre your dutie of allegeance, and that ye are bound to obey vs youre kyng, both by Goddes commandement and law of nature. Wherefore we charge you eftsones vpon the forsaided bondes and paynes, that ye withdraw your selfes to your awne houses, every man, and no more to assemble contrarie to oure lawes and youre allegances, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to oure liistenantes handes, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to suche condigne punishment as we and oure nobles shal thinke you worthy: for doubt you not els that we and our nobles can nor will suffer this injurie at youre handes vnrueuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of souereignty, and shewe your selfes as bounden and obedient subiectes, and nomore to entermeddle you selues from henceforth with the weightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof only apperteyng to vs your kyng & suche noble men & counsailours, as we list to elect & chose to haue the orderyling of thesame: & thus we pray vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to do your duties, to vs your selfes towards vs like trew and faithfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliuer into the hades of our liistenante a hundredth persons, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacy and wilfulnes, to put your selfes, your wifes, children, landes, goodes and cattalles, besides the indignacion of God, in the vitre aduenture of total destrucion, and vitre ruine, by force and Violence of the sword.

After the Licolnshire men had receiued this the kynges answer aforasaid, made to their peticions, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medeler, euen very sodeny the began to shrink, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his awne house in peace: but the capitaines of these rebelles eskaed not all clere, but were after apprelied, and had as they deserved: he that toke vpon him as capitain of this rowte, named him selfe capitain Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with distance other which afterward were taken and executed.

All these thynges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all things in quiet the kynges majestie retired, and brake vp his army.

But se, euene within six dayes folowyng, was the king truly certefied that there was a new insurrection made by the Northeren men, which had assembled them selfes into a houge and great army of warlike men & wel appointed both with capitaines, horse, harneis and artillery to the nombre of fourtie thousand men, which had incampd them selfes in yorkshire: And these men had eche of them to other bound them selfes by their othe to be faithfull and obedient to his capitaine: they also declared by their proclamacions solemnly made, that this their insurrection, should extend no farther but only to the maintenaunce and defence of the faith of Christe and deliuerance of holy Churche sere daicaed & oppressed, and also for the furtheratiue aswel of priuate as publik matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of all the kynges poore subiectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voyage, an holye and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine banners in the felde, whervpon was painted Christ
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Christ huggyng on the Crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted kake in it on the other side with diverse other banners of like hypocrasie and fained sanctitie: the sooldiers also had a certain cognisance or badge, embroudered or set vpon the sleues of there coates which was the similitude of the fiue wounds of Christ, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Garrison of Sathan with his false and counterfeated signes of holiness set forth and decked the sleues, only to delude and deceiue the symple and ignorant people.

After that the kynges highnes was credely certefied of this new insurged insurrection, he makyn no delay in so weightie a matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norfolke & Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Erle of Shrewsburie with other, accompanied with his mightie & royal army, which was of great power & strength, forthwith to set vp6 the rebelles: but whē these noble capitanes & cousailors approched the rebelles & perceiued their nombre & saw how they wer bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to have pacified al without bloudshedynge, but the Northremen wer so stiff necked that thei would in nowise stoupe, but stoutly stode and mayntayned there wicked entreprise, wherefore the nobles abouesaied perciiyng and seyng none other way to pacifie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a battayll, the battail was apoincted, & 7 day was assigned: but, se 7 same night was the night before the day of 7 battail appointed, fel a smal raine nothing to speake of: but yet as it wer by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very smal forde, & 7 mee in maner the day before, might haue gon dryshod ouer, sodynely roase of suche a height, depe, & breth that the like noman that ther did inhabit could tell that euer thei saw it so afoire, so that the day, even when the houre of battail should come, it was impossible for the one armie to come at the other.

After this appointment made betwene both the armies (disapointed as it is to be thout only by God who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great number of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had-like to have bene murdered) could take no place: Then, by the great wisedome and pollexy of thesaied capitanes, a communicacion was had, and a pardon of the kynges Maiestie obtained, for all the Captaines and chief doers of this insurrection, and thei promised that such thynge as theye founde them selues agreed with all theye should gently be heard, and their reasonable peticions granted and that there articles should be presented to the kynges Maiestie, that by his highnes authortie, and wisedom of his Counsailrs, all thinges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and this ordre every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hote as fyre to fight, beyng letted therof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as colde as water. A domimo factum est istud.

In this tym of insurrection, and in the rage of horly borley, euyn when the kynges armie and the rebelles were ready to ioyne, the kynges banner being displeased, & the kynges maiestie then liyng at Wainsore, ther was a boocher dwelling within. v. myle of Winsore which caused a priest to preach that all such as tooke parte with the yorkeshire men whom he named Goddes people, did fight and defend Goddes quarell & farther thesaied boocher in sellyng of his meat, one did bid him a lesse price of a shpe the he made of it, he answerd-nay by Godes soul, I had rather 7 good felowes of the north had it amog them and askore more of 7 best I haue: this priest & boocher wer accused to the kynges maiesties counsayl, of the tresos abouesaied on the Monday in the mornynge, and the same day were both sent for, which confessed there treason, and so according to the law mershal they wer adjudged to die: & so the saied Monday, they wer both examined, condenmed and hanged, the boocher was hanged on a newe pair of Gallowes set at the bridge ende before the castel gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Winsore bridge.

This yere in Decembre was the Thamis of London all frozen ouer, wherefore the kynges Maiestie with his beautifull spouse quene Jane, roade throughout the cite of London to Grenewich: And this Christmas the king by his messengers & herauldes sent doune into the North his general pardons to all capitall offendeours: and shortly after came Aske to london, and
and so to the court to the kyng: this Aske was the chief captain of the last rebellion in the North, and now bothe pardoned of the kyng, and his grace receaun his favor & gave vnto hym apparel and great rewardes, but as after ye shall perceau Aske enjoyed not the kyng his newe frendes kyndnes a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any favor at all, for there liued not a veriar wretch aswell in person as in condiciös and dedes, special-ly agaynst his anointed gouernour and souereigne lorde.

The third day of February was Thomas Fitz Garrad late Erle of Kildare and five of his vncles drawen, hanged, and quartered at Tiboerne, for high treason.

Also in the saised monte, Nichol Musgrau, Thomas Tyblic, with other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staph in Westmerland, with eight thousand persones, and beseged the Citie of Carlisle, from whence thei were beaten, with the only power of the citie, and in their returning the Duke of Norfolke who then was made lieutenant of the North, encoun-tered with them and toke the Capitaines, & accordyng to the law marcial, arreigned this Bigod, a man no doubt that loved God, & feared his prince, with a right obediet & louyng feare: but now beyng decauen & prouked ther vnto by false rebellyous persone it was his fortune to tast of the ende which apparteyneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaueth them to their selues, and when they will entreprise the doyng of that thyng which Goddes most holy word vterly forbiddeth. This Bigod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London: this last rebellion began in Settrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough.

Also in the latter ende of this yere, the lord Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Percie brother to the Erle of Northumbreland, Sir Stephyn Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest Esquier, William Lomley, sonne to the Lord Lom-ley began agayn to conspire, although they before had euerie one of them their pardons: and now they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substanse, and yet not so riche as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the signe of the legg, and vset daily at foure of the clock Winter and Sommer to rise and go to Masse at a churche then called saint Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers chapel) and one mornyng among all other, beyng a great Mistie morning such as hath seldome beene sene, even as he was crossing the strete from his house to the churche, he was seldeny murderd with a gonne, whiche of the neighbors was playly hard, and by a great nombre of laborers at the same tyme standing at Soper lane ende, he was both sene go furth of his house, and also the clap of the gonne was hard, but the dode doer was never espied nor knowne, many were suspected, but none could be found fauty: howbeit it is true, that forasmuch as he was known to be a man of a great courage and one that both could speake & also woulde be harder: and that thesame tyme he was one of the Burgeses of the parliamet, for the Citie of London, and had talked somewhat against the courtousnes and crueltie of the Clergie, he was had in con-temp with them, and therefore muste lyke by one of them thus shamefully murdered, as you perceiue that Master Honne was in the sixte yere of the regne of this kyng.

THE. XXIX. YERE.

IN Iune the lord Darcy and the lord Hosey wer arreigned at Westminster before the Marques of Exceter, then high steward of England, and thei were both found gilie and had there judgment as in cases of high treason.

Shortly after wer also arreigned Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Ierney and Riuers, and Robert Aske, and all founde gilie of high treason, and all put to death
death at Tiborne, sauyng Sir Robert Constable, which was haged in chaines on Beuerley gate at Hull and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yorke on a Tower, and Sir Iohn Bulmers Paramour, was brent in Smithfelde in London: And in the latter ende of Iune, was the Lord Darcy behedded at Tower hil and shortly after was the lord Hosey behedded at Lincolne.

This yere at the Feast of Saint George, was the Lorde Cromewell made knight of the Gartier.

In Octobre on saint Edwardes euen was borne at Hampton Courte the noble Impe prince Edward, whose Godfathers at the Christenyng were the Archbishops of Caunterburie, and the Duke of Norfolk and his Godmother the Lady Mary the Kynges daughter, and at the bishopynge was Godfather the Duke of Suffolk: At the birth of this noble prince was great fires made through the whole realme and great Ioye made with thankes guyng to almightie God whiche hath sent so noble a prince to succed in the crowne of this Realme: But Lorde what lamentacion shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother quene Iane, whiche departed out of this life the fourtene day of Octobre, next folowyng: and of none in the Realme was it more heautelier taken then of the kynges Maiestie him self, whose death caused the kyng imediately to remove into Westminster wher he mourned and kept him selfe close and secret a great while: and the eight daye of Nouembre the Corps of the Quene was caried to Winsor withe greate solemnitie, and there was buried in the middes of the queer in the Castell churche: And at the same tyme was made in Poules a solempne hirce for her, where was Masse and dirige, and in like maner was song Masse and dirige in euery parish churche in London.

The kingses maiestie kept his Christmas at Grenewich in his mourning apparell, and so was all the Courte till the morow after Candlemas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the viscoût Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and Sir William Fitzwilliam high admirall created Erle of Southampton.

This yere Iames kyng of Scottes, maried the lady Magdalene, the French kynges eldest daughter.

THE. XXX. YERE.

IN Maye there was a Frer, called freer Forest, one of the observaunt Freers, but he might haue bene more trulier named as after shall appere, an obstinate Freer, this obstinat Freer had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kynges subiectes that the kyng was not supreme head, and beyng therof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme hed of the church, when he himselfe had sworn to the contrary, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man never consented therunto: At this answer the Lordes who examined him loked very straiglye at the dissimulacion of the Freer, but being further accused of diuere heretical and damnable articles, that he held contrary to the scripture of God, he was after sondry examinacions convinced and confuted, & gladly submitted him selfe to abide the punishment of the church: But vpon this his submission, haungyng more libertie then before he had, aswell to talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certeyn suche outward men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outward Freer was as far from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abjuration was sent to him to read & looke vpon, he utterly refused it, and obstinately stode in all his hereies and treasons before cospired: as gette meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconcilacion was had, but the more gentler that the Magestrates were to him, the more obstinat was the freer, and would neither argue nor answere: wherfore justly he was coundempned, & after for him was prepared in Smithfelde in Londó a Gallowes on which he was haged in chaines by the middle & armholes al quicke, & vnder y galowes was made a fire,
fire, & he so consumed & brest to death. At his commynng to the place of execution, there
was prepared a great skaffolde, on which sat the nobles of the Realme, and the kynges
Maiesties moost honorable counsayle, only to have graunted pardon to that wretched crea-
ture, if any spark of repentance would have happened in him: ther was also prepared a
Pulpit where a right reverend father in God and a renowned and famous Clerk the bishop
of Worcestor called Hugh Latimer, declared to him his errors and openly and manifestly by
the scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortations moved him to
repentance, but such was his frowardnes that he neither would here nor spake: And a little
before the Execucio, a houge & great Image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was
brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshiped: This Image
was called Daruell Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophesy that this Image should set
a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesie now toke effect, for he set this freer Forest on fyre
and consumed him to nothing. This Freer when he saw the fyre come, and that present
death was at hand, caught hold vnpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so unpa-
ciently toke his death, that no man that ever put his truste in God never so vnquietly nor
so vngodly ended his life: if men might judge hym by his outward man, he appereed to have
little knowlege of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his endyng. Vpon
the gallowes that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses folowing.

David Daruell Gatheren.
As saith the Welshmen
Fetched Outlawes out of Hell.

Now is he come, with spere & shilde
In harnes to burne in Smithfelde
For in wales he may not dwell.

In his contumacie
The Gospell doth deny
The kyng to be supreme head.

In Iuly was Edmond Coningsbey attained of treason, for counterfeatyng of the kynges
Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for thesame cause attained, and both
put to execution as traitors at Tiborne. And the Sonday after Bartermew day, was one
Cratwell hangman of London, and two persons more hanged at the wrestling place on the
backesyde of Clerkenwel byside Londô, for robbing of a bouthe in Bartholomew fayre, at
which execution was aboue twenty thousand people as I my self judged.

In this moneth of August, the Kyng of Scottes maried the lady Mary late duches of Long-
uelle. And in September by the speciall motion of the lorde Cromwel al the notable
Images into the whiche were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offerynes, were vitell
taken ayye, as the Images of Walsyngham, Ypswiche, Worcestor, the lady of Wilsdon,
and many other. And lykewise the Shrines of counterfeated Sainctes, as the Shrine of
Thomas Becket and dyuere other. And even forthwith by the meanes of the said Crom-
well, at the ordres of superstitious and beggynge Freers, as White, Gray, Black, Augustine,
Croched Freers, & likewise al the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters & houses wer sup-
pressed & put doun.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperour to the kynges Maiestie, that he would
take to wife the duches of Millayn, but in this matter the Emperors counsaill so dalied with
the kyng, that shortly he left of that suit: of the which breaking of with the Emperour,
the Duke of Cleauce hard, and therefore forthwith he made suite to the kyngs Maiestic,
for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperours counsayl thought by a cau-
tel to haue brought the kyng to sue to the bishop of Rome for a licence, which thing the
kynges Maiestie some smelled & perceived wher about thei wet. In the moneth of Nouem-
ber one Ihô Nicholas otherwise called Lambert a priest, was accused of heresy, for de-
nying the Sacrament of the Aultare to be Cristes naturall body: This man appealeed to the
kynges Maiestie, who graciously consented to heare him, and a day was appointed: against
whiche daie was made in the kynges palace at Westminster called the white hall, in the
kynges
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kynges hall a throne or siege royall for the kynges Maiestie, and skaffoldes for all the lorde
and a stage for Nicholson to stand on: this Nicholson was a man named to be learned, but
that day he vterred no suche learnuyng, as he was of many supposed, that he both coulde
and would haue done, but was excedyng fearful and timerous. The kynges Maiestie ac-
accompanied with his lorde and nobles of the Realme and diuerse of the bishops and clergy
kept the day appoynted, wher before his maiestie was brought the forsaid Nicholson, to
whome certain of the bishops ministred diuerse argumentes, but specialy the kynges ma-
ieste him selfe did most dispute with him, howbeit Nicholson was not perswaded nor woulde
not reuoke although the Kynges maiestie graunted hym his pardon, wherfor there was he
condemned and had judgement, and shortly after was drawen and burned in Sunythfeld.
The third daie of Nouembre were Henry Marques of Excester & earle of Devonshire and
sir Henry Pole knight and lorde Mountagew and Sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde
Burgan sent to the tower which thre wer accused by sir Gefferei Pole brother to the lorde
Mountagew, of high treason, and the two lorde were arraigne the last day of December
at Westminster before the lord Awdeley of Walden, lord Chauncelor, and then the high
stuard of England, and there found gilue, likewise on the third day after was arraigne
Sir Edward Neuell, Sir Gefferei Pole and two priests called Crofes and Collins, and one
holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Januarie, were the saide two
lorde and Sir Edward Neuell behedded at the tower hill, and the two priests and Holande
were drawen to Tibeone, and there hanged and quartered, and sir Gefferei Pole was par-
doned.

On Ashwednesday, were Ihon Iones, Ihon Potter, and William Maneryng, hanged in
the princes liueries, because thei were the princes seruauntes, on the Southside of Paules
churcyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley esquier in thesame place of malice prepares.
Also on the third day of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the countie of
Surrey knight of the Gardier, and Master of the kynges horse, before attainted of treason,
hedded at the tower hill, wher he made a goodly confessio, both of his folie and super-
sitious faith, geuyng God most hartie thakes that ever he came in the prisio of the tower,
where he first sauored the life & sweetness of Gods most holy word meaning the Bible in
English, whiche there he read by the meane of one Thomas Phelps then keeper of that pri-
son, but before he was a citizen and poynemaker of London, which Phelps two yeres be-
fore had ben there prisoner him selfe, & sore troubled aswell by sir Thomas More as also
by Doctor Stokslei bishop of Londö, who often tymes examined thesaiid Phelps, & laied
many artices to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly used him selfe, that he maugre their
euel wills, escaped clerly their handes.

The ninth day of Marche, the kyng created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight
treasurer of his householde, Lord Sainte Ihon, & Sir Ihon Russell comptroller of his house,
Lorde Russell.

The same tym the kyng caused all the baunens to be fortefe, and roade to Douer, and
caused Boulwarkes to be made on the sea coastes, and set commissions throughout al the
realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same seassode on Easter day, was there thre
score unknowe shippes lynyng in the downes, wherfore all Kent arose, and muster in har-
neis thesamer day.

THE. XXXI. YERE.

THE eight and twentie daie of Aprill, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which
Margaret countesse of Salsbury Gertrude wife to the Marques of Excester, Reinold Poole,
a Cardinall brother to the lorde Mountagew, Sir Adrian Foskew, & Thomas Dingley Knight
of saynt Johnes, & diverse other wer attainted of high treason, which Foskew & Dylnglewi
wer
The act of six articles.

The first quest that inquired of the six Articles.

The XXXI. YERE OF

were the tenth daie of Iuli behedded. In this parliamet was an act made which bare this title: An act for abolishing of duerie of opinions, in certain articles concernyng Christen religion, this act established chiefly sixe articles, wherof among the commo people, it was called the act of sixe articles, & of some it was named the whip withe sixe strynges; and of some other and that of the moste parte, it was named the bloudy statute, for of truth it so in shorte time after skourged a great nombre in the citie of London, wher the first quest for the inquirie of the offendors of the saied statute sat at a church called Becketshouse, now named the Mercers Chappel, that the said quest beuyng of purpose selected and picked out among all the rest of the inhabitantes of the citie, that none might thereof be admitted which either had red any part of the holy scripture in English, or in any wise fauoured such as either had red it, or louted the preachers of it: insomuch as this quest was so zelous & fervent in the executio of this statute, that they among themselues thought it not only sufficiët to inquirie of the offendors of the saied statute, but also by their fine wittes & willyng minde, they invented to inquirie of certain branches of the same statute as they termed it, which was not only to inquirie who spake again masses, but who thei were that seldom came vnto them: and also not only who denied the Sacramente to be Christes very naturall body, but also who helde not vp their handes at saacryng tyme, and knocked not on there brestes: And thei not only inquired who offended in the sixe articles, but also who came seldom to the churche, who toke no holy brede nor holy water, who red the Bible in the churche, or in communicacion contemned priests, or Images in the Churches. &c. with a great nombre of suche branches: this appointed quest so sped them selues with the sixe Articles, and ther awne branches, that in fourtene daies space there was not a preacher nor other persone in the citie of name, which had spoken against the supremacie of the bishop of Rome, but he was wrapped in the sixe articles, insomuch as thei indited and presented of suspiccion to the nombre of fie hundred persons and aboue: so that if the kynges maistie had not graunted his pardon, for that by the good lord Aweoley lord chauncelor his grace was truly informed that thei were indited of malice: a greate many of them which all ready was in prison, had bene shortly after skourged in Smithfelde with firy fagottes, that would haue made the best bloud in ther bodies to haue sprong, but most graciously at that time his grace remitted all: although in the tyme that these sixe Articles indured which was eight yeres and more, thei brought many an honest and simple persone to there deathes, for suche was the rigour of that lawe, that if two wittnesses false or true, had accused any and aououched that thei had spoken agaynst the sacramet, ther was then no way but death, for it boted not to confess that his fayth was contrary, or that he saied not as the accusors reported: for they would beleue the wittnesses ye and sometime certain of the clergie, when thei had no wittneses would procure some, or elles thei were slaundered.

The kynges highnes whiche neuer ceased to stody and take payne both for the anuance of the common wealth of this his Realme of Englyd, of the which he was the only supreme gouernour and hed, and also for the defence of al thesame, was lately enuormed by his trustie & faithfull frendes y the cakerd & cruel serpët the bishop of rome, by that Archetraitor Reignold Poole, enemie to Godes worde and his natural contrey, had mowed and stirred diverse great princes and potentates of Christendome to inuade the Realme of England, and utterlie to destroy the whole nacion of thesame: Wherefore his Majestic in his awne persone, without any deley toke very laborious and paynefull journeyes towards the sea coastes. Also he sent dyuers of his nobles and counsaylours to view and searche all the Portes and daungerous on the coastes where any incete or conuenient landing place might be supposed, aswell on the borders of Englande as also of Wales. And in all soche doubtfull places his hyghnes caused dyuers & many Bulwarke & fortiifications to be made. And further his hyghnes caused the Lord Adjmirall Erle of Southampton to prepare in redynesse Shippes for the sea, to his great coast and charges.

And beside this, to haue all his people in a redynesse, he directed his Commissions thorough
thorough out the Realme to haue his people mustered, & the harnesse & weapons scene and viewed, to thentent that all thighes should be in a redynes if his enemies would make any attempte in to this Realme: And amongst other, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull syr Thomas, Forman, Knight Mayer of Londô and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betwene the ages of ix. and. xvi. and the nombre of harnesses, weapons, with their kyndes and diuersites: Wherevpon the sayde Lorde Mayer and his brethren, every one hauyng with them the one of the Councell or learned men of the Citie repaire to their wardes, and there by the ote of the Common Councayll & Constables of the same wardes tooke the nombre of the men, harnesses and weapons, accordinge to their Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes and the nombre of the persones, they thought it not expedient to admity the whole nombre of soche as were certifed for able and apte persones for to Muster: Wherefore then they assembled theym selfes agayne and chose out the most able persones and put by toother, and specially all soche as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be prvoyded. But when they were credibly aduertysed by the Kyngs Counsellor Thomas Lord Cromwell Knight of the Noble Ordre of the Gartier Lorde Preuye Scale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was moche bounten) that the Kyng hym selfe woulde see the people of the Citie Muster in a convenient nombre, and not to set furthe all their power, but to leave some at home to kepe the Citie. Then efiisons every Alderman repaire to his warde, and there put a syde all soche as hadde Jackes, coates of plate, coates of mayle and bryganders, and appoynted none but soche as had whyte Harnesse, excepte soch as should beare Moryshe Pykes, which had no harnesse but skullles: and they appoynted none but soche as had whyte harnesse, neither dyd they admity any that was a Straunger, although they were Denyzens. When it was known that the King would see the Muster, lorde how glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruice, it would have made any faithfull subiectes herte to have reioysed. Then euery man beuyng of any substaunce prvoyded hymselfe a coate of white sylke, and garnished hym with bassenettes with turnsylyke cappes of sylke set with ooches, furnished with chaine of gold & fethers: other gylded their harnesse, their halberdes & poll axes. Some, & especiell certayne goldsmithes had their breast plates yen & their whole harnesse of syluer bullyon. The Constables were all in fomettes of white sylke with chaunces & Battell Axes. The meaner sorte of people were all in coates of white cloth very curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before & behyne. The lord Mayer him selfe was in a fayre Armour, the crestes therof were gyldt, & ouer that a coate of Blacke veluet with half sleues, & so was syr Robert Cholmley knight Recorder of Londô, and all thother Aldermen & Shirifles & such as had ben Shirifles, all wel mounted on stirryng horses rychehely trapped & covered, with battel axes in their handes & Masées & chaunces about their neckes. The lorde Mayer had. iii. footmen all in whyte sylke, cutte, ruffled & pounced: he had also: ii. Pages well mouted on stirryng courseres, rychely trapped and apperellled in coates of Crymysyn veluet & cloth of gold paled, with chaunses of gold, the one bearyng his Helmé & the other his Axe. He had also, xvi. tall men on foote with gyldt halbardes, whose doblets were whyte sylke, & hosen, doblettes & shoes all whyte, cut after the Almayne fassyon, puffed & pulled out with red sarcenet, euery one hauyng a whyte lether lerkyn all to cutte & chaunses about their neckes, with fethers & broches on their cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about hym. iii. Halbardes trymmed warlike.

The Chamberlayne of the Citie & the Councellors of the same & the Aldermérs deputys, which wer appointed to be wyffelers on horsbacke were all in whyte dýmaske coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaunses about their neckes, & propre Iauncyls or battel axes in ther hádes & cappz of veluet richely decked.

The Wyffelers on foote, iii.C. propre and lyght persones all apperellled in whyte sylke or Ierkins of lether cutte, with white hose and shoes, euery man hauyng a Iaunclym or slaugh sword to kepe the people in aray & chaunses about their neckes, & white fethers in their cappes.
The Minstrels were all in white with the Armes of the Citie, and so was every other person at this Muster without anye diversite, sauyng the lorde Mayer, the Recorder and his brethren who had crosses of velvet or satten pyrled with golde.

The Standarde bearers were the tallest men of every Warde, for who wer made. xxx. new stuardz of the demise of the citie besyde baners.

Whi euer thyng was prepared, euer Alderman mustered his owne warde in the feldes, viewynge euer man in his harnessse, & to cause such as could shote, to take bowes in their hădes, & thother byles or pykes.

The. viii. day of Maie, according to the Kynges pleasure, euer Alderman in ordre of battell, with his warde came into the common feld at Myle ende, & then all the gonnes seuered them selues into one place, the pykes in another, & the bowmen in another, & likewise the byllmen, & there rynge d & snayled, which was a goodly syght to beholde: for all the feldes from Wyte chappell to Myle ende, & from Bednall Grene to Ratclif & to Stepney were all conered with harness, men & weapos, & in especial the battell of pykes seemd to be a great forest. Then euer parte was devided into. iii. partes, the pikes in three partes & so the other. Then were appoynted. iii. battells, a forward, myddlweard & rereward.

The Orde in goyling.

About viii. of the clocke marchéd forward the light pces of Ordinance, with stone & powder, after them folowed the Drômes & fyles, & immediatly after them a Guydon of the Armes of the Citie. Then folowed master Sadeler captain of the goners vp a good horse in harness & a coat of velvet with a chayne of golde &. iii. Halbardes about him apparelled as before is reheresd. Then folowed the Gonners. iii. in a ranke, euer one goyling. v. foote a sonder, euer manes shoulder eue with another, which shot altogether in dyuers places very cherefully, & especially before the Kynges Maiestie, whyche at that tyme sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster where he viewed all the whole company: In lyke maner passed the second & third battells at wel & rycheley appointed. They passd as is sayde, the formost Capitayn at ix. of the clock in the morn by the lytle conduite entring into Pauls churchyarde, & so directly to Westmynster, & so thorough the sanctuary and round about the parke of s. Iames, & so vp into the feld & came home thorough Holborne: & as the first Capitayne entered agaync to the lylle conduyte, the last of the Muster entered Pauls churchyarde, which then was. iii. of the clocke at after noone. The nombre was. xv. thousand, besyde Wyffielers and other waytes.

In this yere about the Feast of s. Ihon Baptist, the cōmon people of the town of Gaunt in Flâuders, began to grudge against the Officers of the Emperouer, & thoscasion was this: The cōmon people being supported of dyuers ryche Merchauantes of the towne, complained that the Excys of the Wyne was so great, that they payed of euerie pottell. i.i.d. for thoscisise that they solde by retaile, besydethe price of the wyne, & likewis paid the Merchauantes which solde it in great: and yet that more greued them that the Abbota, Friers, Chanons & other Religious persones & men of the Church (of the whiche was gret store in that towne) the which among them had the greatest ryches & wealth of that towne, shoule be exempt & dronke Wyne free without payynge Excysce, wyche thynge turned to the charges of other, and therwith the cōmons founde them selues sore greued, and sayde that they were oppressed contrarye to their olde and auncient Privileges. The Rulers made promise that an ordre & way should be taken therin, but they desyred respyte that they might know the mynde of the Queen of Hungary, Regent for the Emperoure of the lowe countrey, which Quene at that tyme was at Bruxell, and even then was goyling to vyset the countrey of Holand. The Quene consented to nothyng that the commons desyred, but sent them a very cruell and frowarde answere not without great threats, that if they would not euer man quietly remayne in their houses, and pay their excysce as they had ben accustomed to do, they should lyke rebels as they were be forced thervnto whether they would or not: wherfore the Cōmons assembled, & when they had well digested the answer of the Quene, they determined to seke another meanes, & fyrst they assembled themselues into a battell to the nōbre of x. or xii. M.
wel armed, night and day watching & warding the towne, in such sorte that the Emperours Officers bare no rule: & he whom they called the chiefe Bailiff or Gouvernor of the towne durst not once show his face amongst them, but by the helpe of a boy he couied himself by a Postern and so got out of the towne. The people of Gaunt perceived their Rulers thus departed, the chiefest of them that wer in the towne condisced & agreed to write vnto the Frenche Kyng for ayde, & caused a Gentleman of their towne to deuyse a Letter, for the whiche afterwarde he lost his head.

The sute and request of the sayde men of Gaunt was, that it would please the Frenche Kyng to sende vnto them men & municions, and to succour them as the auncient subjectes to the Crowne of Fraunce, and to delyuer them from the bondage that they were in, & to remove from the great Exactions & imposicions, that the Officers of the sayde Emperour had oppressed them with all, and they woulde yelde & delyuer all vnto him as to their Souereigne Lord, & in lyke maner would other townes to them adiomyng do. And for a truth (sayth the writer of the Annales of Aquitaine) if the Frenche Kyng woulde haue herkened vnto their request & sute, it had ben an easy thyng for him both to hauie enjoyed the possession of the greatest nombre of all the townes in the lowe countrey: as Flausders, Arthoys and the rest of that countrey, & also to hauie put the Emperour in great hazarde. But the French Kyng willing to kepe and holde the Truce which was concluded and sworne, hauyng a greater respect to his faith and promyse then to his profite & gayne, thinking that if he should consent to the request of the Gauntys, he should begin a new Warre to the noiynce of the cōmen people of Cristendomme, wherfore he refused utterly either to ayde or succour them.

The Queene of Hungarye thinkynge to hauie pacified all this rumor, sent vnto the Towne of Gaunt her ryght trustye and valyant Knight, the Lorde of Semy, of the House of Crouy, accompanied with the Lorde Lyquerque and one of her Preuy Councell: but these amongst the cōmen wer not so well entertained as they thought they should haue ben, and threfore taryed not long amongst them, but were glad to conuey them selues from them in dissimulated apparell.

The Emperoure beyng aduertised of all this busynesse, and perceiuyng his lowe countrey by the reason of sedicion was in daunger, deuised meane how he might come to them, for then he was in Spain. He thought he would not hazarde hymselfe vpon the sea: and he durst not trust the Almaynes, because he had broken promyse with theim so often concerning their Generall Councell that he promised to have assembled: wherfore he determined to moue the French King and to sue for a safecondyute to passe thourough Fraunce, which very gladly the Frenche Kyng granted hym, insomuch that after the French kyng knew of his desire, both he and the Dolphyn entreted most hertely the Emperour to passe that way, trusting therby that it should haue ben an occasion of peace betwene them.

All thynges meete for thempowers assurance was so appoynted by the Constable of Fraunce, that the Emperour departed out of Spain, & came to Bayon, from thence to Burdeaux & so to Poyters: after he came to Loches where he met with the French kyng & the Quene, & then they together passed fro thence to Orleans, & so to Paris, into which Citie they entered the first day of January in the yere of our Lorde a 1539. and so from thence after great chere & royall faceynment he passed thourough the lower rightes, & at last came to Bruxelles in Brabant:

And first the Emperour vnder colour to have pytie & to remedy the poore comons of Gaunt & saiyng that he wold not only pardō their offences, but also he could not blame them being oppressed to complayn, & by this meane he obtenied licence that the County of Reus accompanyed with C. men of armes, & v.M. Launvecknightes entered the towne, saiyng to thinhabitanthes that this power was only to kepe the towne in peace & quiet till a good & profitable ordre should be taken for the Comons. The poore inhabitantz beleuving al that was promised & said vnto them & mistrystyng nothing, threw of their harnesse, & euery man peaceably went to their houses. Then entered into the towne themperour accompanied with his brother the kyng of Hungar, & his sister the Quene Dowager of Hungar, the Duke of Sany and
and many other Princes, Lordes and Gentlemen, and a great power of men of warre, whiche entery was about Mydsumor; in the yere a. M.v.C.xi.

Themperour beyng in Gaunt & hauynge thopper hand of them, that is to say, beyng stronger within the towne then thinhabitantes were, in the place of his grete ptytie that he sened to hauce on the poore inhabititz as his first entery, he immediatly began to do execucion, & that of a grete nombre of them, and without all mercy executed them, insomuch that among all other, the Gentleman which the Commons enforced to write the letter to the Fræch kig was beheded, as before is expresse: & afterward themperour caused an abbey of. s. Bawlon to be suppressed, & in the same place at the charges of the Gaunte, he made a Castell of a meruelous largenesse, for it was. ix.C. foot long, & viii.C. large: & not contented with such as he put to death, but also of a grete nombre, he confiscateth their landes and goodes, and finally he brake all their Privileges & Ordinances, and left the poore inhabitanthes of Gaunt in a miserable case: But now to returne to thaffayres of England.

In August the great Onele & Odonele entered into the English pale in Ireland, and brent almost. xx. myle within the same: wherfore the Lorde Grey the Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the xxx. day of August and put them to flight, wherfore the Kyng sent over fyue hundred fresh soulyders to ayde his Deputie.

In the ende of Septebr the. xvi. day of that moneth came to London Duke Freedyke of Bayure Countye Palantyne or Palsgrau of the Ryne, & the. xviii. daye came to London, the Marshal of Duke Ihon Frederickke Prince Elector of Saxony, & the Chancellor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder & Berry, The Palsgrau was receyued & conducted to Wynsoyre by the Duke of Suffolke: & thother were added with other nobles, & the. xxiii. day of the same moneth thei al came to Wynsoyre, where. viii. dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: & the Palsgrau shortly departed & was honorably rewarded: & at that seasõ was concluded the mariage betwene the Kyng & the lady Anne, syster to duke Willyã of Cleue, & great preparacio was made for the receiuyng of her.

The. xiii. day of Novembr Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng & two Priestes, the one called Rugg, and the other named Onyon, were attainted of high treason, for denying the Kyng to be supreme head of the Churche, & was drawn, hanged, & quartered at Redyng. This Abbot was a stubborne Monke & ytterly without lerning. The same day was Richard Whityng Abbot of Glasenbury likewise attainted and haged on Tower hyl beside his monastyry, for the seid case & other gret treasons, which also was quartered: & the first day of Decemb. was Ihon Beche Abbot of Colchest. put to execusiõ for ÿ same cofederacy & treasõ.

In December were appointed to wayte on the Kynges highnes person fyftie Gentlemen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the Kyng.

The. xi. day of December at the Turnepye on thyssyde Graueling was the Lady Anne of Cleue receuied by the Lorde Lysle Deputie of the town of Calice & with the Speres & horsemen belonging to the retinue there, all being fresh & warlike apperalled, & so mærchig toward Calyce a myle & more frõ the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southampton gret Admirall of England, & apperellad in a coate of purple veluet cut on cloth of golde & tyed with great aglettes and trifoiles of golde, to the nombre of. iii.C. & bandrickwise he ware a chayne, at the whych did hang a whistle of gold set with ryche stones of a great value. And in this company. xxx. gentlemen of the Kynges household very rychly apperalled with great & massy chaynes, & in especial syr Frãcis Bryan & sir Thomas Seymers chaynes were of great valure and straunige fassyon. Beside this, the Lorde Admyrall had a great nombre of gentlemen in blew veluet & crymosyn satyn & his yomen in dimask of the same coloures, & the Maryners of his ship in satyn of Bridges, both coates & sloppes of the same coloures, whych Lorde Admyrall with low obeyaunce welcomed her, & so brought her into Calyce by the lanterne gate, where the Shippes laye in the Hauen garnysed with their banners, pencelles & flagges, pleasingly to beholde. And at her entry was shot such a peale of
of gônes, that all the retnew much meruailed at it. And at her entry into the towne, the
Mayer of the towne presented her with an. C. marke in golde. And before the Staple hall
stoode the Merchantaes of the Staple well appareled, which lykewyse prested her with an. C.
soureyms of golde in a ryche pursse, which heretely thanked them, & so she rode to the kinges
place called the Cheker, & there she laye. xx. dayes for lacke of prosperous wynde. Du-
rying whyche tyne goodly instes & costly bankettes wer made to her for her solace & recrea-
cion. And on s. Thons day in Christmas she with. l. sayle toke passage about noonne and
landed at Deele in the downes about. v. of the clocke, where sir Thomas Cheiny lord War-
den of the Portes receaued her, & there she taried a space in a Castell newly buythe, and
thyther came the Duke & Dutches of Suffolke & the bishop of Chichester, with a great
nombre of knyghtes & Esquiers & Ladies of Kent & other which welcomed her Grace, &
so that nyght brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested tyll monday: on whych day
for all the storme that then was she marched toward Canterbury, and on Baram downe met
her the Arch bishop of Caunterbury accopanyed with the bishop of Ely, Saynt Asse, Saynt
Daues & Douer, & a great cópany of gentlemen well appareled, & so brought her to s.
Austens without Caunterbury, where she lay that nyght: and on the next day she came to Syt-
tyngburne & there lodged that nyght. And as she passed toward Rochester on Newyres
euen, on Reynam down met her the duke of Norffolke & the lord Dacre of the South, &
the lord Mountioye with a great cópany of Knyghtes & Esquiers of Norffolke & Suffolke,
& the Barons of thexchequer, all in coats of veluet with chaynes of gold, which brought
her to Rochester where she lay in the Palace all Newyres day. On which day the kyng which
sore desyred to see her Grace accopanyed with no more then. viii. persons of his preuy
chamber, & both he & they all appareled in marble coats preuely came to Rochester, and
sodainly came to her presence, which therwith was sumwhat astonied: but after he had spoke
& welcomed her, she w most gracious & louyng countenance & behauour him receuied & wel-
come on her knees, whom he gently toke vp & kyssed: & all that after noone cómoned &
deuised with her, & that night supped with her, & the next day he departed to Grenewich,
& she came to Dartford.

On the morow being the third day of January, & saturday, in a fayre playne on black
heth more nerer the foote of shoters hyl, then the ascendent of the hyll called blacke heth
hyl, was pitched a riche cloth of gold & dyuers other Tentes & Pavilions in the which
were made fyers and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyne her Grace:
and from the Tentes to the parke gate of Grenwych were all busses and fyrrses cutte
downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shew of all persons. And fyrst
nexte to the parke pale on the East syde, stooode the Merchantaes of the Stillyard: and on the
West syde stooode the Merchantaes of Iean, Florence and Veynee, and the Spanyarde, in coats
of veluet. Then on bothe sydes of the waye stooode the Merchantaes of the Cite of London &
Aldermen with the councellors of the sayd Cittie to the nobre of a C.lx. which were myxed with the
Esquiers: Nexte vpward toward the tentes stooode Knyghtes: thâ the. l. gentlemen Pencioners,
& all this sort were appareled in veluet & chaynes of gold, truly accompted to the nombre of
xii.C. & aboue besyde them that came with the kyng & her Grace, whych wer. vi.C. in veluet
cotes & chaynes of golde. Behynd the gentlemen stooode the seruyngmen in good ordre, well
horsed & appareled, that whosoever had well viewed theim might saye that they for tall &
comely personages & cliene of lyn & body, wer able to geue the greatest Prince in Christen-
dome a mortall brekefast if he wer the kynges enemy: And of this sorte the gentlemen apper-
tainingyng to the lord Châcellor, the lord Preuy seal & the lord Admiral & diuers other
lordes, beside the costly luyerets & comely horses, ware chaynes of gold.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes from the parke gate towarde the crosse on the Heth,
whych was betwene the Rankes and the Tentes, and in this ordre they continued tyll the
Kyng and she were returned.

About. xii. of the clocke her grace with all the company which were of her owne macion
in the nombre of a. C. horse, & accompanied with the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the
Archebishop of Caunterbury & other bysshops, lorde & knyghtes which had receuied &
convayed
THE XXXI. YERE OF

Conveyed her as you have heard before, came done shotery hill toward the Tentes & a
good space from the Tentes met her the Erle of Rutland her lorde Chaumberleyne, syr
Thomas Denyce her Chaunceller, & all her counsellors and officers, amongst whom, Doctor
Dawe appoynted to her Almoner, made to her an eloquent Oracion in Latin, presentyng to
her on the Kynges behalfe all the Officers & Seruantes: which Oracion was answerd vnto
by the Duke her brothers Secretarie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margarete
Douglass, daughter to the Queene of Scottes, the lady Marques Dorcest, daughter
to the French Queene being Nieces to the Kyng, & the Dutches of Ryckmond, & the
Coûtesse of Rutland & Herfford with dyuers other Ladies & gentlewomen, to the nobre of.
Ixx. saluted & welcomed her Grace, which alighted out of her Chariot in the which
she had rydenn all her long journey, & with most goodly demeanor & louyng courteous
gave to them hertye thankes & kissed them all, & after all her counsellors & officers kyssed
her hand, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tentes, and there warmed them a
space.

When the Kyng knew that she was aryned in her tent, he with all diligence set out thro-
ough the parke. And first issued the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Officers beyng
sworne of his Councell, next after them followed the Gentlemen of the Kynges Preu
Chamber, some apparell to coates of velocet enbrodered: other had their coates garded
with chaynes of golde, very ryche to beholde, whiche were well horsed & trapped: after
them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so Wyllym Hollys knyght Lorde Mayer of
London rode with the Lord Par beyng yongest Baron. Then followed Bysshops apparell-
ed in blacke satten. Then immediately followed the Erles, & then duke Philyppe of Bayver
and Countie Palantyne of the Rhyne, rychely appareld with the lyuerry of the Toysants
or Golden Fleece aboute his necke. Then followed the Ambassadors of the French
Kyng & themperour, next followed the Lorde Preu Seyle Lorde Cromwell and the Lord
Chaunceller: then Garter kyng of Armes, and the other Officers of Armes & the Ser-
ianentes at Armes gaue their attendance on euery side of the Lordes: which Lordes for the
moast parte were appareld in Purple veluet, the Lord Marques Dorcest in the same suyt to
bare the Kynges sowerde of estate. After hym a good distaunce followed the Kynges high-
nesse mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in ryche cloth of golde traureded latyce wyse
space, all ouer enbrodered with golde of Dammaske, pearled on euery syde of the enbro-
derye, the buckles and pendentes were all of fyne golde. His persone was appareld in a
coate of purple veluet, somewhat made lyke a frocke, all ouer enbrodered with flette golde
of Dammaske with small lace mixed betwene of the same golde, and other laces of the
same so goyng trauerced wyse, that the ground lytle appered: about whyche garment was a
ryche garde very curiously enbrodered, the sleues and brest were cut lyned with cloth of
golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubyes, and Orient Perle, his
swoorde and swoorde gyrdle adorned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his night cappe
garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so ryche of Juels that fewe men coulde value them.
Besyde all this he ware in baundricke wyse a colier of such Balystes and Perle that few
men euer saw the lyke: and aboute his persone ran. x. footemen all rychely apparell in
goldsmythes worke. And notwithstandinge that this ryche apparell and precious Iuells-
wer plesaunt to the Nobles & all other being present to beholde, yet his Princely count-
naunce, his goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceeded all other creatures beyng
present, that in comparson of his persone, all his ryche apparell was lytle esteemed. After
him folowed his lord Chaumberlein, thae came sir Anthony Browne master of his horse, a
goodly gentleman & a comly personage, wel horsed, trapped & rychely appareled, leading the
Kynges horse of estate by a long reyne of golde, whyche horse was trapped in maner
lyke a barde with crimosin veluet & satten, al ouer enbrodered with golde after an antyke
fassio, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honor in coates of riche tyn-
sell & crimosyn veluet paled, ridyn on great courseres, al trapped in crimosyn veluet, en-
brodered w new deuyses & knottz of gold which were both pleasant & costly to beholde.

Then
Then followed sir Anthony Wyngfeld Captayne of the Garde & then the Garde well horsed & in riche coates. In this ordre the kyng rode to the last ende of the ranke where the Speares or Pencyoners stooe: and there enery persone that came with the Kyng placed hymselfe on the one syde or the other, the Kyng standyng in the myddes.

When her Grace was aduerstyes of the Kynges comyng, she issued out of her tent beynge apperellled in a riche goune of cloth of golde reised, made rounde without any trayne after the Dutche fassyon, and on her head a kall, & over that a rounde bonet or cappe set full of Orient Perle of a very propre fassyon, & before that she had a cornet of blacke velvet, & about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stone which glystered all the felde. And at the dore of the Tente she mounted on a fayre horse richely trapped, with her fotemen about her in goldsmithes worke embrodered with the blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Carbundle golde, and so she matched towarde the Kyng: whych perceiuyng her approche came forwarde somewhat beyonde the crosse on Blakke Heth, and there paused a lytle in a fayre place till she came nerer: then he put of his bonet & came forwarde to her, & with most loundly countenaunce and Princely behauyour saluted, welcomed & enbrased her to the great rejoysyng of the beholders: and she lykewysye not forgettyng her duty, with most amiable aspecte & womanly behauyoure receuyed his Grace with many sweete woordes and great thankes and praisynges gaven to hym. And whyle they two were thus communynge, the fyftye Pencioners and the Garde departe to furnysh the Courte and Halle of Grenewyche. And when the Kyng had talked with her a lytle whyle, he put her on his ritght hande, and so with their fotemen they rode as though they had ben coupled together. O what a syght was this to see so goodly a Prince & so noble a Kyng to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature & so womanly a countenance, & in especial of so good qualities, I thinke no creature could see them but his herte rejoysed.

Now when the Kyng and she were mette and bothe their companyes ioyned together, they returned thorough the rankes of Knyghtes and Esquyres which stooode styl all. this while & remoued not, in this ordre: Fyrst her Trompettes went forwarde, whyche were twelue in nombre besyde two kettell Drommes on horsebacke, then followed the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Councellours, then the Gentlemen of the Preuy Chamber, then the Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of veluet, all on great horses: after them the Mayor of London in crimosyn veluet with a riche collor, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, nexte following Bysshoppes, then Earles, with whom rode the Earles of Ouwersteyn and Waldocke of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archbysshop of Canterbury and Duke Phillip of Bauire, nexte followed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Preuye Seale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lorde Marques with the Kynges sworde, nexte followed the Kyng hymselfe equally ryding with his faire Lady, & behind him rode sir Anthony Browne with the kyngz horse of Estate as you hearde before, and behynde her rode sir Johan Dudley Master of her horses leadynge her spare Palfreye trapped in riche Tysses downe to the grounde: after them followed the Henxemen or Pages of Honour, then followed the Ladye Margarete Doelas, the Ladye Marques Dorset, the Dutches of Richmond & Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutland & Hertforde, & other Countesses: then followed her Graces Chariot in the which she rode all her journey, well carued & gylte with Armes of her couertry curiously wrought & couered with cloth of golde, all the horses were trapped with blacke veluet, & on them rode Pages of Honor in coates of veluet, in the which Chariot rode. ii. auncient Ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot followed, vi. Ladies & Gentlemen of her country all richely apperellled with cappes set with Perle, & great Chaynes of dyuers fassyoners after the vsage of their countrey, whiche were very fayre of face, & with them rode. vi. Ladies of England well besene. Then followed another Chariot lykewysye gylte & furnyshed as theother was: after that Chariot followed. x. Englysh Ladyes well apperrellled, next them another Chariot all couered with blacke cloth, & in that iii. gentlewomen which were hers Graces Chamberers: then followed all the remnaunt of the Ladies, Gentlemen & Maydens in a gret nombre which dyd weare
that day Frenche whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke with iii. Laun-
ders appertaynyng to her grace; next after followed a Horselytter of cloth of golde &
Crymosyn velvuyt vpon veluet paleed, with horses trapped accordingly which the king sent her,
Then followed the seruyng men of her trayne, all clothed in blacke & on great horses.

In this orde they rode thorougb the rankes, & so thorough the parke and at the late
Freers walle all men alighted sauyng the Kyng, the ii. Masters of the Horses & the Hen-
men, which rode to the halfe dore, & the Ladies rode to the Courte gate. And as they
passed they behelde on the wharfe howe the Citizens of London were rowyng vp & down
on the Thames evyn before them, euery craffe in his Barge garnished with Banners, Flaggges,
Stremers, Pencelles and Targettes, some paynted & beaten with the Kynges Armes, some
with her Graces Armes, and some with the Armes of their Craffe or Mistery. Besyde
the Barges of euery craffe, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batcheliers
barke, decked with cloth of gold, penons, pencels, & targetz in great nombre, on whó
wayted a Foyst that shot great peces of Artillary. And in euery barge was dyuers sortes
of Instrumentes & children & men syngyng, which sang & plaide altogether as the King &
the Lady passed on the wharfe, which syght & noizes they much praisd & allowed.

When the Kyng & she wer within the vttter court, they alighted from their horses, & the
Kyng louungly embrased her & kissed her, bydying her welcome to her owne, & led her
by her lyfte arme thorough the halfe which was furnished beneth the harth with the Kynges
Garde, and aboue the harth with the fyftye Pecioners with their Batell Axes, & so brought
her vp to her preuy chamber, where he lefte her for that tyme.

And assone as the Kyng & she was entered the Courte, was shot out of the Tower of
Grenewyche & there about, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the Kynges company and hers was entered the parke, as you haue heerde, then
all the horse men on Blacke Heath brake their aray and had licence to departe to London,
or to their lodging. To se howe longe it was or the horsemen coulde passe, and howe
late it was in the nyght yet the footemen coulde get over London brydge, I assure you it
was wonderous to beholde, the nombre was so great.

Thus the Noble Lady remayned vnmaryed vntyll the tuysday followyng beyng the day
of the Epiphany: On whych day about. viii. of the clocke in the mornyng, his Grace beyng
appareld in a gowne of cloth of golde, raised with great flowers of syluer, furredd with
blacke Ienettes, his coat Crymsyn sattyn all to cutte and enbrodered & tied with great
Diamondes, & a ryche Colleer about his necke, came solelym with his Nobilitie into the
galery next the clotsettes, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetche the Ladye Anne, whiche was appareld in a gowne of
ryche cloth of golde set full of large flowers of great & Orient Pearle, made after the
Dutche fission rounde, her here hangyng downe, whycch was payre, yelowe and long: On
her head a Coronall of gold replenished with great stone, and set about full of branches
of Rosemary, about her necke and middle, Ieuelles of great valew & estimacion. In this
apparell she goyng betweene the Erle of Ouersteyn & the Graunde Master Hostoden,
which had the condnyte & orde of the performaunce of her maryage, with most demure
countynaunce & sad behaviour passed thorougb the Kynges chamber, all the Lordes goyng
before her tyll they came to the galery where the Kyng was, to whom she made three low
obeysaunces & curteisyes. Then the Archebysshop of Caunterbury receuyed them &
maried them together, and the Erle of Ouersteyn did gene her: & about her mariyng ryng
was written: GOD SEND ME WEL TO RÊPE.

When the Mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the Kinges closet and
there hard Masse and offered their tapers, & after Masse had wyne and spyces, and that
done, the Kyng departed to his chamber, & all the Ladies wayted on her to her cham-
ber, the Duke of Norrifolke goyng on the ryght hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the
lette hande on her grace.

After. ix. of the clocke, the Kyng with a gowne of ryche Tyssue lyned with Crymosyn

Velvet
Velvet embroidered, came to his closet, & she in her here in the same apparel that she was marayed in, came to her. Closet with her Sericant of Armes and all her Officers, lyke a Queene, before her. And so the kyng & she went openly on Procession and offered and dyaed together. And after dyner she changed into a gowne lyke a mannes gowne, of Tysue with longe sleues gyrtle to her, furred with ryche Sables, her narrow sleeves were very costly, but on her head she had a cap as she ware on the saturday before with a cornet of laune, which cap was so ryche of Perle and Stone, that it was judged to be of great valew. And after her fassyon, her Ladies and Gentlewomen were appareled very riche and costly with chaynes of dyuers fassions, and in this apparel she went that nyght to Euesong, and after supped with the Kyng: and after supper were Bankettes, Masks, and dyuers dysportes, till the tyme came that it pleased the Kyng and her to take their rest.

The sonday after were keppe solemnne Lastes, whyche moche pleased the strangiers. On whiche daie she was appareled after the Englishe fassion, with a Frenche whode, whiche so set furth her beautie and good visage, that every creature rejoyd to behold her.

When the erle of Ouerstein, and other lorde and ladys whiche had geuen their attendance on her grace al that iornay, and had beene highly feasted of the kyng & other nobles very stipteously, toke their leave and had great gifts geuen to them, bothe in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leaung beynd them the erle of Waldocke, and dyuere other gentlemen and damoselles, which wer retained with her grace, till she wer better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth daie of February next ensuyng, the kyng and she came to Westminster by water accompanied with many nobles and prelates in Barges, on whom the Maior and his brethren in skarlet, and. xii. of the chief compaignes of the citee all in Barges garnished with Banners, Penons, and targettes, richely couered and replenished with mynstrelsy, gane their attendance, and by the waie all the shippes shot their ordnaunce, and out of the tower was shot a greate peale of Gones, in goodly ordre.

The .xii. daie of February, the Duke of Norffolke was sent in Ambassade to the Frenche kyng, of whom he was well enterteined, and in thende of thesame moneth, he returned again into Engleand.

The. xxiii. daie of February, wer foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euer house of the foure principall Innes of Courte one, where sat the lorde Chauncellor, the lorde Preuie sealde, and. xiii. of the chief of the kynges counsaill, and there the lorde Chauncellor declared, how sir Ihon Sheltō knight, had by the advise of sir Humfrey Browne Knight, the Kynges Seriante, sir Nicholas Hare Knight, the Kynges counsailor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and Willyam Coignesby Esquire, attornay of the Duchie of Lancaster, all byeng his servauntes and of his Fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, anno. xxvii. to the greate hynderaunce of the Kynges prerogatieve, and the true meaneing of thysaid statute, and also to the cuill example of all other, that should defraude the lorde of their seigniories. Wherefore thesaied sir Humfrey Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, wer that daie by the whole Counsaill of the kyng, dismissed of their Offices and service to the kyng, and sent to the tower: and within three daies after was William Coignisby sent thethere, where thei remanaigned ten daies, and after wer delievered: but thei three lost all their offices, that thei had of the kyng.

The first Sondaie in Lent, Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paules crosse, and there intreated of the Gospel of that daie: and in his sermon especially, he touched the article of Instificacio, and so he hantled it, that the third Sondaie in Lent next folowyng, one Doctor Barnes, of whom before you haue heard, reproyned in thesaied pulpit at Paules, the doctrine of thesaied Bishoppe: and beyng vexed with the Bishops Doctrine, he vysed many tauntes against hym, but onely wiche wert was this, that he saied if the Bishoppe and he, wer together in Rome with the Pope, he knewe that great sommes of money could not saue his lyfe, but for the Bishoppe, there was no feare, but that a little intreateunce, should purchase fauour enough for hym: By this he noted the Bishop to
to bee but a Papist, whiche the Bishop so vnquietly tooke, that he complained of Barnes to
the kyng, and there had hym examined, and at the last by the Kynges commandement, he
came to the bishoppes house, where likewise the bishope not ouely examined hym, but also
tooke vpon hym to be his skolemaster, and as moste menne and specially suche, as m suche
knewe and least cause had to lye reported, he prepared the tower for his skole house, and
made suche a rod to beate his skoler, that he beate hym as small as ashes, or he left hym:
although Barnes, with twoo other persone, that is to saie, Itherom and Garret, of whom
in the nexte yere folowinge, ye shall here more, were by the Bishoppes procurement, ap-
pointed in the Easter weke folowingy, to preache at saint Mary Spittle beside London, the
ten solempne sermons in one of the which sermons, that Barnes made, Barnes openly
and before al the people, asked the Bishop forgenenes, for speaking so vnreuerently of him
in his former sermon, and he required the bishop if he forgave hym, in token thereof to
holde vp his hande, whiche like as it was long before he did, so it appered afterwarde to
many, that it was but a counterfeit forgenenes.

The. xii. daie of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Harre restored to the office
of speaker, in the whiche was frely granted, without cõtradiciōs, fourte fiftenes & a Sub-
sedy, of twoo. s. of landes, and. xii. d. of goodes, toward the greate charges of Bulwarkes.
The. xviii. daie of Aprill, at Westminster was Thomas lorde Cromewell created Erle of
Essex, and made greate Chamberlain of England, whiche euer the Erles of Oxenford had,
whiche promocions he enjoyed short tyne, as after in the nexte yere maie appere.

THE. XXXII. YERE.

The first daie of Maié, sir Ihō Dudley, sir Thomas Scimour, sir George Carew, sir
Thomas Ponymes, sir Richard Cromewell, sir Anthony Kyngston knightes, enterprised a
royall Iustes, Tornay, and Barriers, whiche wer in white Veluet barded and based. The
Iustes began the first daie of Maie, the Tornay the third daie, and the Barriers the fifth
which chalenge thei valiaútly performed, against all commers, and also they kept open
houesold at Duresme place, and feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the Lordes. Beside
this, on Tewesdaie in the Rogacion weke, thei feasted all the Knightes and Burgess of the
Cõmon house: and the morowe after thei had the Maior, the Aldermen and all their
wifes to-dinner, and so the Fridaie thei brake vp houesold.

In this Parliament whiche began the. xviii. daie of April, as is afore rehersed, the re-
ligion of saint Ihones in Englande, which of moste me was named the knightes of the
Rhodes, was dissolved, wherof heeryng sir Willyam Weston knight, Prior of saint Ihones,
for thought died on the Assencion daie, beyng the fift daie of Maie.

In this mouethe was sent to the Tower, Doctor Wilson, and docter Sampson bishop of
Chichester, for releyng of certaine traiterous persone, whiche denied the kyngyes supremacie,
& for thesame offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthly
man, and of good estimacon in the citee, committed to the Marshall See, & after in West-
minster hall was arraigned and attainted in the Preumunire, and lost all his goodes.

The. ix. day of Iuly, Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Essex, as before you
haue hard, beyng in the cousaill châber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to
the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but no reioyed, and specially suche, as either
had been religious men, or fauored religious persone, for thei banqueted, and triumphed
togather that night, many wisshing that that daie had been seen yere before, and some
fearying least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be mery. Other
who knewe nothing but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely praised for hym:
But this is true that of certain of the Clergie he was detestably hated, & specially of suche as
had borne swynte, and by his meanes was put from it, for in dede he was a man, that in all
his doynges, semed not to fauor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the snoffyng pride of
of some prelates, whiche undoubtedly whatsoever els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ennde that he was brought vnto: whiche was that the. xix. daie of thesaied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his answer, whiche lawe many reported, he was the causser of the makynge thereof, but the truthe thereof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he die, appereth in the record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here rehearsed, but to conclude he was there attaynted of heresy, and high treason. And the. xxviii. daie of Iuly was brought to the skaffold on the tower hill, where he saied these wordes folowyng.

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my self, as maie happen, some thinke that I will, for if I should so do, I wert a very wretch and miser: I am by the Lawe condomnpt to dye, and thanke my lorde God that hath appoynted me this death, for myne offence: For sithence the tyme that I haue had yeres of discretion, I haue liued a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forguene. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I have been a great truler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithes the tyme I came therunto, I haue offended my prince, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forguene, and beseeche you all to praye to God with me, that he will forguue me. O father forguue me. O sonne forguue me. O holy Ghost forguue me: O thre persons in one God forguue me. And now I praye you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholicke faith, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath slaundered me, and reported that I haue been a bearer, of suche as hath mainteigned euill opinions, whiche is vntrue, but I confess that like as God by his holy spirite, doth instuct vs in the truthe, so the deuill is redy to seduce vs, and I haue been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faith of the holy Churche. And I hartely desire you to praye for the Kynges grace, that he maie long liue with you, in health and prosperitie. And after him that his soone prince Edward, that goodly ympe, maie log reigne ouer you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaingth in this fleshe, I wauer nothyng in my faith. And then made he his prayer, whiche was long, but not so long, as bothe Godly and learned, and after committed his soule, into the handes of God, and so paciently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and Boochery miser, whiche very vngoodly perfourmed the Office.

On saint Peters euyn, was kept the Sericauntes feast at sainct Irones with al plentie of victaille. At which feast wer made ten Sericauntae, three out of Gryyes Iune, and three out of Lyncolnes Iune, and of euery of the Temples twoo. At whiche feast were present, all the lordees and commons of the Parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a greate number of the commons of the citty of London.

The morowe after Midsomer daie, the kyng caused the Quene to remoue to Richemond, purposing it to bee more for her health, open ayre and pleasure: but the sixt daie of Iuly, certaine Lordes came doune into the neither house, whiche expressly declared causes, that the mariage was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the Conuocacion clerely determined, that the kyng might lawfully marie where he would, & so might she: and so were thei clerely deoursed and seperated, and by the Parliament enacted and concluded, that she should bee taken no more as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

In this yere the lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kynges lieuентenaunt in Ireland, practised sondery feates for his profitte, as in deliuerynyng treytnors beeyng hostages, and especially his nephew, Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused suche of the Irishe menne, as he had intelligence with all, to invade suche of the kynges frendes, whiche he faoured not: Wherefore the kyng sent for hym, and he mistrusting and seyng no refuge, wrote to the kynges enemies, to invade thenglishe pale after his departure. And also he kepeth the kynges Treasure, to his awne vse, without retigneuyng sooldiers, acordyng to his commision, whereupon when he came to Londun, he was sent to the Tower.
In July the Prince of Salerne, in the Realme of Naples, and the lorde Lois Denola, came into England to see the kyng, whiche had high chere and greate rewards, and so departed. And after them came Done Fredericke Marques of Padolla, brother to the Duke of Farrar, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Terra Nova, and Mounsire de Flagy, and sixtene other gentlemen, from the Emperours Courre into Englands, to see the Kyng, whiche on the daie of Mary Magdalene, came to the Court to Westminster, and wer highly feasted and well enterteined, and with greate rewards departed.

The twentie and eighth daie of July as you haue heard before in this yere, was the Lorde Cromewell behedded, and with him likewise was behedded the Lorde Hungerford of Heytebury, whiche certainly at the tyne of his death, semed to bee very vnquiet in mynde, and rather in a frenesie then otherwise.

The thirtie daie of July, were drawn on herdelies out of the Tower to Smithfeld, Robert Barnes Doctor in Dianitie, Thomas Garward, and Wylyam Jerome Bacheliers in Dianitie, Powell, Fetherston and Abell. The firste three were drawn to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned; and the latter three drawn to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered. Here ye must note, that the firste three, wer menne that professed the Gospell of Iesu Christ, and were Preachers thereof: But wherefore they were now thus cruelly executed, I knowe not, although I have searched to knowe the truth. But this I finde in their atteindor, for ye muste understaund, that after thei had Preached at saint Mary Spittle, as before I have declared, Barnes for learning his lesson no better was committed to the Skelhouse before prepared, whiche was the Tower, where he was kepe, and never called to examinacion, till his rod that he should bee beaten withall, was made, whiche was a sharp and greate Fire in Smithfeld: and for compaignie sake was sent to the Skelhouse with hym, the fornamed Carret, and Jerome, whiche dronke all of one cuppe. And as I saied before, thus muche I finde in their atteindor, that they were detestable and abominable Heretickes, and that thei had taught many heresies, the number whereof was so great in the atteindor to be recited, so that there is not one alleged, whiche I have often wondered at, that their heresies wer so many, and not one there alleged, as special cause of their deathes. And in deede at their deathes, thei asked the Shirifes, wherfore thei were condemned, who answered, they could not tell: but if I maie saie the truth, moste menne said it was for Preachyng, against the Doctryne of Stephen Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester, who chiefly procured this their death, God and he knoweth, but greate pitie it was, that suche learned menne should so bee cast aweiie, without examinacion, neither knowyng what was laied to their charge, nor never called to answere.

The laste three whiche were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for Treason, and in their atteindor, is especiall mention made of their offences, which was for the denying of the kynges supremacie, and affirmyng that his Marriage with the Lady Katheryne was good: These with other were the treasons, that thei wer attainted of, and suffered death for.

The fourthne daie of August Thomas Epsam, sometyme Monke of Westminster, which had been prisoner for treason, three yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Justices of Gaole delivere at Newgatge, and would not aske the kynges pardon, nor be sworn to be true to him wherefore his Monkes garment, was plucked from his backe, and he repried till the kyng knewe his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last Monke that was seen in his clothying in Englande.

In this moneth were certain Commissioners, sent by the kyng into Ireland to inquire of the lorde Leonard Gray, whiche certeified diverse articles against him, as ye shall here in the nexte yere folowynge.

The eight day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, nece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the lord Edmond Haward, shewed openly as Quene at Hampton Court, whiche dignitie she enjoyed not long, as after ye shall here.
KYNG HENRY THE. VIIJ.

In the latter end of this moneth, was uniuersally through the realme greate death, by reason of newe hote agues and Flices, and some Pestilence, in whiche seanon was suche a drought, that Welles and small Riuers were cleane dried, so that mucche cattell died for lacke of water: and the Thamis was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the Salt water flowed above London bridge, till the raine had encreased the freshe waters.

On the xxii. daie of December, was Rafe Egerton seruannt to the Lorde Audeley, lorde Chauncellor, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfeityng of the kynges greate Seale, in a signet, whiche was never seen, and sealed a greate number of Licenses for Denizens, and one Thomas Harman that wrote them, was executed: for the statute made the last parliament sore bounde the straungiers, which wer not Denizens, which caused theim to affe to Egerton, greate sommes of money, the desire whereof caused hym to practise that whiche brought hym to the ende, that before is declared.

In the ende of this yere, the Frenche Kyng made a strong Castle at Arde, and also a Bridge over into the Englishe pale, whiche bridge the Crewe of Calice did beate doune, and the Frenchmen reedified thesame and the Englishemen set it doune again. And after the kyng of Englaed sent fiftene hundred worke men, to wall and forte of Guynes, and sent with them fiew hundred men of warre, with capitaines to defende them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there wer fiftie thousand Englishemenne, landed at Calice with greate ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche kyng sent in all hast, the Duke of Vadosme, and diverse other capitaines, to the Frontiers of Picardy, to defende thesame. The kyng of Englaed hearyng thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the lorde Russell, his greate Adimirall, into the Marches of Calice, to set an ordre there: and after them sent. L.C. light horsemen, of the borders of Scotlande: whom the Frenchmen called stradiates, whiche lorde when they had set all thynges in a good ordre, shortly returned.

In this yere was burned in Smithfeld, a child named Richard Mekin, this child passed not the age of xv. yeres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speake against the Sacrament of the aultar. This boye was accused to Edmund Boner Bishop of London, who so diligently folowed the accusation, that he first found the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, & after burned him And at the tyme he was brought to the stake he was taught to speake mucche good, of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee, that he shewed hym: and that he defied all heresie, and cursed the tyme that euer he knewe Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that heresie, whiche he died for: the poore boye would for the saugearde of his life, haue gladly said that the twelue Apostles taught hym it, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, suche was his child-ishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and sained, that it was great shame for the Bishop, who thei sained ought rather to haue labored to haue saued his life, then to procure that terrible execucion, seyng that he was suche an ignoraunt soule, as knewe not what the affirming of an heresie was.

You haue hard before in the beginning of this yere, that doctor Wilson, and doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, wer sent into the Tower: who now wer pardoned of the kyng and set again at their libertie.

¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a newe rebellio, with thassent of one Leigh a gentlemæ, and ix. temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & shortly after in diverse places put in execucion, insomuche that on the xvii. daie of Mai, the said Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton wer drawn through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Thom Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Yorke.

On the same daie was Magaret Countesse of Salisbury, whiche had been long prisoner in
in the Tower, beheaded in the Tower, and she was the last of the right lyne and name of Plantagenet.

The ix. daie of Iune, wer Damport and Chapman, twoo of the kynges Garde hanged at Greenwiche by the Friers Wall, for roberies in example of all other.

Duryng this season, the commissioners that before wer sent into Ireland, to inquire of the lord Gray, certified xx. articles of high treason against hym, wherupon he was arreigned & tried by knightes, because he was a lorde of name, but no lorde of the parliamet: howbeit he discharged the Iury, & confessed the inditement, & therupon was judged & after beheaded at the tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly & godly.

In this season was arreigned and condempned three gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at saint Thomas of Waterynges. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the South, arreigned before the lorde Awoedley of Walden, then Channeller of Englande, and that daie high Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the saied Lorde Chauncellour and his Peres, he confessed the Inditement and so had Judgement to bee hanged. And so the twentie and nyne daie of Iune, beeyng Sainct Peters daie at after None, he was led on foote, betwene the two Shirifes of London, from the Tower through the citee to Tyborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his body buried in the churche of saint Sepulchres. The cause of the death of this noble manne and the other gentlemen, was a murder of a symple manne, and an unlawful assemble made in Sussex. Greate moane was made for them al, but moste specially for Mantell, who was as wittie, and as towards a gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a manne able to have doen good service.

This Sommer the Kyng kepte his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lyncolne Shire, where was made to hym an humble submission by the temporaltie, confessyng their offence, and thankyn the kyng for his pardon: and the Toune of Staunforde gaue the Kyng twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fourtie pounde, & Boston fiftie pound that parte whiche is called Lynsey gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Churche of Lyncolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entred into Yorke Shire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same Shire in coates of Veluet, and foure thousande tall yomen, and seruyng men, well horsed: whiche on their knees made a submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the Kyng nyne hundred pounde. And on Barnesdale met the kyng, the Archebishops of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the kyng sixe hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yorke, Newe Castle and Hull, and eche of theim gaue to the Kyng an hundred pounde. When the Kyng had been at Yorke twelue daies, he came to Hull, and deceus there certain fortificacions, and passed over the water of Humber, and so through Lyncolne Shire, and at Halontide came to Hampton Court.

At this tyne the Quene late before maried to the kyng called Quene Katheryne, was accens to the Kyng of dissolute liuyng, before her mariage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knewe it. And sithe her Mariage, she was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, which was brought to her Chamber at Lyncolne, in August laste, in the Progresse tyne, by the Lady of Rocheforde, and were there together alone, from a leuen of the Clocke at Nighte, till foure of the Clocke in the Monnyng, and to hym she gaue a Clave, and a riche Cap. Vpon this the kyng removed to London and she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet servd as Quene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, thei were put to death at Tyborne, the tenth daie of December. And the twentie and two daie of the same monethe, were arreigned at Westminster, the Lorde Wyllyam Hawarde and his wife, whiche lorde Wyllyam was Vncl to the Quene, Katheryne Tilney which was of counsaill of her hauyng to doe with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwoule, the Quenes women, and Walgraue, and Wyllyam Asby, and Damport gentle menne, and seruantes to the olde Duches of Norfolkke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indit of misprision, for counsaileyng the euill demeanor of the Quene, to the slander of the Kyng, and his sucession: all thei confessed it and had Judget.
ment to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes, and the profite of their ladys, during their lifes: howbeit shortly after, diuerse of them were deliuered by the kynges Pardon. The sixtene daie of January the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the kyng certain petitions. First, that he would not vexe himself, with the Quenes offence, and that she and the lady Rocheford, might be attainted by Parliament.

Also, because of protractyng of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his vaquietnes, that he would vnder his greate Scale, geue his royall assent, without taryng the ende of the Parliament.

Also, that Diram and Culpeper, before attainted by the common law might also be attainted by Parliament.

Also, that Agnes Duches of Norfoyle, and Katheryn Countesse of Brigewater her daughter, which were for counsailyng the saied offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the lorde William and other, arreigned of the same, might be likewise attainted.

Also that whosoever had spoken or done any act, in the detestacion of her abominable liuyng should be pardoned.

To the whiche petitions the kyng graunted, saiyng, that he thanked the Commons, that thei tooke his sorowe to bee theirs. Whereupon the Quene and the Lady Rocheforde, were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saturdaye being the leuenthe daie of February, the Kyng sent his royall assent, by his greate Scale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called vp, and there the aete redde, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daie, these two Ladies were behedded on the Grene, within the Tower, with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt.

At this Parliament the Kyng was Proclaymed kyng of Irelande, whiche name his predecessors never had, but wer alwaies called lordes of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet viscount lisle bastard to Kyng Edward the fourth, in the Tower of London vnattainted, when he should have been deliuered and put at his liberty. And the twelve daye of the saied moneth, sir Ithon Dudley sonne and heire to the saied Lord Lisle's wife was at Westmynster created Viscount Lisle.

The Parliament sittynge, in Lent one George Ferreys Bourgeois for the toune of Plymouth, was arrested in London upon a condemnapcion, at the suite of one White. Whereupon the Seriaunt at armes, of the Common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredestrete to fetche hym: but the Clerkes would not deliuer hym, wherfore the Seriaunt and his manne, would have brought him awaie perforce. Diuere of the Shirifes officiers there present, withstood the Seriaunte, so that they fell to quarrelling, and the Seriuntes man was sore hurte. After the Fraie ended, the Shirifes of London whose names wer Rowland Hill, and Henry Skeelye came to the Counter, and first denied the deliuerie of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered hym. But this matter was so taken in the Common house, that the Shirifes and the Clerke, and five Officiers, and the partie plaintiff, were sent to the tower, and there laye twoo daies, and were deliuered again by the Speaker and Common house.

Although I have not vsed muche to declare of priuat thynges doen, in other forren Realmes, yet will I now tell of one because the thyng was so reported to me, and the matter it self so writte and deliuered me that I must nedes judge it to be a truthe, and the like in all this woorke is not expressed, therefore I purposed woorde by woorde, as it was written vnto me, here to expresse it. The matter is of a certein Gentelman in Scotlande, who for contemning of the Bishop of Romes usurped authoritie, and for praising and commendyng the affaires and procedinges of Engleand and reproposing the naughty life of the Scottishe Clergie, was as an hereticke accused and convented before diuerse of theim, as after maie appere, there to make answer to suche Articles as should bee objected against hym. He knowyng their accustomed fauor, fled from theim into Engleand. Against whom after he was gone, they
they proceeded in suche sort, as by this that foloweth whiche is the true copie of the processe maie appere.

Sir Ihon Borthwike, commonly called Capitain Borthwike, accused, suspected, defamed and conuicted by witnesses, whiche were men of suche honestie, against whom could none exception bee taken the yere of our lorde a thousande fuen hundred and fourtie, the xxviii. day of May in the Abbay of sainct Androwes, in the presence of the moste worshipfull fathers in Christ, Gawyn Archebisphe of Glasgwe, Chauncellor of Scotlande, William of Aberdowyn, Henry Bishopp of Galloway and of the kynges Chapell of Sterlyng, Ihon Bishopp of Brecth. William bishop of Dunblan: Andrew Abbot of Melros, George Abbot of Dumfermelyng, Ihon Abbot of Passay, Ihon Abbot Lundros, Robert Abbot of Kylos, and Willyam Abbot of Culros: Malcolme Prior of Whitytern, and Ihon Prior of Pettywerin, Master Alexander Balfour Vicar of Kylmane, and Rector of the Viniversitie of sainct Androwes. And afore the cunnyng Masters, Master Ihon Mair, and Master Peter Chapilain Professors, and doctors of Diuinitie, Master Marten Balfour, Bachelor of Diuinitie, and of the lawe, and Official principall of sainct Androwes, Ihon Wyrem Supprior, Ihon Wannand, and Thomas Cunynghā, Chanones of the Abbay of sainct Androwes, Ihon Thomson with his felowe, Prior of the blakke Friers of sainct Androwes, Ihon Tullidaff Wardein of the Grey Friers, of S. Androwes, & Ihon Paterson, vicar of the same cownt. And also before the noble mightie & right worshipfull lorde, George erle of Huntley, James erle of Arrain, Willyam erle Marshall, William erle of Montrosse, Malcolme lorde Flemmyng, Chamberlain of Scotlande, Ihon lorde Lindesay, Ihon lorde Erskyn, George lorde Seiton, Hugh lorde Symeruall, sir Iames Hamilton of Finnart, & Walter lorde of s. Ihones of Torphicen knyghtes, master Iames Fowles of Colynton clerke of the Register, to our moste soveraigne Lorde the Kyng and many and diuere and sondery other lorde, barons, and honest persones required to be witnesses in the premisses, doth affirme that he hath holde these errors folowyng, openly taught them, and instructed them, that is to saie.

1. First, that our moste holiest lorde the Pope, the Vicar of Iesu Christ, cannot haue nor exercise, any more authoritie emongest christians, then any other bishop or priest.
2. Secondly, that indulgencies and Pardons, graunted by our moste holiest lord the Pope, is of no value strengthe and efficacie, but vterly to the abusion of the people, and the deceiuyng of our soules.
3. Thirdly, he said that the Pope was a Simoniack, euer sellyng gyftes, and that all priestes might marie.
4. Fourthly, that all Englishe heresies (as thei are called) or at the least, the greater and better part obseryed by Englishemen, hath been and is good, and to be obseryed by christen men, as true and consonant to the law of God: in so muche he perswaved very many people to accept the same.
5. Fiftily, that the people of Scotlande, & the clergie therof hath been and is vterly executed and blinded, by affirmacio that thei had not the true catholike faith, affirmynge and opely saiyng, that his faith was of more value & better, then all the Ecclesiasticalles, of the realme of Scotland.
6. Item, likewise accordyng vnto tholde opinions of Ihō Wicliif and Hus, heresiarhes and Master heretikes, condemned in the counsil of Constantine, he hath affirmed and farther declared, that Ecclesiastical persons, should not possesse, haue nor enjoye, any temporall possessions neither exercise iurisdiction, or any kind of auctoritie, in temporall matters neither uppon their owne subiectes, but that all should vterly bee taken awaye from them, as it is in these daies in Englande.
7. Item, he hath saied, holden and affirmed falsely, and contrary to the honor state and reuerence, of our sacred kynges maestie of Scotlande that our kynges maestie of Scotland, the moste clerest defender of the Christian faith, would contrary to the lawe and libertie of the holy churche, vendicat and chalenge vnto his priuat vses, all ecclesiastical possessions, landes,
landes, and yerely rentes, geuen by his fore fathers, and also by hymself, and to inforse this matter he hath also by writyng perswaded our moste noble kyng, with all his endeuer.

Item, he hath willed and sought and many times hath desired hartely, that the Churche of Scotlande should come, and be brouthe to thesame poynpt and ende, and to suche like fall, as the Churche of England is nowe come to in deede.

Item, he hath saied, affirmed, and taught openly the Cannon lawes and the Decrees of our holy fathers, approved by the Catholike and apostolike Churche, is of no valewe nor strength, bryngynge in and affirmyng the same, for to be made and set furth, contrary to the lawe of God.

Itc, he hath saied holden & affirmed, many waies of no religion should be kept, but that should be abolished and destroyed, and to bee as it is now destroyed in Engleande, and vili-pendying all holy Religion, affirmyng it to bee an abusion of the people, whose clothynge sheweth manifestly, to be deformed mœsters, hauynge no vtilitie or holines, bryngynge in by this and perswadynge, as muche as in hym lay, all adherentes of his opinion, that all the religion in this realme of Scotlande, should be destroyed and ytterly taken awaie to the moste greatest losse of the Catholike Churche, and to the deminishynge of Christen religion.

Item, it is plainly knowne by lawfull probacies, that the same Iho Borthwike, hath had and actually hath, diverse boke suspext of heresie damped, as well by the Papall, as by the Regall and ordinary authorities forbidden (that is to saie) firste of all the newe testamant in Englishe, printed in Englande,Occolampadius, Melancthon, & divers tractes of Erasmus, and other cœdempned heretickes, and also the boke of Vnio Discidentium, conteinyng moste manifest errors, and that he hath red, studied, and communicaed, and presented the same to other men, aswell openly as priuatly, and that he hath instructed and taughte, very many Christians in the same, to the effect, to tune them from the very true and Catholike faythe.

Item, it is openly knowne, the same Iho Borthwike, to be so stubborne in all these fore-said errors and heresies, and to haue susteyned and taughte the same, with suche an indurate mynde, so that he would not deknye by no maner of meanes frô the same, for diverse of his frendes, and persons whiche loued hym, and would haue had hym convert, to the catholike faythe, neither would he be consent to them in any wise, but rather vnnoucably persist in his errors.

For the whiche said articles, and many other errors holden, saied, publicated and taught by hym and (as the common voyce is) whiche he stilled holdeth and teacheth, the forsaid Iho Borthwike to bee taken, holden and compted as an heretike, and a Master heretike, and as a very euil iudger of the Holy faythe.

Therefore we Dauid of the title of sainct Stephen in the mount Celo of the holy churche of Rome priest Cardinal, archbishop of sainct Andrewes, Primate of this whole realme of Scotlande and of the Apostolike seate Legate create, sittynge in our seate of justice in nature of Judges, the holy Evangelistes of God set afore vs, that our judgements proceeded frô the sight of God, and our eyes must loke to equitie, hauynge onely God and the Catholike faythe afore our eyes, the name of God being called vpon and folowing the counsel aswell of the deuines as lawyers, this foresayd Iho Borthwike called captain Borthwike condemned of the foresayd heresies, accused, suspected and infamous by lawfull probacies had and brought against hym in all frô foresayd, convicted, cited, called and not appereyng but absennynge hym selfe like a runaway: Therafore let vs thynke, pronunce and declare hym to be convicted and to be punished worse then an heretike, And further more all his mouables and vnmouables by whatsoeuer title they be gotten and in whatsoeuer parties they lye, they to be geuen to the secular power. And all offices had by dower or by his wife to be confiscat & spent to the use and custome of the law. Also we do declare by these presentes the image of the foresayd Iho to be made to the likenes of hym, and to be brought into the metropolitan Churche of sainct Andrewes & after that to market crosse of the citie, there to be brent as a signe and a memorial of his condemnynge to the example and feare of all other. Lykewise we do declare that if thesame Iho be taken within our libertes
ties to be punished accordyng to the lawe of heretikes. Also we warne all true beleuers in Christ of whatsoever state & condicion they be, that they frô this day do not receive or admit ito their houses, têtes, villages or tounes Ihon Borthwike to eat or to drynyke or to pre-
ferrer any kynd of humanitie in paine of suche like punishment: Further, if there be any founde culpable in these foresaid that they shalbe accused as factours and maintayners of heretiques, and they shalbe punished accordyng to the law. This sentence red and made and put in writyng in the Metropolitan Churche of saint Andrewes we sittyn in our Tribunals seate, the yere of our Lorde 1540. the. xxviii. day of Maye drawn out of the Re-
gester made against heretikes and agreyng with the sentence of Ihon: Borthwike.

THE. XXXIII. YERE OF

IN this yere James erle of Desmôd came to the kyng and was honorably entertained & wel rewarded. And in Septembre the great Onele came to the kyng to Grenewyche, where he and a capitaine of the North partes of Ireland called Magannyse and the bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serve the kyng and his heyres truely: whiche submission by the kyng considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Grenewyche thesayd sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his lineage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron and gaue him a great chayne, and made Magannysse and his cosyn knyghtes and gaue them both chaynes, & he gaue to the lorde Mathias sonne to the erle, the Barony of Duncan.

At this season the kynges Maiestie prepared for warre into Scotlande, the cause why this warre was made is most manifestly declared by that whiche foloweth, which the kynges Ma-
iestie published by this title, _A declaration conteignyng the just causes and considera-
cions of this present warre with the Scottes:_ wherin also appeareth the true and right title that the kynges moste royal maestie hath to his souvereignty of Scotland. And it beginneth thus.

BEYNG now enforced to the warre, whiche we have always hitherto so muche abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and nephieu the kyng of Scottes, one, who abowe all other, for our manyfolde benefites towards him, hath moste just cause to loun vs, to honor vs, and to rejoyce in our quietnes: We have thought good to notify vnto the world his doynges and behaviour in the prouocacion of this warre, and likewise the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to excuche and aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, whereby we be now pro-
uked to prosecute thesame, & by vteranace and duluyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inwarde displeasure and grieve, and the circumstaunces known, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelitie of this tyme, in whiche thinges of suche enormitie do brest out and appeare.

The kyng of Scottes our Nepheu and neighbour, whom we in his youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the great daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power coduced him safely to the reali possession of his estate, he nove compelleth and forketh vs for preseruacion of our honor and right, to vse our puissanç & power against him. The like vnkindnes hath been heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Goddes lawe, manses lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftener it chaungeth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persones of princes for the raritie of theim can so happen but seldone, as it hath nowe come to passe.

It hath been very rarely and seldome seen before, that a kyng of Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of England: We can not, ne will not reprehend the kyng our fathers act therein, but lament and be sory it toke no better effect. The kyng our father in that matter minded loun, amitie, and perpetual frindship betwene the postery of both, which how soone it fayled, the death of the kyng of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his
iniust invasion into this our realme, is & shalbe a perpetual testimony to their reproche for
cuer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkynynesse of the father extynguyshe in
vs the natural loue of our Nephiue his sonne, beynge then in the miserable age of tender
youth: but we than forgetting y displesure that should have worthyly prouoked vs to in-
uade that realme, norished and brought vp our Nephiue to achieue his fathers possession and
governement, wherein he nowe so vnkynyly seth and behaueth him towardes vs, as he com-
pelleth vs to take armoure and warre against him.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, & by what means we be compelled to
this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieue and displesure, that vnder a colour of
fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in deade so inured, cõtempned and dispised, as
we ought not with sufferance to pretermite and passe ouer. Woordes, wrytynges, letters,
messages, ambassiates, excuses, allegacios, could not more pleasautntly, more gentyly, ne more
reuerently be devised and sent, then hath been made on kyng of Scottes behalfe vnto vs,
and euers we trusted the tree would bryng forth good fruite, that was of the one partie of so
good a stoveke, & continually in apperance put forth so fayre buddes: and therefore would
hardely beleue or geue care to other, that euers alleged the dedes of the contrary, beynge
neverthelesse thesame dedes so manyest, as we must nedes have regarded them, had we
not been so lothe to thynke euill of our Nephiue, whom we had so many wayes bound to
be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therefore haung a message sent vnto vs the yere past
from our sayd Nephiue, and a promise made for the repaireing of thesayd kyng of Scottes
vnto vpon Yorke, & after great preparacion on our part made therfore, thesame meteyng was
not onely disappointed, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an invasion
made by oure sayd Nephiue his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt
and dispite of vs: We were yet glad to inpute the defaute of the meteyng to the adviue of his
counsile, and the invasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: and accordyng thereto gaue
as benigne & gentle audience to suche ambassadors, as repaired hither at Christmas after-
warde, as if no suche causes of displesure had occurred, specially consideryng the good
woordes, sweeth wordes, pleasant wordes, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadors,
not onely to excuse that was past, but also to persaude kyndnes and perfite amitie to ensue.
And albeit the kyng of Scottes haung contrary to the article of the league of amitie,
receiued and enteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the
insurreccion in the North against vs with refusal before tyme, vpon request made to restore
thesame: yet nevertheless vpon offer made thesayd ambassadors, to sende comission to the
bordures, to determine the debates of the confinies in thesame, with so great a pre-
tence of amitie and so fayre wordes, as could be in speche the desired: we were content
for the tyme to forbearre to prese them ouer extremely in the case of rebelles. Albeit we
never remitted thesame, but desyreous to make triall of our sayd Nephiue in some corres-
pondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whiche
to our great charge we did, and the kyng of Scottes our sayd Nephiue the semblable.
Where after great travaile made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that beyng for
our part challenged a piece of our grounde, plainly vsurped by the Scottes, and of no
great value, beyng also for thesame showed suche evidence, as more substancial, more au-
tentique, more plaun & euident, can not be brought furth for any part of grounde within our
realme. The same was nevertheless by theim denied, refused, and the evidence onely for this
cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo
auncient, as it could not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytle, and
of so small wayte, as no manne would have attempted to falsifie for suche a matter. And
yet this denial beyng in this wyse made vnto our commissioners, they nevertheless by our
comandement departed as frendes fro the commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath
been accustomed for good rule vpon the borders in the meanye tyme.

After whiche their recess, the lorde Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scotlaed,
made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therwith, y the borderers of Scotland should
withdrawe.
withdrew their goods from the borderers of England: And incontinent after the Scottishe men borderers, the fowrth of July, entred into our realme sodainly, & spoyled our subiectes, contrarye to our leagues, euin after suche extremitie, as it had been in tyme of open warre. Wherat we muche meruailed, and were compelleth therefore to furnishe our border with a garison for defence of thesame. Whereupon the kyng of Scottes sent vnto vs Iames Leyrmouth, Master of his household, with letters deuised in the moste pleasant maner, offeryng redresse and reformacion of all atteintes. And yet neuerthelesse at the entry of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great nombre of the Scottes, than not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiectes, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith and with that vnsemely dissimulacion, we were not a little moused, as reason we would should. And yet did we not finallly so extremely persecute and côteinue our sayd displeasure, but that we gane benigne audience to thesayd Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his woordes and fayre promises, tending to the persuasion that we euer desired, to fynde the kyng of Scottes suche a Nephiu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, with our gratutie vnto him did require.

In the meane tyme of these fayre wordes, 5 dedes of the borders were as extreme as might be, and our subiectes spoyled: and in a roade made by sir Robert Bowes for a revenge therof, thesame sir Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, & yet determed in Scotland, without putting them to fynce and raumsome, as hath be euer accustomed. And beyng at the same tyme a surceaine made on both sides at the suite of thesayd Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceassed not to make sundry invasion into our realme in such wise, as we were compelleth to forget fayre woordes and onely to consider the kyng of Scottes dedes, whiche appered vnto vs of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defeece of our subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed over vnreformed: and therfore put in a readynesse our armie, as a due meane wherby we might attaigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subiectes we be bound to procure.

After whiche preparacion made, and knowlege had therof, the kyng of Scottes ceassed not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre woordes, whiche in our naturall inclinacion wrought eftsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the kyng of Scottes suche a regard and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondence of naturall louse in the Nephiu to suche an Vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towards him doth require. Wherfore vpô newe request and suite made vnto vs we determined to staye our armie at Yorke, appointyng the duke of Norfolke our Lieuentanunt, the lorde Privyseale, the bishop of Dureham, and the Master of our horses, there to commen, treate and conclude with the Ambassadors of Scotland, for an amitiie and peace vpon suche condicions, as by reason & equitie were indifferent, wherby the warre might be excused, beyng by sundry invasion of the Scottes then open and manyfest.

In this communicacion betwene our and theuy commissioners, after dyuers degrees of comissions, shewed by the Scottes, and finallly one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers wer proponed for còlusion of amitiie, nothyng dificile or hard on our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland sayd, they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe, that the kyng of Scottes our Nephiu might haue a metyng with us, all matters should easily be componed and determined. Whereupon they left speakingy of any articles of amitiie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much outward joy in communicacion of metyng, they shewed theimselfe in wordes, facion & behaungh muche to delight in it, to reioyce in it, & therewith thought it easy and facile to be còluded and accomplished, and for their part they toe it then for a thyng passed, a thyng concluded, and moste certain to take effect, and onely desired vi. dayes to obteigne answers from their Master, and our armie for that tyme to stay and go no further: Whervnto our comissions then agreed.

After these vi. dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a metyng precisely at suche a place, as they knewe well we would not, ne could not in wyn-
ter observe and kepe, wherwith when our commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to tempre the matter, whereby to wyne more tyme, shewed forth their instruccions, wherin libertie was geuen to the ambassadors to exceede their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other: by our commissioners thought conuenient, whiche mater of proceodyng, when our commissioners refused, allegyng that they would not conclude a metying with men, hauing no commission thervnto: the ambassadors of Scotland vpon pretence to send, for a more ample and large commission agreeable to their instruccions for appointment of the place, obtained a delay of other vi. dayes, to send for thesayd ample commission without restraint of place. And after those vi. dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good foure, and without exception: But therewith they shewed also newe instruccions, coteinyng suche a restringe as the former commisyon did conteine, so as the libertie geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last remoued and taken away by the instruccions, with addicion of a special charge to the Ambassadors not to exceed thesame.

And thus first the Ambassadors of Scotlad semed to haue wyll and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, whiche for want of commissioun they might not do, & at the last might haue concluded a metying by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the commouenement in their secoud instruccions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instruccions partly to excuse their kyng, who should seme secretly to wyll more than in the commission he did openly profess.

And than with an ample commission frō the kyng, they shewed their secrente instruccions for defence of theinselde, why they proceded not according to their commission, not caryng how muche they charged therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to discharge theinselde, trustyng that by benefite of the Wynter approcychyng, and the tyme lost in their communicacion their Master should be defende against our power for this yere, without doyng for their part that by honor, right, lawe, & leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane tyme our subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland could not be delivered vpon any raisone contray to all custome and vsage of the borders in the tyme of peace and warre, and in this meane tyme stayed a great part of our armie alreadie prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this tyme Ambassadors (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an anitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of anitie was put ouer by communicacon of a metying.

The communicacion of metying was so handled by alteracion of commission and instruccions on their behalfe, as it appereth a plaine deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whiche hath geuen vs light, wherevpon more certainly to judge the kyng of Scottes inwarde affeccon towardes vs, whose dedes and woordes well wayced and considered, doeth vs plainly to understannde, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and pleasant woordes, and to satisfy the appetites of other at home and abrode with his wylkynde and displaensen dedes. In his wordes he professeth an insoluble anitie, he allegeth kyngred, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in dedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegacion of iustice, as we be enforced and compelle to vs the sworde, whiche God hath put in our hand as an extreme remedye, whereby to obteigne both quietnes for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leagues.

We have paciely suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparacion at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffre our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedye: This is done by the Scottes whatsoever their woordes be. Should we suffer our rebelles to be deteigned contrary to the leagues without remedye: This is also done by them whatsoever their woordes be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped contrary to our most plaine evidence, onely vpon a wille, pryde, and arrogancie of the other partie: This is done by thē whatsoever their woordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done against vs, & geue suche significaciō of their arrogācie, as it is neces-

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sary for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest thei should gather further courage to greater displeasure of vs & our posterietie hereafter. And yet in ¥ intreating of this matter, if we had not evidently perceived the lacke of suche affecction as proximite of bloud should require, we would much rather have remitted these injuries in respect of proximite of bloud to our Nephieu, than we did heretofore ¥ invasion of his father. But considerynge we be so surely asceretained of ¥ lacke thereof, & that our bloud is there frome ¥ the colde ayre of Scotland, ther was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vnjust behauor, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth himselfe not to be moued therwith, ne to haue suche earnest regardes to the observation to his pactes and leagues, ne suche respect to the intertainement of the administracion of iustice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and coseruacion of amitie doeth require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vs nowe our force and puissance against him, not for renenge of our private displeasure (beying so often deluded as we haue been) but for recovery of our right, the preseruacion of our subjectes fro injuries, & the observation of suche leagues as haue passed betweene vs, firmly truyng, that almighty God vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and ayde our just procedynge herein to the furtherance and aduatione of the right, whiche we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falsehead, deceipte and dissimulation.

Hitherto it appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of any demande of our right of superiouritie, whiche the kyng of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged by homage and fealtie to our progenitours even from the beginnyng: But this warre hath beene prouoked & occasioned vpó present matter of displeasure, present injury, present wrong ministred by the Nephieu to the Vnkle moste vnaturall, and supported cotryary to the deseretes of our benefites moste vnkyndly. If we had mynded the possession of Scotland, & by the mocion of warre to attaine thesame, there was neuer kyng of this realme had more oportunitie in the minoritie of our nephieu. Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more lust title, more euyent title, more certain title, to any realme that he can clayne, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of marriage, not imagined by couenaunt, or contained by inunciation of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that astate estabished by our progenitors, and recognised successively of the kynges of Scotland by dedes, woordes, actes and wrytnge continually almost without interrupcion, or at the leest intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor Henry the vi. in whose tyme the Scottes abused the ciuile warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnes, in omitting of their duitie: whiche for ¥ proximite of bloud betwene vs, we have been slacke to require of them, beynge also of our selue inclined to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without prejudice to omitt to demande our right, if it might coserue peace, than by demandyng therof to be seen to moue warre, specially against our neighbor, against our Nephieu, against him, whom we have preserued from daungier, and in suche a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the moré able to resist the comon enemy the Turke.

But for whatsoeuer consideracions we have omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuerthelesse true, that ¥ kynges of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kynges of England superior lordes of the realme of Scotland, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appeareth fyrst by history, written by suche as for confirmancon of the truthe in memory, haue truely noted and signifiied thesame. Secondly it appeareth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scottes, and divers notable personages of Scottland, at divers and sundry tymes sealed with their seales, & remayning in our treasury. Thirdly it appeareth by Regysters and Recordes judicailly and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confirmancon of the same. So as the matter of title beynge moste plaine, is furnished also with all maner of evidences for declaracion therof.

Fyrst as concernyng histories, whiche be called witnesses of tymes, the light of truthe,
KYNG: HENRY THE. VIIJ.

and the life of memory, & finally the convenient way and meane, whereby thynges of antiquitie may be brought to mennes knowlege, they shewe as plainly this matter as could be wyshed or required, with suche a consent of writers, as could not so agree vpon an vnutruth, conteignyng declaration of suche matter as hath moste euident probabilitie & apparaunce. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administracion of iustice amongst rude people, two or mo of one estate might be rulers in one countreie vnto as this Isle is: so is it probable and likely, that in the beginnymge it was so ordred for auoydyng discencion, that there should be one superior in right, of whom the sayd estates should depend. Accordyng wherunto we rede how Brute, of whom the realme than called Brytain tooke fy rst that name (beuyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyauntes, people without or der or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, & determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Oceean sea to be after governed by theim thre, appointed Alba-nact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: vnto whō as beuyng the elder sonne, the other two brothers shou ld do homage recognisynge and knowlegyng him as their superior. Now consider if Brutus coquered all this Iland, as the history sayeth he did, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superiortie as afore: how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginnyng, a more iust beginnyng, a more conuenient beginnyng for the order of this Iland, at that tymespecially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continual strife and varraunce côteine two or thre rulers in all pointes equal without any maner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of whiche superiortie should in some part dül and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fy rst division of this Isle we fynde it written after this sort without cause of suspencion why they should write amysse. And accordyng herevnto we fynde also in history set forth by diuers, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessours haue chastised the kynges of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctly to commit to writyng, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other diligently enserching, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes adioynynge, ouer and besydes that whiche he writeth of the nature, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so lyst to rede, shall fynde to haue been the very same in tymes past, that we fynde theim now at this present, he calleth Scotland part of England, whiche is agreeable to the division aforesayd, beuyng in deede as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnto thesames, as by particular declarations shal most manifestly appere by the testimony of suche as haue left writyng for profe and confirmacion thereof. In whiche matter passyng over the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dunwald kyng of this realme, the denision of Belin and Brene, the victories of kyng Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of oure Lorde Dcccclxxv. kyng Edgar our pre-

Edward the first before the conquest, some to Alured kyng of England had vnder his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scottes. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writyng that story in those dayes, grammeth, confesseth, and testifis thesames, and this dominion continued in that state xxiii. yere: At which tymes Athelstaine succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauyng by bataile conquered Scotland, he made one Constantyne kyng of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrey of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely worde, That it was more honor to him to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

Xxii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde, Dcccclxxvii. Eldred kyng our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Irise then kyng of Scottes.

Xx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde Dccclxxvii. kyng Edgar our pre-
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deessor toke homage of Kinald kyng of Scottes. Here was a hitte trouble in England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martyr, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

Xl. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to Kyng Edgare, that is to say in the yere of our lorde M. xvii. Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vittered some piece of their natural disposition, whereupon by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord M. lvi. Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland given to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitor saint Edward: vnto whom the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within xi. yeres after that William Conqueror entred this realme whereof he accompted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therfore in the sayd yere, which was in the yere of our Lorde M.lxviii. the sayd Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to the sayd Wyllyam Conqueror, as his superior by conquest kyng of England.

XXV. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord M.xciiii. the sayd Malcolme did homage and fealtie to Wylyam Rufus, sonne to the sayd Wylyam Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise fayled of his dutie, and therfore was ordained in that estate by the sayd Wylyam Rufus, Edgare brother to the last Malcolme, & sonne to the fyrst, who did his homage and fealtie accoridngly.

Seuen yeres after that, vchich was in the yere of our Lorde M.c. the sayd Edgar kyng of Scottes, did homage to Henry the fyrst, our progenitour.

XXXVII. yere after that Dauid kyng of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Empartrice, as daughter and heyre to Hery the first. Wherfore byeng after required by Stephyn, then obteigning possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayd Matilde, and thervpon forbare. After whiche Dauids death, whiche ensued shortly after, the soone of the sayd Dauid made homage to the sayd kyng Stephyn.

XIII. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde, M.CI. Wylyam kyng of Scottes, & Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a rescuerion of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

XXV. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde, M.CIxxv. Wylyam kyng of Scotland, after muche rebellion and resitance, accordingly to their natural inclination, kyng Henry thees econde, than byeng in Normandy, Wylya then kyng of Scottes knowledged finally his errour, and made his peace and composicion, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotlantde, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeres after that, which was § yere of our lord M.CIxxxx. the sayd Wylya kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Caunterbury, & there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the fyrst.

XIII. yeres after that, the sayd Wylyam did homage to our progenitor kyng Ilon, vpon a hyll besides Lyncolne, makyng his othc vpô the crosse of Hubybert then archebishop of Caunterbury, beying there present a meruailous multitude assembled for that purpose.

XXVI. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lord M.CCxvi. Alexander kyng of Scottes marayed Margarete, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at whiche tyme § sayd Alexander did his homage to our sayd progenitor: who reigned in this realme, livi. yeres. And therfore betwene the homage made by the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to § sayd kyng of Scottes, to Edward the first at his coronacion at Westminster, there was about fifti yeres at whiche tyme the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes repayred to the sayd feast of coronacion, and there did his dutie as is aforesayd.

Within xxviii. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde M.CClxxvii. Ilon Baliol kyng
kyng of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the sayd kyng Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruse to usurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedicion therefore, against them of the house of Baliol, which made for a season some interrupcion in the said homage: but yet no intermission without the terms of memory. For within xliii. yeares after, which was the yere of our lorde, M. CCCxxvi. Edward Baliol, after a great victory had in Scotland against the other factio, & enjoying the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third.

And xx. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Iorlde M. CCCxlvi. David Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did nevertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the third.

Within ix. yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre against them: where after great victories. Edwarde Balliol hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendred clerely thesame to our sayd progenitor at the toune of Rokysbrough in Scotlande: where our sayd progenitor accepted thesame, and then caused himselfe to be crowned kyng of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteigned it, and enjoyed it, as very proprietarie and owne of the realme, as on thone partie by confiscacion acquired, & on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitor Edward the third, beganne sedicions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyume of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteracion of the state of thesayd Richard, and the deuolution of thesame, to Henry the fowerth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed maner. And yet Henry the v. for recovery of his right in France, commandred the kyng of Scottes to attende vpoun hym in that journer. And in this tyme the realme of Scotland byeng descended to the house of the Stewarde, of whiche our Nephieu directly commeth, James Stewarde kyng of Scottes in the yere of oure Lorde M. CCCxxiii. made homage to Henry the vi. at Wyndsoe. Whiche homage was distant from the tyume of the other homage made by Davyd Bruse lx. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by storye to haue beene made and done at tymes and season as afore, so do the remayne instrumentes made thereupon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotland testifying thesame. And yet doeth it appere by story, how the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasurie dyuers of these instrumentes, whiche neuerthelesse were after recovered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what forme and tenour the sayd instrumentes be, here is inserted the effete in worde and sentence as whiche we do, to mete with the caualacion and contriued evasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue beene made for the Erledome of Huntynge-don, which is as trew as the allegatio of him that is burnt in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sike. And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

"I Ihon. N. kyng of Scottes shall be trew and faithfull vnto you lorde Edward by the grace of God kyng of England, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of thesame kyngdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life & lymme and worldly honour against all men, & faithfully I shall knowelege, and shal do to you servicie due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland aforesaied, as God so helpe and these holy euangelies."

Now for the third parte touching records and registres, wee haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with such circumstauces declaryng the matters, as they be & ought to be a great corroboracion of that hath ben in stories written & reported in this matter. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempe act, and judicial processe of
to his honor & glorye: which he graunte vs to doo, in suche rest, peace and tranquilitie, as shalbe mete and conuenient for vs.

When the Kyng had seteforth the Declaracion of the cause of his war as is aboue men- 
cioned: Then sent he furth the duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accoppaynd with the 
Eres of Shrewsbury, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguys, Rutland, and the 
Lorde of the North parties, and syr Anthony Browne Master of the Kynges horesse, syr 
Thon Gage Comptroller of the Kynges house, and xx. M. men well appoynted, whych en-
tered Scotland the. xxi. day of October, and taryed there, viii. dayes without battell, and 
brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrigge, Styiae, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, 
Skytshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spyttle, the two Merdens, Slederyke, and the two Broxlawes, 
Florys and the Fayre Crofte, Ednem Spyttle, Roxborough, Kelsey & the Abbey, Lang 
Spronstow, Ryden, and Hadenston. And whyle the Duke was at Barneton in Scotlande the. 
iii. day. there came to speke with him half a myle from the Hoste, from the kyng of Scottes, 
the Bisshop of Orkyne and James Leiremouth Maister of the houshould, to entreate peace, 
but they agreed not. And the Armye laye so long in Scotlande, as they might for hongre & 
colde without anye countynance of harme, and so for necessytie returned to Barwycke. 
And all this journey the Standarde of the Erle of Hampton which dyed at New Castell, was 
borne in the forewaire, because he was appoynted Capitayne of the same.

The kyng of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned, reysed an army of. xv. thou-
sand chosen men of all partes of his Realme vnder the gydyng of the Lorde Maxwell War-
deyn of his west Marches, bostaying to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotliad. 
And so on Fridai beyng s. Katheryns euens. thei passed ouer the water of Eske & brent cer-
tayne houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Iacke of 
Musgraue set word to sir Thomas wharton Wardein for the king on the west Marches, to 
come on to succour them: but the sayd. ii. valiaunt Captayns, although the Scottes entered 
fiersly, yet thei manfully and coragiously set on them, with an. C. light horesse, and left a 
stale on the side of a hill where withall the Scottes ver wonderfully dismaide, either thynk-
yng that the duke of Norffolke, had beene come to the west Marches, with his great army: or 
cels thei thought that some greater armie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, com-
myng with. iii. C. men onely. But at that tyme so God ordered it to be, that thei at the 
first brunt fled, and thenglishemen folowed, and there were taken prisoners théirles of Cassel-
les, and Glancarne, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wartein, the lorde Flemmyng, the 
lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphan, the lorde Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere, the kynges minio, 
Ihon Rosso lorde of Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Larde of Greddon, 
the Lorde Maxwellis twoo brethren, Ihon Lesly Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo 
hundred gentlemenne more, and aboue eight hundred common people, in somuche that 
some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and 
foure gones foure cartes with speares and ten paulliós. This was only the handstroke 
of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heauen, for destruccions of Engeland.

The kyng of Scottes tooke a great thought, for this discomfiture, and also because that an 
Englishe Heryauld called Somerset was slaine at Dunbarre, whiche thynge together he tooke 
so vnpatiently that he dyed in a Frenesey. Although many reported that the kyng hymsel 
was at this bickeryng, and there received his deathes wounde and fled therwith into Scotliande. 
But howsoever it was, true it is as is aforesaied he died, and the Quene his wife was deliuered 
of a daughter, on our lady Euen before Christmas. called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesaied 
twentie and foure of the chief of theim, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and 
there were twoo daies. And on sauncet Thomas daie the Apostle before Christmas, they were 
solemnyly conveyed through London to Westminster, where the Kynges counsaill sat, and 
there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to theim their vntruth, vnkyndenes, and false dissima-
clucion, declaryng farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the 
denyng of their homages, and also for their traiterous invasiones without defiaunce, and 
also for kepyng his subiectes prisoners without remedpcion, contrary to the olde Lawes of
the Marches, for whichc doynge, God as they might perceiue had skourged theim: Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to theim kyndenes, for yakyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might have kept theim in straite prison, by iust lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei should haue libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so according to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so enterteigned theim, that thei confessed theimselves, neuer to bee better enterteigned, nor to haue had greater chere.

But after theyr newe gladnes, tidynes came to theim, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wisshed her in Englande, to bee maried to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceiuyng the ouerture nowe to bee made, whiche waie without warre these twoo realmes might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lacking, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on sainct Stephens daie, where thei weer so well enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles, that thei saied, thei neuer sawe kyng but hym, and saied that God was better seryd here, then in their countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any service of God. And thei promised the kyng to doe all that in theim laie with their frendes to performe asame che as he required. Whereupon not without greate rewardes, thei departed towards Scotlend, on Newe Yeres daie, and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Sullfolke, who vpon hostages delivered theim, and so thei entered Scotlend and wer well and gladly welcomd.

Likewise therel of Angus, which was banished Scotlend, and had of the kynges Fee, yerel a thousande marke, and sir George Douglas his brother had fience hundred marke. These wer appoynted into Scotlaid, and restored by the last kynges will and therle of Angus and diuorse of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priuie counsaill of the realme, by the Erle of Arrain, Gouernour of the young Queene, and the realme, as next heire apparaunt: notwithstanding that the Archebishop of Sainct Andrewes and Cardinal, enemie mortall to the Kyng and realme of Englande, for the Bishoppe of Romes auctoritie (and partly set on by the Frenche kyng for the same cause) had forges a will; that the kyng had made hym Gouernour, associate with twoo Erles of his affinitie, bothe of the Realme, and of the young Queene, contrary to the Lawes of Scotlend. Whereupon the saied Erle of Arrain, according to his right, with the helpe of his frendes, tooke vpon hym the rule of Gouernour, and put the saied false Cardinal in prison, and delivered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, according to the custom of the Marches. And so in Marche next folowing, the Scottes beganne their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor open warre, betwene Englande and Fraunce, but Shippes were taken on bothe sides, and Merchante robbed. And at the laste the Merchante goodes on bothe partes were seazed, and likewise the Ambassadors of bothe Realmes were staid: howbeit shortly after the Ambassadors wer deliuered, but yet the Merchante wer robbe, and no warre proclaimed.

In the ende of this yere, came from the Gouernour of Scotlend as Ambassadors, sir William Hambleton, Iames Leyremouth, and the Secretory of Scotlend, whose message was so meanely liked that theye were faine to sende an Herauld into Scotlend, for other Ambassadors, and so bether came the erle of Glancarn, and sir George Douglash and whatsoeuer their answere was, sir George returned in Poste and within twenty daies, came again with an honest answere, but that honestie endured a small tyne.

¶ THE. XXXV. YERE.

IN the beginnynge of this yere on Trinitie Sondaie, was a newe League sworne, betwene the Kyng and the Emperour, at Hampton Courte, to bee frendes to their frendes, and enemies to their enemies.
THE XXXV. YER OF

The thirde daie of June came to the Court, from the Realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Macke Willyam Brough, the Lorde Macke Gilpaticke. And in July the saied Obryn was created Erle of Townon, and Lorde Macke Willyam, was created Erle of Clavrikard, and sir Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebranky, and so with rewards they tooke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Monethe, the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with greate rewards.

At this season the kyng and the Emperoure, sent Garter and Toyson Kynges at Armes, to demaunde certaine thynges of the Frenche Kyng whiche if he did deny then to defie hym, but he would not suffer them to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon the saied demaundes, were shewed to the Ambassadoure at Westminster. And in July the Kyng sent ouer sixe thousande tall menne, whereof was Captaine generall, sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Thomas Seymour Marshall, and Sir Richarde Cromwell Captaine of the horsse menne, whiche assaulted a Toune called Laundersey, vnto the whiche assaulte came the Emperoure in proper person. And shortly after came doune the Frenche Kyng in proper person, with a greate armie, and offered the Emperoure battall, by reason whereof the siege was reysed, and streight the Frenchemenne victayled the Toune, whiche was the onely cause of their commyng. For the nexte daie, the Emperoure beeyng ready, at the houre appoynted to gene battall, and the Frenchemenne made greate shewe, as though thei would have come forwarde, but they delaid of all that Daie, and in the Night they ranne a waie, and trusted some to their Horses, and some to their legges like tall felowes.

In this yere, the Kyng maryed Ladye Katherin par wydow, late wyfe to the Lorde Laty-tymer, at Hampton Court.

In this Monethe were Indited, arreigned and condemnpd at new Wynnse, foure menne that is to saie, Anthony Persone Prieste, Robert Testwood a Synegyn manne, Henry Filmer a Taylor, and Ihon Marbeck a Synegyn manne. All these menne were at one tyne, as is aforesaid, arreigned and condemnpd of Heresie, by force of the sixe Articles. The Heresies, that thei were condemnpd for these as thei are alleged in their Inditementes: Firste, that Anthony Persone should Preache twoo yere before he was arreignd, in a place called Wynkefelle, and there should saie. That like as Christe was hanged betwene two Thefes, even so when the Prieste is at Masse, and hath consecrated, and lifte hym vp ouer his hedde, then he hange th betwene twoo Thefes, excepte he Preache the woord of God truly, as he hath taken vpon hym to do.

Also that he saied to the people in the Pulpet, ye shall not eate the body of Christe, as he did hang vpon the Crosse, gnawyng it with youre teethe, that the bloud ronne about your lippes, but you shall eate it this daie, as ye eate it tomorrow, the nexte daie and every daie, for it refreshe th not the body, but the spirte.

Also after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calyng it the woord of God, saied as foloweth. This is the woord, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

Also, he saied that Christe sittynge with his disciples, tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gue it to his Disciples saiyng. This is my fleshe, take it and eate it: and like wise tooke the Wyne and blessed it, and gue to his Disciples, saiyng, take it and drynde it: This is my bloudde: what is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

Item, Henry Filmer the Taylour arreigned of this Article, that he should saie. That the sacrament of the Aultare is nothing but a similitude and a Ceremony. And also if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Goddes in my life.

Robert Testwoode arreigned of this Article, that he should saie in the tyne that the Prieste was liftynge vp the Sacrament, what, wilte thou lifte hym vp so high, what yet higher, take hede, let hym not fall.

Ihon Marbecke arreigned, for that he had with his awne hande, gathered out of diuere mennes wrytynge, certain thynges that were expressly against bothe the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Aultar.

These
KYNG HENRY THE VIII.

These four persons, were arraigned, condemned, and burned for the articles above said, except Iohn Marbeke, whose honestie and innocencie, purchased hym the Kynges Pardon, the other thrre were burned at Wynesore aforesaid.

Beside these menne, were a greate number of Gentle menne, aswell of the kynges priuie Chamber, as other imdited, by the procurement of one Doctor London, a Prelendary of Wynsore, and one Wyllyam Symones a Vaunt Parler: whiche Gentlemenne made suyte to the Kynges Maiestie, declaryng in what case they stoode. Whereupon Doctor London was examined, and so was the saide Symones, whiche vpon their Othe of allegiance, denied their Trayterous purposes, as after it was proued to their faces. Wherefore they were adjudged as Periured persons, to were Papers in Wynsore, and so thei did, and were after committed to the Flete, where the saide Doctor London died. And here hane I an occasion, because of doctor Londons periury, to tell you bowe he was also the occasyon that another commytted wyffull periury. The matter was that a certayne robbery was commytted in Ox fordina College whereof the said Doctor London was Master, and certain plate by one of the said College was taken away & brought to London to sell, and it was solde to a Goldsmith in London named Wyllyam Calaway. This Goldsmith had before bought suche plate of the partye (which now solde the sayde stolen plate) byeinge a man of credyte, and threfore suspected nothynge. But this matter was so folowed, that the partye that stole it was taken, and so was dyuers accessories. At the last, Doctor London knowyng to whom it was solde, and that the Goldsmith was a man of the Newe Learnynge (as they called hym) were a great othe that he would hang hym or elles it shoulde coste hym fyue hundred pundes: wherevpon he caused also the sayde Goldsmith to be attached as accessaryre, and arraigned hym at the Sessyons holden at Newgate in London: where it was alleged that they ought not by the lawe to enquire of the accessary before the principall: and there for the dispachte of the sayde Goldsmith it was alleged that the principall was hanged, which was nothynge so, for he was set at his libertye and lyueth styll. But to be shorte, the Goldsmith (which undoubtedly is a knowen, tryed and proued honest man and euer was of honeste name and fame) was founde gylyte, and no remedy but he must declare what he coulde say why he should not dye accordance to the lawe; he prayed to have his booke: whiche was answered that he coulde not have it, for he was Bigamus. And now cometh the Periury that I promised to tell you of: His wyfe, which of all persoyns that knoweth her, is certainly knowne to be an honest woman, and fro he byrth had the euer ben of as muche honesty as any woman maye be: And this woman had had two husbands before, which also were honeste men, and she had children by them, and therefore was it alleged against this Goldsmith that he was Bigamus: This good woman perceyuyng that her former mariage shoulde shorten her husbands days, came into the open Courte before the Judges and affirmyn that her other contrary to the truthe, that she was neuer maryed to mo men then to the saide Goldsmith, although she had children by her other husbands and continuued dyuers yeres with them, yet she sworne she was Whore to them bothe and not maryed. And so by defamyng of her selfe, to her great prayse, she delueryed her innocent husband.

In this yere was in London a great death of the Pestilence, and threfore Myghelmas Tearme was adjourned to Saynet Albons, and there was kepte to the ende.

In the weke of Christmas, came to the Kyng to Hampton Courte Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile Prince of Malfeta Duke of Iuano, Capitayne gencrall of the chyaulrye and Army of the Emperor Charles, whiche came to the Kyng to appoynte what tyne the Army and the Empereour shoulde be ready to invade Fraunce, and the appoyntment taken he departed, & had for his reward a C. liii. oozes in golden plate, & iiii. M. iii. oz in gylyte plate, which al was very curiously wrought. And all the tyne that he lay here, he lay at the Kynges cost.

The sonday before Christmas was Lorde Wyllyam Parre, brother to the Queene, which had maryed the Daughter & heyre of Lord Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Courte, created Erle of Essex. And syr Wyllyam Parre, Kyght. yncle to them bothe, was made 5 R 2 Lord
THE. XXXVI. YERE OF

Lord Par of Horton & chaumberleyne to the Queene. And on Newyeres day was Syr Thomas Wriothesley the Kynes Secretary made Lorde Wriothesley of Tychefeld.

Also this yere was open warre proclamed with Fraunce, and licence gien to the Kynges subiectes to seaze vpon the Frenchemen and their goodes as in lyke cases before had ben accustomed.

THE. XXXVI. YERE.

THIS YERE the Kyng sent a gret armie into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertforde Lieutenaunt Generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle hygh Admirall, whiche valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them that the thyrd day of Maie the Lorde Admirall arrayed with all his Fleece which was two hundreth sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyuers of his men and there tooke dyuers vesselles whiche after dyd hynge servyce. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men and marched forwarde, in three great batayles, whereof my Lorde Admyrall led the vaward, the Erle of Shrewesbury the arrerewarde, and the noble Earle of Hertforde beying Lieutenaunt, the battayle. Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the nombre of syxe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the armie. And at the fyrst the Scottes made towards the Englyshmen as though they would haue set on the vaward, but when thei perceived the Englyshmen so willynge to encountre with them, namely the Cardinal who was there present, which percyued the decoction the Englyshmen had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retrecce, and leaung their artillary beynde them fled towards Edinburgh. The fyrst man that fled was the Cardinallyke a valyaunt Champion, and with hym the Gournour, the Erle of Huntley, Morrey and Bothwell, with manye other great men of the Realme. And shortly after the Englishmen mauger al the Scottes might do, entered the towne of Lith wher that night the armie encampd them, & there thei found such richesse as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

The next day the Armie went towards Edinburgh toune, and why thei approached nere, the pronost of the toune accompanied with one or two Burgesses, and two or three officers at armes desired to speake with the kynges liutenaunt, and in the name of al the toune saied, that the keies of the toune should be deliered vnto his lordship condicionally, that they might go with bag & baggage & the toune to be sauced from fire: Wherunto aunswere was made by the said Lorde liutenaunte, that wher as the Scottes had so manifestly broken there promises confirmed by othes and Scales and certified by the whole parliament as is euidently known to the whole world, he was sent thether by the kynges highnes to take yngeance of there detestable falshed, to declare and shewe the force of his highnes sworde to all suche as should make any resisstance vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde them resolutely that onlesse thei woulde yeilde vp the toune frankly without condition, and cause man, woman and chyld, to issue into the feldes, submitting theim to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword and ther toune to the fire. The pronost answered that it wer better for them to stand to their defece. Whereupon comauandement was gien to the said prouost and officers at armes vpon there perill to depart. And forth with the lord liutenaunt sent to the vaward that the should marche towards the toune whiche courageously set forwarde, and the English gonners manfully set on the gates, specially sir Christopher Moricc, that they did beat the Scottes from there ordinaunce, and soentred the gate called Cany gate by fire force, and thei slew a great nombre of the Scottes; and finally it was determined by the saied lorde liutenaunt vterly to ruinate and destroy thessaid toune with fire, which thynge immediately was attempted, but because night was come, the armie withdrew to their campe, and the a fresh the next day set fire where none was before, which continued that day & two dayes after burnyng. And shortly after came vnto this Army by land foure thousande light horsmen sent by the kyng, whiche after thei were come, the armie forsoke there shippes and sent theim home laden with spoyle and goneshot whiche thei founde there, and dislodged their camp.
KYNG HENRY THE VIIJ.

Camp out of the toue of Lith, and set fire in euery house, and bren it to the grounde: and so returned home by land, through all the mayn contry of Scotland, burnying and destroyng euery pile, castelles and village that was in their walke; and so with great honour to the great reioysynge aswel of the kynges maiestie as of all his faithfull and louynge subiectes, they returned a gayn into Englad with the losse skant of fortie persones: and because their great exploit may be better knowne, here shall folowe the names of the chief borouges, castelles and tounes bren and desolated by this royall armie.

The borough and toune of Edëborough with the Abbey called holy roode house, and the kynges palace adioynynge to the same.

The Abbey of newe botle: parte of Muskleborough toune, with the chappell of our lady of Lawret.

Hadingtö toune with the Friers and Nonry. Laurestö with y grauge.

The toune of Lith bren, and the hauen and pier destroyed.


Also tounes & vilages bren upon the sea by the English flete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kynkone. S. Minetes. The quenes Fery.

parte of petynwaynes. The bren Islid, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kynges maestie prepared two great armyes to Fraunce, the one was conducted, and led by the duke of Norffolke and the gentle lorde Russell lorde prestyn scale, which encamped at Muttrell and besieged the toune, where they lay a long tyme, and left the toune as they found yt: The other army was led by the valiant duke of Suffolk which was the kynges lieutenaut of that armie, and beyng accupanyed with the lorde chambrelyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the felde, and sir Ihon Gage comptroller of the kynges house, and sir Anthony Browne master of the kynges hores, with diverse and many other capitaynes: the nineteen day of Iuly encamped before Bulleyne on the Est syde of the same upon the hill, where after many sharpe skyrmishes they gayned first the oldman, & shortly after basse Boleyne.

The fourtene day of Iuly the kynges maestie in his royall persone passed the ses from Douer to Calis, and the six and twentie day encamped him selfe before Boleyne, on the north syde within lesse then halfe a myle of the toune where his grace remayned yttl the toune was surrendred vnto his maestie: the which toune he so sore assaulted & so besieged with suche aboundance of greate ordainace that neuer was there a more valiant assaute made, for besyde the vndermyning of the castel, tower and walles, the toune was so beaten with ordainace that there was not left one house whole therein: & so sore was laied to the charge of the Frechmen that after the kyng had assaulted them by the space of a moneth, thei sent furth of the toune to the kyng two of their chief capitaynes, called Mounsire Semblesmound, & Mounsire de Haies, which declared that the chief capitayne of the toune with his retinew was conted to deluyer the toune vnto his grace, so that they might pass with
with bag and baggage, which request the kynges maistie, mercifully graunted theim. And so on the next day, the duke of Sufolkke rode into Bullein, to whom in the kynges name, they deliuered the keyes of the toune. And at after none departed out of Bulleyne at the Frenchmen. The nuber of the men of warre, that wer strong and galleant, that came out of the toune, were of horsemen, lxvii. of footmen. xv. C.xiii. of Gonners viii. C. of hurte menne. lxxvii. of women and children. xix. C.xxvii. So there was in al that came oute of the toune, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great number of aged, sicke and hurt persones, that was not able to go furth of the toune. The last person y came furth, was Monsire de Veruine, grand capitaine of the Toune, which when he approached nere the place, wher the king stode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with hym a space, the kyng toke him by the hand, and he reverently kneeling vpon his knees, kyssed his hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon his horse and so departed.

The. xvii. day, the kynges highnes hauynge the sworde borne naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyne, and the Trompetters standingy on the walles of the toune, sounded their Trompettes, at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of al the kynges true subjectes, thesame beholding. And in the enteryng there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the toune, and so he rode toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him, on the South side of the toune. And within two dayes after, the kyng rode about al the toune, within the walles, and then commanded that our Lady Church of Bullein, should be defaced and plucked downe, where he appoynted a Moût to be made, for the greate force and strength of the toune.

When the kyng had set all thinges ther in suche orde, as to hys wisdom was thought best, he returned into England, to the great retoyysgen of al hys louyng subjectes.

In the meane season, that the kyng laye before Bulleyne, & was like to have coquered the same, as at the last he did, as before you have hard the Emperor toke a peace with the French kyng, to the no little greffe and displeasure of the kynges maistie, and that was the cause that the kyng so sodainly brake vp his army, aswel at Bulleyne as also at Muttrell.

Shortly after besyde diverse and many sharpe skirmishes, made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyne, aswel by the Dolphyn with a great power which in the night season, stale vp Base Bulleyne, taking ther a great sort of sicke persones, and women in their beddes, whô without mercy they slew. Howbeit so mafullly the Englishmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyne, behaued themselfes, gettyng weapons out of the hygh toune, that they bet the Frenchmen agayn out of y Base toune, and after wyth the helpe of the high toune, they slewe a great nuber of them, and so agayn possessed quietly, thesayde Base toune: Besyde, I say this skirmise and many mo, Monsire de Bees came with xv. M. men, and encampd ryght agaynst the toune, on the other side of the water, entedyng there to have buylded a Forte. But the fourth daye of February, he was set vp on his owne campe, by the moste valiaunt and fortunate Erle of Hertford and Lord Lisle, the Lord Gray and other: at whose comming thesayde Monsire de Bees, wyth al his puyssaunce fled, leauynge behinde them al their orduanaunce, Tentes and plate.

The. xxxvii. yere.

The. vii. day of Iune, a great armeye of Frenchmen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyne, and skirmished wyth thenglyshe men to the no great gayn of the Frenchmen: but this armeye which was acceptd to the number of. xx. M. ther encampd & begâ again to buylde a Fort, which before they departed, accomplishd thesame.

In Iune the lord Lisle Admirall of Engelande, wyth thenglyshe flette entered the mouthe of the river of Sain, and came before Neuwhaucn, where the great armaye of Fransce laie, which
which were. CC. seae of shippes and. xxvi. Galies of Force, whereof the bishop of Rome
had sent. xx. well furnished wyth men and money, to ayde the French king. Thenglyshe-
men beyng but an. Clix. sayle, & all great shyppes, did not determine to set on the whole
nauie, but shot certaine pieces of ordinaunce at theim, which caused the Galies to come
abroade, and shot at the Englyshmen whiche Galies had greate aduantaige, by reason of
the calme wether: twse eche part assaued other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the wynd
rose so greate, that the Galies could not indure the rage of the seas: and thenglyshmen
were compelled to entre the main seas, for feare of flatsse and so sayled wynto Portes-
mouth, where the kyng then laye, for he had knowelage by his espayles, that the French army,
entended to lande in ý Isle of Wyght, wherfore he repaired to ý cost, to se his realm de-
feded.

After the departyng of thenglyshe nauie, from Newhauen, the Admyrall of Fraunce, 
called the Lorde Dombalt, a man of greate experience, halsed vp hys sayles, and with hys
whole nauie, came to the point of the Isle of Wyght, called S. Helenes poyn, and there
in good ordre cast their Ankers, and sent. xvi. Galies dayly, to the very hauen of Porte-
mouthe. Thenglyshe nauye lyng in the hauen, made them prest and set out towards thc,
and styl the one shot at the other. But one day above all other, the whole nauie of the
Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their settyng forward,
a goodly ship of Englande called the Mary Rose, was by to much foly, drouned in the
middest of the hauen, for she was laden wyth much ordinaunce, and the portes left open,
which were very lowe, and the great ordinaunce, vnbroched, so that when the ship should
turne, the water entred, and sodainly she sanke. In her was sir George Carewe knight,
Capitain of thesaide shyppe, and foure hundreth men, and much ordinaunce.

At the same tyme certayn of the French menne, landed in the Isle of Wyght, where
their capytayne was slayn and many other, and were to their great losse and payn, driuen
again to their Galies.

The kyng perceyuing the great nauie of the Frenchmen to approch sent letters for men
into Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wilshire, and dyuere other places adjoyning: which re-
paired to his presence in greate nombers, welfurnished wyth armure and victayl, and all
thynges necessary, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the sea coast,
furnished wyth men in great nomber.

The French capitaines hauing knowlege, by certain Fysher menne which they toke, that
the kyng was present, and also of the great power that he had in readines, they disancred
and sayled along the coastes of Sussex, and a smal nomber of them landed in Sussex,
whiche never returned to their shyppes, for they were taken vp by the wyne.

Whc they had searched al ý coastes, & saw men euer redy to receiue them, thei turned
the sterne and returned home again, without any act worthy to be wrytten, done or enter-
prysed: sauing ý in this mean tyme thei newe Fort against Bullein, was strongly furnished
and fynshed.

The nuber of the Frenchmen, as dyuere prisoners that wer takc in the isle of Wyght, &
in Sussex did report, wer. lx.M. And at this time the French kyng wrote to the Emperrer,
and declared to hym, that hys army had gotten the isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton
and Portesmouth, & dyuere other places, which wrytyn was as true, as ý French kyng
hath in al his leagues & promises, bene to the kyng of England.

In August solowyng, the noble erle of Hertford entered into Scotland, wyth. xii. M.
men, and destroied al the townes in the middle Marches, and passed to the West marches,
to the great detriment and losse of Scotlande, and destroyd Coldingham Abbey: & yet
the Frenchmen and Scottes, whiche lay at Kelsey, durst not once encountere ý hym.

In thys moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt duke of Suffolke a hardye gentle-
man, and yet not so hardy, as almoaste of all estates and degrees of menne hygh and lowe, duke of
rych and poore, hartely beloued and hys death of them muche lamented, he was buried at Suffolk.
Wyndsores.
The xxiii. day of November, a Parliament began at Westminster by authority whereof, was granted to the king a subsidy, of ii.s. viii.d. of the pound, of moveable goods, and iii.s. the pound in lande, to be paid in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitallers were committed to the kynges ordre, duryng his lyfe, to alter & trispose, which his grace at the Prorogacion of the Parliament, promised to do to the glory of God, and the common profite of the realme.

A little before this tyne, the noble and valiante lord Lisle, lord Admiral landed in Normandy, and brent the subbarbes of Treipre, and diuerse villages alonge the sea cost, and destroyed and toke almooste all the shyppes in the hauen, which was a ryche and a goodly pray, and so returned wythout any dammage.

The French kyng sore mowed wyth these doynges, sent Moisire de Bees with. xii. M. men, which entered into the englyshe pale, beside Grauelyn, and brent Marke and diuerse smal villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner wer skirmishes & Alaromes betwene high Bullein & the new builded forteesse, but the losse ran euer on the Frenchmen side.

This wynter was means made by theperor, that certain Ambassadors of England & Frayne might mete, to cōnom a of peace, whereupon the king of Englyand sent to Guines, Cutbert bishop of Daresme, sir William Paget his secretary, & doctor Tregonel. And the French kyng sent to Arde a bishop, the chief President of Roane, and a Notary, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherefore the kyng hanuye ere wyth knowledge, how the Frenchmen intended to build a new forteesse on s. Iones rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: whiche thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but daily had put Bullein in trouble. Wherefore he meaning to prevent so great a mischief, sent ouer the noble Earle of Hertford, and the valiante lord Lisle Admiral, and many valiante capitaines with. vii.M. good soldiers, which gat the rode but ii. daies before the Frenchmen appointed to haue bene ther, & in that place encaped theselves. Monsire de Bees leader & conductor, of all the French aieres, encaped himself beside Hardelow, & durst not onely come forth to set on our men, notwithstanding his former preparacion & deuyce.

These things thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were daylye betwene the Bulleynos, and the French Bastiliō: & one day thone part lost, & the other gayned, & likewise the losers regained: but in one skirmish wer lost. xvi. Englysh gentlemen, and lixx. other, although ther were slayne three rascal Frenchmen, and in this skirmish was slain, sir George Pollard. And in a like jorney was slayn sir Raufe Elderkare Capitaine of the light horsemen, wyth a fewe other Englyshemen, but yet a great multitude of the Frenchmen, at that time lay on the ground.

The xxxiii. day of December, the kinges maistrie came into the parliament house, to geue his royal assent, to suche actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oratiō, to the which it hath euer ben accustomed, that the lord Chauncellor made answere, but at this time it was the kynges pleasure, that it should be otherwise, for the kyng himselfe made him answere, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

"Although my Chauncelore for the time beyng, hath before this time vsed, very eloquent and substanfly, to make answer to suche orations, as hath bene set furth in this high court of Parliamente, yet is he not so able to open and set furth my mynd and menying, and the secretes of my hart, in so plain and ample maner, as I my selfe am and can do: wherefore I taking vpon me, to answer your eloquent oracion maister Speaker, say, that wher you, in the name of our wellbeloved commons hath both prayed & extolled me, for such notable qualities, that you have conceiued to be in me, I most hartily thanks you all, that you have put me in remembrand of my dutye, whiche is to endeuor my selfe to obtein and get suche excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or governer, should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognyse myself, pothe bare and barrein: but of suche small qualities, as God hathe endued me withall, I rendre to his goodnes my most humble theikes, entendyng..."
entendyng with all my witte and diligence, to get and acquire to me suche notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my persone: These thankes for your louynge admonicion and good counsaill firste remembred, I entesone thank you again, because that you considerlyng our greate charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gain, but to our great cost) whiche we haue lately susteyned, aswel in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortresse, which was to this realme, moste displeasaunt and noysome, & shalbe by Goddes grace hereafter, to our nacion moste profitable and pleasant, haue frely of youre awne mynde, granted to vs a certaine subsidy, here in an act specified, whiche verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindnes, then the profite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing harte, then by your substancce. Beside this harte kindnes, I cannot a little rejoyse whe I consider, the perfite trust and sure coñidence, whiche you haue put in me, as men hauyng vnoubted hope, and vnfeined belefe in my good doynges, and just procedinges for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to myne ordre and disposicion, all Chauntreyes, Colleges, Hospitalles, and other places specifyed in a certaine act, firmyly trusting that I wil ordeyne them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common wealth. Surely if I contrary to your expectacion, shuld suffer the ministres of the Church to decaye, or learning (whiche is so great a iuell) to be minished, or pore and nysere people, to be vurelieued, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie frende to you, nor charitable man to mine euyn christian, neither a lover of the publyk wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accompt must be renderd of all our doynges. Doubt not I praye you, but your expectacion shalbe serued, more Godly and goodly then you wil wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceiue.

Now, sitthence I find suche kyndenes, ou your part towarde me, I can not chose, but loue and fauor you, affirmyng that no prince in the world, more fauorest his subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or commos more, loue and obaye, their souereigne lord, then I perceiue you do me, for whose defêce my treasure shal not be hiddë, nor yt necessitye require my persone shall not bee vnaduntured: yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can not continue, except bothe you my lordes temporal, and you my lordes spiritual, and you my louyng subiectes, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which surely is amisse, and farre out of ordre, to the which I most hartely require you, whiche is, that charity and concord is not emongest you, but discord and dissencio, beareth rule in every place. S. Paule esaieth to the Corinthians, in the. xiii. Chapiter, Charitie is getle, Charitie is not enuous, Charitie is not proude and so furth in thesaid Chapiter: Beholde then what loue and Charitie is emongest you, whiche the one calleth the other, Hereticke and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym again Papist, Ypocrite, and Pharisey. Be these tokens of charitie emongest you: Are these the signes of fraternal loue betwene you: No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of Charitie emongest your selfes, will bee the hinderaunce and asswagynge, of the fervent loue betwene vs, as I said before, except this wod be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nedes judge the faut and occasion of this discorde, to bee partly by negligence of you the fathers & preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a man whyche liueth in adulterie, I muste judge hym a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and bragg hymself, I cannot but deme hym a proude manne. I se and here daily that you of the Clergy preache one against another, teache one cotryary to another, innieth one against another without Charitie or discretion. Some be to styff in their old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsimus. Thus all men almoste be in variety and discord, and fewe or none preache truly and sincerely the worde of God, according as they ought to do. Shal I now judge you charitable persones doing this: No, no, I cannot so do: alas how can the pore soules liue in concord when you preachers sow enonges them in your sermons, debate & discord: Of you thei loke for light, and you bryng the to darckenes. Amende these crymes I exhorte you, & set sueth Goddes worde, bothe by true preaching, and good example genyng, or
els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high mynyster here, wyll se these dyvisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable seruaunte, and vntrue officer.

Although as I saie, the spirituall men be in some faute, that charytie is not kept emongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, bee not cleane and vspotted of malice and enimie, for you raiyle on Bishoppes speake slanderingously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, bothe contrary to good ordre, and Christian fraternity. If you knowe surely that a bishop or preacher, errouth or techeeth pervers doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayl to or to vs, to whom is committed by God the high auentury to reforme and ordre such causes and behauours: and bee not Judges your selfes, of your awne phantastical opinions, and vain exposicions, for in suche high causes ye male lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to haue the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understande that it is licensed you so to do, onely to informe your awne conscience, and to instruct your childre and famely, & not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng and a taunting stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light personnes do.) I am very sorry to knowe & here, how vnreuerently that moste precious iuel the worde of God is disputed, rymed, song and iangeled in euerie Alchouse and Tauerne, contray to the true meaninge & doctrine of thesame. And yet I am even as muche sorry, that the readers of thesame, folowe it in doynge so faynytely and coldely: for of thys I am sure, that Charytie was never so fainst emongest you, and verteous and Godly liuynge was never lesse vse, nor God him self emongest Christians, was never lesse reverence, honored or serued. Therfore as I said before, bee in Charytie one with another, lyke brother and brother, lone dread and sere God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and souereigne lord, exhort and require you) & the I doubt not, but that loue & league, that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And the makynge of lawes, whiche be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee as dilligent in puttyng them in exuciciyn, as you wer in making and furthering thesame, or els your labor shalte in vain, and your commonwealthe nothing releues. Now to your petition, concerning our royal assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shalbe read openly, that ye maye hear them. Then they were openly read, and to many his grace assented, and dierese he assented not vnto. Thys the kings oracion was to his subjectes there present suche comfort, that the lyke ioye could no be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes read, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

In this time, there was by the Frenchmen, a voyayge made toward the Ile of Brasile, wyth a shyp called the Barck Ager, which thei had taken from the English men before. And in their way they fortunated to mete soodainly wyth a litle Craer, of whom was Maister one Golding, which Golding was a fearece and an hardy man. The barck perceiuing this small Craer to be an Englishman, shott at hym and bouged hym, wherfore the Craer drew stryght to the great ship, and six or seuen of the man lepte into the Barke. The Frenchmen looking ouer the board at the sinkyng of the Craer, nothing mystrystyng any thyng, y myght be done by the Englishmen. And so it fortunated that those Englishmen whiche clayne into the shyp, founde in the ende thereof, a great nober of lime pottes, which thei with water quenched, or rather as the natur thereof is set them a fyre, and threw them at the Frenchmen that wer aborde, and so bylded them, that those fewe Englishmen that entred the shippie, vanquished al that were therein, and dryue them vnder hatches, and brought the Barck clerely awaye agayn into Englande.

¶ THE. XXXVIIJ. YERE.

IN the monethe of Aprill, by meanes of diuers Prynces, an assemble was had, betwene both the Realmes, of Englande and Fraunce, at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the Kyng
of Englande, the Erle of Hertforde, the Lorde Lysle Admyrall, Syr Wyllyam Paget Secretary, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Cantorbury. And for the Frenche kyng, the lorde Clado Doneball Admirall, and Marshall of France: the byshoppe of Eureux, a president and a Secretary. After long debating, and diverse breeches, a peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the kynges Court, and in the citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trumpettes. And likewise was it done at Paris and Roan. For the performance whereof, the Viscount Lisle Admiral, wyth the byshoppe of Duresme, and dyverse lorde, and above an hundred gentleman, all in Velvet coates and chyneyes of golde, went to Paris, and were there solemnly receyued and feasted, and shortly returned.

After whose returne, the Admirall of France, accompanied wyth the byshoppe of Eureux, the Erles of Nauntenile, and Villiers, and diuerse great Lorde: beside two hundreth Gentlemen well appointed, tooke his Galey at Depe, and hauinge in wys compaigne twelue fayre Galies well trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer toke lande, till he came to Grenewiche, where he was receyued by the Erles of Essex and Darby, the xii. day of August. And the nexte day, he wyth al hys Galies, landed at the Tower Wharffe, and on al the bankes, by y water syde, laye peces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially y Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And fro thence he rode through London, in great triumphe, the Major & the craftes standing in the stretes in good ordre, to the Bishoppes Palace of London, wher he lodged, tyl Bartholomew euen, on whyche day he was conweighed toward Hampton Court, where in the way the prince hauyng wyth hym the Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Erles of Hertford and Huntsyngdon, and about two thousande horse, mette hym and enbraced hym, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders gretely rejoyued, and much marueyled at his wyt and audacite, and so he came to the Court, geuyng the Prynce the vpper hand as he roade. And at the vttre gate of the Courte, the Lord Chauncellor, and al the Kynges counsayll receyued him, and brought him to his lodgyng.

On Bartholomew daye, the kyng rychly appareled, welcomed hym and in great triumph went to the chapel, wher the league was sworn and signed. To tel you of the costlye banquet houses, that were built, & of the great banquettes, the costly Maskes, the liberal huntingges that were shewed to hym, you woulde much maruel, and skant beleue. But on Friday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of plate, to the valore of twelve hundred pound, returned to London, and on Sunday tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diuerse of his copayny had much plate, and manye horses, and Greyhoundes geuen them. Also the Admiral had geuen to hym, of the citye of London, twoo Flagons gylte, and twoo parcel gylt, to the somme of an hundred and syxe and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus thei laden wyth more ryches then they brought, returned into France.

Althoughthe this peace pleased, both the English and the French nacionts, yet surely both mistrusted the continuance of thesame, considering the old Proners, that the iye seeth, the harte rueth, for the Frëch men styll longed for Bulley, and the Englishmen minded not to gueve it ouer: in so much as duryng the Admiralles of Fraunce beyng in England, the captain of the newe fortresse, began to make a Pile, euen at the very hauen mouth of Bulley: but the Lorde Gray captaine there put awaie the worke men, and toke awaie their tfooles, and filled the trenches, to the Frenchmennes great displeasure. And after the Frenche kyng caused upon a great payn, that al the trenches, and newe iuncuncions should be cast downe, and yfled by hys owne people, leaste he should sene to be the breakier of the peace.

In this yere was arreigned, condemmed and burned, for affirming opinions, contrary to the syxe articles, foure persones, that is to saie, Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Ihon Laccles a Gentleman, Nicholas Otterden Priest, and Ihon Adlam a Taylor: all these were burnerd in Smithfelde, the. xvi. day of Iuly: and because the whole processe of their matters is by diuerse wryters set furth, therfore I passe it ouer. In January were attayned of hygh treason, Anne Askew & Ihon Laccles, Nicholas Otterden Priest, Ihon Adlam & Thomas duke of Northfolk, Henry Erle of Surrey.
son, Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Henry his sonne erle of Surrey which erle was behedd-
ed at the Tower Hill.

Now approched to thys noble kyng, that whych is by God decreed, and appoynted to all
menne, for at thys ceason in the monethe of January, he yelded hys spirite to almightie God, and departed thys worlde, and lyeth buryed at Wyndsore. And the laste daye of January
was hys true, lawful and onely sonne Prynce Edwarde Proclaymed kyng, of all his fathers
dominions, and the. xix. daye of February, was crowned and anoynted Kyngge of thys realme, whome Iesu preserue, longe to reyne ouer vs.

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