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In the mean time, the present Collection is the nearest such a Defile thing that has appeare; for we are not so entirely at a Loss for a History of Greece, but that we have already many Parts of it by several Hands, in just Eeditum; and there are the standing Authorities and Guides to which all Attempters in this Way must ever have recourse. Many of'em answer the Characters mention'd in that imaginary Society, and some had the additional Advantage of living in or near the times they describe, so that theirs may be reckon'd Pictures by the Life, which have usulally the most of Spirit as well as the truest Likeness, whereas succeeding Hands, tho' they copy ever so skilfully, can scarce avoid losing much of the Force, and Justice, and Grace of the Original.

Their Reputation, as was hinted before, is not now to be made in the World, which is generally slow and sparing, and disagree'd in distributing its Applause to Books even of the highest Merit, if their Authors are living. The procuring'em formerly was formerly found troublesome and expensive; some of'em were scarce, and others had suffer'd from the multiplying of Editions and wanted a careful Correction; the Design of Printing 'em in this Method, so as to compose a compleat History of our Affairs has been for several Years recommended, and the Undertakers encourag'd to it by Letters from Eminent Hands in many Parts of the Kingdom; and to give it all proper Advantages, Care has been taken to procure many Manuscripts and Papers of Value, by means of which, and other Helps, such Additions have been made as were thought necessary for a Supplement or Illustration of the History. The Stiles of the English Authors, tho' some of'em a little antiquated, are preferv'd according to their Originals, but the Latin Lives, Papers, Verfes, &c. are translated for the Benefit of common Readers. If any one imagines the Difference of Stiles an Objection, others are of a contrary Opinion, and think that this Variety may divert and relieve the Mind, which is often tir'd by Voluminous Works by one Hand, tho' written ever so elegantly.

For the Times before William the First, tho' the Views of'em have been left left firft than the rest, and in some Places look like Scenes of Fairy-Land, yet to much as could be trac'd and put into order, has been admirably done by Mr. John Milton, with whose Book this Collection begins. His great natural and acquird Parts, and his excelling in so many different kinds of Learning, besides his daring and uncommon Genius in Poetry, have made him generally look'd upon as one of the most extraordinary Perfon's that the last Age produc'd: And even the greatest Admirers of Antiquity have a particular Reason to rank him with the most of the Ancients, whom he so nearly resembles. For this seems to be his distinguishing Character, and is agreeable to what Monfieur Fontene- nelle observes, That "The Wit of one Climate more easily suffers transplanting into ano- ther, than its Trees and Fruit; and that tho' 'tis said there's more Diversity among Wits than Faces, yet one Face by itselfally regarding another cannot take a new Re- semblance, but Wit may. And 'tis said, that People do not always retain the Turn of the Age."

Thought which they derive from their Native Climate, but by reading Greek Books, "become as it were all'd to the Greeks."

Mr. Milton's History, as well as his Poetical Works, proves this; where, in his Thoughts and Language, he appears with the Majestick Air of old Greece or Rome. This makes him indeed look particular, and perhaps to some uncouth, like the Roman Architecture hereofore, when the Gothic was in Fashion. But whether his or the more Modern Diction be the best, let the Controversiers of old and new Books decide as they please. 'Tis sufficient if his History, as was said, be the best Draught of those rude Times he choos'd to describe. His Abilities and Diligence to perform that part were unquestionable, and his Impartiality too, which would not have been, if he had written the History of later Times. Sir William Temple, tho' he has very ingeniously treated the same Subject, is not particular enough, and seems so much in haste to come to his Favourite Character of William the Norman, that the rest of his Book is indeed but an Introduction.

Mr. Daniel's History follows next, containing the Reigns of William I. and II. Henry I. King Stephen, Henry II. Richard I. King John, Henry III. Edward I., II, and III. The Author had a Place at Court in the Reign of King James I. being Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and seems to have taken all the Refinement a Court could give him. 'Tis said he had a good Vein in Poetry, and 'tis certain he has shewn great Judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his Prose, and destroying that Simplicity which is a principal Beauty in the Stile of an Historian. His Narration is smooth and clear, and carries every where an Air of good Sense and just Eloquence, and his English is much more Modern than Milton's, tho' he liv'd before him; But Mr. Milton chose to write (if the Expression may be allowed) a hundred Years backward, whereas 'tis particularly to be advis'd how Mr. Daniel could, so long ago, express himself with the same Purity and Grace as our most sensible Writers do now, tho' we flatter ourselves that we have considerably improved the Language.

The Continuation of his History thro' the Reigns of Richard II. Henry IV, V, and VI. was so meanly perform'd by Mr. Truffel, and the Stile so wretched, that there was a New
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the simplest Actions in the World into Design and Artifice. But as nothing is more improving than this way of writing when well manag’d, so it seems to be the Talent of a wife rather than of a cunning Head.

Tis remarkable that three of our Historians of greatest Fame (of whom two have their Works in this Collection) have been Lords High Chancellours of England, and ’tis certain the Qualifications which properly recommend Men to that Truth and Honour are such as make ’em likewise better capable than most others of writing a good English History.

The Notes which are added to the Lord Bacon’s Book are chiefly extracted from that which was written by Sir James Ware, in Relation to the Affairs of Ireland, which was publish’d first in Latin at the End of the Antiquitates Hiberniae, in 1608, and afterwards turn’d into English, and printed lately with his other Works in Folio at Dublin. And this concludes the Account of the Historians in the first Volume.

The Second begins with the Ingenious Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Life of King Henry VIII. which for its great Reputation may well be compar’d with the Lord Bacon’s. These two Historians seem by their Senec as well as Quality, of a Rank superiour to most others; for few besides have the Art of being particular in their Narration without growing flat and tiresome, and of making Remarks which are always worth the Reader’s attending to, and no where offend by an unnatural or ambitious Air. The Lord Herbert, to qualify him for this Undertaking, had an Education Military as well as Learned, the Improvement of Travel, and the Advantage of great Employments. He was of the Council to King James I. who, after he had employ’d him five Years in an Embassy to Louis XIII. of France, made him Baron of Castle Island in Ireland. He afterwards serv’d King Charles I. both in the Field and in Council, and was by him created an English Peer. In order to write King Henry VIII’s Life, he made a vast Collection of Manuscripts and other Materials; of which the Abhene Oxonienses mentions four thick Folio Volumes whereof that Author says he had seen. The Original Copy of his History, written by his own hand, is in the Possession of the University of Oxford, to which he presented it. Tis large and copious, as the multiply’d Affairs of a busy Reign requir’d; and as all Europe was concern’d in the Intrigues of those Times, the Politicks then were so intricate and variable, and of such an unstable Turn, that ’twas not possible for a common Hand to trace ’em; nor can we imagine that any one besides himself could so happily have conquer’d the Difficulty he complains of, viz. To write that Prince’s History of whom no one thing might consistently be affirm’d, and to draw his Picture well, who had several Countenances. In this Edition the Pope’s Bulls, the Letters, and other Pieces, which were in Latin before, are print’d both in Latin and English.

The Life and Reign of King Edward VI. was written by Sir John Hayward, Doctor of Laws, and Historiographer to King James I. The same Hand had written the Reign of King Henry IV. but this of King Edward was publish’d after the Author’s Death. Tis here print’d with large Notes from a valuable Collection of Papers relating to the Reformation. Tis no wonder that in those Party-Times the Characters of many Persons and Circumstances of Affairs were left so variously and doubtfully represented as might mislead even a diligent Writer; wherefore an impartial Censor of this Author is preach’d to his Book by Mr. Strype, to which the Reader is refer’d.

The next is the Annals of Queen Mary, written originally by Francis Godwin Lord Bishop of Hereford, who together with this wrote likewise the Reigns of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. in Latin, for the Use of Foreigners. His Stile is grave and succinct, and he appears to have been a good Master of that Language, and a faithful and sensible Historian. His Son Morgan Godwin, Doctor of Laws, publish’d this Book afterwards in our own Tongue, with some Enlargements by the Author’s Consent. That which is here print’d is new translate’d in more modern English; and Mr. Strype, who has a large Manuscript of this Queen’s Reign, has likewise perform’d his Part by adding Notes, and has inferted some few Passages in the Margin, which he has observ’d to be in the former English Edition.

The long and happy Reign of Queen Elizabeth is describ’d at large with the utmost Exactness by the Learned Mr. Camden, call’d frequently the Prince of Modern Antiquaries. This elaborate Work was begun at the Instigation of his great Patron the Lord Treasurer Bertie in 1557, the same Year that Mr. Camden was made Clarenceux King at Arms; but that Nobleman had only the Satisfaction and Honour of laying the first Stone of the Building, without living to see it in any Forwardness, for he dy’d the next Year. This Lost much afflicted Mr. Camden, and interrupted his Design; and the Queen her selt dying about five Years after, it remain’d for some time at a stand; but, in the Year 1608. he fell to it again with great Application, and never perhaps had any Man more universal Qualifications or greater Advantages. He had premeditated it many Years, his chief Study had long before been the Antiquities of his Native Country, and the Transactions
he was now to record were such as pass’d in his own Time; he began it flow, and after his Studies were ripe, and his Judgment in full Maturity; for his Britannia was first compleated, which left him wholly at Liberty, and better instructed for this Undertaking. He wanted no Helps from Men of the greatest Learning in England, who were proud of supplying him with Papers and Books; all Libraries were open to him, and if he had not been Mallet of an admirable Judgment for separating, chusing and digesting his Materials, the Variety must have put him in Confusion. The Queen’s Collection of Writings, Letters, and Memorials, had been imparted to him by the Lord Ernghies, who likewise furnished him with his own, and he afterwards receiv’d great Affilliance from his Friend Sir Robert Cotton, all which he mentions in his Preface; but nothing could equal his own Industry and indefatigable Study, which was indeed wonderful.

For the Moral Qualifications of an Historian, such as Fidelity, Diligence, and a sincere Affection to Truth, he has given all the Proofs of ‘em that can be defir’d; For besides the Air of Probity, which is seen in his Annals, ‘tis remarkable that he at first design’d they shou’d not be publish’d in his Life time, but had been publish’d by Will to the Famous Tho’mas, with whom he had a particular Friendship. However, he was prevail’d on to alter this Resolution, and in the Year 1615. came out the first Volume reaching to the Year 1589. It had the natural Effect of a well-writ Piece of Modern History, for it gain’d him much Applauze, and many Enemies; which laft, tho’ a good Proof of his Merit, was a severe one, and discourag’d him from venturing abroad his Second Volume till the Year 1625. and then it was in a manner extorted from him by Importunity, after it had him fin’d for a considerable time.

The Affairs of Spain, France, and Scotland, were much interwoven with those of England in that Queen’s Reign, and consequently Mr. Camden has given ‘em their proper Place in his Continuation. ‘Twas his Character to leave nothing imperfect that his Art or Labour could compleat. In his manner of relating he rather choos to be Exact than Ornamental, and dispos’d his Matter into the plain Form of Annals, by that to excuse himself from all superfluous Finery. His Preface gives a very good Idea of his Book; and for the Particulars of his Life, the Reader may find ‘em in Latin by Dr. Smith, printed with the Collection of Camden’s Letters, &c. and in English by Mr. Gibbon, prefixed to the last Edition of his Britannia. Several Translations have been made of these Annals from the Original Latin; but ‘twas thought necessary to have ‘em new translated, examin’d and corrected, in a just Regard to the Author’s Reputation. His Sketch of the Annals of King James, tho’ confining only of short Heads, is likewise added in English, that nothing from to great a Hand might be omitted.

The last Historian, in the Second Volume, is Mr. Wilfon, who wrote the Life of King James I. The Learned Dr. Welwood has been prevail’d with to add some Notes and Observations of his own upon it, and has furnisht some few Original Papers relating to that Reign, which hitherto never faw the Light; all which Notes and Observations are printed at the bottom of the Pages. At the Beginning the Author has given us in courte Rhime what he calls his own Picture, but in the Note there added the Reader will find it drawn with a truer Likeness than that which he drew himself, and with better Skill than can be done in this Preface.

For what remains to be said concerning the Third Volume, the Judicious and Accomplish’d Writer of it, has thought fit in his own Words to address the Publick as follows.

To the READER.

THIS, Third and Last Volume of our English History requires but a short and safe Introduction to it. For here is no Collection of Writers, that need a Character and Account of them, as in the two former Volumes. This Continuation is a New Work done by a particular Hand, with a just Regard to Truth and Justice.

Since the Period of the Second Volume, the Death of King James I. no one Reign hath been so exactly written, or at least brought into so just a Compasf, as to deserve to be here entirely inferred. And therefore it was thought more fair and reasonable to draw up all the following Reigns into a New Prospect, just and proportionable, and not deceiving the Eye. The Person who draws it is so delight’d with it, as to value himself on the Performance: He did it for his own Divine, rather than for the Satisfaction of the World. For to know, that of all things History is most understood by the Generality of Mankind: And what is so strange, People are for the most part least able to judge of the History of their own Times: They have imperfect Remembrances, they have confus’d Notions, they have a Partiality to one side, and a Prejudice to another, they have their Presumptions, and their Conjectures, and if some dissipeter’d Heads have a Sight so uncertain, that it deceived them more than Blindness is self could do. For this Reason, no prudent Writer would set a Name to the History
PREFACE.

story of his own Times; for it is impossible to please, or to be thought impartial, till posterity find out his plain and honest dealing.

Therefore the hand chiefly concerned in those Papers withdraws itself from the Notice of the World, and does itself satisfied with its own Intention; which was to hold an Even Balance, and to let nothing turn it but Truth and Justice. A great Regard has been had to the excellent History written by my Lord Clarendon, which is far from serving any one side only; and the Characters which are the best Part of it are most of them here transcribed. The following Reigns are done with some few Discoveries of what had not been before publish'd in the general and common affairs; the Story is told according to the best Writers, and very often in their very Words.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE this Book was near finisht, it has been thought proper to add an Appendix to Mr. Camden's Life of Queen Elizabeth, in order to give further Light into some weighty Matters. And there being nothing of it mention'd in the Index, a Catalogue of the Papers contain'd is here printed for the Reader's Satisfaction.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Continu'd to the Norman Conquest.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON.

BOOK I.

The Beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom Sacred Books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea, periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscure'd and blemish'd with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the Violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themselves, at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance, whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have been some destroy'd, some left. Perhaps difference and contempt of the Publick Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we fee that wise Men, and of best Ability, have forborn to write the Acts of their own Days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the Perfons and their Actions were; who either by Fortune, or some rude Election, had attained as a fore Judgment, and Forgiveness upon the Land, to have chief Sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superfition of our old Philosophers the Druids, forbid the Britains to write their memorable Deeds, I know not why

any out of Cæsar should allledge: He indeed faith, that their Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most Matters else, both private and publick, among which may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the British Druids, who taught those in Gaul, would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by their Disciples, or in frequently writing other things, and in quixotic into the highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of British Affairs, from the first Peopling of the Island, to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Poem, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of olden Remembrance, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries been long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheless, there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquity, who admet that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction, and seeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many footsteps, and relics of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believ'd, till undoubted Witnesses taught us that all was not

* There are some Objections, and those not inconsiderable, against this Affertion. Greek Letteres stand for Chit Cæsar: Which does not necessarily imply that they used the Greek Tongue, but only their Letters: For if he had meant the Language, he would have rather said, Graeci formari, or Graeci linguae. But this does not take off the difficulty neither: For if they made use of the Greek Letters, it had been but a poor contrivance of Cæsar's, to write to Cicero (in Gaul,) in the Greek Character, for that the Letter should be intercepted, and their Designs discovered. Have Graeci confignari litteris mitti, ut interpretes syllabis, minas ab etibus confitisse cognoscantur, Graeci Cæsar, lib. 5. Now it the Druids (the great Ministers of State,) did the Greek Character in their common business, why should Cæsar think, that this Character would conceal his Designs? The learned Sedes believes Graeci to have been taught into that place of Cæsar, where he speaks of the Druids, (lib. 5.) and will have him mean no more, than that Religious Matters were never wri't down, but in all Secular Affairs they made use of Writing: A Conjecture natural enough, and very probably true.
feign'd; I have therefore determin'd to betow the telling over of these reputed Tales, be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know how to use them judiciously.

There are also prodigious Examples, as Diadorns among the Greeks, Lyric and others of the Latins, Polyboe and Varroinus among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the shift that first, and who the last. But without enlarging on what Authorities each Opinion hath been upheld, but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needful mov'd, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may both instruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring Divine Affluence, that it may return'd to his Glory, and the good of the British Nation, I now begin.

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable Ground, from those effectual words of God in the Creation, may be more than conjectural. History hath told us that this Island and others, their Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, even in that old World those many hundred Years, with much reason we may infer. 4 After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leisurely from the East, Ganem, the eldest Son of Japhet, and his Offspring, as by Authorities, Arguing from the general知道自己 general was generally believe'd, were the first that people'd all these West and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit Authors a certain Names, whom Abraham was lineally a descendant of the eldest Son of Japhet, whom they make about two hundred years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, first the Continent of Celtaica, or Gaul, and next this Island: Thence to have nam'd it Sarmumur, to have reign'd here, and after him lineally four Kings, Magnes, Sarus, Druus, and Barthus. But the fore'd Barthus, whom only they have mention'd, that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or fend their People hither. So that this outlandish fragment may easily excus'd our not allowing it the room here so much as of a British Fabrick.

That which follows, perhaps as worse from truth, though feeming less imprudent, is this: That the Names, under the Reign of Barthus, were divid'd by Albion a Giant, Son of Neptune: who call'd the Island after his own name, and rul'd it forty four years. Till at length paling over into Gaul, in aid of his Brother Lebyrgyn, against whom Hercules was haffing out of Spain into Gaul, it was thrown in thin, and in Britain allo his Brother.

Sure enough we are that Britain hath been anciently term'd Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela the Geography makes mention of a stony Shoar in Languedox, where by report such a Battall was fought. The real: as his giving name to the Isle, or ever landing here depends altogether upon late furnishes. But it is too abroad; too unconsiderably great to difcuss. The fact is, a found invention that waiteth the fifty Daughters of a strange Diodorean King of Syria, brought in dolefuls by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical Story of Dianus King of Arses, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which their Country affor'd the Name, that bound to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Thence Daughters, by appointment of Dianus on the Marriage-night, having murdered all their Husbands, except Lincus, whom his Wife's Loyalty fav'd, were by him, at the suit of his Wife their Sister, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd, of which whole Sex they had incur'd the hate; and as the Tale goes, were driven on this Island. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as some write, or others, a lawless crew left here by Albion without Head or Governor, both entertain'd them, and had likfe by them a second Country of Giants, who tyraniz'd the Isle till Brutus came.

That the eldest of those Daumes in their Legend they call Albinus; and from thence, for which cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the same Albion deriv'd. Incredible it may seem, so fluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the elder Senecas, reputed to have lived about a thousand years ago. This I find not in him, but that Hisitons sprung of Japhet, had four Sons, Francis, Romanus, Al-bliheled, manual, and Brito, of whom the Britains; as true, I believe, as that those other Nations whom Names are remembered, came of the other three, if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it fell, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given A. M. 2855. us a warrantable dispatch to run them foon over. But now of Brutus and his Line, with the whole Preogony of Kings, to the entrance of Julius Caesar, we cannot so easily be difchargeth. And the Reasons of and about the Britains Laws and Exploits, not plainly seeming to be borrow'd or deriv'd, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; are defend'd by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus, and the whole Trojan presence were yielded up, seeing they who first from them self, or from some noble Ancestor, were constant at first with Brutus the Consul, till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher, into a more fabulous Age, and by the fame remove lighting on the Trojan Tales, in affectation to make the Britains of one Original with the Romans, pitch't there; yet tho' old and incomparable Names, the Moors seem'd in Britain, now that we have been real perns, or done in their lives, at least some part of what so long hath been remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

4 Concerning the first Peopling of Britain, Mr. Camden has given us as difficult an account, as can be drawn from probable conjectures, and in the great distance of Time and want of Records will allow. See his Britannia, the English Edition, p. 10.

5 This I submit enough he might give name to the Isle, though he never landed here. Play tells us it was call'd Albinie, to distinguish it from the Islands round Britain, which went under the general name of Britannias; and this likely enough was done by the Greeks, who delug'd so much in fabulous Names.

6 That Romanick Story of Brutus and his Pedigree, is fairly confused by Mr. Camden, English Ed. p. 5.

7 Idem has published a Vindication of the Story; and the Wulf are generally very unwilling to give it up for fabulous.

8 If the Britains are to look'd of a Trojan Original, Mr. Camden has point out a much better claim of them than the Story of Brutus can give them: For the Romans (descended from the Trojanis) by their long continuance in this Island, could not but have many inter-marriages with the Britains; whereby a good many Britains at this day must be of Roman, and by consequence, of Trojan Extraction. For.
how these Trojans could be thus in Bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men to potent. But to examine these things with their diligence, were but to conjoin the Fables of Britain with the Fables of Greece or Italy; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island, is equally as specious. But now it will, Pandora not expecting to bold a Medallion, the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army: And marching toward the Woods, Brutus, who had notice of his Approach night to a Town call'd Sparratium, (i know not what Town, but certainly of no Greek Name) over Night planting himself there with good part of his Men, suddenly sets upon him, and with Slaughter of the Greek, portes him to the Passage of a River, which makes in the ancient names Akeon, meaning perhaps Aelobus, or Ascuron: Where at the Ford he overlays them afore. This Victory obtained, and a sufficient Strength left in Spartatium, Brutus with Antigonus, the King's Brother, and his Friend Anacletus, whom he had in the Faith, returns to the Redue of his Friends in the Thick Wife Woods. While Pandora with all fpeed recollecting, besieges the Town. Brutus to relieve his Men befriend'd, who earnestly call'd him, disturbing the Sufficiency of his Force, beholds himself of this Call to him Anacletus, and threatening inabil to defend both to him and his Antigonus, enjoys him, that he should go at the speed of Night to the Greek Left League, and tell the Guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of Prison to a certain Woody Vale; unable through the Weight of his Petters to move further, by entreating them to come speedily and fetch him his Antigonus, fwear's this, and at a fit Hour sets out alone toward the Camp: Is met, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great Profecion of Fidelity firft made, he frames his Tale, as had been taught him: And they now fully affir'd, with a credulous Raffleness leaving their Stations, fur'd accordingly by the Annubuth that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus dividing his Men into three parts, leads on in Silence to the Camp; commanding firft each part at a several Place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron pos'd his of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The Sound whereof to no Ears, but to the Heart of Greece begins upon the sleeping, and ungarded Enemy, who with the befieged also now falling forth, on the other fide, affails. Brutus the while had special Care to feize and secure the King's Perfons; whose Life within his Custody, he knew was the fureft Pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing there was in the Town, there distributes the King's Treatfe, and leaving the Prioce firft on, returns with the King his Prifoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he fummons to Council, what they fhould now demand of the King. 

After long Debate, Memnone, one of the gravity, utterly dilating them from Thought of longer in Greece unless they meant to be deluded with a fubtle Peace, and the Aceed Revenge of those whole Friends they had flain, advices them to demand firft the King's Eldfi Daughter Ionon in Marriage to their Leader Brutus, with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Mo-
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

The Resolution pleasing left, the King now brought in, and placed in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on these Conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he must prepare to die.

Preis'd with Fear of Death, the King readily yields, especially to befriend his Daughter on whom he confid'd so Noble and so Valiant:

Offers them also the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to fly, if not, to be their Holograf himself, till he had made good his Word.

The Marriage therefore solemniz'd, and Shipping from all Parts got together, the Trojans in a Flote, now left written for them a grand and Twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea, where with a prosperous Course two Days and a Night bring them on a certain Island, long before dispeopled and left waist by Sea-Rovers, the Name whereof was then Leogeria, now unknown.

They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a Temple and Image of Diana that gave Oracles: But not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to their Ships; Willing their General would enquire of that Oracle what Voyage to pursue.

Conflagration had, Brutus taking with him Genius his Diviner, and twelve of the principal Ceremonies before the Toward Shrines of the Godselves, in Verfe, as it seems the manner was, utters his Requet, Divine potens nominum, &c.

Godselves of Shades, and Huntres, who at will Walk'd on the rolling Spheres, and view'd the days. On the Earth, to mortals, hid he the tale.

What Land, what Seat of Beot then shght me seek, What certain Sce of, to me my woofly thee For aye, with temples wold, and Virgin Quares.

To whom sleeping before the Altar, Diana in a Vision that Night thus answer'd, Brutus, sub occasum solis, &c.

Brutus, far to the west, in the Ocean wide Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies: Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old, Now void, it fits thy People; this dread'd Thee, ere I left: thou find a lasting Seat, There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise, And Kings be born of thee, while dreaded Might Shall own the World, and conquer Nations bold.

These Verfe originally Greek, were put in Latin, faith Virginius, by Gildas a Breffo Poet, and him to have liv'd under Claudius, which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable, and indeed Latin Verses are much better than for the Age of Geoffrey the Arthur, unless perhaps, Jesop of Exeter, the only smooth Poet of those Times, befriend'd him. In this Diana over-shot her Oracle thus ending, Iifs to visi terras sublata orbis orit, That to the Race of Brute, Kings of this Island, the whole Earth shall be fruitful. But Brutus guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after some Encounters on the Afric Side, arrives at a Place on the Tyrrhenian Sea, where he happens to find the Race of the Trojans, which with Aventor, came into Italy, and Corinna, a Man much em'd, was there (a Legend written by a later Author) it is reported, that these Trojans with Aventor, were seated on the other side of Italy on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhenian Shore.

But these journeying Company, and pil't the Har- culer Pillars, at the Mouth of Liguria in Aqui- tania cast Anchor. Where after some Difcovery made of the Place, Corinna hunting nigh the Shore with his Men, is by Medengers of the King Goffarius Pillar met, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to their Mind, Imberius, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at Corinna, which he avoiding, flays him: And the Pilot's men himself hereupon heaving his whole Force, is overthrow'd by Brutus and Corinna; who with the Battle Ax, which he was wont to manage at least the Tyrrhenian Giants, gave them to have done Marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his Aid the whole Country of Gaul, at that time govern'd by Twelve Kings, puts his Fortune to a second Trial, wherein the Trojans, over-born by Multitude, are driven back, and believe'd in their own Camp, which by good Fortune had not. While the Tyrrhenians unexpectedly subjoin'd on, and Corinna in the mean while, whole Device it was, assailing them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his Men the Night before, the Trojans are again victors, but with the Loss of Turner a Valiant Nephew of Brutus, whole Affairs left in that Place, gave him to the riot of Trojans, which built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his Powers much lefled'd, and this yet not the Place foretold him, leaves Aquitania, and with an easy Course, arriving at Tonsus in Devonshire, quickly perceives here to be the promis'd End of his Labours.

The Island, not yet Britain, but Albion, was in a manner defart and inhospitable, kept only by a Remnant of Giants, whose excessive Force and Tyranny had confum'd the rest. Then Brutus destroy'd, and to his People divides the Land, which with some Reference to his own Name he therefor calls Britain. To Corinna, Corellia, as we now call it, fell by Lot; the rather by lot, because she was the first that the burden of the Seamen, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was old his Exercise.

And here, with Leave bespoken, to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best Poets; while Brutus on a certain Fiduciay Day solemnly kept on that Shore, where he first landed, was with the People in great Joilily and Mirth, a Crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the sudden another fort of Game than at such a Meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Gometzog the hog, in height twelve Cubits, is refer'd alive; that with him Corinna, who defir'd nothing more, might in his Strength and Strength and Mirth, the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheless Corinna enrag'd, heaving him up by main Force, and on his Shoulders, bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, called ever since Longmea- gen, or the place to lay the Giant's Head.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Trio Nova, chang'd in time to Tinternavon, now London, and began to enact Laws, Heli being then High Privit in Julis, and having govern'd the whole Isle 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new Troy. His three Sons Lucinie, Liburnus, and Lucifer, after him, were by the first Locrinie had the middle part Locrina 2857. nay, and fit Provision for them all to depart the Land.

With the time of his Landing is supposed to be about 1200 Years after the Flood, A. M. 2839.

* He gives it a Latin Name, tho' that Language was not then us'd in Italy. The History of England to the Norman Conquest.
and encompass'd on the River Hainia. Of which our Spencer allo thus sings.

Let Scalids tell, and let tell Hainia,
And let the Marshes of Ethambruges tell
What Colour were their Waters that same Day,
And all the More twixt Elverham and Delf,
In the heraldic Branches which therein fell,
How oft that Day did fail Bruchildis for

The Greenfield dy'd in dolorous Versets, &c.

And however, and Bruchild, and Greendfield,
seem newer Names than for a Story pretended
the Ancient.

Hereas it needed Leil, a Maintainer of Peace
and Equity; but hark'd in his latter End,
whence arose some civil Discord. He built in
the North Carickel, in the Days of Solomon,
and drifting in latter Times, appeasing the Com-
motions which his Father could not, founded
Corbykent at Caerbury, Caergunt, or Winceby,
and Mount of them now Nevonia or Shafsbury:
but this by others is contradicted.

Eleded his Son built Corbekes or Bath, and
those Medicinal Waters he dedicated to Minerva,
in whose Temple there he kept Fire continually
burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and
taught Necromancy: Till having made him
Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of
Apollos in Trinovantis, and so ty'd after Twenty
Years Reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line
hath run on: But Leir, who next reign'd, had
only three Daughters, and no Male Line: Cov-
verted laudably, and built Caer-Leir, now Lei-
port, for the three Sons. But at last, falling
through Age, he determines to betake himself
and his Children to the Kingdom,
and so among them to divide his Kingdom.
Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best
(a Trial that might have made him, had he
known as wisely to try, as he seem'd to know
how much the trying belov'd him) he refutes
a simple Resolution, to ask them solemnly in order,
and which of them should profess longest to be
believe. Goneril, the eldest, apprehending too well
her Father's Weakness, makes answer, invoking
Heaven, That she lov'd him above her Soul.
Therefore, quoth the old Man over-joy'd, since thou so
honour'd my declining Age, to thee and the Husb-
band whom thou hast chosen, I give the third part
of my Realm. Pursuant whereunto, for a few Words
soon utter'd, was to Reign the second, and thus
instruct what to say. She on the same Demand
spares no protesting, and the Gods must winnus,
that otherwise to express her Thoughts she knew
not, but that she lov'd him above all Creatures;
and so receives an equal Reward with her Sister.

But Cordelia the youngest, though hitherto belov'd,
and now before her Eyes the Father that admires her,
and prefer Hire of a little ease soothing, the Dang-
er also, and the Lords likely to deliberate plain
Dealing, yet moves not from the solid Purpose of
a sincere and vertuous Anfwier. Father, faith
me, my Love towards you is as my Duty bids;
what should a Father seek? What can a Child pro-
trive more? they who pretend beyond this, father.
When the old Man, forry to hear this, and with-
ing her to recall those Words, petrified ask-
ing; with a loyal Sadness at her Father's Insin-
uality, but something on the further hard, and
Glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her
Way Mind. Two ways only, faith me, I have to
answer with. She replied, the former, you moni-
tend is, I should recant, except thee this other
which is left me, look how much you have, so much
is your Value, and so much I love you. Then bear
them, quoth Leir, now all in a Passion, what pity
Ingratitude
Ingratitude hath gained thee; because thou hast not received thy aged Father equal to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine. 

But to Him. 

To Him. 

And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, Cornelia to Mycetius, Duke of Albaniu, Regan to Hennius Duke of Cornwall, with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to fallow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wildon, and other Graces of Cordelia, infomuch that Agrippu a great King in Gaul (however he may by his Greek Name) seeks her to Wife. At nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent. After this, King Leir, more and more drooping with Years, became an ease Prey to his Daughters and their Husbands; who now by daily Encroachment had felt'd the whole Kingdom into their hands, and the old King is put to depart with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by three fore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and dizzier for continual Guefts, are reduc'd to Thirty. Not brooking that Auffront, the old King betakes himself to his second Daughter; But there alfo Difford soon arising between the Servants of suffering Matters in one Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. The back again he returns to the other; hoping that the his Eldest could not but have more Pity on his gray Hair: But the now refuses to admit him unless he content with one only of his Followers. At last the Remembrance of his young self, Cordelia, comes to his Thoughts; and now acknowledgment how true her Words had been, though with little Hope from him, or he had injur'd, be it but to pay her the late Recompence the can have from him, his Confession of her wife forewarning, that he perhaps his Mifery, the Proof and Experiment of her Wildon, might something soften her, he takes his Journey into France. Not only might he be seen a Difference between the silent and down right spoken Affection of some Children to their Parents, and the talkative Obsequiounfes of others; while the Hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges their Duty. Cordelia out of mere Love, without the Sufiiciation of expected Reward, at the loss of only her Father in Diffreds, yearns forth true filial Years. And not nor enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should fee him in such forlorn Condition as his Meffinger declar'd, different appoints one of his most trusty Servants, first to convey him privately toward some good Sea Town, there to array him, bath him, che- rish him, furnish him with fine Attendants and State, as before'd his Dignity. That then, as from the first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband Agrippus. Which done with all mature and requisite Contrivance, Cordelia with the King her Husband, and all the Earony of his Realm, who then first had News of his palling the Sea, go on to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, Agrippus, as to his Wife's Father, and his Royal Guef, surrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and Difposal of his whole Dominion: Permitting his Wife Cordelia to go with an Army, and fet her Father upon his Throne. Wherein her Plicht for the world, as that she the vaunt'd of her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and Leir again, as faith the Story, three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dy- ing, Cordelia with all Regal Solemnities gave Binal in the Town of Leicest.rc. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace, until Mor- gannus and Conedogus, her two Sifers Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unconfonablest time to raise that Quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depoife her, and imprison her, and now long unexert'd to fuffer, the there, as is related, kill'd her felf. The Vicfours whom they part the Land: But Morgannus the Eldest Sifer's Son who held by Agreement from the North-side of Humber to Cattonefs, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own Right, wars on Conedogus, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of Wales, where he left his Life, and ever since his Name to the Place.

Conedogus was now sole King, and govern'd with much Praife many Years, about the time when Rome was built. * Him succeede Rivello his Son, wife alfo and fortunate; fave what they tell us of those Days lasting Blood, and Gaming of Ringing Flies, whereof Men dy'd. In order then Gerytunicus, Jago or Leas, his Nephew, * Silfinus, Kimericus. Then Gargobuch, whom 3287. others name Gorbodego, and Gobr��dun, who had 3354. two Sons, Ferrex and Porrex. They in the old Age of their Father failure to contend who should succeede, Porrex attempting by Treachery his Brother's Death, and him into Prison; in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and flays him. But by his Mother Videa who lefs lov'd him, is him- felf, with the Atiftance of her Women, soon after fain his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of Britius, whereupon the whole Line of their Kings was brought to an End. 3477.

The Line of Brutes begins.

6 Kingdoms, long time waging War on each other, and some fay 50 Years. At length Dunmall0 Mol- mutinus, the Son of Olften King of Cornwall, one of the foremost five, excelling in Valour, and Goodness of Perfon, after his Father's Deceafe found means to reduce again the whole Island into a Monarchy: Subduing the fett at Opportunities. This King's Son Longinus, was by the frefl of the Sea, a Scourge to the Britons, and the Ruin of Cambria, Saterinus of Albeinia, confederate together. In which Fight Dunmall0 is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 Rout Men, bids them put on the Ar- mor of their plain Enemies, and fo unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where their two Kings had plac'd themselves in Fight, from that part which they thought secureft, affails and dispatches them. Then displaying his own En- figus, which before he had conceal'd, and fending notice to the other part of his Army what was done, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victor. This Dunmall0 was the first Brit- inian that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the firft King. He ejtablifh'd the Molmutine Laws, famous among the Englifh to this Day; written long after in Latin by Gilde, and in Saxon by King Alfred, to faith Geoffrey, but Gildez denies to have known ought of the Britains before Cefar, much lefs known of the Thefe Laws, whoever made them. The following, befor'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary, to Cities alfo, and the ways thither leading, yet to Plows

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1. * Romulus built Rome A. M. 3133 Till Sis. 2. * Silfinus was Negro by Leas, who acording to Mr. Talbot's Chronological Tables succeede him A. M. 3356, and was suc- ceeded by Kinnericus or Kinericus, A. M. 3554. 3. The Line of Britius reign'd in this Island, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Account, 650 Years. granted
grant a kind of like Refuge: And made fuch Kidadance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Paffages were safe. Forty Years he govern’d alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the Memory of Peace rector’d, had built in Trinovant.

His two Sons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the Crown, by Devision of Friends came at length to an accord; Brennus to have the North of Hanbury, Belinus the Sovereignty of all. But the younger not long contented, that he, as they whisper’d to him, whose Valour had so often repuls’d the Conquest of the Briton Morinius Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Defign fails into Norway; enters League and Affinity with Ifland that King, which Belinus perceiving, in his Abfence difpoifles him of all the North. Brennus with a Fleet of Norwegians makes toward Britannia; but encounter’d by Guiltier, and Benfimus, who, if they could lay his Bride, purf’d him on the Sea, his haite was retard’d, and he bereft of his Spoufe: Who from the Fight by fudden Tempoft, was by the Danishe King driven on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus nevertheless recollects his Navy, lands in Albania, and gives Battle to his Brother in the Wood Colaterimines, but loosing the Day, decifive with one fingle Ship he fubdu’d the Mean while the Dane upon his own Offer to become tributary, fent home with his new Prize, Belinus returns his Thoughts to the administering of Juflice, and the perfecuting of his Father’s Laws; and to explain what High-ways might enjoy the forefai’d Privileges, he ca’d to be drawn out and paid four main Roads to the utmost Length and Breadth of the Island, and two others a thrall; which are fince attributed to the Roman. Brennus on the other fide foliciting to his Aid the Kings of Gaul, happens at laft on Seginus Duke of the Allobroger, where his Worth and Comeline’s of Perfon wan him the Duke’s Daughter, and Commend his Right by his Clay, in confecruating, and by obfain’d Leave paking with a great Hol through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Nor was Belinus unpræpar’d, and now the Battle ready to joyn, Comeline’s the Mother of them both, all in a Fright, throws her felf between, and calling carnally to her right the Briton’s Abfence, in an Intrigue of great depri’d her of her Sight, after Encamgements, and Tears, affails him with fuch a Motherly Power, and the mention of things done and reverber as irreverently wrung from him all his Enmyties againft Belinus.

Then are hands joyn’d, Reconciliation made from Confluf; and Comfelmails to turn their united Preparations on foreign Parts. Tho’ generall by these two all Gallia was over-run, the Story tells, and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, if these be they, and not Gauls, who took that City, the Roman Authors can retale. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here againft the Stream of History, carries up and down, no lefs amorous, nor lefs innocenc, then again to Rome, purfuing Gabines and Pofesia two unheard of Confuls. This much is more generally believ’d, that both this Brennus, and another famous Captain, Britomaros, whom the Epitomum Flors and other mention, were not Gauls but Britains; the Name of the first in that Tongue figuring by, and the latter was a chief of the Britains. However, Belinus after a while returning home, the reft of his Days rule’d in Peace, Wealth and Honour above all his Predecessors; building some Cities, of which one was Caerleoph upon Ofca, since Caerelegon; beautifying others, as Trimont with a Gate, a Haven, and a Tower on the Bishop. Thoms, retaining yet his Name; on the Top gate, whereof his Athes are fail to have been laid up in a Goldem Urn.

After his death, Brennisus Barbius was King, mild and juft, but yet inheriting his Father’s Courage, he fub’d the Daciun, or Dane, who refus’d to pay the Tribute covenanted to Belinus for his Enlargement. In his return finding about the Orkney thirty Ships of Spain, or Rifes, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain allle Barthulmaus, unoffendfully barring him as he pleaded, befought him that some part of his Territory might be affign’d them to dwell in, he fent with them certain of his own Men to Ireland, which then lay unpeop’d, and gave them that Island to hold of him as in Homage. He was bu’d in Caerlegion, a City which he had u’d about.

Guilebene his Son, is also remember’d, as a juft and good Prince, and his Wife Martia to have exceed’d so much in Wifdom, as to venture upon a new Inification of Laws. Which King Alfred translating, call’d Marches-League, but more truly thereby is meant the Merian Law, not tranfmitted by barbarous Race, or incorporated with the Well-Saxon. In the Minority of his Son, he had the Rule, and then, as may be fuppof’d, brought forth these Laws, not her felf, for Laws are Mafigine Births, but by the Advice of his fag’d Counfellors; and therein the me do very veritably, fhon it befel her to fupply the Namage of her Son. He goes nothing more away from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

Her Son Sigflus coming to Years, receiv’d the Sigflus Rule; then in order Kimmarus, then Daniraus or the ad. Plancius his Brother. Then Marindus, his Son by Tungquafla, a Conchicine, who is record’d a Man of exccetive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immenfly Cruel; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his Hand. A certain King of the Maribus, or Picards inva’d Northumberland, whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Prowe<s overcome; but with the Honour of his Victory by the cruel Ufage of his Prifoners, and in his own hands, on the Poofed the Prefence pot all to severa Deaths: Well fitt’d to flich a Bef laugh Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monster that from the Irif Sea infefted the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength, foolithly attempting to fet Mainly Valour againft a brute Vafnads, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch’d up and devoured.

Gorbonian the Eldeft of his five Sons, than whom a jufter Man liv’d not in his Age, was a great Builder of Temples; and gave to all what was their due; to his Gods devout Worthip, to Men of De
er, Honour, and Preferent; to the Commons Encouragement, in their labours, and Fraulon, Defence and Protection, from Injuries and Op"
3687. to noble and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have ever been found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of Colater, he chanc'd to meet his depo'd Brother wandering in mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning foreign Aids to his Restoration, and was then chiefly in a poor Habitat, with only ten Followers; privately returnd to find sufficiency among his secret Friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Eligibis himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and fincere Welcomings, conveys him to the City Altcbh, there hides him in his own Chamber. After wards framing him self fick, summons all his Peers, as about great Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, caus'd them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after re-conciliation made on all sides, he proceeds to name, and call, from the fentiment of the Crown, placed on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it felf dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmnef with the ambition of a Deed so Heroic, became a true converted Man, rul'd worthyly ten Years, dy'd and was bury'd in Caerleir. Thus was a Brother fav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the true and fittest to offer to great and virtuous Men, for which thousands of near- Blood have defcry'd each other, was, in re- fpect of Brotherly dearnefs, a contemptible thing. Eligibis now, in his own behalf, re-afumes the Government, and did as was worthy fuch a Man to do. When Providence, that fof great Vertue might want no fuch of truly admirable influ- ences as up Vigens and Poyerdos his young- est Brothers, against him who had defcry'd fo nobly of that relation, as lean of all by a Bro- ther to be injur'd: Yet hym the defteem, hym they impri'm in the Tower of Trimont, and divide his Kingdom; the North to Poyerdos, the South to Vigens. After whole Death Poyerdos held it; and much the better us'd his power, by how much the worfe he got it. So that Eligibis now is hardly mis'd. But yet in all right, ow- ing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die firft. And Eligibis, after many Years Imprifonment, is now the third time feated on the Throne, which at first he enjoy'd in Peace; making the inter- ruption of his mild and juft Reign, as full of vertuous Deeds as Days, to the end. After these five Sons of Merobnus, succeeded all their Sons in Order: * Regis of Gorbion, Margant of Archigallo, both good Kings. But Emannus his Brother taking other courses, was after fix Years depo'd. For his own great and might, govern'd Eberly. Then Rono, then Govern- tis, he of Poyerdos, this laft the Son of Eligibis. From whom Loins (for that likely is the durable and forving Race that fpring of juft Progeni- tors) inherit'd a long defcent of Kings, which Names only for many Succeffions, without other memo- ry, fland thus register'd, Castus, Ceifnus, Perax, Clems, and his three Sons; Polgenius, Ebdadus, and Andragius, his Son Ursains; Elfrd, Eldedanes, Clouxens, Gurgantius, Merianus, Bledims, Capis, * Cigellus or Dinellus, the Son of Capi, about eighty years after the Death of Eligibis, in which time there had reign'd thirty Kings, came to the Crown, and is the firft of fo many Princes that Geoffrey could or would say any thing of. * This Annio wrote the History of Britain, which was read into Latin by another Nennius.

3700. Oenus, Sibillus, twenty Kings in a continud row, of which neither had any thing, or lived in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermitation in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; him self weary, as feems, of his own tedious Tale. But to make amends for this slence, Blegbre- dus next after them, is recorder'd to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Musick; opportu- nely, had he but left us one Song of his twenty Predecessors doing. Yet after him nine more succeeded in Name; his Brother Archimantus, El- dol, Redieus, Rederchius, Sumilus, Panjefle, Pin- corus, * but Cigellus, with the addition of Moeld, was with the Composition of Six. His Son Helt reign'd forty Years, and had three Sons, Lud, Caffibelen and Nennius. This Helt seems to be the fame whom Nennius in his Fragment calls Almucen, for him he writes to be the Father of Caffibelen. Lud was he that enlarg'd and wall'd about Tri- mont, there kept his Court, made it the prime City in the Nation, and set up a new Law, of Lud's Town, now London. Which, as is alledg'd out of Gilkes, became matter of great Diffention betwixt him and his Brother Nennius; * who took it haimoufly that the name of Troy, their ancient Country, should be aboli'd for any new one. Lud was hardy and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Roamer. He confider'd much in the City, his faith Huntingdon, and was bury'd by the Gate which from thence we call Lindgate. His two Sons, Androgens and Tennenius, were left to the tuition of Caffibelen; whose bounty and high de- meneor so wrought with the common People, that got him eallie the Kingdom transfer'd upon him self. He neverthelefs continuing to favour and support his other male relations, more fresly Andro- gens, London with Kent, upon Tennenius, Cor- wall: Reffering a supefriority both over them, and all the other Princes to him self, till the Ro- mans for a while circumbridg'd his Power. Thus far, though leaning only on the Credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his Affertors, I yet for the fic- e of the real truth, and the benefit of posterity, could not improve this paper, to the purpose to relate what I found. Whereco I nei- ther oblige the belief of other Perfon, nor over- haftily subcribe mine own. Now have I flood with others, computing or collating Years and Chronologies, left I should be vainly curious about the Time and Circumstances of things, for that reference is so much in doubt, both this time, like one who had set out on his way by Night, and travel'd thro' a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where Day-light and Truth meets us with a clear dawn, reprefenting to our view, though at a far diftance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit Cafer, whom Authorities we are now firft to follow, wanted us who tax'd him of mis- reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars against Pompey, much more may we think in the Brithif Affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in fuch variety of good Authors, we hardly can mis from one hand or other, be fufficiently known. He conquer'd as of things past fo long ago. But this will better be refer'd to a fecd Difcourse.
THE

History of ENGLAND.

Continu'd to the Norman Conquest.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book II.

3897. I Am now to write of what befell the Britains from fifty and three Years before the Birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the first Hundred Years or somewhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civileft, and Wifteft of European Nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the Actions of that pacifick City. For Worthy Deeds are not often deftitute of Worthy Relaters: As by a certain Fare great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the fame Ages. Tis true, that in obfcurer Times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indifguft Noile of many Battles, and Devastations of many Kingdoms over-run and loot, hath come to our Ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the Love of Rapine hath rur'd up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts in waiting and ruining Wars, which to Pofteity have left the Work of wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he who judg'd and true Valour ufed the necellity of Wars, and found it not to decay but to prevent Deftruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Deter- mination, wildly confious of this his Wants as well as of his Worth not to be forgotten or conceal'd, honours and good Records to the Age, his Eloquence, his frielldielt and best Supply; by whose immortal Record his noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Pofteity, over Enemy, Death, and Time, always victorious. There- fore when the Eftream of Science, and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may preface that also there all civil Virtue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline; And then Eloquence, as it were comforted in the fame Deftiny, with the Decreafe and Fall of Virtue corrupts alfo and fades; at leaft religions here Office of relating, to illiterate and frivolous Historians; fuch as the Perfons themselves both deferve, and are bef pleaf'd with; whilst they want eithei the Underftanding to chufe better, or the Innocence to dare invite the examining and learning Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survey of their unfoad Exploits, before befieled by Chriftian than Rome. As for thefe, the only Authors we have of Britiiff Matters, while the Power of Rome reach'd hither (for Gildas affirms, that of the Roman Times no Britiiff Writer was in his Days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or comm~"
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

3807. *Itu, or only known to Merchants, yea to them a little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform Ceasar of what bignefs the Ille, what Nations, how great, what use of War they had, what Laws, or for more, what Concordious House the bigger Vessels. Of all which things, as it were then first to make Difficoury, he sends Cebio Volfemus, in a long Galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine Castle, whence the shortell passage was into Britain. Either his Navy, or the be he'd against the Armoricans, and what else of Shiping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, Ambassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Holtages, and Obedience to the Roman Empire. Then, after Audience given, Ceasar as largely promising, armed them, receiv'd to fort in his Land, and home, and with them Comit of Arre, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretely employ'd to gain a Roman Party among the Britains, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was specking that Ther. Volfemus, with what difficoury he could, and made if he could board his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five Days returns to Ceasar. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of Roman and their Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horfe, the Foot in 30 Ships of Burchen, the Horfe in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, lets off and the British Watch the Night his Navy, which lefts to Sea, leaving behind him Subtilius Rufus to make good the Port with a sufficient Strength. *But the Horfe, whole appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound eight Mile upperward in another Haven, had much trouble to imbrace. Ceasar now within fight of Britain, beholds on every Hill multitudes of men, in the Night of the 12th, and Ceacor writes to his Friend Atticus, that the Ac- cefses of the Iland were wondrously fortify'd with strong Works and Mores. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of Day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: *Mean while his Legates and Tribunes confulting, and giving him all the things he might happen in such a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open Shore eight Mile distant, commonly suppos'd about Deal in Kent. Which when the Britains perceived, their Horse and Chariots, as they used in fight, crowning before, their main Power speeding after, some thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be affaile'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter and affaile the Romans, even under their Ships, with such a bold and free hardhod, that Ceasar himself, between confiding and excusing that his soldiers were to charge their Ships, to the Water heavy arm'd, and to fire at once, denies not but that the Terror of new and evolute Oppofition made them forget their wonted Valour. To fuccour which he commands his Gallies, a fight unusual to the Britains, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the open fide of the Enemy, and thence with Sling, Engines and Darts, to heat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the frangendness of the new Sea Captains, bearing up to near and to firiftly, as almost to overwhelm them, the burthen of their Ships, the bettering of fierce Engines against their Bodes barely expos'd, did the Britains give much ground, or the Romans gain, till he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first befeced his Gods, and thus aloud: Leap down, Soldiers, which ye mean to betray your Enemies, I, for my part, will perform that which ye are to perform. This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle fiercely advanced, runs upon the Enemy, the reti hecting one another not to admit the dinofion of to nigh lobing their chief Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought earnestly on both sides. Ours, who well knew their own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sands, both the Romans went trooping to their Ensigns, receive'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of their Horfe, put them every where to great disorder. But Ceasar cauing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief in one part, where they were requir'd; and an FOOT from the Entrance his Fleet now disposed of, and got together in some order on firm Ground, with a more speedy Charge, put the Britains to flight: But wanting all their Horfe, whom the Winds yet with held from fail, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused Fight, Scæus a Roman Soldier, having his prefent wound and carried, draw'd off and behind his Ship, but this the Britains did not have in it, and they find a Chronicle, and found, after incredible Valour thrown in single combat, a multitude, whom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his Pratifs, earnestly besought Pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: Which modeft confenting after no bad event, for such a Deed wherein Valour and Ingenuity to much out-weight'd Traffick, only procuring an immediate Pardon, and for so much they had to be a Centurion. Ceasar also is brought in by Tullian, attributing to himself the honour (if in Ceasar) were at all an honour to that Perfon which he futin'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land; But this were to make Ceasar left underland what became him than Scæus. The Britains finding themSELVES in a better Fight, forthwith fend Ambassadors to treat of Peace; promising to give Holtages, and to be at command. With them Comit of Arre also return'd, whom hither, since his first coming from Ceasar, they had detain'd in Prifon as a Spy, the blare whereof they lay on the common People, for whose help and they thanked them, and surprised; the craven Pardon. Ceasar complaining they had first fought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Holtages: Whereof part they bring in firiat, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few Days. Mean while the People subdued and sent home, many of the Princes and Chief Men from all parts of the Ille fubmited, and their Cities and the disfopofe of Ceasar, who lay then encour'd, as is thought, on Barthom Down. Thus had the Britains made their Peace, when suddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Countles into their Minds. Four Days after the coming of Ceasar, those 15 Ships of Burchen, which from the upper Haven had taken in all

* The Morini inhabited the Province of Picardy.
* Concerning the Havens from whence Ceasar lies Gill for Britain, see Mr. Samson's Difertation, de Portis Iconis, publish'd at Oxford by Mr. Griffin.
* This Scæus afterwards became more famous for his Bravery at the Battle of Dyrrachium, when he fided with Ceasar against Pompey.
the Roman Horse, born with a swift Wind to the very Coaf, in flight of the Roman Camp, were by a sudden Tempest scattered, and driven back, come to the Post from whence they lost; others down into the Sown Country, where they found their not a matter for Land, or to call Asthor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled Sea; and as Oryas reports, were most of them cast away. The same Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the Romans cover'd with a Spring-tide. Shells and laverget off at Anchor, torn and beaten with Waves, to the great Perplexity of Cesar and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any Provision made to flaw here, intending to have winter'd in Gallia. All this the Britains well perceiving, and by the Command of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the final, guelling at his Numbers, confult together, and one by one flily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were wait- ing the Conclusion of a Peace, resolve to flop all Provisions, and to draw out the Bufinefs till Winter. Cesar though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the Condition wherein we were left, it was to be hoped to flop what was likely, begins to provide anpace, all that might be, against what might happen: lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of tho' Ships which were past help he repairs the reft. So that now by the inceffant Labour of his Soldiers, all the next Day, and many Days following, it seems as if the things are doing, one of the Legions being fent out to forage, as was accustomed, and no Sufficion of War, while some of the Britains were remaining in the Country about, others all going and coming freely to the Roman Quarters, they who were in Station at the Camp Gates fent Spedy Word to Cesar, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Dufk than ufual was fent to ride. Cesar guelling the Matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thither, two others to fuc- ceed in their fear, the reft all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when Cesar difcovers his Legion for over-owing the Britains withal that but their Enemies on the Morrow were to be in that place which only they had left unrea'd of all their Harveft, had plac'd an Ambush; and while they were difperft and buflet at their Labour, fet upon them, kill'd fome, and routed the reft. The manner of their Flight was from a kind of Chariots; wherein ri- figning about, and through their Darts, with the vol- ter of their Horfe, and of their Wheels, they oft-times broke the Rank of their Enemies; then retreating among the Horfe, and quitting their Chariots, they bou't on foot. The Chariotiers, in the mean while somewhat aside from the Battel, fet themfelves in feich order, that their Ma- ftons andornment, and with a small re- tire solely thither, having perfom'd with one Perfon both the nimble Service of a Horfe-man, and the ftiffed Dufk of a Foot Soldier. So much they could with their Chariots by Ufe, and exe- cife, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to flop flupidly, and with a short Rein turn them. All this, as they now perfon'd on the * Yoke, then in the Seat. With this fort of new skirmifhing, the Romans now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, Cesar with opportune aid appears; for then the Britains make a fland: But he con- fidering that now was not fit time to offer Battle, while his Men were scarce recover'd of fo late a fcar, only keeps his ground, and foon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Further Action for many Days following was hinder'd on both fides by foul Weather; in which time the Britains dispatching Meffengers round about, to how few the Romans were reduc'd, what hope of Prize and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themselves from the fear of like Invaflions hereafter, by making thefe an example, if they could but now uncamp their Enemies; at this intimation multitudes of Horfe and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the Romans. Cesar forefearing that the Britains, tho' beaten and put to flight, would eaily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horfe, which Comus had brought over, draws out his Men to Battel, puts again the Britains to flight, pricks to fend their Slaughter; and returning, burns and lays waste all about. Wherupon Ambassadors the fame day being fent from the Britains to defire Peace: Cesar, as his Affairs at present flood, for fo great a breach of Faith, only impofes on them double the former Holtages to be fent after him into Gallia: And the Britains Began: accordingly, a Feyt, a Reafon not fit to tempt the Sea with his Western Sides. when Fleets, the fame Night with a fair Wind he de- parts towards Belgium: Whither two only of the Britains Cities fent Holtages, as they promis'd, the reft neglected. But at Rome, when the news came of Cesar's Acts here, whether it was defir'd or refrained, the French Suppli- cation of twenty Days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an Exploit done, or a Discovery made, wherein both Cesar and the Romans glo- ried not a little, though it brought no Benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth. The Winter following, Cesar, as his Cutfom was, going into Italy, when he faw that moft of the Britains regarded not to fend their Hol- tages, appoints his Legates whom he left in Belgium, to provide what poifible Shipping they fef- could either build or repair. Low built they were, to be, as thereby eafter both to fraught, and to haile afoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tide fof often changing, was observ'd to make a better entry in our Seas than that of the Mediter- ranean: Broader likewise were they made, for the better transporting of Hor- fes, and all other Frugalties, being intended chiefly to that end. There all about 660 in a Readinefs, with 26 Ships of Burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, Cotta, one of the Legates, wrote them, as Ate- naeus affirms, in all 1000, Cesar from 3 Porte Ici- nuis, a Paffage of fome 80 Mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the Haven, and for other Supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horfe, about Sun fet hoifting Sail with a fack South-Weft, at Midnight was heale: And finding it in light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, and fallen off from the Ile, which now they could defcry on their left hand, by the unwearied Labour of his Soldiers, who refuf'd not to tug the Car, and kept oure with Ships under fail, he bore up as near as might be, to the fame place where he had land'd on the 20th, now about Noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the Britains, which in great Numbers, as Cefei, was after known, had been there, at sight of fo
huge a Fleet durst not abide. Cæsar forthwith
landing his Army, and encamping to his left Ad-
_vantage, some notice being given him by tho\he
took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole
Power, five only ten Cohorts, and 350 Horse,
leaving Captains Arriva for the Guard of his Ships,
about the third Watch of the same Night march-
cap twelve Mile into the Country*. And at
length by a River commonly thought the Sioume
in Kent, ephippe embattled the British Forces.
They with their Horses and Chariots falling upon
the Roman Cohorts in their March, and begin the Fight, but repelled by
the Roman Cohorts give back into the Woods,
to a Place notably made strong both by Art and
Nature, which, it seems, had been a Fort, or
Hold of Strength rias' heatrefohere in Times of
Wars among themselves. For Entrance and Ac-
cess on all Sides, by the falling of huge Trees
over one another, was quite bar'd up, and
within these Britains did their utmost to keep
out the Enemy. But the Soldiers of the fourteenth
Legion locking all their Shields together like a
Roof close over head, and others raising a Mount,' with
without much Loss of Blood took the Place, and
drove them all to forcake the Woods, suddenly as
they made not long, as being through Ways un-
known, and now Evening came on, which they
more widely spent, in clashing out where to
pitch and fortifie their Camp that Night.
The next Morning Cæsar had but newly sent out his
Men in three Bodies to pursue, and the left no
further gone than yet in fight, when Horatius
all in poig from Afidius, and Catone, dwelt
to all his Ships in a Tempest that
Night had suffer'd Wreck, and lay broken
upon the Shore. Cæsar at this News recalls his
Legions, himself in all haft riding back to the
Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous
Prospect. About forty Vessels were fond and
loft, the residue to torn, and shaken, as not
likely to be rigg'd and made use of but much Labour.
Straight he enquires what Number of Ship-wrights
either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea,
could be summoned; appoints Labinus on the
Belgian side to build more; and with a dreadful
Indulgy of ten Days, not revising his Sol-
diers Day or Night, drew up all his Ships, and
encircled them round, and every part of the
Camp, and leaving to their Defence the same Strength as before, he returns with his
whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had
defeated the Britains: Who preventing him with
greater Powers than before, had now report'd'd themselves of that Place, under Caulbonil their
Chief Leader. The Somali Territory and the States
bordering on the Sea, was divided by the River
Thames about 80 Mile inward. With him for-
merly other Cities had continual War; but now in
the common Danger had all made choice of
him to be their General. Here the British Horse
and Charioteers meeting with the Roman Ca-
vairy fought stoutly; and at first, something
victorious; but Cæsar retreating to his Advan-
tage of their Woods and Hills, but still follow'd
by the Romans, made head again, cut off the
forward men among them, and after some pause,
while Cæsar, who thought the Day's Work had
been done, was busied about the entrenched
of his Camp, march out again, give fierce Assault
to those, who had Catone and Sentences and
while the main Cohorts of two Legions that
were sent to the Alarm, found within a small
distance of each other, terrify'd at the Newness:
and Boldness of their Fight, charg'd back again
through the midft, without Loss of a Man. Of
the Romans that Day was slain Quintus Laberus
Duru, a Tribune. The Britains having fought
three of their fill at the very Entrance of Cæsar's Camp,
and suffer'd the Resistance of his whole Army
entrench'd, gave over the Assault. Cæsar here
acknowledges that the Romans way both of arm-
ing and of fighting, was not so well fitted against
this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy
Armour could not follow their cunning Flight, and
durft not by ancient Discipline fir from
their Ensign; and the Horse abore disjouy'd from
the Legions to come no farther, turning his Men upon
them, with a mixt Encounter both of Horse
and Foot, were in equal Danger both following
and retiring. Besides their Fation was, not in
great Bodies, and close Order, but in small Di-
visions, and open Distances to make their outlet,
appointing others at certain Places, now to re-
leive and bring off the weary, now to succeed
and renew the Combat; which argue'd no small
Experience, and Use of Arms. Next Day the
Britains afar off upon the Hills began to shew
themselves here and there, and though less
boldly than before, to skirmish with the Roman
Horse. But at Noon Cæsar having sent out three
Legions, and all his Horse with Tribunates the
Legate, and all his Fode, to pursue the Place,
the after the day before were sent upon the Foragers, and charge up after
them to the very Legions, and their Standards.
The Romans with great Courage beat them back,
and in the Glace, being well seconded by the
Legions, not giving them time either to rally,
to stand or to defend from their Chariots as
they were wont, few many. From this Over-
throw, two to pass, the Romans are to pass, and
they took them home; and came no more after that
time with so great a Power against Cæsar. Where
of advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontier
of Cæsiranil, which on this side were bund-
ded by the Thames, not paffable except in one
Place, and that difficult, about Cowley-Sinks near
Oxtendale. Here the Roman Camps did the
minor Defeirs on the other side great Forces of the
Enemy plac'd in good Array; the Bank last all
with sharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd
with Water; whereof the Marks in Bula's time
were to be seen as he relates. This having
learnt by such as were taken, or had run to him,
he first commands his Horse to pass over, then
his Foot, and in the Mean while, by his Com-
mands, so far resolutely and so fast, that on the
further side not enduring the Violence, retreated
and fled. Cæsiranil no more now in hope to
contend for Victory, diminishing all but 40000
of those Charioteers, through Woods, and intricate
ways attends their Motion; where the Romans
are to pass, drives all before him, and with
continual Sallies upon the Horse, when they
least expected, cutting off some and terrifying
others, compels them to close together, as
gave them no leave to fetch in Pry or Booty with-
out ill Success. Whereupon Cæsar strictly com-
manding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left them in his way but empty
Horseshoe, which he spoil'd and burnt. Mean
while the Tribunates a State or Kingdom, they
and perhaps the greatest then among the Brit-
ains, les Favours Cæsiranil, send Ambassadors
dors, and yield to Cæsar upon this Reason. In-
stituting manumissions had been their King: Him Cæsirifie and Jul-
ian had slain, and pursuant to the Rule, Mencio-
brutius, brother of his Son, whom Octavius calls Ausphestius,
Beda Aurelius; but the Youth escaping into Flights to Gallus, put himself under the
Protection of Cæsar. These entreat that Mencio-
brutius may be still defended, and sent home to
succeed in his Father's Right. Cæsar sends him,
demands forty Horsemen and Provision for his
Army,
Army, which they immediately bring in, and have their Confines protected from the Soldier. By their Example the * Cenomagni, * Segontiaci, Ancillites, * Ebroici, * Cotti (to I write them for the Modern Names are but guessed) on like Terms make their Peace. By them he learns that the Town of Coffebelan, suppose d to be Verona, or not far from it, was in hands of Men and woods and Marshes, well flud d with Men and much cattle. For Towns then in Britain were only Woodly Places ditch'd round, and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the Inrudes of Enemies. Thither goes Cesar with his Legions, and though a Place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, he notes that it was the

The Britains after some Defence, fled out all at another end of the Town, in the Flight many were taken, many slain, and great flore of cattle found there. Coffebelan, for all these Looses, yet deserts not humi fied, nor was yet his Authority so much impair'd, but that in Rome, though in a Sea, having few by the Road his Way, Armyn and Commands find Obedience enough to raise all the People. By his Direction Catetorix, Carollus, Taxinagonus, and Segonax, four Kings reigning in those Countries which lie upon the Sea, lead them on to attack that Camp wherein the Romans had encamp'd their Sippings. Cesar also left there, sending out four many, and took Prisoners Catetorius a noted Leader, without Loss of their own. Coffebelan after so many Defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Cities from him, their Incom tancy and Falhood one to another, uses Mediation by Consul Arris to fend Embassadors about Treaty of Yielding. Cesar, who had defat the town in two Places, finds that Gallia was un Fetd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Huskages, and what Yearly Tribute the Island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Tribunates, or Mandaborates, and with his Huk ages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having few by the Road his Way, Armyn. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious Enter prise, he offers to Venus the Patroness of his Family, a Coffet of Britsh Pearls. Howbeit, other ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of Cesar's Victories here; and that in plain Terms he fled from hence, for which the common People in Italy, with divers Puffages here and there, put him to Death. But the Cheese of Boves, who took what he wrote from a History of Suetonius now left, writes that Cesar in his first Journey entertain'd with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot, and by Tempeft nigh all his Horfe. Dion affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed; Orpiafus that he lost the Horfe. In other Words, whom I leave only when others are all silent, hath many trivial Difcorides of Cesar's being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of Coffebelan than what the fame Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with Androgus, about his Nephew flain by Eubrinas Nephew to the Time, which is extant, at least, instead of Coffebelan dies and was buried in York, if the Mounaments Book fable not. But at Cesar's coming hither, Such like were the Britains, as the Writers of thofe Times and their own Actions represent them, in Courage and warlike Rea
dines to take Advantage by Ambush or fudden Onizt, not inferior to the Romans, nor Caffi lan to Cesar, in Weapons, Arms, and the Skill Dint. of Encamping, Engaging, Forfying over, Nels. match'd; their Weapons were a short Spear and Cesar, light Target, a Sword alfo by their Side, their Fight fometimes in Chariots plough'd at the Axe with their Hands, their Bows they not only with Wood, but only painted with Wood in Farday Figures to foam terrible as they thought, but purf'd by Enemies, not nice of their painting to run into Persians. Bogs, worse than wild Jhils, up to the Neck, and there to flay many Days, holding a certain Normel in their Mouths no bigger than a Beem, Dion to fince they could not hold it. Cesar, by his many, but with little Skill of Country Af-dians, fairs, the making of Cheefe they commonly knew not, Wool or Flax they fpin not, gardenimg and planting many of them knew not, clothing they had none, but what the Skins of Hordian. Beasts afforded them, and that not always yet. Caffar, the Man of War, had painted their Skins with several Porcations of Beet, Bird or Colour; er, A Variety which hath not yet left us, renown'd only from the Skin to the Skirt, belonging now with as many colour'd Ribbons and Garmens: 1 Toward the Sea-side they till'd the Ground, and liv'd Cesar, much after the manner of the Gauls their Neighbors, or first Planters: Their Money was brac ed, their Dress was their Skin, their Bow was the Tarrus, their Arrows, Thither, the Britains. In, the ref Trifles of Glaf, Ivory, and fuch. It is Strin like, yet Gems and Pearls they had, faith Me Ma, in some Rivers: Their Ships of light Timber Lac, wickered with Oiler between, and cover'd over with Leather, fery'd not therefore to transport them far, and their Commodities were fetch'd away by foreign Hurriers, their Debts and Herds, but with little Skill of Country Af-dians. States, not confederate or confulting in common, but misftruous, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an eafe Conqueft to the Romans: Their Religion was govern'd by a ftrong Priefts or Magicians call'd Druides from the Britsh Name of an Olen which Tree they had in great Reverence, and the Miftcrs especcially growing thercon, Pliny writes them skill'd in Magic no lefs than thouf of Pefias: By their abftaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fifh alfo, faith Dion, and their Opinion of the Soul's palling after Death into another Body, But the Author, whom I ufe only when others are all silent, hath many trivial Difcorides of Cesar's being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of Coffebelan than what the fame Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with Androgus, about his Nephew flain by Eubrinas Nephew to the Time, which is extant, at least, instead of Coffebelan dies and was buried in York, if the Mounaments Book fable not. But at Cesar's coming hither, Such like were the Britains, as the Writers of thofe Times and their own Actions represent them, in Courage and warlike Rea

* Thought to be the name with the Icel.  
* About Horne in Berks.  
* About Bray in Berks.  
* The Hundred of Cofflew in Hertfrok.  
* Mr. Cameron writes that they were Governors of Kent.  
* On the North-side of Hampshire, about Alton and Bisphafgh.  

W8
Buceo the two younger, uncertain whether equal A.D.40.
or subordinate in Power, were advanced into his Place. But through civil Diftord, Berials (what Doc. he was further is not known) with others of his Party flying to Rome, perjured Claudius the Emperor to an Invasion. Claudius now Comil A.D.47. the third time, and dreadius to do something, he might gain the good of his Honour at the Perfection of those Fugitives, whom the Britains demanding, he had deny'd to render, Senate, and they for that Caufe had deny'd further Amity with Rome, makes choice of this Island for his Province: And finds before him Aulus Plautius the Praetor, with this Command, if the Bufxfels great difficulty to give him notice. "Plutarch with much ado persuaded the Legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they must be put to make War beyond the World's End; for so they counted Britains; and what welcome Julius the Dictator found there, double-lefs they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoisting sail from three several Ports, left their landings, and as they did no thing in any meeting crofs Winds, they were cast back and dishearten'd: Till in the Night a Meteor shooting Flames from the East, and, as they fancy'd, directing their Course, they took Heart again to try the Sea, and without Opposition landed. For the Britains having heard of their Unwillingness, had cause to have been negligent against them; and retreating to the Woods and Moors, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had serv'd Caesar before. Plutarch after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Corinalicus, then with Tog-

The Birth of Christ, g2.  
Dim. l. 49.  
Year before the

The Birth of Christ, 51.  
Dim. l. 49.  
Year before the

* See the Britifh Coin published in the late Edition of Mr. Camb.  
Tabl. an. l. 2.  
Year after the Birth of Christ, 16.  
A.D.47.

* Coin first firmed in Britain in this King's Reign, in which Time our Saviour Jefus Christ was born; and if we may believe Barnum, was preach'd here by Twenty or thirtithree Years after his Crufhion: Which according to William of Malm-  
bury, in his Antiquities of the Church of Gloucefter, was in the 43d Year after Chrift's Paffe. This Legend is exploded by Archibifh Bishop Ofter in his Antiquities of the Britifh Churches, and Bishop Stillmifher in his Origin Britanica.
A.D. 43. sends to Claudius. He who waited ready with a great Preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the Flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern King with arm’d Elephants, marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this Enterprise eftem’d, as not without all this Equipage, and thane Terrors than Roman Armies to meet the native and the naked Britifh Labour defending their Country. Join’d with Plautius, who encamped on the Bank of Themse, attended him, he fords the River. The Britons, who had the Courage, but not the wife Conduct of old Caffelban, laying all Stratagem aside, in downright Manhood forfed not to aftron in open Field almost to conquer the England of the Britons. But overcome and vanquish’d, part by part, forces, others by treaty come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camulodunum, the Royal Seat of Cenobeline, was often by his Army falsified Impe- rator; a Military Title which usually they gave their General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the fame War; as if Claudius by these Acts had deferver’d more than the Laws of Rome had provided Honour to reward. Having therefore difarm’d the Britains, but remitted the Conflagration of their Goods, for which they worship’d him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God; leaving Plautius to subdue what remain’d, he returns to Rome, from whence he is again to Mons Calvus; in doing the Britains but sixteen Days; sending the News before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Island. To whom the Senate, as for Achievements of highest Merit, decreed exceflive Honours; Arches, Triumphs, Annual Solemnities, and the Silkname of Britannus both to him and his Son. And Plautius, with the Britains, here no Restitution, and what all was done without Stroke: But this seems not probable. The Mommouth Writer names these two Sons of Cenobi- line, Guiderius and Arviragus; that Guiderius being slain in flight, Arviragus to conceal it put on his Brothers Habitations, and in his Perion held up the Battle to a Victory; the reft, as of Honos the Roman Captains, Generals the Emperors Daughter, and such like fluff, is too palpably un- true to be worth reitoring in the midst of Truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh Forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebellion Countries, found work enough to deferve at his return a kind of Triumphal Riding into the Capitol, ride single through the whole, and being folemnly decret’d Plautius had thirty Conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encom’ds’d, and in great danger, he was valiantly and pionily retur’d by his Son Titus: Two powerful Nations he fubdu’d here, above twenty Towns and the Isle of Wight, for which he received at Rome Triumphal Orna- ments; and his City in reward of Virtue, was ever magnifick, and long after, when true Merit was equal amongst them, left any thing resembling Virtue should want Honour, the fame Rewards were yet allow’d to the very Shor- dom and Oftentation of Merit. Oftentia in the room of Plautius Vice-preator, met with turbulent Af- fairs in the Britains not ceafing to war. In- deed all those Countries which was yield’d to the Romans and now the more egerly, supposing A.D. 50. that the new General unacquainted with his former Way, and on the edge of Winter, would not hazardly opefe them. But he weighing that fierfl Events were most available to breed Fear or Contempt, with fuch cohorts as were next at hand, fets our against them: Whom having routed, as clofe he follows, as one who meant not to be every Day molested with the Alps of a flight Peace, or an embolden’d Enemy. Left they should make head again, he difarm’d whom he fufpefs’d, and to surround them, places many Garrifions upon the fki- less Pav- ters of *Antone and Sabrina. But the *Leconia, *Hor- fes, *Torkjhire, a foop People, uncom’d yet by fuch Wars, as having been alfo added to the Army with the Romans, S. 430. were the fierfl that brooke’d not this. By their Example others rise; and in a fchoen place, fenu’d with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horfe, waryly Encamp Oftentia, though yet not strengthen’d with his Legions, caui’d the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops alfo affift- ing, to affault the Rampart. They within, defe- per’d with their own number, fowed to it like Men resolve’d, and in a narrow compass did remarkable Deeds. But over-power’d at lift, and by others by their fucces quieted, who till then waverv’d, Oftentia next bends his Force upon the *Cawtongia, waiting all even to the Sea of Ireland, without Pec in his way, or them who durft ill him hand’d. When the Britains now taking matters, drew him back to fettle firft what was unfecure behind him. They, of whom the chiefe were punifh’d, the refc forgven, foon gave over; but the Silures, no way tractable, were not to be refpe’d without a fett War. To further this, Canalodunum was planted with a Colony of Britons, who once again扇d Re- volts, and a means to teach the natives Roman Law and Civility. Cogibusia also a Britifh King, Tacit. His their fain Friend, had to the fame intent certain sig- nific Seizes given him: A haughty Craft, which the Romans us’d, to make Kings all the fervile Agents of enflaving others. But the Silures, hardy of themfelves, relify’d more on the Value of Gor- rataucus; whom many doubtful, many properfe Succefses had made eminent above all that rule’d in Britain. He adding to his Courage Policy, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the Seat of his War among the *Ordinaries, a Country wherein a few Odds were in his Advantage, fave the difficulties to his Enemy. The Hills and every Access he fortiify’d with Heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to come at whom a River of unsafe Pause must be firft waded. The place, as Camboden conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer-Caradoc, on the Wett edge of Skoffshire. He himfelf continually wanting his Officers and Leaders, that This was the Day, This the Field, either to defend their Lib- erty, or to difeafe; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Ancillors, who drive Cefar the Dictator out of Britain, whose Valour fitherto had prefer’d them from bondage, their Wives and Children from difhonour. Infam’d with them was often their ulti, with fuch undaunted Resolution as amaz’d the Romans

* Afterwards Emperor.
* Severus and Anton.
* The Iceni inhabited the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.
* The Annalists on the Precite to the late Edition of Cambled’s Britains. is of opinion, that Smerlofshire and North-Wiltshire were the Country of the Cang. Tir is not well known who they were, but probably they inhabited Skoffhire and Cuffeire, bordering on the
* Britamtes, fupp’d to have been the inhabitants of Luscasta, Torkshire, and the other Northern Counties.
* They inhabited what we now call South-Wales.
* The Ordinaries possessed the Counties, which now make North-Wales.
* Caradoc in the Britifh Tongue, is fupp’d to be the fame with Carafaev in the Latin.
A.D. 50. General, but the Soldier least weighing, because least knowing, clamor'd to be led on against any danger. Officiar, after wary Circumpection, bids them pass the River: The Britains no sooner had them within reach of their Arrows, Darts and Stones, but flew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other side closing their Ranks, and over head closing their Targets, threw down the loosed Ramper's of the Britains, and purrse them up the Hills, both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the Britains who wore neither Helmet nor Cuiras to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a fine victory, whereas the Wife and Daughter of a Cariscanus were taken, his Brothers also reduced to Obedience: himself escaping to Cariscanua Queen of the Britains, against faith given, was to the Victors deliver'd bound: Having held out against the Cariscanua nine years, faith Tor-tures; but by true computation seven. Whereby his Name was changed, all the Cariscanua Provinces, even to Lady and Rome. Many desiring to see who was that could withstand so many Years the Romans Pugnace: And Cesar, to extoll his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquished. Being brought to Rome, the People, as to a solemn Spectacle, were call'd togethcr, the Emperor's Grand and Great Arm. In other words, the Hero's Servants, bearing his Trophies, won in other Wars; next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter; last, himself. The Behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate; He only, neither in Countenance, Word or Action submissively, standing at the Tribunul of Clunius, briefly spake to this purpose: If my Abel, Cesar, be base, so am I base, being the legitimate Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather than a Captive into this City. Nor could I then have defied him for a Confederate, so Noble of Descent, and Rating so many Nations. My present Estate, to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious, I had Riches, Honors, Arms, and New, to wonder for, I could command, and not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessity ours among the rest shall be Subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my Misfortune had been less notorious, your Conquest had been less renown'd, and in your favor's estimation of me, Lords, would be fom times honorer. But if your Interest shall fail, I joy, but I shall your Servants, live to yours, for ever that Prise which is so near devine, the Clemency of a Conqueror. Cesar sau'd at such a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissively thank him, and did like reverence to Agrrippa, the Emperor's Wife, who, by not to be seen, a new and disdain'd fight to the Manly Eyes of Romans, a Woman fitting publick in her Female Pride among Ensigns and Armed Cohorts. To Officiar, Triumph is decree'd; and his Acts esteem'd equal to theirs that brought in Bonds to Rome famous Kings. But the same prosperity attended not his later Actions here. For the Silures, whether to revenge their loss of Cariscanus, or that they faw Officiar, as if now all were done, left earm to restrain them, before the Prettect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Garrifons: And had not supply'd Aid come in from the neighbouring Hidea and Cafiæes, had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the A.D. 52. Prefect with eight Centurions, and many their Ronted Men were slain: And upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman Foragers, then with other Troops hastening to their relief, utterly foil'd and broke them also. Officiar fending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weak Legions came upon fight armed the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale; to the Britains without much losr, for by that time it grew Night. Then was the War havered as it were into small Frays and Bickerings, not un- like sometimues to so many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Rash- nes led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the Silures, was a Report of certain Words cast out by the Emperor, That he would rout them out to the very Naine. Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliaries, by the avarice of their Leaders too fiercely pil- laging, they quite intercepted: And believing befouler Liberty, and Soldiers, armed, the Britains took plenty, drew other Countries to join with them. Thence Loffes falling so thick upon the Romans, Officiar with the thought and magnif thereof ended his Days: The Britains rejocing, although no Battel, that yet adverse War had worn out so great a Soldier. Cesar in his place ordained one Terror: For his humour, the more haffen, that the Province might not be lost to a Governour; the Silures had given an overthrow to Monnsins Talens with his Legion, rumour'd on both sides greater than was true, by the Silures to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of more prufle if he quell'd them, or the more excite if he fail'd. Mean time, the Silures Excurssions not to displease the Roman Pale with wide Excursions: till Didius marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Cariscanus should lead them; for next to him, in Worth and Skill of War, Venustius a Prince of the Britains next, was in- tended to be their chief. He at first faithful to the Romans; but Cesar, captivated, was the design of Cariscanua Queen of the Britains, himself perhaps reigning elscwhere. She who had betrayed Cariscanus and her Country to adorn the Triumph of Clunius, thereby grown powerful and gratious with the Romans, prefuming on the Hire of her Trestion, defterred her Husband; and raising herself up, her power, to secure her on the Kingdom alo. This Deed, so odious and full of Infamy, disturb'd the whole State: Venustius with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who defteed the Example of fo foul a Fact, and withal the uncomelines of their Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not much, A Day to be found among Britains, though she had got by stumble train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her foes below the confidence of being able to refifit longer. When imploring the Roman Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, the ecap'd the Punishment which was ready to have fate'd her. Venustius thus debarr'd the Authority of ruling his own House- hold, justly turns his Anger against the Romans themselves: whole Magnanimity, not wont to undertake dishonourable Cautes, had arrogantly intermediated in his domescl Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultress against her Husband.

* Carisacan King of the Silures was sanguined for the Romans near Ludius in Sufhctre ; Mr. Camden says this Bardel was fought Ann 52. Camb. Tit. Srop.

* Tactes in his Annals. lib. 11. cap. 36. writes, 'twas in the seventh Year after this War began, that Carisacan was taken.
A.D. 54. And the Kingdom he retain'd against their utmost opposition; and of War gave them their fill: First in a sharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then against the Legion of Caesar Nceus. Inform'd that the New War, and unemployed with War by Deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And Nero (for in that part of the life things continued in the same plight to the Reign of Vespasian) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman Forces out of Britains, in order to bulls, and understand the nature of War, and for two years together went on prosperously: both confirming what was got, and subsiding outward. At last, over-confident of his present Actions, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it was said, entertained Paean, and had given good assurance to the refid that with Abate he would. It was Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, effectually to obviate the Rcamicto the Roman, for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subsiding outward. At last, over-confident of his present Actions, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it was said, entertained Paean, and had given good assurance to the refid that with Abate he would. It was Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, effectually to obviate the Rcamic to the Roman, for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subsiding outward. At last, over-confident of his present Actions, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it was said, entertained Paean, and had given good assurance to the refid that with Abate he would. It was Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, effectually to obviate the Rcamic to the Roman, for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subsiding outward. At last, over-confident of his present Actions, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it was said, entertained Paean, and had given good assurance to the refid that with Abate he would.

Worboys Queen of the Britains, Wars with the Romans.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. 63: posings with those not to defer Battel, had chosen a place narrow, and not to be overwinding on his Rear a Wood, being well informed, that his Enemies were all in Front on a Plain unapt for Ambush: The Legionaries stood thick in order, im- paled with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The Carts in Company and Squadrons were every where fluttering and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckoned than two hundred and thirty thousand, so fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives also came in Waggons to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing Romans. The backslides for the Romans to smile at, as a sure token of prospering that Day; A Woman also was their Commander in chief. For Boudicca and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions, as a great encouragement, that with the Britains it was usual for Women to be their Leaders. A deal of other soundness they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how she was laid, how her Daughters were handled, things worthless silence, retirement, and a Vail, than for a Woman to repeat, as done to her own Pefon, or to hear repeated before an Holf of Men. The Greek His- torian lets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-body'd Crown declaiming, a Spanish, a Hare in the Flock, which after a long Circumlocution she was to let slip among them for Luck's sake; then praying to Au- date, the Britifh Gods, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and fet out their History with the fragenesses of our Manners; not caring in their Book, while to brand us with the rank of Barbarian, as if in Britains Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not fet Speeches in a History, unles known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unles worth hearthful: And to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an able of Pottery, railing, in them that have been the pretensions of the Times and Persons than were much. Les such therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious Orations without decorum, though in their Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Caefellan, Togacoûmns, Wyvengus, and others, hath been full of Magnanimity, Schemes, and Martial Skill. But the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole Base, the Britains never more plainly manifested themselves to be right Barbarians: no Rule, no Force- sight, no Forcecraft, Experience or Eftimation, either of themselves, or of their Enemies; such Confusion, such Impotence, as feemed like not to be able to the wild Harry of a diftracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her Command. There- fore Suetonius contempting their unry noises, and fierce Looks, hearkens his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless Raddle that food nearset, the rest would be a Purchase rather than a Tool. And lo it fell out; For the Legion, when they faw their time, hur- ribed it with a viole and fury, and dispafted what oppo'd them; all elfe held only out their Necks to the Slayer, for their own Cars and Waggons were fo plac'd by themselves, as left between them to little room to escape between. The Romans flew all; Men, Men, and the ve- ry drawing Horses lay head along the Field, in a garry mixture of Slaughter. About four-

thousand Britains are said to have been A.D. 64, slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Britonex 70000 Brit- poyland her fel, or, as others fay, ficken'd and blys'd dy'd. She was of Sature big and tall, of Villas at over. Gange grim and fers, hard of Voice, her Hair of Dian. bright color. Before our Heads, under her Hips; she wore a plaited Garment of divers color, with a great Golden Chain, button'd over all a thick Robe. Gildes calls her the crafty Liones, and leaves an ill Fame upon her Daings. Dion sets down otherwise the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much di- fcracy, and folly, and the Triumph of the Britains to give another Battel, had not the Death of Boudi- cca come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to prefer Discipline, and to difpatch the Reliefs of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the open Field; which was supply'd out of Germany with a thoufand Horde, and ten thoufand Foot; thence dif- pend'd to Winter, and with Incursions to wafe those Countries, fubdue them. But to the Brita- ines Famine was a worfe Afflication, a heavy falt off during this Uproar, to till the Ground, and make reckonings to serve themselves on the Pro- visions of their Enemy. Nevertheless those Na- tions, that were not untam'd, hearing of some difcered fighs between Suetonius and the new Pro- vinces, that were brought but slowly to terms of Peace, and the rigour un'd by barbarians on them that yielded, taught them the better courfe to hold on their defence. For it is cer- tain, that Suetonius, though cleft a worthy Man, over-prou'd of his Victory, gave too much way to his Anger againft the Britains. Chaffatus there- fore fending fuch word to Rome, that thefe fe- vere proceedings did not only endanger War; Polyeuctus, a Roman, but a Courier, was fent by Nero to examine how things went. He ad- monishing Suetonius to use more mildnes, advis'd the Army, and to the Britains gave matter of Laughter. Who fo much even till then were nursed up in their Native Liberty, as to wonder that fuch a General with his whole Army fhould be at the rebuke and ordering a Court Servitor. But Suetonius a while after having left a few Gallies on the Shoar, was bid refign his Command to Petronius Turpilbamus, who not pro- voking the Britains, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have preferved the love of Peace to what indeed was his love of Eafe and Sloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his fteps, uiptring the Name of gentle Government to any reminiscs or neglect of Discipline; which brought in ftiff Licence, next Difobedience into his Camps; incen'ded against him, partly for his Covetousnes, partly by the Incitement of Rufius Caclius Le- gate of a Legion; with whom formerly difgrace- ful, no longer. In the Empire, Tacit. Hist. 60. he fell to open difcord; charging him of Diforder, and Seditious, and him Caclius with peeling off, and def trading the Legions of their pay; infor- much that Trebellius hated, and deferted of the Soldiers, was content a while to govern by a bare Entreaty, and forc'd at length to fign the Land. Which he doing to the confp unfinished remaining in good quiet, govern'd by Caclius, and the other Legate of a Legion, both fathiful to Vitellius then Emperor, who fent hither Caclius Bolfanis; under whole- luteny, though not tainted with other fault, un- gainst the Britains nothing was done, nor in their own Discipline reform'd. Pertulius Cerialis, by appointment of Vitellius fucceeding, had to do...
A.D. 74. with the populous Britons in many Battles, and some of them, not unfortified. For as we heard before, it was Venusia who even to these times held them back, both by itself remaining to the East, and by the Country not so much as reach'd. It appears also by several Passages in the Histories of Tacitus, that no small number of British Forces were commanded over Sea the Year before to serve in those bloody Wars between Oro and Vitellius, Tiberius and the Jews of Judea, and Sothern Gauls, and Sea Forces being the forward, quickening the flow, all then the Name of Necessity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemen Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of Britain, before the Studies of Gallia, he brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence, who before hated and despised it. Then were the Roman Nations imitated, and the Gauls, after a while the Incitements all and Materials of Vice, and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher fort call'd Civility, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for Bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a pro- perious Expedition wafht as far Northward as the Frith of Tanis all that obey'd not, with such a Terror, as he went, that the Roman Army, though much hinder'd by tempestuous Weather, had the leisure to build Forts and Castles where they pleased, none daring to oppose them. Besides, Agricola had this Expedient in hand, not to provisorily to chafe his Places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Scone, or Fortresses of his raising was ever known either to have been forc'd, or yielded up, or quitted. Out of these impossumble by Siege, or in such a case duly relieve'd, with continual Irruptions he so prevail'd that the Frenchmen, whose Winter was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had left, was now alike in both Seasons kept short, and streighten'd. For these Exploits then, not only to great, and honourable, Tanis in whole Reign they were achieve'd, was the fifteenth time fulminated Insector; and of him Agri- cola received the Title of the Cincture of Britain, and the Frith of Eildinborough; two opposite Arms of the Sea, divided only by a Neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the Enemy driv'n as it were into another Island. In his fifth Year he push'd over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Search Isles, discovering and founding Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of Britain which faces Ire- land, as aiming all to conquer that Island, where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by Civil Wars, coming to him, he both gladly receive'd, and retain'd him as against a fit time. The Summer ensuing on him, without that the Summer of the Britons, we now to see their Reden- tions generally rise, and very and regular Peace of Gauls by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joining most commonly by Night on the fame Shear both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual Swoons and loud Greetings. At the sight whereof the Britons, not wont to see their Sons ridden, were much frightened. Thus about Howbeir, the Caledonians with great Preparation, and by Rumor, as of things unknown, much greater, taking Arms, and of their own accord beginning War by the Assault of hundry Caftles, sent back some of their Fear to the Romans themselves: And there were of the Com-
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A.D. 84, manders, who cloaking their Fear under the Bage. Advice, count'd the General to retreat back on this side Boboris. He in the mean while having Intelligence, that the Enemy was on the march, he divided the Field into three parts. Which Advantage the Britains quickly spied, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoind, afford by Night with all their Forces that part of the Roman Army which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpriz'd between Sleep and Breakfast, began some Execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with Charmour, to ply d them without Repitse, that by approach of Day they might befall these Enquiries which had cried Screen'd the Britains: Who now after a sharp Fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to their wonted Refuge, the Woods and Fens, pur'd a while by the Romans, that Day elfe in all Appearance had ended the War. The Legions reenforc'd by this Event, they also mov'd with such Vigour, who had so lately cry all to be led on as far as there was British Ground. The Britains also not acknowledging the Loss of that Day to Roman Valour, but to the Policy of their Captain, abated nothing of their Stearns, but arming their Youth, conveying their Wives and Children to Places of Safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by the Covenants bound themselves to mutual Affihsts against the Common Enemy. About the fame time a Cohort of German Armies having sail their Centurion with other Roman Officers in a Mutiny, and for Fear of Punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: And by Wind or Weather carried round about the Coast using Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as their Skill serv'd them, with various Fortune, were the first Discoverers to the Romans that Britains was an Island.

85. The following Summer, Agricola having before sent his Navy to hover on the Coasts, and with wondry and uncertain landings to divert and difconcert the Britains, had himself with a Power best appointed for Expedition, wherein also were many British, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain Grampians, where the Britifh, above 20000, were now lodg'd, and still increasing: For neither would their old Men, so many as were yet vigorous and haft, be led at home, long practis'd in War, and every one ador'd with some Badge, or Cognizance of his Warlike Deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader, to their Courage, though of it felt hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in Detestation of Servitude and the Roman Yoke, fad to have added much more Eagernefs of Fight, teftified by their Shot's and barbarous Applauffes. As much did on the other Side Agricola exhort his Soldiers to Victory and Glory, as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onfit. But first he orders them in this fort. Off Foot on the Auxiliar Forces next to them being the middle Ward, on the Wungs 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, ftood in array before the Camp, either to feize the Victory won without their own Hazard, or to keep up the Battle if it should need. The Britifh Powers on the Hill, as
A.D. 85, prevent the most violent hands of hostile injury. Next Day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss receiv'd, every where Silence, Sdotation, Hiftors burning afar off, not a Man seen, all fled and doubtful whether: Such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit fesign to dissuade a War, the Roman General leads his Army among the 'Hecatombi,' by whom Hiftors being given, he commands his Admiral with a ſufficient Na-
vy to fall round the Cape of Britain: Himſelf with more numbers, that his departure faving might force to awe the new conquer'd Nations, befts his Army in their Winter-Quarters. The Fleet also having fetch'd a properfe and fpeedy compafs about the Ifle, put in at the Haven Tra-
vaux, now Richeward near Sandwich, from whence it firft let out: And now likeliest, if not more, for another; as in Diftiny, the Roman might difcover and fubdue the Ifles of Orkney, which others with left reafon following Eſeſhin and Orfeus, attribute to the Deeds of Claudius. These perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide Fame; with Domitian, under whom great Vir-
tue was as punifhable as open Crime, won him great Merit, as he often fpeaks himself, that his Acts, in thefe deceiv'd him Ruine. 

86. Agricola therefore com-
manded home for doing too much of what he was lent to do, left the Province to his Succ佛 quiet and fecret. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Saffilus Luctuus, or beforsome other, for Saffilus only names him by his Title,统领 under Domitian; but farther of him, or ought else done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in Tacitus to the Book of his Histories, that what Agricola won here, was soon after by 
Domitian either through want of Valour left, or through Entry neglected. And Tacitus the Poet fpeaks of Agricola in these Days, and not be-
fore, King of Britain: Who flood too well in his refinance, as not only to be talk'd of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if Don-
mitian could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also Cæcilia Regina, the Daughter of a Briton, and Wife of Befius a Roman Senator, liv'd in Rome by the Vibs of Mar-
tial for Beauty, Wiff and Learning. The next we hear of Britain, is that when Trojan was Em-
peror, it revoluted, and was fubb'd. Under 

Adrian, Julius Severus, faith Dion, govern'd the Ifland, a prime Soldier of that Age, but he be-
ing call'd to suppress the Jews then in num-
rus, left things at such的优势, as made the Emperor in Perfon to take a Journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as Augustine and Tiberius confeff'd, to gird the Empire within moderate bounds, he rais'd a Wall with great Stakes driven in deep, and fubmit'ted to-
gether, in manner of a Strong Mound, eighty Mile in length, to divide what was Roman from Bar-
rarian: No ancient Author names the place, but old Incriptions, and Ruins it felf yet telifies where it went along between Severa, a River, by Carfio, and the Month of June. Hadrian having quitted the Ifland, took it for honour to be till'd on his Coin, the Reforcer of Britain. In his time also Prefert Lictorius, as appears by an old In-
cription, was Lieutenant here. Antiusinus Flis Perfon, ar-
ning, the Bregantes ever leiatf of foreign 
Servites, breaking in upon Germano (whith 
Camblon già gelles to be Galatia or North-Wat.) part of the Roman Province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by Lollius Urbicus, Captain, who drew another Wall of Turves, in likelihood much beyond the former, and as Camblon proves. Gladus, between the Frith of Duxbriton, and of Eton, DCk
dorough, to hedge our Inflowances from the North. 

87. And Seips Saturninus, as is collected from the 

Marc. Ant. Phili. 

With like fucces did Marcus Aurelius next Em-
peror, by his Legate Calpurnius Agricola, finifh 
here a new War: Commodus after him obnairing the Empire. In his time, 'as among so many different situations of things from one Age to another,' 

Agri
cius a suppos'd King in some part of Britain. Bolo-
the firft of any King in Europe, that we read of, receiv'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the firft by publick Authority profes'd it: A high and singular Grace from above, if fincerity and perfeverance went along, otherwise an empty boll, and only in the fear of the true Sentence, the firft shall be laft. And indeed the Præfes of this Action is more proper to King 

Lucius, than common to the Nation; whose firft 

professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true Faith; which had ap-

peared more fintereste and præife-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, firft profec'd without publick Authority, or againft it, might else have been but outward conformity. 

Lucius in our Monmouth Story is made the fecd by defcent from Marins. Marins, the Son of Arigorous, is there faid to have overthrown the Picts, then firft coming out of Sybelia, flain Robine their King, and in figns of Victory he had fet up a Monument of Stone in the Country, fince call'd Woffmari, but these things have no foundation. Calios, the Son of Marins, all his Reign, which was juft and peacable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if 

Beda err not, living near five hundred Years af-

ter, yet our ancient Author of this report) lent to Holocaustus, then Bishop of Rome, an Authe-

table Letter, as fome of the Contenoes difcover, defiring that by his appointment he and his Peo-

ple might receive Christianity. From whom 

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A. D. 2 two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles 181. Fagans and Derenvaugh, forwith forth, sent are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole Nation: Thence Lord Shrewesbury, Sir John, the Ensign of those, that is to say, Great Light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith here known, but even from the latter Days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some by Simon Zelotes, as others by S. Peter of Antioch, Barnabas, Peter, and their Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believed, Ecclesiastick Historians can best determine: As for the best of them, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lycidas, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried at Gloucester, but dying without Issue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion.

Didius, 72. were so terrible to be believed, we find that the greatest War, which in those days busy'd Cononias, was in this Island. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall raised to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman Province, waffled wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came against them, wholly routed and defeated. In the Emperor's return, with a fleet, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, Ulpius Marcellus. He, a Man endued with all Nobleness of Mind, frugal, temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and watchful, invincible against Lucre, and the assault of Eubis, what with his Valour, and the other Vexations, that Med his War, so 'tis said, too dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the Peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the Roman Legions fell to Sedition among themselves; 1500 of them went to Row in name of the People, and were in a manner so at a loss, as to plague them he put to Death Perenonus the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd here to set up another Emperor against him; and Helius Pertinax, who succeeded Governor, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny they threw him out of their Army, and was him at length to seek a dismissal from his Charge. After him Claudius Albinus took the Government; but he, far having to the Soldiers made an Oration against Monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid regn in to Antoninus Severus. But Albinus in those troublesome times enjoining under the short Reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, found means to keep in his hands the Government of Britain, although Sep- timius Severus, who next held the Empire, sent thither Heraclea to displace him; but in vain, for Albinus, with all the British Powers, and those of Galles, met Severus about Lyons in France, where he pitched his Camp, and fought with the Emperor for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain. The Government of Britain, Severus divided between two Deputies; till then one Le-

gate was thought sufficient, the North he com- mitted to Frisene Lucretius. Where the Moors rising 198. in Arms, and the Catholicks, though they had their Montfargues, and their Leaders, they were not able to con- tend them, so hard beseit, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Prisoners with great Suns of Money. But hearing that Severus had here l. 8. now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here, that the Britains of the North made War upon him, broke into his Province, and all the Rest; and he tries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person. Severus, though now much weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet defirous to leave some Memorial of his Warlike Achievements here, as he had done in other places, and bribes to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the Jurisdiction of Rome, and his Soldiers from Ireland, with a Mighty Power, far sooner than could be expected, ar- rives in Britains. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Ambassadors to treat of Peace, and to ex- clude their former doings. The Emperor now roth to them, that they may not think the things whereby he might affiliate to his other Titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his answer, and quivvrs his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are diminish'd without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over the Severn; for he was afraid, that there might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems, through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wanted to retire, and defend themselves in such watry places half naked. He also being past Adrian's Wall, cut down fifteen Bridges over the Wall, and fent and fill'd up unfound and plashy Places. Nor- withstanding all this industry us'd, the Enemy kept himself so cunningly within his midst ad- vantages, and feldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were molt in streights and difficulties, sometimes trampling them with a few Curtal troops, and then with a great Num- ber cruelly handling them, that many a time en- clood'd in the midst of Sloughs and Quagmires, di- nes they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the Celéstinos. Thus left Sever- us, and by Sickness in those nofrone places, no less than 50000 Men: And yet defeated not, though for weakness carry'd in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmost Northern verge of the Isle; and the Britains offering Peace were compell'd to lose much of their Country, not before subject to the Romans. Severus on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, ordered the Britains in Ireland to Sea, which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other Deeds; and that he thence receiv'd the Stile of Britannicus, in length 132
210. Trench, and between certain Places many Towers, or Battlements, wherein the most part be in Scotland, the Name which Lollas Utricia had walt before. Others affirm it only Hadrian's Work re-edi<led, both Head Authorities and the ancient Text yet visible: But this I leave among the rudities of these Antiquities to be difficulter in large. While William the Third En proph the Empire, or the power of the French, on a time certain British Ladies, and discoordinating with the wife of Arge<on the Caledonians, cut out a scoff against the Lionheads of our Island Women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the Company of divers Men. Whom straight the British Woman boldly thus answered: Much rather we Britains fight the Work of Nature, than you Romans; we with the best men accoutrement openly, yee with the boister commit private Adulteries. Whether the thought this Anuver might serve to justifie the Practice of her Country, as when Vices are compatible, the greater seems to justifie the less, or whether the Law and Custom wherein she was bred, had with her of her Conformity to the Custom of Nature, and not convinced her of the Shame; certain it is, that whereas other Nations us'd a Liberty not unnatural for one Man to have many Wives, the Britains altogether as licentious, but more abuild and preposterous in their Licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Men without the Degrees of Nature, or order con<clusively. But no sooner was Severus returned into the Province, than the Britains take Arms again. Against whom Severus wore out with Labours and Infamy, sends Antoninus his eldest Son, expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But Antoninus who had his wicked Father, was rather for revenge than for the consolations of his Father's Death, a Later Enemy than a Son, did the Britains not much Determ. Whereat Severus more overween with Grief than any other Malady, ended his Life at Turf. After whose Decease Antonius Caracalla his impious Son concluding Peace with the Britains, took Hoptages and departed to Rome. The Conductor of all this Mess was Accius, or rather the Father of that Accius who he of Ammonian Fulgensius, in the rest of his Relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman Empire declining space, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but Fragments for many Years ensuing. Under Gordian the Emperor we find by the Inscription of an Altar stone, that Nemes Philippus govern'd here. Under Gallienus we read there was a strong and general Revolt from the Roman Lege<ate. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the Stile of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, Lolbamus, Felicinus, Pythonus, the Turrit and Marins are conspicuous. of having affairs more grace-ful by the Island. Whence Porphyry, a Philosopher, then living, said that Britain was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants, and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the Scotic Nation. While Ptolemy was Emperor, Boniface the Son of a Rhetician, bred up a Spartian, though by de<cent a Britian Rome. The Multitude and a matchless Drinker, not much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wickeft in his Cups, having attained in Warfare to high Honours, and lastly in his Charge over the German Shipping, willingly, as was thought, miffcarried, trusting on his Power with the Western Armies, and join'd with Proculeus, A. D. bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloody Fight at Cudden vanequid by Ptolemy, he was with willingness, and gave occasion of a ready Jet made on him in his breaking down: Here longer a Tankard not a Man. After this, Ptolemy with much Wisdom prevented a new Revolution, 282. Riling here in Britain, by the severe Loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whom Entreaty he had his Crown return'd here that Governor which rebelled. For the Emperor upbraiding with the Diligency of whom he had commended, Vercingetorix, to knowing to set all right again, hates neither, and finding indeed the Governor to intend Sedition, by some Contrivance not mention'd in the Story, flew him, whose Name some imagine to be Corneius Leucius. They write also that Ptolemy Candid, gave leave to the Gauls and Britains to plant Vines, and to make Wine, and having thus the Vandalus, and Burgundians in a great Zeal, Battel, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good Service to the Romans when any Infriguration happen'd in the Isle. After whom Cassius Emperor going against the Per-Vitic in Eas, left by his Son, who going Carus, of among other Western Provinces this Island, with Imperial Authority, but him Didelphus, saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies, overcame and flew. About which time Carausus a Man of low Parentage, born in Mercipedia, about the parts of Aus. Vit. Giles and Galeros, who through all Military of Ceres, and grown by the Example of their Friends and Successors, what he took from the Pirates, neither reforming to the Owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not fouling the Seas, but concurring rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length a great Delinquent to be left then Empe<ror: For Fenius and Gallinas in those Parts, taking the Emperors often than Merit: And understanding that Maximianus Herculeus, Didelphus's adopted Son, was come against him to Gallia, put himself over with the Navy which he had made his own, into Britain, and polish'd the Island. Where he built a new Fleet after the Roman Fa<shion, and then, going after a City, he plant'd left here in Garrison, other Outlandish Cohorts detain'd, the very Merchants and Factors of Gallia, and with the Allurement of Spoil invited great Numbers of other barbarous Nations to his Part, and train'd them to Sea-service, wherein the Romans at that time were grown so out of SKILL, that Carausus with his Navy did at Sea what he lifted, robbing on every Coast; whereby Maximian, able to come no nearer than the Shor of Bologny, was forc'd to conclude a Peace with Carausus, and yield him Britain ; Vis<us, as one first to guard the Province there against the Inroads from the North. But not long after having suffered a Contumacious disorder to the Dignity of Cesar, sent him against Carausus. In the mean while had made himself strong both within the Land and without. Galfrid of Mays-Buchan, 285. A month writes that he made the Picts his Confe<derates: to whom lately come out of Scotia he gave Algybe to dwell in: And it is observ'd here before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mention'd, and in the Book of Nairn, 286. a Rhetician. He repair'd and fortified the Wall of Severus with seven Castles, and a round Houle of Smooth Stone on the Bank of Carron, which River, faith Nairn, was of his Name to call'd.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. 292. call’d, he built also a Triumphal Arch in Re-

France he held Geoffroyan, or Boligne, and all the

Frankish, which had by his Permission seated themselves in Belgium, were at his Devotion. But

Connoissances hasting to Gallia, besieged Boliguge, and

with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, kept out all Relief that could be sent in by

the Sea. The Emperour, with the great Fleet which he had prepared, could arrive

hither, was slain treacherously by Aethelst, one of his Friends, who long’d to step into his Place;

when he seven Years, and worthy, as some say, others, tyrannically, had ruin’d the Island.

So much the more did Connoissances proclame that

Openness, before Connoissances could well strengthen

his Affairs and though in all Weather, putting to Sea with all Urgency from several Havens to spread the Terror of his landing, and the Doubt where to expect him, in a Mift paffing the Britich Fleet uncleen, that lay fcouting near the Isle of Wight, no sooner got aloof, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but at the Feet of Connoissances, who, thinking them much diffami’d, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the Shore, but encountered by Aethelst, Captain of the Pretorian Bands, and definitely ruffing on, unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing them all to fight, fave the Accedories of his TreaZen, and his Outlandish Hirings, is overthrown by him with a Little in the Lods on the Romans, but great Execution on the Franks.

His Body was found almost naked in the Field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, left it should defray him, unwilling to be found. The Reft taking flight to London, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to ecape by Sea, are met by another of the Roman Army, whom the Mift of the Battle bewildering had by chance brought thither, and with a New Slaughter cast’d through all the Streets. The Britains, their Wives also and Children, with great Joy go out to meet Connoissances, as one whom they acknowledge their Deliverer from Bondage and Infult.

All this feems by Eginulfus, who then liv’d, and was one of his Pretorian Band, to have been done in the Course of one cont’d Action; so also thinks Sigonius a learned Writer: Though all other allow three Years to the Tyranny of Aethelst. In these Days were great Store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Island, whom after the Alteation of things here, the Aludes in Burgundy entertain’d to build their Temples and publick Edifices. Dioclefean having hitheft successfull us’d his Valour against the Enemies of his Empire, ufe now his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: From the feeling whereof neither was this Island, though most remote, far enough remove’d. Among them here who suffer’d gloriousl’, Aetel, and Julus of

Gildas. Connoissances upon Urk, but chiefly Albe in Tum.

A. D. 293. were most renown’d: The Story of whose

Martyrdom fail’d, and worfe martyr’d with the

failing Zeal of some idle Fanatics, more fond of

Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, delieres

not longer Dignity. Connoissances after Diocle- sian, dividing the Empire with Galerius, had

Britain for his other Lands, provinces, where either

preparing or returning with Victory from an

Expedition against the Caledoniaus, he dy’d at York.

His Son Connoissances, who happily came

left from Rome to Bologne just about the time, faith Eginulfus, that his Father was setting full

his left time hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Death-bed must’d, and

after his Funeral, by the whole Army, install’d Emperor 4. There goes a Fame, and that

seconced by most of our own Historians, though

not those the ancientest, that Connoissances was

born in this Island, his Mother Helenus the Daugh-

ter of 5. Colles a Britifhe Prince, not liure the

Father of King Lucius, where Sifer the muft then be,

for the Britains would defire her too old and

Hundred Years to be the Mother of Connoissances.

But to fave this Inconvenience, another Galus is

reign’d to be then Earl of Coflefler. To this

therefore the Roman Authors give no Tefimony, ex-

cept a Paffage or two in the Panegyrics, about the

Scene whereof much is arguf’d: Others near-

er to those accounts the Doift, and write him cerenly born of Helena, the New Britannia res,

at Naftas in Dardania. Howbeit, ‘tis his De-

parure hence he feems to have had fame Bic-

kerings in the North, by which reafon of more

urgent Affairs compos’d, he paffes into Gallia, sig.

in and after four Years returns either to fettle or

to alter the State of things here; until a new and

againft his own Commanders, by some affair’d

the Son of a Britain, he having gain’d on his side great Forces

confronted with Connoissances in many Battles for the

fole Empire; but vanquish’d, in the end

fllew himself. Somewhat before this time Gra-

tianus Fvnnanus, the Father of Valestatien, af-

wards Emperor, had chief Command of those

Arms which the Romans kept here. And the

Aethelstan, aftring which then diuided Chiefsfendom,

wrought alfo in this Island no small Disburafon:

A Land, faith Gildas, greedy of every thing new,

Redift in nothing. At left Connoissances appointed

a Synod of more than 450 Bishops to altemate at

Arius to the Emperor’s charges, which the reft

all retaining, three only of the Britains 5. Poverty

4 Cambi in his Brit. Tit. Buckinghamfale, fays Albeis kill’d him in Earek, and thinks Caversfield to be the Place where they fought. Caversfield stands on the Oaf, not far from Buckingham.

5 See An Account of Albeis and Carisius, and of the Persons named from them, Albeis and Caversfield in Cavesfield and Byerly in See above. Dr. Kentz, in his Phil. Antiquities.

6 A Thoufand marv’d at Lifchteld, chaffe call’d Lifchteld, which Roype of Warwick renders a Field of Carlifhe, if Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Account is not fground.

7 Eginulfus, in his History to Connoissances, call’d Britains the molt blef, and fortunate of all Lands, cal Connoissances Galerius, pater vidit. Which is not to be underftood that he was born, but that he was first heard Empere of here, but Dr. Stillingfleet in his Brit. Brit. makes it probable, that Britains was the Place of his Birth.

8 See Lifchteld’s Epitaph to Mr. Cambi, upon this Point. Cambi, in Ep. p. 62, and Younger’s Primers, fol. p. 76.

9 Cambi in his Brit. fays Connoissances Eginulfus marv’d the Daughter of Colles or Calus, a Britich Prince, and by her had Connoissances the Great in Britains.

10 Connoissances, when he was left in Britain, divided the Province into four Parts. Britannica Prima & Secunda, the old Divi-

sion, to which he added Fleeta and Maximis Coftafrinis. It is in Afsa when Connoissances came into Britain. Dr. Howell, Sib.

11 The Britich Church occurr’d mightily under Connoissances the Great, and in the Year 941, sent Deputies to the Council of Arles, as also to the Occasional Synod of Nice, Ann. 935. and to the Council of Sardics, in the Year 947.
constraining them, accepted, though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have borne their Charges: Ef.feeming it more honourable to live
on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any pri-

tate Purlic. Doubtless an ingenious Mind, and
far above the Precefters of our Age; who like well to fit in Affenbly on the publick Strpnd, but like
not the hurry that one might be driven to do. After
this Marriage was Deput'y of the French, being offended with the Cruelty which Panclns,
An Inquisitor fent from Conflantinop, excid'd in
his enquiry after tho Military Officers, who had confp'd with Magnentius, was himfelf laid
hold on as an accufatory, at which enraged, he
fought to quench with his drawn Sword, but failing
to kill him, turned to his hidc. However,
may as well be gue'd, Alipinus was made Deputy.
In the mean time Julian, whom Confantinop had
made Cofar, having recover'd much Territory
about Rhine, where the German inroads before
had long infulted, to relieve those Countries al-
norm ruind, caufes Soo Finances to be built,
and was found with his Forces by an Officer, who
was born to be fetch'd in from Conftantinop, which even then
was the ufual bounty of this Soil to thole parts.

Anm. 122. As oft as French and Saxon Pirates hinder'd not
the transportation. While Conftantinop yet reign'd,
the Scots and Brett breaking in upon the Nor-
thern Confinos, Julian being at Earl fends over
Legions, a well try'd Soldier, but a proud and
covetous Man; who with a Power of light-arm'd
Heroums, Bicuttans, and Mopjans, in the middl
of Winter falling from Bologny, arrives at Ru-

tap, leaped on the oppofite fhor, and comes
to London, to confult there about the War; but
soon after was recall'd by Julian, then chozen
Emperor. Under whom we reafon, there is nothing happening here; only that Palladus, one of his
great Officers, was hither banz'd. This Year,
Valentinian being Emperor, the Afltrats, Pells,
and Scots roaming up and down; and fai the
Saxon, with perpetual Landings and Invaftions,
harry'd the South Coast of Britain, new Nether-
duits, who govern'd the Sea Borders, and forced
the manner of Sea Navigation, which News
Valentinian, not a littlc perplex'd, fends fitted
Sover inftanced, High Steward of his Houfe,
foon recalls him; then Proximus, who
intrading the neceflity of greater Supplies, he fends
at Length Tudoitus, a Man of try'd Valour and
Experience, Father to the firft Emperor of that
Name. He with refhiv'd Numbers out of the
Legions and Cohorts, crofs the Sea from Bo-
logny to Ruftap; from whence with the Bat-
avians, Heroums, and other Legions that arriv'd
soon after, he marches to London; and dividing
his Forces into feveral Bafis, fets upon the dif-
pers'd and plundering Enemy, laden with spoil,
friving the Booty, and the姓y led away, and were
forced to leave there with their Lives.
He refhores all to the right Owners, have
a fmal portion to his wearied Soldiers, and en-
ters London victoriously; which, before in many
Straitness and difficulties, was now reviv'd as

A great deliverance. The numerous Enemy, with
whom he had to deal, was of different Nations,
and the War fiercely! Which Theodosius, getting
daily some Intelligence from Fugitives and In-
formers, resolves to carry on flat fidden Parties
and Supriffals, rather than let Battles; nor omits
he to proclaim Indemnity to fuch as would lay
down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought
in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he
requires that Gratian, a Man of no uprightenes,
might be fent him, to be as Deputy of the Ijland;
and Dulecitus a famous Captain. Thus was Theo-
dofius buñ'd, befetting with Ambushes the roving
Enemy, repelling his Roads, forbidding Cities and
Carries to their former Safety and defence, laying
every where the firm foundation of a long Peace,
when Valentinian's ftrong fupport for long time
was 368. offence bani'fd into Britain, comparing with
 certain Exiles and Soldiers againft Theseus,
whofe Worth he dreaded as the only obfacle to his
greater defign of gaining the Iife into his power,
is discover'd, and with his chief accompli-
ches hirly, who were ordered to confdone Punishment:
Against the reft, Theodosius: with a certain
fuller'd no inquifition to proceed too rigorously,
left the fear thereof appertaining to fo many,
occafion might arrife of new trouble in a time fo
unfettled. This done, he applies himself to re-
form things out of order, raifes on the Confines
many Strong Holfs; and in them appoints due
and diligent Watches; and fo reduces things out
doanger, that the Province, which but late-
ly was under command of the Enemy, became
now wholly Roman, new nam'd Valentinia of Va-
lientinus, and the City of London, Auglfia. Thus
Theseus nobly acquiring himfelf in all Affairs,
the general appalufe of the whole Province,
accompanied by the Sea Side, fends the
Emperor.

Anm. 126. 127. 28. 144.
144. 145.

This Year, Valentinian, being Emperor, the Atroats, Pells,
and Scots roving up and down; and laft the
Saxon, with perpetual Landings and Invaftions,
harry'd the South Coast of Britain, new Nether-
duits, who govern'd the Sea Borders, and forced
the manner of Sea Navigation, which News
Valentinian, not a little perplex'd, sends fifted
Scots, High Steward of his Houfe, and
foon recalls him; then Proximus, who
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at Length Tudoitus, a Man of try'd Valour and
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his Forces into feveral Bafis, fets upon the dif-
pers'd and plundering Enemy, laden with spoil,
friving the Booty, and the姓y led away, and were
forced to leave there with their Lives.
He refhores all to the right Owners, have
a fmal portion to his wearied Soldiers, and en-
ters London victoriously; which, before in many
Straitness and difficulties, was now reviv'd as

This Pafus was burnt alive afterwards by order of Julian the Apodite. Mr. Milton places Paul the Nazar's coming into
England about 28 Years after the time.

Richmow near Sandwich in Kent. See Mr. Summ's Discourse on the Roman Piots in Kent, p. 3, 4.

Dr. Gale supposes the Attears to be a barbarous fort of Britain, inhabiting the North of Scatand.

The few and ftrong, the Batavi and the Heroums, which ferv'd in this Expedition, were the four chief Legions in the
Roman Armies.

Should be Valentinian.

Geoffry, that Maximus befide'd Armecia, the Province of Bretag on in France, on Con a Britain, Lord of Deu-
fsure, whom he made Duke of it; as also that Dinamis, Duke of Cornwall, had his own Daughter Dinhis a noble Virgin, and
6,000 others to Duke Casa, for Wives for himself and his Britains; of whom part perf'd in a Storm, the relief by the
King of the Homes and the Pells, who either kill'd them, or made them Slaves. These Virgin are efتمmed Martyrs in the
Roman Legend; and Card. Barimson, from no beaux Authority than Geoffry of Marmouth, reports the fame Story, as if it had
been Matter of Fact, though it carries to many Improbabilities with it.
A. D. of Scots from the Irth Sea, of Saxons from the
German, of Picts from the North. Against him,
Cludian for the Son of Marcius a Novatian
Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius,
Sax. 1. 4. demandeth himself worthily: Then Silicho, a Man of
great Power, whom Theodosius dying left Pro-
Sp. 1. 2. ter to his Son Honorius, in Per
son, or lending over sufficient aid, repref'd them.
And as it seems new forty'd the Wall againft
them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the
Romans Armies from all parts hafted to
receive Honorius, then befieg'd in aff of Pfent
, by Averic the Goths, Britain was left expos'd as
being left expos'd by that method made
Left. And nobody wonder how the Scots came to infift Britain from the
Irth Sea, it must be understood, that the
Scots not many Years before had been driven all
out of Britain by Maximus; and their King
Eugensius flain in fight, as their own Annals report:
Whereby, it feems, wandering up and down, with
out certain ferr, they liv'd by devouring those
Seas and Shores at Empord, but more Authentick
Writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be
originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt
there, and nam'd it Scotia, long before the North
of Britain took that Name. About this time,
though troubled, Pelagius a Britain found the
leisure to bring new and dangerous Opinions in
that part of the World, and is largely written of by
St. Auftinus. But the Romans Powers which
then calld into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric
was over, made return into several Provinces:
And perhaps Felirius of Tolofo, whom Rutinus
the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the
Iland; if it were not he whom Silicho
before mentions; that endeavored to
reducing the Picts into the Prefect's, he gave
the occasion of their calling back Fergufris and the
Scots, whom Maximus with their help had
quite driven out of the Iland: And indeed the
Verfes of that Poet speak him to have been active
in those parts. But the time which is allud'd
him later Bacchorus after Gratianus Munuces, by
Conslantius, and the Scotifh Neftor, in the Story of
himfelf, accord not with that which follows in the plain course of
Hiftory. For the Vandals having broke in
and wait'd all Belgia, even to those places from

Zoe. 16. whence eafily paffage is into Britain, the
Romans Forces here, doubting to be suddenly
invaft, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous nature fan to
Marcus, who it may feem was then
Deputy. But him not bound agreeable to
their heady courses, they as haftily kill: For
the giddy feature of a mutiny rout is as
dangerous as their fury. The like they do by
Gratian a Britifh Roman, in four Months advanced,
and, adorn'd, and deftroys. There was among them
a common Soldier, whole name was Conflantin, with
him on a flanftion, there was a proper
in the conceit put in them of a Luckiness to his
Name, as without other visible merit to create him
Emperor. It foun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; for well he knew to
lay hold, and make good ufe of an unexpected
offer. He therefore with a wak'en Spirit, to
the extent of his Fortune dilating his Mind, which,
in his mean condition before lay contracted and
him on, orders with good advice his Military
Affairs: And with the whole Force of the
Provinces, and what of Britifh was able to bear Arms, he
pallies into France, affuining at leaft a collater
share with Honorius in the Empire. Where by
the valour of Euchus a Frank, and Gerouinus a
Briton, and partly by perfuafion gaining all in
his way, he comes to Arles. With like felicity
by his Son Conflans, whom of a Monk he had
made by the conduct of Gerouinus, who by him incited, as by him before
they had been repref'd, breaking for ever, over-run most part of France. But when
Conflantius comes, the Emperor's General, with a
strong Power came out of Italy, Gerouinus de-
certed by his own Forces, returns into Spain,
where also growing into contempt with the Sol-
 forwarded by the same forces from out of France, by whom his
Houfe in the night was being, as having first with
a few of his Servants defended himfelf valourably,
and flain above 300, though when his Darts and
other Weapons were spent, he might have fcape d
at a private door, as all his Servants did, not
enuring to leave his Wife Nothicha, by whom he
loved, to the violence of an enraged Crew, he
fent with his Friend Arianus, as were agreed; next his Wife, though both and de-
laying, yet by her entertained and iornant, and
refufing to out-live her Husband, he difpatches:
For which her Reafolution, Sceumonius an Eccle-
fitick Writter gives her high praise, both as a
wife and as a Christian. Left of all, against
Conflans, he turns his Sword; but miftrusting the
mortal power, with his Poffeffion he fonfhakes the
world. Thus fur is purf'd the Story of a famous Brit-
ain, related negligently by our other Historians.
As for Conflantius, his ending was not anower-
sable to his fettng out: For he with his other
Son Julian befieg'd by Conflantius in Arles, and
miftrusting the change of his wonted fucces, to
cave his Head, poorly turns Prift; but that not
availing him, is carry'd into Italy, and there put
to death; having four Years acled the Emperor.
While fels things were doing, the Britons at
home deftitute of Roman aid, and the chief
strength of their own Youth, that went with
Maximus, then with Conflantius, not returning Gillad.
That the Britons and the Picts by their wonted
Ememies, had fent Mille to miềnc and he but at Zoe. 16.
that time not being able to defend Romania, in which the fame Year was taken by Alaric, ad-
vices them by his Letter to confult how beft they

* Cambilis calls the Roman General Vellibrunus, Bruttius and Bouanun by his Name was Maximinus.
* Claudius in his Panegyrick on Silicho's first Contifhip introduces Britainas speaking thus in his prase:

Sequente Pria tres temenem nec Littore tuo
Propegratorem delfs Venerem Saxam Veneri:

The Scots and Picts alike now dreades are;
No longer on the Cofts I quivering fland,
Nor fear a Fece of Saxons on the Strand.

* Silicho's Successes were few in his first Contifhip, Ann 352, and the Vandals did not break into the Empire till the
Year 407, when Marcus was proclaimed Emperor in Britain. Which very well agrees with the plain Coarse of Hiftory.

Dr. Howefs Vol. II.

* Hoping, Gys Cambil in his Remains he would prove another Conflantius Maximus.

* He was proclaimed Emperor at Silkefler in Hampshire.

* Pirrius in Dafipar.

* Huyppr Lkyk, in his Difcourse concerning Britain, says, he was so famous that the Britifh Barons celebrated him with
Geralc Poem, some of which he recites.

might
This Third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary, as the Intermission or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve Attention more than common, and repay it with like Benefit to them who can judiciously read: Considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a Condition not much unlike to what the Britains then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence, left them to the sway of their own Councils; which Times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy through this interregnum, we may be able from two such remarkable Turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a Knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the Britains generally are in Matters of so high Enterprise, how by Nature, Industry, or Cullion fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of so main Consequence: For if it be a high Point of Wisdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than put up with vulgar Flatteries, and Euphemisms, for want of full-knowledge, to enterprize rashly, and come off miferable in great Undertakings. The Britains, thus as we heard, being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, confin'd in Wars abroad, or not caring to return Home, themselves through long Subjection, ravel in Mind, slothful of Body, and with the Use of Arms unacquainted, feltain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of these barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the Nemesis, leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, &c. they feem'd a while to bleft them with a Shew of Diligence in their new Affairs, some secretly aspiring to Rule, others adorning the Name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by Proofs the Weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not Stomach or the Love of Licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain true Liberty, they soon remitted their Heat, and shrank more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Servitude, than before under a Fatal reign Yoke. Informch that the residue of those Britains which had plant'd themselves here, despairing of their ill Department at Home, and weak Resistance in the Field, by those few who had the Courage, or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the falling of Rome renounced out of England the Britains into France, landing for the great Success of their Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the Britains, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemies, soliciting Honours to their Aid, with mounful Letters, Embellishments and Vows of perpetual Subjection to Rome, if the Northern Foedera were but repuls'd. He at their request finishes Vol. I. E 2

THE

History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book III.

A. D. 416.
A.D. 422. they one Legion, which with great Slaughter of the Scots and Picts drove them beyond the Borders, refud the Britains, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Island, between Sea and Sea, from the Place where Edenburgh now stands to the Frith of Dunkirk, by the City called Edinburgh, situate on the Tyne, and Turf, and by the rude Multitude, unoffici-
ally built up without better Direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great Numbers from their Boats and Ponies, waiting, and treaing down all before them. Then are the Commanders and Officers to the Romans, by the fort, befeeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be de-
sroy'd, and the Roman Name, so honourable yet among them, to become the Subject of Bar-
barian Scorn and Infolence. The Emperor, at their first Complaint, with what speed was pos-
sible lends to their Succour. Who coming rid-
del, being themselves the Multitude that moulded only Spell, surprize them with terrible Slaughter. They who cep'd, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with Booties. But the Romans, who came not now to rule, but chari-
tably to aid, declaring that it fixed not longer than it should, exhorted Athies to make such Labors Voyages in pursuit of safe and vaga-
ond Robbers, of whom neither Glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own Warfare; and to defend like Men their Country, their Wives, their Children, and what was to be dearer than Life, their Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if their ever awaking Justice had not already seized them so, if they would but only find hands to grasp de-
sensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive Bonds. They gave them all their Help to build a new Wall, not of Earth as the former, but of Stone (both at the publick Cost, and by particular Contributions) travers-
ing from one direction, and to Wall between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where Severus had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve Foot high, eight broad. Along the South Shore, because from thence also like Hoppiness was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea-side at certain Distances, for Safety of the Coast. Withal, they in-
filtr'd them in the Art of War, leaving Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many Leffons of Val-
our to a faint-hearted Audience, bid them fln-
ally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the laft of any lifier by the Romans, were perform'd, as may be seen in their List, and Director in the two last Years of Honorius. Their Leader, as now modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna, Bocca-
nus, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor Boethius, names him Maximinus, and brings against him to this Battel Pergus chief King of Scots after their second Suppos'd coming into Britain, Durnius King of Picts, both there plain, and Dionet an imaginary King of the Britains, or Duke of Cornwall, who improbably sünd with them against his own Country, hardly escaping.

Blind. With no less Exactness of particular Circum-
fances, he takes upon him to relate all those military Inroads of the Scots and Picts into Brit-
ain, as if they had but Yesterday happen'd, his Order of Battel, manner of Fight, Number of

Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, Authors to whom the Scotch Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity, no more therefore to be believe'd for bare Affections, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth when he varies most from the Historian of Mappa, either the in-
bred Vanity of bone, in that reflection they all call'd Hibernians, or the fond Zeal of praising their Nations above Truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their History, or magnify them for a name of the Country. The Scots and Picts in Manners differing from them both, but still unammonious to rob and spoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from the Cor-
rogus, or Leathern Frigais pour out themselves in Swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: And from the North end of the Isle to the gildas. very Wall side, then first took Polleision as Im-

Beda. Habitations, while the Britains with idle Weapons in their hands stood trembling on the Battel-
ments, till the half-naked Barbarians with their long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down headlong. The reft not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Purifier, who follows killing, wafting, and de-
strution all in his way. From these Confusions arose a Peace, and from thence the Great Civil Commotion among the Britains: Each Man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were consumed and spent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was their only Sustaintment. To the Heaps of Beda. the Sons of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, had spread his Doctrine wide among the Britains not uninfected before. The founder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, not able to refute him, crave Assiffance from the Heav'nly Prince; Who fend them Germanus Bishop, Adventurer, and Lector in the Story. For Agnerus the Son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, had spread his Doctrine wide among the Britains not uninfected before. They by continual preaching in Churches, in F. Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as Aquinot is written, confirm'd fame, regain'd others, and at Frelinam in a publick Disputation put to every Church. lence their Chief Adversaries. This Reformation ed on in the Church was believe'd to be the Cause of 445. their Success a while after in the Field. For 430. the Saxons and Picts with joyous Force, which was no new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwelling in this Island, during this abode of Germanus here, had made a strong Impression from the North. The Britains marching out a Conflent, gain'd them, and mutu'ing their own Power, vit. Germ. took, and made his Colleague, repoling more in the spirital Strength of those two Princes, than in their own thousands arm'd. They came, and their Presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had come to second them. It was then the time of Lent, and the People infircted by the daily Sermons of these two Patrons, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a Place in the name of the City of Britains, and Black'd up with Boughs on Easter-Day. The Enemy understood this, and that the Britains were taken up with Religion more than with Feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victory. Germanus, who also had Intelligence of their Approach, undertakes to be Captain that Day, and riding out with selected

3 The Enemies, which they fear'd on that Side, were the Saxons, Picts, who lower'd upon the Southern Coast, and occas-
30'd the New-Officer, find Domer Historius Saxonic.
A.D. Troops to disperse what Advantages the Place might offer, lights on a Valley compass'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his Ambush, warns them that what Word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal Shout. The Enemy passes securely, and Germans three aloud cries Hollande, which answered by the Soldiers with a sullen burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Frisians on a sudden supposing it the Noise of a huge Hoft, throw themselves into flight, cuffing down their Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had ne'er crossed before. Victory, thus obtained without hands, left to the Britains plenty of Spoil, and to the Perfon and the Preaching of Germans greater Authority and Reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constanias, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had refolv'd how the British Army came to want bands, the Pope, fubmissive to Rome, and at length before the War, we read not, or that Pelagianism was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in Finsbury, by a Town called Gudencnok, and the River Allen, where a Field retains the name of Mars German to this day. But fo soon as Germans was report'd, the Scots and Saxons yielded up many of them, Christians, that Palladius a Deacon was ordain'd and fent by Celestius the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not fo well re-c'laim'd, or not fo many of them as to c może from doing mischief to their Neighbours, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They thereupon, after a few years, every where ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Isle, send Letters to Artius, then third time Conful of Rome, with this supercription; To Artius tribne Conful, the Graior of the Britains. And after a few words thus, The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Bar- barians, those bound us, and next time there were two deaths we wifli'd, either by the Sword or by the Sea. But the Empire at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew out- raging their publick flrenge, the more, the more, was added to the Enemy, others either more refolute, or left expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but falling out at length gave a ftep to the infilling Foe with many leaflable defects; led by some eminent Perfon, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in Divine Assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the foolish de- vance of Germans, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he carried too long here, the Writers of his Life affent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or FrisiansRobbers, that were in great number, and with but little delay get them home. The Frisians, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Island, uflng now and then to make invades upon the Britains. But they in the mean while this rid of their Enemies, begin afrefh to till the Ground; which after several years, they left it abandoned, as had not formerly been known for many Ages. But Want-
tomendis and Luxury, the wanted companions of A.D. Plenty, grow up asift, and with them, if Gildas devere belief, all other Vices incident to Humane Corruption. That which he notes espe- cially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of Truth, and all fuch as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the Male of the Land was bent. Lyes and Falsities, and fuch as could beft invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedness's ho- nor'd and esteem'd as Virtue. And this Qua- lity their Valour had against a foreign Enemy to be ever consummated; and that, to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the fearch of Truth, weak and shallow; in Falldom and wicked Deeds pregnant and in- duiurious. Pleading to God, or not pleading, with them weighed alike; and the worfe, molt an end, was the weightier. All things were done contrary to the truth, that quafily meritorious of noy by secular Men, for the Clergy all, who this Example should have guided others, were as vi- cious and corrupt. Many of them belotted with continual Drunkennes; or swoln' with Pride and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of Envy, indolent, incompetent Judges to determine what in the practice of Life is good or evil, what law- ful or what unlawful. This furnish'd with an example, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Frict and Lay, they agree to choose them several Kings of their own, as near as might be, likeft themselves, and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, faith he, not of God's Anointing, but fuch as were cruellest, and fon often from great aversion to a King, but a little fuch as were milder, and if possible, more or Truth, put to Death by their Anointers, to set up others more fierce and prond. As for the Election of their Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the fegul) it began, as might as may be gued'd, either this Year or the following, when they fay for him that has quafily meritorious of noy by the next. Who comine with Severus a Difciple of Lupus that was his former associate, founds not now to argue, for the fame thing formerly affirmed, and perpetually enquiring thefe Authors of new indulgence, ad- judges them to Banishment. They therefore by 448. content of all were deliver'd to Germans, who Sign. carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in fuch place, where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under care of better construction. But Germans the fame Year dy'd his Claim. About which time also Pelagianism again 447. prevailing by means of some few, the British Confli. Clergy too weak it seems at dispute, intreat the second time, Germany to their afliance. Who with Severus a Difciple of Lupus that was his former associate, founds not now to argue, for the fame thing formerly affirmed, and perpetually enquiring, thefe Authors of new indulgence, ad- judges them to Banishment. They therefore by Gildas 448. content of all were deliver'd to Germans, who Sign. carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in fuch place, where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under care of better construction. But Germans the fame Year dy'd his Claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British Confli. Clergy too weak it seems at dispute, intreat the second time, Germany to their afliance. Who coming with Severus a Difciple of Lupus that was his former associate, founds not now to argue, for the fame thing formerly affirmed, and perpetually The Britains not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no flight rumour that their old troublers the Scots or Frisians had prepare'd a ftronc Invasion, pur- puing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the infirmities of Divine Justice had been at fright about them, the Britains did not doubt of their felf, if the Frisians should deftruy the invaded Nation, the Peifidious forfailing the Sword, left fave alone who to bury the dead; and for that time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preferv'd the Land from a worfe in- cumbrance of thofe barbarous Difpofterrers, whom Malm'. 141. the Contagion gave not leave now to enwrance better'd by thefe heavy Judgments, one threaten't, the other

* Gildas, in the British Tongue, in the English Mould, in Finsbury.
* Germans-Field.

Pope JOH.

Prim. Fred. 431. Pref. Sup. Ethelwold. Vincen. Gild. Bede. Malmbyry. l. 1. 6. P. 446. 446. Conful of Rome, with this supercription; To Artius tribne Conful, the Graior of the Britains. And after a few words thus, The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Bar- barians, those bound us, and next time there were two deaths we wifli'd, either by the Sword or by the Sea. But the Empire at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew out- raging their publick f strenge, the more, the more, was added to the Enemy, others either more refolute, or left expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but falling out at length gave a ftep to the infilling Foe with many leaflable defects; led by some eminent Perfon, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in Divine Assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the foolish de- vance of Germans, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he carried too long here, the Writers of his Life affent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or FrisiansRobbers, that were in great number, and with but little delay get them home. The Frisians, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Island, uflng now and then to make invades upon the Britains. But they in the mean while this rid of their Enemies, begin afrefh to till the Ground; which after several years, they left it abandoned, as had not formerly been known for many Ages. But Want-
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. felt, instead of acknowledging the Hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of their King Vortigern with Complaints and Cries of what they idly fear'd from the Fghts Invigoration, Vortigern, that at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the red had parted the Democrats to the final Enemy, is said by him of Monmouth to have procured the Death of Con- 

stantine, then of Conflian his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But who can remember how Conflantine with his Son Conflan the Monk, the one made by the Democrats, the other by the Prayor, per chance in France, may difcern the simple fraud of this Fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortu- 

nate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, because his Vices fort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skilful in War, nor wise in Council, but cov'd, and his meaner Minifters done by none, wafting the publick Treasure in Gluttony and Riot, careless of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignor- 

ance, unprepossessing of his own. Nevertheless of much import'd and awak'd at length, by mutual clamours of the People, he summons a General Council, to provide some better method than herein, who have been us'd against them, to continual Annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the Saxons be in- 

vited into Britain against the Scots and Picts, whofe breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen Nation, but by nothing but Rodi- 

nities and Cruelties done to all their Neighbours both by Sea and Land, in particular to this Island, witnesfl that Military Force which the Roman Emperors maintaine'd here purpofely a- 

gainst them, under a special Commander, whofe Title, as is found on good record, was Count of the Saxony-flood in Britain, where they had done, and by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related, witnesfl as much. They were a People thought by good Writers to be defended of the Saxons, a kind of Scythians in the North of after, thence call'd Saxitoni, or Sons of Saxo, who with a flood of other Northern Nations came into Europe, to-day from the declining of the Roman Empires, and thence Piracy from Daenmark all along the seas, pol'd as at length by intruflon all that Coaft of Ethelward, Germany and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elbe, and from thence North as far as Fidera, the River bounding Holstein, the not to firmly or so largely, but that their multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such Guefses as these the Britains revolve now to fend for, and entreat into their Houfes and Poffeffions, at whole entry into Name heretofore they trembled afaroff. So much do Men through impatience count ever't that the heavens which they bear at prefent, and to re- 

move the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in Evil also were hereditary. When they therefore in the defpair of better, imagine fondly a kind of Refuge from one Misery to another. The Britains therefore, with Vortigern, were then accouunted King over them all, rejoyce in full Council to fend Ambassadors to their choice Men with great Gifts, and faith a Saxons Writer in these words, defining their aid: Worthy Saxons, bearing this in your thoughts, that you Britains wearied out, and overbear'd by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to besiege your aid. They have a Land fertile and spacious, which to your Commanders they bid us surrender. Herefo- 

re we have heirs with freedom under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to them we know no other People, that either by force or right ever become Salliates to your Valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and by ought by you impos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet Ethelward writes not that they promis'd Subjection, but only Amity and League. They therefore who call'd chief rule among them, having themselves entreated by the Britains, that to which gladly they would have with'd to obtain of them by entertaining, to the Britifh Embaffy return this without an- 

swer: Be affur'd beneficence of the Saxons, as of faithful Friends to the Britains, no left ready to fend by them in their Need, than in their fel of Fortune. The Ambassadors return joyful, and with News as welcome to their Country, whole unspotted. Fath to this first, the Britains in the peace and quiet of their own Country, maintain'd, though with a mutual Company of Warlike Youth, under the Conduct of Henry, their fourth King, who ascend'd in the fourth degree from Weda, of whom, defy'd for the fame of his Achs, most Kings of those Nations derive their Pedigree. Thefe, and either mix'd with thefe, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, the Futes and Angles, the one from Scand- land, and the other from Anglaia, by the City of Skelby, both Provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first Year of Martius the Greek Emperor, from the Birth of Christ 450, receiv'd with much good will of the People Britains, then of the King, who after some auncences given and taken, be- 

came a fmall City, where they ftrealt, hoping they might be made hereby more land in eager against the Picts, when they were bought for their own Country, and more loyal to the Britains, from whom they had receiv'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The Britifh No- 

muns writes, that thefe Brethren were driven into

* Vortigern was chosen King in the Year 447.

* The Bishop of Weymouth will not agree with this Opinion, because no Rational Account can be given how the Saxons left their Colonies in the fall as far as the Fidera, the River bounding Holstein, the not to firmly or so largely, but that their multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such Guefses as these the Britains revolve now to fend for, and entreat into their Houfes and Poffeffions, at whole entry into Name heretofore they trembled afaroff. So much do Men through impatience count ever't that the heavens which they bear at prefent, and to re-
A. D. exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reign'd in much fear, one while of the Æs, then of the Romans, and very commonly in the Haven. For it was the custom in old Saxony, when their numerous Off-spring overflew the narrowness of their bounds, to find them out by lot into new Dwellings, where ever they found room, either vacant or to be forc'd. But whether bought, or unthought, they dwelt not here long. Without the Frament, the Scots and Æs were now come down, some say, the Fuss and the Temple, the Egyptians, with what Fire and Sword, by almoft every house in a piece of mixt Ruin. Of all which Malmbury, so great was the Sinnfulness that brought this upon them, Gibbon adds that few or none were likely to be other than lowd and wicked Prohisions. The residue of these, part overthrown in the Mountains, were slain; others furnish'd with Hunger prefer'd Slavery before instant Death; some retreating to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, prefer'd the Fear and Danger of any Death before the Shame of a secure Slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into Holland, the rest remain the Ruines of Brittain, an old dead People, and the Britain at last [Page 416], not far from Leidum, either built, as Writers of their own Affair, or seiz'd on by those Britains in their Escape from Hengist; Others Malmbury Into Armories, people'd, as some think, with Briti it is tains long before; either by Gift of Conquering Hengist, the Great, or seize of Maccus to those British Forces which had prevent'd the Britains to whom those aloof that mischarch'd not with the latter Conquista at Arles: And lastly, these Exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for Refuge. But the ancient Chronicles of those Provinces attect their coming thither to be then first when they fled the Saxons, and indeed the Name of Brittain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a fort of Pagantism, who had quitted without Stroke their own Country, should so soon win another, appears not unles, joy'd to some part of their own step'd there before. Vortigern nothing better'd by thehe Calamities, grew at laid so obdurate as to com: once with his Daughter, tempted or temp: him out of an Ambition to the Crown, for which being censor'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of Clerks and Laics, and partly for Fear of the Saxons, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into Wales, and built him there a strong Castle in Radnorshire, by the Advice of Ambrosius a young Prophet, whom others name Call Muni. Nevertheless, his solicitude for the Son thus ineffectually begot, under the Instructions of German, or some of his Disciples, for Germany was dead before, prov'd a Religious Man, and liv'd in Devotion by the River Romans in Glamorganshire. But the Saxons Gildan, though finding it so easy to seduce the wife, with most of their Forces, uncertain for what Call'd, return'd home: When as the Emblems of their Conquest might seem rather likely to have calld in more. Which makes more probable that which the British write of Guutimer. For Nick he coming to Reign, instead of his Father des'd for Insect, is fud to have thrice driv'n and belov'd the Saxons in the Isle of Thanet; and which, the British still call Muni. They had from Saxony, to have fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River Darwen, the second at Epifford, whereon Hofsa the Brother of Hengist fell, and on the British part Gortimer, waited without Restitution almost the whole Land, even to the Western Sea, with such a horrid Destruction, that Towns and Colonies overthrown'd, Swiss and People left bare. Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay almoft quite in a piece of mixt Ruin. Of all which Malmbury, so great was the Sinnfulness that brought this upon them, Gibbon adds that few or none were likely to be other than lowd and wicked Prohisions. 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Nevertheless, his solicitude for the Son thus ineffectually begot, under the InSTRUCTIONS OF GERMANN, OR SOME OF HIS DISCIPLES, FOR GERMANY WAS DEAD BEFORE, PROV'D A RELIGIOUS MAN, AND LIV'D IN DEVOTION BY THE RIVER ROMANS IN GLAMORGANSHIRE. BUT THE SAXONS GILDAN, THOUGH FINDING IT SO EASY TO SEDUCE THE WIFE, WITH MOST OF THEIR FORCES, UNCERTAIN FOR WHAT CALL'D, RETURN'D HOME: WHEN AS THE EMBLEM OF THEIR CONQUEST MIGHT SEEM RATHER LIKELY TO HAVE CAL'D IN MORE. WHICH MAKES MORE PROBABLE THAT WHICH THE BRITISH WRITE OF GUUTIMER. FOR NICK HE COMING TO REIGN, INSTEAD OF HIS FATHER DES'D FOR INCENT, IS SUD TO HAVE THRICE DRIV'N AND BELOV'D THE SAXONS IN THE ISLE OF THANET; AND WHICH, THE BRITISH STILL CALL MUNI. THEY HAD FROM SAXONY, TO HAVE FIGHTED WITH THEM FOUR OTHER BATTLES, WHEREOF THREE ARE NAM'D; THE FIRST ON THE RIVER DARWEN, THE SECOND AT EPISFORD, WHEREON HOSFA THE BROTHER OF HENGIST FELL, AND ON THE BRITISH PART GORTIMER,
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. 454.

The other Son of Vortigern’s. The third in a Field by Stony, then call’d Lapis tituli in Taxet, where, as they say, 100 hundred in them home, glad to have esp’d, and not venturing to Land again for five Years after. In the space whereof Guernemer dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of Stony, perceiving that his Bones lying there would be Terroir enough to keep the Saxons from ever landing there. They, from this, neg-lecting his Command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, antientest Annals of the Saxons relate in this manner.

In the Year 457. Hengist and Horsa fought against Vortigern, in a Place call’d Ephelgast, now Alford in Kent, where Horsa left his Life, of whom Hengist, the Place of that Horsa, and the Death of his Brother, Hengist, with his Son Ecfræ took on him Kingly Title, and people’d Kent with Jutes, who also then or not long after poftcé’d the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. Two Years after in a Fight at Cregfarford, or Crawfordgast, Hengist and his Son flew of the Britains four Chief Commanders, and the Britains were in great Disorder flying to London, with the total Loss of Kent. And eight Years palling between, he made new War on the Britains, of whom in a Battel at Wipped-fleet, twelve Princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon Earl, who left his Name to that Place, though not sufficient to direct us where that Place is. His left Enemies, not being at a Place not mention’d, where he gave them such an Overthrow, that flying in great Fear they left the spoil of all to their Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to Nennius, fought by Guernemer, though by these Writers far differently related, and happening, besides many other Bickerings, in the Space of twenty Years, as Ambrofius says. Neverthe-less it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever were put to hard Shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted Dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word Wipped-fleet seems to intimate. But Guernemer now dead, and none of his left Defenders left, Vortigern to the Britains, either by the Power of his Father, or by consent of all, resituates the Government: And Hengist thus rid of his grand Oppofer, hearing gladly the Reformation of his old Favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to Vortigern whom he well knew how to handle without warning, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of Difjunction between them was mov’d by Death, offers nothing but all Terms of new League and Amity. The King, both for his Wise’s Sake and his own Sottiness, confenting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the Place of Parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without War. But after this was not Peace but Treachery, appointed his Men to be secretly arm’d, and acquainted them to what intent. The Watch word was Nennius over Saxes, that is, Done your Daggers: which they offer’d to the Britains, when they were therewith heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seem’d to be made in their own Cups) and provok’d, as was plotted, by some Afront, dispatch’d with those Poinards every one his next Man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counfel or in Field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his Ratification three Provinces, which were call’d afterward Efsex, Suffolc, and Middle-fex. Who thus dismiss’d, retiring again to his solitary abode in his Country of Gorthobrigium, to call’d by his Name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in North-Wetby by the River Tield; and living there with only severalry and few that were allowed amongst him, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire from Heaven, at the Prayer, as some fay, of German, but that coheres not, as others, by Ambrofius Aurelianus, of whom as we have heard at first, he flood in great Fear, and partly for that Calve it in the Saxons. Who whether by constraint, or of their own accord, after much Mischief done, most of them returning back into their Seats, and found but few opportunity to the Britains of revenging themselves the easier on those that stood behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest Supplication imploiring divine Help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambrofius Aurelianus, a vertuous and manly Prince, returned from the North, advancing now onward against the late ViStors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common Opinion, but grounded chiefly on the Britishe Fa- bles, makes this Ambrofius to be a younger Son of that Conflantine, whole eldest, as we heard, was Conflant the Monk: Who both left their Lives abroad upfurping the Empire. But the ex- trafts Words both of Gildas and Bede affirms, as that the Parents of this Ambrofius having here born Regal Dignity, were slain in the Britifh Wars and Commotions in the Island. And if the Fear of Ambrofus induc’d Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it seems Vortigern unfarp’d his Right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any Difference between this Vortigern and Ambrofius. But whithout Father that prophecy’d to Vortigern, he names not Merlin but Ambrofus, makes him the Son of a Roman Conflat, but conceal’d by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore fought his Life; yet the Youth the no sooner had confec’d his Parentage, but Vortigern either in Reward of his Predictions, or as his Right, bethro’d upon him all the Weft of Gildes, himself retiring to a solitary Life. Whole ever Son he was, he was Gild, the first, according to fairest Authors, that led Bede against the Saxons, and overthrowd them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when most of the Saxons Forces were departed home, the Britains had much against those, which were left, either by new War, or against their whole Powers, the second time returning obtained this Victory: Thus Ambrofus as Chief Monarch of Kent:

457.

The Kingdom of Kent

A.D. 457.

Nennius. 458.

Malmes.
A.D. of the Ile succeeded Forrigen, to whose third Son

465. P Falconius he permitted the Rule of two Regions in Wales; Baeloth and Grwthig churnis. In his days, 

Faith Normann, the Saxons previ'd not much Agaist whom Arthur, as beeing then Chief Gener-

al for the Britifh Kings, made great War, but mere rasing'd in Songs and Poetry, than in true Stories. And the Seel it fell decla'res as much. 

For in the Year 477, Elia the Saxon, with his three Sons, Gumen, Pleating, and Cifra, at a place in Sofeck, call'd Cymbynore, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the Britains, chafing them that remained into the Wood. 477. Andref-League. 

Another Battle was fought at Acered-Forches, field, wherein Elia had by far the Victory, but 

Huntingdon make it fo doubtful, that the Saxons were contrain'd to fend home for Supplies. 

489. Year after dy'd Hengif, the first Saxon King of Kent; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by Craft as much as Vault, and giving scope to his own cruel Nature, rather than proceeding by 

Mildness or Civility. His Son Oeric, surnam'd Oifc, of whom the Kentifh Kings were call'd Offings, succeeded him, and fat content with his Father's winnings, more defirous to fettle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds; He reign'd over eleven Years. By this time his Son Cifra beganne Angled-lchiff, so summon'd 

Ovid, to be Nemonied in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus Elia, three 

Years after the death of Hengif, began his Kingdom 

of the South-Saxons; populating it with new 

Inhabitants, from the Country which was then 

Old Saxons, at that time in Denmark, and had 

had besides at his command all those Provinces 

which the Saxons had won on this side Hanover. 

Amus spreading with these good Successes, as if Brit-

ain were become now the Field of Fortune, 

Kerdic another Saxon Prince, the tenth by Li-

nenge from Walcon, an old and prud'ch Soldier, 

who in many prosperous Conflicts against the 

Enemy in those parts, had nida'd up a Spirit so 

too big to live at home with Equals, coming to 

a certain place which from thence took the 

name of Kerdicefreth, with five Ships, and Kenric 

his Son, the very fame day overthrew the Brit-

ain, which oppo'd him; and so effectually, that 

finaller Shredh'f Men fought at that time in Denmark, and were quite 

drawn to drive them full further off, leaving him a large 

Territory. After him forsoth another Saxon, with 

his two Sons Bida and Megila, in two Ships ar-

rive at Forthounge then call'd, and at their 

landing flew a young Britifh Nobleman, with 

whom he had many Men with him. 

The Britains, to recover what they had los'd, 

draw together all their Forces, led by Natanael, 

or Natanael, a certain King in Britain, and the 

greatest, faith one, but him with 5000 of his 

Men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From 

whence the place in Esmythy in, as far as Kerdic-

ford, now Chardford, was call'd of old Natanael. 

Who this King should be, hath bred much que-

tion; some think it to be the Britifh Name of 

Anderfe, others to be the right Name of his 

Brother, who for the terror of his eagernes in fight, 

became more known by the Surname of Uler, 

which in the Welsh Tongue signifies Dreadful. 

And if ever such a King in Britain there were as 

Ulor Pendragon; for so all the Mannom Book 

surnames him, this in all likehies stuff he be. 

Kerdic by far a great blow gives to the Brit-

ains, and made large room about him; not only for 

the Men he brought with him, but for such affi-

of his Friends as he des'd to make great; for 

which cause, and with the more to strengthen himself, his two Nephews, Stoff and Wlifogh, in 

three Vessels bring him in a new Levee, and 

514. floor. Who, that they might not come fishil-

ly to poch'de what others had won for them, 

either by their own seeking, or by appointment, 

are set in place where they could not at but in their 

first come give proof of themselves upon the 

Enemy. And so well they did it, that the 

Britains after a hard encounter left them Maffers 

of the Field. About the same time, Elia the first 

Hunting. South-Saxon King dy'd, when Cifra his youngest 
succeeded the other two failing before him. 

Nor can it be much more or less than about this 

time, for it was before the West-Saxon Kingdom of 

the King that Ufa the eighth from Walcon made himself 

King of the East-Anles, who by their Name tefti-

fie the Country above-mentioned dy'd, from whence 

they came in such multitudes, that their native 

Vol. 1. ttl. 1. Soil is laid to have remain'd in the Days of Beda. 

uninhabited. Huntingdon deters the time of their 

in Val. 1. 2. 3. 4. this coming to the ninth Year of Kerdic. 

For, faith he, at first many of them threw for 

Principality, seizing every one his Province, and 

for some while so continu'd, making petty Wars 

among themselves; till in the end Ufa, of whom 

Beda. 1. 2. these Kings were call'd Uffings, overtop't hem 15. 

all in the Year 571, then Tullas his Son, the Main-L. 

Father of Redmal, who became Proton. And 

it, not much after the East-Anles, began also the 

East-Saxon's to erect a Kingdom under Sela the 

tenth from Walcon. But Huntingdon, as before 

them, will have it later by eleven Years, and 

to be the first King. Kerdic, the fame in Power, 

519. all in the Year 571, then Tullas his Son, the Main-L. 

though not for those in Time, forbode the name 

twenty four Years after his arrival; but then 

founded so firmly the Kingdom of West-Saxons, 

that it subject'd all the rest at length, and be-

West-Saxons. The King- 

of England. The same 

Year he had a Victory against the Britains 501. 

Kerdic-Ford, by the River Aven, and after eight 

Years, another great Fight with them, 

527. which was the day is not by any set down. 

Hitherto hath been collected what there is of 

certainty, with circumstance of Time and Place, 

to be found regifter'd, and no more than barely 

Regifter'd in Annals of beft Note; without de-

cribing after Huntingdon the manner of those 

Britains and Encounters, which they who com-

pare and can judge of Books, may be confident 

he never found in any current Author whom 

he had to follow. But this Diflate hath been in-

cident to many more Historians: And the Age 

whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, 

more than any since the first fabulous times, to 

be furcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Po-

licity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on 

Saxon Relaters, Gildas, in Antiquity far before Gildas 

thief, and every way more credible, speaks of more Get-

of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing 

more clear than the Saxen 

Anath.
in revenging it. considering, lastly, how the 34

A. D. Srvens reign’d upon the Romans all time, the

27. nine of his supposed Reign, which began, as we

write, in the tenth Year of Kerdic, who was Master,

from him by long War the Countries of Sommercus

and Hainfch, there will remain neither Place

nor Circumstance in Story, which might administer

any likelihood of those great Acts that are atribu-

ied him. This only is alleged by Nennius in the

Prifms, in Artor’s behalf, that the Sarvus, tho’ vanquish’d

never so off, grew still more numerous upon him

by continual supplies out of Germany. And the

truth is, that Valour may be over-toll’d, and

overcome at last with endless overcoming. But

as for this Battle of Mount Badon, where the

Saxons were hemm’d in, or besieged, whether by

Artor won, or whenever, it seems indeed to

gave a most undoubted and important blow to

the Saxons, and to have fovern’d their proceeds

for a good while after. Gildas himself witt-
nelling that the Britains having thus compell’d

them to fit down with peace, fell thereupon to

civil Strife, and Carnage. Who this Gildas may

seem to let in force toward the search-

ing out when this Battel was fought. And

we shall find no time since the first Saxon War, from

whence a longer Peace ensued, than from the

Fight of Kerdic-League in the Year 527, which

all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to

Kerdics or Saxons. At which time it may seem to have

magnifying their own Deeds and exploits on

all occasions, to presume here his ill speaking.

And if we look still onward, even to the 44th

Year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obfure

utterance be understood, we shall meet with ver-

ry little War between the Britains and Saxons.

This may seem difficult, that the Victory first

won by Ambrode was before the Battle

Badon Siege, and that the same Men living might

be Eye-witnesses of both, and by this rate hard-

ly can the latter be thought won by Artor;

unless we reckon him a grown Youth at least in the

days of Ambrode, and much more than a Youth,

if Malhus be heard, who affirms all the Ex-

ploits of Ambrode to have been done chiefly by

Artor as his General, which will add much un-

belief to the common afferation of his reigns

after Ambrode and Other, especially the Fight at

Badon being the half of his twelve Battells. But

to prove by that which follows, that the Fight at

Badon is to be differ in name from that of

Badon, may be thought the fact on both

effects; Kerdie three Years after, not proceeding

onward, as his manner was, on the Continent,

turns back his Forces on the Isle of Wight, which

with the flaving of a few only in Wightgarough, he

leaves matters, and not long surviving, left it

to his Neighbours by the Mother’s side, Sige and

Witgar, the rest of what he had subdu’d, Kerdic’s

Son hold, and reign’d 26 Years, in whole

tenth Year Witgar was busy’d in the

Town of that Island which bore his Name. Notwithstanding

all these likelihoods of Artor’s Reign and

great Achievements, in a narration crept in I

know not how among the Laws of Edward the

Confessor, Artor the famous King of Britains, is

said not only to have expell’d hence the Saravens,

\footnote{1} Elinor Stillingfleet, in his 
\footnote{2} Preface of the Antiquities of the British Churches, justifies the History of King Artor. He
\footnote{3} was born at Cambell, and died as Vindel in Cornwall. Camb. Bif. 1855. The story of this "King" here is contended
\footnote{4} by the Inscription on his Coffin, which was dug up by command of Henry the Second, who had learnt by the Songs of the Britich
\footnote{5} Bards, that he was bury’d at Olbathurst in Somersetshire, between two Pyramids, where none knew who had made the
\footnote{6} Tomb of that King, was covered by the Coffin of King Arthur. His name is written in the Irish Language. This

strange Person. who to whom it was given.

Concluding, lastly, how the 34

A. D. Srvens reign’d upon the Romans all time, the
A. D. who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquered Frisia, and all the Frisian States as far as the Elbe, to have made Lolland the Eastern bound of his Empire, and Normy the Chamber of Britain. When should this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve Battles, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britains contented with the Quiet they had from the Saxon Enemies, were free from being sought after abroad, that he repart of Grall, to have made Leipzic the Eastern bound of his Empire, and Normy the Chamber of Britain.

And thereupon was troubleable to their Con- A. D. 568. 

fronts: But by them twice defeated, he who but 

now thought to seem dreadful, became almost 

contemptible. For Kealinn and Cutha his Son, 

pursuing him into his own Territory, slew there 

in Battel, at Withaban, two of his Earlis, Oftres, 

in Swey and Cawiton. By this means the Britains, 

but chiefly by this Victory at Radon, for the space 

of forty four Years ensuing in great 

Annoyance from the Saxons: But the Peace 

they enjoyed, by ill using it, prov'd more de-

flective to them than War. For being rais'd on 

a sudden by two chief eminent Succes, from the 

lowest Condition of Thraldom, they who 

Eyes had beheld both these Deliverances, that 

by Aberford, no other by them was given thence 

by the Experience of either Fortune, both Kings, 

Magistrates, Priests, and private Men, to live 

orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted 

with past Evils, and only feeble of their pre-

sent Safe and Quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd 

the open oppressing the People both in hand and 

face, in the Minds of most Men: Searcely the 

leaff Footstep, or Impedience of Goodness left remaining 

through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land, 

except in some to very few, as to be hardly 

visible in a general Corruption: which grew in 

short Space not only manifest, but odious to all 

the Neighbouring Nations. And thus the Kings, 

who in the Name of Grand-Children of Ambrose, were 

fouls degenerally to all Tyranny and Vicious Life. Wherefor to be here 

Particulars out of Gilber will not be inapparent. 

They avenge, faith he, and they protect; not 

the innocent, but the guilty: They swear oath, 

but perjury, they wage War, but give the Peace-

full War. It was but their time that rob 

by the high Way, but those grand Robbers that 

fit with them at Table, they honour and reward. 

They give Alms largely, but in the Face of their 

Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedness to a far higher 

Heap. They fit in the seat of Judgment, but 

go faldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and 

proudly just, ordering the Prefident and Hand 

but conterminous the audacious, though guilty of 

abominable Crimes; they stuff their Prisons, 

but with Men committed rather by Circumven-

tion, than any jilt Cautie. Nothing better were 

the Clergy, but at the fame fads or rather worse, 

then when the Saxons came first in; unleamed, 

unapprehensive, yet impudent, full of menaces, 

but indeed Wolves; intent up 

on all Occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselves: Not call'd, 

but feeling on the Miniftry as a Trade, not by a 

Spiritual Charge: Teaching the People, not by 

found Doctrine, but by evil Example: Ufuring 

the Chafe of Peter, but through the Blinding 

Lulled, they flumble upon the Seat of Judas: Deadly Haters of Truth, 

Broachers of Lies: Looking on the poor Chri-

fian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but 

fawning on the wickeddefi rich Men without 

Shame: Great Promoters of other Men Alins 

with their Pet Exhortations, but themselves cour-

ting the enfeof, lightly touching the many 

Vices of the Age, but preaching without end 

their own Grievances, as done to Chrift, 

seeking 

after Preferements and Degrees in the Church 

more than after Heav'n; and so gain'd, make it 

their whole Study how to keep them by any 

Tyranny. Yet left they should throw the things of Life into their eminent Places, they 

have their Niceties and trivial Points to keep in 

awe the superfrittus Multitude; but in true fa-

cing Knowledge leave them full as gros and 

flupid as themselves; Eunulers at the Scripture, 

Vol. I.
A.D. may forbidding and silencing them that know, but in Worthy Matters, practis'd and cunning Schedens, in that only Art and Science, Clerk and Mallets, bearing their Heads high, hid their Thoughts abject and low. He taxes them all as glutinous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from thee, poor Lusty, so he goes on, these Beasts, all Belly! Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil, and show thee, of their Eyes, who are right foremost nothing but Gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, left ye fall both blind-fold into the same Perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it Eli to be himself blandished, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? Who of them has been entry'd for his better Life? Who of them hath hated to content with thee, or whiffold their entering the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously their calling out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the State of Government, this of Religion among the Britains, in that long Calm of Peace, which had as yet given Room free to live with ease, but better Instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest Men reputed of all Britains, the Inftigator of their Youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by true Story, of what paft among the Britains from the time of their Ieffes Victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote, that is, between the years from 572 to 571, is here let down all together but which is to be reduce' under any Certainty of Years. But now the Saxons, who for the most part all this while had been still, unless among themselves, began afarths to affault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side Wales. For Carthach the Boy of Marnach, by a Vow, did as Redford, in Cambrians. Redford took from them four good Towns, * Li. ann. com. 

gavurghus, * Edgavurghus, Bavergus, now Benfon in * Achnak, 

Oxfordshire, and * Ighemus, but outliv'd not many.* Esquay, 

Months his good Success.* And after six Years in Ossetive, 

Marnach, and Carthach his Son, gave them four. 

a great Overthrow at Deorhern in GloRESTbRe, 

577. 

Goes thence to the History, of Comrai, Gildas, and Dabian. 

Farrimand; and took three of their chief Cities, Glocestre, 

Glocestre, Cirencester, and Badeneftier. The Brit. bath 

tains notwithstanding, after some space of time, 

judging to have out-grown their Loffes, gather 

to a head, and encounter Keawin with Othiba his 

Son, at Echamblage; whom valiantly fighting, 

they flew among the thickets, and as fast, 

for the Saxon to retire. But Keawin reinforcing 

the Fight, put them to a main Rout, and 

following his Advantage, took many Towns, 

and return'd laden with rich Booty. The last 

The Kings 

of those Saxons who rais'd their own Archiyeve 

ments to a Monarchy, was Othiba, much about 

this time*, first Founfer of the Merican 

Kingdowm, d. 558. Pedigrees. 

Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, 

Huntingt, 

though it might be done without long search, Mat. Woff. 

were, in my Opinion, to encumber the Story with a fort of barbarous Names, to little pur 

pofe. This may suffice, that of Woden's three 

Sons, from the Eildel Ifid Hengif, and his 

Succceffor, is the fore根本没有, the Kings and 

from the third, all that Reign'd in WYft. 

Saxon, and moft of the Northambers, of whom 

* Possibly *Laetam in Bedfordshire. See the Glos to the Saxon Chronicle. 

* Some Authors place the founding of the Kingdom of the East Angles by Offa at this time, Ann. 575. Mr. Talbot is of this 

Opinion in his Chronological Table. 

* History of Huntingdon and Matt. Woffiniger, write that Gilda founded the Kingdom of Merica in the Year 585. 

Alls
History of ENGLAND,

Contin'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book IV.

A.D. 593.

The Saxons grown up now to seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establisht by Succesion, finding their Power arrive well nigh to the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the Britains, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's Greetnes. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealousies, till the West Kingdom at length grown over-powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while others, Edelleirs of Kent, who by this time had well ripen'd his young Ambition, with more ability of Years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains, and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between Kent and Hamber, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of West-Saxons, being the firmest of all them, at that time more shaken by their overthrow at Widens-broth, and the Death of Kent, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he gain'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Eadburh, that French King's Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercize of her Faith, under the care and A.D. 592.

infruction of Letardus a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding, and his People retaining their own Religion. Bede. Bed. 1. 2, out of Geldor lays it falsely to the Britains charge, c. 22. that they never would condescend their Saxon Neighbours the means of Conversion; But how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least fallibility from their first arrival, a Bed. 1. i. 2 now came to determine. Howbet not long c. 1. after, they had the Christian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as it is said, Bed. 1. i. 3, 4 went, accounted old in Bed's time) upon this occasion. The Northumbrians had a confusion at that time, and many hundred Years after not abolisht, to fell their Children for a small value into any foreign Land. Of which number, two comely Young men were brought to Rome, whole fair and honest Countenance invovved Gregory, the Deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some who stood by, that they were Angli of the Province of Deira, Subjects to Alla King of Northumbeland, and by Religion Pagans. Which left Gregory deploiring

* Tis probably the same place with Wamborough, on the borders of Wilt and Berks; or rather a little Village between Melborou and the Dowsie, near Winistoke.

* The British Chronicles put the total Retreat of the Welsh into Wales, Ann. 517.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three
Names he heard, that the Augli, so like to An-
gels, should be fitch'd de ics; that is, from the
Wrath of God, to fing Halleviog. And for this
which he had a furnishing licence of Benefices to
had come and preach'd here among them, had not
the Roman People, whose love endur'd not the
abuse of so vigilant a Pastor over them, re-
call'd him, then on his journey, though but de-
ferred his pious intention. For a while, suc-
cessing in the Papal Seat, and now, in his
fiftings at Rome, he fawd, fuch as, by divin-
ing Infinit, he fent Auguline, whom he had design'd
for Bishop of the English Nation, and other zeal-
ous Monks with him, to preach to them the
Gospel. Who being now on their way, difcon-
raged by some reports, or their own carnal fear,
left back Afifin, in the name of all, to befech
Gregory they might not confound, and not be
left a journey fo full of hazard, to a fierce and
inulf'd Nation, whose Tongue they understood
not. Gregory with Pious and Apostolick Per-
fections exhorts them not to shrink back from
so good a work; but cheerfully to go on in the
strength of Divine Affiance. The Letter it fell
yet extant among others that fall in the
fifth Bk. I. Here, as not proferring to relate of
those Matters more than what mixes aptly with
Civil Affairs. The Abbot Afifin, for fo he was
ordain'd out the reft, reimcour'd by the Ex-
horations of Gregory, and his Fellows, by the
Letter which he brought them, came safe to the
Isle of Thanet, in number about forty, before his
friend Nation, whom they took along as
Interpreters. Elfebrell the King, to whom As-
fin at his landing had fent a new and wondrous
Mesilage, that he came from Rome to proffer Hea-
ven and Eternal Happines in the knowledge of
another God than the Savages knew, appoints them
to remain where they landed, and Neccessaries
be provided of them. He relates, that he had a
fuch time as what was to be done. And after certain
days coming into the Island, chose a place to meet
them under the open Sky, poiff'd with an old
perulfion, that all Spells, if they should ufe any
to deceive him, fo it were not within doors,
would be unavailable. They on the other fide,
call'd to his prefident Neberfel, and St. Sam-
dar, to Sylver Cred, and the painted Image of
our Saviour, came flowly forward finging their
Solemn Lattanies: Which wrought in Elfebrell
more fubbICATION than perhaps they be us'd Enchant-
ments, till fitting down as the King will'd them,
they there preach'd to him, and all in that Af-
fenibly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having
heard he called St. Af.

Yet, as the King thus answer'd: Fair
indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring,
and fuch things as have the appearance in
them of much good; yet such as being new and
uncertain, I cannot haflily affent to, quitting
the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the
English Nation, to many Years I have been
Neberfel's fate because ye are Strangers, and have
endured fo long a journey, to impart us the know-
ledge of things, which I perfuade me you believe
be the trutl and the belit, ye may be fue we
shall not compenue you with any moleflation,
but shall provide rather how we may friendly
entertain ye, nor do we make you other princi-
ples than your own, to your belief. And accordingly
their Reife he allotl them in Dornorim or
Canterbury his chief City, and made provifion
for their Maintenance, with free leave to preach
their Doctrine where they pleas'd. By which,
and by the example of their holy Life, spent in
Prayer, Fasting, and continual labour in the A. D.
Conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose
bounty and the King's, receiving only what was
necessary, and the Place of Boxley, where the
City, on the East fide, an ancient Church
built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Ro-
mans remain'd here: In which fettl'd the Queen
went out uniafially to pray. Here they also began
first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise
Divine Worship. But when the King himself,
earnestly convin'd of the truth of the truth of
his, came Christian, and was baptiz'd, which came
to pafs in the very first Year of their arrival;
did Multitudes daily conform to thcir Chrifti-
Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among
thofe of his Faith: To whom Elfebrell indeed
Bed. I. 2. principally show'd his favour, but compel'd s-
none. For fo he had been taught by them, who
were both the Truth and Verit and Verit.
In his Faith, that Chriftian Religion ought to be volun-
tary, not compell'd. About this time Kelwulf
Bed. I. 3. the Son of Cutha, Kenun's Brother, reign'd over
the West Saxons, after his Brother Koela or
Karl, and had continual War either with Englif,
Welf, Brett, or Sout. But Afifin, whom with
Bed. I. 1. better place for their abode in the City,
and other pofitions necessary to livelihood, crofing
into France, was by the Archifhop of Atla, in the
appointment of Pope Gregory, ordain'd Arch-
bishop of the Englif: And returning, bent to
Rome Lawrence and Peter, two of his Afcociates,
in the acompañ for the Pope of Rome, his health in
England, and to be refolv'd of certain Theologifal
or rather Lexifical Questions: With anfwers to
which, not proper in this place, Gregory fends
to the Great Work of Converting, that went
on fo happily, a fupply of Labourers, Mellinus
the fame, Bed. I. 2. and Commodious, with great Endowments, of his
the Altar, Copes, Relicks, and for the Arch-
bishop Afifin a Pall to fay Mass in: To fuch a
rank Superfition that Age was grown, though
fome of them yet retaining an emulation of Apo-
foil Zelf. Laftly, to Elfebrell they brought a
Letter with many Prefents. Aftin thus exlail'd
and the Archifhop to his Stratagememes, that
the ruins and other profane uiles, a Chriftian Church
in Canterbury, built of old by the Romans; which
Bp. 50, which he dedicateu by the Name of Chrift's Church, and
Church at
Canterbury
dedicated
by St. Aftin,
where Elfebrell at his motion built St. Peter's, the
Apostle and eulfenn'd it with great Endowments, of
the Be-
place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings
of Kent: So quickly they frett up into fellow-
Bed. I. 2.
ship of Pom with Kings. While thus Elfebrell
Bp. 34, and his People had their Minds intent, Elfebrell
and the Norfbourn King 1. was not lefi buried in
dfferent affairs: For being altogether Warlike, and
covering fame of the Windom, he more waf'd the
Britains than any Saxen King before him, winning
from them large Territories, which either he
made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects.
Whence Eken King of thehe Scots that dwelt in
Britain, jealousy of his fleeces, came againft him
with a mighty Army, to a place call'd Deolafgan,
but in the battle, with the loss of his life, with a
few cakes: Only Tothold the King's Brother,
and the whole Vengil which he commanded,
unfortunately cut off, made the Vico-
Aftin lefts inter. Yet from that time
16 King of Scots in hostile manner durft pafs in
Britain for a hundred and more Years after:

* Ten thousand baptiz'd in the Year 596. Tall. Tab.
Mr. John Milton. Book IV.

A. D. and what some Years before, Keelnew, the West-Saxon is annual'd to have done against the Scæf and Pæs, passing through the Land of East-Saxen a King to Pote, unless in his Aid and Allianc, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if East-Saxen, affitied by Kealin, whom he milt-tites King of East-Saxen, had before this time a Rattel with Axen, wherein Caeba Kealin's Son was Plain. But Car-like is as above written from better Author, was plain in Fight against the West twenty Years before. The Number of Christi-ans began now to increase so fast, that Agellin ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Ali-ants Melitius' and Jufius, fen them out both to the Kingdom of Malmith; by preching converted the East-Saxen, over whom Sebert the Son of Sleds, by Permission of Etoebol, being born of his Sifter Ricula, then reign'd. Whole Conversion Etoebol to gratu-late, built them the great Church of St. Paul in London, to be their Bishop's Cathedrall, as Jufius also had his built at Rodolfe, and both gifted by the same King with fair Poffessions. Hither to Auffin laboured well among Includs, but not with like Commendation soon after among Chri-rians. For by means of Etoebol immorning the Britan Bishops to a place * on the Edge of Welf-Saxen, at that time in White Oak, he requires them to conform with him in the fame Day of celebrating Efull, and many other Points wherein they differed from the Rites of Rome: Which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by Diffufe, he appeals to a Miracle, reforing to fight a blind Man whom the Britan could not cure. At this fomathing mov'd, though upon the Monks Brocnail, the Captain, fet to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a fudden Maffacre, whereof scarce fifty flaid: But not to eafe Work found East-Saxen against another part of Britains that bold in Arms, whom though at laft he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Soldiers. To excufe Auffin of this Bloodshed, left some might think it his revengeful Policy, Beda writes that he was dead long before, although the time of his fitting Arch-bishop be right computed fixteen Years, he must refive this Action. Other Memb's the girt Ground of charging him with this Imputa-tion appears not, what we expeft, we have it from Geoffrey Mammouth, whole weight we know. The fame Year Keelnew made War on the South-Saxen, bloody, faith Huntingdon, to both fides, but moist to them of the South **: And four Years after, dying left the Government of Welf-Saxen to Kintgils and Chichelbo the Sons of his Brother Rodela. Others, as Florence and Wereker, and Matthew of Wemifhfield, will have Chichelbo Son of 614. Kingil, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whole third Year they are recorded with joyn Forces or Conduct to have fought against the Britains in Boarden, now Bidden in Dar-Camb or Cambi, for fame, and to have them of them above two Thoufand. More memorable was the second Year following, by the Death of Elcbeor the firft Christian King of Saxen, and no lefs a Fa-avourer of all Civility in that rule Age*. He gave Laws and Statutes after the Example of Roman Emperors, written with the Advice of

* Melitus, Bishop of London, and Juffus Bishop of Rodolfe.

** The Saxon Chronicle calls it Beandum: And it is not unlikely, that was Beandom in Devonshire, where it borders upon Somersetshire, who Cambes in his Brit. Tit. Dar-Camb, says Beandum is Bidden near Warcan in that Country.

† He was the firft English King who coin'd Money. Camb. Rem.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. 616. [1] his first Counsellors, but in the English Tongue, and thereof I long after." Wherein his special Care was to punish those who had till’n ought from Church or Churchman, thereby suffering none but the Moors and Pagans to obviate their hands the Christian Faith, Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son Ethwald took the Courfe as if to extinguish, nor only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Father’s second Wife. Then soon was perceived what Multitudes for Fear or Contemnation of the King had professed Christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old Religion. Nor flaid the Apoftates within one Province, but quickly spread over to the East-Saxons, occasion’d there likewise, or set forward by the Death of their Christian King Sebert: Whole three Sons, of which two are nam’d, Sexert and Somerad, neither in his Life-time was brought to Baptism, and after his Decease re-establish’d the free Exercise of Idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in Delight to do some open Proclamation against the other Sacramento. Coming therefore into the Church, where Mellitus the Bishop of London was, they gave him a fresh Start, Albe and Scorn to deliver to them unband’d the consecrated Bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of their Dominion. Who could forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Juflus Bishop of Reckford. But Divine Vengeance deferted them, they being then so inimical, for Ethwald, vexed with an evil Spirit, fell often into foul Fits of Disraction; and the Sons of Sebert, in a Fight against the West-Saxons perish’d, with their whole Army. But Ethwald, within the Year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Lawrence the Archbishop and Successor of Audoin was preparing to ship for France, after Juflus and Mellitus, the Story goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whole Church he spent the Night before in watching and praying, appear’d to him, and to make the Virgin more felable, gave him many Stripes for offering to defend his Flock, at fight when the King (to whom he shewed the Marks of what he had suffer’d by whom and for what Cause) relenting and in great Fear disu’d his incccssful Marriage, and apply’d himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, with all his People. But the Luxurious, addicted still to Paganism, would not be perverted from their Disobedience, for entertained an Invasion, and in a Fight near to the East-side of the River Idle, on the Mercian Border, now Notts-ingham- shire, [2] slays him, disipating easily those few Cambrians. Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him, who yet as a Testimony of his Fortune, not his Valor, to be bland’d, flew first with his own hands Reiner the King’s Son. His two Sons Osfrid, and Ofmit, by Aella, Edwin’s Sifer, escap’d into Scotland. By this Victo- ry, Redwald became so far Superior to the other Saxon Kings, that Beela reclaims him the next after Ella and Ethelbert, who bestides this, his Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side Humber at his Obedience. He had Red. I. 2. formerly in Kent receiv’d Baptism, but coming home, and perfwaded by his Wife, who still it feems, was his chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps’d into his old Religion; yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worse to think that they were two hereditary Princes for more Assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But Edwin, as with more Deliberation he undertook, and with more Sin- cerity retain’d the Christian Profession, so alo in Power and Extent of Dominion far exceed- ed all before. He now had both the Kingdoms of England and Brabant, even to the Isles, then call’d Me- vanian, Anglesey, and Man; fell’d in his King- dom by Redwald, he fought in Marriage Edel- borga, whom others call’d Tate, the Daughter of Ethelbert. To whom Ethelward, Ethwald his Brother made answer, That to wed their Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Lad. Edwin reply’d, that to her Religion he would be no Hindrance, which with her whole Household he might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin’d it would find the better, he would embrace it. Thence ingenious Offers, offering to a fair way to the Advancement of Truth, are accepted, and Paganism to a Spiritual Guardian fent along with the Virgin. He being in his purpose made Bishop by Juflus, omitted no Oc- casion to plant the Gospel in those Parts, but with small Success, till the next Year, Caei-belnum, at that time one of the two West-Saxon Kings, envious of the Greatness which he saw Edwin gaining up to, that finding Above him, and Swardman to him, who under Pretence of doing a Mealige from his Mafter, with a poif- on’d Weapon, stab’d at Edwin, conferring with him in his Houfe, by the River Derwent in Yorks- hire, on an Easter-day, which Lilla, one of the King’s Attendants, at the infaint perceiving, with a Loud Noise, to make the deliberation, abandon’d his whole Body to the Bow; which notwithstanding made Parfage through to the King’s Perfon, with a Wound not to be flighted. The Murtherer encompass’d now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenge’s his own Fall with the Death of another, whom his Paimard reach’d home. Paimard omitting no Opportunity to win the King from Mis-fathe, obtain’d at length this Promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnified, would give him to recover of his Wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus affall’d him, he would then become Chris- tian, in Peldge whereof he gave his young Daughter Ethelinda to be bred up in Religion.
A. D. who with twelve others of his Family, on the Day of Pentecost was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound, to punish the Authors of
's foul a fact, he went with an Army against the West-Saxons: Whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had confin'd against him, put
some to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious; and from that time worshipt no longer. Edwin was like to be deceed of Edwin, comes back, and joyfully binds his sacle to his repose, for that the King's Mind, tho' for a while drawn, the false words disappearing, left Edwin much recover'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had been gone all this while to liven farther what was the end of the Sidk and the Anarchie, and of the Slaves, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why Edwin astonish'd by the Bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, afe to him with that Reverence and Amazement, as to the First and ancient Deity. For adding him to your Ene-
emies, and given you the Kingdom, as you de-
fer'd: Perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring. The way, which is not to accept
shall to your Temporal Felicity add Eternal. The promise claim'd of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related: Redwald, as we heard before, dazled with the Gold of Eftelvifir, or by his threatening over-aw', having promis'd to yield up Edwin, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had fame from with him in the Court of Redwald, that never thrunk from his adver-
sity, about the first hour of night comes in haste to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better securty, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that courfe not ap-
prov'd, as seeming disproportionable without more means, he then required friend of him who had so long been his only refuge, the Friend de-
parts. Edwin left alone without the Palace-
Gate, full of fadness and perplex thoughts; dif-
cerns about the dead of a Man, neither by Counciuness nor by Habit to him known, ap-
proaching towards him: Who, after falutation, ask'd him, why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so gladly for walking on a cold Stone? Edwin, not a little doubting who he might be, ask'd him again, What his fettging
within doors or without concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why fettging here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you have of a Man, with whom you could be friend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like? All that I am able, an-
swer'd Edwin. And he, What if the fame Man should promis'e to make you greater than any
English King hath been before you? I should not doubt, quoth Edwin, to be answerably grateful. And no reason why not this he would inform you, faid the other, in a way to Happinell, what more or less than that, what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his Counsel? Edwin, withoutropping, promis'd he would. And the other,
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. 632.

The

The Britains beat the Saxons.

The Britains differ from the Saxons, and think it is no better than Pagan Idolatry.

A.D. 633.

of East Angles, to embrace the same Beliefs; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the Name only of a King. But Oswald

Oswald, and Uncles, by the due administration of Justice, wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travelled in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way-side, to make them fitte for the use of Travellers. And not unfilful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carry'd before him. But having Regius with much Honour seventeen Years, he was at length by Beda, or Cyhawalla, King of the Britains, who with aid of the Mercian Penda, had rebel'd again him, slain a Battell with his Son Ovfrid, at a place calle'd Hethfel. and his whole Army overthrown or dipp'd in the Year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of Man worthy a more peacefull end. His Head brought to York, was there bury'd in the Church by him himself would have been brought to the Church and State of the Northumbrians: For Penda being a Heathen, and the British King, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the slaughte of Sex or Age; Kedwella threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the Britains, and his adherents, accounted Saxon Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethelberga the Queen and her Children, aided by Bafina, one of Edwids Captains, made escape by Sea to Endhall King of Kent: Who receiving his Sifier with all kindnes, made Paulinus Bishop of Rochester, where he ended his Days. After Edwin, the Kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightfull Heir seizing his part; in Deroer, Offric the Son of Eilfric, Edwin's Uncle, by prolection a Christian, and baptiz'd by Paulinus; in Bericka, Eanfrid the Son of Ethelfrid; who all the same Year, with his Brother Eorpwald, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in Scotland exil'd, and had been there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gotten each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, flighting back into their old Religion, and both were the same Year flain; Offric by a sudden erupcion of Kedwella, whom he in a Strong Town had unadvisedly besiegd, Eorpwald deifying Peace, and becontently won Ethelfrid with a few surrendering himself, Kedwella now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when Oswald, the Brother of Eanfrid, with a fulln but Christian Army, unexpectingly come on, defeated and destru'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible; by a little battle near Tine, near the ancient Roman Wall then call'd Devilburn, the place afterwards Heaven-field, from the Croes reported miraculous for Cures, which Oswald there erected before the Battell, in token of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the kingdom, he took care to inculc again the People in Chrsitianity. Sending therefore to the Scottis Elders, Beds fo terms them, among whom he had receiv'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again fettle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had impair'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, sent Aden, a Scott Monk and Bishop, but of singular Zeal and Meekness, with others to affit him, whom at their own desire he feated in Lindisfarne, as the Episcopal Seat, now Holy Island: And being the Son of Ethelfrid, by the Sister of Edwin, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwin's Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather, over all the four Britishe Nations. The Britains, Britishe, and Scots, exercizing Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility and Alm deeds, much is spoken; that he diatagn'd not to be the Interpreter of Aiden, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his Nobles and Houhold Servants; and had the Poor continually ferv'd at his Gate, after the promisous manner of thole times: which was a clear index of a Manner more antient of Private or of Church Contribution, is doubtfull more Evangelical. About this time the West Saxons, antiently call'd Gezi, by the Preaching of Berinus a Bishop, whose Pope Honuarius had been, were convert'd to the Faith with Kinged's their King; Him of Convenced wold receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The next Year Gcelchiel was baptiz'd, tiz'd in Drocester, but liv'd not to the Year's end. The East Angles also this Year were reconvert'd to the Faith of Christ, which for some Years past they had thrown off. But Sigbert the Brother of Oswald now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man. Who while his Brother yet liv'd, living in France an exile for some Duplicity done, or against him by Redwald his Father, learnt there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instruc'd his People, by the Preaching of Felix a Burgundian Bishop. In the Year 646, Endall deceasing, left to Bernward Erhosted his Son by Emma the French King's Daughter, the first Bishop of the English Nation, and the first of English Kings, who commanded through his Littman who compose the defroying of Idols, laudably, if all Idols to be without exception, and the first to have efta-defroy'd; blithfull amongst us, under strict penalty, not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was obser'd here till this time by compulsion, especially being noted by some to have been the first Bishop to receiv'd the title of Mat. Wilhelme, and fraudulently offer'd upon his Sister Brother; meur'd, whose right was Precedent to the Crown. Oswald having Regius eights Years, worthy also as might seem of longer Life, fell into the same Fate with Edwin, and from the same Hand, in a great Battell overcome and slain by Pembro, at a place call'd Matferfield, now Offsney in Shrop Shropshire, miraculous, as faith RUN covered with blod. His Brother Offric succeeded him, Reigning the, in much trouble, twenty eight Years, oppos'd either by Pembro, or his own Son Alfed, or his

England

Gezi

Oswald

Beda

England

Penda

Augustine

Rome

Beda

Augustine

Beda

Beda
his Daughter, he was den[yed her but on Condition, that he live with all his People should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much persuade'd also by Affrith the King's Son, who had his Sister Kyndard to Wife, he easily agree'd to his profe's'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Returning, he took with him four Prefbyters to teach the People of his Province, who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Pendu, though himself no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Gospel, but the Father thebi, and defpis'd theEfe, who profett'd, believe, attefted not their Faith by good Works, condemning them for miscarri'd and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chafe to believe. How well might Pendu, this Heanen, rise up in Judgment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and their Days! Yet being a Man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warn'd on Anna, King of the East-Angles, perhaps without Caufe, for Anna was efteced a Sx. An. Jul Man, and at lengthlew him. About this time the Saxon Kings and others weree, he, as it were, said, had expell'd their Bishop Mellius, and recoul'd the Faith, were by the means of Ofri thus reconverted. Siegbert, tiram'd the Small, being the Son of Sward, without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him Siegbert the Second, who coming oft to visit his Father, found him fung at several times fervently difflated from Idlatry, and conceiv'd at length to forf케 it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home, taking with him Redda a laborsious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the People were again recover'd from Mithilica. But Siegbert some Years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in near about him, wicki-ely murther'd, who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed so heinous, gave no other than this barbarous Anwer; That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forbear to wond them, us to forghe him. Yet his Death seems to have happen'd not without some Caufe by him given of Divine Dilpleasure. For one of those Earls who flew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therefore excommunicate'd to severely by the Bishop, that no Man might presume to enter into his House; much less if fit at Meat with him, the King not regarding this Church Council, went to reft with him at his Invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though peni- tent for what he had done, and fall'd at his Feet, touch'd with the Rod in his Hand, and angrily thus foretold: Because thou hast neglected to affair from the House of thy Predecessors; in that House thou shalt die: And so it fell out, perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing Wit- ness to his Minifter in the Power of Church Dil- pline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner thereof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to Ofri, and fatal to Pendu, for Ofri by the controul of the Fords of Pendu, have caus'd them to be devoluted, to the endangering once by Aulfait and Fire Rebeeban, his fortg. B. c. 15. Eft City, now Bawboree Castle, unable to refist Curmi.

\* Beda says, was a little defolate City in his time, and takes no notice of it as an University. *Ann. 700. Rodent of Lentin- gton writes, that in the Reign of Edmund the First, Grand-Bridge at Cambridge, from a School was made an University like Ox- ford. *Cambr. Th. Canbr.
him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but Deftruction to that King, though more than once in Affinity with him, turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Aljustice, devoting, if he were delivered from his Calamities, a Gift of one Year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelve Portions of Land whereon to build Monaxies. His Vows, as may be thought, found better Success than his profiter Gift; for hereupon with his Son Alfred, gathering a small Power, he encounter'd and discomfited the Mercians, thirty years in the Month, and led on by expert Captain, made a Place call'd Loudes, now Leeds in Yorkshire. Befides this Ethelwald, the Son of Oswald, who rul'd in Deira, took part with the Mercians, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a Safe Place expected the Event: With which unforeseen Retreat, the Mercians perhaps terrified and melting away, Oswald fled, and with his Commanders, with Penda himself, most being slain, among whom Ethelbro the Brother of Anna, who rul'd after him the East Angles, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which Beda calls Whweled, then swol'n above his Bank. The Death of Penda, who had hitherto been the Deity of his Country, was general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River Whweled, Anna was averg'd. To Ethelred succeded Ethelwald his Brother, in the East Angles, to Siegbert in the East Saxons, Sitidhelm the Son of Sexbald, faith Bede, the Brother of Siegbert, faith Malmsbury, he was baptiz'd by Rolda, then rebaptiz'd in the East Angles, by Ethelwald the Earl of Essex, receiv'd him King of the Font. But Osric in the Strength of his late Victory, within three Years after subdu'd all Mercia, and of the Pictish Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Penda his Son-in-Law the Kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Penda the Spring following, as he found, his Thrall of Way was the Daughter of Osric, married him for a special Christian, on the Feast of Easter, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian Nobles, Ufur, Eata, and Eadbier, throwing off the Government of Osric, set up Wulfric the other Son of Penda to be their King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. Kemewulf the West-Saxon, now set'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the Britains, joins Battel with them at Pew in Worcestershire, and coming over pursues them to Petham. Another Fight he had with them before, at a Place call'd Wirtsworthing, barely mention'd by Bede; the Mortality was great, and his Brother Wulfric was kill'd, ere he fell at that. Wulfric, the Son of Penda, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at Pollenesters, on the Easter Holy-days, and as Ethelward faith, took him Prisoner, but the Saxen Anmals, quite otherwise, that Wulfric winning the Field, waited the West-Saxon Commands. Kemewulf, the Mortality being great, took and wait'd the Isle of Wight, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbelievers, gave the Island to Ethelwald King of the South-Saxons, whom he receiv'd out of the Font. The Year 664, a Synod of Scotch and English Bishops, in the Presence of Osric and Alfred his Son, was held at a Monastery in the

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* Supposed to be the River Sire.
* Gild agrees with the Saxen Anmals.
* Supposed to be Bedwine in Wiltshire.
not only recovered Lindsey, and what beides in those parts Wilfird had lost to Eofrid some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, waiting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endangering the City of Rochester; Notwithstanding what Refiance Lesther could make against him. In August 678, was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the South Saxons about this time were converted to the Christian Faith, upon this Occasion. Wilfird Bishop of the Northumbrians entering into Con- tention with Eofrid the King, was by him de- clared and banished, but he returned with the help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rained, as is said, of three Years before in that Country, whence many of the People daily perir'd by Famine; till on the first Day of their public Baptism, soft and plentiful Showers fell, and continu'd such till the Summer following. Two Years after this, 

Kewin the other Wulf-Saxon King above-mentioned, came to the Welecb Britannias, as is Chronic'd without Circumstance, to the very Sea Shor. But in the Year, by Beda's reckoning, 683, Kedwalla a Weal-Saxon of the Royal Line (whom the Welecb will have to be Arch-abbater, left King of the Southern Nation, fell to him from Mercia, Banishment, and invaded both Kewin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the Succession of Kewin, staying in Fight Edelwulf the South-Saxon, who oppos'd him in their Aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, Bertwine, and Aedwine, who for a while held the Field, and being sent for to Rome, bringing new Force, with the Slaughter of Bertwine, and also of Edric the Successor of Edelwulf, won the Kingdom: But reduced the People to heavy Thraldom. Then addressing to conquer the Isle of Wight, till that time Inosp, faith Beda (others otherwise, as above hath been related) made a Vow, though himself was dev'ated by the fourth part that Iland, and the Spoils thereof, to holy Ufera. Conquest obtain'd, pay- ing his Vow as then was the Belief, he gave his fourth to Bifhop Wilfird, by chance there pre- fent; and he to Bertwine a Priest, his Sifer's Son, with Communion to baptize all the vanquish'd, who meant to fate their Lives. But the two young Sons of Aedwine, King of that Island, met with much more Hiftority; for they at the Ene- mics approach flying out of the Isle, and be- tray'd where they were hid not far thence, thence, were led to Kedwalla, who lay then under Care of some Wounds receiv'd, and by his Appointment, after Infirme and Suffering, was given up to God to be aveng'd of Death, which the Thorns are said above their Age to have Christianly suffer'd. In Kent, Lothar dy'd this Year of his Wounds receiv'd in Fight against the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who defending from Ermenred, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though A. D. not commen- derably, one Year and a half: But com- ing to a violent Death, left the Land expor'd a Prey either to home-bred Ulfurpers, or Neigh- bouring Invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, take- ing Advantage from their Civil Diftempers, and marching usily through the South-Saxons, whom he had subdu'd, forely invad'd the Count- try, touch'd of long time by any Hiftorical In- curion. But the Kentis Men, all Parties unifi- ing against a Common Enemy, with joyou Power to oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother Molf in the Fight with 

twelve Men of his Company, seeking Shelter in a House before, and then this Prov'd to the Purfers: Kedwalla much trouble'd at to great a Loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered Forces, return'd fiercely upon the Chasing Enemy, nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length Edelwulf, the Son of Eofrid, having de- 

dom, both set'tl'd at home all things in Peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hosti- lity. While thus Kedwalla disquieted both Wulf Eofrid, and Earl, after his winning the Crown, Eofrid the Northumbrian, and Elcross the Mercian, sought a face Battel by the River Tone, where in Eofrid being overtop'red, a Year after. In this Years, much belov'd, was slain; and the Acci- dent likely to occasion much more shedding of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Ex- heration of Arch-bifhop Theodore, a Pecuniary Fine only paid to Eofrid, as some Satisfaction for the Loss of his Brother's Life. Another Ad- vertery being confisc't in his favour, he sev'led his Wife, Edelbrith his Wife, King Anna's Daughter, who having taken him for her Husband, and pro- fessing to love him above all other Men, per- fid'd twelve Years in the ob'ne true Refale of his Bed, thereby thinking to live the purer Life. So perver'tly then was Claudity infradicted against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much pain, and perver'tly taking his only Son, whose he sev'led her self a Nun, then made Abbess of Ely, dy'd seven Years after the Perfile; and might with better Warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken Wedlock, though now cannob'd St. Audrey of Ely. In the mean while Eofrid had sent Bertius with a Power to subdue Ireland, the Saxons were harried, and Kedwalla there, setting on Tur- ly to the Engifie, in both which they feem to have left a Pofferity much unlike them at this Day: Misera'ly walk'd, without regard had to Places hallow'd or profane, they betook them partly to their Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aids: and, as was thought, obtain'd it in their full sturdiness, which they time was dev'ated by the next Year, against the Mind and Perfusion of his fignet Friends, and espacially of Cadbert, a famous Bifhop of that Age, marching unsuc- cessfully against the Picts, who long before had been subjett to Northumbeland, was by them, reigning Flight, driven unawares into narrow Streets overtop'd with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, faith Beda, Military Valour began among the Saxons: They grew one to decay, nor only the Picts till then peace- effe'able, but some part of the Britannias also recover'd by Arms their Liberty for many Years after. Yet Asl'crider elder, but bafe Brother to E- 

ofrid, a Man fit to be the guide of the English, dy'd from Ireland, to which Place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now suc- ceeding, upheld with much Honour, though in narrower Bounds, the residue of his Kingdom. Kedwalla having now with great disturbance of
A.D. his Neighbours, Reign'd over the West-Saxons for two Years, besides what time he spent in gaining to, weary'd perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, defiours there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly Affairs had delir'd; and accordingly on Easter-day 680, he was baptiz'd by St. Gregory the Great at Peter. All which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he out-liv'd the ceremony so far fought, much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and in the Church of St. Peter there was bury'd, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded his Son, Ethelred, to the Throne of the West-Saxons, and from the time of his coming in for many Years opprest the Land with like Grevances, as Kelred had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop amongst them. His first Expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Muls: Righted, both to hazard all for the ruff Act of the Pope that could be found accessory; or, as others say, pacify'd Æthelred with a great Sum of Money. Mean while, at the incitemeht of Ecfrid, a devout Monk, Ælfrith a Priest, eminent for Learning, pafs'd over Set, having twelve others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in Germany. And coming amongst a People, whose chief Defender, Heoricki, who a little before had conquer'd the hither Friesland, by his Countenance and Protection, promis'd also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the Work of Conversion much the easier, and Ælfrith the first Bishop in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them Hemmed by Name, and for distinction furnish'd to, with the Black Work and the White, by his Example, piously aught to the Souls of their Countrymen the old Saxons, at their coming thither to convert them, met with much worfe entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer, who had promis'd to convey them, as they defir'd, to the Governor of that Country, discover'd of a few, daily Carpenters, three to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd, yet not unaveng'd, for the Governor enrag'd at such Violence offer'd to their Strangers, sending arm'd Men, flew all those Inhabitants, and burnt their Village. After three Years in Mercia, Ælfrith the Queen, Wife to Ethelred, was kid'd by bist, as which, among other Nobles, as Boda's Epitome records, Ælfwine calls them Southumbriars, negligent omittin the Caufe of so strange a Fact. And the Year following, Ethelred, a Northumbrian General, was slain by the Fries. Ethelred, seven Years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and reigned, with the Kindness and Patronage of his Brother. The next Year, Alfred in Northumb-land dy'd, leaving Æthelred a Child of eight Years to succeed him. Four Years after which, Ethelred, having a while with praiseful govern'd the Mercian Kingdom, went to Rome in the time of Pope Hadrian, and thence a Monk spent there the refidue of his Days, Kenred receiv'd him, the Son of Ethelred, who had reign'd the next before.

With Kenred went Offa the Son of Seger, King of A.D. East-Saxons, and betook him to the same Habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comedy. Perfon in the prime of his Youth, much defir'd of the People, and fuch his Virtue, by report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reign'd. In the West-Saxons one Year after left a Bishops, at first doubtful, at laft successful, against Gervat Saxon, Duke of Northumbria. The next Year Bertrand, another Northumbrian Captain, fought with the Pope, and the Bishops, and the Death of the King. The Saxons, in the Year 714, at Waltham in Wilshire, with Kenred the Mercian, King of East-Anglia, who dy'd the Year following a Lamentable Death: For as he fat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly poffes'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as Boniface Archbishop of Milan, The Apo- stle of the Englishman, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, German, writes by way of caution to Ethelred, his next of kin, who receiv'd with many advices the Counselling. Of the young Northumbrian King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vicious Life and Inceft committed with Nuns, was by Kenred suc- ceeded and aveng'd. He Reigning two Years, left Offa in his room. In whole eleventh Year, if Beda calculate right, Ælfrith King of the Deanery, lab-oured and laboured in his Vexation, feven Years; his end was with Seabold, as Beda testifies. He left behind him three Sons, Ethelbert, Eadbald, and Aelfric his Heirs. Three Years after which, some ap- pear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to be held, the one by him the morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two Weeks in January, bending their Blaze to ward the West. This Sign was an omens of those seriously invaded France, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The fame Year in Northumberland, Offa dying or slain, adopted Beda, and Kelmulf the Brother of Kenred his Successor, to whom Beda dedicates his Story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning and the procures of his Reign, were certain; but omits the time whereof the event was then doubly expected. Mean while Æthelred seven Years before having slain Kenmulf, to whom Flores gives the addition of Citea, given nullo to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth Year after overthrow'd and slain Albregis other Child, driven from Tinten to the North, and given to the Pope, Beda add the Eaft-Angels in more than one Letter, and Mabfury writes, but not the Year, whether to expiate to much Blood, or infected with the contagious Humour of those Times, Mabfury faith, at the perdition of Ethelberht's his Wife, went to Rome, and there ended his Days; yet this praiseful left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of Saxons in his Time, and the Death of his Kindred. To his Kinman Edelan, bequeath'd the Crown: No less than the whole Monarchie of England and Wales. For Æthelred it, we believe a digression in the Laws of Edward Confessor, was the first Kingdom crown'd of Engifl and Britifh, from the Saxons in England entrance, of the Britifh by means of his second Son's Wife, the same way related to Cadwallad to the Less Kings of Wales, which I had not noted, being unluckly.

* Dr. Pownell and Mr. Vaughan, in their Notes on Canade's Welsh Chronicle, suppose, that this Cadwallad was Edwan, formed by Trench, Prince of Wales, who about this time went to Rome, and there dy'd. Other Welsh Ancients pretend, Cadwallad here mention'd was their King Cadwallader, who, according to Cadwallad, publick'd by Dr. Pownell, went to Rome, anno 644, and dy'd there eight Years afterwards.
* In the Year 699, held a Great Council of his Bishops, Elder Men, and the Ambition of his People, by whom several Laws were made, and is the first Authentick Great Council, whose Laws are come to us entire. Spenzel Brit. Cont. 
* His See was Waltham, in the Goldcif. Tongae Tributum, now Streets.
* Supposed to be King of Cornwall, there lay'mg no such Name in the Catalogue of the Kings of North or South-Wales.
* Peter-Pierce granted to the Pope about the Year 725, in the King of the West-Saxons.
but for the place where I found it." After Ina, by a first son, Ethelwald, King of Mercia, who
united all the Provinces on this side Humber,
with their Kings; the Picts were in League with
the English, the Scots peaceable within their
bounds, and the Britains part were in their own
Government, part subject to the English. In which
peaceful state of the Land, many in Northumber-
land, bore a fearful testament of the
exceeding of Arms, betook them to the Cloister:
And not content so to do at home, many in the
Days of Ina, Clerks and Laicks, Men and Wo-
men, having to Rome in Herds, thought them-
elves no where fare of Eternal Life, till they
were cloister'd there. Thus representing the
state of Kings and Saint, God endur'd
another. Of whom chiefly had been gathered,
for the Saxons arrival, such as hath been de-
livered, a scattered Story pick'd out here and
there, with some trouble and tedious work from
among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles;
towards the latter end so bare of Civil Matt-
ers, as what can be thence collected may feem a
few annals of the English, fit for the most part with Succeffion of Kings, and Com-
putation of Years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd
with the Saxon Annals. Their Actions, we read of,
were most commonly Wars, but for what Caufe wagg'd, or by what Counsels carry'd on,
no care was had to let us know: Whereby their
Steaflon, and the two undertakings of their
William, Reafon, or Justice, little or nothing,
the fore Superflition and Monarchical Affefation
Kings, one after another, leaving their Kingsly
Charge, to run their Heads fouldly into a Monk's
Cowle: Which leaves us uncertain, whether Be-
des was wanting to his Matter, or his Matter to
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The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. 753.

Ethelbald, and the Proces of Ethelbald, at Beor-
fort, but so affectedly, and therefore sufficiently,
that I hold it not worth reaehful; and both in
that and the latter Confectis, gives Victo-
ry to Cuthric; after whom Sigebert, uncertain
by what Right, his Kingman, faith Florunt, ftept
into the Throno, whom hated for his Cruelty
and evil Doings, Kingeth, joyning with most
of the * Nobility, dikepoff'd of all but
Handeath, that Province he left also within a
Year, together with the Love of all those who
till then remain'd his Adherents, by flaying
Cambden, one of his Chief Captains, who for a
long time had faithfullly serv'd, and now dif-
funded him from inciting the People by fuch
Tyramical Practices. Thence flying for Safety
into Andres Wood, forfaken of all, he was at
length slain by the Swineherd of Cambren in Re-
venger of his Maffe, and Kinwulf who had un-
doubted Right to the Crown, joyfully faluted
King. The next Year Eadberth the Northambro
joining Forces with Unuf King of the Peas, as Si-
mens writes, befor'd and took by forrerr the
City Alcuith, now Dunsbrinton in Lennox, from
the Britains of Camberland; and ten Days after,
the whole Army perilly about Ninbruimg, but
to tell us how, he forgets. In Mercia, Ethelbald
was plain, as a Place call'd Scceanphon, now Seek-
ington in Warwickshire, the Year following, in a
large Conftituency, the way Conform-
imbs, but Oulred was dead two or three Years
before; others write him mutther'd in the Night
by his own Guard, and the Trefafon, as fome
fay, of Beorjord, who fucceeded him; but e're
many Months, was defeated and flain by Ofsa.
Yet Ethelbald leemns not without Courage, a long
and prosperous Reign, to have fallen by a way
that was oft' none the way Confidenti
of his many Alms, to commit Unclean-
nesf with confequent Nuns, besides Laick Audul-
teries, as the * Arch-bifhop of Mants in a Let-
ter taxes him and his Predecessor, and that by
his Example moft of his Peers did the like;
which adulterous Doings he foretell'd them were
likely to produce a flourish Off-firing, good for
nothing. Eadberth,_partly with the way Con-
A.D. of Kerke the Founder of that Kingdom. Not
better was the end of Elfwall in Northumberland
of the Conspiracy of Simon, of his Nobles and others a
fay of the whole People at Scyfttcr by the Ro-
man Wall; yet undeterred, as his Sepulchre
at Hagnollfield, now Haxbury upon True, and some
Miracles there said to be done, are allgd'd to
witness; and Siggan five Years after had vio-
landed himself. Of Odela, Son of Mbilj, who, adv-
anced into the room of Elfwall, and within one
Year driven out, left his Seat vacant to Elbe-
red Son of Millo, who after ten Years of Banish-
ment (Imprisonment, faith Alcuin) had the Scep-
ter put again into his hand. The third Year of
Bifroric King of Wefh-Sxones, gave beginning
from his beloved to a new and fatal Revolution
on Calamity on this Land. For three Years, the
first that had been seen here of that Nation
coming in the Wef, to visit thfe, as was fuppof'd,
Foreign Merchants, the King's Gatherers of Cur-
tons taking Horne from Dorchester*, found them
Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to
come and give account of their ludings at the King
who at first Elfwall, who liv'd with him came
with him as an earnest of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and
Hoftilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all
the Island. Of this Danijb first Arrival, and on a
fudden worfe than Horife Aggreffion, the Da-
unjf Hiftory far otherwife relates, as if their land had been
more than a Month of their Slaughters, and their
fulfill March far into the Country, to
foon repelf'd by the Inhabitants, they hafled
back as falt to their Ships: But from what Caufe,
what Realm of State, what Authority or Pub-
lick Council the Invaflion proceeded, makes not
mention, and our Wonder yet the more, by tell-
ing the affair of Sjlead and the Temple, from a
long aft, was a Man fudious more of Peace
and Quiet than of Warlike Matters. Thfe
therefore feem rather to have been fome Wav-
deers at Se, who with publick Commifion, or
without, through Love of Spoyl, or Hatred of
Christianity, feeing Booties on any Land of
Chriftians, came by Chance or Weather on this
Wife Church, and defir'd the Prefs made by their
Son driven out by his Nobles had given place
to Erbeled, was taken and forcibly thaven a
Monk at Tork. And the Year after, Oelf, and
Oelfeil, Sons of Eifwald, formerly King, for-
merly King, were drawn by fair Promifes from the
Principal Church of Tork, and after by Com-
mand of Erbeled, cruelly put to Death at Win-
walderne, a Village by the great Pool in Lan-
cashire, now call'd* Winwalderne. Nor was the
third Year left bloody; for Oefel, who not
liking a thaven Crown, had defined Banimifh
and obtain'd it, returning from the Ille of Man
withfinal Forces, at the secret but deceitful
Complot, and in to the Thames and in to the
Town of York, to affift him, was alfo taken, and by Erbel-
ed dealt with in the fame manife, the who
better to avouch his Cruelties,thereupon mar-
ried Elfled the Daughter of Oef; For in Oef
was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the fame
Year having drawn to his Palace Erbeledre King
of East-Angle, with fair Invitations to marry his
Daughter, caus'd him to be there indifcre-
ely beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully feiz'd,
by the wicked Countell of his Wife, faith Mat.
A.D. Wet, annexing therto a long unlikely Tale. 792.
which Violence and Bloodshed to make Atten-
ment, with the Aftonifhments of the Renoun-
nes of St. Alban, in a Shrine of Pearl and
Gold. Far worse it fird the next Year with
the Reliques in Lundisfame, where the Dones
landings, pillag'd that Monaftry, and of Fry-
ars kill'd fome, carrd away others Captive,
garnering neither Prieft nor Lay: Which many
Strange Things and bloody Draffes, with other
Imprefions in the Air feen frequently before,
were judg'd to foreginifie. This Year 
Aric
third Son of Vifred, ended in Kent his long
Reign of thirty four Years. With him ended
the Race of Hengfj; Thenceforth whomsoever
Wealth or Faction advanced, took on him the
Name and Smates of the King. The Saxon "Amorit*,
of 784, name Edmund then reigning in Ken-
tbut that confis not with the time of Aric, and
I find him no where elle mention'd. The 794-
following was remarkable for the Death of Oifj
* Cambden, in his Brif. Tit. Timefhire, tells ufs, that the Dones sild land at Telgthwaft in that Country; Now Tannah, a
Modifier-Town, which was launched the Whel in the late War.
* He aflifted Chriftianage in his Founding of the University of Paris.
* Call'd Oef's Dry, about 90 Miles long, fays Mr. Cambden.
* From the Month of Feb. to that of the River Wyf. Ms. Lloyd, in his Additions to Mofes (in the late Edition of Camb.d.)
has fix down the exact Course of it, Paf. 577.
* The Surveyor and Earle, in the late Survey of the Realm, tell us, that the Seats of the Tythes, and the
Walls of the Town, were of the large and strength of this Town, which were fix leagues in Circumference.

Vol. I. H
End of the Right.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest

A.D. 802.

Sea to Charles the Great, whom with rich Gifts coming to his presence the Emperor courteously received with this pleasant Proposal: Choose, Ethelbridge, of your Two Sons, (for his Son died by him) to be thy Husband: She, no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made choice answer. Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperor, between jest and earnest, Hadith thou chosen me, I had had no better choice than to choose him, that I might have neither him nor me. Nevertheles he signified her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess, for that Life, it may seem, the choice next to profess: But being a while after detected of Unchastity with one of her Followers, she was commanded to depart from that time wandering poorly up and down, with one Servant, to a City of Italy, the which in that at last in Beggary her shameful Life. In the Year 805, Cutred, whom Kennulf the Mercian had, instead of Pawn, made King in Kent, having obturately Reign'd eight Years, deceased, &. In Northumberland, Earl Eardulf the Year following was driven out of his Lands, and finely banished by Ræfæld; in his room, after whom Eardred, Son of Eardulf thirty three Years. But I see not how this can stand with the sequel of Story out of better Authors. Much less that which Buchanons relates the Year following of Acatus King of Scots, who having Reign'd thirty two Years, and dying in 809, had formerly indeed (but in what Year of his Reign) a Manuscript (viz. Hnugas King of Fál, with 10000 Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wafting the Finishe Borders, that Hnugas, by the aid of thosc Scots, and the help of St. Annwef their Patron, in a Vifon by Night, and the appearance of his Crofs by Day, routed the affoln'd English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no Writer. Buchanons supposes him to have been some Daunifio Commander, on whom King Alfred, or Alfred, had bestowed Northumberland: But of this I find no rootstep in our Antient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than one hundred Years after this Athelstan therefore, and this great Overthrow seems rather to have been the work of some Legend, than any warrantable Record. Mean while, Ethelbert having with much Prudence, Justice and Clemency, a Work of more than one Year, establish'd his Kingdom, and himself in the Affections of his People, turns his FIRST Enterprise against the Britains, both them of Cowwall, and those beyond Severn, fabricating both in Merica, Kennulf the fifth Year after, having Reign'd with great Praise of his Religious Mind and Virtues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son Kenelm a Child of seven Years, was committed to the Care of his Eldder Sifer Quenla, and, after, passed through Normandy, to murther him, led into a woody place upon pretence of Hunting. The Murther, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a written Note on the Altar at Rome, is a long Story told, tho' out of order, by Montherly, and under the Year 813 by Maff. Well, where I leave it to be fought by such as are more eclecular than I

* Ethelward says, he was Ordinard King; Dr. Llaid Bishop of Worcester, from Afta's Annals, Simon of Dambam, Roger Harmes, and others, proves Ethelward so the Throne to be two Years forward, done 802. 

* It seems to be Kempford on the edge of Glouceftheria, next to Whithire.
Keswulf, the Brother of Kemulf, after one Year's Reign was driven out by one Bernulf an Anglian, who in the third Year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune, or Wilton: Yet Malmbury accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently in their Computations. Keswulf thence retiring to the East-Angles, as part of his Dominion by the late Seizure of Offa, was by them met in the Field and slain: But they doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves, both King and People, to the Sovereignty of Ecbert. As for the Kings of East-Angles, our Annals mention them not since Ethelred, him succeeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in Malmbury, Althif (a good King, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold who left the Kingdom to Beorn, he to Ethelred the Father of this Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to Death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the Year 742, write, that Elfwold King of East-Angles dying, Humburah and Alberth that'd the Kingdom between them, but where to inter this among the former Successions, is not certain, nor much material: After Ethelbrite none is nam'd of that Kingdom till their submitting now to Ecbert: He from this Victory against Bernulf sent part of his Army under Ethelwulf his Son, with Alstan Bishop of Sherborn, and Wulfred a Chief Commander, into Kent, Who driving Northward there Reign'd in his eighteenth Year, overcame and drove him over the Thames; whereon all Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and lastly Essex, with her King Swiftruck, became subject to the Dominion of Ecbert. Neither were they all his Exploits of this Year, the first in order set down in Saxen Annals, having his Fight against the Dean of Welf, at a place call'd Geafford, now Cornwallford in Cornwall. Ludiken the Mercian, after two Years preparing to avenge Bernulf his Kinf-
The History of ENGLAND,
Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book V.

A. D. 828.

THE Sum of things in this Island, or the best part thereof, reduc'd now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attained at any time here before unles in Fables; Men might with some Reason have expected from such Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees: But far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Defolation, Slaughter of many, Slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Danes, by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more; for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; the unfort for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from Jutland and Angles, a part of Denmark, as Danish Writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this Invasion, Danes drove out Danes, their own Potest. And Normans afterwards, none but Ancient Normans. Which Invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchy divided as it was, either not been attempted, or not easily repel'd; while each Prince and People, excited by their nearest Concernments, had more industriously defended their own Bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Government, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a Secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those Troubles, the lefer Kingdoms revolting from the West Saxons Yoke, and not adding each other, too much concerned with their own Safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they fought to repel the Danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God had decreed Scrvitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no Condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purposed to punish our Instrumental Punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine Retaliations; Invasion for Invasion, Spoil for Spoil, Destruction for Destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britains were at their Arrival, broken with Luxury and Sloth, neither victorious nor superfluous; for laying aside the Exercise of Arms, and the Study of all valiant Knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vicious Practice, others to Religious Idleness and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions, easily perceiv'd such, by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Maflies, Idols, added to these Ointment of Alms, got of times by Rapine and Opprobrium, or intermixt with violent and luftful Deeds, sometimes prodigally bestowed, as the Expiration of Cruelty and Bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it fell grew to void of Stability, and the greatest Show of Purity were impur'd.

ECBERT.

Ecbert in full height of Glory, having now Ecbert first enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful Years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the Exericse of Arms perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden Storm of Danes from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign, waited Speedy in Kent. Ecbert the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of their Arrival in 35 Ships, gave a Sea. An. them Battle by the River Curr 3 in Deisfire, 832. the Event whereof was, that the Danes kept Sax. ad their Ground, and encamp'd where the Field was fought; two Saxons Leaders, Duoda and Osmond, and two Bishops as some say, were there slain. This was the only Check of Fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time receiv'd. 835. for the Danes returning two Years after with a great Sea. An. Navy, and joining Forces with the Cornish, who Penton, had enter'd League with them, were overthrown, high Dan. and put to flight; of these Invasion against Ecbert, the Danis Histroy is not silent; whether out of their own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much Uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landish Chronicles than any Records of their own. The Victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, feafonably now, after prosperous Successes, the next Year with Glory, An. ended his Days, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELWOLF.

EThelwolf the Son of Ecbert succeeded, by, tablt foebry describ'd a Man of mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the

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a. Normans in Deisfire.

b. At Ecbert in Cornwoll: So call'd from Hengf the Saxen.
By Mr. John Milton. Book V.

A. D. ancient Welf-Saxon Bounds, he gave to Ethelwolf his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of Kent and Essex. But the Saxon Annalists, whose Authority is Elder, faith plainly, that both thefe Countries and Suffer, were bequeathed by Ethelwolf to Ethelred his Father. The undivided Difpofition of Ethelwolf was that no doubt, and eafter Entrance to the Danes, who came again the next Year with thirty three Ships; but Wathibeor, one of the King's Chief Captains, drove them back at Southampton with great Slaughters: himfelf dying the fame Year, of Age, as fuppofed, for he fays to have been the younger of his Father's Commiffarions, who was more with Ethelwolf to fubdue Kent. Ethelwine another of the King's Captains with the Dorfere Men, had at first like Successes againft the Danes at Porteworthe, but they reinforcing their Ground, and put the English to rout. Wore was the Success of Earl Herebort at a Place call'd Dunlop, in the fafe Year. Eadfrith, and Kent, much Milieh was done by their landing, where the next Year, inbolden'd by Success, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London it fel, with no lefs cruel Hiftorical: And giving no refpite to the peaceable, then they fent againft the next Year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River Car, and made good their Ground. In Northumbel-derland Edmund the Tributary King deafeing, theif thefe Tenure to his Son Ethelwolf, driven out in his fourth Year, and fecceeded by Eadfrith, who soon after his Coronation, having forth in the Danes. Alfrid Ethelwolf, fell with the moft part of his Army; and Ethelwine like in Fortune to the former Ethelwolf, was re-executed to his Seat. And to be yet farther like him in Fate, was thele the fourth Year after. Oftere fecceeded in his Room. But more Southerly, the Danes next Year after met with fame fuccefs, the moft part of their Army af-Infolence. For Earlolf with the Men of Somerset, Alfrid the Bishop, and Ofrie with thofe of Dor-forebye,的小ing on the River's Mouth of Pedrithun, faughter'd them in great Num- bers, and obtain'd a juft Victory. This Re- pulfie qued them, for ought we hear, the Space of fix Years; Then also reinforcing the Inva- fion, as the Danes, and项re, and his Son Earl, aided with the Forces of Devonfhire, advance- ed and overthrew them at Wigganæcord with great Deftruction; as profeperously were they fought with the fame Year at Sandwich, by King Ethelwine, and Eadfrith his General, their great Army defeated, and nine of their Ships taken, the red driven off; however to ride out the Win- ter on that Shore. After faith, they then firft ter'd in Sheepes Ile. Hard it is through the bad Ex- preffion of thofe Writers to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; Hovden terms it a Sea-fight. Nevertheless, with fifty Ships (Affer and others add three Hundred) they enter'd the Mouth of the Eaft Anglia Channel, as far as Canterbury and London, and as Ethelwine writes deftroys both of, London. After signifies only that they pillag'd it. Bertafta also the Mercian, Succifor of Wifbaif, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then pulling over Thames with their Powers into Surrey, and the Welf Saxons, and meeting there with King Ethelwolf and Ethelwine his Son, at a Place call'd 5 Ab-Lea, or Oaek-Lea, they receiv'd a to- tal Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to England, and brought to Ethelwine great Redemption. Burke therefore, who after Ethelwine held of him the Mercian, and King- dom, two Years after this, imploring his Aid against the North-Wolfe, as then troublefome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Perfons, and thereby reduc'd them to Obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his Son Alfred a Child of five Years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the Pope both confefted to be King afterward, and advo- cated to be his Son; at home Ealher with the Forces of Kent, and Hude with thofe of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at firft put them back; but the flain and wound'd were at length so many on either fide, as left the Lodgeme: and of both equally. Which yet hinder'd not the Sole Majesty of his hand; and of all Ipots, Eafiler, between Burke the Mercian, and Ethelwine King Ethelwolf's Daughter, Howbeit the Danes next Year winter'd again in Sleepy. Whom Ethelwolf not finding humane Health fitte for to refit growing daily upon him, for the poorering of Ethelwolf and his Captains, to appear at large by the Patent it fel, in William of Mainfryn. After faith, he did it for the Redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Anceftors. After which, as havingлеof of Great Empti, to fhew himself at Rome, and be appalanced of the Pope; he takes a long and cumberfome Journey thither with young Alfred again, and there fays a Year, when his Place requir'd him rather here in the Field againft Pagan Enemies left wintering in his Land. Yet after fo much Man and he had done, as to return to the Empire no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife Judith Daughter of Charles the Bald, King of France. But ere his return, Ethelwolf his eldeft Son, Alfrif the Bishop, and Eadfrith Earl of Somerset conpi'd against him; their Com- plains were, that he had taken with Alfred his youngfelf, in Wealth and Power, their Country, and brought Home with him an Out-landifh Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Difference was ex- peeted to bring forth nothing lefs than War: but the King aborning Civil Difcord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, confedenced to divide the Kingdom, with his Son, Division was made, but the Matter fo carried, that the Eastern andworft part was malignly afforded to the Father; The Western and beft given to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great In- dignation, offering to the King their utmost Affi- nitude for the Recovery of all; whom he peace- fully defigning, far down contented with his Portion allig'd. In the Eafter Anglia, Ethelwine regain'd from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen Years only, but of great Hopes, was with content of all but his own crown'd at Barke. About this time, as Buchanan teftates, the

* At Fort now call'd Portland.
* By a Phryman, Say the Saxons Chronicle, i.e. Among the Marphy, or Inhabitants of the Mariphes or Fens. The Name does not denote any particular Place, as Mr. Milton imagined.
* This Earl is rather suppos'd to be fought at the Mouth of the River Axe, on Bladen Down in Somersetfliire; the Village being from the Slaughter of this Day, call'd Bladen or Blody Down.
* Thought to be Winchery in Devonshire.
* Olly in Surrey, upon the Borders of Sussex.
Ethelbert, and Ethelbald.

Ethelbald, unnatural and disinherited to his Father, fell full into another, through contrary Sin, of too much Love to his Father's Wife; and whom at first he oppressed, coming into the Land, her now unlively life; for when he takes care of her, he grows ever more piling her. By the three Years endet, without doing ought more worthy to be remembered; having Reign'd two Years with his Father, impiously usurping, and

three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And A.D. his hap was all that while to be unmoolested by 860. the Danes; not of Divine Favour doublets, but to his great Condemnation, living the more fo; same, surely his inecculent Life. Huntingdon on the one side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him bury'd at Sewerby, with great sorrow of his People, who mis'd him long after. Mat. Wofli, faith, that he repented of his Inceft with Judith, and dinn'd her: But After an Eyewitness of dofe Times, mention no such thing.

Ethelred.

Ethelred the third Son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the English Crown, the Irish Invasion of Danes, led by Hingnard and sey. An. Hubba, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the English, there they wint'ed, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, the furnih'd themselves of Horfes, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of their own. These Pagans, after faith, came from the River Danes. Ethelred, so far as a long Expedition towards them, they ventur'd the next Year to make their way so, over Land and over Hunke, as for York, them they found to their hands embroiled in Civil Difensions; their King Ofbert they had thrown out, and Ella Leader of another Faction chosen in his room, who both, though late, admonish'd by their Great Danger, and towards the Year's end, with United Powers made Head against the Danes and prevail'd; but purfuing them over-eagerly into York, then flenderly wint; the Nor. thumbivis were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; their Kings allo both slain, their City burn'd, faith Mafbrofry, the rest as they could made for Peace, over-run, the England as far as the River Tyne, and Ecbert of Ethelgis Race appointed King over them. Bromton, no antient Author (for he wrote since Mat. Wefl.) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Caufe of the Danes coming to York: That Bearn a Nobleman, whose Wife King Ofbert had ravish'd, call'd in Hingnard and Hubba to revenge him. The Example is remarkable, if the Truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the Danes next Year enter'd into Mercia towards Nottingbam, where they spent the Winter. Buried, then King of that Country, unable to reftil, implores,
A.D. 868.

The Aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his Brother, the splendour of their Fame and joint Worships the Mercians about Nottinge, and join Battel: The Danes, not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great Fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians, weary of long supine, enter'd into Conditions of Peace with their Enemies.  

This remarkable action, success so back to York, made their abode there the space of one Year, committing, some say, many Cruelties.

Thence imbarking to Lindsey, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about September they came with like Fury into Kefley, another part of Lincolnshire, where Alfred, the Earl of that place, with the three thousand, and two hundred foot Soldiers belonging to the Ab- 

by of Cornwall, three hundred from about Baffon, Monkard Lord of Brune, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd, Offest Governor of Lincoln, with five hundred of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the Danes, flew of them great numbers, with, and left them, their Kings, and purf'd the rest to their Tents: But the Night following, Gurbarn, Bofeg, Ofset, Half- 

den and Hamond, five Kings; and as many Earls, Frene, Hingar, Hubber, Sibrothe Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the English beguile, and with the Saxons deliver, with Ur- 

fash as forlooke him not, all Next Day in order of Battel facing the Danes, and sustaining un- 

mov'd the brunt of their Assaults, could not with- 

hold his Men at last from pursuing their con- 

terfeit'd flight; whereby open'd and disordered they fell into the Snares of their Enemies ruini- 

ng back upon them. Alfred, and the Captains for- 

warding with him, all relucted men, retreat- 

ing to a Hill side, and flying of such as fol- 

low'd them, manifost their own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of Dead which they had made round about them. The Danes thence paling on into the Country of East-Angles, fell'd and burnt the Monastery of Ely, overthrew Earl Wal- 


den's House, burnt two or three villages, and cast up the Winter at Tierford, where King Edmund af- 

failing them, was with his whole Army put to 

flight, himself taken, bound to a Stake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subd- 

'd. The next Year with great Supplies, faith Huntingdon, bending their march toward the sea, and left behind them one thousand men, of whom might seem yet to remain Strength or Courage likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortify'd there between the two Rivers of Thames and Kenet; and about three Days af- 


ter, sent out Wings of Horle under two Earls to forage the Country; but Ethelwulf Earl of Bark- 


don; at Easfeld a Village where they had dis- 

covered them, slew one of their Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four Days after came the King himself and his Brother Alfred with the main Battel; and the Danes losing their hope, a bloody Fight began, on either side great Slaughter, in which Earl Ethelwulf lost his Life; but the Danes losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the last. Neither did the English for this make 

leslts have to another Conflict at Easfdomn, or Ab- 

down, four Days after, when both Armies with their whole Forces on either side met. The

Danes were imbedded in two great Rodies, the one led by Bofen and Holifden, their two Kings, the other by rich Earls and great Barons, swath'd like manner the English divided their Powers, Ethelred the King flood against their Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battel from his Oftin, gave a fierce on- 

set, whereas Ethelred (the Danish History names him Frafers) son of Reyno) was slain. Alfred 

was play'd at against the Earls, and beginning the Battel e'er his Brother came into the Field, with such Reflection charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are named, Sibrothe, Elder and Younger, Ofset, Frene, Har- 

ralf; at length in both Divisions, the Danes turn their backs, many of their men, and cut off, the reft purf'd till Night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the Danes fourteen Days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with Ethelred and his Brother Alfred at Bofing, under conduct, faith the Danish History, of Agnervus and Hubbe, Bro- 

thers of the King, from Exeter, should obtain the Victor- 

ry; especially since the new Supply of Danes, mention'd by Ethelred, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at Aberin; in two Squadrons as before, in which Fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the Books relating to that Part of Time, record this Action. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague, whereof, as is thought, King Ethelred dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was bury'd Camber-

* By Hin- 

gar and 

Hubbe. 

871. 


Alfred.

Afred the fourth Son of Ethelwulf, had scarce perform'd his Brother's Oblegions, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Month's end in hafte with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the Day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chief, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Masters of the

* It appears by the Inscription on his Tomb, which may be read in Wimborne Church, that he fell per manus Danorum Fero- 

merum, by the hands of the Danish Forces, the 24th of April, Ann. 872.

Adefred Merciasis, Alfred Bishop of St. Davids, wrote the Life of this Prince, in whose Reign he liv'd. The Life of King Alfred was also written by Sir John Spelman. (Son to Sir Henry) the Original Manuscripts whereof is now in the Bodleian Library. It was translated into Latin, and publish'd in Folio, with Mr. Walker's Notes, some Years ago.

Held.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. 871.

Field. This Year, as is affirmed in the Annals, nine Battles had been fought in Britain; the victory on the part of Thunfrið belted with an innumerable Exorcisions made by Alfred and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall’n in Fight, so that weary on both sides at the Year’s end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next Year the Danes took their march to London, now expos’d their Prey, there they wait’d and other came from Mercia to renew Peace with them. The Year following they rov’d back to the Parts beyond Humber, but winter’d at Torksey in Lincolnshire, where the Mercians now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their Camp to Repebunda in Mercia, now Repan upon Trent in Darbyshire, and there win’t, they contrived Barke the King to fly into Foreign Parts, making Seifur of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to Rome, with better Reason than his Ancestors, dy’d there, and was buried in a Church by the English School. His Kingdom the Danes farm’d out to Kelmsford, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with Command to the Northward and they were command’d. From Repanbunda they did Illodg’d, and Horden his King leading part of his Army Northward, winter’d by the River Tyne, and subduing all those Quarters, waited also the Platz and British beyond: But Cuthwulf, Osulf, and Arnwold, other three of their Kings moving from Darbyshire, came with a great Army to Grantham, and Alfred that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and Neglect of Navigation, had expos’d the Land to these Piracies) met with four Demi-officers, took one, the rest escaping, an acceptable Success from so small a Beginning. For the season that time was not yet, and they encamp’d in Sea Affairs. The next Year’s first Motion of the Danes was towards Warham, Caffel; Where Alfred meeting them, either by Policy, or their Doubt of his Power, Ethelward, the King, by Money brought them to such Terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow’d Bracelet, others lay upon certain Religions (a Elettum Oath it is termed in our Language) and never more, or for any other Nation forthwith to depart the Land: But falsifying that Oath, by Night with all the Horfe they had (After faith, laying all the Horfe-men he had) stole to Exeter, and there winter’d. In Northumberland, Horden their King began to settle, to divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were marched to Exeter, enter’d the City, courting now and then to Warham, but their Fleet the next Year failing or rowing about the West, met with such a Tempest near to Swanwhick, or Swanwick, as wrack’d 120 of their Ships, and left the rest cai’d to be maff’d by the Selves which Alfred had set there to guard the Seas, and striæd Exeter of all its Power, they returned while he was languishing in the City; now humbled with the Loss of their Navy (two Navies, faith After, the one at Swanwick, the other at Swannwick) disfèred’d them fo, as that they gave him as many Holjades as he required, and as many Oaths, to keep their covenanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming, they departed to Mercia, whereof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to Kelmsford their subfigur’d King.

A.D. 872.

The Twelftide following, all Oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltfres, dispo sing the Countries round, dispoſing some, driving others beyond the Sea; Alfred himself A. D. with a small Company was for’d to keep within in Woods and Fenny Places*, and for some time all alone, as Alveres faith, foojard with Dun wulf a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his De votion, and Aptnes to Learning, Bishop of Winchester. Horden and the Brother of Hingara, Sim Dom. coming with twenty three Ships from North Wales, where they had met with their other com panion, dispo’d in Darbyshire, nigh to a strong Castle nam’d Kimworb, where by the Garrison illness fortun eously, they were flain with twelve Hundred of their Men. Mean while the King about Easter, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fortres at a Place call’d Akeby in Sowerby, therein in a short time defending himself and his Fol lowers, frequently falling battles. The following Week after, he rove out to a Place call’divi.

* Between the Rivers Tame and Parrett in Somerfholcx, about North-Petworth.  
* Probably Briton on the Worldfe of Wiltfres. See the Gild. to the Skidan Chronicle.  

inhabited
A.D. inhabited by the Danes, which at the Mouth of
885. 

Sim. Dan.

Stour, * meeting with fifteen Danes' Ships, after some 

fight took them all, and slew the Soldiers aboard; but in 

their way home lying carcasses, were overtaken by another 

part of that Fleet, and came off with Loss; whereupon perhaps 

those Danes who were fett'd among the Eng- 

lish, were pleased with new Hopes, violated 

the Peace which they had sworn to observe, who 

spent the next Year in repairing London, (be- 

fieging, faith Huntington,) much ruin'd and un- 

peopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but 

those who had been led away Captive, soon re- 

turned to their Dwellings, and Ethred Duke of 

Essex, was by the King appointed their Gover- 

nor. But after this the Danes encamp'd in Peace, another 

Danes Fleet of 250 Sails, from the East 

part of France arriv'd at the Mouth of a River in 

East Kent, called * Lune, navig to the great 

Wood * Andred, famous for Length and Breadth; 

into that Wood they drew up their Ships four 

Miles from the River Mouth, and built a Fort- 

tres. After which Hastings with all his 

Danes Fleet of Eighty Ships, entring the Mouth of 

Thames, built a Fort at Middleton, the former 

Appicled 

in Kent.

Appicled 

in Kent.

another Place call'd Apelleire. Al- 

fred perceiving this, took of those Danes who 

dwell'd in Northumberland, a new Oath of Fidel- 

ity, and of those in Essex, Hoftages, left them 

there, and gave them promises of their Country-men newly arriv'd. And by the next 

Year, having got together his Forces, between 

either Army of the Domes encamp'd so, as to 

be ready for either of them, who first should hap- 

pen to stir forth; Troops of Horfe also he fent continually abroad, altho' as such could be fpotted and fent on Places, whereas the Con- 

tries wanted them, to encounter foraging Parties of 

the Enemy. The King also divided some- 

times his whole Army, marching out with one 

part by turns, the other keeping intermarch'd. 

In Conclusion, rowing up and down, both sides 

met at Fernham in Surrey; where the Danes 

and Alfred's Horfe Troops were put to flight, and 

crossing the Thames to a certain Place lately call'd 

Caftle in Essex, or as Cambden thinks, by Colebrooke, 

were befieg'd there by Alfred till Provifion fail'd 

the Befiegers, another part fail'd behind with 

the King wound'd. Mean while Alfred preparing 

to reinforce the Siege in Coche, the Danes of 

Northumberland breaking Peace, came by Sea to 

the South of a Hurlican, and were enciring 

confenting Southward, landed in Devonfhire, and 

befieg'd Exeter, thither Alfred hafted with his Pow- 

ers, except a Squadron of Welch that came 

to Exeter: With whom the Citizens marching forth 

to Beauparle, where Haftgen the Dane had built 

a strong Fort, and left a Garrill, while he him- 

felf was in the Main of his Army, and march'd far 

into the Country, luckily surprize the Fort, carry 

mace the Garrill, make prey of all they find 

there; their Ships alfo they burn'd or brought 

away bootless, and many Prisoners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of Haftgen 

were lent to the King, who forthwith fet them at 

Liberty. Whereupon Haftgen gave Oath of 

Amity and Hoftages to the King, he in requi- 

tation, whether freely, or by Agreement, a Sum 

of Money. Nevertheles he, with regard to Faith 
given, while Alfred was buftied about Essex, 

joying with the other Danish Army, he built 

another Castle in Eftex at Sobreberie, thence march- 

ing Westward by the Thames, aided with Nor- 

thumberland and Eft Angilfs Danes, they came at length to Soverey, pillaging all in their way, 

But, Ethred, Ethelred, and Ethelwine, the King's 

Captains, with united Forces pitched night to 

them at Burtoning, on the Soverey Bank in 

Montgomery-faire, the River running between a Cambden 

and there many Weeks attended; the King mean 

while blocking up the Danes, who befit'd Exeter, 

having eaten part of their Horfe, the refi 

urg'd with Captains, &c. to forth to their 

Ships, who lay encamp'd on the Eft-side of the River, 

and were all there difcomofed, with some Loss 

of valiant Men on the King's Party; the refi 

fled back to Eftex and their Fortres there. Then 

Laf, one of their Leaders, gather'd before Win- 

ter, a great Army of Northumberland and Eft Angilfs 

Danes, who leaving burnt their Money, Ships 

and Wives with the Eft Angilfs, and marching 

Day and Night, fat down before a City in the 

West call'd * Wirton near to Chifley, and took it; 

e're they could be overtaken. The Engilfs after 

two Days, hopefles to dilodge them, waitd 

on the Country round to cut off from them all 

Provifion, without their knowledge. So after which, next 

Year the Danes no longer able to hold Wirton, 

divulge of Virtuals, enter'd North-Wrile, thence 

laden with Spoils, part return'd into Northum- 

berland, others to the Eft Angilfs as far as Eftex, 

where they feiz'd on a small Island call'd * Ire- 

meno, 996. And here again the Annals record them 

to be beleaguer'd at the Confluence of Senec or Story, Others relate to this purpose, 

that returning by Sea from the Siege of Exeter, Sim. Dan. 

and in their way landing on the Coast of Sulfyes, Forets, they of Chifley fell out, and flew of them 

many Hundreds, taking alfo some of their Ships. 

The fame Year they who poife'd Mersoe, inten- 

ting to fly back to the Country, drew up their 

Ships, came into the Thames, to overtake the 

vever Lee, and on the Bank thereof built a Cafe 

twenty Miles from London, to affault which the 

Londoners aided with other Forces march'd out 

the Summer following, but were foon put to 

flight, losing four of the King's Captains. Hun- 

tingdon writes quite the contrary, that thefe four Exce. 

were Danes' Men, and built a Cafe on the 

over the Country, but the Country, but the 

Little Credit is to be placed in Huntington. 

For the King thereupon with his Forces, 

lay encamp'd nearer the City, that the Danes 

might not infelt them in time of Harvest; in 

the mean time, fubtilely devailing to turn Lee 

Stream several ways; whereby the Donbe 

Bottoms were taken in manner of artifice, and which 

encircling march'd over Land to Quortbrigg * on 

the Soverey, built a Fortres and winter'd there 

while their Ships left in Lee, were either broken 

or brought away by the Londoners, but their 

Wives and Children they had left in Safety with 

the Eft Angilfs. The next Year was plentiful,

* Not that in Kent, but that which runs by Harwich in Eftex.

* In the Year 885. its faid Alfred founded the University of Oxford, and in the next, he held that great Council wherein all 

the Laws were made that go under his Name. Camb. Spec.

* In 882. Mr. Milts flays the Donbe invading England, and in 892. they came again; so there could be but 8 Years Peace.

* The Stour of this River then ran into the Sea near Romsey, but it's now mur'd.

* The Weald of Kent, Sulfex, and the Wood-land part of Hambpshire.

* At this Time, Divines, that the Battle of Barnham was fought in the Year 995. Brit. Tit. Surrey.

* Mr. Milts make the Name of the Certain City in Wirton calleft Legacethorpe, now Chifley, and the Country that runs into the Sea to the N.W. is by Mr. Cambden call'd Wirton. Brit. Tit. Chifley.

* This is most like to be Bridgewater in Shropshire. For what Reasons, see the Glos to the Saxen Chronicle, under the Title of Walthege. Supp'd'd by others to be Cambridge, in Gloucefshire, now a Village situated on the River Cam, where it falls into the Soverey.
and besides the common fort took away many great Earls, Kelmont in Kent, Brittoft in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, with many others; and to this Evil, the Danes of Northumberland and Lefl-
Angier cess'd not to endanger the West-Saxon, especially by fefton, robbing on the South-Iand, in certain long Galleys. But their Cafes confiding to be
built others twice as long as usually were built, and none of sixty or seventy Cars higher, 
fwifter and fddiler than fuch as were in ufe before
either with Doner or Frifon, his own In-
vention, some of thefe he fent out againift fux
Daffi Pirates, who had done much harm in the
flipt fourteen of his Adversaries. This deftruc-
tion was doubtful and intricate, part on the Wa-
ter, part on the Sands; not without Losf of some
Eminent Men on the Englifh fide. The Pirates
at length were either flain or taken, two of them
franfed; the Men brought to Winchefter, where
the King then was, were executed by his Com-
mand, one of them efcaf'd to the Lefl-Angier,
her Men much wounded. The number of theear
not fewer than twenty of their Ships perfi'd on the
South Coast with all their Men. And Rollo the
Doner or Norman land ed here, as Mat. Welf.
writes, though not in what part of the Iland,
after an un Succesful Fight againift thofe Forces
which firft oppof'd him, fill'd into France, and
conquered the Country, since then called
Normandy. This is the Sum of what paft'd in
three Years againft the Danes, returning out of
France, fet down fo perplexedly by the Saxon An-
malit, ill-gifted with Utterance, as with much
ado can be underftood sometines what is fpoken,
which meant of the Doner or of the Saxon.
After which troubleome time, Alfred enjoying
things, as it were, for he was very good in his mind,
ner was, not idly or voluptionly, but in all
vertuous Employments both of Mind and Body,
becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his
Days in the Year 901, the 51. of his Age, the
30th of his Reign, and was buried Regularly at
Winchelfter; he was born * at a Place call'd ft Wа-
ningham in Berks he, his Mother Offinga the
Danes, Engadine, Cog's Captive, could not be
saft by Nation, and of Noble Defcent. He was of
Peron conmemer thall his Brethren, of pleafing
Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and
Memory; yet through the Fondaifts of his Pa-
rents towards him, had not been taught to read
till the twelfth Year of his Age, but the great
Defire of Learning which was in him, from up-
pier'd, by his comming of Saxon Poems Day and
Night, which with great Attention he heard by
others repeated. He was besides, excelfent at
Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but
more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into
a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he
rned over with him in his Bofom to fee
all Occafions. He thirfted after all Liberal
Knowledge, and oft complaident that in his Youth
he had no Teachers, in his middle Age fo little
Vacancy from Wars, and the Cars of his K ing-
dom; yet leifure he found fometimes, not only to
learn much himfelf, but to communicate thereof
what he could to his People, by tranfeating Books
out of Latin into English, Oftraf, Beefeters, Be-
ed's Hifory, and others, permitted none un-
learn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Com-
mon-wealth; at twenty Years of Age not yet
Reigning, he took to Wife Eadgyis with the Daugh-
ter of Ethelred a Mercian Earl. The Extremities
which befel him in the fifth of his Reign, Ne-
then Abbot told him, were juftly come upon A.D.
him for neglecting in his younger Days the
Complaints of fuch as injur'd and oppreff'd re-
pair'd to him, as then feconcl Perfon in the King-
dom for Redrecs, which Neglect were it fuch
indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through
Jollity of Mind, unwillinf perhaps to be detained
long with fad and sorrowful Narrations; but from
the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no
Man more patient in hearing Caufes, more inqui-
fitive in examining, more exact in doing Justice,
and providing good Laws, which are yet ex-
tant, more feverel in punifhing unjust Judges or
Enden, Thefs Imperial Letters, the Territory of the
Teifers, the Terror of whom in crofs-ways were
hung upon a high Dot many Chafins of Gold, as
it were daring any one to take them thence;
fo that Justice feem'd in his Days not to flourish
only, but to triumph: No Man than he more
frugal of two precious things in Man's Life, his
Time and his Revenue, no Man wifher in the
Diffialect of both. His Time, the Day and Night
he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours
into three equal Portions: The one was for De-
vo{ion, the other for publick or private Affairs,
the third for bodily Refrehment: How each
Hour paft, he was put in mind by one who had
that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which
his firft Care was to be justify his owm, he
divided into two equal Part's the fift he im-
ploy'd to fecular Ufes, and subdivided thofe in-
to three, the fift to pay his Soldiers, Houfhold
Servants and Guard, of which divided into three
Bands, one attended Monthly by turn; the fe-
cond was to pay his Architects and Workmen,
whom he had got together of feveral Nations,
the third he divided into Cuffom and Ceffe, and
the third to pay his Servants, and to keep the
Churches in a due and folemn Order. In the
reign were fevenfeventy Churches, which were
built or repair'd by him, and many Riches, fo
many of which were dedicated to the Service of
the Church of England, as far as India to the Shrine
of St. Thomas, fending thither Sigefna Bishop of Sor-
burn, who both return'd safe, and brought with
him many rich Gems and Spices; Gifts alfo, and
a Letter he receiv'd from the Patriarch of Jerta-
alem, sent many to Rome, and for them receiv'd
Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be
faid of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the
Mirror of Princes, his body was portable in his
Youth with a great Sorter's in the Siege, and
the ceafing of it, with another inward Pain of
unknown Caufe, which held him by frequent
 Fits to his dying Days; yet not drefs'd to fi-
ftain thofe many glorious Labours of his Life
both in Peace and War.

Edward the Elder.

Edward the Son of Alfred fucceeded, in Leade-
ing not equal, in Power and Extent of Do-
mum, injuring his Father. The beginning
of his Reign had much Dilfurbance by Ethelwald

* A Saxon Lord defemended from Wifce firfi Prince of the Ile of Wight
* The Truth of it is fo clearly made ou by feveral Authori, that he had no reafon to mention it fo fuperciliously.
an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Un-
cle, or Coifin German, or Brother, for his Gene-
alogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly as- 
sum'd to have equal Right with Edward of Saccel-
fled, and many of his Friends of every Walk, who, from a 
man who had married out of a Nunnery, and com-
manded her to be sent back thither. About 
this time the Keniff Men, against a Multitude of 
Danifh Pirates, fought proforarily at a Place 
call'd Hovno, as Hovbott records, Eelstewald aided 
by the Norfomonians with Shipping, three 
on to the Caftle, the two Others returned home. 
The King with his Powers making Speed after them, between the Duke of Oxon, 
and Eelstewald the Author of this War, with others of 
high Note, and of them greater Number, but 
with great Ruine on both Sides; yet the Danes 
kept in their Power the burying of their flain. 
Whatever followed upon this Conflict, which 
we read not, the King two Years after with the 
Danes, both of Ead-Angles, and Northumber-land 
concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, by 
whomsoever broken; for at the end thereof 
King Edward rais'd great Forces out of West-
sex, and Mercia, lent them against the Danes 
 beyond Humfer ; where flowing five Weeks, they 
were in that Spot Spall and Slaughter. The King of-
fer'd them Terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, 
enter'd with the next Year into Mercia, 
rendering no less Holiftity than they had suffer'd; 
but at Ternal in Staffordfhire, faith Florent, were 
by the English in a For Battel otherthrown. 
King Edward then in Kent, had got together of Ships 
about a Hundred, and the Others got Southward, 
came back and met him. The Danes now 
upposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, 
took Liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as 
hope of Prcy led them, beyond Severn. The 
King guelling what might imboden them, sent 
before him the lighteft of his Army to entertain 
them in their return over Cautfr in Gloucef-
shire, and flew many Thousands, among whom 
Ewil, Holfen, and Hinrar their Kings, and 
many other harfth Names in Huntingdon; the 
Place all of this Fight is variously written by 

**Edelward and Florent, call'd Wodenfield.** The A. D. 
Year following Edelward Duke of Mercia, to whom 912. 
Affred had given London, with his Daughter in 
Marriage, now dying, King Edward refus'd Sex. An. 
that City and Oxford, where a good part of the 
Country, subject formerly to the Danes, 
yielded themselves to his Protection. Four 
Years after (Florent allows but one Year) the Sex. An. 
Danes from Leffer and Northampton, falling into 
Oxfordshire, committed much Rapine, and in 
some Towns thereof great Slaughter; while anoth- 
other Party, ravaging Hertfordshire, met with other 
Fortune, for the Country-people infuri'd now to 
fluch kind of Incurions, joining foyfully together, 
fell upon the Spoilers, recover'd their own Goods, 
with some Booty from their Enemies. About 
same time Edel the King's Sifter sent her 
Army into West-Mercia, who routed all of 
Welch, 918. and came to the Castle of *Brecon*, by Cambod-

**Brecknock,** and brought away the King's Wife 
of that Country, with other Prisoners. Not long 
after the took Derby from the Danes, and the 
Castle by a sharp Affault. But the Year follow-
ing brought a new Fleet of Danes to Lithic in Sex. An. 

**Deconifphere,** under two Leaders, Oter and Rold; 
who falling into the Country led the English to 
their End, came up to the Mouth of Severn; there 
landing wafted the Welch Craft, and Irkfield 
part of Herefordshire, where they took Kanesca 
with a Britifh Bifhop, for whole Ranfume King Ed-
ward gave Forty Pound, but the Men of Here-
ford and Gloucefhire assembling, put them to 
Flight, flaying the Welch, and the Brother of Oter, 
with many more, purfi'd them to a Wood, and 
there befit, compell'd them to give Hoftages 
of prefent Departure. The King with his Army 
far not far off, feraching from the South of Severn 
and Worcef., so that openly they durft not, by Night 
they twice ventur'd to land; but found fuch 
Welcome, that they next Year, under the Nortb-
anchor'd by a small Island where many of them 
flamin'd; then flailing to a Place call'd *De-
med*, they crof'd into Ireland. The King with 
his Army went to Buckingham, flaid there 
Month, and built two Caftles or Forts on either 
Bank of Ofe; where his departing, and Turkat a 
Dancifh Leader, with thefe of Bedford and Nor-
thampton, yielded him Subjection. Whereupon 
the next Year he came with his Army to the Sex. An. 
Town of Bedford, took Poffeffion thereof, flaid 
there a Month, and gave order to build another 
part of the Town, on the South-side of Ofe. 
Thence the Year following went again to Malchon, 
and gave command to do thofe of the Town, 
Dane having fmall hope to thrive here, where 
things with fuch Prudence were manage'd against 
his Intereft, got leave of the King, with as ma-
ny Voluntaries as would follow him, to pafs Sex. An. 
into the Sex. An. Donex, to France. Early next the Year King 
Edward re-edifi'd *Vicoefefe,* now Torcefter, and 
mencife.
A.D. 921.

The City in the Annals call'd Wingham. Meant
while the Domes of Liapeth and Northampton jite, li
hereof to be Neighboord with strong
Towns, said Siege to Torkelber, but they with-
n, repelling the Affain one whole Day till Sup-
plies came, quitted the Siege by Night; and pur-
filed close by the believed, between For-
vwood and Harely were furpriz'd, many of them
made Prisoners, and much of their Bagage loft.
Our friend the Domes at Huntungdon, aid from
the East Angles, finding that Cattle not commo-
dious, left it, and built another at Temsford,
judging that Place more opportune from whence
to make their Excursions, and soon after went
forth with deign to affaid Berford: But the Gen-
eral rising out, flew a great part of them, the
reft fled. After this, a great Army of them ar-
ther out of Mercia and the East Angles, came
and besieged the city call'd Wingham mere a whole
Day; but finding it defended stoutly by them
within, thence also departed, driving away
much of their Cattel: Whereupon the English,
from Towns and Cities round about, joying in
Tories, said Siege to the Towns and Cattle of
Torkelber, and forrall both, flew their
King with Togler a Duke, and Mannor his Son
an Earl, with all the rest there found, who chose
to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this,
the Men of Kent, Surrey, and part of Essex, en-
trprise the Siege of Colshberg, nor gave over
till they won it, facking the Towns and putting
to flight all the Domes inhabiting therein, except some who
escafl'd over the Wall. To the Succour of these,
a great number of Domes inhabiting Ports and
other Towns in the East Angles, united their
Forces, but coming too late, as in Revenge be-
leagner'd Maldon, but that Town also timely
relied'd, they departed, not only frustrate of
their Design, but so hourly peril'd that many
of them of their Lives in the Flight.
Forwirth King Edward, with his Well-Salvors,
went to Paffham upon Ouse, there to guard the
Paffage, while others were building a Stone
Wall about Torkelber, to him the Earl Tonfoot,
and other Lord Domes, with their Army there-
about as far as Wyclif, the fame was anniversary.
Whereas the King's Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to
be difmif'd home: Therewith therefore another
part of them he enter'd Huntingdon, and repair'd
it, where Breaches were had made; all the Peo-
ple therabout returning to Obedience. The
like was done at Colshberg by the next remove
of his Army, after which both East and West
Angles, and the Danifh Forces among them, yield-
ed to the King, paying Allegiance to him both
by Sea and Land: The Army also of Domes at
Grantbrig, surrendering themselves took the fame
Oath. The Summer following he came with his
Army to Stamford, built a Cattle there on the
South-side of the River, where all the People of
thole Quarters acknowledge his Sanctuary. Do-
ning his whole army, Effed his Sufter a Martial
Woman, who after her Husband's Death would
no more marry, but gave her self to Publick
Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns,
waering sometimes, dy'd at Loundwe the chief
Scot of Mercia, whereof by Gift of Alfred her
Father, she was lady or Queen, whereby that
whole Nation became obedient to King Edward,
as did also North-Wales, with Howel, Cledawm,
and Dywelwell their Kings. Thence paffing to A.D.
Nottingham, he enter'd and repair'd the Town,
place there part English, part Domes, and re-
cived Fealty from all in Mercia of either Na-
tion. The next Autumn, coming with his Ar-
my into Colshberg, he built and fortify'd Towel.
then, and while he flaid there, call'd another Army
of Domes, with which he repair'd and for his
title Mancbeter. About Mid-Summer follow-
ing, he march'd again to Nottingham, built a Town se's.
over-again it on the South-side of that River,
and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence
journeyed to a Place call'd Redcarmston in
Polland; there also built and fain'd a City on
the Bank, where the King of Scots call'd him.
The Scots Honour as to his Sovereign, together with the
King do homage to the whole Scots Nation, the like did Reginal and
the Son of Earl, Danfe Princes, with all the
Northumbrians, both English and Domes. The
King also of a People thereabout call'd Straight-
gwell (the North-Wels, as Cambden thinks,
of Straith-Claud in Denegbyhead, perhaps rather
the Britifh of Cumberland) did him Honour and
not underlie'd. For Buchanan himself confess'd,
that this King Edward, with a small number of
Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in
a great Battel, the whole United Power both of
Scots and Domes, flew most of the Scots Nobil-
ity, and forc'd Malcom, when Conjurating the
Scots, to renounce the King, and made General, and the Heir
of his Crown, to save himfelf by flight,
fore wounded. Of the English, he makes Abfell,
the Son of Edward Chief Leader, and so far
seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make
this Battel the fame with that bought by Abfell,
about twenty four Years after at Brimond,
against Jelof and Conjurating, whereof hereafter.
But here of the English Writers, upbraiding them
with Ignorance, who affirm Abfellan to have been
Supreme King of Britian, Conjurating the Scots
King with others to have held of him; and de-
ney's that in the Annals of Mervian Scotia, any
mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not
pretend to contradict, for in the following
whether by Surname or by Nation Scotia, will
be found as little mention of any other Scots
Affairs, till the time of King Danedan flay by
Mancehead, or Morkehead, in the Year 1400, which
gives Caufe of Supicion, that the Affairs of
Scotland before that time were fo obscure as to
be unknown to their own Country-man, who
lived and wrote his Chronicle not long after.
But King Edward thus nobly doing, and thus
honour'd, the Year following dy'd at Forenaly,
ay, a Builder and Reformer even in War, not a De-
stroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives in-
many Children; his Eldest Daughter Edith, he
gave in Marriage to Charles King of France, Mat. Weif.
Genuine, Charles of Colshberg, the Bold above
mentioned, of the reft in Place convenient. His
Kingly yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchlefe, in
the Monastery by Alfred his Father. And a few
Days after his dy'd * Erikheid his Eldest Son,
* Abfellan, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Island
in Subjection, yet fo as petty Kings reign'd un-
der him. In Northumberland, after Edward whom
the Name and Monarch, and the Northumbrians
meanly under their Yoke, at the end of six Years
had expell'd, on Rieges was set up King, and

* Forcell of Berewood. See Kennel's Parish. Antiquities of Anderdeep, &c.

b This is an Error which has been handed down to us from our Historians by Merviania, who mistook the Sauan Annals. They do not
tell us, that King Edward repair'd Mancbeter, but that he repair'd marge ceftreph, i.e. Many Cities: Which is certainly
the Senit of the Place.

* The Oatman Copy of the Sauan Annals relate, that he went from Nottingham into Pockleland, the PoLk in Darbyshire, and
thence to Redcarmston, oppo'd to be Edlefeld in this County.
A. D. bore the Name three Years; then another Ecbert, and Guthred; the latter, if we believe Legends, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vi-

fion of the same Saint, to pay well for his Roy-

alty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Story.

A TEATLESTAN.

225. A Thistleman next in Age to Ethelbroth his Bro-

ther, who deceased untimely few Days be-

fore, though born of a Conchimine, yet for the great Appearance of many Vertues in him, and had him self much Courted by Ethelweard, Son to the Throne, at Kinglome upon Thanet, and by his Father's left Will, faith Multiforly, yet not without some Opposition of one Alfred and his Acconplices, who not liking he should reign, had confin'd to feize on him after his Father's Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Con-

federate, made King by Command of St. Ecbert, was sent to Rome, to affer his Innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, and was carried out by his Servants, three Days after dy'd. Mean while yeon about the Doer, though much heav'd at not being immediately restored to his former Place of Estimation, yet he defended thee Doings, grew So considerable, that Aber-

flan with great Solemnity gave him his Sister Edith to Wife: But he enjoy'd her not long, dying e're the end of his next, nor his Sons Alfred and Edmund, who was next in Order to the Throne, by Aberedan, to unjustly slay Edward, for befalving the Children, and the whole Power of Scotland, besides those that were brought with him out of Ireland, came on far Southwards, till Aberedan, who had retir'd on purpoze to be the furer of his Enemies, enclos'd from all Sucour and Retreat, met him at Cantonford. Alfred perceiving the Valor and Resolution of Aberedan, offered to yield himself, and his Forces though numerous, rend'd fully to fpy in what Pofure his Enemies lay: And imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King Aelfred the Age before, in the Habit of a Minifter, got access by his Late and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minifrel and the Spy: Then towards evenincg, declaring that he was oblig'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twi-

light to depart. The Soldier forthwith acquires the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had given till his Military Oath to Alfred, whom if he had betray'd, the King might fuppol him or like trea-

fous Mind towards himself; which to dif-
prove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good Distance off; and so done, it happen'd that a Bifhop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the fame Place, from whence the King had remov'd. Alfred coming by Night, as he had design'd to allay the Camp, and effectually the King's Tent, finding there the Bifhop in fad, flew him with all his Followers. Aberedan took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so undiscover'd, but that

* He was crown'd by Athel Bifhop of Canterbur, on a Scaffold erect'd for that purpose, in the middle of the Town.

* What he calls Saxon Paffage, is nothing but a Vifage in imitation of Columba's Veffel, which was the Standard of Poetry among the Saxons. This Chobban, says Mr. Cambell in his History, what the Earl, was, insigne do Prince a Peer in our English Tongue, that with his feet Vexat he withdrew many from the To. Vexat.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. the Day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening; wherein Athelstan himself was slain with five other King's, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with few, in the rest not disagreeing. Ingulf Abbot of Crowland, from the Authority of Turkeut, sues for his Head in this Affair, but the Author relates it more at large to this Effect: That Athelstan, above a Mile distant from the Place where Execution was done upon the Bishop and his Supplies, allarm'd at the Noise, came down by break of Day, upon Athelstan and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made; and for the same part of order as in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, confettling most of Welf-Saxons, against Athelstan and Irth, committing the other to his Chancellor Turkeut, with the Mercians and Loquembers against Conulfantine and his Scots. The Shower of Arrows and Darts over-paft'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible Engagement, for a long space neither side giving Ground. Till the Chancellor Turkeut a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few Loquembers of select Valour, and Sings who led the Welfshire Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the Scots, and then through the Cambrians and Scots, and came at length where Conulfantine himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the Scots valiantly defending their King, and laying load upon Turkeut, which the Goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet been beaten down, had not the Sword drawn a second at the same time upon Conulfantine, which once known, Athelstan and the whole Army betook them to flight, whereof a huge Multitude fell by the Sword. This Turkeut not long after leaving Worldly Affairs, became Abbate of Crowland, which at his own Cost he had repair'd from Dan's Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. Athelstan, before the Battle of the Leijler, knew the French, thence turning into Wales, with much more eafe vanquish'd Luclid the King, and poss'd his Land. But Malbulphe writes, that confummering humane Chance, as he displac'd, so he retor'd both him and Conulfantine to their Regal State; for the hinderer of King Conulfantine hath been above spoken of. However the Welsh did him Homage at the City of Hereford, and covenant'd Yearly Payment of Gold 20 Pounds, of Silver 200, of Oxen 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took Everet from the Cornish Britains, who till that time had equal Right there with the English, and bound them with tribute Tamar, in the other Britains with Wey. Thus creas'd his Enemies, and renown'd far and near, three Years after he dy'd at Gediator, and was buried with many Trophies at Malbulphe, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Colin Germans, Elwin and Erhulfstan, both slain in the Battel against Athelstan. He was thirty Years old at his coming to the Crown, mamma in Wildom from his Children, Firmeily of Perfon and Behaviour; so that Alfred his Grandfather in Blissing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Soldiers Habit. He had his Breeding in the Court of Elfled his Aunt, of whose Virtues more than Female have been heard, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet fuch of Parentage and Worth, as the Royal Line did'not, though the Song went in Malbulphe's Days (for it seems he refus'd not the Authority of Ballads for want of better) that his Mother was A.D. a Farmer's Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one Night the brought forth a Moon that should enlighten the whole Land: Which the King's Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly, till the King coming one Day to visit his Nurse, saw this Moon, and likd the Circle, and by earthen Suit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelstan, a bonneste, just and affable King, as Malbulphe sets him forth; nor left hon'or abroad by Foreign Kings, who fought his Friendship by great Gifts or Affinity, that Hr-<ref>old King of Noricum sent him a Ship, whose Prove who fought him, England and all their Gars, the things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from Noricum, whether meant Normay or Bawaria, the one place so far from such Superbity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: The Embassador were Helgirin and Offard, who found the King at York. His Sillers he gave in Marriage to grea'test Princes, Ecel to Otto Son of Henry the Emperor, Egisd to a certain Duke, and the other Alpet, Edgjo to Ludwine King of Aquitain, sprung of Charles the Great, Egisude to Hugo King of France, who sent Athelstan Son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperor and King of France came rich Presents, Hories of excellent Battle, Clothing and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Orlos, Velites of Orlos, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically describ'd in Malbulphe, taken, as he confesses, out of an old Verifier, some of whose Veriles he recites. The only Eblem left upon him, was the expounding of his Brother Edwin, who diathb. a certain Treadh, whereof he was ac-<ref>cu'd, and implo'd an equal Hearing. But the were Songs, as before hath been said, which add also that Athelstan, his Anger over, soon repented of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc'd him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearer's own Mouth, who flipping one Day as he built the King's Great Hall, recieving him self on the other Leg, laid alond, fatally to burn it proved, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to Heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the Adviser of that Fact, took on him seven Years Penance, and as Mat. Welt, did the Four Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other Saxon Kings to this Day.

EDMUND.

Edmund not above eighteen Years old succeed'd his Brother Athelstan, in Courage not in inferior. For in the fecond of his Reign he freed Mericia of the Danes that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and Leicester, where they were place'd by King Edmund, but it seems gave them a Proof of their great Strength; seeing that Athelstan setting forth from York, and having waffed Southward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leicester, but that the Battel joyd, peace was made between them by Otto and Walfian the two Arch-bishops, with Convocation of Athelstan, for the fame 'tast Edmund received. From this or another, if Edmund, as faith Huntingdon, not him spoken of before, who dy'd this Year (fo uncertain they are in the Story of those Times also) and held Regal another King of the Northambers, while the Bishop
Bishop confirm'd him: Their Limits were divided North and South by Watling-street. But spiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, whoever gave the Cause; for we read him two Years after driving Aeda (whom the Annals now first call the Son of Sircie) and Suthfrid's Son of Reginald out of Northumberland, taking the whole Country into Subjection. Edmund the next Year harazzi'd Cambrier, then gave it to Malcolm King of Scots, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; Mist. Weif, adds that in this Action Edmund had the Aid of Leolin Prince of North-Wales, against Dunmarg the Cambrier King, him depriving of his Country, his Two Sons and his Twelve Night. But the Year after, he himself by strange Accident came to an untimely Death, feating with his Nobles on St. Anfon's Day at Pucklekerke in Glolfiersey, to celebrate his Memory of his first converting the Saxons. He spy'd Leaf a noted Thief, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guards, whereat transported with too much Vehemence of Spirit, though in a just Cause, arising from the Table he ran upon the Thief, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Thief who doubted from first handling no less than his Death intended, thought to die not unrewarded; and with a short Dagger struck the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such Affirmation, mortally into the Brain. The Matter was done in a Moment, e're Men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the firft meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Muntherer and hew'd him to pieces, who like a wild Beast at abbat, seeing himself surround'd, desperately laid about him, wounding some in their Flight. The King was buried at Glyfow, whereof Dunfian was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other Saxon Kings.

**E D R E D.**

Edred, the third Brother of Aelfelbn, the Sons of Edmond being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predecessors, and crown'd at Kingforn. Northumberland he thoroughly subdue'd, the Scots without Refitution swore him Allegiance, yet the Northumberland, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chuse to themselves one Eric, a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Aelflbn (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before Eric recall'd once more and reign four Years, then again put to his Shifts. But Edred entering into Northumberland, and with Spoils returned from the Irish, the same was against the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second Inroad: Which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, flew Aelflbn the Son of Aelflbn, and with many Prefidents appealing Edred, submitted again to his Government, nor from that time had Kings, but were subject by it till the Reign of Egbert. About this time Wulfen Arch-bishop of York, accus'd to have flain certain Men of Thetford, in revenge of their Abbot whom the Town-men had slain, was committed by the King to close Cubhody; but soon after enlarg'd, was reftor'd to his Place. Malinbury writes that his Crime was to have contriv'd at the Revolt of his Coun-

**E D G A R.**

Edgar by his Brother's Death now King of all England at sixteen Years of Age, called Aelfelbn home Dunfian out of Flanders, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no Fear all his Reign, managed the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour and Prosperity, gaining thence the Surname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Virtues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, Mist. Weif. for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every Year one: For he much fav'd the Monks against secular Rifflefs, who in the time of Edwi had got Poifition in most of their Coverts. His Care and Wisdom was great in guiding the Coast round with ftoft Ships, to the number of three thousand fix hundred, Mist. Weif. reckons four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrions, to fail to and free about the four quarters of the Land meeting...
each other, the first of one thousand two hundred Sáil from East to Welf, the second of as many from Welf to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time, he first and second kept out wildly the force of Strangers, and prevented Foreign War; but by their too frequent refort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their Vices unawares. Thence the People, faith Malbus, learnt of the Outlandish Saxons Rudenes, of the Flemings Daunderers, nor how to make them good men of country, though I doubt these: Vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to fee Justice well administered, and the poor not oppress’d. Thieves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of Prey altogether, enjoying

Ludwil King of Wales to pay the Yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two Years together, till the third Year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the Cause he was not crown’d till the 50th of his Age, and he was now in great Misconsequence at the City of Bath, in the Feast of Pentecost. This Year dy’d Swarling a Monk of Gloyland, in the 142 Year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 11th in that Fenny and Wathril Air, the more remarkable. King Edgar the next Year went to Clofher, and hummimg to his Flute, the King of the Danes, set up of him, took Honmage of them: Their Names are

Kened King of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, MacMace King of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufelal, Huwal, Griffith, Jacob, Judebriel, thefe he had in such awe, that going one Day into a Gally, he caus’d them to take each Man his Oar, and row him down the River Dee, while he him self sat at the Stern: Which might be, done in Merriment easily obey’d, if with a ferois Brow, discover’d rather Vain-Glory, and inflating Haughtines, than Moderation of Mind. And that he did it feriously triumphing, appears by his Words then utter’d, That his Succiffors might then glory to be Kings of England, when they had fuch Honour done them. And perhaps the Duke in his defir’d to take the King’s pow’re, taking too much Honour to himfelf; for since we read that the Year following he was taken out of this Life by Sickness in the height of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at Glafton Abby. The same Year, as Mat. Weft. relates, he gave to Kened the South King, many rich Prefents, and the whole Country of Lacedian, or Lothen, to hold of him on condition that he and his Succiffors should repair to the English Court at high Festivals when the King fat crown’d: gave him also many lodging Places by the way, which till the Days of Henry the second were still held by the Kings of Scotland. He was of Stature not of a manly Figure, yet that, in Strength he chose to contend with Men as were thought stronger, and diff’ld nothing more than that they should spare him for Respect or Fear to hurt him. Kened King of Scots then in the Court of Edgar, fitting one Day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, Sir, I wonder’d before to man was call’d could be held in Subjection by such a little leaper! Edgar’s Words were brought to the King’s Ear; he

* In an Assembly of the Witures Gend or Counsell of Witures.
A.D. no way excusable, that he took a Virgin Wil-
frida by force out of the Nunnery, where she
was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his Pursuit,
and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not ob-
finitely in the Offence, for sharply reprov'd
by Dubert, he submitted to seven Years Pe-
nance, and for that time to want his Coronation;
But why he had it not before, is left unwritten.

Another Story there goes of Edgar, fitter for a
Novel than a History; but as I find it in Mallof-
bury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmar-
mied, in his Youth he abftrain'd not from Women,
and coming on a Day to Andover, caus'd a Duke's
Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beau-
ty, to be brought to him. The Mother not
daring to deny it, yet abhorring that her
Daughter should be in deford'ed, at fit time of
Night, in her Attire, one of her waiting
Maid's; a Maid it seems not unhandifome nor
unwitty, whosupply'd the Place of her young
Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rife,
but Day-light scarec' yet appearing, was by the
King ask'd why the made fuch haste, the an-
fwer'd, to do the Work which her Lady had fet
her; at which the King wond'ring, and with
much ado laying her to unfold the Riddle, for
he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, the fail-
ing at his Feet befought him, that since at the
Command of her Lady he came to his Bed, and
was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in Re-
compence to fet her free from the hard Service
of her Mi refes. The King a while flanding in a
fudy whether he had befet be angry or not, at
length turning all to a Jelf, took the Maid away
with him, advanced her above her Lady, lov'd
her, and accompanied with her only, till he mar-
rried Elfrieda. Thefe only are his Faults upon Re-
cord, rather to be wonder'd how they were fo
few, and fo soon left, he coming at sixteen to
the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues
were fo many and fo mature, he dying before
the Age wherein Wildom can in others attain to
any Riperfes: However with him dy'd all the
Saxon Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be
heard of but their decline and ruin under a dou-
ble Conquift, and the Cruise foregoing, which,
not to blur or taint the Prufifes of their former
Actions and Liberty well defended, shall stand
severely related, and will be more than long
enough for another Book.

THE
History of ENGLAND,
Contin'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book VI.

EDWARD the Younger.

Edward the Eldeft Son of Edgar by Egfrida
his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke Ordunaer,
was according to Right
and his Father's Will, plac'd in the
 Throne; Elfrieda his second Wife, and her Fa-
cion only repining, who labou'd to have had
her Son Edefred, a Child of seven Years, pref-
d'm'd to claim him; that the Murer that Portence
might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were
seen in Heaven, portending not Famine only,
which follo'd the next Year, but the troubl'd
State of the whole Realm not long after to enufie.
The Troubles begun in Edwin's Days, between
Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and
drew on either side many of the Nobles into
Parties. For Edefred Duke of the Mercianes,
with many other Peers, corrupt'd as fad with Gifts,
drove the Monks out of thofe Monaftries where
Edgar had plac'd them, and in their stead put
Secular Priests with their Wifes. But Edefred
Duke of Exef-Angles, with his Brother Efwood,
and Earl Brimath oppo'd them, and gathering
an Army defended the Abbies of Edef-Angles
from fuch Intruders. To appeafe the Tumults,
Eald.

a Synod was call'd at Wincolfaft, and nothing

there concluded; a General Council both of No-
bles and Prelates, was held at Carl in Wild Held;
where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly
against Dunstan, the room wherein they sat fell
upon their Heads, killing fome, maiming others,
Dunstan only escaping upon a Beam that fell not,
and the King abfent by reafon of his tender Age.
This Accident quieted the Controversie, and
brought both Parts to hold with Dunstan and
the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to
a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, fimly
permit't all things to the ambitious Will of
his Stepmother and her Son Edefred; To which
the displeas'd that the Name only of King was
wanting, prattis'd thenceforth to remove King
Edward out of the way; in which manner the
they brought about. Edward on a Day weatend
with hunting, thirt'y and alone, while his Attend-
dance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that Edefred
and his Mother lodg'd at Cornegate (Confe Caflle,
faith Cambloes, in the Isle of Purbeck) inofen-
ciently went thither. She with all fhe of Kindrefes
welcoming him, command'd Drink to be brought
forth, for it feems he lighted not from his Horie;
and while he was drinking, cam'd one of her
Servants, privately before instructed, to flab
him with a Pugnard. The poor Youth who lit-
tle expected such Unkindrefes there, turning
speedily the Reins, flew bleeding; till through
Vol. L
ETHELRED.

Thrd Son of Edgar by Elfrida, (for
Edward dy'd a Child) his Brother Edward
wickedly remov'd, was now next in Right
to succeed, and accordingly crown'd at
King's : Reported by some, fair of Village, comely
Peron, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event 
will shew, that with many fuggifh and ignoble
Vices he quicly tham'd his out-side, born
poor, and raising a fatal Mischief of the People, and
the Ruine of his Country; whereof he gave early
Signs from his first Inancy, bewraying the Font
and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him.
Whereat Dunstan much trouble'd, for he ftood by
and faw it, to them next him broke into these 
words, By God and God's Mother this Day will 
Dunfanthoufand will be faved. The Slaughters of
him in his Childhood, which arg'd no bad Na-
ture, that hearing of his Brother Edward's cruel
Death, he made loud Lamentation; but his furi-
ous Mother offended therewith, and having no Rod
at hand, beat him fo with great Wax Candles,
that he hated the Sight of them ever after.
Dun-
stan though unwilling yet the Crown upon his
Head fell, as fome time before exprefly, as
is reported, the great Evils that were to come
upon him and the Land, in Avengement of 
his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the fame
Dane.

To the more ample relating whereof, the
Danes History, at leaffe their latest and diligent
Hifiorian, from neither the first landing of
Danes, in the Reign of Wft-Saxon Bifliop, to 
now again from firft to laft, contributes nothing;
but moft more than enough to make out the bare
Naturall and Succedions of their uncertain Kings,
and their fmall Actions at home: ULEDI out of
him should tranfcribe what he takes, and I
better may, from our own Annals, the furer,
and the fadder Witneffes of their Doings here,
not Glorious, as they vainly boult, but moft in-
humanly Barbarous. For the Danes well under-
standing, that England had now a fruitful King
to be taught of, it was not written. It chanc'd but Years af-
ter, that Ethelred beg' began of Rochefter, fome way
or other offended by the Bishop thereof. Dun-
flan not approving the Cafe, fent to warn him
that he provoke not St. Andrew the Patron of that
City, nor waft his Lumbs, an old Craft

Clergy to secure their Church-Lands, by entail-
ing them on some Saint, the King not hark-
ingen. Dunfan on this condition that the Siege
might be rais'd, fent him a hundred Pound, the
Money was accepted and the Siege fli'd off.

Dunstan reprehending his Avarice, fent him 
again this word, Because thou haft reprefccted
Money more than Religion, the Evils which I
fear would come upon thee, but not in my Day, for God hath fpoken. The next Year was calamitous, bringing ftrange
Fluxes upon Men, and Murraun upon Cattel.

Dunstan the Year following dy'd, a fumneous
Bifhop, zealous without dirth of Peron, 
and for ought appears, the belt of many Ages, if he
had not himfelf too much in feveral Affairs.
He was Chofen at firft to King Athelred, and
Ethelred who fucceeded, much employ'd in Court
Affairs, till envied by fome who laid many 
things to his Charge, he was by Edward forbid-
Den Court, but by the earnett Mediation,
faith inuft, of Torkfrel the Chancelour, receive'd
at length to Favour, and made Abbot of Gloucef,
laftly made Prefident of the Abbey, and fucced-
the bishop of Canterbury. Not long after his Death, 
the Domes, arriving in Devonshire were met by
Goda Lieutenant of that Country, and Srumold
a valiant Leadeir, who put back the Domes, but
with Loss of their own Lives. The third Year
following, under the Conduct of Ifold and Gub-
mand, the Son of Sveyn, they landed and spoil'd
Ifybrug, in which the Bifhop Efken wrote this 
Epift. Angles about Maldon, where they flew; the
Slaughters elfe had been equal on both fides.
Thefe and the like Depredations on every fide,
the Engli{h not able to refift, by Council of Si-
rice then Arch-bifhop of Canterbury, and two
Dukes, Ebelward and Affrice; it was thought
beft they prefent to buy the Peace of fome State,
which they could not gain with their Iron: And
ten thousand Pound was paid to the Domes for
Tribute Peace. Which for a while contented, but taught
them the ready way how easyfli to come by
more. The next Year but one they took by
Storm and riotid Bebbanburgh an ancient City
north of Carlifn. Sifting thence into the Mouth of
Humber, they brought rood and ten thousand
Domes and Lindley, burning and defroying all be-
fore them. AGAINST thefe went out three Noble-
men, Fraen, Fritligiff, and Godwin, but being
all Domes by the Father's fide, willingly began
Flight, and fortook their own Forces betray'd to
the Enemy. No lea Treachery was at Sea; for
Affrice the Son of Efer Duke of Merce, whom
the King for some Grice had banifh'd, but now
recall'd, fent from London with a Fleet to
furprize the Domes, in fome Place of Disadvan-
tage, gave them over-night Intelligence thereof,
then fied to them himfelf, which his Fleet, faith
Flores, perceiving, purf'd, took the Ship, but
miffed it. For Perfident the Lomomed by chance
grapling with the Left-Angles made the thalfe
faith my Author, by many thiffands. Others
fay, that by this notice of Affrice, the Domes not
only efcape'd, but with a great Fleet fet upon
the English, took many of their Ships, and in
Triumph brought them up the Thames, intending
to befiege London: For Anfifof King of Nor-
way, having a Duke of Denmark, at the head of the
feef came with ninety four Gallies. The King for
this Treafure of Affrice, put out his Son's Eyes;
but the Londeners both by Land and Water, fo
valiantly refifled their Befieges, that they were
for'd in one Day with great Loss to give over.

\* This Efsen to be a Moniflif Pable, copy'd from the Story of Confufing the VIIth Emperor of Constantinople, who is faid to
have done it, and was thence called Lrgomyz.

\* Then Bishop of Worcester.
By Mr. John Milton. Book VI.

A.D. 994. But what they could not on the City, they wreak'd themselves on the Countries round about, wajthing with Sword and Fire all Affex, Kent, and Suffolk. Thence haunting their Foot, diffus'd far wider their outrageous Incursions, without Mercy either to Sex or Age. The stoutish King in stead of Warlike Opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another Payment the Sum now due, which paid, the Danes winter'd at Southampton, Enkel inviting Anlaf to come and visit him at Ar- dover: Where he was Royally entertain'd, some Fay baptized, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diffus'd, with great Prefents, prom- ising by Oath to depart, and molest the King- dom more; which he perform'd, but the Cal- lamity ended not yet, for after some Intermittion of their Rage for three Years, the other Navy of Danes falling about to the West, enter'd Severn, and waitting one while South-Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they winter'd about Tarsifles. For it were an endless Work to drive out how, by waiving up and down to every particular Place, and to repeat as oft what Devastations they wrought, what Debla- tions left behind them, eafe to be imagin'd. In Sum, the next Year they afflict Dorsetfite, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, by the English many Resolutions were taken, many Armies rais'd by the Leaders, led by the King, or discur'd by the Weakness of their Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Soldiers most commonly are as their Com- manders, without much odds of Valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted. The following Year brought them to the most of the Merc, and being'd Rochefter, but the Kentish Men afflembling, gave them a sharpe Encounter, yet that fufli'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other Places. Against these Depopulations, the King leav'd an Army, but the unskillful Leaders not know- ing what to do with it when they had it, did but lave it out, how, by waiving up and down, thro' all the People, confusing the publique Treasurse, and more emboldening the Enemy, than if they had fat quiet at home. What Caufe mov'd the Danes next Year to pass into Normandy, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous than before. Mean while the King, to shew the withers about his Expedition, led both by Land and Sea into Cumberland, where the Danes were most plant'd; there and in the Island of Man, or as Cambodin, Angle- sey, imitating his Enemies in spoiling and un- popling, the Danes from Normandy arriving in the River Ex, laid siege to Exeter, but the Ci- zizens, as those of London, valourously defending their City, made such a terrify, that the King before his Honour and his Friends on the Villages round about. The Country Peo- ple of Somerset and Devonshire affembling them- selves at ' Pembro, shew'd their readines, but wanted a Head; and besides, being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at Will, with loaded Sloop, driven out of the Fallawgate, and all Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, felt again their Fury. The Saxon Annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampshir Men had a bickering with them, wherein Ethelward the King's General was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient Co- ny, stand. Ethelred, whom no Adversity could A.D. 1002. awake from his faint and flagging Life, still con- fiding in a world at fighting, by his Advice, his Peers not unlike himself, fends one of his gay Couriers, though looking loftly, to shoo boldly and propose a third Tribune to the Danes: They willingly kercern, but the Sum is enh'd now to twenty four thousand Pound, and paid, the Danes receiv'd upon abjuring from Hostility. But the King to strengthen his Hoice by this Potent Affinity, marries Emma, whom the Sax- ons call Eligia, Daughter of Richard Duke of Norandy. With him Ethelred formerly had War Act 1004. or no good Correspondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope John the 15th, who made Peace be- calcfius. Great Silence, and perform'd with much Uni- mity, & generally hated were the Danes. Mat. Well, writes, that this Execution upon the Danes was ten Years after; that Huna one of Ethelred's Chief Captains, complaining of the Danish Infor- mation, in time of Peace, their Pride, their ra- vishing of Monuments and Votive Images, invited the King to this Maffacre, which in the Madness of Peace made no difference of innocent or noetc. Amongst these, Gumbildis the Sister of Swane was not fpar'd, though much defervling not Pity only, but all Protection: She with her Hufband Earl Paligo, coming to live in England, and receiv'd no infamy, had her Hufband and young Song slain before her Face, her felt then heaved; foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would cost England dear. Some fay this Act. Well. was done by the Traytor Ettric, to whose Ca- rody she was committed; but the Maffacre was some Years before Edin's Advancement; and if it were done, for him afterward, it seems to contradict the private Correspondence with which Edin was thought to hold with the Danes. For Some- brething Revenge, haffd the next Year into Eng. Sim. Dan. land, and by the Treaflon or Negligence of Count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the Government of Devonshire, fack'd the City of Exeter with the Walf-gate, broken down: After this wafting Whitsfle, the People of that Country, and of Hampshire, came togethcr in great Numbers with Resolution fently to oppole him, but Affric his General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ru- niug his own Country, when he should have his native Country, but the King, who feem'd himfelf taken with a Vomiting, where- by his Army in great Discontent, defiitude of a Commander, run'd from the Enemy, who fright took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the Pillage thereof to his Ships. Thence the next Year landing on the Coast of Notfofik, he wafted Sim. Dan. Devonshire and the Country of Devon, whereupon, all Dorsetfite, and Hampshire, felt again their Fury. 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A.D. 1068. * Unfeated hearing this, commanded them to break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the meantime while what sceptry and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a fierce onset retreating to their Ships; but much inferior in number, of many, of the chief Eoft-Angles, there left their Lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great Slaughter of their own, confessing that they never met in England with so rough a Charge. The next year, whom War could not, a great Famine drove Swanes out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of Danes entered the Port of Sandwich, thence poured out over all Kent, ravaging, making vast destruction of persons and goods. In the meantime, the King levy ing an Army out of Mercia, and the Well-Saxon, took on for him on once the Manor to go out and face them; but they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battle, shifting lightly from Place to Place, frustrated the own Motions of a heavy Camp, following their wonted Course of Robbery, and made the Danes apprehensive. Thus at Autumn they wearied out the King's Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their Pillage to the Isle of Wight, and there staid till Christmas; at which time the King being in Shropshire, and all ill employ'd (for by the Procurement of Edric, he caus'd, as is thought, Aelfhelm a Noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the King carrying, his their two to be put in prison). They came forth again, over-running Hereford, and Bankshire, as far as Reading and Wallingford; & Thence to Abandone, and other Places theraabout, neither known nor of tolerable Pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River Kenet; but making their way through, they got Life with much damage to their Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with their last summer's jaunt from the nimble Danes to no purpose, which by Proof they found too toilsome for their soft Bones, more use'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to their last and only Remedy, their Coffers; and sent now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable Peace, every thing about cheap, now thirty fix thousand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk such a King) in Name of Truce and Expressions: Which out of the People over all England, already half beggar'd, was extend'd and paid. About the same time Ethelred advances Edric, firm'd Stream, from obscure Condition to be Duke of Mercia, and marry'd Etheldred, the King's Daughter, the Cause of his Advancement, Flores of Worlter, and Matt. Well., attribute to his great Wealth, gotten by fine Policies and a plausible Tongue: He prov'd a main Accessory to the Ruine of England, as his Actions will soon declare. Ethelred the next year somewhat nourish'd himself, ordin'd that every ten Ship (as the Isle of Angle Land as one Plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corlet and Head-piece: New Ships in every Port were built, victual'd, fraught with strong Mariners and Soldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A Man might now think that all would go well, when finding fifty or more in preparation, Difficulties among the great ones, which brought all this Diligence to so little Success as at other times before. Biscio the Brother of Edric, fallly ac'd Wulfnoth a great Otter set over the Swanes, who fearing the Potency of his Enemies, A.D. with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a Place where he might be easily surpriz'd, Bistebric fixt forth with eighty Ships, all which driven back by a Tempest, and wrack'd upon the Shore, were burnt soon after by Wulfnoth. But with this Misfortune, the King returns to London; the rest of his Navy after him, and all this great Preparation to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Danifl Earl, came with a Navy Sim. Dan. to the Isle of Thanet, and in August a far greater, led by Hening and Iaf Joynd with him. Thence casting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to afflikt Canterbury, but the South Sea-Shell citizens and their Wonderfull position with them for three thousand pound, they departed thence to the Isle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so skilfully or unsuccessfull, that the Danes were not thereby hinder'd from exercizing their great Force. It happened that the Danes one Day were gone up into the Country, far from their Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his Men were resolute to overcome or die, Time and Place advantageous; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there was nothing wanting to establish their great policy. For with a few sail towards them, they made a common Place of the rest, and the fable Arguments that had the fiew of deep Policy disputed and periwiwd the Simplicity of his Fellow Councillors, that it would be best concluded at that time to let the Danes pass without Ambush or Interception. The Danes where they expected Danger, finding none, pass'd on with great Joy and Booty to their Ships. After this, failing about Kent, they lay that Winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of London, but repuls'd as oft to their great Loss. Spring begun, leaving their Ships, they pass'd through Chilterns Wood into Oxfordshire, burnt the City, Flores, and thence returning with divided Forces wak'd on both sides the Thames; but hearing, that an Army of London, and of the rich Kentish and Essex, left of them, they on the North-side, palling the River at Staines, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and, encirch'd with great Spoils, came back through Surrey to their Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After Easter, failing, about the East-Angles they arriv'd at Ipswich, and came to a Place call'd Engmeres, where they heard that Unfeated with his Forces lay, who with a sharp Encounter soon entertain'd them; but his Men at length giving back, through the Sublity of a Danifh Servant among them who began the Flight, left the Field, though the Men of Cambridgeire stood to it valiantly. In this Battel Ethelstan the King's Son-in-Law, with many of his Men, and many on the ten Hides, whereby the Danes without more Refiinance, three Months together had the spoiling of those Countries and the Peace of all the Femis, burnt Thedford and Granby, of and Cambridge, thence to a Hilly Place not far off, called by Huntingdon Balcombe, by Cambden Gog, and maping Hills, and the Villages theraabout they turn'd their Fury, laying all they met in Ashen. A Man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danifh Army. They therefore to leaving him, their Foot by Sea, their Horse by Land through Effex, return'd back laden to their Ships left in the

* The Hill Country of Herfifhshire, Bucks, and Oxfordshire, so call'd from Chilth or Chilt, in Saxon Chilk.
But many Days paft’d not between, when falling again out of their Ships as out of Savage Dens, they plunder’d over again all Oxfordshire, and added to their Prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Herefordshire; then like wild Beasts glutted, returning with their Cans to Exeter, they made a march into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ranfacking the Country round; then to fresh Paffeure betook them to the West-Saxons, and in like fort harraffing all Wilshire, return’d, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or rather Sea-monsters to their Water-thales, accom- plishing by Christmas the Circuit of their whole Years good Deeds; an unjust and inhuman Nation, who receiving or not receiving Tribute where none was owing them, made such Definition of Mankind, and Run of their Livelihood, as is a Misery to read. Yet here they ceased not, for the next Year repeating the same Cruelities on both Sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, they plunder to the Wilshire and Somerton, solicited again by the King for Peace, and receiving their Demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they flight their Faith, and in the beginning of September laid siege to Canterbury. On the 20th Day, by the Treachery of Alnmer the Arch-deacon, the town and burned it, taking all Forts of Massacre as a Sport: Some they over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung some by the privy Members. Infants pulled from their Mothers Breast, were either toss’d on Spears, or Carts drawn over them, Matrons and Virgins by the Hair dragg’d and ravish’d. Affage the Counsellors gave Arch-bishops and their Canons. In all Counsels and Actions to his Might their known Oppositer, taken, wounded, imprison’d in a noisome Ship; the Multitude are tвид, and every tenth only spared. Early the next Year before Easter, while Ethelred and his Peers were assembled at Lon, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to forty eight thousand Poonds, the Sea-ships of the Franks, the Dane and the Mercians, as well as the Ships of the Londoners, were between the Thames and the Sea. Then passing to Dover, by the Road, they pillag’d the Country round, and made their way to Canterbury, and by a stormy Sea, they arriv’d at the Place, where they landed, and made their way to London, which was a City of five or six Miles, and was built in the Year 1044. before the Christian Era. But the Duke of Normandy, himself with the Danish Fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then failing to the Isle of Wight, paft’d after Ethelred to the Christians into Normandy, where he was honor’d and receiv’d with the Duke of Normandy. But the Duke of Normandy did to the Normandy his Queen, with his two Sons by her, he made his Peace, for they fear’d his Fury. Ethelred, thus reduced to a private State, was miserably to be beheld, pitt’d, and hated. Edward, by his Treaty to the Normandy his Queen, with his two Sons by her, he made his Peace, for they fear’d his Fury. Ethelred, thus reduced to a private State, was miserably to be beheld, pitt’d, and hated.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest

A.D. the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promised and confirm'd on both sides. An Army was sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in Lewis and is joyfully receiv'd of the People, marches with a strong Army against Canute, who having got Horles, and joyn'd with the Men of Lindesey, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoining; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was then driven to his Ships, and his Confederates of Lindesey left to the Anger of their Countrymen, executed without Mercy by Fire and Sword. Canute in all haste falling back to Sandwich, took the Hospages given to his Father from all Parts of England, and with his Nobs, Ears, crop'd, and Hands they'd off, setting them adrift, departed into Denmark. Yet the People were not disburthen'd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thousand Pound to pay his Fleet of Danes at Greenwiche. To these Evils the Sea in *October pas't his Bounds, overwhelming many Towns in England, and of their Inhabitants many thousands.

The Year following an Assemblie being at Oxford, Ethric of Streones, having invited two Noblemen, Sigeforthe and Morcan, the Sons of Ermargyn of *Storhord, to his Lodging, secretly murther'd them: The King, for what Caufe is unknown, feiz'd their Elastes, and caus'd Aelgrith the Wife of Sigeforthe to be kept at Morthiflow, now Mollburyford, and Whole, the Prince there married against his Father's Mind, then with the whole power of their Lands, making the People subject to him. Matt. West. fait, that these two were of the Danes, who had fear'd themselves in Northumberland, slain by Ethric under colour of Trestion laid to their Charge. They who attended them, tumbling at the Death of their Matters, were quickly taken, and driven into a Church and defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while Canute returning from Denmark with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gild'd and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Provision; and, which Excurium Ewans mentions not, two other Kings, Lecburch and Streones, of Oliver of Norwich, arrived, with great Stiffnesse; and as the Father before them writing, sent out Spies to discover what Restauration on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of Ethelwold was in readines to oppo- site them. Turkill, who upon the Arrival of these Danes Powers, kept Faith no longer with the Ethelwold, but joyn'd now with the Canute, having now a Mind, and the Age of his Youth, it being summer, to recast himself under his Revolt, whether spoil'd or complest, conned him (being yet young) not to land, but lead him to the Management of this first Battel; the King af- fented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with Canute, landing to their With encounter'd the English, though double in number, in the Field, at a Place call'd Stewall, and was at first beaten back with much Los. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Possessions from Canute. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention: From Sandwich therefore falling afft to the River Franche, and there landing over all Dover, Sowerfed, and Wil- lfilde, he spread wasteful Hospitality. The King lay

then sick at Cifhorn in this County; though it A.D. may seem strange how he could lie sick there in 1015, the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit Ethelred in one part, and Ethric of Streones in another, rais'd *Whitwine Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor Ethric being found to practice against the Life of Ethelred, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great Advantage. Ethric easilv en- ticing the forty Ships of Danes to side with him, revolte to Canute, the Well-Saxons also gave Pledges and furnished him with Horles. By 1016, which means the Year ensuing, he with Ethric Sim. Dan. the Traytor, pulling the Thames at Oxcad, about *Twelfo, enter'd into Mercian and English, Warwicke, depopulating all Places in their way. Against these, Prince Ethelred, for his Hardineses call'd *Troyfe, gather'd an Army; but the Mercians refuse'd to fight unlesse Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every Man return'd home. After the Festival, Eth- nold gathering another Army, besought his Fa- ther to come with the Londounes, and what Force besides he was able; they came with great Strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good Success, it was told the King, that unlesse he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps, being among Whitchurch with his Army, where his Army, returns to London. Ethelred betook him into Northumberland, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl Uther on the one side, and Canute with Ethric on the other, did little else but wattle the Provinces; Canute to conquer them, Ethelred to punish them who stood within, for which cause Canute, being in the Command or Conivince, and the hand of one *Turandred a Danfe Lord, Uther was slain, and Iris another Dane made Earl in his stead. This Uther Son of Walteof, as Simeon writes, in his Treatise of the Siege of Durham, in his Youth obtained a great Victory against Malcolme Son of Rendel King of Scots, who with the whole Army of his Father was fallen into Northumberland, and laid siege to Durham. Walteof the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd his Town in Beeh- bury, a Strong Town, but Uther gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, flew most of the Scots, their King narrowly escaping, and with the Heads of their slain, set up poles, before round the Town of Durham. The Year an- other, Exploj Simeon court not, for 599, and in the Reign of Ethelred as he affirmes, it could not be. Canute by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Success, before Eafter came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the *end of April ensuing, Ethelred after a long, trouble- some, and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his Days at London, and was buried in the Church of St. Paul. 

EDMUND

* The Saxon Annals call him 'TWAS in the Yigil of St. Michael in September.

* The same Annals call the War *Sinfanbach, i. e. Seven Towns, but where they lay we know not.

* Sinfan in Whitwine. See the word Whitwine in the English Edition of Camden. The Earle of Sinfan in the Saxon Anns, comes under the Year 1016, and after Ethelred's Death. This Sinfan is suppos'd by others to be the Place where Four Sires call'd *Shirflanes part the Four Countries of Oxford, Gloucester, Warwick, and Warwicke.
A.D. 1616.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

After the decease of Edbelred, they of the Nobility who were then at London, together with the Citizens, chose Edmund his Son and Heir (the Daughter of Earl Toste) in his Father's room; but the Arch-bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles attending together elected Canute; and coming to Southwark where he then remained, renown'd before him all the Race of Edbelred, and swore him to the Throne. They also solicited both Religious and Secular, to be their faithful Lord. But Edmund with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully receiv'd of them as their King, and of many other Provinces by their Example. Mean while Canute about mid-May came with his whole Fleet up the River to London, then casting a great Diligence, in Countenance on Surrey side, turn'd the Stream and drew his Ships thither West of the Bridge, then beginning the City with a broad and deep Trench, appalled it on every side; but repuls'd as before by the valiantous Defendants, and in Defpair of Success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the West-Saxons. Here Edmund courageously came, in time to assemble all his Powers: Who yet with such as were as hand invoking Divine Aid, enencour'd the Danes at *Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After Midsummer, encross'd with new Forces, he met with him again at a Place call'd Sherfahan, now Scarfram, and fell with the Humfrith and Wiltshire Men, then fiding with the Danes, he only maintained the Fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till Night and Weatremes parted them. Day-light returning renewed the Combat; wherein the Danes appearing inferior, Edric to dishearten the English, charg'd the Head of one Officer, in Countenance and Hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain and his Head, it was true for them to flight; which Falacy Edmund perceiving, and openly hewing himself to his Soldiers, by a Spear thrown at Edric, that militing hewed him, but him and through him another behind, they recover'd Heart, and lay upon the Danes till Night parted them as before: For ere the third Morn, Canute enforc'd of his Lois, march'd away by Steath to his Ships at London, renewing there his League. Some would have this Battel at Sherfahan the fame with that at Scarfram before mention'd but the Circumstance of Time permits not that, having been before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the Proces of things appears: From Sherfahan or Scarfram, Edmund return'd to the West-Saxons, whose Valour Edric fearing, left it might prevail against the Danes, fought Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it swore A.D. Loyalty to the King, who now the thirteenth 1616, coming with an Army from the West-Saxons to London, rais'd the Siege, chasing Canute and his Danes to their Ships. Then after two Days pausing the Thames at Brentford, and so coming on their Backs, kept them to turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: Then returns again to his West-Saxons, and Canute to his Siege, but still in vain; raging therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Avenue, and from the Banks thereof wafted Mercia, thence their Horie by Land, their Foot by Ship came to Medway, Edmund in the mean while, with multiplied Forces out of many Shires, crowling again at Brentford, came into Kent, recking Canute, encountered him at Oxford, and fo defeated, that of his Horie, who they clapt fled to the Isle of Sernes; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not Edric fill the Tratyor by some Wile or other detain'd his Pursuit: And Edmund who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be so millet, ever after forfaken of his wonted Fortune. Canute crowling with his Army into Essex, thence wafted Mercia worse than before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: Them Edmund with a collected Army pursuing, overtook at a Place call'd *Afernandune, or Afsfibull, *Afsibull, "now Alfenor in Essex; the Battel on either side was great, and Edric the great valourous and valiant Duke of Edric perceiv'd the Victory to encline towards Edmund, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd Canute, and left the King over-match'd with Numbers: By which Defertion the English were overthrown, Duke Afsibull, Duke Gilling, and Oppisled the valiant Duke of Edric, and the West-Saxons with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not receiv'd a greater Blow. Yet after a while Edmund not ably call'd Ironside, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by Edric: and others of his Faction, advising him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with Canute. To which Ed.-combana, round over-rid'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually given, both Kings met together at a Place call'd Dearhurst in Gloucestershire, Edmund on the West-side of Severn, Canute on the East with their Armies, then both in Perfon wafted into an Island, at that time call'd Olney's, now Cambles: in the midst of the River, at Eton, in the time of King Henry the Sixth, and Brother-hood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, affiling allo what Pay should be allotted to the Navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this Interview, and the Cause thereof, others write otherwise; Malmburgh, that Edmund grieving the Loss of so much Blood spilt for the Ambition only of two Men striving who should reign, of his own accord lent to Canute, offering him single Combat, to prevent in their own Cause the Effiffion of more blood than their own; that Canute thought of Courage enough, yet not unwarily doubting

*Pen is in Somersetshire.

*Canute was then at the Siege of London, and according to the Annals we have often mention'd, did not Edmund the Danes in the Fight at Pen, nor at Sherfahan.

*Sherfahan in Wiltshire, Combana. Thought others by be Sherfahan on the Borders of Oxfordshire.

*Mr. Milton owns, That as an other Writer, The author of Eornamwn Vendel, mentions the first name of Scarfram: And it's much to be doubted, whether there was any such Action.

*Mr. Gilpin, the Editor of the Saxan Annals, supposes there is a Mistake in the Copy; and that it should be read War on Wore, on the River. Or else, that this Action is on the River we now call the Avon, which divides Essex and Suffolk.

*Rather Affinor, in that Country; for the Saxan Annals have in Affinjan. Whereas the Old Affinian is the Word always used by the Moderns into Affinian.

*The Magni and Churchill supposed by Combana to be the Radfrihang Men.

*Bromants Chronicle says, their Commissions only men.

*Cambles was called Any by the Saxons; but in we bear the Name of the Eight, i.e. Tet, others by this Third water, Eoverbridge and Maffonere. Brit. hist. edit. p. 245.
Canute, or Knute.

Canute having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receiv'd their Oath of Fealty, they the Pledge of his bare Hand, and Oath from the Danish Nobles; whereupon the House of Edward was renounced, and Canute crown'd.

Then they entreated, That Ethelred, Brother of Edward, should be Forfei't to the Duke, and thereupon the King, to be banish'd the Realm. But Canute not thinking himselfe secure while Ethelred liv'd, confid'd with Ethelred how to make him away; who told him of one Eadward a decay'd Noblesman, like-\liest to do the Work. Eadward feem'd for, and tempt'd by the King in private, with large Rewards, but after promising the Duke, and all the promis'd to do it when he saw his Opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But Ethelred afterwards,


A. D. 1066. 

Victory ere Conute in the Morning knew of any Fight. For which bold Enterprize, though against 

discipline, he had the English in more Etenon even after. In the Spring at his return into Eng. 

land, he had his mind, the Field at Alfeiamby at * Clerechur, and the same Year was 

with Turkull the Dane at the Dedication of a 

Church by them built at Aberneive, in the 

Place of that great Victory which won him the 

Crown. But besieging his Greatness, the Year 

afterwards baffled him the Realm, and found 

occasion to do the like by Ethelred and Bohoriaen 

Earl upon the same Jealousy 1. Nor yet con- 

tent with his Conquest of England, though now 

above ten Years enjoy'd, he pass'd with fifty 

Ships into Norway, dispofed o Quare their King, 

and subdu'd the Land, first with great Sum of 

Mons. and at the Year before to gain him a Party, 

then coming with an Army to encloze the neif 5.

Thence returning King of England, Denmark, 

and Norway, yet not secure in his Mind, under 

colour of an Embassy he sent into Banishment 

Haco a powerful Dane, who had married * the 

Daughter of his Sifter Gudrida, having conceiv'd 

a fame Subjicion of his Practices against him: But 

field of his Brother in Denmark, he made them 

back; either periling at Sea, or flain by Con- 

trivance the next Year in Orcy. Conute there- 

fore having thus e stablisht himself by Blood- 

shed and Oppression, to wear away, as he thought, 

the Guilt thereof, falling again into Denmark, 

went thence to Rome, and offer'd there to St. Peter 

his great Goods by the Realm, and People in a Let- 

ter written from Rome yet extant. At his 

return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to 

St. Edwards at Barry *, whom his Ancestors had 

fliet, throw out the Secular Priests who had in- 

truded there, and plac'd Monks in their stead 3: 

then going into Scotland, subdu'd and receiv'd 

'the famous Duke of Malcolm, and two other King's there, 

Melbech, and Fernude. Three Years after his 

vying made * Swane his fippard Son by Algyva of 

Northampton, Duke Alphred's Daughter (for 

others fay the Son of a Priest whom Algyva, bar- 

ren, had got ready at the time of her feigned 

Labour) King of Norway, and Hardevate his 

Son by Fruotis, King of Denmark, and defendd 

Harold his Son on the fide of Northumberland, King 

of England, dy'd at Stiffury, and was buried at 

Winfield in the old Monastery. This King, 

as appears, ended better than he began, for tho' 

he seems to have had no hand in the Death of 

Iorphile, but defeated the Fact, and bringing 

the English, who came to him in hope of 

great Rewards, on the Butter not to have 

receive Thanks, after they had openly related 

the manner of their killing him, deliver'd them to 

deferred Punishment, yet he spare'd Ebrice whom 

he knew to be the prime Author of that detecri- 
bable Fact; still willing to be rid of him, grown 

importune upon the Confidence of his Mekrs, 

and upbraided by him that he had left relin- 

quish'd for Edmund for his false; 

angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with 

a chang'd Countenance, Traytor to God and to 

me, thou shalt die; thine own Mouth accuseth thee 

to have slain thy Mother my Confedrate Brother, 

and the Lord's Anointed. Whereupon although 

alms men present and private Execution was in Rage done upon 

Ebricke, the Thieves of his Blood could not 

not to make away the Brother and Children of 

Edmund, who had better Right to be the Lord's 

Anointed here than himself. When he had ob- 
tain'd in England what he defir'd, no wonder if 

he fought the Love of his coars'd Subjects for 

the Love of his own Quiet, the Maintainers of 

his Wealth and Status of his in Profit. For the 

like reason he is thought to have married 

Emma, and that Richard Duke of Normandy her 

Brother might the less care what became of El- 

fred and Edward, her Sons by King Ethelred. 

He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient Saxo- 

Law's, call'd afterwards the Laws of Edward the 

Confederate, that he might make them, but sturdily 

observ'd them. His Letter from Rome profess'd, 

if he had done ought amiss in his Youth, through 

Negligence or want of due Temper, full Re- 

lution with the Help of God to make amends, 

governing junty and piously for the future; 

charges and adjus's all his Officers and Vifcounts, 

that neither of them, nor any other, or Favour of any 

Peron, or to cur the King, they shou'd never be 

mifive to be done in the Land; commands his 

Treasurer to pay all his Debts ere his return 

home, which was by Denmark, to compose Matters 

there; and what his Letter profess'd, he per- 

form'd all his Life after. But it is a fond Con- 

viction to me, he had very great ones, and pernicious 

in the end, to ccale from no Violence to a in 

prent the Enpee to do the utmost of their Ambitions and Designs; 

then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to 

hube him with a Share however large of their 

ill-gotten Spoils, and then fialy to grow zealous of 

doing Right, when they have no longer need to 

do Wrong. Howbeit Conute was Famous through 

Europe, and much Honour he received the 

Emperor then at Rome, with rich Gifts and 

many Grants of what he there demanded for 

the freeing of Passages from Toll and Cufrom. 

I must not omit one remarkable Action done by 

him, as Huntington reports it, with great Scene 

of Circumstance, and emphatical Expression, 

to thaw the final Power of Kings in respect of God, 

which, unless to Court-Parafites, needed no fuch 

laborious Demonstration. He caus'd his Royal 

Seat to be fet on the Shore, while the Tide was 

coming in; and with all the State that Royalty 

could put into his Consequence, said thus to the 

Sea: Thus Sea belong't to me, and the Land 

whereon I fandle, now let them come and I'll 

rid my Commands: I charge thee come no fur- 

ther upon my Land, neither presume to wet the 

Feet of thy Sovereign Lord. But the Sea, as before,
Harold. The Thames and with'd as Sim.

Harold, for his Swiftness...Divorced, that he not content to have A. D. practis'd in secret (for openly he durst not) 1066, against the Life of Emma, fought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the Name of their Mother, inviting them into England, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpose.

Emma in Nome only Queen, to her Son Ed. Emward and Alfred imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bemoan the Death of our Lord, the King, maft dear Sons, and while daily ye are deprived of, and none of the Kingdom your Inheritance; Lo! Alas, it is footing thrice! daring to the Reign of your Unger, who insensibly, goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threatens. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me freely, and privately, to receive from me whatsome Counsell, and to know how the Byrones which I intend shall be accomplished. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, at dear both as my own Heart.

Thefe Letters were sent to the Princes then in Normandy, by express Messengers, with Presents also as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the fame Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly, naming both the Time and Place. Alfred therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the approbation with a few Ships and small numbers about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the Snare of Earl Godwine, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly for sorrow for the Loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her Life of whom he now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me freely, and privately, to receive from me whatsome Counsell, and to know how the Byrones which I intend shall be accomplished. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, at dear both as my own Heart.

The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. came rowling on, and without Reverence both wet 1037, and dashed him. Whereat the King quickly rising, with'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed defer'd the Name of a King, but who whole Eternal Laws both Heaven, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth evident of itself, as I said before, that unless by thine Court Flutterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The bett is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, eftablishing Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

Hardeconeute. Hardeconeute receiv'd with Acclamation, and a Placard in the Throne, first call'd to mind the Inquiries due to him or his Mother; Emma, in the time of Harold, sent Afric Arch-bishop of York, Godwine and others, with Trond his Executioner to London, commanding them to dig up the Body of King Harold, and throw it into a Ditch, but by a second Order into the...
...that Edward But to the Death of Edward's half Brother, which Alfre the Archbishop laid to their Charge, the King deprived Lexing of his Bishopric, and gave it to his Accuser: But the Year following, pacify'd with a round Sun, refer'd it to Lexing. Godwin made his Peace by a lumpish Present, a Gally with a guided Stem bravely rigg'd and, eighty Soldiers in her, every one with Brace-lets of Gold on each Arm, weighing fourteen Ounces, Helmet, Corfelt, and Hilt's of his Swords guided; a Dono Curtaxt lifted with Gold or Silver hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with Bofs and Nails guided in his left Hand, in his right a Lance: Befides this, he took his Oath both to the King, that neither of his Children, Colle- fel or Will stirred a Step, which Edward of Harley had done what he did, to the putting out of Elfred's Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next Year, Hardecnute sending his Houlecarles, so they call'd his Others, to gather the Tribute imposed; two of them, rigorous in their Office, were flain at Winchefter, and the People, wherein the King enrag'd, lent Leofric Duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great Forces and Commination to fly the Citizens, rife and burn the City, wallte the whole Province. Affrighted with such News, all the People fled; the COUNTRYMEN whither they could, the City- residents to Bever- rage, which they fortify'd and defended stoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their City they round lack'd and burn'd; wherewith the King was appa- rent. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half Brethren, tho' Reapers at Winchefter, the People, whereby tenderly affection'd; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normany, and with unfeigned kindnesse receiv'd, re- main'd safely and honourably in his Court. But Hardecnute the Year following, at a Feast wherein Offerd, a great Dono Lord, gave his daughter in Marriage at Lambeth, to Pride, another potent Dona; in the midst of his Mirth, found and healthful to fight, while he was drinkingfell scepheless, and to dying, was buried at Winchefter beffe his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good Cheer; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Delights. But this time was it to the good, faith Huntingdon, in our time Princes in their Houfes made out one Meal a day. He gave his Sister Gnozial, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in Mar- rriage to Henry the Alman Emperor, and to fend her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed their Jewels and richfe Ornaments. But it may seem a Wonder, that our Histrifans, if they deferbe that Name, shou'd, in a Matter so re-
markable, and so near their own time, so much A. D. differ. Huntingdon relates, against the Credit of 1042. all other Records, that Hardecnute thus dead, the English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Dono Yoke, went over to Elfeid the Elder, who Son of Emma by King Ethelred, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at Els, sent this yeare by Harold six Year before; that he came now out of Normany, with a great number of Men, to receive the Crown; that Earl Godwin aiming to have his Daughter Queen of England, by marrying her to Edward a simple Youth, for he thought Elfeid of a higher Spirit than to accept her, persuaded the Nobles that Elfeid had brought over so many Normans, had promised them Lands here, that it was not safe to suffer a Willikre and foul Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so hand- led as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relotion to the King; thereupon, by common consent of the Nobles, both Elfeid and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for Edward out of Normany, with Hoftages to be left there of their faithful Intentions to make him King, and their defires not to bring over with him in Normany; that Edward of Harley call, came then first out of Normany, whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his death. For Hardecnute dead, faith Mathewry, Edward doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the Advice and Favour of Earl Godwin; desiring therefore by Medllengers to have private Speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: At left affenting, Prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his Feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger where- in he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity before his return. He therefore sent for a Writing, whither out of the Land. Godwin soon appre- hending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of Ethelred, the Grandchild of Edgar, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think that his Courage was such, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in England, pro- mised it should be all his to let him on his Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his Friend, to preserve the Honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter, Edward, as his necessity then was, comforts easily, and favore to whatever Godwin requir'd.

An Assembly of States thereupon met at Gilling- bain, where Edward pleased his Right; and by the powerful Influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Brownes, with no probability, write, that Godwin at this time was on the point of Death, for what he had done to Elfeid, return'd and submited himself to Edward then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of Elfeid, and, not without much ado, by the intercession of Leofric, and other Peers, receiv'd at length into favour.
Edward the Confessor.

The Saxons Line red.

GLAD were the English deliver'd so unexpectedly from their Daughters Maffers, and little thought how near another Conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Effer following, Crown'd at Winchester, the same Year accompanied with Earl Godwin, Leofre, and Siward, came on a sudden, and by their Counsel led on the Treatment of his Mother Emma. The Caufe all'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his Banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd Ethelred her former Husband, and thereafter the Children by him; she was moreover noted to be very generous, hardy, and great to Monasteries. About this time allo King Edward, according to promise, took to Wife Edith or Elyth, Earl Godwin's Daughter, commended much for Beauty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woman, Learning. Ingolds, then a Youth, lodging in the Court with his Father, his Earl Godwin, commended by his School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logick. Edward, the next Year but one, made ready a strong Navy at Sandwich against Magnus King of Norway, who threaten'd an Invasion; had not Swane King of Denmark diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to Edward, as may be supposed; who at the same time excels'd none to the Danes, banishing Gudrid the niece of Cnutte with her two Sons, and Ognild, by firme Clapt, out of the Realm. Swane overpow'd by Magnus, sent the next Year to entreat Aid of King Edward; Godwin gave council to fend him fifty Ships furnished with Soldiers, but Leofre and the general Voice gainingly, none were sent: the next Year Harold Harveger King of Norway sending Ambassadors, made Peace with King Edward, but an Earthquake at W godebey and Darby, Peltiflene and Famine in many places, much leff'en the Enjoyment thereof. The next Year Henry the English came, with Callidwine, Earl of Plenteers, Godwin, had straiten'd him with a great Army by Land, and sending to King Edward, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his ecape by Sea. The King therefore with a great Navy coming to Sandwich, there flaid till the Emperor came to an agreement with Earl Baldwine, and with twenty nine Ships, without magical power, the Abbe of Cheffel, by him deour'd, had left the Left, came out of Denmark with eight Ships, feigning a desire to return into the King's Favour; and Beorn his Cousin German, who command'd part of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that he should not be find out. But Godwin, therefore and Beorn with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to Perswawe (but Godwin soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty nine Daubie Ships, who had got much Booty on the Coast of Egjey, and perished by Tempest in their return) Swane with his Ships A.D. comes to Beorn at Persweye, guilefully requests him to fall with him to Sandwych, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. Beorn milking no Evil where he intended Good, went with his two Ships, and attempt to lay three only of his Servants: But Swane set many Barbarous Crueltie, not Reconciliation with the King, took Beorn, now in his power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, flew and bun'd him in a deep Ditch. After which, the Men of Hertfing took fire to his Ships, and brought them to the King at Sandwych, with the other two he escap'd into Scotland, there remaining, till Alketh the Bishop of Worcestere, by earnest mediation, wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King Edward sent to Pope Leo, desiring Absolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger Years, to take a Journey to Rome, if God vouch'd that he should reach England, the Pope dispenc'd with his Vow, but not without the King's Journey given to the Poor, and a Monastery built or re-edy'd to St. Peter's, who in a Vision King Edward to a Monk, as is said, chose Wolfram, which was King Edward thereupon building endow'd with large Privileges and Revenues. The fame Year, Wolfram, faith the English, not Edward, Bishop of Worcestere, certainIrtheries of Abbeys, with thirty six Ships entered the Monastery of Beorn, and with the Aid of Griffis Prince of South Wales, did some hurt in those parts: Then pafing the River Wey, burnt Doncelان, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom Alfred Bishop of Worecester, with a few out of Gloucester, and Hereforshire, went out in hufhe: But Griffin, to whom the Welsh and Irish had pri-vily sent Mellifengers, came down upon the English with his whole Power by Night, and early in the Morning suddenly affaulting them, flew many, and put the reef to flight. The next Year but one, King Edward remitted the Danishe Tax, and had contin'd thirty eight Years heavy upon the Land, an English shriit paid it to the remitted. Danes, and what remain'd thereof in the Treasury he sent back to the Owners: But through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse Infelig. Michief to the English, while studying Gratitude to those Normans, who to him in Exile The Normans ad-vanced.

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By Mr. John Milton. Book VI.

A. D. Godwin who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and Holland to God’s the King’s Suffer, having been to visit King Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take Ship at Dover, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by Force in a House there, provoked to the Matter thereof, as by chance of the want of Anger, the house, The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had been kill’d, flew both the Slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, required him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded many more of the rest, himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom followed by other Normans Courtiers, he stirr’d up to great Anger against the Citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haste is sent for, the Caufe related and much aggrieved by the King against that City, the Earl commanded the Tate Forces, and use the Citizens there as Enemies. God- win, forry to fee Strangers more favour’d of the King than his Native People, answer’d, That it were better to be fammon first the Chief Men of the Town into the King’s Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitt’d, by Fine Law and Custom, might satisfy the King whole Peace they had broken, and the Count whom they had injur’d; Till this were done refusing to prosecute with bitter Punishment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeas’d with his Refusals, and not knowing him, he sent for the Arm’ fibly of all the Peers to be held at Glaston, where the Matter might be fully try’d; the Affembly was fall and frequent according to Summons; but Godwin misfrett his own Caufe, or the Violence of his Adversaries; with his two Sons, Swane and Harold, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Son’s Earldoms, which contain’d most of the South-East and West

Rebels in parts of England, came no farther than Bever- fluit, giving out that their Forces were to go against the Wesl, who intended an Irruption into Herefordshire, And Swane under that Pretence lay with part of his Army theretoabut. This was the more striking this Device, and made with all Diligence clearing themselves before the King, left Godwin detected of treble Accusation in great Hatred to all the Affembly. Leofric therefore and Simon Dukes of great Power, the former in Mercia, the other in all Parts beyond Humber, both ever faithful to the King, lend privily with speed to raise the Forces of their Provinces. Which Godwin not knowing, sent boldly to King Edward, demanding Count En- fance and his Followers, together with those Boh- lognians, who as Solomon writes, held a Caffle in the Jurisdiction of Canterbury. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain’d him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his num- bers swelled, and then appointed him great Dem- ands. Godwin thus match’d, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The King’s Forces were the Flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But Leofric and the wiler fter defteating Civil War, brought the Matter to the Court. That it was given on either side, the whole Caufe should be again de- lated at London. Thither the King and Lords A. D. coming with their Army, sent to Godwin and his Son (who with their Powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding their Appearance un- arm’d with only twelve Attendants, and that the rest of their Soldiers they should deliver over to the King. They were to appear without Pledges before an adverf Faithion deny’d; but to dismiss their Soldiers receiv’d not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might hand with Honour and the jus regard of their Safety. This Answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently forth, That Godwin and his Sons within five Days depart the Land. He who perceiv’d no his Numbers to diminish, readily obey’d, and with his Wife and three Sons, Tjffi, Swhane, and Grythu, with as much Treasure as their Ship could carry, embarking at Torney, sail’d into Flandres to Earl Baldwin, whose Daught- er Judith was wife to William. The Fourth Month his fourth Son was thus Hologe to the King in Nor- manly, his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking Ship at Brifton, in a Vesel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, sail’d into Ireland. King Edward purfuing his Dilrepature, divour’d his Wife Edith Earl Godwin’s Daughter, fending her defpoil’d of all her Ornaments to Varel Lawdred Aftembly, with the Kings landing in Ireland was kept at St. Swithin’s Abbey by his Sister the Abby there. His Reafon of ftoft was doing was as harfh as his Act, that the only, while her nearest Relations were in Banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy Eafe at home. After this, William Duke of Normandy with a great number of Followers coming into England, was by King Edward honourably entertained and led about the Cities, and Cities, as it were to fhew him what e’re long was to be his own (though at that time, faith Ingulf, nothing thereof was between them) after some time of his abode here, prefented richly and dish’m’d, he return’d home. The next Year Queen Emma dy’d, and was buried at Winchester. The Chronicle of his Fourth Son was thus Hologe to John Broughton in Yorkshire Abbey, but rather of some nameles Author living under Edward the Third, or later, reports that the Year before, Robert the Arch-bishop he was accus’d both of conspiring to the Death of her Son Alfred, and of preparing Poyfon for Edward also, chiefly of too much familiarity with the Duke of Winchester, that to approve her Innocence, paying over-night to St. Swithin, the offer’d to pafs blind-fold between certain Flow-fares red hot, according to the Ordinam Law, which without harm the perfom’d, that the King thereupon receiv’d her to Honour, and from her and the Bi- shop, Penfures for her Credibility, that the Archbi- shop’d of his Accusation flid out of England: Which besides the Silence of Ancienr Attitudes by Mr. of the Bisbop fel not till a Year after) brings the whole Story into Supposition, in this more pro- bable, if it can be prov’d, that in the Memory of this Deliverance from the Nine burning Flow- fares, Queen Emma gave to the Abbey of St. Swith- tbon nine Manifsles, and Bisbop Alwin another nine. About this time Griffin Prince of South Wales waft- ed Hereford; to oppofe whom the People of that Country with many Normans, garril’d in the Castle of Hereford, went out in Arms, but were put to the worfe, many slain, and much Booty driven away by the Wesl, then Generouf, to spare Godwin, coming into Severn with many Ships, in the Confines of St. 
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A.D. 1052.

* The Annals tell us Godwin plunder'd it, and Harold 'li'd all before him at Paestum in Sorrentia.

* Mat. Wibertflour writes, King Edward bestowed the Kingdom of Scotland on Malcolm, to be held of himself.
Mr. John Milton. Book VI.

Great spoils; whereof King Edward having notice, gathered a great Army at Gloucester under the Con- duct of Harold now Earl of Kent, who frencoum- mited the Revolution, and on the last Saturday, * As far as possible in Consequence therefrom.

But the Enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, it occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortify'd Hereford with a Wall and Gates. Mean while, Griffin and Ageor dreading the death of Harold, and his Inheritance, who they alleged to be for that the Queen Edith had commanded in her Brother Tosti their Earl, flew more than two hundred of his Soldiers and Servants, pili- ged his Frestire, and put him to file for his Life. The Cattle of the Infidels they fled, and they took the place of Edith, and from thence, to the King, and was return'd to his Earldom. But Griffin, with breach of Faith, the next Year set upon Leoiger, the Bishop of Hereford, and his Clerks, then at a place call'd Glalgam, with Ageor Vith out of the fire, and told them, but freely; Harold and King Edward, by force, both likewise, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace.

The next Year, Edward Son of Edward Ironside, for whose own King Edward had lent to the Emperor, came out of Hungary, deign'd success to the Crown, but within a few Days after his coming, dy'd at London, leaving behind him Ed- gar, his Son, Harlond and his Daughters. Of the same time also dy'd Earl Leofric in a good old Age, a Man of no less Vir- tue than Power in his time, Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily weeded to God's, a Woman of great Prairie. His Son Al- ger found less favour with King Edward, again he was banish'd, and then the Archbishop, by the Aid of Griffin, and Fleet from Norway, manage the King, more recover'd his Earldom.

The next Year Malcolm King of Scots coming to visit King Edward, was brought on his way by Tosti the Northumbrian Earl, to whom he fore- bode: Yet the next Year but one, while Harold had many Duties, that he could not given the Archbishop of York for his Piss, this three Earl took advantage of his absence, roughly harried Northumberland. The Year passing to an end without other matter of occasion, sive the frequent Imrodes and Robberies of Griffin, whom no Hands of Faith could restrain, King Edward lent against Griffin, and the Earl of Gloucester, Harold now Duke of Wales, Saxons, there was no great Body of His Forces, where he then kept his Court; whole coming heard of, Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap'd hardly by Sea, e're Harold coming to Ruedeke, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to Gloucester the same Day: But by the middle of May leaving out with a Fleet from Bristol, he fear'd about the most part of Wales, and met with his Brother Tosti with many Troops of Horfe, as the King had appointed, began to wafe the Country; but the Weafy giving Pledges, yielded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish Griffin their Prince, who lurking somewhere, was the cause of those troubles. At last the Earl of Northwales, his Head, with the Head and Tackle of his Ship, being to Harold, by him to the King, who of his Gentlems made Blecbridge and Rib- ward on or Rivalcan, his two Brothers, Princes in his head, they to Harold, in behalf of the King, free- Fealty and *Trite*.

Yet the next Year, Harold having built a fair House at a place call'd PORTA- civit at Mussumeur, and for it with Provision, that the King might lodge there in time of Hunt- ing, and Carra the Son of King Harold, to the Same place, came with a number of Men, few all he found there, and took away the Provision. Soon after which, the Norumbrians in a tumult at York, be- let the Palace of Tosti their Earl, flew more than two hundred of his Soldiers and Servants, plif- ged his Treasure, and put him to file for his Life. The Cattle of the Infidels they fled, and they took for that the Queen Edith had commanded in her Brother Tosti's behalf, Gofaric a Nobleman of that Country to be treacherously slain in the King's Court; and that Tosti himself the Year be- fore with like treachery had cause to be slain in his Chamber Gavel and Off, two other of their Noblemen, besides his intolerable Hostilitys and Oppositions. Then in a manner the whole Coun- try coming up to complain of their Grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the King at Tosti's request had sent to pacifie the Norumbrians; but they laying open the Cruelty of his Government, and their own Birthright of Free- dom, not to endure the Tyranny of the King's Power, whatever, with absolute refult to admit him again, and Harold hearing Reaton, all the Accomplishes of Tosti were expell'd the Earldom. He himfelf banish'd the Realm, went into Flent- ders, Morcar the Son of Ageor made Earl in his head. Huntingdon tells another Caufe of Tosti's Banishment, that one Day at Windsor Tosti the Har- vold reach'd the Cap to King Edward, Tosti en- vying to see his Younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furionly upon him, catching hold of his Hair, the Scife was soon part by other Attendants rutting between, and Tosti forbidden the Court. He with continu'd Fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had prepared the same; they the King, came to the House and set upon them with his Followers, then leaping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others. threw them into Butts of Wine, Mout or Ale, which were laid in the King's dining: And at his going away charg'd them to fend him this word, that of other Hands Meats he might bring him to his Parents what he pleas'd, but of Scife he should find pleny- provided ready for him; that for his barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him banish'd; that the Norumbrians taking advantage at the King's difi- pleasure and sentence against him, rofe alfo to be reveng'd of his Cruelties done to themselves, but this no way agrees, for why the whole Nation to the King for much labour with the Norumbri- ans to re-admit him, if he were a banish'd Man for his Crimes done before? About this time it Malma- happen'd, that Harold putting to Sea one Day for his pleasure, in a Fisher-Boat, from his Mannon at Boifemb in Sussex, caught with a Tempelt too far off Land, was car'd'y into Normandy, and by the Earl of Butel, on where he was driven, in his own request brought to Duke Williams, who entertaining him great with Courtfei, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Cattle of Dover, then in his tenure, but the Kingdom alfo after King Edward's Death to his utmost endeavours, therupon be-
A.D. trothing the Duke's Daughter, then too young, 1065. to Marry, and departing richly presented. Others say, that King Edward himself, after the Death of Edward his Nephew, sent Harold thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke Williams with his Intention to bequeath him his Kingdom; But Malmesbury accounts the former Story to be the true. Ingriff writes, that King Edward now grown to Man after his Nephew fallen in Body and Mind unfit to Govern, especially against the Pride and Infolence of Godwin's Sons, who would never obey him; Duke Williams on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had lent Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before Harold his Thither. The former Story may be true, that King Edward upon such Considerations had sent one or other; but Archbishop Robert was fled the Land, and dead many Years before. Earlier and Sinewe write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the King's Permission or Connivance, to get free his Brother Wulfrand and Mother, the former of the King had taken hostages of Godwin and sent into Normandy; that King Edward foretold Harold, his Journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own Reprisals, that Duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward e're his coming to the Crown had promised, if he ever attend'd to it. Duke Wulfrand offered after, but the left of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold to get free of Duke William, affirm'd his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret Confederacy: So variously are these things reported. After this King Edward grew sickly, yet as he was lying on his sick-bed, a Letter was at the Dedication of St. Peter's Church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of Epiphany, or Twelfth, deedad much lamented, and in the Church was Entomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant, who had crost'd his Game, for with Hunter Fand Haukinge he was much delight'd. By God and God's Mother, saith he, I well do ye advertise a turn, if I can: Observing that Law-Maxim the best of all his Successors, That the King of England can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, Norman especially and English, these complaining, that Robert the Archbishop was a Sinner of Dis- fention between the King and his People, a Trouser of the English, the other side, that Godwin and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equal share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his Simplicity, that thr'o' their Power in the Land they made no scruple to kill Men, of which several are reported to have taken place. The truth is, that Godwin and his Sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the King's mind; which not able to reft, he had, as bane fay, his Wife Edith, God- win's Daughter, in such a manner, as in Bed never to have touched her; whether for this Caufe, or whether his Lordship had a mind to the old father, is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after defir'd by the English of their Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to have been at Table not excelling, at Festivals nothing put up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almifcedes, and exhorted the Monks to like Charity. He is said to be the first of English A.D. Kings that cur'd the Diseafe, call'd thence the 1066. King's Evil, yet Malmesbury blames them who at- tribute that Care to his Royalty, not to his San-King Ed- citude; said also to have cur'd certain Blind Menand the With the Water wherein he had wash'd his Hands at the Genital A little before his Death, lying Speechless two or threes Days, in his Life. He said to his Nephew Harold, 'Don't hear to pray, That if it were a true Vifion, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks; whom he knew in Normandy, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were sent Mcfengers from God to foretell, that because the Great Ones of England, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Ab- bots, were not Ministers of God, but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies; and when he defir'd that he might reveal this Vifion, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd, They neither will repent, neither will God pardon them. At this relation others trembling. Sinewe and the Simonous Archbishop, whom Edward much to blame had fuffer'd many Years to fit Priamate of the Church, is said to have laugh'd, at the levourish Dream of a doing Old Man; but the event prov'd it true.

HAROLD, SON OF EARL GODWIN.

Harold, whether by King Edward a little be-foord his Death ordain'd Sire to the Monarch, Crown, as Simon of Durham, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding Edgar the right Heir, Grandchild to Edred I trempes, as Malmesbury and Huntington agree; no stronger proof of his was than as this. On the same day was Elect 1066. Croxx and Crown'd King; And no sooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of Compliance to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Churchmen, courteous and affable to all re- peated in the World; at length, was appointed to Officers to punish Thieves, Robbers, and all Dis- forbears of the Peace, while he himself, by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: So good an Actor is Ambition. In the mean while a Blazing Star, feven Mornings together, about the end of April, was seen to flreem terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the World, foretelling here, as was thought, the great Changes approaching; Plainly fett prognosticated by Elmer a Monk of Malmesbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for fearing too high. He in his Youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with thire above the top of a Tower, fire'dely to fly over London, and to flrike the Furlong, but the Wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet fo conceited of his Art, that he attributed the Caufe of his Fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder- parts. This Story, too, seeming otherwise too levend in the may, after all, he being the Strangeness thereof; I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digress no farther, Tosti the King's Brother coming from Flanders, full of Envy at his younger Brother's Advancement to the Crown, revolufed what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing there- fore them of Night's Life to Contribution, he di'd

* The Amuleas, He succeeded in King Edward appointed. William of Malmarsh assures, he exerted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men—All the Bishops were for Harold. therece
thence to Sandwich, committing Piracies on the Coast between. Harold then retiring at London, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horfe by Land; prepares in Perfom for Sandwich. He then di-rects his Coarse with fifty Ships towards Lothfey, taking with him all the Seamen he found, willing or unwilling: Where he burnt many Villages, and flew many of the Inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian Duke, and Morcar his Brother, the Northum-brians Earl, with their Forces on either fide, foon drew over a thoufand of their Country. Who then betook him to Malcolm the Scottifh King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the fame time Duke William lending Embaffadors to admonifh Harold of his Promife and Oath, to affift him in his Pleaf to the Kingdom, he made anfwer, That by the Death of his Daughter he refolved to him that Condition, he was abolifh'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandifh Woman, without confequent of the Realm; that it was preumpotously done, and not to be perfifted in, without Content or Knowl-edge of the States, he had fown away the Right of the Kingdom, that what he fhould again gain his Right, he was bound in a manner then his Prifoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdom, conferr'd upon him with universal Favour and Acclamation of the People: To this flat Denial he added Contempt, lending the Meffengers back, fhaking them with their Poffefsions, and fo leaving them. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addrefles him felf to the Pope, letting forth the Juflice of his Caufe, which Harold, however through Haughtinefs of Mind, or Diffufit, or that the ways to Rome were fcor'd, fought not to do. Duke William, besides the Promife and Oath of Harold, alleged, that King Edward by the Advice of God-ward, and Sigward the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succiffion, and had fent him the Son and Nephew of Godwin, Pledges of the Gift; the Pope * fent Duke William, after this Demonftration of his Right, a confeffed Banner. Whereupon he having with great Care and Choice got an Army of tall and ftrong Soldiers, under the Command of that Skill and manner of Age, came in Anglef to the Port of St. Valeriy. Meanwhile Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he fails to the Ifle of Wight; and having heard of Duke William's Preparations and Readiness to invade him, kept good Watch on the Coast, and for ten Months kept their Forces in View of the Moor. But e'er the middle of September, Pro-\vifion failing when it was moft needful, both Fleeet and Army return home. When on a fudden, Har-old Harvager King of Norway, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (other Reffon them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) came in the Mouth of the Thames, whom Earl Tjifi with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whereof both uniting, fett fi in for diftant days, and enter'd the River Humber. Thence turning into Oufe, as far as Richmond, landed; and won Torc by Allfatt. At thefe Tidings Harold with all his Power haftens thitherward; but e'er his coming, Edwin and Morcar at Putforth by York, on the North-side of Oufe, about the Feet of St. Matthew had given them Battel', fafelyuf at first, but over-born at length with Numbers; and for'd to turn their backs, more of them per-\rih'd in the River, than in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them five hundred Hoftages our or their Letters, above his Age, and the fift of his own, retur'd to their Ships. But the fifth Day after King Harold with a great and well appointed Army, coming to York, and at Stum- ford Bridge, or Barret Bridge on Darwent, affailing the Norwegians, after much Blood-shed on both fides, cut off the greateft part of them with Salmon. His fatter got the King, and Tjifi his own Brother. But Oke the King's Son, and Earl Earl, and Godfrey, left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, purfuing themselves with Hoftages, and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he fuffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small Remnant of their Army. One Man of the Nor-Malins.egins not to arrive with him, or with his fall open the Par-

*Alexander the 2d.

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A.D. 1068:

By Mr. John Milton, Book VI.

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By Mr. John Milton, Book VI.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

A. D. 1066. Battle, who may justly fight in the Defence of our Country; then referred to a fierre time, mayst either retire ut flying, or revenge ut dead. The King not hearing to this, left it seem to ar-

The Sight of a man, with like Re-

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Heir, and prepare'd them selfs to fight for him; but Morcar and Edwin not liking the Choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their Forces and returned home. Sim. Dan. Duke William contrary to his former Revolution, if Florens of Wiltfer, and they who follow him say, that he had them flying all his way, or rather, as faith Malmesbury, not in a Ho-

file but in Regal manner came up to London, met at Bartram by Edgar, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave Hollages, and sware Fidelity, he to them promised Peace and Defence, yet peace was little seen while to burn and make prey. Coming to London made a Pri-

my, he was on Christmas Day solemnly crowned in the great Church at Westminster, by Alfred Arch-bishop of York, having first given his Oath at the altar in Presence of all the People, to def-

Eend the Church, well govern the People, main-

tain them in Law, protect Rapine and unjut-

Judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the Choice of their Native King, were confin'd to take the Yoke of an Outlandish Conqueror. With what Minds, and by what Course of Life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, William of Malabury spares not to lay open. Not a few Years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in the Con-

assador's Days, had left all good Literature and Re-

ligion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin Service: He was a Miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuff, and made no difference what they eat, which though in it self no fault, yet to their Con-

ferences was a subtile. The great Men given to Gluttony and dillolute Life, made a Prey of the Common People, abusing their Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Swoers; the meaner sort tippling together Night and Day, spent all they had in Drunken-

nels, attended with other Vices which effeminat Men and ruin all States. When it came to pass, that car-

ried on with Fury and Raffineries more than any true Fortitude or Skill of War, they gave to Wil-

iam their Conqueror so caife a Conquest. Not but that some few of all forts were much better among them; but such was the Generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad Men to enjoy prosperous Days with the good, so his Se-

verity oft-times exempt the good Men from their Share in evil Times with the bad.

If these were the Caues of such Miferly and Thraldon to those our Anceftors, with what better Clofe can be concluded, than here in fit Seafon to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without Amendment the Revolution of like Calamities.

82

The 14th of October, 1066.

while, Edwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn A. D. themselves from Harold, hearing of his Death, 1066. came to London: sending Alfred the Queen their Sitter with all speed to West-Chefer, Alfred Arch-

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A COL.
A COLLECTION OF THE History of England: CONTAINING A Brief ACCOUNT of the most Remarkable AFFAIRS of STATE.

Compos'd by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to Queen ANNE, Confort to K. James I.

When I first entertain'd the settled Thoughts of Collecting the Principal Affairs of this Kingdom of England into One Body, I design'd to have taken my Beginning at the first British Kings, and have proceeded according to the common Lift of their Succention, relating the things which happen'd most Remarkable in their several Reigns; but not finding any authentic Proof of their Defent, I laid aside these Resolutions, upon these Considerations, That a few compafs of Time, and better known to us, (viz. From William the First, furni'd the Baffard) would better suit my Abilities, if not overmatch them; that it was Curiousity to search farther into Antiquity, than we can get any good Information of, and of which we can have no Proof, and consequently can reap no real Advantage by it. For the Beginnings of all People and Kingdoms are as difficult to be found out as the Heads of great Rivers; and if they could be known, would promote but very little either our Virtue or Reputation; since it is evident, that most of them owe their Original to Poverty, Robbery, and Oppreafion; though Fabulous Writers (to magnify their own Nations) have obtruded upon the Credibility of after-Ages strange Relations of Heroical and Miraculous Beginnings: So that great States, as well as Men, are left worth seeing, when they are in their most flourishing Condition, as they are, and not as they first were. Besides, it feems good to Divine Providence to check our over-inquisitive Dispositions, by leaving all things, of very great Antiquity, under irrecoverable Uncertainty, and so to bound our Searches within the compafs of a few Ages; as if that were sufficient, both for Example and Instruction. For had we indeed the particular Occurrences of all former Ages and Nations, they would rather barthen our Memories, than better our Understandings: The Actions and Manners of Men receiving little alteration by Time; Virtues and Vices being the same, though more or less in practice and vogue, according to the Goodness or Vicefouness of Governours: The Changes and Ruins of States proceeding from the same Causes, and the Methods of Affairs being carry'd on much in the same Course.

But yet since the History of those Ages, which Britain first have chosen for the Subject of this Collection, cannot be well understood without fame known by the Bofledge of the Affairs of the precedent, I shall take a brief View of the State of this Nation from the time it became a Tributary Province to the Roman Empire, which is as far as the most Ancient Records we have can give us light; for before that time, England was not more remote in Situation, than it was from the Knowledge of the World. And from hence it was that Julius Cæsar, being but on the opposite Continent in Gaul, could get no perfect Information of the State of Britain by all the means he could use, unless by some Merchants (of whom he summon'd as many as he could) who inform'd him of some of

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A Jeffry of Mammal's Lif of the Regal Succention from Britann is very difcult and plain; but it hath fo many Marks of pure Lajion, either of himself, or the Authors from whom he pretends to tranfcribe them, that it is long since given up for a more Romance by all our Learned Critics in Engljf History; and particularly the Bishop of St. Augur's in his opinion, that the Grand Eye of all, which is the Story of Britan, is nothing but a Ferierty to make the Engjfh Kings as Nobly defended as the Kings of other Nations, by drawing them from the Trojan, according to the Hymnor of the Age he liv'd in. This Story of Britan is reckon'd Fabulous by Sir William Temple, in his Introduction to the History of England, p. 15.

Vol. I.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

The most ancient State of Britain.

The State and Form of Government was among the Britains before this Invasion, the first and best Relation is from Cæsar himself, who tells us, That the Britains were divided into many petty Kingdoms, and all the Wett parts of Europe, till the Romans, having first subdued all Italy through the Division: among themselves, which made a Prey to their Enemies, became potent enough to ravish the Liberties of the other adjacent Nations from them: For the Kings of those times were not strong enough in War, and had no other Jurisdiction over their People, but to conduct them for their Safety. So that this Affetration, That there was a Monarchy establish’d among the Britains long before other Nations, will never pass for truth, but with such Perfons as undersand little of true Antiquity, but model the Nation of it by the Confusions of this present time. For had there indeed been an Absolute Monarch in these parts, under whose Conduct the Britains could have united their Forces against the common Invader, it is very probable they had never been conquer’d; since we find the Romans to have been sometimes very strangely fail’d by some petty Princes; and to plain, that though the Britains had not the Im-

provement of Letters, yet they wanted not many great Souls, who had a quick Sense of Honour and Greatness, and delighted in the boldest and bravest Actions. But then they united, and in publick Danger, they expos’d themselves to the common Enemy; who, often more by the Divisions of others, than by his own Power, became Matter of the World.

So that with what probability the long Succession of Absolute Monarchs from Brutor to Cæsar, may be maintained, I am not forc’d to stirle off, we shall leave it to those, who are of more safe Faith: Adding only thus much to justify my own Difference, That I cannot imagine how the Memory of those ancient Times could be preserv’d to Posterity, when it is almost certain, that they had not the Use of Letters in this Nation till the Romans brought them in. Indeed some report, That not only the Greek Tongue, but Schools of Learning were settled here long before the Romans arrival; which, had it been true, we should have had some mention of it in Cæsar’s, or other Writings: Whereas now, on the contrary, we find that the Druids, who were the Ministers of Justice and Religion among the Britains, as well as the other inhabitants of the British Ages, committed not their Mysteries to Writing, but deliver’d them by Tradition; which sure they would not have done, had they had more certain ways of imparting them to their Nation. And Cornelius Tacitus tells us, That Agricola, Prefect of this Province under Domitian, caus’d the principal Men of the Island, to be taught Sciences; which the Britains could not have been ignorant of, had the Greek Learning been settle’d among them so many Ages before. Wherefore it’s clear, that there was no other way of conveying the Traditions of former Ages but by Tradition; and how little that can be depend’d upon, the Men know.

As to the State of the Britains during their Subjection to the Romans, we find that if the Britains were govern’d by the Roman Prefects; or if they left any Kings of their own, they were tributary, and had no other Authority than what they had from the Emperor’s Will, who, as Tacitus relates, made Kings but Instruments of more heavy Monarchies of his own; and such as, whom Claudius gave certain Cities in Britains, under the Title of King. For when Cæsar had once got footing among them, and made part of their Country tributary, they would not venture to withstand the Roman Arms for the future, and recover their ancient Freedom; tho’ during the time of the Civil Wars at Rome, by which the Government there was chang’d from a Common-wealth to a Monarchy, they had twenty Years space given them to rid themselves of their Enemies, yet they patiently submit’t; and as soon as Augustus had gotten the absolute Sovereignty, all the Princes and Cities of Britains came voluntarily with their Gifts and Tributes to protest their Subjection to him, and gain his

* The British Pearls, which were then of great Esteem in the World, were no small Motive to Cæsar to invade Britain. Dry Honour, without Gain, was not always the Inducement of the Roman Heroes to conquer the World. Rome her self lord’d a full Treasury, and her Great Men a full Purse.

* Prideaux gives the Names of the several People and Kingdoms among the Old Britains before the Roman Invasion, which are exactly set down to us in the late Edition of Mr. Camden’s Britannia.

* From the Ashes, which forms nothing but an Invention of the Britains to be even with the Rest of the World in the Antiquity of their Deject; for twice the Humour of the World to draw their Religion from the Eteius, is now utterly exploded.

Favour,
Favour, fearing left a new Governor should make their Yoke heavier than it hath hitherto been; which confided only in a very tolerable Tribute, which they were contented to bear with their Neighbours. After Angelus's Death, when the Corruptions of the Empire had caused miserable Disfarrations in all Parts of the World, the Britains also falling into Faction, and Distress, and Discontents with their Roman Governors, withheld their Obedience, till Claudius obtained the Empire; who being an ambitious Prince, and desirous of Glory, call his Eye upon Britain, as the most probable Place for him to gain his first Triumph in. Hither therefore he sends P. Pulfius Scapula, a great Warrior; who was the Governor of the nearest Province in the North of Scotland, and a resolute People hardly to be forc'd into Subjection, yet as an experience Commander, who knew how much the first Attempts do usually either daunt, or encourage an Enemy, contriv'd to fall upon them by Surprise, and where he had any Advantages, to use an atrig, as seldom he again'd had. But the Strategems did not produce the wished Effect; for

* Caradocus (one of the Brit. Kings) maintain'd War against him for nine Years together, and could not be mafterd by this brave General, till being betray'd by his own Nation, he came into his hands, and was with his Wife and Children carried to Rome to be led in Triumph.

* After this, pass'd at Rome for the Conqueror of Britain, tho' that Island was not perfectly reduc'd to their Obedience, till a long time after: For the Britains, finding that their Divisions were likely to betray them to the Romans, who would prove cruel Masters, enter'd into a defensive League against them upon this Occasion; the King of the Potentate, an old and powerful Prince, dying, left Nero his Heir, with the Care of his Wife and his two Daughters; hoping by this Gift, to secure his Family and Nation from any Injury from the Romans, but it happen'd clear otherwise after his Death: For he was no sooner dead, but the Roman Captain upon the Notice he gave of his Death, and the Prefumption of the Britains to betray them, raves'd and plunder'd it; his Wife and Children was whipp'd, his Daughters ravish'd, his Kindred treated as Captives, and his rich Subjects depriv'd of their Paternal Inheritance and Estates. This inhuman Usage exasperate the Britains so much against them, that they conspire'd with the Tribunates, and others, to recover their Liberty, and free themselves from such cruel Oppressors. And this was the injured Queen, animat'd them in this Resolutions, and led them forward in their Design. And first they fell upon the Veteran Soldiers, who lay in Garrison at London, Verulam, and Cambodumnus, and having put them to flight, with their Captains and four Thousand of their best Inhabitants, from hence the Britains, under the conduct of Boudicea, who together with their Wives, encouraged them manfully to pursue the advantage, and rather die, than come under the Roman Tyranny. Scouring on the other Side was not wanting with the like advice: And to much the more, because his Army was much inferior in Number to the Britains, and of experience old Soldiers. This Battle was very sharp, but the Victory in the issue fell to the Romans, who flew Eighty Thousand Britains in the gaining of it. Boudicea escap'd their Fury, but poison'd her self, choosing to die, rather than fee the miserable Calamities which would certainly come upon her Country. After this, the British Nations again strokes invidiously oppress'd the Britains, by those they often revolted, and upon every advantage that they could fpy, struggled to shake off their unceafe Yoke; yet being over-power'd with Numbers, which were fent against them almost from all parts of the Empire, were at last forc'd to yield, and undergo a Sufferance, of lying under the cunn of Fourteen Garrisons, and a flanding Army of near Thirty Thousand Foot and Horse.

* In this lamentable Condition of Slavery and The Mife. Oppression did the Britains remain, as long as the Romans had the Government of them, who not contented to rob them of their Estates and Poffessions, and to enslave them into Cruel Bondage, command'd them to engage in their ambitious Quarrs abroad, and purchase them Glory with the loss of their own Blood and Lives: And not only so, but being left to the arbitrary Power of their Governors, they were forc'd to affift them in their Rebellions. For after the Election of a King, they fell into the hands of their Army, many Governors here having great Forces under their Command, were proclaim'd Caesars, and set up for the whole Empire. Thus did Caradocus first, and after him Albeiznus, whom Constatinus, who was Copartner with Maximianus in the Imperial Dignity, at his first coming into Britain consider'd, by the advice of his Predecessor Captain of his Life-guard. After this the * Caledonians and * Picts made their Inroads into the Northern parts of Britain, and much inflected the Inhabitants, disturbing their Peace, and waffing their Lands; Constatinus, who then was sole Emperor of the West, communique the Miferies of his Subjects, as well as to secure his establishment from the Spoil of these Barbarians, undertook a second Journey into Britain, and had the good Fortune to be Victorious against them, and drive them out of his Dominions; though he liv'd not to fee the Peace that follow'd thereupon, dying soon after at York. Constatinus his Son (afterwards furnamed the Great) was President of his Father's Sicknes lately come out of Ilyria, where he had been with Galerius warring against the Sarmatians. As soon as Constanius was dead, Constatine immediately estab. lished the Emperor of the Britains, which he so kindly

* Caledonians, or Caledonias, the valiant Champion for the Brit. Liberties, was betray'd to the Romans by the treacherous Wern Cornutumaga, Queen of the Britains.

* Picts, are no more above Ten Thousand.

* Agricol's good Tempers and mild Government made her Subjection fo tolerable, that by his Direction and Encourage- ment they were willing almost to turn Romans; learning their Oratory, Building, Gardening, and all other Arts of Peace and Quietness. But this was but a short breathing from their Miferies; all their Governors being remov'd with him by De- mission.

* The Caledonians, from Cladons, which signifies Borders, were those People that dwelt in the most Southern part of Scotland, and often call'd the Britains-Borders, and sometimes the Britains-English.

* The Picts seem to have been a proper sort of Britains, that would never yield to the Romans, but still kept up their ancient Manners and Liberties; and were call'd Picts (about Three Hundred Years after Christ) by the Romans, because they contended the old Brit. Cullum of painting their Bodies. They dwelt in the North part of North-Britain, and in probability are the ancestors of the Highlanders in Scotland.
The History of England to the Norman Conquest.

conquered, his whole Army brought out of Britain, being 450,000, and himself executed at Aric. The Britons North of the Thames, by whom the country was haunted of its Strength, lay open to the Ravages of the Barbarians of the North, who observing this advantage, came down upon them in great Numbers, and by their incursions reduced them to great Straights and Confusions, so that they were forced to appeal to the Aid of Aetius, then Prefect of the Guards under Valentinian III. He had full Arts of moving Commendations they could invent; sending their Ambassadors with rich Garments, and Duft on their Heads. Aetius, moved with their Petitions, did send them such Succours as they needed from their Enemy; and to secure them for the future, helped them to raise a Wall upon the Trench, which Aricius had call’d up before from Sea to Sea, and so left them. This Relief prov’d but of little worth; for the Barbarians who no sooner heard of Aetius’ departure, but they again affailed the Britons at length, beat down their Wall, and humbled the Country much worse than before. The Britons repeat their fatal Story; they lay siege to Aetius, put him to Death, and took the Whole Province. After they had held it Twenty-Six Years, from the time that Aetius, Cesar of the Empire, to defend it, they killed his Brothers; and he having gone to Rome, the Britons took the City, and by a sudden Assault, overthrew the Whole Imperial Army. All the rest to Vortigern were Roman Governors.

Britain being thus first weaken’d, and at last deserted by the Romans, was left to provide for its own defence against its Invaders. The Inhabitants were in miserable Distractions among themselves, what to do in this sad Juncture. Many licens’d the Invaders, but some depend’d on Vortigern, a Noble British, and Earl of Cornwall, who was at last fix’d upon as their General against their Enemies, who either fearing 1 his own Deposition from the Government he had newly gotten, and dreading the continuance of, or finding the Nation unable to grapple with its fierce and cruel Enemies, the Scots and Picts, sent for the Scots out of Germany to assist him.

The Saxons at this time possest the third Part of Germany, and held all the Country betwixt the Rivers Rhine and Elbe, having on the North the Baltrick-Sea and Ocean, on the South the Hyrcanian-Sea; and divided into two Britain, parts by the River Weser, viz. Esbjehaladin (as the Saxons call it) and ubervalad (as the Germans call it), of which the latter (as it is usually called) and Weodothalia. They were govern’d by an Aristrocracy of twelve Princes, who in times of War chose a General to lead and con-

* Scots were Inhabitants of Ireland, who came to affail the Picts against the Romans and Britains, their Subjects.

* Ætius and Aemilius are not certainly known by Antiquaries; Some think them a Pairy of the Scots, who came out of Ireland; others, among whom is the Learned Bishop of Worcester, that they were the Wild-Britains, from Jerome, who says, they were a British People.

* Some of these Kings are fabulous; the Bishop of Worcester proves Arvagius, and to his two Sons, Merian and Cellerus, to be the Invention of Jeffrey of Monmouth, who tells us, the names of the former of them, and thinks that none are certainly reckon’d such, but Prataugas, Coelambas, Carolus, Fregimus, and Galcrides, who are mention’d in the Roman History; his Description of Libius is fix’d before, Orig. Brit. p. 32, 34.

* By the Pairy of Antichists Ambrose; for whom, the Roman left in the Province fled very resolutely to have him their Governor, and not a British, as Vortigern was.

The Saxons were a very Warlike People, who dwelt on the nearest German-Border, had kept the Romans themselves always upon their Guard, and had sometimes attack’d them in this Isle, which made Vortigern think these People would fit for his Allies against the Picts and Scots.
port, and began the Kingdom of the South-Saxons, containing Suffolk and part of Surrey; Cerdic, and his Sons, landed at Portland, and invaded the South and West parts, and began the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, which after con-
tained the Countries of Hampshire, Berkshire, Wilt-
shire, Dorset, Somerset, and Devonshire. Near the same time Uffa invaded the North-East parts, and began the Kingdom of the East-Angles, containing Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Ilfe of Ely: Ethelwin began the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, containing Essex, Middlesex, and a part of Hertfordshire. The Outparts of the Ilfe being thus divided among several invaders, the Danes began the Kingdom of Mercia, or Middle-Angles, containing Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Bedford, Buckingham,
shire, Oxfordshire, Gloucester, Derbyshire, Nottingham,
shire, and Staffordshire, with part of the Shires of Hereford and Hereford, Warwickshire, Shropshire, 
and Cornwall. But these Settlements were not made without great difficulty, and in no small compass of time: The Britains making such a vigorous Opposition to their Eftab-
lishment, that the indeed they were vanguished wholly at last, yet they enjoy’d little of the Britains Eftates, but naked Land. For in these bloody Confticts between the Britains and the invaders, all the Noble Buildings, Baths, Aquar-
ducts, High-ways, and other Ornaments of Con-
veniency or Delight, which either the Romans, or the Britains in imitation of them, had built and raised, were utterly demolish’d, so that not the least mark or footprint of them is now visible, but instead of them we find very frequent Entrench-
ments, Mounts, and Burroughs rais’d for To
defences upon all the wide and high Hills amidst this Ilfe, the indelible Proofs of the many Hazards and bloody Conflicts the Saxons underwent to get a peaceable Possession of their Conquests in this Ilfe; which at last they obtained, but with the Ruine and Deftruction of the old Inhabitants.

War between the Britains and Saxons; who com-
peared.

The Britains were thus become Masters of this Ilfe, foon canton’d it out among themselves, and other their Countrymen, who having news of their great Peace and victory, came off with their Countrymen, and livéd peaceably among them from their intended and defired Ufurpation of the Britains Country and Eftate. But at last, partly by the Politick Management of Hengfif, who liv’d forty Years in Wars, and partly by Treachery, the Saxons prevail’d, and forc’d the Britains, almost confir’d with long Wars, to fly into the Mountains and remote Dflies of the Western part of the Ilfe, leaving the whole Nation almost in the power and sole disposifal of their Conquerors.

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* In laying the Britijh Nobility at Salisbury-plain.

+ Wales and Cornwall.
Saxons Alteration of Things in Britain.

Saxons, purs'd on a new Face of Things: With its new Lords, it had new Laws and Government. Nothing was retain'd of the Britifh Customs or Usages, as they were resolv'd to have no marks left of fo troublesome an Enemy as the Britons had been. Their Cities and Towns, Rivers, Hills and Mountains, because they could not demolish them, they gave them new Names. Britain it self was forbidden to be call'd by its ancient Name, but Now-Saxons; and shortly after, either from the Angler, the greatest part of the Invaders, or from Hengift, their most eminent Commander, call'd England, or England. The whole Nation at firft they divided into Eight Kingdoms, which continued till the Britons were quite expell'd their Country, under Caretus their King, who was driven over the Severn in an Hundred Thirty Six Years after Hengift firft came into England. But as soon as their common Enemy and Rival were their Ambition affuring them to enlarge their Dominions, they fell into Diftentions among themfelves; and the strongestfoon usurping the Dominions of the weaker, they were reduc'd to Seven Kingdoms, the Northumbrians enlarging themselves to the utmost bounds of their next Neighbours, fo made out Six Kingdoms: But this Settlement hold long; for the West-Saxons, the Kings of the South-Saxons to their Dominion, and fo they became Six, as they continued about Two Hundred and Fifty Years. At their firft Settlement, the Saxons, for an Hundred and Fifty Years, were governed by their own Laws, without any mixture of those of the Britons, or any other Nation. But when Hengift the Monk, commonly call'd the English Apostle, arriv'd here with forty others his Companions, perf. by Pope Gregory the Great, and had convert'd Ethelbert King of Kent, and some other Peoples of note; they soon after embrac'd the Christian Faith unanimously, and fuffer'd their Laws and Rites to be model'd according to the Ecclefaftical Constitutions. Their Kings, laying aside their warlike and rough Tempers, became humble and pious, conformable to the Genius of that Religion they had fubmitting themselves to; and their only Ambition was, who should ratify the nobleft and moft numerous Monuments of the Laws of their Church, which foon became vifible in all parts of the Land: Divers of their Kings left their Temporal Dignities and Worldly Grandeur, to embrace an holy Retirement, and live a Monaffick Life; as Ethelred and KGVnt, Kings of Mercia; Offa, King of the East-Saxons; Cildred and Ina, Kings of the West-Saxons; Ethelbert, King of the Northumbrians, and many others.

As to the Civil State of the Kingdom, thefe Six Kingdoms held their own fame Ages, yet at length the Kingdoms of Mercia and West-Saxons fo far over-power'd the ref, that it lay between them who should govern all. For Ina, a martial, wise, and renowned Prince, governing the West-Saxons, advanced that King by his Conquest of Kent and the South-Saxons, to fo great an Eminency, that he was able to contend for a Supremacy with the King of Mercia, and that with doubtful Victory. But Offa, afterward King of Mercia, was in a fair way to have swallow'd up both the West-Saxons, and all the other Kingdoms: For while he liv'd, which was in the time of Charles the Great, (with whom he was Confederate) he was accounted the most potent King of the Nation: But the many Injuries he did to others, especially that barbarous Cruelty and Perfidion, which he was guilty of, in murthering Ethelbert King of the East-Angles, in his own Palace, when he came to him upon the publick Faith, to divide Daughters, and more closely purs'd by the Hand of Divine Justice, that thro' he dy'd in Peace, yet his Poffeqry never flourifh'd, but every Day declin'd, till in the end they loft all. For Egbert, the Son of Roegild, or Legis, the Brother of Ina, having obern the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, laid the Foundation of England, of the Conquest of the ref, being a Prince, who from a private Station, wherein he had learned much Moderation, and imur'd himself to much Hardship, was rais'd to that Dignity by these means: Ina, his Great Uncle; leaving the World and Kingdom, and dying without Issue, left the Succession involv'd in Troubles, and out of the Common, as he did thefe; we find a Succession of four Kings inheriting his Throne, viz. Ethelberd, Sigibert, keenulf, and Britric; yet they got it either by Election or Force, not by any Right of Defent. Britric, the laft of them, was fensible of the Weakness of his Title, and therefore fearing the promising and towards theBritons, who by Blood was nearly related to the former Kings, he laid all the Arts he could to deftoy him; but Egbert, perceiving his bloody Design, he fled to Offa King of Mercia, where finding his abode hazardous, because Britric to strengthen himself had marry'd the Daughter of that King, he made his Escape into France, and there remain'd till the Death of Briteric's, and then return'd to the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, and fubb'd Cenulf, then inhabit'd by theBritons; and after invades Bernulf, who was newly poiffid of the Kingdom of Mercia, a State at that time, through the Interruption of the Royal Line, in which he was rais'd, for Egbert, the Son of Offa, enjoy'd his Kingdom but four Months; the Hand of Providence cutting him off for his Father's Cruelty, and left his Kingdom to Kenwulf, a Kinsman in the fifth Defcent, whose Son Kened, a Child of six Years old, was foon depriv'd of it by Quinched his Sifer, who mutter'd him to get into his Throne, but mis'd of her aim, the People electing Cenulf her Uncle to it. Cenulf enjoy'd not the Kingdom long, being expell'd out of it by Bernulf, who met with the fame Fortune from Egbert, who feizing on it made his Kingdom tributary to that of the W€st-Saxons, as he did afterwards thefe of the South and East-Saxons, with the Kingdom of Northumbeland. So that Egbert of the former was almost an absolute Monarch of the whole Country; tho' his Power was...
was never complete, nor his Peace firm, because of the Danes, who having got footing in this Nation in the Reign of Briton, could never be driven out again, but continued Troubles in the Reigns of himself and Successors, till at length they ravished the Sovereignty from the Saxons, and took it into their own hands.

The Danes were a People of Germany, near Neighbours to the Saxons, and of a Language and Manners not much differing from them, populating besides the Cintraica Ogresmenas (now called Denmark) all the Isles adjoining, lying in the Baltic Sea. They had by the force of their numbers, and their strong, hardy and warlike Nation, having plenty of Shipping, and great numbers of People. These Men perceived the success the Saxons had here, and how much better Soil they inhabited than their own, were very defirous to put in for a Share with them; to which Attempt they were encouraged, not only from the nakedness of the Coasts, which every where also lay open to Invasion, but chiefly by the many Divisions and Quarrels between their several Princes and Nations, which they forewore would much facilitate their entrance. The Saxons therefore had scarcely ended their troublesome Wars with the Britons, and begun to settle themselves in safety of Monarchy, when the Danes, as if they were resolved to revenge the Cruelties they had done to the Britons, began to affult them with the same Disturbances.

It would be both uneafie and tedious to the Reader, as well as difficult for me, to give a particular account of the many bloody Battels and Reconciliations which happened between these two fierce Nations, while they confifted for the absolute Majesty of this Kingdom, because they are so confufely and disorderly delivered by Writers, and therefore I shall spare my self the pains, and the Reader the trouble of reading them.

After the Death of Egbert, Ethelwulf his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom, under the Title of King of the West-Saxons only. He was a Prince more addicted to Devotion than Action; as is evident by his Donation of the Tenth part of his whole Kingdom to the Service of God, and an Exemption of all Lands belonging to the Church from all Tribute and Regal Services: Besides, he gave the free Bounty of three hundred Marks to expended in pious Ufe at Wurce, whither he went twice in London, with his youngest Son Alfred, who was the chief Object of his Love, whom Pope Leo IV. appointed King at eleven Years old, as prefiguring his future Greatness and Fortune. In his last Journey, and whole Year's stay at Rome, Ethelwulf his eldest Son continued with the Nobility of the West-Saxons to keep him out of his Kingdom, and deprive him utterly of his Government, which he so craftily managed, that notwithstanding his People lov'd him extremely well, yet he was brought to yield up the Kingdom of the West-Saxons to Ethelwald, and retain only the Kingdom of the East-Angles (a small Principality of far left Dignity) to himself. After this he liv'd two Years, and left his whole Kingdom to Ethelwald, who to his eternal Infamy marry'd his Father's Wife Judith, Daughter of Charles the Bald King of France. He enjoy'd his ill-gotten Honour but two Years and a half, and then left his Son Ethelweald, who held it indeed five Years, but in continual War with the Danes, and dy'd at the Plague, and was bury'd at Winchurh. After whom

Alfred, of Alfred 4, a most incomparable A. D. Prince, who was made a King before he had 872. Kingdom, in a very apparent Succession to it, began Alfred his troublesome Reign at twenty two Years of Age, and in a Year wherein there were eight several Battles fought between the Saxons and Danes, which was ominous to him, for his Reign was but as it was one continual War, either with his Enemies, or his Peoples Vices. In the beginning of his Reign he was too highly inflamed, (for the 'Danes, that he had almost left all, and was forc'd to yield up a part of his Kingdom (viz. the Country of the East-Angles and Northumbrius) to Goethram or Gormund, the Commander of the Danes, whom, upon his Conversion to Christianity and Baptism, he made his Confederate, and by free Gift continued to him the Possession of those Dominions, which before he only usurped.)

But notwithstanding his continual Engagements his Prize in War against his Enemies, yet he was not wanting for the providing to all things that were necessary for the Peace and well-being of his Nation; for he first of all collected the Laws of his Predecessors, and the Kingdom. But his Kingdom was as his Sons and Successors, with that great Duke Ethelwulf, and Ethelweald the first Duke of the English, into one Body; and by the advice and consent of his States then assembled, made choice of the best, abrogated the useless, and added others according to the necessity of the time. Then he provided for the Security of his People against the Robberies and Riots, to which the War with Foreigners had brought them, by enjoining all Men combining together to plunder both sides, to infest the High-ways, that no Man could travel about his business without a Convoy, or Guard against them. Alfred to remedy this great Disorder, made a Division of his Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings, that every Englishman (for he made Saxons of all Nation; generally called themselves) living orderly, might be of some Hundred, or Tything, from which he was not to remove without Security, and out of which, if he were accutely of any Crime, he was likewise to produce Sureties for his good Behaviour for the future, which if he could not find, he was forced to suffer the Penalty of the Law. In any Malefactor, before or after he had put in Sureties, escafed, all the Tything or Hundred were oblig'd to pay a Fine to the King, by which mean he secured Travellers, and soon settled the Peace of the Country.

The great Admiration and Love which he had

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1 They landed three times in fair Years, viz. at Landforn, now holy岛, Cowmull, and the Isle of Shyf in Kent; they were very hardly driven off by Egbert and the English.

2 Ethelwulf was bred a Monk, and had entered into Deacons Orders at Winchester, but by Pope Leo's permission was made King. He married his Gardener's Daughter, named Ecburg, by whom he had four Sons, Etheldred, Ethelwald, Ethelweald, and Alfred, who reigned successively; but rebell'd all against their Father, but Alfred.

3 The Original Instrument is in Fuller's Churc History, of A. C. 871.

4 This Sum was afterwards charg'd by the Pope on the Ethelwulfes, in what proportion Mr. F. Fuller relates, Allis and Wharn, p. 240.

5 See the Year Book of W proton, in the Adornment of S. Swyn, Duke of Winchester, and every after it his Kingdom in Peace and Justice, as a sign of his Reparation for that Crime. Radb. Hist. Wurce, p. 204.

6 Ethelweald his Elder Brother reign'd five Years, which the King came to Ethelwald. He had Troubles by the Danes, but escafed himself by giving them Money.

7 It is related, that this King in one Year fought nine Battles with the Danes, and in most came off victor, slaying one of their Kings, and several of their Great Men.

8 He had his Education under the Tution of Swynaid Ethel Progn of Winchester.

9 With the Dane, and first Duke of that Norman Race, from whom William the Conqueror was descended, lic'd with ten Ships, but being forc'd from Shore, invaded Neufline in France, afterwards from them call'd Normandy.
Edward, [Surnamed the Elder] tho' he was Edward's much inferior to his Father in Learning, much excelled him in Power, being a warlike, courageous and fortunate Prince. For he was able to advance to the Thron of Great Britain, and had the actual Possession of it, for which Alfred received only a certain Honage; and, as some Writers assure us, ruled over the Eight-Angles and People of Northumberland; tho' we find by the Laws that he and Guthrum made by joint-convent, that they held the same Correspondence as his Father had. He continued his Father's Laws, and for the Seven Miracles and furni'd with strong 5 Garrisons divers Towns in England, whose Situation made them fit to prevent the Incursions of the Danes, and was the whole twenty-three Years that he reign'd in continual Wars, and in them very fortunate. And indeed his Father himself, and many of his Successors, during the Wars with the Danes, tho' they left their Ease, yet made a much more valuable Purchase of Honour by it: For this National Calamity kept them in such continual Exertion, that they had no time to indulge themselves in Ease and Luxury, but were obliged thereby to be more 6 pious, just and careful in their Government: For otherwise it had been impossible for them to have held out so long against the Danes as they did, being a People of that Vigour and undaunted Courage, as no adverse Fortune could deter them, so as to let go the hold that they had gotten upon this Nation, who, if they had met with an unactive Prince for their Enemy, would soon have wrighted themselves into the whole. And this was the Reason that the Succession of the Saxon Monarchy is something broken, the People being forc'd to choose a more able Prince, where the direct Line imposed a Minor, or unfit Person upon them, as in

The Ethenstan to the Norman Conquest. 924. A Ethelstan, of Ethelstan, who tho' he was A.D. an illegitimate Son of King Edward, was yet 924. 940. prefer'd before his Lawful Son Edmund, who was under Age, and so unfit for a Kingdom in those difficult times, because he was grown to Men's Virtue. In the Reign of this Ethelstan, the Danes made frequent Attempts upon the British Coasts, and some great Wars with the Kings of Denmark were carried on. Edmund, his Brother, succeeded him; a Prince equal to any of his Predecessors in his Valour and Virtues, had he liv'd to have given a full proof of them. In the five Years he reign'd, fo

1 It is said, that on the South Side of the Thames, the People of England were so illustrious, that few or none could read.
2 He also made a Law, that all Freemen that had two Hides of Land should keep their Sons at School till fifteen Years old.
3 Viz. North, John S. Davids, and JAMES Monarch, whom he placed in his School at Oxford, now University-College, as he did in his Grammar School at Bremen-Castle.
4 He founded the University of Oxford, a School at Ciretrica in Wiltshire for Greek, and Lechlede in Ghent for Latin.
5 He built three Monasteries, viz. Ethams, Winchelsea and St. Alban's, in one of which he was bury'd, viz. Winchelsea.
6 George the Philosopher, Davenant's, Ptolemis, Bodin's History, &c.
7 He was Crownd at Kienunge upon Thames, and is the first of our English Kings whom we read to have been Anointed at his Coronation, according to the Custom of the Jewish Kings.
8 He erected the Abbey of Colly, to vext the Belgiue Tempor of the Welden, and Chertsey, Hereford, &c.
9 An Affair of his Pious Care was in resuming the University of Cambridge, burnt by the Danes, and refounding it to its Luster.
10 He conquered the Scots, and by the Prayers of John of Beverley, is said to have obt'd a Sign, that the Scots ought to be called, which was this: that with his Sword, and curl a Yarnock Rock with it, it is to be seen near the Castle of Donor at this Day, in Bala, H. Hist. Wint. p. 211. He, among many other Victories over the Danes, in one more signal slew five Kings, twelve Captains, and almost all their Army; and so brought them to yield him a quiet Reign over all England. At the Conclusion of which Agreement, the Singe Combat of the famous Sir Earl of Warwick, and Colbrand the Danis, is said to have decided all Differences, the Victory falling to the English Champion. This Story is suspected of Falsitie.
11 He is said to have recover'd Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Lewesker, from the Danes, and conuer'd them to the Christian Faith.
fortunate were his Arms, that none of his Enemies could stand before him; but tho' he escaped in the midst of Dangers, yet he met with his Death in his own Palace, being slain at a Feast in his own House, by the hand of a base Aflafin, in the midst of his Nobles and People, who admitted and lov'd him. He left two Sons, but being both too young to enter upon a Kingdom so full of Troubles,

Edward his Brother was prefer'd before them both, who inheriting the Virtues and Bravery of his ancestors, maintaine'd his Kingdom hourly against the continual Tresuries of the Danes, all his Reign, which lasted but ten Years; when dying, he left his Kingdom to

A. D. 973.

Edwin, or Edwin, his Nephew, the eldest Son of his Brother Edmund, (a vicious and extravagant Youth) who declining from the excellent Qualities of his Ancestors, was an Happiness to his People in nothing but his short Reign of four Years; after which dying, he left his Kingdom to

972.

Ecgber, his Brother, a Prince of great Worth: He was indeed very Young when he came to the Throne, but fifteen Years old; but being of a pliable Disposition, and resolved to admit of Counsel, was, by the grave advice of his Bishops, (who in those Religious times had an absolute sway over the Hearts and Affections of most Men) so instructed in all the Methods and Rules of a good Government and Religion, that he became a most Hereditary Prince, and admirable Governor.

Among other his excellent Acts of Government, he provided a mighty Navy to secure his Coasts from Invasion, which as he gather'd from lamen table Examples (tho' late) would be the best way to keep the like Calamities out of this Nation for the future, which for some Ages past, and at that time did greatly disturb and afflict it, not being expert in Sea-affairs. For when the Romans first conquer'd it, the Britons had no Shipping, but a few small Boats made of Wicker, or Owers, cover'd with Hides; with which they could make no Opposition to the Romans, nor after to the Danes, who had very strong Ships, as the boats then were and therefore could not make a secure place to land so naked Coasts. Ecgber indeed is said to have provided a strong Navy about the Year 840, and Alfred thirty or forty Years after is reported to have done the like: But their Ships being either confounded by the Enemy, or decay'd and lost by dilate and neglect, Egbert built and fitted up Southwark near London, and meet a Fleet of sixteen hundred Sail, as some write, and others say more; he divided it into four parts, appointing them several Points to cruise at, thereby to secure his Coasts from Pirates, and all foreign Enemies, himself every Year in part of his Navy, falling round the Ile, of which he fli'd himself King.

And that he might compleately reduce the Nation to one Monarchy and Name, he fli'd himself King of Albion, as appears from the Charter granted by him to the Abbey of Malabury in these words, 

Ego Edgarus, inquit, Alboona Elegans, vix nee Martimorum, seu Inflamnorvm Rovmns circum-batantians, Sec. i.e. ' Edgar King of all Albion, and of the Kings inhabiting the Isles, and Sea-coasts thereof, &c. For having first of all the Saxem Kings made Peace with the Danes, and granted them a quiet Settlement among his own People in all his Dominions, he had a Sovereign Rule over them: And Kenneth King of Scots did him homage, whether for Cumberland and Westmorland, given to that Crown by King Edmund his Father, or for his whole Kingdom, I cannot affirm, and five Kings of Waife did the like for their Country, coming all to him at his Court at Cardifhe: So that he seems the first absolute Monarch of this Land.

The general Peace which he enjoy'd through his whole Reign, procur'd him the honourable Title of Pacificus, and made his Kingdom, always as a stranger before to fo great a Blessing, very flourishing and prosperous during his time, which was fifteen Years. But it lasted little longer than his Reign; and, as if it had been made for him, was almost hur'd in his Grave. He dy'd young, vis. in the 32d Year of his Age, and left his Son Edward, a Child, to inherit his Throne; who, not being able to avoid the cruel designs which his Mother-in-law Efrida had form'd to ruine her Son Ethelred to his Dignity, fell a Sacrifice to her Ambition, and being so rob'd of his Excellency, was but too soon made a Ceiufal Crown: He was mur'der'd by her own Hand in her Houfe (Corfe-Coffle) in the Ile St. Ed. of Farebeck, as he was hunting, having left his Ward, Company, and coming thither to visit her, and refresh himself, 'tis with the Chafe.

Theled, the Son of King Edgar, by his second Wife Efrida, having gotten the Crown by his Mother's Cruelty from his elder Brother, was put into the full Possession of it by St. Dunfan, who, against his Will crown'd him King of England. It is said, that the Holy Man preaching the Sermon before his Coronation, prophetically foretold the Miseries which should follow his unjust Acquisitio,n in these words; Quamvis aperifile ad regem per mortem fratris tuæ, i.e. ' Be St. Dunstan causeth thou hast aspired to the Crown by the hand of thy Brother, whom thou wicketst exultation of thy Brother, and have him firmly, Thus faith the Lord. The Sword shall never depart from thy House, ra- ging against them all the Days of thy Life; des- troying thy Polity, till thy Kingdom be translated to another Nation; whole Customs and Language thy people know not: Nor shall thy Sin, and that of thy cruel Mother, and her Accomplices in that bloody Fact, be expiated by but long Punishment. Whether this Speech was thus violent, or not, is an open Question to many, and he doubted by some, but 'tis certain, it was verified by the Event. For the new erected Monarchy thro' a Divine Care upon the Governor, fell immediately in pieces, and two Conquests by foreign Nations, within the space of fifty Years followed.

The Danes, in the first place, being multiplied Danes from among themselves, and having much strengthened their Interests by marrying with the English in the late Peace, which they enjoyed twenty Years English; together, found themselves in a better Condition to oppose them with good Success than they had ever been before, especially observing that the English were unwaried with their King, disaffected to

* He bade the Monks, and is said to have banished Dunfan for reproving his Excellency: But we must beware how we believe Monthly Writers, when they write of their Enemies.

* In all his Reign no foreign Army disputed the Peace of this Nation.

* But in this Peace the English are said to have learn'd such excessive Drinking, that Edgar was forc'd to make a severe Law against Drinking. That no Man should drink beyond certain Nicks or Marks made in their Pots for that end.

* S. Dunfan would have had Edgber, the father of Ethelred the Mirror, crown'd Queen.
his Government, and divided among themselves, so that 'twas very improbable they could or would make any tolerable Reconciliation. Wherefore that they might effect an absolute Conquest of the Land, which likewise was impossible, and found it vain, they invited their Country-men out of Denmark to come with all the Assistance they could possibly make for them; who thercupon came in such great Multitudes, that they annihilated most of the Cosifs and parts of the Nation at once: So that the State was at a loss how to dipp-"pnd their Infolencies, and 

Danc-gek. For those Rights of Themselves to the

the Called Sail of their Ships to take him, which being first lamentably torn with a Tempest, were fer upon by Wibaut, and being unable to reform were all by him lost on fire. This Perfidioscifics of the Nobi- lity, tho' it might proceed from their Differ- ences, Emulations, or selfish Affections, yet is never the less a great Obstacle to their Welfare, yet we find to have been more unfortunate than really weak; and had he had Faithful Ministers of his Affairs, might have gone in the foremost Rank of our English Worthies: For he neglected no Occasion to make a brave Reconciliation against his Enemies, and to that end made great Prepa-""ations, but neither the English Nation, nor his Government made, and the great Provisions which he on all occasions made for his Kingdoms Safety, can never refute him from.

To the former Calamities were joyned famine, and a great Mortality, with unusual Inundations of the Rivers and Seas, as it God and Man had confered together to make this Nation so miserable as the Sons of the Prince and People desired, and nothing would satisfie, but their utter De- struction.

While the Nation was struggling with these The Dances heavy Judgments, Swain King of Denmark, to come for the greatest the Load of their Afflictions, comes with a strong Navy to raffe new Sums of Money upon the English Nation, and offers many, brave publick Men, till he had a Sun of 4000 l. granted in an Assem- bly of the States at London, paid to him by which means a Peace, or rather a Bargain of Slav- er, was made between the two Nations. That they should dwell quietly together, and enjoy their own Liberties and Properties without any Molestation. This he made the last Succes of his Oaths on both sides, and Hoflgaces delivered by the English. The Dances in this Agreement laid aside open Holitivities indeed, but could not dis- semble their Thoughts, that they were Matters, and therefore behaved themselves with 'great Inclivity to the English, committed many close Outrages, offered many, brave Publick Men, the Wives and Daughters, not only of the meaner sort, but of the Nobility themselves, with many other intolerable Diforders. These things so ex- asperated the Spirits of the English, that they re- solved upon a full Revenge. One Duke, a great Commander, and valiant Soldier of that time, being feend by the Weakness of the Nation to fight the Savages of such Injuries, and the secret Way of Revenge, by a sudden and univer- sal Masacre of the Dances in all parts of the Land, of the Eistedh approved the Motion, and advanced the dance.
Design by giving his Orders for the Execution of it [On the Feast of St. Brictius, Nov. 13, 1062, this bloody Tragedy was acted] with so much implacable Fury and Cruelty, as evidently fowed the Rancour and invertebrate Anger the English had conceived against them. Neither Temples, nor Altars, Soplications, nor Holy Allain, nor Slaughter, but wherever they found the Danes, they immediately destroyed them. Gunwald, the Sifter of Sweyn King of Denmark, who had threw her self a continual Friend to the English, and by her Mediation procured them a Peace; yet being a Dane, could not escape their Fury, but was the firft of her Husband and Son being a Woman of a Mafculine Courage, met her Death not with Fears, but Threats, telling the Murthers, that her Blood should cost their Nation dear, and that a ferere Revenge should be taken of them for her Death, as it after happened.

The News of this late bloody F pattern was soon carried over to Sweyn King of Denmark, who as he renented it not with more Grief than Fury, so he made the speediest Preparations he could to revenge it, having now a juft occasion to deal with the English with the utmost Kigour and Severity, who had frit thrown him an Example of unmerciful Cruelty. The next Summer therefore (being the proper Season to be attempted) he fets forth for England with a great Navy, entered the Country in the Western Parts, and after a moft barbarous manner ravaged and spoiled it. The English not fo courageous to maintain their Fact, as they had been to commit it, yielded up the Poiflon of their Country to him; change their Defence behind the Wall, and fubmit, than find the Hazard of a Victory. All the Nation became Sweyn's, except the City of London, which being strongly fortified, Ethelred held out against him, and made a noble Resistance; till he left them, and fled fhirt into the Ile of Wight and after into Normandy, whither he had lent Emma his Queen with her two Sons, Edward and Alfred, from the Rage of this Tempoft. But within two Months after, he was again invited home by his own People upon the Death of Sweyn, who just when he was ready to have crowned King of this Ifland, died; leaving his Son Canute to fuccede him in his Fortunes, and accomplish his intended Defigns.

Ethelred being returned home, was soon furredithed with an Army; and fetting upon Canute, lying then at Sandwich by his Father's Ships, and English Hogfages given his Father a little before, forced him to Sea: At which he being engaged, made about to Sandwich, where he firit treated cruelly all fuch of Ethelred's Friends as he could have them from him, and then grievously mangling the Hogfages, he fent them home, himself returning into his own Country with the Spoils which he and his Father had gotten, to make greater Preparations for the prosecution of his purpose the next Year. Ethelred in the mean time did not defift from purfuing the advantage he had in hand, to weaken the Danes Power and Interest, he, in a General Affembly at Oxford, caufed many of the Danes Nobility to be murder'd; among which was Sigefrit and Morcar, Earls of Northumberland, whom the iftle Earl Ethric (who was never backward to be an Actor of Mifchief on either fide) having invited to a Banquet at his Lodgings, caufed there to be kill'd, and their Followers with them, who, having defended themselves and Mather as long as they could, fled into a Church, where they were confu'd in the Flames with the Building.

Canute having strengthened himfelf with all the Canute in the Kingdom he could ride to home, or procure of his Neighbours whom to join with him. In the Year 1062, again in England within the Year, and being at Sandwich, had all the Weft parts surrender'd up to him without refiſtance, who gave him Pledges for their Obedience, and furnish'd him with Horfe and Armour. Ethelred lay very dangerously fick, and not being able to oppofe the fierce Invader himfelf, but hift his Son Edward, to maintain the King, with a good Army againft him. Edmund, a Prince full of Youth and Courage, and every ways fitted to have deliver'd his Country, had his liv'd in better Times, and among faithful People, joyfully march'd againft Canute, to try his fortune; but in the way being inform'd, that Ethric the Sibyl had predict'd of his Father fhould return to the Enemy, (which he foon after did, going over to them with forty Ships) and being deflect'd by Uved, one of his Chief Commanders, he was obliged to retreat to London, the only place which retain'd their Loyalty to their King in his Misfortunes. Hither also Ethelred himfelf, having a little recover'd his Sicknefs, came with the Hall Forces as the ftrongeft to him in his Difpaft, but refufing into his Divifion foon after his arrival, and tired with Troubles, dy'd, having reign'd thirty seven Years, and was bury'd in St. Paul's Church at London, behind the Quire.

Canute, after the Death of Ethelred, whose A.D. long Reigns, that the Unfortunate often 1061, have too long time allotted them, and the Fortu-Edmund's nate too little) was by moft of the Clergy and Nof-Canute, and Nobility chosen King; only the City of London, with the Some of the Nobility there-abouts, elected Edmund, and furnish'd him with fo good an Army, that through the courageous Bravery and Vigour of his Youth, (which is general in fuch men as firft At-tempts) he had much the 3 better in three suc-Edmund's cessive Battles, fought within three Months after, in the Death of Ethelred, was loft the Flower of his Nobility, and bulk of his Soldiers, and among them Ethel the Edmund Earl of Essex, who being a Man of great Herrick Earl of Essex, with him to make a Great Worth and Courage, blood up boldly in defence of his Country in the time of Swain, and upon the Prince, having kept out the Enemy, had not there wanted Union and Loyalty among them.

From this Battel Edmund made his escape to This Battel Edmund made his escape to Gloucester, to gather new Forces; and was not the but was by the late Victory fell into the Enemy by fudden Death, and with it gained that fmal Victory, which prov'd the Conquefl of England: For here Edmund loft the Flower of his Nobility, and bulk of his Soldiers, and among them Ethel the Edmund Earl of Essex, who being a Man of great Herrick Earl of Essex, with him to make a Great Worth and Courage, blood up boldly in defence of his Country in the time of Swain, and upon the Prince, having kept out the Enemy, had not there wanted Union and Loyalty among them.

But, a Little Town near Widen in Essex, where remain certain Halls call'd up in Memory of this Victory; and where Canute after built a Church, as a grateful Acknowledgment of God's Gift of the Kingdom to him.
Battle, a Motion of Peace was made; or, in cafe that could not be accepted, a single Combat be-
tween the two Kings, to settle Expeience of Blood;
for tw'o most touch'd, that they who were to wear
the Honour should decide the Quarrel, which was
not likely to be ended, but with the utter extin-
cuation of one of the Nations. A single Combat
was contented to by both Kings; and in an Ile,
surrounded by the Seven (now call'd Abyei) in
the fight of the Armies, did they fight for the
Kingdom. Edmund's Combat was long and equal, but
Edmund had the advantage both in Strength and
Fortune, for he gave Canute a dangerous Wound,
and much over-power'd him, which the Dane
craftily concealing, made a proposition of Peace,
and won Edmund to throw down his Arms, and
come to this agreement, That they would live
in Pardon, to give him eighteen years with the other,
and enjoy an 'equal Divisition of the Kingdom:
To confirm which Agreement, they not only
mutually swore, but chang'd Cloaths and Arms,
to shew the Unity of their Minds; as tho' Ed-
mund were now become Canute, and Canute
Edmund. A fatal and Ignominious Exchange for
the North to the South; that a Prince of a Prince
made himself half a King by this Act, but ex-
pected himself to that Treachery of his Enemies,
which he need not have fear'd from their strong-
eff Armies. For in a few Days after this League,
he was treacherously slain at Oxford, some fay
by Duke Ethelric, others by his Son, an Evil Egg
of a Prince, that he had married to the King of
Burgundy; for which, and that the King had, with
his own hands, confir'd this Treaty, and was
translated to Canute; who, tho' he liked not Trea-
for, nor approved of the Act of the Traitor, yet
embraced willingly the Purchafe of both. He
regain'd f scarce one whole Year, and left two Sons,
Edward and Edmund, and one Daughter, Marga-
r, marry'd to Meloba King of Sons.

Canutes part Edie to Death.

Canute was a Son of Swain King of Denmark,
thereby gotten the abfolute Dominion of this
Kingdom, govern'd it with greater Justice
than he had obtain'd it, putting off his natural
Roughnefs, and conforming to a more civil and
smooth Conversation. And that the Nation might
be fensible, that he repof'd, now he was King of
it, to fire the Way, he in this Time set out his
Arms away his Navy, and difmiffed his hired Soldiers
to their own home, and call'd himfelf wholly upon
his People; believing, that his Kindnefs to his
People would be a furer way for his Establishment,
than the ufe of Force; which fo pleased the
Nobles, then attennbled at London, that they
conform'd, to give him eighteenth of a Man, Pounds in Sliver to pay them off, and difcharge
them.

At his firft Accession to the Crown, his Care
was to rid himfelf as well of his Falfe Friends, as
of his avowed Enemies. Ethric, who first came
to a fortune by Monarch of England (as if he
told himself, to find, he would be "beheaded, and his Head to be set upon
the highest Pinnacle in the Tower of London;
therein making good the Promife he gave him,
when he brought Edmund's Head, Thole to
would advance his Head above all the Princes of
the Kingdom. This just Punishment of Trench gave
a wonderful Satisfaction to all the Nation, which
rejoiced to fee his Perfidiousness so well rewarded.
After the fame manner he, not long after, dealt
with the two Earls, Turkill and Ericks, who be-
ing by him banish'd the Nation, and fent into
Edinburg, he caufed to be Executed upon their
arrival there.

But the Love of his People, and the good Opin-
ion of Juftice, which he had gotten by the fore-
er Actions, were again foon after loft by his
Cruelty to the Royal Branches, Edmund and Ed-
ward the Sons, and Ethric the Brother of King
Edmund, who, in his Opinion being his Pedigree
pediments to his Dignity, that his Crown could
never fit falf, fo long as they were alive, he fent
to his Brother in Denmark to be murth'd: By
which Privacy, tho' he thought he had escaped
the Inferno of f o few a Fact at home, yet Suf-
picion alone foon rafed him a general Oduum
through the whole Nation: Butfionly to find them
with kinder ufage, than they could have hoped for
at home, under Canute's jalous Eye; for their
tender and innocent Years moved their intended Execution to fuch Compassion, that he
not only ipar'd them himfelf, but convey'd them
out of danger, by fending them to Solomon King
of Huntingdon, in the Country of Chelf, where
afterwards Ethric, who ferviv'd his Brother, was
marry'd to Agatha, the Sister of that Queen, and
Daughter to the Emperor Henry II. by whom he
had two Sons, Edmund and Edgar, and as many
Daughters, Margafr and Chrifti.an. Alfred and
Edward, the Sons of King Ethric by Emma, were
preferred by Richard Duke of Normandy, their
Uncle, and f were out of his reach.

Canute being thus rid of his Fears, tho' he
was fensible, with a little damage to his Reputa-
tion, fet himfelf to recover his Honour again, by
becoming a moft eminent Benefactor to the Pub-
lk, and to that end employ'd all his Thoughts
and Revenues to recover the Darnages, which the
Nation had fuffer'd, by the iniquitous and wanting
Ufages and Laws. He creaf'd feveral Churches and
Monaftries, and by his Patents endow'd them
with plentiful Eftates and Provisions, effeentially
in or near those places, where he had obtajnd
of pious Victories; that at once he might tesri-
fy his Devotion and Thankfulness to God. He
made not only finial his own Expences, but the pro-
ceeds, which he publish'd in the Language of that time: They
are very full of pious Admonitions; which teffece
not only the Piety as well as Justice of the King
himfelf, but also that the best way in his opinion
to have Laws observed, was to have their first
approved in their Conferences. Among other
things, he took care, that his Laws, and the Crime, for all
the times, might be confirmed; that they be to the
Noble Life, cur...

1 Edmund had for his part Kent, the Kingdoms of Welf-Saxons, East-Saxons, and East-Angles; and Canute had Mercia and Northumbria.
2 He was hald in the Belly by Earl Ethelric's Son, as he was eating his Body at Oxford. Vide Hift. Wis.
3 At the Perilution of Queen Emma, the Widow of Ethelric, marry'd to Canute.
4 Others fay, he was murther'd, and call out of a Window into the Thames.
5 He was brought to Canterbury Court awing him fuch Favours, as be a Man of a Morofc Temper, for
which he was call'd the King of Churches, he was never low'd in the Court, and therefore come with death among his pro-
ferred Enemies and falve Friends, but by what Infinuatt, we have only Confideration to inform us.
6 He, by the advice of Emma his Queen, repair'd the old Monaftry at Wifhacrefe, and adow'd it with fuch Gold, and
Silver, and Jewels, that it was admire'd for the Riches of it. Particularly he is faid to have given a Crofs worth a Year's
7 He, by the advice of Emma his Queen, repair'd the old Monaftry at Wifhacrefe, and adow'd it with fuch Gold, and
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Silver, and Jewels, that it was admire'd for the Riches of it. Particularly he is faid to have given a Crofs worth a Year's
10 He, by the advice of Emma his Queen, repair'd the old Monaftry at Wifhacrefe, and adow'd it with fuch Gold, and
Silver, and Jewels, that it was admire'd for the Riches of it. Particularly he is faid to have given a Cross worth a Year's
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influence upon good Manners. Jut he was in the highest degree, but not Cruel, few of his Laws being Sanguinary, according to the Custom of those Times, which, though rough and warlike, yet had a way of preferring good Order in his Kingdom; and the Laws were not suffered to all His Subjects, without any regard to his advantage or profits, for he would lay no means have his Revenue enlarged by the Injuries of others. He also freely charges them, that the Duces which are owing either to the Church at home, or the See of Rome, be all paid, and discharged before his Return.

Thus did the Great Prince, the mighty and most absolute Monarch that ever yet had sat on the English Throne, the Original of a new Line of Kings, and of a new Government, strive to lay a good Foundation of a lasting Succession in their Kingdoms, and by his good Deeds bring the Divine Favour upon his Polity. And who would have thought that he might have been a Root of as long a Dectent, as afterward the Norman was, having as numerous a Male-line, being better belov'd, of greater Power and Virtues than he? But it was not in his Fate. He left several Sons, viz. Swain, Harold, Hardicanute; of which, the two entered the English Succession, yet they enjoy'd it but a little space.

Harold the Great, and his Brother Swain, was the Son of Earl Godwin, in the Benedicted Order of Normandy, and by his excellent Qualities, and great Ability, and to the Memory of the late King Edmund his Confederate, but feverely punish'd all those that had any share in murmuring him.

Then he marry'd the Wife of King Ethelred, Emma, (the) his Bed was no great Honour to her, who had left her former Husband by his Hands) by whose means he secured himself from any attempts of the Duke of Normandy for his Nephews, in regard that she might have slain him, by whom, with contract of Marriage were to succeed.

Scarce was this Monarch well establish'd in his Kingdom over the English, but another offer'd it fell. The People of Norway concerning the weakness of him, and that he was in a great Measure, broke out into Factions, and revolted. Canute fallout upon this opportunity, and partly by his great Strength, which he carry'd out of England, and partly by his Money and great Reputaion, he so much prevail'd with the People as to choose him their King. And so he became the most powerful Prince, in all the Parts of the World, being entitled, King of England, Denmark and Norway. With his Power he enlarged his Magnificence, especially towards the Church, which he fought all Means to advance, either to appease his own Confidence, or ingratiate himself with his People; which at that time, being as much on foot, was not in any place fcelled, with such Acts of Devotion. And having enrich'd his Kingdom with many Acts of his pious Bounty, he undertakes a Journey to Rome to visit the Sepulchres of St. Peter and St. Paul: All along the Way, he did...
unnatural Revenge, in causing the Body of King Harold to be taken out of its Tomb, and having severed the Head from it, to be cast into the River Thames: Then he made a strict Enquiry after those who had been instrumental in the Death of Alfred, his Brother, and Mother, Earl Godwin, and Legisitus Bishop of Worcester, were accused of it. [Aelfricus Arch-bishop of Canterbury] The Bishop was deprived of his See, but the Earl by a rich Precant of a Ship of Gold, made his Protections of Innocency to be easily credited by the King and the Nobility, among whom he had great Interest. The Bishop and Earl, being both deprived of the Strews of the Kingdom, by a Sum sent to his Bishoprick, and so that bloody Act was wholly imputed to the late King.

Not long after this, by the Injuration of Earl Godwin, he imposed a general Greviourance on the whole Kingdom by a prodigal Gift, which he bestowed on his Fleet of Domes; ordering every Man to send them eight Bows, and eight Arrows, with the good Service of the Captains, ten, which he raised upon the State, a Tax so heavy in those Days, that it caused a Tumult at Worcester, wherein the Collectors were killed. Thus by his Vices and ill Actions, he was a Burthen to his Nation, and only an Eafe by his short Reign; for he died in the second Year of his Reign, where he was taking a third Marriage. He was thought to have been poison’d. With him ended the Government of the Domes in England (having continued twenty fix Years only under the three last Kings) and so the Power, which no Force could withstand in England, expired of its felf, and the Nation was left to chafe a King of their own, without Competition. There being one Son of Efcelred remaining alive, viz.

Edward the Confessor, the Son of Ethelred, was by Emma his Queen, who by the provident Care of his Mother, was sent into Normandy to secure him from the Danish Force, was immediately sent for upon the Death of Hardecanute: And before he could arrive by the good will of the Nation, was crowned at Winchester by EdwardArch-bishop of Canterbury, An. 1042. being then about forty Years of Age. Godwin, Earl of Kent, was a Principal Agent in this Prelament: But for his own ends. The Kingdom (having dearly paid for the Admiration of Strangers) made and kept up a Force which could not withstand the Normans who came with him. The first publike Act he did was, That he remitted the heavy Tribute called Danegeld, imposed by his Father, which amounted to 4000l. a Year, and had been paid for forty Years past. He caufed a Body of the best, and most wholesome Laws, to be collected out of those of the Mercians, Weft-Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, and to be written in Latin. He was indeed a Man very exemplary for his Piety, but fit for no time, but tho’ peaceable and quiet Times he lived in: For having been educated with the Nuns of Tynage in Normandy, he scarce knew himself to be a Man, when he came into England, much less a King. And of this, some give us a notable Instance, That being very amary with a Country Fellow for disturbing his Game when he was a hunting; he said, I would punish thee were I able. And as if he had vowed Continuancy with the Nuns, with whom he was bred, he was so far from knowing other Women, that tho’ he married many, he had a formal Shew of Marriage with his Wife, yet after his Death the protecteth her self a Virgin.

The Fainesness and Simplicity of the King was Godwin’s which made a means of raising himself and Family to the highest pitch of Greatness by Earl Godwinus, Father to the King, who first intimating, that he was the chief Man that raised up the King, and obtained for him a Son, his Daughter should be accepted in Marriage by the King, by which the whole Nation in a manner came to be governed by the Earl. Symward, Earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, Earl of Hereford, Men of Spirit and Greatness, took notice of his aspiring Ambition, and fearing him so much for himself, stood up for the more for the King. This Emulation proved advantageous to the Crown. The sons to the late Godwin sought to gain himself by the Conquest of Wales for the King, which his Son Harold, Earl of the West-Saxons, effected, by vanquishing the two Wessex Kings, Ris and Orfwith, who were deprived of the Kingdom of Wessex by Robert, a Norman, much in Favour with the King, and was also Godwin’s Enemy: So that not only he miffed of his present Design, but tho’ the Sagan- ciousnes of his Enemies, his future Aims were discovered, which they made manifest to the King upon this Occasion.

Edward the Confessor, who had married a Daughter to the King, and in his return again to France, his Harbinger, who was sent before to provide for him and his Retinue Lodgings at Dover, behavimg himself rude and inhumanly to a Citizen, was flain by him. The Earl after arriving with his Company, pursues the Perfon and slues him, with righteous Ire. The Conclution to this Alarm at this piece of Revenge, took Arms, and flew two of the Earl’s Servants: At this, the Earl hafens to the King, complaines of the Citizens Rudenes, and so aggravates the Matter, that Earl Godwin was immediately commanded with a sufficient Force to go down to Dover, and challenge them for his Earlship; but before he came, the King sent this Sentence proceeded from the Information of one fide only, advised the King first to send for some of the Chief of the Citizens to answer the Charge, and according to their Defence, to proceed. This withfome Confult was interpreted by his Enemies, as if the Earlfavoured the King’s Enemies, and designed to make himself popular. And they so far pollic’d the King of it, that he began then to have a Suficion of his Affection to him, and at length looked upon him as aiming at his Crown; wherefore not long after, the Earl was summoned to a Parliament at Gloucester; Godwin but neither he, nor any of his Sons would appear to pers. But inflicting, that his Enemies had long agents at all Deplais against him, he raised some Forces, Gloucester.

* One Torbbon and Feeder.

Edward the Son of Ethelred, crowned King of England.

A.D. 1042.
under a Pretence of suppreffing the Welsh, who at that time made no Disturbance. Whereupon the Parliament removed to London, and there fummed up their Charges again to appear before his Forces to come to them, with twelve Men only, he returned them this Answer, That he should be content to disjus his Forces, do any thing the King would command him, provided it were with Safety of his Life and Honour, but to attend upon them without a sufficient Guard, he was satisfied neither for nor for. The Parliament having received this Answer, knew no other way to rid themselves of him, but to command him to depart the Realm within five Days, which he did, and with his Sons Swart, Tofts, and Gifford, failed into Flau-
ders, where Tafjo married the Daughter of Earl Baldwin V. Harold his eldest Son fled into Ireland. The King then went to London, and at his return, that the might share in the Defgrace of her Family, and Miffor-
tunes of her Kindred; tho' according to the De-
scription which is given by the Writers of those Times of her, she was most underlaving of that Punishment: For they say, she was a Lady of great Worth and rare Parts, very learned and (as Sir John Sevenoaks, and Sir John Malby, were of Opinion,) Earl Godwine, in his Exile (while the Normans and his Enemies had the King's Favour) fell to Piracy, disturbed and plundered the Coasts, and ventured up to London by the River : Where being fo po-
pular, that no Forces would oppose him, he was admitted to fuch a Peace as he would make; was received into his Favour, as if not directly the End would tend to the Ruine of the French and his other Enemies, they thought it their bleft Courte to forfike the Court and Kingdom, but carried with them fuch a True Notion of the King-
dom's Weaknes, thro' the Diffractions of the People, and Factions of great Men, as a little af-
ter gave them Encouragement to attempt the Conquering of it.

Earl God-

win being again reforted to his Coun-

try, and in great Credit with the King, made use of his Intereft and Authority to gratifie his own revengeful Temper, and injure others. Roberts, Robert, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and his Normans, he caufed to be banih'd, and did make the Aels of In-
humanity of the Normans, which did fo plainly declare peaceable Times, and difaftrify the People to the King, that they accounted him among the worft of Governors, who tho' he did no ill himself, yet fuffer'd his Authority to be abused by them that did. The Queen Emma had her Share of Trouble in this Reign, fuffering much both in her Estate and mod Name, thro' Godwine's Hatred to her. Her grand Accufation was, that she had kept Company too familiarly with Atwynne, Bishop of Winchefter, and by her Scandalouf Be-

haviour disgraced the Royal Line, for which she was deprived of her Riches and Eftate, and imprifed. The Queen, to vindicate her Inno-
centness, was ordered to undertake the Tryal of * Fire-Ordeal (which was to pafs blin-
dfold with her bare Feet over nine Flow-flares, made red hot, and laid at even distance one by another) which the fafely performed, and by it recovered her Fame and Honour with the King and Nobles of the Land, who were all Spectators of this miraculous Act: But Earl Godwine's Death put an end to further Troubles by his Means.

Edward having now reigned near twenty Years, and being pretty well advanced in Age, and be-
ing without Issue, began to think upon his Suc-
cellion, and to secure that in his own Line, that for his Nephew, Edward called the Out-law, out

Hr

Earl God win's Re-

vengu upon the Nor-
mans.

ual, and he had by his Wife Agathae, Daughter to the Emperor Henry II. who being very young and bred a Stranger, who are really no

just Bar to Right, was neglected at the Death of his Uncle, the pious King Edward, which happen-
ed A.D. 1066, when he had reigned twelve Years. His Body was interred in the Church of Welfmington, which he had newly founded, and his Throne diapofed out of his Line to Harold.

Harold, the Son of Earl Godwin, the next A. D.

1066.

as a Child, was educated at the Court of the Danish King, whether by (which) any Title he derived from the Danes, or from his Mother, (who was the Sister of Swart, Earl Godwin of Denmark) or by more Election of the Nobil-
ity, it is not easy to determine: But it seems, that the Circumstances of the Times were fuch, as necelfarily required, that the Scepter should be put into the Hands of a Person as was able to undergo the Burthen of War, and the other great Troubles the Nation was likely to fall into, thro' the * various Claims, then put in both by the Dane and Norman for the English Crown; and none could be fitter for it in fuch a Juncture than Harold, who was judged on all hands the moft eminent Man of the Kingdom, both for his Defty and great Alliance with that Kingdom, both by his own Pedigree and his Wife, who was Aligrith, the Sister of Edwin and

and

Marcher, the Earls of Yorkfide and Chester. Nei-

ther did he deceive the Expectations of the Na-

tion in eieuting him; for he took the best Me-

thods to govern the Kingdom well, and made fuch Provision for the Safety of his Subjects, and the moft active and polifh Prince could do; And had he had but a favourable Fortune, and faithful and courageous Subjects to fecd his brave Actions, the Attempts of the Enemies of the Kingdom had been in vain; but the approach-

Danger fo terrified the Nation, that the Ter-

rour robbed them at once of their Courage and Diligence.

The fift that gave his Reign any Disurbance was Harold's his own Brother Tofto, who in the time of King Conquell of Edward, being entrusted with the Government of Northumberland, behaved himfelf with fuch Excellence and Courage to the People, who was ba-
rified to the Kingdom by the Young King of Normandy, when his Brother obain'd the Crown of England with William Duke of that Country, whole Wife's

* It is faid, that Edward as soon as he came to the Throne, deprived Emma of all her Eftates; only ordering her a necefly Maffacren, for her Cruelty to him in his Adverfities, in denying him what he asked of her.
* The Sentence in fuch Cases was, That the Perfon guilty was to walk with the whole Weight of her Body and bare Feet upon the nine Flow-flares red hot, and if she were not burnt she was judged innocent; if she were, the furer farther Pun-

ishment. And this is as the Sentence pronounced on the Queen, and Tryal they were through, though this Historian seems to understand it otherwife.
* It is faid, That Earl Godwine's Death was thus: Being at a Banqee with the King, he was fuddenly by fome Reflection the King made on him, that he thought him guilty of the Death of his Brother Alfred; and to clear himself of it, he willing that the next World might chaff him if he was any Cape of it. The King, we are told, had fuch the World, and he owing was clofked.
* This makes the Story, that Edward gave the Crown to William Duke of Normandy, very improbable.
* Of William Duke of Normandy, who claimed by Earcl's Will, and Harold Harfeger King of Norway, who claimed it by defcent from Canute the Dane.
Suffer he had marry’d, he was easily instigated through Hatred to his Brother to invade England; and being furnished with a Fleet and Men, he first assaulted the Isle of Wight; and then fell upon the Coasts of Kent, where he plunder’d some of the King’s Ships, but was soon driven off by the King’s Navy: Whereupon he withdrew from thence into the North parts, and attempting to land, was so warmly received by Morcar and Edwin, the Earls of Yorkshire and Chefler, that they forced him to fly, tho’ with loss to themselves.

Tyfle, faying all his encomprehensions in vain, and being unking to retain his Norman army, and therefore, but ill News, repairs to the King of Scots, to beg his Assistance, but received a Denial; by which he was reduced almost to Defpair. In his return he met with Harold, fammned Harfager, King of Norway, who having conquer’d the Edgefade, was coming with three hundred Ships to invade England, in the name of Alfred, and therefore, and the Attempt. They landed at Tynemouth, and breaking through the faint Opposition they met with in those parts, which were unprovided to encounter an Enemy, march’d into the heart of the Country without any loss.* Near Stamford, Harold met them with a strong Army, and after a long and bloody Battel obtained a remark-able Victory; slaying, besides the two Captains, Harfager and Tyfle, the greatest part and wor-thieth Men of their Army.

William, Duke of Normandy, not discourag’d by the Misfortune of Tyfle, was resolved not to give over his Claim of the Crown of England, which he pretend was given him by the late King, and therefore, notwithstanding this ill success, provoked a great Navy, and strong Army, to make a second At-tempt. They landed at Penfley, not far from Har-foles, in Suffolk. Harold remained yet in the North; but upon the News of William’s arrival, hasted with all the Forces he had into the South. At London, he met Tyfle Morcar, and Edwin, who came to demand his Kingdom. Harold could scarcely hear the Meifage with patience; but checking his Passion, he charg’d him to depart out of his Country: And immediately mustering his Army near London, he march’d against the In-vader. About seven Miles from Harfoles was the Controversy. Harold obtained his Victory and his Competitor; William Duke of Normandy, upon whom, tho’ Fortune caft the Victory, yet never Battel was more bravely fought on the part of the English, who, rather than fall under the Slavery of the Normans, dy’d 6974 upon the Spot, few or none escaping. Strange it is indeed, that in great a Kingdom, as England was at that time, shou’d at one Blow, by so small a Nation as the Normans were, be quite fubdue’d, fo that it could never make any confiderable Resistance against the Conqueror. But the Caufes and Reasons are Centres of very apparent to any that confider the Circum, the Nor-mances of Things, and Nature of the People: Forman Civiliz’d, before the Divisives that were among the Nobil-ity at that very inftant, when Danger was fo near them, that nothing but the clofeft Union could save them, the People of the Nation in ge-neral, by living long secure from any Enemy in peaceable Times, were grown unexperienced and negligent in Arms, and generally render’d weak and effeminate by Luxury and Idlenes; the Clergy grown Licentious and Iliterate; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Whoredom and Opprobrium the Common People. And this faid, that in the late Action of Harold at Stenfard, he left his braveft Men, and the reft were difcontented, because Harold retained the Spoil to himself: So that he came to this Battel with many raw undisciplin’d Soldiers, and a difcontented Army, which was an uncommon Occafion of the day. Besides, the Normans had a peculiar way of Battling with long Bows, with which the English being wholly unacquainted, were chiefly overthrown. And yet their own Writers report, how that the main Body of the English Army (confifting of Bills, their chief and ancient Weapon) held clofe together in one Body, that no Force could divide them, till the Normans (making a horfe of Flight) drew them into Diſorder, and fo got the Day.

The Body of Harold being obtain’d of the Con-Harold quor, by the Requeft of his Mother, who fent flain, and his Brother, two Monks of Walftham-Abbey to beg it of him; was after much fearch found among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and bury’d in the fame Abbey which he had built. He was a very capacious and Prince; his Reign was full of Miferies and Trou-bles; he Ruled but little, but loft all. He left four Sons, Godwin, Edmund, Magnus, and Waife. The two Eldef fled fled away after this Battel into Ireland, and from thence made fome Attempts upon the Western Coasts of England, but to little purpose. Till the King ended the Saxons Line, after it had been in England five hundred Years, from the firt coming of Henfiffi, and his Settlement here. And from the Commencement of the Norman Race do I intend to begin my History.

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* Harold Harfager claim’d the Crown of England in his Right by Canopus. He is faid to have been flain by Harold’s own hand.

* Harold’s Army being so fath over a Bridge, to encounter his Enemies, one Norman kept the Bridge a confiderable while against his whole Army, and lew forty Men before they could get free passage over it.

* That it was but a meer Pretence, appears from the most serious words which he fpake upon his Death- Bed, concerning his Right to the English Crown: "Twas not an ordinary Right that put me to Poffefion of this Homeland, but by a defpotic En-gagement, and much Bloodshed, I wrested it from the Perfidous King, Harold; and having flain, or put to flight all his Subjects, made my felf Master of it.

* In fome, it was the Cabin of the English in their Wars to give the moft confiderable and valuable part of their Booty to their Captains, and leave the rest to their Soldiers; which Harold, through Covetousnefs, or perhaps Necessity, at that time feizing upon, gave a Diffcmm to his Soldiers, when he had moft of it to fale.

* They are laid to be Oifad and Albrecht.

* She offered him his weight in Gold for the Body, which Duke William refud’d.
By the Conquest of England by William Duke of Normandy, there was so great a Change made of the ancient Laws, Language, Writing, Forms and Manners of the English, that there cannot be a fitter Period of History, than to begin with his Entrance upon the Government: For with a new Race of Kings, England put on a new Face of Affairs, and was so much changed, as it had been metamorphos'd into another Kingdom. It grew more victorious abroad, and refin'd at home. The Danes indeed united it under one Form of Government, and made it the most terrible of all the Kingdoms of the North: For whereas before, for five Hundred Years, it was bufted at home in civil Wars and Factions. Conquists, by his Mildness, brought it to fruition. He brought them their victorious Arms abroad, brought the Kingdom of Norway into Subjection to him: But the Normans coming upon the South with their Command. Nor did they left improve things at home; for they brought in greater Civil and Military Laws, and provided neat and good Furniture, and to erect Castles and Towers after the Norman Fashion. They did not loiter in common, as they did before, but they inculcated Parks for their private Pleasures: And in fine, they took up all the Norman Fashions and Habits, and there was a greater Mixture of many Nations, than ever before, yet they so eagerly complied with the Norman way of living, either to Fear or Nobility, that they immediately seemed but One. The Saxon Language in the general still remained, but was soon mixed so much with the French (All the Terms of Building, Hunting, Handicrafts, Clothing, and War, with the Names of all such Instruments and Weapons, as were used in them, being wholly in that Language, and the Character of the Letters altered to the Roman and French) that the Tongue seem'd quite changed, and exactly conform'd to the new Scheme of things, and is now wholly to be known. But that we may know both the Man and the Nation which subdued us, I will look back a little upon the Original of both, and give you this Account of them.

The Normans were a People which came out of Normandy and Denmark, and confequently of the same Manners and Customs, with those of the Countries: Which thro' their promitious Ufe of Vercy, without any ties of lawful Marriage, produced such great Abundance of People, that they were forced frequently to arm great Numbers of them to seek themselves such Habitations as they could by War and Violence obtain. Such a Colony was sent out in the time of King Alfred, under the Command of one Rollo, or Roul, a great Captain among them. These Adventurers having left their own Country, first landed in England (which always lay open to Invaders) and hoped to have found good Entertainment there: But contrary to their Expectation, meeting with fierce Opposition, they were able to gain Place of Settlement, he nailed along the Coast of France, and entering the Mouth of the River Seine, ravaged the Country up as high as Rouen, where the People having not long before been miserably afflicted by Hasting, or Hading (another of their Dafo Invaders) were extremely affrighted at the Approach of a new Army: Insomuch, that the Arch-bishop of Rouen, by the Inigitation of the People, offered him the Obsequy of that City, and the adjoining Country thereof, upon condition that he would defend them, and administer Justice according to the Laws of Christ, and Customs of the Country: For Charles the Simple, who was then King of France, not being able to protect them against this Invasion, because his Forces were employed

* Yet our Historians say, That some Norchies in Religion came into the English Church by this Conquest; for the English before, had the Scriptures read in their Churches in a known Tongue, preceded the Original Hebrew before the Latin Version, had no Prayers for the dead, or for the Pardon of Sin, or the Reconciliation of the Sins of such as were thought to be in Purgatory, which they believed not; worshipp'd not Saints, tho' they had an honourable Memory of them; had the Communion in both Kinds, the contrary to which had been cri'd by the Norman Conquest.

* North-men, being the Flower of the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, Northern Nation. These People infalibled the Coasts of England, France, Ireland, and Hilland, with Pirates so much in the Times of Charles the Great, that it was made a Petition in the Publick Letters to deliver them from the Normans. From the Rage of the Normans, God Lend, deliver us.

Vol. I. O 2 against
against the Enemies of his Crown, was obliged to
suffer them to settle in that Place, and in a short time, he grew so powerful, that he at
tempted the Conquest of Paris itself, and notably
foiled the French Captains in several Skirmishes.
So that Charles was forced to conclude an Agree-
ment with him, and yield up the whole Country of
Normandy to him, which from the Normans was
called Normandy. Rollo being thus gotten into
the peacable Possession of a Duchy for himself,
and a convenient Habitation for his Norm-
nans, began to establish Laws, and form a new
Government, that he made his Name ever after in great Honour and Reverence among
his People, and laid a Foundation of a firm Suc-
cedion for his Posterity. Not long after he had
thus set things in order, he was converted to
Christianity, and being baptized, received the
Name of Robert from his God-father Robert, Bro-
ther of Edouard, late Duke of France.

The Norm-
man Dukes
in their
Conquest.

my

\[\text{William made Duke of Normandy.}\]

William, on the departure of his younger
Brother Richaud, Richard, and the
younger Duke of Normandy, fell into great
Factions and Quarrels; which while the chief
Officers thought to allay by his Presence (having obtain'd him by much
enticing from the King of France) they increa-
sed. For they then found, that Robert had
there followed the murdering and poisoning of
their Governors, Intrusions into Offices, Fup-
planting and forspizing his Perfon, by the No-
bility, who were proud and haughty, not able
to endure the Precedency and Greatnes of another.
But those Troubles about his Perfon, were far
terrible lefs than several others, which he was forced to
encounter in the Defence of his Right to the Suc-
cedion, which being flawed with his illegiti-
mate Blood and Birth, render'd him obnoxious to
deny Norm-
adays Counts which better Claims might com-
mand. And of these, the first that appeared against
his Father, and the greater, was that lefs
of great Worth and much Experience in Military
Affairs, having been a Captain in the Wars
against the Saracens in Spain: He brought a fair
Pedigree from Rollo, to justify his Claim to the
Dutchy, and by featling the Nobility of the Nor-
mans, got a great Interest among them. Here-
upon he began to urge it to them. That the Conde
and twenty Years, William the first Richard 1. Richard II. who had two Sons Richard and Robert, who ruled suc-
cessively.

Robert, the last of them, having ruled eight
Years, either out of Devotion, or to expiate some
secret Sin, which lay heavy upon his
Confidence, took up a sudden Resolution to visit the
Holy Land, and that he might set all things in
order for his Departure, assembled all his No-
bility to acquaint them with it. They dissuaded
him much from it, not only because he had no
Children; but because Alain, Earl of Britains, and
the Earl of Burgundy, were already in Contest
about the Succeffion to his Duchy, and upon his
Death the Departure, their Country was like
to become a Seat of War, and a Prey to Ambi-
tion, which they thought he was bound in Con-
science by all means he could to prevent. The
Duke not at all removed from his Intention, de-
ferred them to rett contented; telling them, 'That
he had a Son, which the Law (by his (lawyers)
Motions) he did not doubt but he was his own
Child, and that he would invest him in his
Dutchy, as his Heir before he left them; and
'defined, that they would acknowledge him
fith, and subtitute to him as their Prince. The
Earl of Britains, (faith he) notwithstanding his
Competition for my Throne, yet I am my
Confidence in him, I will make him my Go-
vernour, and President of Normandy, and
the King of France his Guardian; and so I will
leave him to God and your Loyalty. Soon after
the Bishops and Barons did their Homage to the
young Prince, named William, who was the
sixth Duke of Normandy after Rollo, before he
was gotten from his Father, a Dutch, Dukes or
beautiful Virgen, but of mean Degree, in the City of Falaise.
After this, the Duke delivering the Child to Hen-
ry the Feir, King of France, with his own hand,
and causing him to do Homage for his
Dutchy, committed him to his Royal Faith, and
entered upon his intended Journey; and as he was no
m more as soon as he lived, he died.
William, his Son and Successor, being thus left at
nine Years old, became subject to all the Alli-
cations and Calamities of Minors, the Nobles of
Normandy feized upon great Factions and Quarrels;
which while the chief Officers thought to allay
by his Presence (having obtain'd him by much
enticing from the King of France) they increa-
sed. For they then found, that Robert had
there followed the murdering and poisoning of
their Governors, Intrusions into Offices, Fup-
planting and forspizing his Perfon, by the No-
bility, who were proud and haughty, not able
to endure the Precedency and Greatnes of another.
But those Troubles about his Perfon, were far
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in, which they told him was by right his, and usurped by the Baffard. These Administrations kindled the young Man’s Ambition, which to gratify he had a now lucky Opportunity, for having lately composed a Quarrel between two of the greatest Lords of Normandy, Viscount Noel and the Earl of Boffo, with much Prudence and Caution he had gained the Love and Friendship of both Parties, with some Difficulties to Duke William, who seemed to disdain them by not taking Notice of it. Thence he easily brought to join with him in a Conspiracy to murther the Duke suddenly, and by Surprize; which probably they had done, had they not been discovered by a Fool, who not being excluded their Confabulations, because he was thought not to have Wit enough to take Notice of it, went at Midnight to discover the Plot to Duke William; who observing the Fright the Fool was in, and considering what Prudence it was to avoid Dangers in the last Suspicions, immediately took Horie and fled to Englad, unknown to the French, tho’ they were a little disappointed, pursu'd him; and the they could not overtake him, yet they raf’d to strong a Faction of all Sorts of People, that he was forced to leave his Dominions, and fly to the King of France to beg his Aid and Assistance against them. His Request was not denied him, but he was forced to leave his young Greatness; but the Duke putting him in mind of the faithful Services his Father had done him; that he himfelf was his Homage, and held his Crown under him, and could fly to none so properly as him for help against his monstrous Nobility; That this Rebellion, if no Stop was made of it, would be of dangerous Consequence to his own Kingdom, with many other Arguments to shew the Importance and Necessity of a Relief, fo prevailed with the King, that he was contented to go in Perfon with a powerful Army against the Conspirators, whom they found in the Valley of Doner, ready to encounter them; and there began a Battel with equal Fortitude on both Sides. In this Fright our Quilfen, Uncle to Viscount Noel by his Mother, forced his Horie into the Battallion of French, and fluck the King from his Horie with his Lance; and the himfelf was dismounted by Count St. Paul, and his Horie flain by Caftillon, who came to rescue the King from the Danger he was in. Duke William, finding the King safe, and fled into Apulia, with divers others. The King being incendiary with this Blow, spared not to avenge himself on his Enemies, and Duke William was not inferior to him in any daring Attempt. The Victory was a long time waver’d; till Reiff de Teffon, to gain the Duke’s Favour, over-ruled the Cuntry-men, and they were conquer’d. Divers of them, whose Hearts were too great to yield, fled over the Mountains into Italy to Robert Guiscard, their Country-man, who of a private Gentleman, became Supreme Lord of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and had he lived, was in a fair way to have been Emperor of Constantinople, but dying left his Dominions in Italy to Roger his second Son, Beaumont his eldest being then engaged in the Holy Wars, where he became Prince of Antioch. To this Guiscard these rebellious Normans were very well received, and none more than Guildef, for the late desperate Attempt he made upon the French King, being an Ambush, for which the Ambushers were taking up Arms in his Army by entertaining them, so he was most plea-

* Abot, Duke William’s Mother, married one Bertain, a Norman Gentleman, with Duke Robert’s Consent; and had two other Sons by him, whom Duke William owned, and preferred as his Brothers. *
The Life and Reign of William the First.

...then by his Mother. These Affairs from abroad, the ©Sours and Conspiracies at home, had led through before he was two and twenty Years of Age: and thus his Enemies made him, whom they sought to undo. And now, having differed all outward and visible signs of Enmity both at home and abroad, he dare not promise him Safety, but to secure himself, and strengthen his Kingdom against all ill Practices for the future, he summons a Parliament of Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, and caused them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, and raze their Castles; which he had done, he marry'd Matilda, Daughter of Baldwin V. Earl of Flanders, yet by some enuffing trouble. For he, Uncle Mungo, Archbishop of Rouen, excommunicated him for marrying within the degrees of Confanguinity, which were forbidden by the Church, Matilda being the Daughter of Eleonora, his Father's Sister: To expiate for which Offence, by a Diligentation from Pope Victor, he was enjoyed to be blessed in a Hospital for blind People, one for Men, and the other for Women; which he did at Caen in Normandy.

The successe which William had against his Enemies on all sides, made him so formidable to the neighbouring Princes, that France it began to be very jealous of his greatness and power, and having no great Love for the Normans (whom in the former they call'd Frenes) incited their King, who himself was forward enough to reprefe a Person grown so much more powerful than the other Princes of his Dominions, to find out some preface of Quarrel with him. This was a caftle matter to do, where their Dominions were so near Confines, and therefore in the first place he accufes of having done many Wrongs and Injuries to his Subjects bordering on his Dackedom; and particularly, he reffented his late opprovelling of Count Marel: And that his Caufe might look the more plausible, he alledged, "That it concerned him in Honour and Juflice to have that Proviny, which held of his Crowne, be go"n'd by a Prince of lawful Blood, according to the Christian Doctrine, and Laws Ecclefial"fical; and therefore resolved to depofe Duke William, and ificle a Legitimate Prince. Hereupon, he raised two powerful Armies, gath'ed from all parts of his kingdome, and sent them against him; the one by his own Device, and the other by the Count of Beffois, that his Dackedom being encompassed on all sides, he might not possibly escape. The Duke in the mean time was not unmindful of his own defence againft the Po- tent Army, and having gath'ed a good Army, divided it into two parts, with the one he went out his Brother Duke Earl of Lo, Walter Giffard Earl of Longueville, and others, into the Country of Caux; and with the other part he went himfelf towards Eureaux, intending to oppofe the King of France, who was at Asse. The Cattell, and all other portuble Provisions, he caufed to be removed out of the flap Country into the Cities and Castle, not only to furnish themselves, but to commend the Enemy. The French Army march'd on towards them from Beaufcais to Mortimer, where, finding the Country fcr'd with all manner of Provisions, they flaid that Night, and feafed themfelves with plenty of Good Cheer, thinking that the Norman Army was with their Duke in Eureaux, where he commanded the Army in Camp, having intelligence of the French Army's Diffidences and Security, made use of that oppofition to oppreffe them; and marching all the Night, fell upon them about break of Day, with that fuddennes and fury, that they flew near three parts of them, being in all forty thousand, took many Prisoners, and among them feveral Perfons of Note, and put the reft to flight, leaving, their Harfes and Baggage to the Norman Army. This Defeat caufed the King to return home in Anger and Rage; but upon cooler Thoughts, he defcif'd from Remonflances. And giving him the captiv'd French, agreed to a Peace with the Duke, and refer'd to him the Castle of Teilliers, which in his Minority he had taken from him. Count Marel, tho' very much disheartned by the los of the French Army, yet did not deft from making some Attempts to recover the Town the Duke had taken from him, but because it was to no purpose without a greater Army than he had, or could raise, the Normans being fo powerful. Wherefore the next Spring, he went to importune the King of France to alit him againft the Duke, telling him, that the Normans were grown fo infolent by the Victory they had rollen, not gottel in, but to force the French, where living by them, that they made the French ever since the Subject of their Sports and Songs, as the King of France, through the los of a few Men, was quite retired, and had rather stick to a difhonourable Peace with the Duke, and confirm'd it with an Oath, yet he enter'd Normandy in Harverftime, with great store and ravage all the Country, as long the Coast to Brefis, from whence he march'd to Bayeuex and Caen, designing to paife the River Dive at Vernemull, and destroy the Countries of Ange, Lyfex, and Rouan, as far as Rouen. Coming to the River, he found the Caufway leading it to long, and the Bridge narrow; and therefore, that he might get over safely, he fent over his Vanguards, and of the Rear-guard, where command'd by the Duke of Percy, he himfelf ftaies behind at Caen, till his People and their Carriages were pass'd over. Duke William all this while was employ'd in fortifying and victualling his Towns, and particularly of Falaf, where he himfelf intend'd to refide. He had no Army in the Country but a Refidency Camp, which he kept ready to take all Advantages. He was fensible of the Calamities of his People by the French, but had not Strength to oppofe them, till he had fome advantageous Offer, which he was re- folv'd not to neglec. And long it was not before he had one: Being inform'd of the Paffage of the French Army over the Bridge on the Dive, pre- forming all Night with ten thousand Men, in the Morning early he fet upon the Rear-guard with fo fudden a cry and fury, that they who were on the Caufway hearing the Noise behind, thurf their Fellows forward to get over the Bridge, with fo great a crowd and noise, that they broke it, and many were drowned in the River, who were gotten over could not return to help the reft; nor the King, by rafon of the Marfhes on both fides, yield any Succours to his People, he was forced with Grief to behold the infupportable Slaughter and Captivity of his People; among whom fix Earls were taken, of which the bun'd Earl of Warju, and the Earl of English, who were given over to the King's Favour, was created by him Count de Saff- fouts. This ill successe ftruck to the French King's Heart, that he dy'd not long after with Grief; which render'd Duke William fo formidable, that tho' many had Will, yet none had Courage to disturb his Peace for a long time after; which brought great Prosperity to Normandy.

Duke William enjoying Peace was not less active than he was in War, tho' in Works of a better nature: For now he employ'd his time in ordering his State and Government, and adorning his Country with splendid and beautiful Buildings, erecting Churches and Monasteries, and endowing them with ample Foundations. He built several Monasteries at Caen, and now in the peaceable times he gather'd Reliques from all parts to furnish them with, and built himself and Wife a Tomb in them. He also frequently feated his Nobility, and those of them that he observed to be Men of Worth, and able to serve the State well, he prefer'd and rewarded them, for which he gained the Love of the People, and Affections of his Nobility, and People so generally, that they were all entirely his, and ready to do any thing he could command or require. In this serene part of his Life and Reign he made a Journey into England, to visit 'tis Kimlin, King Edward, who in Consideration of his Prefervation and Education in Normandy by Richard the Second (Grandfather to them) he bought most Noble and Royal Entertainment. At this interview he showed himself to the English, and without doubt took himself a sharp Aspect of the State and Affairs of England: To be lure so much was done by the King, or Harold in his Name, at this meeting, as gave the Duke ground to claim the King of England, as for the Death of the Duke, which the Duke had built over his Death: What it was, could not be found out exactly. It is certain, that Harold going into Normandy did make some Promises to the Duke, and confirm'd them with an Oath upon the Evangelical and the sacred Reliques at Rouen; and thereupon, after, the Duke's Daughter, was affianced or married to his son Duke Robert by another left as a Pledge for the Performance: Which twas the matter of great Importance, and perhaps might be concerning the Kingdon; but it was never pretended otherwise to be made over to him but by Will; and therefore these Promises of Harold's are thought only to affurn him of his assistance in gaining the Kingdom; But the sees, be, it is against the Law and Custom of the Nation to dispose of the Kingly Power by Will; and therefore, if any such thing were, it was of no Validity. * For the Crown of England is held not by a Paternal Right, but by the Law of the Realm, which allows no power of disposing the Throne to its Kings, but admits the next lineal Heir to the Palatine. Nor is it Sportive, nor is it at all licit to be Heir of the King, but of the Kingdom, which makes him so, and can't be depriv'd by any Act of his Predecessor. Nor indeed did William afterward establish his Right upon King Edward's Will, but set up that Pretence only to make way for his Arms, by which he intended to compels his defeaters to acknowledge the Death of King Edward, and that Harold was chosen and crowned king, 'he call'd together the States of Normandy, and acquaints them with the Right he had to the Crown of England, and allsorbed, to contribute their utmost assistance for the recovery of it, and the deposition of Harold, the perjured Usurper of it. And to en- courage them in the Attempt, he represented a to them how great probability there was of success; he had a numerous Party in the Nation for him already, the People were under great Distractions and Divisions, which made them weak and ready to be overcome, and as he was informed was a grand Plot against the King to make them Wealth, and Greatnees would it add to their Na- tion, to be Masters of such a rich Kingdom as Edward was, which they had now an opportu- nity put into their hands to be, if they had but that Willam to make use of it. These false Speeches, tho' very plausible and encouraging, were according to his Principles. He used to bid them think of the Loss of their Liberty, and that the only riches as has been long Soldiers, and had no Licates to uphold them in Peace, so that for they would run any hazard to better their Fortu- nes: All the rest were of different Opinions. Some were for Peace, and thought it sufficient for them to hold and defend their own Country, without running all hazard for the Revolution; these were generally the Riches' sort, others were willing to contribute toward the Charge, but yet so sparingly as would little advance his design; others were so tired with Wars, that they were both to begin the same Troubles afo. The Duke was a little discouraged at this opposition and Factions among his Subjects, but no Nervous but another method before he gave it over. He being found several of his Friends very forward in the Enterprise, and seemingly willing to venture all with him, he begins with them, and asks them what they would contribute towards this Expedition? William Fitz-Auber made the first offer, promising him to furnish out forty Ships with Men and Money, and the same proportions to the Eliph of Mans thirty; and so several others, according to, or rather beyond their Abilities. By these Persons Examples he drew in the rest of the Bishops and Nobles, with whom he treated about it feverally to join in the design, and cau'ted all the Sumns contributed to be register'd by which means he was able the better to use and dispose of them among his Subjects, as that they, who a little be- fore would do nothing, grew now ambitious who should do mo. Nor was he so prevalent with his own Subjects only, but by his winning Per- suasions and large Promises he engaged most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of France to ven- ture not only for him but with him the half of England, the Earl of Nevers, Philip of Burgundy, the Duke of Orleans, the Earl of Britain, Philipp, Boulogne, Mayne, Never, Hesund, and Annuil, Seigniour de Tous, and even his mortal Enemy, Martel Earl of Anjou, was as forward as any. The King of France, whole Interest it had been to have crush'd this design, was a Minor, and under the care of Baldwin Earl of Flerns, whose Daughter of Engin forty fery the Duke had marry'd, and who would not hinder his design, if he could not farther it, yet to blind the young Prince and French Court, he promised to hold England, if he conquer'd it, in dependence upon the French King, as he did Anjou. The Pope, who was Alexander the II at that time, he brought to ap- pliad him, by promising him *

* King Edward and William were Kimlines, but not in the degree which Mr. Daniel says: For Emma, the Mother of King Edward, was the Daughter of Richard the 1st Duke of Normandy, but the Sister; and to Richard the Second was not his Grandfather, but Uncle, which our Author expressly mentions in the Life of Emma.*

* Some relate, that Edward, while he lived in Exilement in Normandy, made William a Prince of the next Revolution of the Crown of England, others think he did this at this time, being not likely to have lives, and adopted him for his Heir. This William declared himself, as he march'd through Walfington to London, That the Bonnet King Edward had by Adjudicating made him his Heir to the Crown of England, and now God had by his Predecessor given it him. But in his Dying Speech he says, That the Royal Heir to the Crown of England was Richard, by Right of the Succession of Prince Edward.**

* Harold, being a Prince in Normandy, had promised William upon Oath, that he would redeem his Heir, to secure him the Kingdom of England, if Edward dy'd without Heirs; and therefore was allied to Duke William's Daughter, which Promise he not performing, was accounted Perjured.**

* That this was a mere Pretence, to procure the Concordance of the Pope, appears from the Letter he wrote to Gregory the VIII this Pope's Successor; wherein he disowns, that he had ever any such intention to submit his Kingdom to the Pope.
the Apostolick See, if he was successful; whereupon the Pope sent him a Confratener Banner, a Golden Agnus Dei, and one of St. Peter's Hairs. This was more than he needed, also for the consider- able Body of Men, under the Command of a Ger- man Prince. And thus in eight Months time hav- ing collected a very numerous Army, not out of Normandy only, but out of France, Flanders, and Germany, sufficient to proceed in his intended Ex- pedition; he summoned them to their Rendez- vous at Calais. Fearing, however, that he might be transported into England in 896 Ships, as some write, Providence ordering such a strange Concurrency of Dispositions to effect the wonder- ful Change it had decreed to be now made in England.

A. D. 1066.

Duke William having had a victorious landing, and conquest of Harold's Army at Harfle, 1 Con- quistated, as is before spoken of in the Life of Harold, march'd directly without any opposition to London, where Edwin and Morcar, the Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, (two Brothers of great Honour and Dignity in the Kingdom) had done their utmost to excite the People to stand up in defence of their Liberties, and make resistance against the Duke, who had already, in the East of the Royal Iltu, with Right to the Crown, King, to preserve the Kingdom from Servitude and Conquest. Many of the Nobility had contended to this Proposition; but the Bis- hops being averse to it, and wavering, because they had heard a good Character of the Duke's Piety and Bounty to the Church, and so doubted not of their Honour to their Country, disdained the Nobility, and dashed their Resolutions, fear- ing left their backsworlds should then make them face the worse, if through their Divisions the Duke should at last subdue them, that they also yielded to Necelity, and gave over all thoughts of Opposition; by which means the Common being disaffected to their Kingdom, could not maintain it any longer: So that all degrees of Men being either corrupted with Hopes, or transported with Fear, their poor Country was left naked to the Will of a Stranger. Wherefore at his approach to London the Gates were fet open, and the Archbishop Stig- land, with the Bishops his Brethren, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, in a body, set forward all outward Demonstrations of Subjection, and Pro- mises of Obedience: He at the same time return- ing all Affurances of a mild and good Government over them, and protesting that he would rule with Justice and Equity. On Christmas Day next fol- lowing he was crowned King of England at West- minster, by Archbishops from Canterbury, and Stig- land was not thought 4 Canonically invested in his See, altho' he was a great Promoter of this Alteration. At his Coronation, according to Cu- lpeper, the Bishops and Barons of the Realm took their Oaths of Allegiance to him, obliging them- selves to be his true and loyal Subjects; and after, his life being required to do it by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, they solemnly proclaimed the Al- tar of St. Peter, that He would govern all his Peo- ple in his Dominion with Justice; That he would enact just Laws, and fees that they be duly exe- cuted. Nor did he ever violate this Oath by any arbitrary Actions, as an Absolute Conqueror, but as a Regular Prince, conformed to the ancient Orders of the Realm, and was content to derive his Title to the Kingdom rather from King Ed- ward than Hector's Wife. But thus, the Change was so sudden, and the Duke so unexpected from his Sword. And tho' he was in after-times filed the conqueror, yet it was rather done thro' flattery, than by his own desire, as was evident from the whole course of his Government, for he introduced none of the Alterations, which followed- ed after, by violence, but mildly and gently, by way of Information, as the changes were made from Necessity, not his own Will or Design; and he would abolish or innovate nothing that might be prefervd with advantage to his People.

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1067.

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yet he thought it would very prejudicial to him to lose the sums of money he had accepted from the Duke as a security for his love, and as such he was not only bound to secure them to the Duke as far as the law would admit, but he was also bound to observe the terms on which they were given to him.

The Nobility of England discontended.

But the English Nobility could not be contented with a bare Possession of their Estates and Honours, so long as they found so great an Eclips of the Royal Favour towards them, by the Imposition of Norman Favourites, who growing more numerous every day, they concluded would in time turn them out of all their Lands, and produced a Conspiracy among them to fly, some into Scotland, others into Denmark, to try whether by the assistance of those Princes they could recover their lost Fortunes at home, and refettle themselves in their ancient Greatness; of these the chief was Edgar Atheling (call'd England's Darling, for the Love the People had generally for him), his Brother, with his Mother, Agatha, and two Sisters, Margaret and Christina, intending to retire into Hungary, their Native Country, were driven contrary Winds into Scotland, where he was kindly received by Malcolm, then King of the Scots, partly because Malcolm had formerly known the Miseries of an Exile Condition, (in which Edgar had two years spent in the English Court) and partly because he feared the Power of the Conqueror of England might be dangerous to him: Whereupon he entered into a League with Edgar for the publick Safety, and marriage his Sister Margaret, by which the Blood of the Saxon Kings was preferred, and at length 1068. Edgar, now being on the Throne, Reg. 3. land, came the Earls Edwin and Morcar, Heward, Gavpatrick, Simeard, with several others; and shortly after Stigand and Alfred Arch-bishops, with many of the Clergy. Thefe Malecontents having gained an Army by the help of Malcolm earl of Northumberland, which he had settled on the Northern Coast of the Kingdom, and the Nobility, and Reign, and made a strong Effay towards the Recovery of their lost Country, but not being done before the Government was settled, they were so far from doing any good by their weak attempts, that they really gave him but a better occasion to make a strong Effay against them, and become at last, what at fift he really was not, a Conqueror of England. For while all the Southern parts remained in peace under him, and he was in possession of their Estates, which he immediately disposed of to the Normans, they did but force their Brethren to become their Enemies, and enable the Normans to raise new Parties, which were soon put down, and the Whigs of Britain, Kimman to the Conqueror, the Archbishop of Canterbury was conferr'd on Lwfranc, & Abbot of Caen, and that of York on Thomas his Chaplain; and all the rest, both of the Clergy and others, which were out of the Nation, had their Places in it supplied by the Normans.

He was now about to return to this Island, Many Re- Two of Harold's Sons landing with Forces in the Islands a. Weft, made great havoc among the People, killed or captured, and Gisla, King Harold's Mother, being at Exeter, he caufed that City to rebel. At Oxford also there was a Commotion, but they were not able to stand long against the King's Power. The most proferous and successful Invaders was by Edgar Atheling with his Lords out of Scotland, who entered England with a good Army, and encountering Robert Earl of Moravigne, who was sent by the King to oppose their progres in the Nation, flew him with seven hundred Men at York. The King hearing of this defect, took his Journey to Northwajl, with all expedition; but before he could arrive there, the Invaders had made a large addition to their Army from Swein, King of Denmark, who had sent three hundred Ships to their assistance, under the Command of Harold and Canute his two Sons; William Earl setts upon the Danes, and either by force, or corrupting their Commanders, made them perfons; afterwards he fell upon the Lords Army, much weakened by the loss of their Confederates, and puts them to flight; and that the Country might not for the future harbour his Enemies, he laid it wafe all along between York and Durham, which are distant about forty Miles. And the fame methods he used on all the Coasts, where any fit places for Inva- sions of Bers forces to land, and the return'd to London. After this Victory most of the Lords of the Realm, and submitted themselves to the King upon the publick Faith before given them, and were conducted by Frederick, Abbot of St. Albans, to

1 A.D. he did not marry her till two Years afterwards, Ann 1070. Sim. Dun. R. Hoccle. Sir J. H. Life of William I. 2 From these Refuges the bell Families in Scotland are defended, as those of Lindsay, Vaux, Ramsay, Lovell, Sutland, Earl of Ross, Warish, Muri, Metal, and other. 3 Archbishop Stigand was depriV'd by Agislin Eifhop of the Eas-Syngs, and other Bishops and Abbeys commissi'd by Pope Alexander II. For, 1. Intruding on the Archbishopric while Robert his Predecessor was living. 2. For receiving his fall from Benedict, V. A. Canonical Pope. 3. For keeping the See of Winchfle after his Inheritance in the See of Canterbury. Sir John Howard. 4 Edmund and Magna. 5 See Stockes. 6 In this passage of Devolution, the King flid first a refeit to John of Beverley, thus all his lands were spared: The reft of the Country was so Weak'd, that the People were forc'd to eat Cats and Dogs to Support Life. 7 Frederick himself was a leading Man in this Revolt, having had all the lands between Barnet and London, which belonged to his Abbey, seized by the King; but it seems after this Victory he came in with the King, and was made fuf of to bring others to the King's Favour.
Barkleyed, where having retained the Oath of Allegiance they were pardoned by the King, and having been so ardently desired, or rather, and the King himself to pacify their unquiet Minds, took his Personal Oath again before Arch-bishop Lanfranc and the Lords; That he would observe the ancient Laws of the Realm established by his Royal Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of Edward the Confessor*. By which means those turbulent Dispositions were calmed for a while, but did not long continue so: For whether out of some new Hopes given them by Prince Edgar (who was still in Scotland) or grown de-
perate at the Non-performance of the King's Promise and Breach of Oath, or some other Rea-
tions, they brake out again. Earl Edwin going thro' Cumberland, Minched his own Men. The Lords Morcar and Hereward, got into the Ille of Ely, intending to fortify it for their Winter Quarters; and to them Earl Edward, and the Bishop of Durham out of Scotland, joyned them: But the King, who never gave time in growing Dangers, immediately betook them to the Sea, and made a Broad at Mile to carry his Army over, surrounded them so soon, that they all yielded themselves to the King's Mercy, except Hereward, who marching with his People desperately through the Fens, escaped and got into Scotland; The rest were sent into several Prisons, where they died, or recurred to Prisoners during the King's Life. The Lords, who perfumed Loyalty to the King, were all rewarded in an unspecified manner, and had honourable Employments bestowed on them. Edric the Forester (who first rebelled in his Reign) was admitted into the greatest Trust about the King's Perfon. Gospatric he made Earl of Northumberland, and sent him General of his Army against the Borders. The Earl, who was pardoned at Tidale, Cleveland, and Cumberland. Waltheof, Son of Earl Ewald, was so highly esteemed by him, as that he married him to his Neice Judith; tho' in the Northern Commotion he had been a Principal Actor, and in defending the City of Yorke had cut off the Head of several Noblemen, and killed in a Mass in the Breach, to the Admiration of all. So great a Friend was he to Virtue, even in an Enemy.

Things being thus a little composed at home, the King observing that Scotland had been a con-
tinual Retreat for his Enemies, and in many of the Diffurbances he had in his Realm, afforded no Salutation or Alliance; and that Edgar Atheling refided in that Court to observe all Ad-
vantages to dispose of his Throne, he or-
t'ed that Kingdom with a powerful Army, re-
volving either to rid himself of those his En-
emies, or to recover his lost Kingdom; and the time was at hand when he had made them, and the Miseries his Subjects were likely to endure in other Mens Quarrels, for which he was not like to receive any Satisfaction, made Overtures of Peace, which King William was willing to accept, having met with such Difficulties in pulling the Marithes, as made his further Progress impossible. They therefore entered into Articles with *Malcolm, That he should enjoy the same Dominions*, and in the same Bounds as formerly, that all Delinquents on both sides should be pardoned, they returned home.

Shortly after this Peace so lately made, Prince A D. Edgar (whole long abode in the Suffolk Countrey) had made it become English almo$t, for by rea-
son of the great resport of the English thither, Reg. 7. who were prefer'd there and intermarried with the Nobles of that Nation, the Language and Customs of England became much in Fashion: And here *tis said the Titles of Duke, Earl, Ba-
taliamont were assigned by him, that he might fa-
fore entering into Articles with Malcolm, That he should enjoy the same Dominions*, and in the same Bounds as formerly, that all Delinquents on both sides should be pardoned, they returned home.

The Life and Reign of WILLIAM the First.

A D. 1071.

Reg. 5.

* Roger Howden says, the English Nobility petition'd to be govern'd by their own Laws, befriending him by the Soul of King Edward, who bequeathed him the Kingdom, and whole Laws they were to grant their Pension; to which he consented, to the Advice of his Baron. He chang'd the Laws afterwards, and brought in the Norman* commanding them to be made up of all that was in the whole Kingdom. The Duke of Normandy was held in the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, and he permitted them to be still current there, because they had more relation to them than to the English. The Monks of Ely invited the Lords into their Isle, that they might be a Guard to their Poicenions against the King, but he hearing of them, was the more severe to them, and requir'd of them 300 Marks to confirm them to them: Which Sum, when they came to pay it, was given only his Great Weight, he made them pay 1000 more. The Abbots of St. Alban's to the English Lords in the Isle of Ely, and died there Anne 1177.

The Sixon Annals, and many of our Ancients Hicrians, place the Revolution of Ely in the Year 1071.

* Malcolme also did the King Homage for some parts of Scotland.

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finalized his homage to King William for the Realm of Scotland.

* Our Historians say, his last Appearance was the Day of Silver a Day, Sir John Hayward calls it twenty Shillings. He made his Submission, as Frewere and Hilgenhead after him write, in the Year 1074, and, says the above-mentioned Hayward, laying in Living in the Country, he there mellow'd it Old Age in Pleasure and Vacancy of Affairs. He was after that companion'd in several Wars in Normandy and England, and according to the Sixon Annals, was taken Prisoner at the Battle of Tewkesbury, with Robert Duke of Normandy Eledder Brother to William the Second and Army the Firrle. William of Malmesbury says of him, that he was concerned at Court for his Eisdemori and Simplicity, and remin'd his Pension of twenty Shillings a Day for a Horse: above the Quantity of Foreign Court, and half his Old Age privately in the Country. Sir John Hayward calls it Ralph Fitz-Aber, and says, 'twas the same who furnished forty Ships for the King's first Voyages to England: If so, it must be the Father who married the Daughter; and not the Brother, the Sifter to the Earl of Norfolk. Fre-
cence of Warrester and William of Malmesbury call him Roger de Breteuil.

At Cambridge near New-Market in Cambridgshire.

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A.D. 1075. the ill Disposition of the Times, that nothing could be thought a fit Remedy for the Bifate, but such a desperate Cure. The supplanting of the Plot at home did not free the King from the Inconveniences he had been under, who were joined with them to expel the King, as most of the Neighbouring Princes by their Actions did after them. For the King of France defended Doule in Brittany (a Castle of Ralph Waler's) against the King of England, and employ- ed the Earl of Rosse to encourage the Confis- cators, had a great Army of two hundred Sails under the Command of his Son Count, and others. Duke, King of Ireland, furnished Harold's Sons with fifty-five Ships: And Malcolm, and the Kings of Wales, were ready to lend their Assistance had there been occasion. And though they were disappointed, young Prince, and engaged upon his own, the King being obliged for his own defence, to main- tain (besides his Normans) many Companies of French Soldiers, under the Command of Hugh the French King's Brother.

A.D. 1077. Thee were all the Wars which King William had within his Kingdom, during that the ele- venth year of his Reign, which he had made the Kings thereof to do Homage. The Wars he was engaged in abroad arose from his Son Robert, with whom he was forced to contend for his Dominions in France: For Robert, who was by his Father appointed his Deputy to go- vern the Dukedom of Normandy and County of Maine, was much opposed to him by the Glory of a Command, that he affirmed to himself the supreme Government of the Pro- vincing, causing the Barons to do Homage as Duke and not as Deputy, and enter'd into a League with the King of France, who glad of this Opportunity to dissolve a People, grown too great for him, to seduce the Ambition of the young Prince, and engaged upon his own Projects and Expence, that he was obliged to impale heavy Exactions upon his Subjects to supply his Extravagances, which though they got him the Name of Cartier, yet it raged such Distinctions among the Normans, that they preferred their Complaints of his ill Government and their Love to his Father's House. King hearing this, hastes with his Forces into Nor- mandy, designing to subdue his Son; but Ro- bert having Intelligence of his coming, and being furnish'd with two thousand Men by the King of France, lay in ambush in the way by which he was to pass, s'ets upon him, put his Army to rout, and in the course of the war he happened to encounter with his Father, whom he unhors'd and wounded in the Arm with his Lance, before he knew who he was: But when by his Voice he discover'd twas his Father, he made halt to remount him, humbly begging Pardon for his Offence. The King readily granted it, and Robert, in great forces for his Mission, took him to Rouen with him; and having feted him in his Charge again, he returned with his Son William (as soon as they were both cured of their hurts receiv'd in the Fight) into Eng- land.

The King had not been long at home, but fresh Information was brought him, that Robert was fallen into his former Courses, usurping the A.D. absolute Government of his Dukedom, and ex- acting great Taxes of the People, and to justifie his Actions pleaded, that his Father had promis- Reg. 14. ed to give him thedukedom, and left him, B.C. but neither his Father nor his Father's Duke, when he had conquered England, with the name of his Father's Duke. But the King thought it not fit to give his Design time to ripen, but made all the Preparations he could to return into Normandy. In his Parliament, he was driven upon to go to the Courts of Spain, but at length recovering himself, and finding a great number of his Son Robert came immediately and submitted the second time. But the King thought it not safe to trust him with the Government of Nor- mandy again for the present, till he had taught him to obey better; and therefore taking him along with him home, employed him in his Wars against the Normans, as he began to announce some days. On a certain day after Dinner, Lewis the French King's eldest Son, and Prince Henry to recreate them fray's, play'd a Game at Chefs, and Henry won so much of him, that Lewis in Anger called him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chefs-board in his Face: Henry hereby provok'd, that to the great Confusion of Lewis with that Force as drew Blood, and had killed him, had not Robert timely interposed between them. This petty Rivalry between two hot Youths, not only enraged the People so much against the Norman Princes, that they hardly escap'd their Fury by their swift riding; but it kindled a Quarril between the two Kings, the Fathers, and was a Cause of the first War be- tween the English and French. For presently the King of France, joyning with Robert, who Reg. 20. was as impatient of a Partner, as an Head, en- the King ter'd Normandy, and takes the City of Vernon of France, Whereupon the King of England, with his usual forces, desirous to re- Expedition invades Eng- land, and falls against the, and French, and Poitou, and did for the French, and afterwards returned to Rouen. Robert made rebellions, as against King Wil- much or more by Indiscretion as Incitement, which he could not stand against his Father, but goes the third time, and submitting is reconciled to him. This was a great Disappointment and Trouble to the King of France; nevertheless, be- ing unshaken, and upon his Arms diminished, he summons King William to do Hom- age for his Kingdom of England, but he re- plied, that he was ready to do it for his Dukery of Normandy, but for England he would not, be- cause he had it of none but God and his Sword. But this would not satisfy the King of France, who fought with his Man of Armour, took him to Rouen again, and with such Loss, as made him willing to conclude a Peace, which proved but short. For the King of England being fallen in- to a Sickness through Labour, Age, and Corpul- ency, of which he lay some time at Rouen, the French King being young and lusty, sporting

A.D. 1077. *This Conspiracy to usurp over King William, that ever after he carried himself cruelly towards the English, of whom says, William of Malmesbury, he had force and not faithful. He adds, from this time England became the Habitation and Dominion of Strangers, and the Foreigners enrich'd all Normans and Rothers so much, that about twenty years afterward there was no Original Englishman an Earl, Bishop or Abbe.*

*After Germain Ciffe, which he held out against his Father.*

*In the time of this War King William built a New Castle upon the Tine, to be a bar against the Forades of the Scots, and from it the whole Town after took his Name, being before call'd Stockoller, orrather Broad-Castle.*

*The Abbey Elycath, which bird at that time, says he made his Queen Matilda of Normandy with a Volume.*
A. D. with his Sickness, and reflecting upon his Belly, 1087. said, That the King of England lay in at Rouen. Reg. 21. This Saracen enjoined the King, that as soon as he was recovered, he got all his bret Forces together, enters France in the chief time of their Priests, spoiling all the Country as far as Paris, where the King of France then was: To whom he sent word, That he was come to give Information of his uprising. From thence he marched to Mantes, which he utterly razed and destroyed, but got his fatal Wound by a Strain of his Horse among the Breaches, of which he fell sick, and being conveyed to Rouen, ended his Wars, Days and Days together.

Having given an Account of the Wars of this King, together with his Conduct and Success in them, I shall shew what Courte he took in settling the Kingdom, and establishing a Government after he had suppressed the several Inventions and Conspiracies that were made against him in the Told, and other Parts of the Realm. It is certain he was so fond of the Laws and Customs of his own Nation, that he began his Reign with them; and would certainly have abolished all the English Laws and introduced the Normans, had not the Nobility and Commons most firmly resolved he must not be so quickly changed as a great Grievance; and by Petition beguiled him in a moderate manner, by the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and by the Soul of S. Edward, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, and under whose Laws they were born and bred, That he would not make them so miserable, nor be so severe to them, as to judge them laws, but by a Law they should not judge them. He therefore Ad- d the, to give an effect upon the King, that he was pleased to confirm his former Promises by his Charter, and gave Commandment to his Judges, to see that the Laws of S. Edwards be inviolably observed throughout his Kingdom. But notwithstanding all this Compliance, and a seeming Con- firmation of the old Laws, which was laid aside after done by the Charters of Henry I. and II. and King Chiefly; yet there followed so great an Innovation in the Laws and Government of England, that the People really had nothing of them but fair Promises. For the Body of the Common Law, with the whole Practice of it, came out of Normandy, notwithstanding all Objections that can be made to the contrary, and whereas before the Conquest, the Laws by which the English were governed were written in their own Tongue, and so easy to be understood by all; now they were translated into Latin and French; and practis'd wholly in the Norman Form and Language, on purpose to make the People to learn that Speech for their defence, which they would not otherwise learn. And that indeed the King labour'd all he could by other means, as well as that, to make the Nation use the French Language, viz. enjoin- ing Children to be train'd up in no other Lan- guage. Grammars in Schools to be made in French, all Petitions and Juries at Courts in French, no Man required but that spoke French, but after his Death the whole Nation return'd to their old English, and nothing re- main'd of French but in the Law, which is at this day the only remaining Badge of the Norman Conquest. New Terms, new Constitutions, new Forms of Pleading, new Offices and Courts were introduced by them; an introduction of more important and litigious Spirits than the English, who being much engag'd in War, judg'd it much better to spend their Peace in Devotion and good Fellowship, than by intricate and tedious Forms of Law make Peace it self a Trouble, and a Con- troverse about Property, as perricious as the A. D. bloodie Battel. For the Laws of the English be- fore this were plain, brief and simple, without Intricacies and Perplexities; commanding, not disputing; providing, not questioning; Their Grants short, but full, shewing them a clear mean- People, and of honest and good Intentions. As for their Tryals in Caes Criminal, where man- nieft Proof fail'd, they continued their ancient Custom used among them before their Convers- tion, to decide them by their Ordinal, i.e. a Right The Jud- Home, A. M. and then the Right of Appeal ( Gratification) Of this sort of judgment they had two. kinds; Ordal by Fire for the better sort of People, and Ordal by Water for the meaner sort: That of Fire was to go Blindfold over cer- tain Plowthores, made red hot, and laid at un- even distances from one another; that of Water was to cast a body in it, and if it came up, their naked Arms to the Elbow, and into the other to be caft headlong: According to their ege- or hurt they were jug'd; such as were caft into Rivers, if they sank, they were jug'd In- nocent, if not, Guilty, as ejected by the Ele- ment. These Tryals they call'd the Judgment of God, and they were the greatest dangers they had of a Tryal of a Camp-fight, or Duel, (which the Lombards, a German Nation, introduced also into Italy) permitted by the Law in cafes of Safety, fame or Possessions. All the Tryals shew the English to be ignorant of any Forms of Law, and to have no Imperial or Pontifical Constitutions to determine Affairs by. But these sorts of Judgments and Tryals had their period (after the Conquest. Tho' of Fire and Water were at first disused, and at last abrogated by the Pope, as a Pagan Invention, and an Impious Law; that of Combat out-liv'd the other, but very rarely fuffer'd to be used. All Actions, both Criminal and Civil, Real and Personal, began to be wholly determin'd by the Tryal of Arms. articles and Conventions, monthly held in every Hundred, that twelve grave Men of free Condition, should, with the Greve, or chief Officer among them, fine upon the Evangelists to judge every Man's Cause right. But those Men were to be Affiders with the Judge, and no Jurors, as the meaner sort. And indeed till there been any such Form, we should have heard of it more in their Laws and Practice. But whatever Alterations he made in other Matters, yet in those Laws which had been made Laws for by the Saxons for the preservation of the Peace, the Feast and for the good Order and Security of the King, and dominion of the great Men (the greatest sum by which the Kings) he made no change, because he found such excellent Constitutions made by the wary Care of former Kings, that he had none so good, and bet- ter could hardly be invented by Man, especially the Burrough-Law, whereby every Freeman of the Commonalty was surety for the Behaviour of

He died on the 6th of September, 1087. in the sixty ninth Year of his Age, and two and twenty of his Reign over England.
That and of otherwife a.

If

in his family

or to forfeit his

the King: If he himself were accused of aiding him, or to be privy to his flight, he was to clear himself by five Men, or otherwise to forfeit all his Goods to the King, and his Man to be outlaw'd. By these Tyes the State was firmly yeld'd together, and the Order and Peace of the Kingdom, and the continuance of the Liberty of Men in the World liv'd in greater Order and Peace. For after this Establishment, not only all Thefts and Robberies, which were common before, were wholly suppress'd, but we never read of any popular Insurrections; which doubtles was a great caufe that the Normans had so speedily a Settlement in England, more than the Romans or Saxons. By these Laws there was such a strict Guard put upon every Man's Behaviour, that no Man dare be guilty of any Tresonable or Criminal Action, and so they could not make any considerable Resistance against the Invader: Oth-

erwise, 'tis probable, the Conquest of England had cast the Normans as dear as it did the Roman, Saxon, or Dane. Mr. King, William, when he was thinking of cutting the English Laws severally, and withall depriving the Comonalty of all Weapons of War, forbidding all Night-meetings under grievous Penalties; enjoying every Man at 'eighth of the Clock in the Evening to put out his Fire, and go to his rest; raising divers Fortifications in England, and settling caused Arms, giving Commandments, and putting such Perions into all Places of Command and judicature as he knew faithful to his Interests, made his Kingdom such as he would have it.

As to the Judicial part of Government, he new model'd it, and whereas the Bishop and Aldermen were absolute Judges in every Shire, and the Bishop in many Cities had a share of the Fines imposed for the King, the King stripp'd the Bishops wholly of their Judicial Power, and confin'd them within their Province: to their own

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Souls. The A. D. Aldermen's Right he took quite away, and whereas as Cauces were to be determin'd before in their Reg. 21. Genomes, or monthly Conventions in every Hundred, he order'd, That four times in the Year on certain Days all Buttns should be determin'd in such Places as he should appoint, by Judges of great standing, and constituted for distinct purpils, from whom, as from the Bofom of their Prince, all Perions should have Justice. What difference of Tenures he made in Men's Estates, is visible from the knowledge of the old English Customs. The Saxons had only two kinds of Tenures, Buke-Land and Folk-Land; the one a Possession by Writing, the other without a Writing; and that by Write or hold, and by Charter, Hereditary with all Immunities, and this was chiefly for the Nobler sort, that without Writing was hold to the Will of the Lord, obliged to pay certain Rents and Services, and this was for the common People. Institutions defended not to one Heir, but after the German fashion, was equally devide'd among all the Children, which they call'd Land-bifhops, i. e. Part-Land; a Cufom full retain'd in some part of Kent, by the Name of Gavelkin, or Gifted kine, which is said the People of that Country was gain'd from the Conqueror by this Stratagem. As means the King was passing through their Country to Dover, the Lord Thurstan, who was the bishop of Canterbury, and Abbot Egifius, who told them they would lose all their ancient Laws and Liberties, and be involve'd in perpetual Slavery by the Conqueror encompass'd him on all sides with Boughs in their Hands, to the great surprize as well of the King, who expected not such a thing. They were for to submit to the Conqueror, and presenting themselves before the King, told him, That the Multitude surronding him was the whole People of the Country gather'd together with Boughs in their Hands, as Olive-Branches, to procure Peace and Liberty; or else to entangle him in his Paffage, resolving to lose their Lives, rather than their Freedom, whereupon the King would not hear them, and they would submit as good Subjects. The Conqueror seeing and danger granted their Desires, and promis'd them the continuance of their Customs and Liberties; which, if at first permitted, are now not better secured than to the right of the Kingdom. Those Tenants, which were at the Will of the Lords, he might disposs ess, and render the whole of the Cafe more miserable than before, till by their clamorous Petitions he was force to relie them. Their Cafe was this: All Perons that were engag'd in any Rebellion, and were pardon'd with the empoyment of Life, yet having their Estates taken from them, became Vails to the Kings Lords, and were under the right of a withholding, and if they in their labour they attain'd any Portion of Ground, they held it only so long as it pleased their Lords, who often took it from them by Violence, and contrary to all Right. This the King redressed, and commanded, that whatsoever such Perions had attain'd to by their Labours, or gotten of their Lords by their good Services, or agreed for by any lawful Compact, they should hold inviolably during their whole Lives.

This King having thus fetled Laws for the Government of his People, his next Care was...
A.D. 1087.
Reg. 21.

The Life and Reign of William the First.

for himself, to raise a sufficient Revenue for the
Maintenance of his Crown and Dignity, which
judged could not well be done, but by an ex-
act Knowledge of his Estates, and a general Sur-
vey of the Kingdom. King Alfred had given
him a Precident, but his Survey recorded in the
Doom-book at Winchester was defective and im-
perfect; wherefore he having got men of sufficient
numbers of very skillful Men, and furnished them
with a large Commission, sent them out into the
Kingdom to take a particular Account of his own
Possessions, and every Man's Estate else in the
Kingdom, the Nature and Quality of their Lands,
their Estates and Abilities, with the Descriptions,
Bounds and Divisions of all the Shires and Hun-
dreds; which was drawn in one Book, and
brought into his Treasury, then newly called
the Exchequer (as the supreme Court of Nor-
manly was) whereas before it was termed Talle,
and had the Name of Dome-book *(Libri Judicar-
iorum*) given it, a Record ready upon all Occa-
sions for Taxes, or other Uses. All the Forests and
Great Commons in the Kingdom he forced from his
own hands, and exempted them from all Laws, but
his own Pleasure, making them Retreats for
Kings, to recrute himself in, and his Successors,
and inflicting most severe Punishments upon any
that should presume to destroy his Game. And that
his Command might be the greater, he increased
the forces of them, and the Soldiers, which were
on the South-Coasts disemblored the Country for thirty
Miles together, and of old Habitations and an-
cient Estates; to the great damage of his People,
made a a New Forest, as it is called to this Day; an
Act which got him much Hatred among his
People, yet used by his Successors (who chose to
imitate his Tyranny rather than his Virtures) till it
was remedied by the Charter of Forests,
given by Henry the Third. Soon after the
general Survey of the Kingdom, he levied a Tax
of 6 s. upon every Hide of Land throughout the
Nation; and after some times excused the old Tax,
commonly called Dome-gelt, which was an Im-
position of two Shilling upon every Hide of
Land; first at first to bribe the Domes, and
after continued for the ordinary Supply of the
King's Occasions in War or Peace. He im-
ploied also upon some of his Subjects a Tax then
first called Scotchm, which was a Sum of Money
taken for every Knight's Fee for Stipends and
Donatives for Soldiers. But all these Taxes
were but light faldum; knowing, that Subjects
never hearted love, however they may fear those
Princes which are burrenforme and charge-
able to them. He had no Revenues by Fines and
pecuniary Multis, unlefs such as arose by the
Breach of his Forest Laws and for Murther,
which he laid upon the People upon this Occa-
sion. He was at the beginning of his Reign the Hatsred
and Malice of the English towards the Normans
was such, that if they found them alone in Woods
or any remote Places they murthered them,
and notwithstanding all the severus Courtes the
King could ould, the Mafelectors could not be
discovered. Whereupon the King ordered, that
the Hundred where any Normans was found dead,
and the Murthor not discoverd, should have
the King 28 or 30 l. according to the Extent of
A.D. it, that by this general Punishment he might de-
ter particular Men, or hafften the Diucovery of the Reg. 21.
Guilty, by whom so many mutt suffer Damage.
The Revenues which were paid by the Tenants
of the Crown for the Provision of the King's
Housetid, not in Monies, but in Malt, or in
Mutton, Hay, and
Oats, &c. was duly and exactly taken according to
the Quality and Quantity of every Man's
lands throughout the whole Kingdom. Other
Incomes than these there was none belonging to
the Crown but what was raised by extraordinary
Fines, and of these Cities and Castles where
Huddling and Subsidy was not paid.

From the Church he got considerable Sums, his Ext
but by Extortion rather than Justice, the Kingly Dims of
Power never before extending to far, and therefor
now Law or Precedent enabling him to do it.
And the first thing he did in that kind was, he
feized the Plate, Jewels and Treasure of all the
Monasteries of England, pretending that the Rebels
and their Affiliates had conveyed their Riches into
their Body, to defraud them of him. He made all the Bishops
and Monasteries al-
so, that held Barones (which before had been ex-
empted from all Leecars Services) to contribute to his
Wars, and other Necellities of State, which may
be the reason that in all the maner Times, which were
written by Church-men inter-
tested in them, he bears the Name of an Op-
prelor and cruel Exactor, with other Marks of
Infamy; tho' things were rightly weighed, the
Nature and Necelities of his Affairs may be an
Advocate for him, and in many things excite him. He
ordered an exellent Prize, but the
Name of Conqueror blasts the Approbation of
all his Perfections; and though he had the Ad-
antage of a long Reign, to blot out the Severi-
ties of his Entrance to the Crown out of Mens
Memories, yet he could never gain the Affec-
tions of his People so heartily to him as his Sons
did, who were much inferior to him in real
Wit.

How he was furnished with Ministers of State his Council
for the Management of the important Affairs and
Business of his Reign, though Time hath deprived us of
a very exact Knowledge; yet *is not to be
doubted, but that being a Man of good judg-
ment himself, he had able Princes employed un-
der him, who made his Usurpation handsome, so
1. but ununderstanding Kings are always flo-
red with able Ministers. The principal Princes
entruished by him were Odo Bishop of Bayeux
and Earl of Kent, Lanfranc Archipbifhop of Canterbury,
and William Fitz-Auber Earl of Hereford. Odo was Odo
his Viceregent in his absence, and had the manage-
ment of the Prince. He was
also one of a Minister in great
Reach, and of an active Spirit; high indeed in the
Favour of his Prince, and by his Place; but yet
very ambitious, and aiming at greater things: he
having gathered a vast Treasure of Money by his
Avarice, and so profitable an Office, he delign'd
to buy either the Popedom, or the Kingdom of
England, after the Death of the King his Brother.
The Popedom came first in his way, and towards it
he had firend'd his Path with Gold at Rome, but when

* There are several different Opinions why it was called Dome-book; its first Name was the Rolls of Winton, because it was kept in the City of Winchester, and afterwards Dome-book, i.e. Libri Judiciorum, or The Book of Judgment. The Au-
uthor of the Black Book in the Exchequer Supposes, That the Name of Dome-book was first given to this Book, because 'twas no more lawful to depart from what is in it, than from the Day of Doom; but Sir John Harman thinks 'twas so call'd from Dome Decis, a
Place or City, in the Isle of Wight, in which his Roll was kept.

1 This Part, which was done merely to promote his Pleasure, waslook'd upon by the Nation as one of the most intolerable
and increasable pieces of Cruelty, not only he himself, but ever any Prince did, for he destroyed thirty six Parish-
Churches, with the Horses and Paffessions of so many Townships, to make them Habitation for wild Beasts.

2 King's Fee was Lands given by a Prince to such as had well deserved of him in His Wars. These Donations were first asdf
by the Romans, who at first gave them only for Term of Life, and after to them and their Heirs, and from the Romans they
came in use in France and Britain. See Sir Henry Stelman's Remains published by Dr. Gibbon.
of it, the Kingropp'd his Journey, and taking
him from the midst of a great Confluence of Noble-
men and Gentry, who were to attend him thither, imprisond him; excusing the Archbishop and the
which, telling them, that he imprisond him not as
Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent, an Of-
cer accountable to him; but soon after released
him, because on his Death Bed he would leave
his Kingdom at Peace to his Son. But the
Bishop dispointed his Intention, and became the
Instrument of new Misfortunes, with his Hear.
Child partly in Revenge for what he had suffer'd
from their Father, and partly out of Envy to Lau-
franc, whose Counsel in his greatest Affairs the
King chiefly used; and therefore meerly to oppo-
site him he took the contrary course to him, and
faded with Duke Robert his Nephew, with whom
he had formerly done good. He therefore
went to the Holy War, and dy'd at the Siege of
Ainola. Launfranc was a Man of an
 universal Goodnes as Learning, born in
Lombardy, but brought hither by a kind Prov-
dence to do England good, for tho' his Preferment
by the King might seem to lose him Trustees on
him, and require a greater Obedience than yet
by his own Gravy and Piety, he got himself so great
Reverence with the King, that he feared not to oppo-
site Odo the King's Brother in his Encroachments upon
the Church; yes, in all he could, so to intervene be\nthe Kingdom and the King, that he faved the
Nation from many rigorous Exactions and Se-
vere Impositions. For he that conquer'd all others
was a Graft to Launfranc to引进d Gravity and Piety among them, accord-
ing to the usage of his Country, in this joying in
Alterations with his Mater, tho' more for the
bend. And to rule Devotion among all sorts, he
did what possible he could to furnish his Church
with Preachers; for without Pulpits and a litigious
Prescribe, he could Religious Houses to be built with
greater Convenience and State, and began the
founding of Hospitals. Having long labord by
inextinguishable diligence to keep things in an evon
Course, during the Reign of the Conqueror; and
after his Death, feeing his Succesor (who was
equal to him in the Art of the Ecclesiastical Life,
and in fortitude) to fail his Expectation, and foreseeing by his long Experience the ill tendency of the present
Management, he began (with his Friends) much to
lament the tediousness of Life, which he shortly
after was remov'd out of by a gentle Sicknes,
which no other hinder'd his Speech nor Memory;
but a Graft to Fire-Auber, who (as is above mention'd) was a
principal Counsellor and Infrument in the Invad-
ion of England, and for that end furnish'd the
King with forty Ships at his own Charge, was a
Man of a great Eftate, but of an Heart larger than
any Riches could suffice. He was fo liberal to
Soldiers, that the King himfelf often check'd his
Profufeness; and fo kind, that he made a Law, A. D.
(for that Powcr the Noblemen of those times had
in their Provinces) that in the County of Hereford Reg. 21.
no Man of War or Soldier fhould be fined for any
Offence whatever, on the word of a Man that was
as in other Countries, upon the least Offence given
their Lord, they were forced to pay twenty or
twenty five Shillings. He was a moft eminent
Earl, a chief Counsellor in all State Affairs, both
of England and Normandy, and always in highest
Favour with the King; yet was not contented
with the Honour and Emoluments that God had
given him; but throughout the great Riches and
Command, went over into Flanders, where, by marryjng Richard the Widow of Bal-
win VI. Duke of Flanders, he defign'd to get into
that Government in the Minority of Arnauld her
Son: But Robert de Fries his Uncle, who was
call'd to govern by the People, because of the
Exactions of Richard, kept so strong possession
that Dukedom, that Fire-Auber was forced to re-
cover it by the Sword, which before he had done
he was by surprizae flain. And indeed it was
the Fate of the Conqueror to meet moft of thofe Men,
who had been the principal Actors in all his For-
rumes, dead before him, as Beaufort, Montfort,
Harcourt, Earl of Surrey, Vautrey, Count de
Montmorin, Count de Tonnes, etc. Himself left
of all, having him fick a little time at Rouen, and
di;pos'd of his Eftate, dy'd in the forty seventh
Year of his Age, and one and twentieth Year of his
Reign. His Corps, tho' of fo great a Monarch, is
said to have lain three Days quite neglected, his
Tombs made, with honor, and proper Sacrifice
than to attend upon him: At laft his youngest
Son Henry caus'd it to be convey'd y to his Abbey
at Caen. He was well attended to the Cases of the
City; but there happening a Fire just at their
entring into the Town, the Corps was again wholly
defiled, the Company all running to quench the
Flames. After that was done, and the dead was
carry'd to the Monastery, and ready to be bury'd, a Gentleman of Note 'stands up, and
with angry Countenance forbids his Burial in that
place, claiming the ground for his Inheritance,
decended to him from his Aecators, but taken
from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing
to Rome, their first Founder, for Justice; and
urged upon Henry by a Commission from Pope
Ipb, with him for an Annual Rest. So hard was it for him, who had 6 large Dominions in his Life, to find a small
place for his Burial, which he could not get but
by Purchase: Men eftimmg a living Dog more
than a Dead Lyon, and moft ready to trample
upon those dead, who they hear'd moat when they
were alive.
He had a numerous Ilufe by Aund his Wife, his Chil-
dren. Four Sons and six Daughters. To Robert his
eldest Son he left the Dutchy of Normandy, to
William his third Son the Kingdom of England, and
to Henry his younget all his Treasures, with an
Annual Pension to be paid him by his Brothers,
Richard, who was his second Son and his Darling.
A.D. a Prince of great Hope, was slain by a Stag as he was hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire, the Reg. 21. first instance how fatal that Place would prove to the Royal Family, which had been made out of the Elys, and by the Wrongs of so many: For not long after William Rufus was slain there also by an Arrow, and Richard the Son of Robert Duke of Normandy broke his Neck by a Fall there, very sad Allays to those Pleasures, which we take by other Men's Injuries, yet the deferred Rewards of Injustice and Oppression. His eldest Daughter Caris was married to Roger Earl of Normandy, second was married to Alaric Earl of Britain, Adelaide to Stephen Earl of Bols, by whom among other twice the had King Stephen. In her Age she became a Nun, according to the Devotion of those Times, in which the Perfons of greatest Quality did not refuse a Retirement for Religion sake. Guessed the fourth Daughter was married to William de Warren Earl of Surrey, and the other two Ely and Margaret, died before Marriage.

His Religion and Arts of Pity and Mercy.

He was of a proportionable Stature, comely Personage, and good Prefence either riding, fitting, or standing, till by Age he grew corpulent and unweily; of so healthy and strong a Constitution, that he never had any Sicknels till a few Months before his Death. He had in his Body, that very few could bend his Bow; and tho' he was above fifty Years old when he enter'd England, yet his Age had not in the least impaired him, as his Activity and indefatigable Labour in the Expedition he made. He was of an undaunted Courage, furious Wit and ripe Judgment, as his manner of speaking, and the Frenchmen and Danes do evi- dently shew, that were a People more powerful both in Men and Shipping than himself; yet by his Policy and Bravery he was able to match, if not overmatch them both. His Devotion was very exemplary and admirable, as the Clergy of that time, who never loved him, do acknowledge. His great Mercy appeared in often pardoning and re-

ceiving into Favour those who had rebelled against A.D. him; and tho' he was troubled with so many Re-

belloins by the English Nobles, yet he never exer-

Reg. 21. cuted but one of them, and that was Walthof, who and notoriously broke his Faith with him twice before, and those whom he kept Prisoners in Normanly as the Earls Morcan and Sivard with Wolfsoth, the Brother of Harold, and others, he (out of Compa-

fion to them) releated a little before his Death. He was so far from Supicion (a great sign of Magnani-

mity) that he allowed Edgar his Competitor for his Crown, to come in England. In his Life he made him- self troubled for the Holy War, where he be-

haved himself bravely, and got great Reputation by his Actions from the Emperors of Greece and Germany, which might have been accounted dan-

gers, because of his relation to the latter. He was a Benefactor to nine Abbies of Monks, and one of Nun, founded by his Ancestors in Normanly, and during his Reign were founded either by his Encouragement, or Charge, seven Monasteries and fix Nunneries in the fame Province. With those Forts (as he said) he furnished Normandy, that they might fight against the World and Flesh.

In England he founded one great Abby near the Place where he got the Victory over Harold, and in Normandy another, call'd it the Holy Cross Abbey, four Nunneries, one at Hinchin-Brook in Huntingdon-

fibre, and the other at Arnulfay in Cumberland, besides many other publick Works. He was very magnificent in his Festival Entertainments, which he observed with great Solemnity and Ceremony, which naturally beger Reverence; keeping his Christmas at Gloucester, his Easter at Norwich, and his Whitefrioste at St. Whitnoff, whither he then summoned all his Nobility, that Embassadors and Strangers might fee his State and liberal Expenes, and was always at those times very mild and oblige. Those Ceremonies William Rufus kept up, but Henry laid them aside.

Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of William I.

In the eleventh Year of his Reign, on the 27th of March, there was a general Earthquake in England, and in the Winter following a Frost, which continu'd from the 1st of November to the middle of April. On the 16th of the fame Month a Comet appear'd about fix in the Morning, in fine Weather. In his 17th Year another Earthquake happen'd, the more terrible because it came with a hideous Noife; and in his 20th Year they fell such abundance of Rain, that the Floods were universal thro' the Kingdom; and the Springs rising in several Hills, so often'd and decay'd the Foundations of them that they fell down, and some Villages were overwhelm'd in their Fall. Sir J. Haymond.

In the last Year of his Reign Holyhead reports, there was a burning Fever among the People, a Murain among the Cattel, and at the fame time Fowl, as Cocks, Hens, Geese, and Pheasants, fled from their Owners Yards to the Woods, and became wild. On the 7th of July, St. Paul's Church in London was burn'd.

In his Reign William Bishop of Durham founded the University College in Oxford. The Ue of the Long-Bow, which render'd the English Nation fo famous afterwards, was brought first into England by this Prince.

The most Illustrious Persons in the Reign of William I. the Norman were:

Walchef Son of Siward, Earl of Northumber-

land; Edric Sivatianus, or the Forester; Edwin Earl of Mercia, and Earl Marcher, brave English-

men, and zealous Afforters of their Liberty against the Normans; of whom the most famous were Roger de Bebent Earl of Hereford, Ralph de Waren, Earl of Chester, Roger Monbray the Norman Earl of Northumberland.

Of Men of Learning: The most Eminent in his Time were

William of Poitiers the King's Chaplain; Hir-

man the Arch-deacon; Ingulph Abbot of Croy-

land in Lincolnshire; Ofonon a Monk of Dover, who wrote the Life of Dunfray, Robert Bishop of Hereford; Fulcar a Benedictine Monk, he wrote the Life of Sir John of Bever; Arch-bishop Lan-

franc, who, tho' a Lombard by Birth, was an Eng-

lishman by Affection, he wrote this King's Life.

In his Time also flourish'd a Marrians Score, born in Ireland in the Year 1058. He wrote an English History, and General History of England, and written in it, which he brought down to the Year 1082. He left Ireland Anna 1056. and went to Germany, where he became a Monk of St. Mar-

in's Convent at Mentz, and died there Anna 1066.

Sir James Wace. Trouv Wrs.

* In the Year of our Lord 1144, the Bishop of Bayna, Abbots of St. Stephens in Cawm, ordered King William the First's Tomb to be opened, wherein his Body was found whole, fair and perfect, his Limbs large and big, and his Stature taller, and bulk bigger than that of ordinary Men.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

A.D. 1087

Reg. 1.

WILLIAM the 1st, Son to the Conqueror, being with his Father at Rouen at his Death, had his Desires to fix'd upon the Crown of England, but neglecting his Father's Funeral, he hasten'd with all Speed thither, and by the Mediation of Lanfranc, and his own large Bounty and Promises, obtain'd it, according to his Father's Will, whom by his dutiful Behaviour he had much endeavours to himself, especially after the Abdication of his eldest Son Robert. He was a Prince more Gallant than Good, and having been bred up to Warlike Actions, in which he was generally on the fortunate side, was rough and proud by Nature, and grew much more so by the addition of Sovereignty, which enabled him through the heat of Youth to do several irregular Acts, to his own eternal Dishonour. Not only the Loss of his Father's Love, but Coming to the Crown not by Succession, and Right of Primogeniture, but by his Father's Will only, for his elder Brother Robert was alive, and the Kingdom by Inheritance belonged to him, he found it absolutely necessary to hold the Possession of it by the good-will of his Subjects, which he knew no better way to procure than by large Promises of Favours and Kindness, and large Gifts to those that were more likely to be wrought upon to disturb it. His Subjects consist of two forts of People, Normans and English. The Normans were to be engag'd to him chiefly by Money; and therefore to gain them he went presently after his Coronation, to the Town of Bayeux, where his Father's Treasurer lay, and emptied it out all to them; by which prodigious Liberality, tho' he gain'd the Love of many, yet he loft more than he won, his Fund being not large enough to content all, and made himself so poor ever after, that through more necessity he was forc'd to be brutish to his Subjects, and made use of many dishonourable ways of extorting Money from them. The English were to be secured by nothing so much as the Grant of their ancient Liberties; wherefore he gave them larger Promises than was fittable to his State and Dignity, which afterward falling in the performance of it, he got himself more hatred than otherwise he would have had; yet he lost himself for the present, till Time discovered that.

Robert Duke of Normandy being settled in his Dutchy, which was the height of his Ambition in his Father's Life-time, was not contented with that only after his Death, but grudg'd to see him—Reg. 1—felf a small Prince, and his younger Brother a potent King; Whereupon he contriv'd the speediest Ways to recover his Inheritance, and ruin his Brother's Fortune in the beginning of it. He knew he had a strong Party for him in Eng. England, and his Uncle Odo, Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, and some other Nobility, were at hand to encourage him to it: But he wanted Money for so great an Enterprise, which he had no other ways to raise so speedily, as by taking it of his younger Brother Henry, to whom his Father and Mother had left a great Treasure. Of him therefore by engaging the Country of Conquer, a Province in Normandy, he borrow'd such large Summs, as enabled him to levy a good Army for England. But William newly invested in his Crown, the well enough prepar'd for any Invasion, yet chose rather to purchase a present Peace (by the Mediation of the Nobility on both Sides) till Time had better fetled him in his Government, than to raise such Hasts on both Sides by a War as could not be easily allay'd; and so an Agreement was made, That William should hold the Kingdom of England during his Life, paying Robert three thousand Marks per Annum. Robert having thus compounded the Difference with his Brother William, turn'd his Forces upon his Brother Henry, by whose help he had raised them, and took the Country of Conquer from him, without paying the Money for which it was engag'd. This Injustice from Robert was very pleasing to William, who hearing of it upbraided Henry with the Gain of the Uturity of that Money which he had lent to deprive him of his Crown. Henry being thus defeated by both his Brothers, and having no place to live in free from danger from them, he surprised the Castle of Mount S. Michael, and fortified it; getting affixture from Hugh Earl of Britain, who for his Money supply him with plenty of Soldiers out of Britain, who spoild the Countries of Conquer and Begin.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, being return'd into Eng. from his Imprisonment in Normandy, and return'd to his Earldom of Kent, was not yet con-R. reg. 2—tent to do so much an inferiour station to what he

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* The Nobility were more inclin'd to Robert than William, but by Lanfranc's Pity and Persuasions were gain'd to fix at last upon William, and O he was crown'd by Lanfranc, Sept. 6. 1087.
* William the Second, herman Rafter, or the Red, from his yellow Hair, was declair'd King on the 9th of September, and crown'd 14th of October. Sir John de Courcy.
* This fair, the Treasure confir'd of forty thousand Pounds in Money, (a prodigious Sum in those Days) besides Jewels, Gold and Plate.
* Duke Robert was in Germany when his Father dy'd, and by his absence gave his Brother William time to settle himself in the Throne of England.

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A. D. 1058. 
Honour he had spoil'd him of, to be the only Man at the Helm, by whose Counsels all things were manag'd, and to recover it again, thought 'twould be the speediest course to change the King. To this end he enter'd into a Plot with many Normandy Lords, to change, to set up Robert Duke of Normandy, and sent for him to come over with speed with all the Power he could bring out of Normandy. In the mean time these Conspirators, to distract the King's Forces, and to leave Robert an expiz entrance into the Kingdom, begain in divers parts of the Nation to revolt from their Alias, viz. Geoffrey Bishop of Conflance, with his Nephew Robert de Monfort Earl of Northumberland, fortify'd Bifhop't, and took in the Country round about; Robert de Bigod made a strong Party in Norfolk, Hugh de GrandenieniU made fords Forces about Leicester; Robert de Mongomery, Earl of Shoeftbury, had a considerable Body of Wellbornes and others thereabout, with whom he set forward, and being accompanied with William Bishop of Durham, Bernard de Newmarch, Roger Lucy and Ralph Mortimer, took Worcefter, and secured itself in them. Odo himself fortify'd the Castle of Rochester, and made good all the Coasts of Kent. So that had Robert come with his Army out of Normandy, as then he was desir'd, and in the midst of the Diffractions pur'd his Claim, he had infallibly got the Crown; but he staying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and strengthen himself by the allaiance of the Bagfli, to whom having granted a releafe from their former Tribute, called them of their Grivances, and recover'd their Supplications. From thence in hunting in all his Woods and Forests; he made them fo entirely his, and so resolute to serve him, that he soon became powerful enough to vanquish all the Conspirators; by which the Normans were convin'd, that the Bagfli could easily have conquer'd them, had they had an Head to lead them against them. Mongomery came over to the King, and the left were soon repref'd. Odo's Fashion in Kent was the strongest, and the left conquer'd. The King coming with his Army against them, first attack'd the Castle of Tonbfhire, and took it; then Penfey, where Odo was, who was forc'd to yield it to the King, and promis'd that the like should be done at Rochester, by Enfance Engtand, and the Earl Mortimer, who never would it vant against him. But when he was brought thither to effet it, the Befieged taking him in, detain'd him, and held out stoutly against the King's Forces, upon a fall Information, that Duke Robert was laded at Southampton; but at laft were forced to refign, and retire into Engtand, and Odo was compell'd to abjure the Kingdom. The danger being thus blown over in Engtand, William, to keep his Brother employ'd at home, and discourage him from all future attempts upon the Kingdom of England, transports an Army into Normandy to waffe and disturb his Brother's Dominions. At his first Enrance he obtain'd S. Valely, and after Albermarle, with the whole County of Northumberland, of Robert of Albermarle, S. Michael, Cheyne, and other Places. Robert in this difficits seek's for aid from Philip King of France, and was promis'd it; but as he was marching towards Normandy with his Army, King Will-

* Duke Robert, on his arrival in Normandy, made him Governor of that Province.

Duke Robert of Mortain, who refign'd to the King the Castle of Rochester, to recover which he received a grant of land in the French Fevz, flitting from place to place, with only a Knight, a Chaplin, and three Gentlemen attending him.

The Peace was made by the Meditation of Edgar, which refer'd it to the King's Favour; one Article of the Treaty was, That King Malcolm should do homage to King William. Sir T. H. Or. in Florence of Breton writers, That Malcolm first paid the King the same Obedience as he had done to his Father, King William.
A. D.

Reg. 6.

by this means got his Freedom, led to Philip King

but for that it might be done by his Brothers, Philip gave him kind

entertainment, but he remain'd there not long, before a Knight of Normandy, named Harbard, master-maiking to put him into the strong Fort of

Dinant by without the knowledge of his Brother

Robert, convey'd him in disguise out of that Court, and

caused him to be brought to the Castle to be guarded up to

him, by which soon after he made himself

Master of the Country of Flanders, which lay about it, and a good part of Contantine, having the private

assistance of his Brother Williams, Richard de

Ricerca, and Roger de Monseigne, Duke Robert seeing Henry again set up against him, levies an Army called Malcolm, but found he was supported by his Brother the King of Eng- land, he envaiged against him, as fable and

perfidious to him, and they became more bitter

enemies than they had ever been before. William

being incensed at this, pass'd over into Normandy with a great Army, but rather to terrifie than fight

two Enemies, for William, the King, was so great with the Sword, yet car'd not how little he made use of it, if he could obtain his ends by

any other means. Many small Skirmishes pass'd between them, but in the conclusion, a Peace was

promised, to which William seem'd so averse, that he might obtain what Conditions he pleased, and sent for greater Forces into England, as if he relums it as a part of this to be remedi'd by the King of France, was forced to

accept of a Peace at home upon any terms; which being made up, William order'd that his Army, which he had sent for out of England, and was come to the Sea-side ready to embark, should be disbanded, and upon the Payment of ten Shil- lings to their horsemen, which being gladly comply'd with, he was enabled to discharge his Expences in Normandy, and see the

French King.

King William having by this arbitrary Peace with his Brother secured himself from all Troubles in Normandy, resolve'd to turn his Arms upon

himself, intending to restrain the former from hurting him and boding the other. Malcolm, King of

Scozt, had several times in the King's absence in Normandy much depopulated and wasted the Northern Parts of England, and was again enter'd into the English Marches as far as Chester, destroying the Country all along. William hastid to oppose him, and after many Encounters they were brought to an Enterview; both Kings being more willing to have a Peace than seek it. The two Kings met at Glocester, but William carrying himself with a great dignity, and expecting to have his Demands granted in every Particular, made Malcolm not only kis yielding, who belied his own word to the Crown, but both Kingdoms determined by the Primes of them, but being incensed at the Disdain which William had bow'd to, him, sh't a Sovereign Prince, as well now as before, went home; and rais'd a great Army enter'd Northumberland, revolving to destroy that Country and go farther. Rob- ert de Baliol, Son of that great Family, seeing his Territories so miserably hand'd and depopulated, and being a stout and valiant Soldier, A. D.

raifed what Force he could to oppose him with.

1034.

Reg. 7.

William was se- 1
jting the

Wealth and

Scozt.

A.D.

1037.

William

was ex- 2
jiting the

Wealth and

Scozt.

The Life and Reign of WILLIAM the Second. 115

1 King William the Second did not want more Forces than he had, but to raise Money, he levy'd twenty thousand Englishmen, and commanded them to march to the Sea-side to be ship'd for Normandy. When they came there, he caus'd Ralph the Treasurer to offer them, that to save the Nation so many Men, and the Fees they were to run, as many of them as would pay ten Stilling would be discharge'd upon which, they all paid down their Money and went home. Sir Roger Howyard says the Scots were so encourag'd with Plunder, that the English made no difficulty to defeat them.

2 Dr. Powloud's Chronicle places the Earl of Shrewbury's Invasion of Wales, Ann 1092. Roger Howyard does the same.

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and

1094.

Reg. 8.

The Death of Malcolm, the Scots chose Donald his Brother to be their King, their Nation, which was come through to attend the Queen, or secure themselves from the Conqueror, and were preferred by Malcolm. But King William, to bring the Kingdom into their Legal Succession, and have a King which might be beholding to his Power, added Edgar the Son of Malcolm (second Son of Donald, who had serv'd him in his Wars) to obtain the Crowne and Arms of his Heir by Succession to it, and at length expelled Donald, and the Nation received Edgar, but destroyed all the Men which he brought with him out of England, capitalizing with him, that he should never more entertain English or Nor- manish in his Service. The Scots and Scottish being feted according to his MInd, he next turn'd his Arms upon

Wales, for which he could not want a just Occa-

sion, the Welsh being ever struggling for their own Liberty, and attempting a Joint Reveng upon the

English and Normans. He went him self to the

Heath, and Persuaid upon this Expedition, with a purpose of

parted of the Depopulated Counties, that was so trou-

bleome to him, but the Welsh having foartned into

Mountains, and others into the Isle of Anglesea, avoided his Fury. The King fet Hugh Earl of Str铕bury, and Hugh Earl of Chester against the

latter, who got the Isle into their Power by Sur-

prise, but iled their Victory with horrid Cruel-

ity and Barbarity; cutting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Noses. Hugh's and Arthur's fores were

poor Captives without Mercy, or Distinctions of Age or Sex. But this Inhumanity was by a just

Providence revenged upon Shrewbury almoft in the very Fact: For Magnus, Son of Olafma Son of

Harold Harfager, who had lately taken the Isles of

Orkey, and was coming to land at Anglesea in his Paffage, by a way or other with all the

Troops who were by these Earls with that small Force they had, wounded the Earl of Shrewbury in the Eye with a Shot, and beat him into the Sea, so that he suffer'd a double Death for the unpeaceable Cruelties he had been guilty of to others. This War being hardly finish'd, a Conspiracy broke out in the Heart of the Kingdom, contrary to the advice of Robert Macbray Earl of Northumberland, William his

D'Ono, and many others, whole Design was to have destroy'd the King, and rais'd Stephen Earl of Alnemare, his Aunt's Son, to the Crown. This Plot was greater Trouble than Danger to the King; for by his speedy advance against them, and order of the Crown with the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, which was join'd with him, he pressid them, he quail'd their Design, and got most of the Conspirators into his Power, who he punish'd with a Severity equal, if not beyond the Crime. The Earl he committed to the Castle of Windfor; William D'Ono, at a Council at Sar-

bury, being overcome in a Duel (the Tryal then used in such cases) had his Eyes put out,
and his Peity Members cut off; William de Al-terio, his Serber, a Man of a goodly Perfonage and allied to him, was condemned to be hanged; the both in his Conflitution to Ofmwnd the Bishop, who was præfent, and to all the People as he pafted along to his Execution, he gave fuch Proofs of his Innocency, that he was thought to have suffer'd wrongfully from the King, who was in angered by this Revolt, that he not only punished the Actors with too much Severity, but retained an implacable Temer of Mind ever after.

And certainly this ill Honour would have created him continual Diſturbances at home, had there not happen'd a very fortunate J u ncture of Affairs which not only call'd a truce, but most of the Kingdoms of Europe, which were broken in pieces with Factions and Schisms of their moft troublome Members. Pope Urban being refta-ble of the lamentable Diſtrifcion of Christendom, thought it the best Expedient to end them, to draw their Thoughts and Defigvs another way, and to that end call'd a Council at Clermon in Avergne *; where having propounded to the Princes and Bishops assembled, the miferable Condition of the Christians at Jerusalem under the Turks, he earnestly exhorted them to join their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Infidels, telling them, That it * was an Action not only just, but fuch as would be accounted a continual fave of their Country, and as well Eternal Glory in a future. This Mo- tion being seconded with the earnest Perfonations, and active Zeal of Peter the Hermift of Amiens; and meeting with a general Inclination to Reli- gion, and fuch Acts of Goodness, prevailed fo much with all forts of the People, that none ventured not to be of any real Body or Party, which defir'd to be excuf'd from the Expedi- tion: Infomuch, that many great Princes paft away their whole Effects, and left their King- doms to engage in this noble Action; and all forts of People flock'd fo fub to this Service, that in a little time they made up an Army of three hundred thoufand, or, as some fay, seven hundred thousand, and that of very real Power and Heir to the Duke of Lorraine, a glorious Prince, bred in the Wars of the Emperour Henry IV. was the firit that offer'd himfelf to undertake this famous Voyage, whom his Brothers Efjfrage and Baldwin were refrefed to accompany. Their Example invited Hugh le Grand, Count de Ver- non, fometime united to Philip King of France, Robert Duke of Normandy, Robert Frifon Earl of Flanders, Stephen Earl of Blaiz, and Charles Aun- war Bishop of Bay, Williams Efjfrage of Orange, Rauffin Earl of Thibofis, Baldwin Earl of Hai- nault, Baldwin Earl of Reikel, and Garnier Earl of Gcrez, Haripin Earl of Emeres, Tofaid Earl of Dy, Randolph Earl of Orange, Guillame Count de Bay, Guy of Andelys, and the Earl of S. Poll, Roiron Earl of Perche, and fome others, out of France, Germany, and the Countries adjoin'd. Italy fenf Roberton Duke of Apulias, and England, Remaniphone, with many others, whose Names are now loft. Spain could afford none, becaufe they were greatly afflicted at that time with the Infidels of the Moft. Most of thefie Princes and Noble Perfonls feld or engaged their Dominions and Poffeffions to furnifh them- felves out for this brave Attempt. Godfrey foled the Dutchy of Bologne to Hubert Bishop of Liege, and Mets to the Citizens. Baldwin his Brother A. D. 1097. fold the Earldom of Verdon to Richard Bishop of that Province, and Efjfrage fold all his Eflate to Reg. the Church, Harpyn Earl of Bourges fold his Earl- dom to Philip King of France, and Robert mort- gaged his Dutchy of Normandy, Earldom of Main, and all he had, to his Brother William King of England. Thus did the Pope weaken not only the Empire, but call'd the Church out of Confeft about Inveftures of Bishops; but also mightily enriched the Eclesiaftical Perfonls, who purchafed moft of the Temporalties, which the Undertakers left, and fo become much greater than they had been before; especially in France, and afterwards in England, when Richard the First undertook the fame Voyage. This War, notwithstanding it was attended with Infidels and Difficulties, Presfures and Wants, was kept on foot almoft three hundred Years, and by it were confumed an infinite Treasure, and moft of the braveft Men of thefe Western Parts of the World, especially in France; for in Italy and Germany, the Pope kept many back by Dißenfation, who wou'd be his Friends, and would elfe have gone, merely to maintain his Cause againft the Emperor; who yet struggled with him, but at laft the Pope prevailed. The Zeal of thefe Chriftan Princes was admirable, but did little or no good; for instead of driv-ing the Enemys out of the Chrifian Countries, they did, as it were, give them an Opportunity for their Weaknes, and en- courag'd the Infidels to make their Attempts upon Europe, of which since they have gained some of the fairest Provinces.

By this War Williams was rid of his elder Bro- ther, and a troublesome Competitor, had the Poifecion of Normandy during his Reign, and be- came the absolute Prince in both. But this want of an equal Enemy made him Liberty to do many irregular and arbitrary Things, whereby he left the Love of his People in ge- neral, and brought upon himself the Hated both of the Clergy and Laymen. For to raife this great Sum, which he had agreed to furnish Roh- bar with for his Journey into the Holy Land, he made many rigorous and unjust Ways of exacting Money of the People. But the Pope, for the vacant Livings and Preferments of the Clergy, and kept them in his own hands to enjoy the Profits of them. After the Death of Lanfrance, he kept the Arch-bifhopric of Canterbury vacant four Years, and had held it longer; but that falling fic to a dangerous Diffemper at Glocefter, the Clergy in his Sickness convin'd him too much of the Sinfulnes of the Fact, that he order'd that he would fill up all Vacancies if he recover'd, which indeed he did, but with some Unwillings. Anfelm, an Italian born, but bred up in Anfelm Normandy, was prefered to the See of Canterbury; made Arch- Bishop. But what through his own Stubbornnesses and the King's, he had not his Regal Prerogative, bury he never enjoyed it quietly. For before this began the Controversy about Inveftures of Bishops, and other Privileges of the Church, which was to hotly maintained by his Successors; and Anfelm not yielding to the King's Will, or rather Right, was forced to leave the Nation; and the King took his Bifhopric again, and took all the Profits of it, and after this he was Lit- terary a Poifecor of Church-Livings and Prefer- ments, that he held in his hands at one time, befoe the See of Canterbury, the Bifhoprics of 

* Ofmwnd Bishop of Salibury. Sir J. H.
* This Pope had been driven out of Italy into France, expelled by the Paffion of Clement III. being at this time a Schifm in the Papacy.
* See 5556, others fay 15600 Pounds of Silver. Sir J. Hayward.
* Anfelm was Abbot of Beccejloire in Normandy, was chosen Bishop on the 8th of March, 1093. Hol. Vol. 3. 30.

Winchester.
The Life and Reign of WILLIAM the Second.

A. D. Winchelsey and Summ, and eleven Abbies, of which he had all the Incomes. What he disposed of to others, fell usually to their Shares, who would give most 1 Money for them, and took Fines of Priests for Facsimiles. He said Robert-Durham had paid him £5,000. And tho' he had much im-poverished his Clergy, yet when he had laid this Tax upon them to pay his Brother, and they complained of Want, he answer'd them, That they had Shriines of Gold in their Churches, and for 500 a Week as this War against the Infidels was, took of them their Penance, as the Monks, to cause such of them as were converted to Christianitv to renounce it again, making greater benefit of their Aporathy than Convention; wherein he discover'd something in his Nature that Covetousness, which is Athenic. Besides the Taxes which he imposed upon the Landed Men, for his Preten-sious Acts, he was very odious and tyrannical, yet he wanted not some of great Name and Station to concommemate them, as Kenebaff Bishop of Durham, and some other Bishops, who fulfil'd themselves to be as free as they could, to oppose the Clergy and save the Laity. By their ill means he gather'd great Sums of Money, which he as lavish expended, either in his Buildings, (which were the Caftle upon Tine, the City of Carlisle, Wellington-Hall, and the Walls of the Tower of London) or else in his Prodigal Gifts to Strangers, as the King of Prance, and others, which brought him to extreme want.

He was of an indifferent Stature of Body, and well set, his Complexion was ruddy, and Hair inclining to yellow, whence he had his Name Rufes; he was bountiful to Soldiers, but afavor to the Churchmen; he was of a rough and violent, but yet very courageous Spirit, of which we have often written. As he was one day hunting, a Meffenger came in all haste out of Normandy, and told him how the City of Mans was surpriz'd and taken by Heli, Count de la Flesche, (who by his Wife pretends a Right to it, and was affilied by Fulk D'Angiers, the old Enemy of the Dukes of Normandy) but the Caftle held out valiantly for him; yet, if it were not timely relieved, the Caftle would have fallen. The King instantly bent his Body to the bid the Meffenger return with all speed, and af- sure them in the Caftle, that he would be with them in eight days, if Fortune hinder'd him not. And presently having inquir'd which way Mans lay of a Norman that flood by, rid directly towards the Sea-Coasts. His Attendants, tho' they

admire'd his Resolution, yet advise him to stay A. D. a while to provide things necessary for the Jour-ney, and a Force unanswerable to his design: But Reg. 11, he reply'd, They that love me will follow me.

Being arriv'd at Dartmouth, and desirous to go on Board of Jersey, from whence to carry the Otto, the Mafler told him, That the Weather was foul, and Sea so rough, his Pallage would be very dangerous: But he said, Tariff, set forward, I ne-ver yet heard of a King that was drowned. Where-upon the Mafler setting forth, he arriv'd at Har-fest by break of Day, lends for his Captains and Men of Jersey, through the assistance of which accordingly arriv'd there upon the Day appointed.

Count de la Flesche, after his coming, was not able to hold out the Siege, and but some Skir-mlades releas'd the City, and was himself taken by a Stratagem, and brought a Prisoner to Rouen. Here being brought into the King's Presence, the King jell'd upon him to his Face, as not having Courage or Policy enough to withstand him; at which being more enraged, than cait daff, he said, That he was made a Prisoner more by Chance than Force; and that, were he at Liberty agian, he would leave the King but little Land on that side the Sea. The King hearing these words, instantly set a Prize on his Liberty, and giving him a good Forse, bid him go and do his Will. And this Act had such an effect upon the Count, that he gave over all Opposition, and came soon after to a Peace with the King. After this Success, the King return'd home with great Jollity, fea-ied his Nobility magnificently in his new Hall at Wellington, which was then lately fmm'd with a Board which he found built for being built too little, saying, That it was fitter for a Chamber, than a Hall for a King of England, and took a Platform to build it larger. After these Demonstrations of Joy were over, he spent some time in letting his publick Affairs, and then betook himself wholly to the Pleasure of Peace; and being a Huntin Y with his Brother Henry his New-Poefy, with Sir T 5irrell a Norman 6, and his Kinman, Shooting at a Deer, (whether mislaking his Mark or not, is uncertain) shot him to the Heart 7, and so he immediately dy'd, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age. A Prince, who for the first two Years of his Reign, while either through Fear or Defign he follow'd the wise Council of Launsende, and haftened the Punishment of the belft Princes, and might have had an absolute Government of all his Subjects, if he had continu'd to seek it by endeav'ring Acts; but seeking to effablibh it by Force, made both himself and People miserable.

* * *

* Yet that he appov'd was the Simoniacal Buyers of Church-Promotions, though his Necefities put him upon much finickier means and ways of raising Money, appears from this Instance: That the King having the Privity of an Aby in his hands, which he reduc'd to dispense of, two Monks came to him, and bid him large Sums for it, striving to own each other in pur-chasing it; a third stood by, as an Attendee of him that should be prefer'd, the King asked him, What he would give? To whom the Monk answer'd, Nothing, because I have vouched Poverty. This Answer plac'd the King to well, that he promptly gave it him; shewing, that tho' he let them have Promotions who bought them, yet he thought those defer'd them belt that would not purchase them.

* That the King was not at all oblig'd to the Monks for the Charities they gave of him, neither were they oblig'd to him for his Paviour. He hated their Gownabsolute and Arrogance, and had more Religion, or less Superstitution, than any of them; if what is faid of him be true, that he should openly declare, He believe'd in Saint's gold and préca any one in the Lord's sight; and that neither be use any wife Man would make Intercession either to me, or any other for Help. Eadmer, Hist. p. 27.

* Barlow.

* That Frest was kept at Wellington the last Year, before he went to Normandy, William of Malms.

* This Tyrell was a French Knight, a native of Patois, a City in the Pays Vexin France, of the Province of the Island of France.

* Sir John Howard relates the Circumstances of it thus: As he was hunting at Chorlton in the New Forest hefuck a Deer lightly with an Arrow, and thou'd it to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes, because the Sun- beams dazzled his Sights; another Deer indoors, the way, Sir Walter Tyrell Horseman it is too carefully, or too headily at the King, that him full on the Breast, and kill'd him, the 2d of July, 1100.

* Remarkable
REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

In his second Year there happen'd a dreadful Earthquake through the whole Kingdom, which was follow'd by a great Famine of Fruit, and so late a Harvest, that Corn was not full ripe at the end of November. Sir J. Hayward. Hist. Wills.

On the 5th of October, in the Year 1091, there fell a violent Storm in several parts of England, especially at Winchelsea in Glocestershire, where the Steeple of the Church was thrown down by Thunder and Lightning, and the Crucifix with the Image of the Virgin Mary was broken to pieces. The Hurricane was follow'd by a noisome Stink. Holinshed.

Sir John Hayward adds, That there was also a thick Smoke which darken'd the Sky.

On the 17th of the same Month there happen'd a Storm of Wind, which was then S. W., the same that blew in the late Tempest, so dreadful to the whole Nation; and yet this we are about to mention seems to have been more fatal in the City of London, where it threw down above five hundred Houfes, and blew off the Roof of Bow-Church in Cheapside, by the fall of which two Men were kill'd. The top of the Steeple at Salisbury, and many Houfes were blown down. Holinshed.

Sir J. H. says, It threw down fix hundred and six Houfes in London; and that some Beams of Bow-Church twenty eight Foot long were driven so deep into the Ground by it, that not above four Foot remain'd in sight. The Tower of London was also much broken. He adds farther, The next Year Governor Bishop of Salford Smith'd the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum, and the Steeple was fin'd by Lightning the fifth Day after the Consecration of the Church: Which, perhaps, gave occasion to Holinshed's laying, that the damage was done to Salisbury Church at the same time that the Roof of Bow-Church was blown off.

The Year 1094, was very remarkable for the Number and Fashion of gliding Stars, which seem'd to dath together in manner of a Combat. Str. J. H. Holinshed, who is very particular in his account of the Seasons, Weather, Plagues and Famine, goes farther, and affirms, That there was this Year to great Mortality of Men and Beasts in England and Normandy, that the Ground lay untill'd in many places, which caused a few re was Dearth. Grilly and hideous Sights were seen in England, as Hobs of Men fighting in the Air, Stars falling from Heaven, and other such Wonders. The Ignorance and Superfition of those Ages have, we suppose, heightened the Terror of the unusual Accidents in the Phenomenon of Nature: But we are not of the Opinion of those, who think there is nothing useful or entertaining in an Account of such extraordinary Events and Appearances, nor are they below the Dignity of History.

In the Year 1095, the eighth of this King's Reign, a Comet appear'd for fifteen Days together, the Tail pointing to the East. And in this Year Peter the Hermit preach'd up the Crusade against the Infidels.

In the last Year of his Reign the Sea overflow'd in divers parts of England and Scotland; many Villages, Castles and Towns, much People, and a vast number of Cattle were overwhelm'd. At the same time the Lands that belong'd to Godwin Earl of Kent, Father to King Harold, were overflow'd and cover'd with Sand; and ever after they were call'd Godwin's Sands, as at this Day Goodwin by Corruption. The Heavens often seem'd to flame with Fire, and frightful Forms and Apparitions were seen in the Air.

In this Reign the Monastery of Bath was joynd to the See of Wells, by John Bishop of that Dioces; and the Church of Coventry to the Bishoprick of Chester, by Robert Bishop of that See.

The most Famed Warriors in his Reign were

Robert de Morbey Earl of Northumberland, Roger de Montgomery Earl of Strevfores, Robert de Bidades, Hugh de Granbojuill, Roger Lacy, Ralph Martimer.

For Learning there were few or none Eminent in his Time, except

Turgotus, Prior, Arch-deacon, and Vicar General of the See of Durham, who wrote a Chronicle of that Bishoprick. He was afterwards Bishop of St. David's.

'Tis observable, that the English Names are already lost in the List of the most noted Barons of England: All whom we have mention'd, and those we must have mention'd, had we inferred more, being Normans.
HENRY the youngest Son of William the First, being present at his Brother's Death, and born in England (which contributed much to his Advance-
ment) was elected and crowned King within four days after his Brother's Deces; it being
though, who should have succeed-
ed William, was chosen King of Jerusalem; and was not probable, that he would leave
that kingdom to govern this. But however, left
Robert's return from the Holy Wars (who was
indeed in Antida, and having homage) should make
the present Inclinations of all People to sette
him in the Succession; for as it was impossible to sette himself in the Possession of it, which accordingly he effected; and that he might secure himself the firm Allegement of the People, he began his Government with Acts of Kindnefs and Benefit to them, being a Prince not only
learned, as these times were, from whence he
was called Beau-Clerk, but also of a mild Dis-
position and crafty Judgment; so that he knew
how to make them good Subjects, after they had
once made him their King. And to effect this,
he first began with the Clergy, and all Vacancies
in the Church, which his Brother through Cove-
rontiefs had reserved to him, he filled up, with
learned and pious Men; Antida he recalled from
his Banishment, and restored to the
Arch-bishopric of Canterbury, and in general
settled the Church in all the Privileges which had
been taken from it by his Predecessors. The
Latiy he not only freed from the Oppreftions and
heavy Exactions they had long lain under, but
punished those Men who had been forward In-
struments of promoting them, which mightily
pleased the People. And because Ralph Bifhop
of Durham, a Man who by his Cunning and Fair
Tongue had raised himself from a very mean
Condition to great Preferments and high Employment
under the late King William, being
his chief Counfelior, was generally looked upon as
the friend, that put his Mafter upon these in-
tolerable Exactions and Irregularities, and so was
odious to all, he committed him to a freight
and loathsome Prison. All dilolute and vicious
Perfons were expelled his Court, and the People
were allowed to use their Lights again after the
Cover-fen Bell had gone, which Williams had pro-
hibited them to their great DiContent. Many
other good Laws and Orders he made for the
Government of his Kingdom; and to make him-
self the more popular and beloved of the Eng-
lifs, he married into the Royal Blood of England.

Henry mar-
ried into the
by taking to Wife, Maud the Daughter of Mar, English
marriage, the late Queen of Scots, Niece to Edward Royal Line.

Ailing, and to descended from Edmund Iron-
file, a Lady of fair and noble Birth, and had boasted
worthy of so good a Mother, yet hardly won
from her Vow of Virginity to become a King's
Wife.

Henry having thus secured his Interests in Eng,"
Roberts're-
land, as much as possible, was scarce settled in the
by his Regal Honour, but that Robert returned from war.
The Holy Wars into Normandy, and was received
with a general Applause by his Subjects there.
The News of his Arrivial much lооfed the Affec-
tions of many from King Henry, especially of the
Norman Nobility; who either out of Con-
science, or DiContent, defire Robert should be
their Governor. In the first Year Robert only
threaten'd, but in the second he arriv'd with a
strong Army at Portsmouth to recover his Rights, Reg. 2.
and to him flock'd great Numbers of Henry's
Subjects, especially Normans; so that the Ar-

ties on both sides were very powerful. But
when the two Brothers met, and were to en-Reg. 3.
counter each other, Proposals of Peace by Henry's
Craft, were made to Robert (who was a very

tender hearted Man, and cullly won to it,
though very valiant) to save the Expenditure of
Christian Blood, and it was concluded upon
these Terms. That since Henry was born after
his Father had obtained the Crown of England,
and was the eldest Son of William as King,
though he was the youngest of him as Duke,
and was never invested in the Regal Dignity by
the Consent of the Kingdom, he should enjoy


He went to Winchaff and seated the late King's Treasures, from thence he posted to London, where by the Intereff and wife
Management of Henry Wimbrugh Earl of Warwick he was elected King, William of Memberby.

Robert beheld himself with such Courage and Conduct in this Expedition against the Turks, that when the Christians had
taken Jerusalem, and thought it necessary to prefer one of the Christian Princes to be King of it, it was with general Consent
tender'd to Robert, but he having judiciously laid the Case of his Brother William's Death before him, and
informed him that he was desirous to assume his Kingdom of England, Our Historians generally think, that Robert crof'd Providence by this Refolution, for he not
only left England but Normandy, and was unfortunatly in all his Actions ever after.

He was born, after his Father had been crown'd, at Selby in Lincolnshire; he study'd at Cambridge.

He reform'd King Edward's Laws with some Amendments, and added several others much for the Benefit and Liberty of the
Subject, as above the Punishments of Theft with Death, false Coining and Adultery with Loss of Eyes and Members, Marriage of
Widows, and the Daughters of the Guilty, all which may be found more largely in Spen's Lives.

Maud, Daughter of Malcolm King of the Scots by Margaret, Sifer to Edgar Etheling and Daughter to Edward Son to Ed-
mund Ironside, was next in Defcent from the same Kings to the Inheritance of the Crown of England, Edgar dying without
Heir, her Marriage with King Henry the Saxon and Norman Lines were united together, both in Blood and Title to the

it
A.D. 1102. 2. Marks for Annuity. 3. That if Robert obtained a
Reg. 2. them he should succeed. 5. And that all, either
English or Normans, that had taken part
with Robert, should have their Parliaments and en-
joy their Estates and Liberties. Things being thus amicably composed, Robert, a Prince of a
generous and free Temper, flourished in England two
Months, and continued in the forms and ceremonies of his
Brother’s Court without any sign of Envy or
Ill-will, and then returned about Michaelmas in
Normandy.

Henry being thus freed from his greatest Fear,
and settled in his Throne by Right, began to
stand up more boldly in affairs of his Prerogative,
against the absences of Arundel and Anjou,
who refused to concur that Eiobop that
the King had preferred; alleging it to be a Viola-
tion of the Sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the
Church, lately decreed (at Rome) concerning
this Bullena. The King not willing to forego
his due, sends an Embassado to Pope Paschal,
to represent his Right to the Investiture of Bishops
and Collocations of Ecclesiastical Dignities, which
he received from his Predecessors Kings of Eng-
land, who never were molested in this Preroga-
tive, but of late. Anjou immediately follows the
Embassadors to Rome, there to make good his
Cause; which so angered the King, that he
banished him the Kingdom, and took his Bishop-
rics and all his Goods out of the hands of the
King; and boldly vindicated the Power affirmed by the
Church, but in the end feeling the Resolution of Henry,
and knowing that it was not in his Power to con-
strain him (who was engaged with the Emperor and
other Princes in a Contest of the fame Na-
ture) he resolved to deal with him by Persua-
ision and a fair Transaction to his Will, and
sent with kind Letters sollicits him to relinquish his
Claim and promises him most solemnly, that he
would further him in any Matters concerning his
State. The King considering the Proposals,
and having some Deffigns in hand, which he judg-
ed might be better effected by the Commi-
nance of the Church, confents to the Pope’s Desires, and be-
comes the instrument to other Princes yielding to
him in the same cause: So Anjou was recall’d,
and his Ambassadors return’d with large Presents
from the Pope.

A Rebellion against Henry.

While these things were in hand, and tran-
acting at Rome, there built out a Rebellion
at home, which it tended to the Defection of
the Authors of it, so it brought the King more
easily to his ends than otherwise he could have expected.
Robert Beleigne, Earl of Stewbery, Son to Roger Montgomery (a fiery young Man)
prefuming upon his great Strength and numerous
Friends, fortified his Castles of Stewbery, Brig-
bridge, Tickhill and Armidale, and combining with
their Allies, denied the Obedience and Subje-
tion to the King. Henry, hearing this Attempt, gathers a strong Army, and marches to-
wards him; and within thirty days, partially
by Force and partly by Promises, disposed all his
Affiliates, and took all his Castles, except that
of Armidale, wherein were Beleigne himself with
his Brother Armand and Roger de Poitiers, which
held out for some time longer, but at length were
forced to yield upon Condition, that they might
retire safely into Normandy, which the King read-
ily granted, seeing he loth nothing but two or
three troublesome Men, which were better any

where than at home. Their Departure made well
A.D. for the King, for he immediately feized upon the
1102. Earl’s Eftate, which made a considerable Addi-
tion to his Revenues, and being come into Nor-
mandy, he made way for his obtaining that also.
For as soon as he came thereto, he entered into a
Famililiarity with one of like Condition and de-
finite Fortunes with him, (an exiled Perfom)
whose Inclination had likewise firrip’d him of all
his Eftate in England, and much wafted that in
Normandy, viz. William Earl of Mortaigne, Son of
1104. Robert half brother to William the Firth. Thes Reg. 5.
Examples, two Earls, with their Adherents, committed ma-
y Outrages, affaiuting the King’s Castles, and
the King’s Ward and Power, inciting se-
veral other parts of the Country; and tho’
they were complain’d of to Duke Robert, yet no
redress was made, the Duke being either past
Action, or giving himself up to a Monkish Slugg-
gishness. Henry therefore was appealed to by
the Normans, who fending for his Brother, re-
paid him thrall for his Sluggishness, which
Robert took so ill, that giving vent to former
Diffenters, he joyned with them mutually Earls,
and resolved upon a fresh Revenge upon his
Brother. The King being troubled in Confidence at the
Foulnefs of a Quarrel with his own Brother,
was very dubious what to do, till Pope Peflach
sent him some Letters to persuade him with all
the Arguments of his Iteration and Authority in
this War, which he faid, would not be a civil
Diffenion, but a noble and memorable Service to his
Country. The Commenation and Appro-
imation of the Pope put Resolution and Alacrity
into the King, and now he proceeds boldly
as against a Brother, but a most dangerous Na-
ture, with whom he had been long enough; and
differted that he might not be a hindrance to his
Majesty, and after many Difficulties and Oflefs of
many worthy Men in a great Battle near the
Castle of Tenebrov, defeated his Enemies and
Won Normandy, on the fame day by Compu-
lation (wherein forty Years before) Normandy had
over-run England. Robert, who flood in a fair
Potence of two Castles, was now depriving of
his Dynasty, and sought a Privey unto his Yield-
ing to him in the fame Cafe: So Anjou was recall’d,
and his Ambassadors return’d with large Presents
from the Pope.

A.D. 1105. Reg. 4.

And now Henry being gotten to the highest
pitch of Power and Dignity, an absolute King of Reg. 7.
England and Normandy, was so formidable, that Henry
had no danger to disturb him, so that he lived
many Years in the most flourishing Prosperity,
gathered a great Treasure, and held a friendly
Correspondence with all neighbouring Princes.
Scotland was obliged to be quiet, not only upon

a This Opposition was in a Synod call’d by Anjou at London, wherein be deposed several Bishops who had been invi
ded in their Seats by the King, and decried, that none so invested ought to be consecrated.

b Tenderly.

c Some Authors report, that ? was not his Eyes which were put out, but the End of Mortaigne’s the
Henry's Querels with the King of France.

Henry IV. and fo had raised him to the Throne, A. D. (for he conquer'd his Father, and kept him in fuch 1108, fraught Improvisment, that he dy'd) yet he ex-Reg. 2. Reg. 9. Reg. 8. 1107. 1108. 1109. 1110. 1111. Page 121.

The account of his Match with Marie, but alfo be-cause he was a Benefactor to their Kings, and fre'd them from Ultipations. Wales, the he was forced to make them a Bank of his Father, but now and then gave his Arms a little Exce- cit, at length by his Wifdom he found out an effectual way to check their turbulent Honour. For, 1. He planted within the Body of their Country a Colony of Flemings, who being ad- mitted into the Nation by him, joined form'd their Country-woman, and ufed their affiance in fiduding the Kingdom, and after allow'd them to dwell in Cumberland, had been routed from their Habitations, by the Son breaking in upon them, and were become now burthenfome Grifts to the Kingdom, and much disturb the Natives. These People, who were both numerous and fhort, he terr'd with their Numbers, and fo not only rai'd his own People of their Grievance, but alfo put a curb upon that People to keep them in awe, for they foon made room for themselves, and keep all the adjoining Countries in fear of them. And then, 2. He took the chief Men's Sons in the Country for Hostages, and fo ftrum'd them to be brought up with the Kings, and by growing up of Diffurbance from them, because their King Philip gave himself up wholly to Exile and Luxury, and made not Warlike Affairs, though his Son was thought to be of an active Temper, and might alter things when he came to the Crown. With the Earl of Plandrers he had some difference, but it was not fuch as to be jealous of his Speech, in which he had engag'd himfelf, and finding that fuch a Sum had been paid to his Predecessors, demands it of King Henry as his due, but the King, who was very fhort at paffing with Money, fent him word, that it was not the Diffart of the Kingdom of England to pay Tribute; if they had how allowed him to any Perfon that had been well of them, they were temporary, and ended with them. This Anfwer much difpir'd the Earl, and tho' he liv'd not to fhow his hatred, yet his Son did it, by affifiting Williams the Son of Robert in his attempts to recover the Duties of Normandy from King Henry. In this fome parte, when his Reign he forced his Affairs to hearty at home, that he never had any Diffurbance among his Subjects after. But the Changes of the World brought a mufation in Henry's Affairs abroad. For after the Death of Philip King of France, Lewis the Gros his Son suc- ceeded him, and foon after his accellation to the Crown began a Conteft with him about the City of Gifon, and the King of England almoft, almoft along'd to his Duties of Normandy. Henry being a Poli- tick Prince, and knowing that he had a powerful Monarch to grapple with, not only provided an Army to oppofe his Enemy, but strenuify'd himfelf by good Alliances, which he had a favourable opportunity to do juft at Junecourt. For there he conf eyed and made a League between the King and the Emperor Henry V, whom tho' the Pope had encourag'd in a Rebellion againft his Father

In Ruff Hundred in Pembrokefide, where their Poffedty fell continue, retaining fo much of their old Customs and Lin- guage, as dilfiquilizes them plainly from the Weale or Britains; they were ftil placed in Northumberland, and remov'd to Wales, as the Wightmen and two others, in the Year 1111.

But it was only for the prefent, for in the five and fift Year of his Reign they made several Incursions into England, two under Owen of Cadigan, when they invaded the Possifions of Gilbert Strongvail Earl of Strogi and two onl not long after under Griffith of Cown, when they fell upon the Efter of Hugh Earl of Chofier, who interceded the Enmity of Hugh, and ftood them, that he would bettily to retrench them, yet upon their folonm he pardon'd them.

The Conflq between the Pope and Emperor.

The Son of the Count of Burgoyne fecesied him in the Papacy, and being a Prouncemall'd another Council at Reims, where by an Ecclesiasti- cal Decree Henry was declair'd an Enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperial Dignity. This made Henry the Emperor have a jealons Eye of Lewis, as a Favourer of his Enemies, who being moft his Subjects, had pronounc'd fuch a Sentence againft him, and比拟 the French growing Party, defir'd a Marriage with Ana, the Daughter of Henry King of England, who was then an Infant of about five Years old. Besides this Enemy, Lewis had in his own Kingdom feveral of his Nobility about Paris, as the Counts of Cre- cy, Pifans, Bimarti, Champaignes, and others, who prefumed, as they were his People, and his own Seignories, of which at that time there were many in France, would be abfolute Lords, and not be under the awe of a Matter. These Henry took under his Protection; and that Lewis might not move againft him, but with near as much pre- judice to himself, in his own Confines, as he could do to him, he then defir'd a Peace without Sovereign. The Emperor, who being become his Son-in-Law, was eafily fatory'd by his Interfet or Perfonations, he incen'd to that degree, that he immediately rai'd an mighty Army to affault his Dominions, and joy in with Henry, who had made as great Preparations. This Storm hanging over the French Kingdom, they did not only terrify their People, but them as well, by their own Refolutions, that was begun in the Year 1118, and as the French had every great defires, to know the motions of the French, and the better to confpire with them, that was the beginning of the French War, and the Emperor Henry IV. and fo had raised him to the Throne, A. D. (for he conquer'd his Father, and kept him in fuch 1108, fraught Improvisment, that he dy'd) yet he ex-Reg. 2. Reg. 9. Reg. 8. 1107. 1108. 1109. 1110. 1111. Page 121.

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was feated at Wormes, to the Pope's advantage; for the Emperor yielded up his Right to Inveil- 
tures of Bishops, and other Benefices, to him. The 
King of England was very much displeased at this 
Disappointment, but however did not give over 
his Deligna against Lewis, giving the greater sup-
port to the Faction in Lewis's Kingdom, especial-
y the Duke of Anjou, who befought William to 
strengthen'd with his great Alliance to Stephen 
Earl of Blois, and Falke Earl of Anjou, was most 
likely to make the boldcft Opposition to the 
French King. Lawton the other side endeavours'd 
as eagerly to undermine Henry's Power in Nor-
manly, and to that end confirm'd with William 
Earl of Kent, and Robert Duke of Normandy to 
his Father's Dominions, to whom by Right the Inheritance belong'd. Ma-
ny great and bloody Battels were fought between 
these two Princes, with the expence of much Blood 
and Treasure; till at length, both being tired with 
the Fatigues of War, willingly came to conclude 
Partition, and was in favour of being Duke, 
whence Daughter William, King Henry's Son, 
was about to marry, and upon the Conformation of 
the Peace was made Duke of Normandy, for which 
he did Homage to Lewis, and marry'd the Duke of 
Anjou's Daughter; and so France and Anjou 
became his Friends.

1116.

But thefe Troubles were scarcely blown over, 
before the Conclufion made, but there fol-
low'd fuch a fad Accident, as turn'd all the profe-
nious Succelfs and Joys into Mourning. William, 
the only Son of Henry, who was but just fetted 
in his Dukedom, a Prince of fourteen Years of Age, 
going into England a little time after his 
Father's departure, accompany'd by Richard his fad 
Brother, and the two Youths of the Nobility, 
Richard Earl of Caiger, and his Wife, who was 
the King's Niece, and many other Perfons of 
Quality, and their Attendants, to the number of an 
hundred and forty, besides fifty Mariners, fetting 
out at Barflefe, were all caft away at Sea, only a 
Butcher efcafp'd. The Prince had recover'd a 
Cathedral of Hales, in his Father's Name, 
which he was moving with the lamentable Grief of 
his Sifter, he went back to the finking Ship to take 
her in, where fo many crowded with her into the 
Boat to fave themselves, that it fank with its 
Load, and fo all perifh'd in the Waters. What 
Reflection this heavy Judgment might caufe in the 
King's Confcience, is hard to know; but cer-
tain it was, that it reduced him to a Grief in his 
Mind, that he was never feen to laugh after: And 
'tho' he made all the haffe he could to repair the 
Breath made in the Succelion, by marrying Ada-
liea*, a young beautiful Lady, Daughter of the 
Duke of Loziana, and of the House of Lorrain, yet 
the Lefs prov'd irreparable, for he never could 
have a Crown.

But the Death of Prince William created the 
King not only inward, but outward Troubles, by 
breaking his Alliances, and unfeiting his Affairs 
in France and Flanders. Normandy it felf wa-
er'd much in their Allegiance, many adhering 
to William his Nephew, to whom many more Reg. 17. were in Confequence inclin'd, than dare fhow it.

His Great Confederates went over to the King of 
France. Falke Earl of Anjou quarrel'd with him 
for his Daughter's Dower. Robert de Mallein his 
Chief Conuenor, who befought Duke William, 
and took him, fell from him, and conspiring with 
E莺g Earl of Montfort, invaded and feized upon his 
Dutchy. But fuch was his great diligence and 
working Head, that he foon reduced things into 
a quiet Frame. The two Earls he took by fur-
price, and made them his Prisoners; and Death 
consequent of their Confequences, as Sir Polydore 
Reg. 1125. John, who was a confiderable Prince, as we may Reg. 27. 
judge by the King's matching firft his Son, and 
after his only Daughter, then an Emprefs, into 
their Family, as we fhall prefently come to relate. 
The King of France confirm'd his Opposition, and 
terained William, Son of Robert Curtwale, where-
in all the Title to Anjou, and Stephen Earl of Bri-
lon with great power to obtain the Earldom of 
Flanders, to which he had a fair Title by the de-
fect of Iffie in Earl Baldwin, who was flain in a 
Battel in France againft King Henry. But Will-
imy Lord, as if he had been not only Heir of his Fa-Reg. 27. ther's Dominions, but Misfortunes, being admit-
ted to the Government, military'd in his manage-
ment of it, was depowered by his People, and at 
length flain in a Battel by them. And fo ended 
the Family of Robert Curtwale.

While thefe things were tranfacting, News Henry the 
came to the King, that his Son-in-law Henry the 
Emperor was dead; whereupon he prefently fert 
for his Daughter the Empress home, with Inten-
tion to make herift in the Crown. This Oath was 
It is difputed whether the Emperor was fent for by 
her; and for that purpose fummon'd a Parlia-
ment, which met at Windsor, wherein an Oath 
was adminifter'd to all the Lords of the Land, 
to be true to Her and her Heirs, and to acknow-
ledge and obey them as the right Heirs to the 
Crown. This Oath was firft taken by David King 
of Scots, and Stephen Earl of Bri-
ogne, and Mortain, the King's Nephew, on whom 
he had fent from good Poiftelions in England, and 
advanced his Brother to the Bifhopric of Win-
chefter. And to make all fecurc, he had the fame 
Oath impon'd in another Parliament at Nor-
thampton. His next Care was to provide Heirs, 
1119. and hereupon marry'd her to Geoffrey Plantagenet Reg. 34. Earl of Glouceftr, by which he did uneft the two 
 Sons. So that all things now fett'd fettled and 
quiet, but only the King's own Dreams, which 
were faid to be very terrifying, and in which he 
would rife, take his Sword, and act as if he were 
to defend himfelf from some Enemy, which 
they'd, that his Confequence was very uneafie and for-
"*He marry'd her at Lifbome in the Year 1119. Ord. Vit.
* She was Crowned as William by Roger Bishop of Selby; Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury, by reason of his Paflie, be-
ing, not able to perform the Ceremony: And yet because Roger was not appointed by him to do it, the Archbishop was fo angry and inflamed, that he offered to strike the King's Crown (who was crown'd again with her) from his head. Sir John Haynys's 
Hift of Ben. I 158. 1. 6. no 6. writes, that the King was crown'd at Windy by Ralph, that the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry 
Huntingdon relates, that he brought her with him from Normandy into England about Michaelmas, 1116.
* In the Parliament Robert Earl of Gherfel, King Henry's natural Son, and Stephen Earl of Bulidge, his Nephew, had a warm 
dispute who should wear firit. David King of the Scots allo fware Falyly at this time to rne the Empres, and her heirs.
* In the Parliament Robert Earl of Gherfel, King Henry's natural Son, and Stephen Earl of Bulidge, his Nephew, had a warm 
dispute who should wear firit. David King of the Scots allo fware Falyly at this time to rne the Empres, and her heirs.
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dispute who should wear firit. David King of the Scots allo fware Falyly at this time to rne the Empres, and her heirs.
* Dr. Beade and some other Authors pretend, that the Convention of the three Eftates, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and 
the Commons, which we now call Parliament, was at a par of our Confeffion till the latter end of the Reign of Henry the 
Fourth. But it was afterwards that the Earl of Derby by the advice of Sir John Haynys's, the Doyen of the Clergy, 
and the common People, was held on the 9th of March, in the 16th Year of this King's Reign, Acts Dom. 1116. And 
there are others who state the Origin of these Assemblies as high as the beginning of the Sax Monarchy.
* William of Malmesbury writes, that the King were in August, 1127, to be present at the Confeffion of the Empres 
Mand's Marriage to Geoffrey Earl of Ang, Son to Falke Earl of Angan, whom to flay the Empres had no great inclination to 
marry.
had none at home. His Entrance upon the King-  
dom, which was with fears of a Competitor, taught  
him to take all the best Counsils to gratifie and  
please his People with all things to their Advantage;  
that Justice should be administered duly and im-  
partially to all; that no Corruption or Oppression  
should burden his People, by which means things  
were carried with Events between the Nobility and Commons to their Satisfaction.  
He made several Progresses into the most remote  
Parts of his Kingdom, to see how his Realm was or-  
dered; and therefore, when he was in England,  
he kept no certain Residence, but celebrated the  
solemn and Festivals in several Parts of his King-  
dom, that all his Subjects might have a chance and  
share in his good Cheer. He never would ex-  
tort any Sums of Money arbitrarily from his People,  
but always raited such Taxes as his Necessity  
required by the Consent of his People, which he  
assimil’d in Parliament first at Saltbursby,  
Anno Regni 17, confenting of three Estates, ac-  
cording to the Custom of Normandy, as it was the  
Custom to this day. He was a very sober Prince himself, and  
carefully repaired the Excefls of his Subjects, as  
Long hair, and other loofe Fashions. He was ve-  
ry frugal and sparing in his Expenses, chafing ra-  
fther to push himfelf than his People: and tho’ he  
had many great Charges of War, he never had  
ruin’d the Country and his long Wartime for his  
War in France, and the other of three Shil-  
kings upon every Hide of Land for the Marriage  
of his Daughter to the Emperor. He kept in-  
deed some Bilhopricks and Abbacies void in his  
hand, as that of Canterbury five Years together.  
By an Act of Parliament, Anno Regni 30. he  
engaged his People and In-  
continency of Priests; but for a certain Fine  
allowed them to enjoy their Wives, which much  
difpleafed the Clergy, and hinder’d the Reforma-  
tion intended. He changed the Punishments of  
Mafe-factors by diminishing, and Pecuniary  
Mulcts. The Provisions of his Houfe, which  
used to be paid in kind, he had rafed and re-  
ceived that Money upon his Charges to the great  
Content of his People, and with the Con-  
front of his States. He allufed to himfelf the  
Liberties of hunting in his Forefts, and besides  
renewing the former Penalties, made a Law,  
That if any Man in his own private Woods  
killed the King’s Deer, he fhoiuld forfeit his  
Wood, but the Richer for to Inclufe Parks, and gave them an  
Example first himfelf, in making one at Wood-  
flock, which was the Original of that Grievance.  
His Expences were chiefly in Wars, and upon  
several great Fortifications in Normandy. His  
Buildings were the Abby of Reading, and the  
Manor of Wansford, with the Parks belonging  
to it, which he inceled with a Stone Wall of  
seven Miles in Circumference.  
His most eminent Counfellors were Roger Bilhop of  
St. David’s, and the Earl of Malton, both Men of  
great Experience in the Affairs of the World. Ro-  
ger was entrusted always as Viceroy, to govern  
the Kingdom in his absence: He had managed his Mo-  
ney and other Houfhold Affairs, when he was a  
private Prince, and with that Fidelity,  
that he put him into the greatest Trust when A. D.  
was a King, which he delivered with the Royal  
Orders of Royal Pro- 

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His Refor- 
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David’s.  

His life  
Regi- 

The Life and Reign of Henry the First.  

123  

A. D.  
1133.  

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**Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of Henry I.**

In his 2d Year 1102. Gloucester and Winchester were burnt. In his 4th a Comet appeared, and four Circles were seen about the Sun. In his 7th another Comet was seen, and on Thursday Night before two, full Moons appeared, one in the East and the other in the West. In his 10th a third Comet was seen, and an Earthquake happen'd in Shropshire.

Sir John Hayward, Hist. Hen. I.

In his 11th Year the River Trent, near Nottingham, cease'd to run its Course for four and twenty Hours, and so long the Channel was dry'd up. Holkhead adds, that the Comet appear'd in a strange manner; it rose in the East, and when it was advance'd near the Mid-Heavens it kept not its Course forward, but seem'd to go backward, as if it had been retrograde; in December the Air appear'd red, as tho' it had burnt. Molt of these Accidents he places under the next Year, during which, almost all the Bridges in England being then built with Timber, were broken down by the Ice when it thaw'd after a severe Frost. In his 16th Year, on the 1st of November, there fell a prodigious Storm of Hail, accompany'd with unusual Claps of Thunder and Blasts of Lightning. In December a great Earthquake happen'd, and the Colour of the Moon was chang'd into that of Blood. Holkhead.

In his 17th Year the Cities of Barb and Peterborough were burnt. In his 20th Year there was an Earthquake in September. In his 22d the City of Gloucester was burnt, and Lincoln the Year following. In his 36th Year Rochester was almost destroy'd by Fire, and London in his thirty second. In the Year before he dy'd, being the 34th of his Reign, on the 2d of August, just as he was about to take Ship and sail to Normandy, an Eclipse of the Sun and Moon appear'd, at which time William of Mainfry, who was then living, writes that he saw the Stars plainly about the Sun. This Eclipse was follow'd by a terrible Earthquake: In which the same Author relates, the Beale wherein he sat was lift up with a double remove, and at the third time setled again in the proper Place. Sir John Hayward.

Holkhead tells us, 'twas the Houfe in which the King sat; he adds, that Flames of Fire burst out of certain Rifs of the Earth with such Violence, that they could not be quench'd by Water or otherwise.

In this Reign, Anno 1109, the Bishopric of Ely was founded. The first Bishop of the Diocese being Harvey, Bishop of Bangor. About this time the Marriage of Peflea was strictly forbidden in England, by a Synod at Weftminister, in which Anselm Arch-bishop of Canterbury presided; it had been disallow'd in a former Synod, Anno 1102. The Pope's Power was very low in England in the Reign of Hen. I. In whole time.

The most illustrious Captains were

Robert de Bellegene Earl of Shrewsbury, William Earl of Mortaigne the King's Nephew, and Reginald Earl of Cornwall. The most able Ministers of State were Robert Earl of Melfort, Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and Richard de Riveux. And the most Eminent Men of Learning

Endmerry, who wrote the History of the three Norman Kings to the Year 1122. Mr. Selden publish'd it. He was a Monk of Canterbury, Anselm's Disciple, and Arch-bishop elect of St. Andrew's. Orderus Vitalis, an Englishman, but a Stranger of the Abbey of St. Evroul in Normandy, William Ge- nitelus Abbot of Touinque in that Dutchy, Alfred of Beverly, and Florence a Monk of Worcester, who dy'd about the eighteenth Year of the Reign of Hen. I. He epitomiz'd, or as the Learned Bis. fing. Hist. shop of Carlyle is of Opinion, rather tranfigur'd, Lib. V. i. M artin us Scott us.

p. 142.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF King STEPHEN.

A.D. 1035. 1st Reign.

The Male-Office of the Norman Line being extinct, and only a Daughter remaining, who was marry'd to a Frenchman, Stephen Earl of Bologne and Mortagne, Son of Stephen Earl of Blair, and Adela the Daughter of William I. was elected by the general consent of the Kingdom, and within thirty days after Henry the Fourth crowned him at Whiffen, ministered by William Corbell Archbishop of Canterbury. The chief of the Peers and Bishops had engaged themselves by Oath to accept Maud for their Queen after Henry's decease; but when he was dead, and the Awe of his Power and Greatness removed, they found out many shifts to evade their Oath, tho' they herself from Peru. The Archbishop of Canterbury boldly alleged, (tho' he had first sworn to the Succession of Maud) That it was not fit that so many and great Persons should be subject to a Woman: who others of his Party form'd into a Reial, That it not being a Custom in any Christian Kingdom, where Kings are anointed, to admit Women to inherit the Crown, it was an unlawful Oath, and therefore had no obligation. Roger Bishop of Salisbury, one of the principal Men then in Council, gave this Reason why they were discharg'd from their Oath. That the King had marry'd his Daughter out of the Realm, without their consent, and therefore they were not bound by his Right of Succession. But that was not pretended: Because indeed he had no Right that way, having an Elder Brother, Theobald Earl of Blair, and there being others whose Claim by Defect was before him, particularly Maud's two Sons, if the her self were rejected for their flight Realms. But the main thing that prevail'd at that time to make Stephen King was this: That he was a Man, and had very great Possessions both in England and France: his elder Brother was a Prince of great Power, being Earl of Blair: and his younger Brother Bishop of Winchester, the Pope's Legate in England, and of very great Interest with the Nobility, who at that time were chiefly guided by the Clergy. Besides, Stephen himself was at a very affable and graceful Personage, very affable and courteous, of admirable Courage and Activity, which recommended him much to the Nobility. There A.D. Reafons drawn from Interest abroad and at home, 1035, being back'd partly with the Bishop of Winchester, Reg. 1., their Persuasions and Friendship, and partly with the Consideration, that by preferring one to the Crown who was unwar, they might better secure their ancient Liberties, than by any Person that should come to it by a legal Succession, made them elect Stephen to be their King: And to secure themselves of him, they caution'd him to take a private Oath before the Bishop of Canterbury to confirm the ancient Liberties of the Church, and obliged his Brother to undertake for the performance of his solemn Promise made thus to them in their absence.

Stephen being thus got into the possession of the His first English Government, and so made Master of all the Properties, and Affairs which his Uncle had gather'd in many Years, which was the Sum of 100000L of ready Cash, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, after the Interment of Henry at Reading, call'd a Parliament, which assembled at Oxford, and therein refer'd the Clergy to all their Liberties, and freed the Laity of all their Tributes, and other Givens of which they complain'd; and confirming the Grants by his Charter, he took an Oath in the presence of the whole Assembly to observe them. Whereupon the Bishops and Peers swore Fealty to him, on this Condition, That he observed the Tenure of this Charter.

And first after his Settlement in his Kingdom, he prepared he proceeds for his own defense: being capable, for his dejection of the greater that what he had gotten could not be held long, but by the Sword. And for this end he first gives a liberty to all Persons that would build Castles and set upon their own Land, to secure themselves and the Nation from any Invasion, which in a peaceable and unassuming Reign had been a good piece of Policy, but in a factional time, as it happen'd, was indeed dangerous to the Kingly Power, as he after found: Then, because he knew nothing would be a greater security to him than firm Friends, he made all he could by creating near Lords, giving the Peers the larger Estates, and sparing no Cost to make his Subjects of greatest Interest, faithful to him. Two ways he expected

* He was in Normandy when King Henry dy'd, and taking a Light Ship at Wimlands made haste to England. He arrived of London, and was elected King the 26th of December, by the Management and Interest of his Brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and Abbot of Glastonbury, who had brought over the Archbishop of Canterbury to his Party, together with other Bishops.

* Thefe Evacuations and Shifts were ridiculous to the more considering part of the Nation, tho' they serv'd the turn of the Politicians themselves; yet there was another more plausible Reason given. Hugh Bigot, who came over with Stephen, and had been Steward to the late King Henry, depos'd before the Nobility and States, That King Henry upon his Death dy'd give the Kingdom of England to his Nephew Stephen, because his Daughter Maud had by her unfaithful Behaviour alienated the Affections of the King from her. And this is said to have generally prevailed for Stephen's Establishment.

* Malmesbury writes, that he kept few or none of his Promises.

* The late Author calls the Sum 100000 Marks.
The Life and Reign of King Stephen.

A.D. 1136.

Disturbance to his Government, viz. from Scotland and France. David King of Scots began the Quarrel; he took himself oblig'd to reform his Niece the Empress Matilda to her Right, not only upon the account of his near Relation to her, but the Oath he had taken in Henry's Days, and therefore first invades Stephen's Dominions. But Stephenson, as if he had been provok'd to all Opposition, was prettyly with him with a strong Army, which so deter'd the Scots, that they came to a Composition with him to return home upon the Restitution of Cumberland to their King, and the Earldoms of Northumberland and Huntingdon to Prince Henry, the King of Scots Son, to whom in Right of his Mother, the Daughter of Welford Earl of both, they beleng'd; which Stephen granting, a Peace was patch'd up for the present. Henry did Fealty to the King of England for his two Earldoms, and so they departed. At the King's return home, he met with a Revolt from some of his Nobility, of whom Baldwin de Redvers was the Head. He provok'd the Welford's to be very troublesome on the Borders. These Motions cost the King some time to allay, and were very fiercely well appalled, but a new Occasion reviv'd them again: For King Stephen, with the violent Toils of War, fell very dangerously sick, so that it was report'd he was dead, by which means his Friends began to fly from him and publickly to deplore his late, and his Enemies both at home and abroad to feize upon his Dominions. Hugh Biggot forfified himself in the Castle of Norwicke, the Welford plunder'd the Neighbouring English, the Earl of Anjou did also take this Opportunity to feize on his Wife's Right, and took certain Parts of Normandy, and made his King's Children of his first Year spent in fighting but Battels, Invasions and Revolts, a sad Pregage of the distracted and troublesome Reign he should have over an ill-gotten Kingdom, and a faithlesse People.

The King after some time recover'd, and to make the World know he was alive, pass'd immediately from the Welford, and took the Earl of Anjou, and all his Home Injuries.

1137. Reg. 2. Stephenson conquer'd the Earl of Anjou, and refidued his Home Injuries.

1138. Reg. 3. Theobald Earl of Blight, the King's eldest Brother, envying Stephenson's Greatness, began to put in his Claim for his Possessions; which tho' Stephen little valued, yet to pacify him, he agreed to allow him two thousand Marks per Annun, and then made his Son Ewain Duke of Normandy, causing him to do Homage to the French King, A.D. 1137, and so in other Parts of the Kingdom did William Talbot the Castle of Hereford, Paynel the Castle of Eaddow, Love that of Cary, Monn that of Dunfer, and many others. The King counting an inward Enemy most dangerous, left the Profession of A.D. the War with the Scots to Thumfin Arch-bishop 1138. of York, as his Lieutenant, Walter Earl of Al Reg. 3. banner, William Pemwell Earl of Nottingham, Walter and Gilbert Lacy, brave and valiant Commanders, and goes himself well attended to reprefs the Conspirators, which he did in one Expedition, and all the Scots who opposed him were Sitter in Anjou. Nor had his Forces in the North left so Succes against the Scots, whom they routed and put to flight, and to Stephen, as Fortune's Favourite, was become victorious over all his apparent Enemies.

Stephen having now gotten a little requite of his former Losses began to consult with himself how he might ease himself of such troublesome Contests with his Subjects; and because he now found, that the Castles he had permitted his Nobility to build, and the Popes and many other Castles in the North, would make a great Council at Oxford. Here some of his Lords, who much envy'd the magnificent and stately Castles erected by the Clergy (whole Buildings both in Number and Strength much excelled those of the Nobility) but especially by the Bishop of Salisbury, who had built several vast and strong, and some of the great Men of his Dwelling House, Salisburn, Malmesbury and Newport, whisper'd into the King's Ear, who was very jealous and suspicious of such Designs, as that their Fortresses and taking intended for the Reception of the Empress Matilda's Castles and her Party; and by their Surmises to would put forth from him upon the King's Fear that he sent for the Bishop of Salisbury, and made an expedient for the destruction of those Castles. But those whoThe Bishop foreseeing the Danger impending, would have excus'd himself from his Attendance upon the King, by reazon of his great Age; but that Plea would not be allow'd, he must go. The Bishop therefore taking with him his Nephews Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigel Bishop of Ely, with a Retinue of well armed Men, went to Oxford, where at his first Confrontation with Drives, the King told him Lodgings, happen'd into a Quarrel with the Servants of the Earl of Britain and kill'd one of them in the Fray, the Earl of the King being dangerously wounded. This being brought to the King's Ears, he calls for the Bishop, and demands Satisfaction for the Breach of Peace made by his Servants in his Court, which was this, that he should immediately yield up the Keys of all his Castles to him, as Pledges of his Fidelity. The Bishop refused to do it; whereupon he commanded the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be seiz'd upon, and kept under a Guard. The Bishop of Ely had made his escape, and got into the King's Hands. The Bishop of Salisbury and Drives, after three days assault, that of the Drives was surrend'red to him, whither he sent the two Bishops Priores, and seiz'd the Bishop of Salisbury's Treasure, which amounted to forty thousand Marks.

This Action of the King's being something arbitrary, and very unwise, was censur'd very severely by the People of that time; some justified it, and pleaded, 'That the King had done very well in seizing upon those Castles: For this very unfit, yes, it is against the Canons of the


b. William of St. Alban's relizes. That when King Stephen heard of the Revolt of these Lords, he said, 'Since they have done me this King, Why do they now follow me? By the Faith of God (his usual Oath) I'll never be call'd an Abducting King,' his words are Rex Ego.
The Life and Reign of King Stephen.

A.D. 1139.
Reg. 5.

The Bishop of Winche\nafter supper, the King's Proclama\nations against the Bishop of Salisbury, and called a Con\ncil at Winch\nclefter, but it was to examine the \nMatters.

Church, that the Clergy who are Men of Re\nligion, and should make it their whole buf\nness to promote Peace, should build Castles for \nWar, especially with Regard to the King and \nhis Realm. But the Bishop of Winche\nlefter, the Pope's Legate, being more zealous for his Func\ntion than his Brother, made a refolute Oppo\nsition to it, saying, That if the Bishops had \ndone amiss, they ought to have accepted it, not \nonly by the King, but by the Canons of the \nChurch, and that the Pope and his Legate \nwere not fit to be authorized by the \nCouncil.

* * *

Wherefore but that the Mer\nof the Peace of Malm\ny, A.D. 1139, and was generally looked upon as such a Friend 1139, to the Empire, that if the case he would re- Reg. 5, sign his Charters to her, That the King did not agree the Bishops with the Clergy and the King, as a Servant and Receiver of his Revenues, That the King took not his Castles from him by force, but the Bishop refused them to avoid the Calamity of a Tumult raised in his Court, That if the King found any Treasure in the Castles, he had only to ask it as delivered to him with them, through Fear for his Offences, That the Covenants between the King and Bi\nshop were ratified in the Presence of several Witne\ Ness. To this Roger answer'd, That he was never any Servant to the King, nor ever received any of his Moneys, and threatened that if he had not his Justice done by this Council, he would bring it to an Higher Court. The Legate kept to his Moderation, and replied, That these Allegations against the Bishops ought first to be examined in a Coun\ncil, whether they were true or no, before Sen\
tence had been given against them; and there\nfore the King ought (as is necessary in all pub\n\ncial Tyranny) to recall the Bishops into his Pre\n\nmier Eftates, otherwise by the Law of Nations \nbeing difficult, they are not oblig'd to hold \n\n\nPlea. After a long Debate in the Council con\ncerning this Cause, it was (upon a Motion) put \noff till the next day, that the Arch-bishop of \nRoan, who was to act on the King's Part might \nbe present, who delivered his Opinion, saying, \n
That if the Bishop could prove by the Canons The Arch\nthat they ought to have Castles, they should order of them to \nhold them; but if not, they did ill to contend \nfuriously for them. And were if it so, yet in \nfulpicious Times they ought according to the \nmanner of other Nations, to deliver up the \nKeys of any Castles to the King's Plea, who is to protect all. But if it belongs not to \nthe Clergy to have Castles, and if it were by \nthe King's Indulgence permitted, they ought \nnot to deliver them Keys. \n
The Bishop the lawyer added, That the King had been informed, that \nthe Bishops were sending some Persons to Rome \nagainst him, and that he feared they were \nnot to presume to do so, lest he prevented their \nreturn. These Speeches put a Stop to the Coun\ncils Proceedings, and caused the Bishops to break \nup within a few days without bringing the Matter to any Conclusion. The Bishops dare not excommunicate the King without the Pope's Con\ncent, which, if they had gotten they feared the \nSword: Wherefore the Legate and Arch-bishop \ntook another way of dealing with the King, viz. by Entreaties and Prayers, falling at his Feet in \nhis Chamber, and begging of him, That he would in Communion to the Church and his own Soul, as well as his Reputation, compend this Diffention between the King and the Church, \nThe King gave the Bishop a mild Answer, but not at all with any thing he had gotten. Short\nly after these things, the Bishop of Salisbury died \nthrough Grief, unpitied; for he was a Man (in his latter Times) guilty of much Corruption, and of infatiable Avarice; and though the King \nbeen so kind and bountiful to him, as not to only to pass over his Offence, but to make him \nbe his Chancellor and the other his Treasurer; but to say, The Bishop should be weary of living be\nfore he would be of granting, though he gave him half his Kingdom, yet he was deservedly full\n\n\n
* A Baron ward in the Laws. cl"cker.
The Life and Reign of King Stephen.

A. D. 1139.  
To whom the Realm had taken an Oath to accept A. D. 1141. her for their Sovereign in the Succession; and to
prevent'd, that a Parley was granted upon a Plain Reg. 7. near Winchelsey, where, after the Empress had
sworn to the Legate, That all the grand Affairs of the Nation, and especially the Donation of all
Bishopricks and Abbies, should be wholly in his
disposal, if he would join with the Church of England, and pay her faithful
Allegiance, as her Brother Robert Earl of Glocester, and Brian his Son, Marquis of Wallingford, Abbe
of Glocester (after Earl of Hereford) with many others, on her part had sworn to do. The Bishop
with some few others received her readily as
Queen* (the) never came in general, but
knows it, she asked, and took an Oath of Fidelity to
her, promising to keep his Oath so long as the
broke not her Covenant; and the next day was
led with solemn Procession into the Bishop's
Church at Winchelsey, by the Legate on the
right hand, and Bernard Bishop of St. David's on
the left, and in the presence of many other Bishops,
by Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of
d'Ely, Robert Bishop of Bath, and Robert Bishop of
Winchelsey, and many Abbots, had the Crown
derived to her. Within a few days after came down
the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, to the
Empress, being united by the Legate, but
would not do Fealty to her, as being a thing un
worthy; but she said it was necessary for the
protection of her Children, for to first do the
with the King; which being obtained,
he with several Bishops and Laymen went to
the King to Brielf. In the mean time the Council
broke up, and the Empress went to Oxford, her
own City, to keep her Easter. Soon after Easter
a Council of the Clergy was summons'd to meet at
Winchelsey, to which the Bishop, and some few
private Conference with every Bishop severally,
and afterward with every Abbot, and other Per
sons that were to sit in the Council. At the open
ning of the Council the Legate made a Speech,
shewing them, 'That the end of their Meeting
was to consult for the Peace of their Country,
which through the stragling of two Parties was
in such a state, that it was the needful
 Peace of the Country to make his Bro
ther King, upon his own becoming Sirety,
that  he should defend the Church, and settle
good Laws. That his Brother having abused
his Trust, and ill managed his Government,
(which it grieved him to think of, and repeat)
in their own manner, and in the Bishop's, fitting on
their oppositions, and by many other publick Miflenes
gs; God had tried his Judgments upon him,
and let him fall into the hands of his Enemies;
and tho' he could not but love his Brother, yet
he must cleave the Caufe of the Immortal God.
That therefore the Nation at this Juncture might
not be without a Governor, he had called them
gether, by the Virtue of his Legantine Power,
to elect and ordain a Prince, because this Pri
tilege belongs of right to the Clergy. And
therefore, having invoked the divine Aid, we

* Hedinghead says, She landed at Pershamouth, and went straight to Arundel in Suffe; then the Caffle of William de Albany, who
had marry'd Adelia the Queen Dowager, by whom the Empress was lately rece

* As Glocester.

* William of Malmesbury's word is, Dominia, Lady of England.
A. D. 1141.

Reg. 7.

The Lucy doers came to the Council, and petition the King's Restores.

The

Legate's

answer'd them at large, and verily loftly, as he did the day before. 'That the Londoners ought not to hide with them who had deserted their King in the Battel, by which advice the Church had been dishonour'd, and who had err'd in the Council, and to whom as a public person as this Anwer was given, one of Queen Maud's (King Stephen's Comfort) Chaplains stood up, and deliver'd a Letter to the Legate, who having read it to himself, said aloud, 'That it was not fit it should be read publickly in an Assemblie of so many Reverend and Religious Persons, because it was an own Freetow to his own. The Chaplain hearing this, and feeling the disappoiment of the Queen's design, like a faithful and zealous Servant, stood up and boldly read the Letter himself, which was to this effect: 'That the Queen earnestly entreated the Clergy there assembled, and particularly the Bishop of Winchelsea to the Englishmen of the Kingdom, whom I know to be Subjects, desir'd in Prision. To this the Legate answer'd as he had done to the Londoners, and the Council was so far from yielding to her Request, that many of the King's Party were excommunicated by them, and particularly William Martell, a chief Man with the King, who had declin'd before, and the next Day the King and his Party were in Prision. But Maud's Interest was not so much promoted by her Friends among the People, as it was weaken'd by her own haughty and proud Carriage to her Subjects. The Londoners, who hoped Favour from the new Queen, petition'd that the rigorouus Laws of her Father might be abrogated, and King Edward's restored, but were deny'd with some sharpness: Whereupon they fell immediately to the King's side, (which in their Hearts they much affected) inveigh'd openly against her, and confir'd to favorize her in their City, but the having had timely notice of it, made her escape (with David King of Scots, who came to visit her, and her Brother Robert) and got to Oxford, which was always true to her. The Legate himself also being deny'd his Request for his Nephew Eustace, that he might enjoy his Earloms of Bullogne and Mortagne in Normandy, began to slacken his Affections to her, in which difficult Queen Maud, finding an opportuni ty to address her felt to him, wrought to Reg. 7: upon her by her Tears and Intreaties, with Pro vincial informations, of the abstinence of all the King's Subjects, and to oblige to his Condition, and act like a Brother, and to absolve those of the King's Party, which he had lately excommunicated. The Earl of Gloucester observing this sudden Change in the Empress's Affairs, beholds himself all he could recover the Legate's Affections to her, and to that end sallies to meet her in the Castle of Winchester, with seven Guards, from whence the funds for the Legate to come to her, but he first delay'd, and then openly deny'd. The Empress, much amaz'd at this Answer, call'd a Council of her best Friends about her, to advise what to do; but in the mean time, by the Legate's Information and Order, who was fled to her, Queen Maud, and the Lords of her Party, encompass the Town, and shut up all Conveynances of Provision to it: So that at last, after five weeks Siege, the Earl of Gloucester was forced to remove the Empress to the Castle of the Devils, in which dangerous attempt, the late got safe away, yet the Earl himself was taken, and brought to Queen Maud, where he was made a Prisoner, who, in the Empress's opinion, balance an Exchange for her Lord, which accordingly the earliest immediately to be propound'd for the Exchange, the Archishop of Canterbury and the Legate, being to be Prisoners till Robert was releas'd. The Earl himself would not consent to the King's Release, but at an other Propose being perfun'd by his Sifer, he yielded to it: And Stephen being desir'd from his Imprisonment, left his Queen and Son Eustace Pledges, till Robert was also releas'd, which was done upon the King's coming to Winchelsea, where he wasワけ'd by the King with all promises of Preterment and Honour to forsake his Party, but when nothing would prevail, he was lately sent back to her, and fo both Parties began again to renew their Quarrel with their refor'd Captains.

Soon after this great Change of Affairs, the Le-Council calls a Council at London, where the Pope's Letters, written to him in anuver to the Brios of both Parties sent to him a little before, were read openly by the King, in which he (the mildly) for his neglect in procuring his Brother's Release, and exhor'ts him to obtain his Liberty by all means Civil and Ecclefsiatical. The King himself came to this Council, and complain'd, 'That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Justice, had taken him, and by their reproachful and cruel usage almost destroy'd him. The Legate protest'd great Eloquence labour'd to excufe his own Actions, alluding, 'That he did not voluntarily accept the Empress, but through mere Compulsion and Fear, because upon the King's overthrow, while the Lords were either fled, or waited in supineness for the Event, the and her Party came upon the King; and the King was deliv'red out of her hands. And therefore he, in the Name of God and the Pope, require'd them with all their Power to assist the King, who was anno'mted by the consent of the People and Appe rofick See, and to excommunicate all such as disturb'd the Peace, and were found Favourers of the Councils of Anjou. To this Speech of the


Legate's,
130 The Life and Reign of King Stephen.

A. D. Legate's, the Empress's Agent, who was present in the Council, made a bold Reply, charging the Reg. 7. Legate to his Face, 'That he had given his Faith to the Emperor: That he would pay no Act there was, but that his Brother was

enraged, but rich,' to her, that he would never aid his Brother with above twenty Soldiers: That her coming into England was occasion'd by his Letters, by which he often solicited her to it: That he was the chief caufe, that the King was taken and kept a Prisoner. Thence, and many more Reflections upon Legate, he followed her, the next Legate came not at all concern'd, nor would make any reply to them.

Some months after the Enlargement of the King, both sires remain'd without Action, but yet employ'd in contriving how to bring about their Designs most effectually and speedily. The Empress remaining at the Castle of the Dover, resolves by the advice of her Council to send over her Brother into Normandy to solicith the Husband the Earl of Anjou to affist him with what Forces he was able. And the Earl, the better to secure her in his absence, sent her in the Castle of Oxford, which was well fortified against all Alliances, and takes with him the Sons of the chief Noblemen that were at that time Pledge of peace he held to her. Stephen having notice of this design, endeavours to stop his Passage, but not being able to do that, laid Siege to the Castle of Oxford as soon as he was gone, which held him employ'd till the Earl return'd. Jeffrey Earl of Anjou, being defirous rather to have Normandy (of which he had more good hope) than the greater part, which was in hopes of the refi than to adventure for England, refused to go over in Perm, but sends a small Army under his Son Henry's command, who was but eleven years old, that he might be acquainted with England, and be fhour'd to the People, to try whether his Personal Prefence would not move them to the Confederation of his Right, which prov'd more serviceable than an Army. The Earl of Gloucester being safely arriv'd with the young Prince, went towards Oxford, but the Empress had made her escape from thence in dilguite, and was got to Wallingford, where she met her Son and Brother with great satisfaction.

King Stephen in the mean time takes Oxford Castle, and takes the Odds in his Enemy that he had received from Anjou, makes efforts to all the Friends he could to increase his Power; but Money failing him, his Intrest fink, especially with his mercinary Lords, and others, which he had in great numbers out of Flanders, who fell to rifting Abies, to the great dishonour of the King. But the King's Party did not oblige him, but all the Empress's: The Earl of Gloucester, the chief support of her Title, dy'd within two years after his return to England, and shortly after Milo Earl of Hereford, who did discourag'd the Empreis, that the feet her Son away into Anjou, and not long after follow'd her, being tiring with the Lawyer and Claines of Parties, and leaving his Friends to defend what he had builded in England. But Henry being advanced now a little in Years, (viz. sixteen Years old) and able to under go the Fatigues of War, was impatient of a stay in his Father's Court, when he had some hopes of one of his own in England; and therefore went into England again with an Army of choice Soldiers, got into the North, where David King of Scots his Uncle, who had been put into Poffession of Northumberland by the Empres, was ready to joyn

him. Stephen, hearing of his arrival, follows him A. D. with an Army to York, to secure that City, and hinder his Return; but the first Motions of both were brave and adventurous, yet French-like: The Emperor honor'd, and nothing was done by either side; Stephen returning home, and Henry not long after into Flanders, where he met that Fortune which let him on the English Throne.

Henry was lately arriv'd in Flanders, but his Henry Father-in-Law Jeffrey Duke of Anjou and Normandy dies and leaves him Heir of both the Duke's and Count Palatine's Dominions.

Henry's Return to England. 1151: That Henry, now married to Margaret, was very prejudicial for the whole State, and especially for them, to have a young Prince come in to the rule with the Sword, meditated with them, and of the Body of peace, which was concluded at Wimp- en, was in a great manner by William Rufus war. 1152. He was his Father. 1153. With a Young Son.

He held a few Weeks before the Peace was concluded in the following Year between Duke Henry and King Stephen.

Poffession
unnecessary Prince his Son, when he had Reign'd A.D. eighteen Years and ten Months. He was a Perfon to continually engag'd in War: Reg. 12. like Affairs, that it is not possible to give his full Character, whom the World never knew in Peace. He was certainly a very valiant Prince and excel- lent Soldier, and wished nothing but a clear Title to have made him one of the best of Princes. What his Government would have been in Peace, may be conjectured by a few Incidences: He kept his Promis made to the States at his admission to the Throne, concerning the Release of their Taxes, and never had one Tax (so far as can be found) in his Reign. He was so mild and merciful to his Subjects, that tho' there were many Revolts and Rebellions against him, yet he never put any great Man to Death. And it is very observable, that tho' his Reign was full of Wars, yet there were more Abbies built in his time, than had been in an hundred Years before, which shews, that tho' his Times were troublesome, they were not Irreligious and Unfortunate, as has been shewed in the Reign of Charles I. He had by Maud his Wife, the Daughter of En- fuse Earl of Bolingbroke, three Sons and two Daugh- ters: Only one Son, viz. William Earl of Bolingbroke, Surrey, and Mortiaine; and one Daughter, viz. Mary, a Nun and Abbess of the Nunnery of Ram- Jet in Hambridge*, survived the King. He had two Natural Sons, William, and George, made by the King Abbot of Welfrayter, which place he enjoy'd twenty Years.

Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of King Stephen.

On the very day that he landed in England to put in for the Crown, as an Omen of his trouble- some Reign, there happen'd a mighty Tempest of Thunder, (horrible to hear) and terrible Blasts of Lightning, which falling out in the Winter-seaon was the more taken notice of.

In the 12th Year of his Reign the Jews at Norwich crucify'd a Christian Child. In his 14th Year there fell so much Rain in the Summer-seaon, that it spoil'd the Corn; and a Famine follow'd it. On the 9th of December it began to freeze, and the Frost till'd the 9th of February, in which time the Passage over the Thames for Men and Horses was on the Ice. In this Reign there were built no fewer than 1115 Castles, which were to be demolish'd by the Articles of King Stephen's Treaty with Duke Henry, Son to Maud the Emprefs. Hol.

William of Malabury writes, that about the Year 1140. the Money of the Nation was so bad, that scarce one Shilling in ten was good. In the same Year, on the 21st of March early in the Morning, there was so great an Eclipse of the Sun, that Men were forc'd to light Candles to eat their Meat by. And the above mention'd Author adds, Those who sat at the Table where he was, feared the return of the ancient Chaos, for several Stars were perceived near the Sun.

The most Famous Warriors in his Time were

Hugh Regis Earl of Norfolk, Baldwin Ridower, Walter and Gilbert Lacy, Ralph Earl of Chester, William Manclevl Earl of Ely, William Martell, Roger and Alice Earls of Hereford, the Earl of Lei- terer, Simon Earl of Northampton, the brave Earl of Gloucester, Natural Brother to the Empress Maud, and Prince Luwace, King Stephen's eldest Son.

Of Men of Learning the most Eminent were


* At Canterbury on the 25th of October, 1154. On the Death of Earl William her Brother, the was taken clandestinely from Ramley, and marry'd to Matthew Earl of Bol- bacy and Derby.

* He was at last depriz'd of it, for prodigiously impleting the Revenues of that Monastery.
HENRY PLANTAGENET, (though
at the Death of Stephen he was beyond
the Seas, and a Frenchman by Birth, yet)
was admitted to the Crown of England
without any Opposition or Capitulation other
than the usual Oath. He was detain'd by contrary Winds
from coming into England for six Weeks together*,
after Stephen's Death; but the Nation was so tired
out with Civil Wars, and all Places so miserably
harried, that they chose to wait for his coming, rath-
er than provoke so powerful a Prince by the Ele-
ction of another. So he was crown'd by Theobald
Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Dec. 20, 1154. in the
twenty third Year of his Age. He was a Prince
young, active, and powerful, and had all things
that might have made him high and assuming;
but he understood the Necessity of his own pre-
sent Affairs, and the Interest of Princes so well,
that he began his Reign with all such publick
Actions, as he knew would get and increase the
Love of his Subjects, being sensible, that the King
of France was so highly offended by his March,
that he would not overlook any Advantage he
could get against him through the Discontent of
his Subjects. And the first thing he did was to
chose himself a Council, which he did out of the
greatest and most experience Men of his
Kingdom, who could best inform him in the
State and Condition of the Nation. Then he
call'd a Parliament at Wallingford, where he
pass'd an Act, which was not more for his own
Profit than for the Satisfaction of all his People,
which was, To expel all strangers out of the Land.
For the People were greatly partial'd with them
at that time, by reason of the Wars, which drew
Multitudes of them lither, especially Flemings
and Picards, whom King Stephen, after he found
the English false and unfaithful to him, enter-
tain'd and chiefly trusted, making William de
Tyrer, Earl of Kent their Commander, who by
Virtue of this Act was banish'd with the rest
of his Country-men, and his Lands feiz'd into
the King's hand. After the Dissolution of this
Assembly, that he might be able to maintain
his Royal Dignity without being barthenome to
his People (who's voluntary Contributions would
afford them greater Supplies, if Necessity requi-
red, than were Extant) he look'd into the
State and Condition of his Revenues, reform'd
the Exchequer, and retain'd those Lands which
had been alienated, or detain'd from the Crown;
and though some of his great Lords resolutely
kept Possession of what they had in their hands,
as Hugh de Mortimer of his Castles of Chester, his
Wigmore and Bridge-North, and Roger Fitz-Miles
prins of the
Earl of Hereford of the City and Lands of Glo-
Lands be-
cover; yet the King took them by force from
them, as belonging to the Crown. As he did
also the Castle of Scarborough from William Earl
of Albemarle, and divers other Lands and Castles
in Yorkshire possessed by private Men. Hugh Bi-
god reign'd his Castles into the King's hands:
But that which look'd worst in these Affairs,
was his taking the Castle of Penzey, City of Nor-
wich, with other Towns and Castles from William
Earl of Mortaine and Warren, the second Son of
King Stephen, contrary to his own positive Agree-
ment with the said King, alleging, that they
were the Demesnes of the Crown, and could not
be alienated from it, yet he suffer'd him to en-
joy the Lands his Father held in England in the
Reign of Henry I. These things being disjunct'd
he went into the North, and seiz'd upon Cumber-
land and Northumberland, with the Cities of Car-
lisle, the Countie of New-Castle, and Castles of Ben-
larke, which his Mother Maud had given to Da-
vid King of Scots, or had anciently belong'd
to the Crown of Scotland by the Donation of his
Predecessors: saying, 'Twas not in the Power
of any King to give away any part of his King-
dom: Yet he suffer'd Malcolm, the present
King, to enjoy the Earlom of Huntington, which
Stephen had given to Henry his Father, because
it could be of no Benefit to him, but at his Plea-
sure; and he had a Mind to keep him his Ho-
merger, to do him Services for that Earlom.
The same Course he took to recover all Alien-
ations from the Demeans of the Dutchy of Nor-
mandy, forcing Theobald Duke of Peace to resign
two Castles, and Dauoy Earl of Perth, the like
Number to him. These Revolutions, which were
done with Lsti to many Persons, and contrary to the
Grants of himself and Predecessors, might seem
unjust, and in the beginning of his Government
not safe: But because the Kingdom receiv'd a
great Advantages by it, and only some particu-
lar Persons complain'd of, it was generally approv-
ed as a necessary and prudent Action; for if
these Revenues had been still kept from the
Crown, he must have depend'd upon Taxes.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Second.

A. D. 1153. Reg. 2. The Wealth of England reestablished against him. But tho' his arbitrary Actions with his Subjects might be excused, yet his taking the Earldom of Anjou from his Brother Jeffrey, contrary to his Father's Will and his own Oath, cannot be denied to be a violation of Nature and Confidence. For his Father Jeffrey, Duke of Anjou, desirous to leave some Estate to his youngest Son Jeffrey, order'd by his Will, That when Henry had recover'd and was settled in the Kingdom of England, his Son Jeffrey should have the County of Anjou; and in the mean time put him in the Castle and Towns of Corbeil, Lodon, and Mirabel, that he might have a present Maintenance according to his Quality; and be in a cafe to recover the rest when it should become his. And left his Son Henry not perform this his Will, he cau'd certain Bishops and others of his Nobility to swear, That they would not suffer his Body to be inter'd. Yet Henry, who was then absent, had favours to fulfill his Will. Henry, rather than his Father's Body should not be bury'd, took the Oath, but very unwillingly; but after he was pos'd of the Kingdom of England, and Jeffrey had thereupon enter'd upon the Earldom of Anjou, he went over into France, and not only took the Earldom of Anjou, but the other three Towns which were given him in his Father's Life, saying, That twas unreasonable that a forced Oath upon such an Occasion, should oblige him to part with his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony he had from his Father; for tho' indeed he had recover'd the Kingdom of England by his Labour and the Prince of France, yet he could not take his Father's Right; and tho' his Brother was, and ought to be dear unto him, yet having Children of his own, he was to take care that all that was really his should descend to them: But yet he was contented to allow his Brother an honourable Pension for the Maintenance of his Honour, (viz. a 1000l. of English Money, and 2000l. of Anjou.) which he received from his Brother for his trouble in France, and (an Englishman by Birth) a Dispenfation for the Oath he had made in that Cafe. The first that gave Disturbance to his Peace, after his Accession to the Crown, were the Welsh under their valiant Captain Owen, who, according to their usual manner, always attempted to make their Insurrections in the beginning of every Prince's Reign, to try their Spirits and their own Fortune. Henry gather'd such a powerful Army to go against them, as if he meant to conquer all; but was in paling the narrow Straights between certain Mountains, so furiously affaught by the Wefts, that he left many of his Men, and among them some of his chief Captains, Bufface Frestjulfan and Robert Cary, and himself was thought to be kill'd; which being reported to the Army that follow'd, so discon-torg'd them, that Henry Earl of Efsex cowardly forlook the King's Standard and fled: But the King soon made it appear that he was alive, by vanquishing the Army of his Enemies, and bringing to him his Brother's Daughter, and the Bastet Robert de Normoy accused the Earl of Eflce of Cowardice and Treachery, in leaving the Royal Standard, and in single Combat (which was the way of Tryal) overcame him; yet was the Earl pardon'd as to his Life; and being condemn'd to be a thorn Monk, was put into the Abbey of Roche, and had his Lands sold to the King's Use. After the Reduction of the Wefts, all things continued peaceable for two or three A.D. Years, the Kingdom flourished and Affairs 1153. every where prosperous; the Queen also in that Reg. 3. time brought forth three Sons, Henry, Richard, and Jeffrey, William his eldest Son; (to whom he had cau'd the Nation to take an Oath of Fidel- lity) dy'd, shortly after his Accession to the Crown; and the same Oath was again repeat'd to Henry, and all things being once more on this side the Sea. The King of France, who would king of gladly have put a stop to the King's Fortune, France was kept from his Desires by Necessity, his Treasur- fure being exhausted partly by his Journey into the Holy Land, and partly by the Pope's Ex- amination, who wrung great Sums from him, for his former Marriage with his Conjugate of the King's Daughter, which requiring a Dispen- fation, was dearly bought at Rome. So that all things concurred to enlarge the Power and Do- minions of Henry, which he had a fresh Occa- fion to do at this time. Henry had gotten Dominions almost round his Dom- inions, and his Affairs all in the Polition, a great part of Britain by the Redignation of Nautes to him by Conan Duke of it; the Earl- dom of Main, Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, and Duchy of Guise, and now he lays his Claim to the rich Earldom of Tholousan upon this Title. Wil- liam Duke of Aquitain (Grand-father of Queen Eleanor) and the Young Daughter and Heir of the Earl of Tholousan, and ought to be by the Wars engag'd that Earldom to Raymond Earl of S. Gyles, and never return'd again to redeem it; and William his Son, Father of Queen Eleanor, either through want of Ability or Neglect, took no Care of the Redemption of it: So that the King of France by marrying in Poland in Possession of it while he liv'd, left it to his Son Raymond Earl of S. Gyles, and the French King, while he had Eleanor for his Queen, demanded the Restitution of the said Earldom, tendering the Sum for which it was engaged. Raymond refus'd to accept the Money, and resolves to keep his Possession of it as either bought or forfeit'd; but being sensible, that he was moving against the Author of France, he obain'd a Peace with him, and marry'd his Sister Constance, the Widow of Prince Bufface, King Stephen's Son, and so confirm'd himself in the Possession. But King Henry after marrying Eleanor, came to be entitled to her Rights, and tendering the Sum disbursed, as the King of France was not willing to pay him, the King of England, which requires the Earldom, but receiv'd the like Answer from him. Wherefore the King prepares to recover it, en- tering into a League with Raymond Earl of Bar- celona, a Man of great Esteem in those Parts, (to whose Daughter he concurr'd to marry his le- son Son Richard, on condition that he should have the Inheritance of the Dukeedom of Aquitain and Tholousan, and Earldom of Barce- lona, of Tancherelli, who pos'd many Seignories, into his Protection from the Injuries of the Earl of Tholousan, and having levy'd a great Army, went in Peron against the City of Tholousan, being at- tended with Malcolm King of Scots; who coming to do him Homage for the Earldom of Hunting- ton, and marrying his eldest Daughter to his Crown, was persuad'd by Henry's fair words and Promises to attend him in that Expedition. The Earl of Tholousan having notice of the King of England's Design, begg'd Assistance of his Bro- ther-in-Law the French King, who came in Peron with a strong Army to Tholousan, and was there before the King of England; and was the so that he was prevented in his aim, which fo

* This Combat was not fought till about the 5th Year of King Henry's Reign. H.I. vev'd.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Second.

The king being now free from all employments abroad, began to turn his thoughts upon his own affairs at home; for being informed that the French King had betaken himself upon the royal prerogative, and enlarged their jurisdiction beyond what was convenient for their vocation and function; he was soon awakened into a suspicion of it, and set himself to a strict examination of that affair. He took notice of his dealings with King Stephen and his mother, how they had led the bishop to the crown, and made such conditions with him as were most advantageous to themselves; and tho' indeed they ratified his own succession, yet he might think his sword, the justice of his cause, and the strong party he had in the kingdom rather than them, who sheltered their power in dependence upon his, not their allegiance, who had acted against him as long as they dared, and there was any hope of success on the other side. He observ'd them to be always ready to lay hold of all advantages to advance their own interests, and saw little reason to depend upon them for the preservation of the succession of his Dignity; and therefore was more careful of his power as much as he could. This resolution was much confirmed by the accusations which the Nobility brought against the clergy, who al'dg'd, that the privileges of the clergy had hinder'd the royal power from executing justice in the kingdom; for the clergy holding their A.D. dominion apart, and being free from any authority but their own, many enormous acts were committed by clergy-men without any redress committed by the clergy-men without any redress. This information hasted the king in this affair, and he proceeded with all speed to rectify these irregularities, which tended so much to the prejudice of his house and state, he determined to extinguish them in the kingdom. Now the kingdom had not long before (upon the death of Theobald Arch-bishop of reg. 7. Canterbury) prefer'd Thomas Becket, a creature of the king's, and servant of his own to see that he had made arch-bishop, made him of arch-deacon of Canterbury, his bishop of chancellor, and finding him faithful, diligent and wise, he employ'd him in all great business of the state, and left the education of his eldest son Henry to him, and at last raised him to be the head of the church, all which favours might be quite an obligation upon him to be very complying with the reasonable desires of the king, and very diligent to advance his affairs. In the beginning of this man's promotion did the king withdraw his return of the clergy's manners, and to retrench their jurisdiction, which they had not wisely or suitably to prove of much difficulty and trouble; the bishop having from the first preaching of chriстиanity in this realm born a principal sway in the state, and enjoy'd many great privileges and immunities by law separate from justice, and by force of custom, but as it was the fitter for him, because he had entered upon it, and to that end call'd a parliament at Westminister, and there proposed this clause in the king's preamble: 'that every clergy-man, who shall be convicted of any heinous crime, shall lose the privilege of the church, and be deliver'd up to the civil magistrate to be punish'd by the laws of the land.'

1162. Centuries, no civil punishment should be used, reg. 9. they would not have a sufficient restraint upon them to keep them from doing mischief, since this is not probable, that such men would much value degrading and losses of orders, whom the king had conferred in this dignity, and which the office would not keep from such actions: the arch-bishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the bishops answer'd, 'that they could not consent to any such act, being against the liberties of the church, which himself had sworn to defend and maintain; and therefore they besought him not to urge or insist upon a law, which, tho' they had not much to lose by the reformation, and these immunities which they had enjoyed both under him and his noble progenitors. The king disliking this reply, asked them, 'whether they would submit to the laws and customs which the arch-bishops and
A.D. Bishops, in the time of his Grandfather Henry I. did observe. They said, They would, their Reg. Order, and the power of God, and Right of the Church, in all things being kept harmless. This
Reformation displeated the King more, who hereupon displeased the Parliament, and did nothing at that time. But gave not over his Endeavours to recover his Prerogative out of the Church's hands: And finding the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London and other Bishops, he made a treaty submission to his Defires, because of the many Favouries he had received from him, was the chief Stickler against him, he was very much enraged at his Ingratitude, and refolved to剁 him, that he could pull down as well as advance. And the next year, the King bid his Council compose, and takes from him all that he possibly could; then he countenances all his Enemies, and causes that things be carry'd against him in all Courts of the Kings. The Earl of Clare was supported in the Controversie he had with him, about doing Homage for the Castle of Tingham, and Pre-

d'\n
A Parliament held at Claren-

don 1164.

Reg. 10.

This Controversie between the Church and State, or rather between the King and Archbishops, made a great Noise in the World, and was soon brought to the Pope's Ear, who being desirous to keep the King's Love, sent Philip his Almoner, by the Pope's Instructions, to Congress with the Council, to compose the Difference, and to charge the Arch-

bishops to make Peace with his Mafter the King, by promising to oblige his Laws, without Re-

servations or Exceptions. The Archbishops leading his Cause thus discontented at Rome, and being pressed to a Compliance by many of his Friends of the Nobility, he went immediately to Woodstock, and there promises the King, without any referves, to oblige his Laws, as he required. The King supposing, that by Archbishops Becker's promise all Opposition to his Design was laid aside, calls a Parliament of the Bishops and Nobility at Claren-

don in Whitelock, where John of Oxford the King's Clerk, then President of the Council, did them a齐rhetorical Speech from the King his Mafter. That they would call to remembrance the Laws of his Grandfather Henry I. and commit them to Writing; which being done, he required the Archbishops and Bishops to fêt their Hands and Seals to them, which they all did, but Archbishops Becker refuted. The other Bishops earnestly persuaded him to follow the King's Orders, not only in the Danger which he would fall into through the King's An-

ger, but in regard to his Oath, which he had again taken there to oblige the King's Laws without Reprefixation. He thereupon defiroa a Co-

py of the Writing, as if he would confider better upon the several Heads of it; but taking it into his Hands, he turned to the Clergy, and said, Brother, I fay, you faw the Mafeer of the King, and of whom we are to beware; but we would not fub-

scribe it. And fo this Assembly was difmiffed without doing any thing of Moment, as the King intended. These Disfoppomnents, and this Per-

Verfificution in the Archbishops, incensed the King more than ever, and in consequece, he found that all the other Bishops yielded to his PLEASURE, and only Becker ftood out. And therefore he pro-

ceeds by all means to tyr and disfigure him, and

to advance his Rival, the Archbishops of York, and Reg.
to that end lent his Agents, John of Oxford and Je-

ffrey Riddle, his Clerks, to follicit the Pope to make him Legate over all the Englands. But the Pope being before acquainted with the busines refused to do it; yet at the Petition of the Agents he granted a Legation to the King himself, with a promise, That he should do nothing to the prejudice of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which the King relent-

ed so highly, that he fent them back again with his Grant. The Archbishops Becker afterward fo Becker re-

presented of the Oath that he had taken at Cla-

rendon, that he fuppressed him from the Service and the Company of the Archbishops, and did not receive him, as he had obtained Abjuration from the Pope; which upon his own Information of his Cafe, was foon fent him. Not long after this, as some write, he attempted to go out of the Kingdom, contrary to a Law made at Clarenodon, whereby it was forbidden to the Archbishops, Bishops, or any other Person, to depart out of the Realme, for the fake of the King's Liege; which, altho' they ob-

tain'd, yet they were notwithfanding obliged to oblige the King, and neither in their going, returning, nor staying there, to pratiue any thing prejudicial to his State or Person. But being by contrary Winds driven home again, he more ex-

asperated the King against him by this act; the King, while the other Archbishops, made the Arch-

bishops, growing more fevere againſt him, called a Parliament at Northampton to ratifie the Arch-

bishops of the Archbishops Becker. A Parlia-

ment at Northampton 1164. made at Clarendon. And here, to thwart him, the King's Hories were placed in his Inn. At this Assembly he had a Cafe given against him, concern-

ning a Manour which John the King's Marshal had bought of him, which was already granted to others by the former Grantees for twenty Pounds. To do a Departure of the Realme without the King's fPermission, he, faid, he was discharged of those Receipts by the Prince, Barons of the Ex-

chequer, and Robert Lucy Chief Justice of England, in behalf of the King, before he was made Arch-

bishops. But this Affair did not finifie: The King was still very urgent to have Judgment pats against him in this Matter, with other Matters of the like nature, as he nothing but the King's PLEASURE. He was fent back again with the faid Manour, but was fentenced to pay five hundred Marks, as Arrears, and was forced to pay it. He was also called to an Accoun-

t for all the Sums which he had received in the time of his Chancellorship upon the King's ac-

count, which amounted to thirty thousand Pounds. He was, to depart from the Realme again, on the Charge, because, he faid, he was discharget of those. We are in the Morning with great Devotion the Mals of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which had in it thefe Words: Princes fete and frike againſt me. From this Office he was forgiven, committing his Name (to God) to the Court, in his Stole, his black Ca-

nonical Hood, carrying the Crofs in his right Hand, and guiding his Horse with his left. The People feeing him come in as an unfaual manner, flock all about him, and he entering the great Chamber, fett down amongst them, the King be-

ning in his Privy-Chamber with his Council. The

Bishop of London, in fo fhrift that he could not go to him, and he much blamed him for coming in that Garb to the Court, and offered to pull the Crofs out of his Hand; but the Archbishops held it for fott, that he could not. The Bishop of Winchester faying it, foid to London: Brother, he will come to me, let him come, he ought to bear the Crofs: London reply'd, Hold, Brother, one more, the King, and it will be ill for you. After this came forth the Archbishops Becker,
A. D. (whole ancient hatred, says Howden, would not
1164. suffer him to speak mildly and friendly to him)

Reg. 10. and chide him very sharply for coming in that
fashion, as if he were to appear before a Tyrant, or
an Heathen Prince, and told him, That the
King was more dear to him than his life; and if he
would be asked by him, he should take it from
him. Courtenay reply’d, 'The King’s Sword wounds
the Body only, mine feinds the Soul to Hell.' After
much debate, the Archbishops Becker sharply in-
veighed against the King’s proceedings with him,
and said, 'That it was never known in any former
Age, that an Archbiskop did so publicly wakef long as
they did in many of the Councils, for any Canfe what-
soever, not only because of his Place and Digni-
ty, but because he is the Spiritual Father of
the King himself; and all his Subjects. Then,
turning his Speech to the Bishops, who late as his
Judges, he said: 'You fee how the World rageth
against me, and the Enemies multiply: how
which grieves me most, is, That the Sect of my
Mother combine against me: If I should not
reftit the Ages to come would record it to
your disgrace, that you left me alone in the
Battel, and gave Sentence upon me, who am
your Father, tho’ never to great a Sinner. But
I charge you, by Virtue of your Obedience, and
some Degrading of Decency, that you be not pre-
fent in any Court of Judicature, where either
my Canfe or Perfon shall be judged; and that
if any Layman shall lay Hands on me, you im-
mediately excommunicate him or them, as your
Duty to your Father the Archbiskop oblige
you, who, whatever he suffers, will not defert
him, nor the Canfe of his Perfon, nor the
Block committed to him. Then were many great Ac-
cumulations of his Contempt and Disobedience to the
King brought against him, and Perjury proved
upon him, which were fo aggravat’d by the King’s
Council, that all present cry’d out unanimously,
That he was one of the worst of Tyrantry’s, who
having been load’d so much with the King’s
Favours, had refused to pay him the Civil Ho-
nor of a Subject, and to observe his Laws, as he
had sworn to do. The Archbispok hearing these things,
said it to the Pope. But the Bishops, complying with the Secular Power, renounced
their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited him to
Rome, and condemned him as a Tyrant. And
Perjury. Then the Earl of Leicester, be-
ing accompanied with Reginald Earl of Cornwall,
came to the Archbiskop, and charg’d him in the
King’s Name to anwser the Charges object’d against
him, or else to hear his Sentence pronounc’d.
Nay but Sir Earl, said he, hear thou me first: It is
not unknown to your self how far & long I
have serv’d the King, and that for my Fide-
licity he preferred me to this Dignity I now en-
joy (God knows) against my Will. For I was
confoicous of my own Infirmities, and was con-
tented to take it upon me rather to pleafe the
King than God, and therefore doth God with-
draw him self from me, and turns the King’s heart
against me. If my Eftates were given me from
all Court-Attendence and Slavery, and upon
that account I am not bound to answer any de-
fects in that kind, neither will I. As much as the
Soul is more excellent than the Body, so much
are ye bound to obey God and me before any
Earthly Creature. Neither Law or Reason can
prove the Precedence of the Father of the Fa-
thers. Wherefore I refuse to stand either to the
Judgment of the King, or any other Peron, Ap-
pealing to the Audience of the Pope, by whom A. D.
alone I can be judged upon Earth, committing 1164.
all I have to God’s protection and his, and as Reg. 10.
under his Authority only I depart out of this
Race, and yet he was not out, and took againft the
Pope, yet not without some difficulties in passing, and
many aflronts from the King’s Servants. But be-
ging gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of
the common People (rejoycing to see him deli-
ver’d) and divers of the Clergy convey’d him
honourably to the Abbey of St. Andrews at Nor-
burgh, &c. &c. where he made his residence in the
Guidle, and under the Name of Derewen, into Flan-
ders, and so got into France, where being out of
the King’s reach, and under the Pope’s pro-
tection, he caus’d the Kingdom and King much
trouble.

Immediately after the departure of the Arch-
Bishop, the King sends his Ambassadors, Edmundo
Gilbert, Bishop of London, and William Earl of
France against Arundel, to the King of France, to intreat him
not only to forbid the Archbiskop his Kingdom, Becker, and
but to be a means to the Pope, that his Canfe
might not be favour’d by the Church, being so
contumacious a Rebel against his Natural Prince.
But the French King was so far from Compliance
with the King’s desire, that he dispatched Frieda his
Almoner privately to the Pope to beeche him,
as he tender’d the Honour of Holy Church, and
the Safety of his Kingdom, to support the Arch-
bishop of Courtenay against the Tyrant of England.
King Henry allo sent with all speec Roger Arch-
bishop of York, the Bishops of London, Newcastle,
Chichester, Gloucester, Bath, Salisbury, Herefay,
Canterbury, and John of Oxford, Clerks, William Earl
of Arundel, Hugh de Goulkev, Bernard de S.Wel-
lere, and Henry Fitz-Gerard, to inform the Pope
of the whole Affair, and prevent the ill effects of
the Archbishops Complaints. The Multitude,
and the greatnes of the Ambassadors, shew’d the
Importance of the Embaigle, and the King’s de-
fire to preval. They bound the Pope at the City of
Sens, and represent’d to him, how oblibante
and disobedient the Archbiskop had been to his
Sovereign Lord the King of England; and that
the he had sworn to obey his Laws, yet he had
vitually oppofed and broken them, and by his
peculiarnes and oblibinacy was about to embroul
the Church of England, and begot him, as he be-
ought him, as he tender’d the Peace of the
Church of England, and defir’d the Love of their
Majestie, not to favour or credit a Man of that
turbulent and oblibinate Dispoftion. This Rela-
tion of the Difference little moved the Pope;
which, when the Ambassadors perceived, they
begged the Pope to pray to the Holy See, to en-
xamine the businesses more fully, and in the mean
time to admit no other relation of the matter but
what they should bring. But the Pope would not
yield to their desire, and so they departed much dis-
fatisified. Within four Days after their departure
came the Archbiskop, and proffesses himself at
the Pope, and prays him to bring him with a Council of
the Laws, which the King call’d Leges Auctae, i.e. his
Grandfather’s Laws; which being read before a
Body of Cardinals, Clergy, and many others, the
Pope condemned them for ever, and anathema-
tized all fuch as should either obey or favour
them. The Laws, which being among the Sta-
tutes of Clarendon, were badly interpréted. The Law
of the Archbiskop, and so much offened the Cler.
which the Archbiskop, and so much offened the Cler.
also called to videl to the Pope according to
his own Letter to the Bishop of London) * That there

* Archbiskop, or Bishopp in Somerfrete.
† Gilbert Fford, late tranflic’d to the See of London, was their Oracor, and clo’d his Speech with these Words: The
Wicked firs when as man conquer him.
‡ Should
A. D. should be no Appeals made to the Apostolick
1164. See without the King's Leave; That no Arch-
Reg. 10. bishop or Bishop should go out of the Realm
without the King's Permissio; That no Bi-
shop shall excommunicate any Person, that
holds of the King in Capite, or interdict any
Priest or Canon from the Service of the King;
That Clergy-men should be try'd before Secular Judges; That Lay-men (such as
the King and his Judges) should examine and
discover the Causes of the Church of Tythes, and
Matters of like Nature, which were look-
ed upon by the Pope and Clergy as dangerous
Encroachments upon their Ecclesiastical Li-
beries.

The King, at the return of his Ambassadors
Reg. 11, from the Pope, finding that they had obtain'd
no Favour with him, but that he was rather
flighted and contemned by him, was highly
discouraged; and that he might shew how much he
that no Layman, which, for his own Liberty,
put a severer Edict both against the Pope
and the Arch-bishop, opposing his Secular to
their Ecclesiastical Authority; and ordering,
That if any Person were apprehended, carry-
ing a Letter or other Instrumen from the Pope
or Arch-bishop, containing any Interdict of the
King, that he should not so soon be put
out delay executed as a Traytor both to the King
and Kingdom. That whatsoever Bishop, Priet,
Monk, or other Person in Holy Orders, Clerk
or Lay-man, should have or conceale any fuch
Letters; shall forfeit all their Lands, Goods
and Chittels to the King, and be immediately
banish'd the Realm, with all the Goods they
had
That all Clergy-men, Monk, or Lay-man,
should be permitted to pass from Normandy
to England without a Päs-port from the Jutjiles
there, nor from England to Normandy, or
other Places beyond-Sea without the King's,
upon Pain of Imprisonment if discover'd. That
no Appeals to the Pope should be allowed.
That no his writ nor Law which had Ex-er.
England, shold return into the Kingdom with
in three Months, under the Penalty of forfeit-
ing their Lands to the King. That Peter-fence
should be collected and sequeftr'd, till the King's
Pleasure was further known. He also banish'd all
the Archbishop's Kindred, without any
Exception of his own Lands, and declared the
Authority, declaring his Adherence to the
Emperor's Party, who then was at Enmity with
the present Pope Alexander the III. and vind-
cicated the Election of Pistor the V. who the elec-
ted by the far les Number of Cardinals, viz.
(but four to twenty two) yet was thought a suffi-
cient Pretence of opposing the Pope, who was a
declared Enemy to the Empire. Henry before
this Quarrel between himself and the Arch-bi-
ishop, had favor'd the Election of Alexander,
with the King of France, and the other Christian Princes
of Europe, and had at Coco upon the Lorr
shrewd him an extraordinary Reverence and Re-
pected; but finding him so averse to him, in this
Difference, he fell from him, renounced his Au-
thority, declar'd for the Emperor; and to
strengthen himself by a firm Alliance with the
German Princes, confeited to marry his Daugh-
ter Maria to the Duke of Saxony, at the Motion of
Reginald Archbishop of Colles, who was sent
purposely by the Emperor Frederick Barba-
roja to folicit it, and entertain'd another Motion A. D. for a Marriage between another of his Daughters
1165. and the Emperor's Son: But all these things did Reg. 11, the King little Service. The Emperor's Party
was weak, the Pope's grew stronger and stronger
every Day; and the Pope being exasperated by the
Arch-bishop's Proclamation, wrote more earnestly to
ENC. of the Arch-bishop, whom he commends to
the King and to folicit and adjure the Clergy of England not to do his
Mistake of the hold, but redoubly maintain their
Liberties and Privileges against the Invaders of
them, who fought to confound the Priesthood and
Kingdom; and if they gave ground in the Field,
would utterly ruine themselves and the Church.
Then he excommunicated all the King's principa-
lar Ministers that adhered to the German Fa-
tion, or held Correspondence with the Arch-
bishop of Colles, as John of Oxford, Richard
Rickelefter, Richard de Lucy, Jefuel Balid, Alan
de Nefil, and with them all those who had falc-
 upon the King's Revenues and Concerns in the See
of Canterbury, who call'd the Patrimony of the
Crucifix, and Food of the Poor, viz. Ralph de
Brock, Hugh S. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard.
This was this unbloody War manag'd on both
Sides; in which, tho' there were no Swords
drawn, yet it created much Verotion and Trou-
ble to both Parties.

While this Diffention was on foot between the
King and Pope, other publik Businesse happen'd, Reg. 12.
which kept the King employ'd. The Welsh re-
King Henry
forted the
the
after gas
Men, and had himself been killed, had not
Hus into Sub-
and the other Caftles, and called the Arrow into his own Bo-
mandy, which he faw would prove mortal to his
Matter; yet was the King fensible of his Danger,
that he reveng'd his own Suppof'd Death with a
very cruel Treatment of his Enemies. From
this Expedition he pass'd into Normandy,
where now his Bufinesse lay more than in
England: And here, that he might shew he had not
his.Chiefs in England, nor any of his Cofiores,
the Pope, he obtain'd of his Subjects in a publik
Assembly call'd for that purpos, two Penc in the
Pound of every Man's Lands and Goods for the
Year 1165 1, and a Penny in the Pound for
Four Years after, for the Relief the poor Chi-
rians in the Holy War; and carefully collect-
ing this, it yearly increas'd the King's Riches, and
his fome Forces, and takes certain Caftles in the
Country of Maine, and Marches of Britain from
several fubject Barons. In his absence Matthew
the Son of the Earl of Flanders (who had mar-
rried the Lady Mary, Abbess of Ranfey, the
Daughter of King Stephen) attempted an Inva-
sion, and molest'd the Coast of England, but to
no purpos, the King being too powerful for a
weak Opponent. While he was in Normandy,
Conan King of Britaine died 4, and left one
only Daughter (which he had by his Wife Con-
sequence the King of Scots Daughter) to fceed
him in his Earlom. The King of England being
then upon the Continues of that Country, thought
this a good Opportunity of enlarging his own Do-
minions; and therefore treating with the Guar-
dians of the young Lady, and having gained the
Nobility to confent to a Marriage with his third
Son Jeffrey, he in the end obtain'd his Defires
to his great Content. This happen'd in the thir-
teenth Year of his Reign; wherein, as some

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1. The Pope liv'd out an Anathema against all that for the future should observe the Leges Noct.
2. This Revolt was in the Year 1165.
3. This Tax, says Holinshed, was to be paid this Year 1166.
4. Nicholas Trivet in his Chronicle writes, That Conan was alive when Prince Geoffrey was betroth'd to his Daughter Constance, and that he dy'd the Year following.

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write,
A.D. write, *Mund* the Emprefs, the King's Mother, died; *a Lady of an high and active Spirit, illustrious by her Birth, more by her first Manners, and in all the noblest Actions of her Life,* seem establihed in his Throne, and flourishing in Honour, Grandeur and Peace; blest with a numerous Off-spring of four Sons and three Daughters, and left in his bel Teine, before any great Troubles had befall him. After her Death Henry remained three Years in France, which he spent in War, partly to Clear the Betimes of his own Dominions from the Upnorment and Encroachments of his Neighbouring Lords, whom at length he brought into the Limits of his own Will, and partly to settle and reform the State of Brittaine, which was much out of order, and all in a Mutiny at the late Match with his Son: But he soon appeased them, and kept his Christians at Nature, where he feaf'd all the Nobility of the Country, and by Favour obliged them to retain their Fidelity to his Son in his absence.

Having settled things beyond Seas, he returns into England, and the first thing he did was to observe whether his abstinence and a long Peace were not sufficient for his Government, and at end he appointt certain Commissioners to examine into any Abuses and Excesses, which might be committed by his Officers in the Administration of Justice, and having found many of the Sheriffs of the Nation guilty of Extortion and Bribery, he punifh'd them severely for it. He kept his letter at Windsor, whether William King of Scots, who lately flew from his Mother, would join in that Government, came with his younger Brother David to congratulate the King's happy Return into England, and put in his Claim for some Countries in the North, which he pretend'd were unjustly detain'd from him. Henry entertain'd him very civilly, and gave him a fair Answer, and command'd him to return; He *could do nothing in it without the Consent of the Parliament, which if he would attend, he should have Satisfaction.* Words raised the Expectations of that King, and made him often come into England, and once to attend Henry into France as his Brother had done, but with his former Unaccountable Return, he was:
The Conteff between the King and Archbishop of Canterbury receiv'd, and a greater Storm than ever threaten'd him. The Pope himfelf was not very forward to proceed to any rigorous Courfe, but labour'd to pacifie the angry Arch-bishop, by telling him, *That it was an ill thing to contend, the King being poftent, and the Church already in Troubles; and therefore to heal the Sore, he writes to the Bishop of London and Hereford, *Requiring them to treat with the King, and earnestly perufe him to deftiff from meddling with the Liberties of the Church, and to reforne the Arch-bishop to his Peace and Dignity. The Bishops answer'd him that it was better thus, he made them, have (they deliver) your Holinefs's Message to our King, and earnestly preffed him to yield to your Defires so far as was convenient for us to do to the Majesty of a King; begging of him, that if he had done any thing contrary to Truth and Justice, that he would not perfift in it, and that he would not receive Men from visiting the Churches at Rome, hinder Appeals, opprefs the Church or Clergy, or fuffer others to do it; That he would recall our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and perfift in all Acts of Piety, that do the God, by whom Kings reign might preferve him in his Ten-
Henry af-

famed his Son into the Royal Di-

ary, and had him crowd.

1770.

Reg. 16. and

A D. 1169.

through God's Grace he might be won by Pa-

tience and Meekness. What tho' the Lord of

Canterbury love his Goods, and remain in exile,

yet 'tis better it should be so, than that all Eng-

land fall from their Obedience through your

Severity? And tho' perhaps a Perfection may

not be given us within you, yet there will not

want Knees to bow to Beal, there will be enough

to receive the Pall of Canterbury from the King's

hands, and supply our Seats with all alliances

of Obedience; and some there are that hope

of this Schism between you and the King will

make way for their Precedency. By the

Letters which are the left pieces of Hilkew in

the World, we fee the full State of this Con-

terversie, and what it was that kept these two

maggot Potenates from getting their Wills, and

'tho' they threaten'd loud, were really afraid one

of another.

Hitherto the King ftood fable, and might have

continued fo, had he been not fufpicious of more

danger than he was really in; and fo endeavour-

ing to fecure himfelf more than was neceffary, he

undermined his own Peace, lefien'd his Autho-

rity, and embroy'd his People. And this he did

by alluming his eldest Son Henry into a Copartner-

ship in all fuch matters as were great. And Act

without Precedent in this Kingdom, which 's

hardly credible, that the Parliament, in fuch dif-

cerning times, would have confeffed to, if the

King would have been contented with a denial.

In compliance with which the young Prince was

crown'd June 14. 1170. by Roger Archbifhop of

Canterbury, in the name of King Scott, Dan- his Brother, and moft of the Nobi-

lity of England. For what Reasons the King did

thus, whether out of mere kindnefs to his Son,
or whether he feared the Clergy, with whom he then

was at difference, might deprive his Pofterity of the

Succession, as they did his Mother Maud, (as

is most probable by reason of this juncture) yet

certain it is he got himfelf two Enemies by it,

viz. the French King, and his own Son. The

French King threaten'd him with War, because

his Daughter was not crown'd with her Hufband,

unless it were immediately done. Henry here-

upon hall'd into Normandy to fecure his Dominions

there, and leaves his Son in England, thinking

thus to prevent the doing him any injury. But the

poor young Prince (who entertain'd the Archbifhop

all the while) where the King took the Archbifhop apart, and

talk'd with him a long time; twice they lighted from

their Horfes, and twice remounted again; and

twice the King held the Archbifhop's Bridle, and

then parted, both prepar'd for a Peace, but

not concluding any. At length, by the mediations

of the King, the Archbifhop's Diffent was

fully compofed, and decided before the Earl of

A M. Triends at Ambrojy *. And thereupon the King sent to

Henry his Son in England in this manner; 'Know

ye, that Thomas Archbifhop of Canterbury hath

made Peace with me, according to my Will;

and therefore I charge you, do not raise

Relations and Strife of any manner with him,

but that you will go out of England for his fake, be restored to them

in as full and ample manner as they enjoy'd

them three Months before their going, &c.

(Whieh shews that the Supreme Command was

laid in the Father, and not in the Son.) Soon

after this the Archbifhop return'd into England,

yet not as one that had fought, but forced a

means. Their Meeting was at Montmiral, in the A. D.

preference of the King of France. And the Arch-

bihop, at his entrance into the King's presence, Reg. 16.

fell on his Knees at his Feet, and faid, 'He would

leave the whole Matter in Controversie to his

Majesty's Decision. Son, don't beDivil, God's

 Honour being fave harmed, The King, who had

been thus tired with this Refurrection, and feen the ill

tendency of it, began to be in a Paffion, and faid to

the King of France, and others present, 'What-

ever displeaseth this Man, he makes to be against

God's Honour, and under that hehieves all that

belong to me. But that you may not think

that I will be against any thing that is real-

ly for God's Honour or his Right, I declare, that

whatever the greatest and moft holy of his Pre-

cedellos have done to the meanness of mine, I

will confedend to undergo from him. This

Answer, which was fo much beyond the Expecta-

tion of all the Company, begat fuch a good Opi-

nion in them all to the King's Caufe, that the

King of France told the Archbifhop plainly, 'That

he could not stand upon any thing now rea fon-

ably, unless he would be greater than the Saints,
or St. Peter himself; and that if Peace were not

now made, it was his fault only. The Arch-

bifhop reply'd in these words, 'That

riot of Kings had grown up by degrees, fo had

that of the Church, which being by the Provi-

dence of God come to that pitch of Grandeur,

he was not to follow the Example of any that

had been faint-hearted, or too yielding in their

places. The Church had rifen and increas'd

by many birçok of the Saints, and may well

have

it so, yet had it so hardly gotten. Our Fathers (fai d he)

fuffer'd all manner of Afflictions, because they

would not forfake the Name of Chrift, and

shall I, to gain the Favour of any Man living,

lofe any thing that is for his honour. This

proud and obflinate Anfwer to fying a Prefe-

tor made by the King, to much difspir'd the

Carriers, that they look'd upon his Caufe as nothing

else but the effect of Pride and Arrogancy, not

of true Zeal, and fo the Meeting at that time

concluded. Divers Meetings they had after this
to debate about the same matters; one of the

most confuctive was upon the Contines of Nor-

mandy, in the Confence of the Time Kings Peace

(who entertain'd the Archbifhop all the while)

where the King took the Archbifhop apart, and

talk'd with him a long time; twice they lighted from

their Horfes, and twice remounted again; and

twice the King held the Archbifhop's Bridle, and

then parted, both prepar'd for a Peace, but

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them three Months before their going, &c.

(Whieh shews that the Supreme Command was

laid in the Father, and not in the Son.) Soon

after this the Archbifhop return'd into England,

yet not as one that had fought, but forced a

* Tis reported, that King Henry himfelf carry'd up the furl. Diff to his Son's Table at the Coronation Feast; and when the

Archbifhop of York, reprefented to him, how much he was obliged to his Father for that Favour, the young Prince haughtily

replied, 'That it was not fuch Confeffion in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him,

who was the Son of a King.

** William fire-Stepheud, who was Beclett's Chaplain, and wrote his Life, writes, That this Peace was concluded on the 2d of

July, 1170, at Freestale, between Charrum and Main.

Vol. I. T 2 (Peace)
The Life and Reign of Henry the Second.

A.D. 1170. Peace) and therefore, as if he had gain'd Power to strengthen his Resolution in his Agreement Reg. 16. with Richard, he published the Archbishop of York from his Episcopal Function for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his Leave, and against the Pope's Order, and without taking (according to the Custom) the Canonical Oath for the preservation of the Liberties of the Church, if he had done all this, and whatever other Letters, which he brought with him, the Bishops of London, Salisburry, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, S. Asaph, and Llandaff, for adhering at the Coronation, and defending the King's Cause against him, and by their Suffusion they were to remain deprived of their Office till they had given the Archbishop full satisfaction as he required. The Bishops, amazed at this terrible Affair, had no other Refuge but the King, to whom they immediately fled into Normandy, and gave him an account of the Archbishop's Severity, and implicable Fury and Impertinencies. The King hearing their Relation, was mov'd with extreme Pithon, and in a great Grief, felt a sorrow for uttering these Words:—

"In what a miserable Condition am I, who can not be quiet in my own Kingdom for one only Frieid What is there no Man will rid me of this trouble? Some say, that there were four Knights adhering the King when he spake these words, viz. Sir Hugh Mortwill, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Britton, and Sir Reginald Hul."

He was determined to have his Defier, departed instantaneously into England to be the unfortunate Executioner of them; but other relations, that these four Gentlemen were sent with a Commission by the King, to treat with the Archbishop in this Affair. 1. To require him to take his Oath of Fidelity to the young King. 2. To restore him to the Bishops that had been removed to the Execution of their Office. 3. To advise and command him to carry himself with much more Lenity and Moderation in his Place, that so the Church may have comfort, and the King peace, by his return. Thee Men, zealous for their Prince, and arm'd with Authority, went to the Archbishop, and finding him preeminent and unmoved at the proposal of their Honor, nor regarding their Master's Moll's, were highly amaz'd, and threaten'd to commit him. The Archbishop, to secure himself, withdrew into the Cathedral Church, but to no purpose; for they arming themselves entered in the Church, when he was at Divine Service with the Monks, and furiously reviling him, as a Traitor, fell upon him with their Swords, gave him many Wounds, and at length fltruck out his Brain, so that the Altar was sprinkled with his Blood. The Archbishop in this Affault behav'd himself with great Courage, and piously committed his own Soul, and the Church's Cause to God and his Saints; which, together with the Manner, Treatment and Place of this Affair, was great Compassion towards him, and Abhorrence of the Fact. The unfortunate Gentlemen, tho' they effected a great piece of Service, yet dare not return to the King, either because they had exceeded the Bounds of their Commission, and so might justly fear his Displeasure; or because they knew A.D. 1170. that he would not acknowledge it a Kindness, tho' he thought it a great one; but (after they had rid Reg. 16. the Archbishop's Palace) fled into several Countries in the North, and dy'd all within four Years (as it is reported) miserable Fugitives.

The Fame of the Archbishop Becket's Death, The Death of the Archbishop the King spreaded into all parts of the World, and both Tongues and Pens fell all to work to aggravate and condemn it. The King of France, grieved at himself informs the Pope of the whole matter, and laid to aggravating the Foulness of the Fact, and inciting him to Severity in punishing it: To unfet Mr. Peter's Sword to revenge the Death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose Blood cries out to the Church, as what must needs be avenged by Miracles. Tho' a great and grave Prince (elder Brother to King Stephen) represented to the Pope, That he was present when the Peace was made between the King of England and the blessed Martyr, That the King cheerfully confirn'd the Agreement, and granted the Archbishop power to give the King hissty, as it pleased the Pope and him, against those Bishops, who had contrary to the Right and Dignity of the Church of Canterbury, presumb'd to let the new King upon the Throne. And this he would Justly upon his Oath, or otherwise. By this Peace (says he) was the Man of God brought into the King's Service, the King's Sword, the Lamb slain upon the morrow after St. Innocen's Day, the just Blood shed at the Altar, where Christ's Blood is offer'd, by Court-Dogs, the King's domestick Servants, set on work to do this horrible Act; and then concludes with Admonitions of Revenge. But William Archbishop of Sen's came with a loud Cry, as if he had the Pope's Consent to overlock the Famine, and revenge.

That all Power was given to his Apotheloph both in Heaven and Earth, and God had appointed him to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Links of Iron. He bids him observe how the Boar of the Wood had rooted up the Lord's Vineyard. And after he hath bitterly instant to revenge that which is past, that he may provide for the future: What place shall be safe, if the Rage of Tyrants be suffer'd to fill the Sanctuary Sanctorum with Blood, and Christ's Viceregents be torn in pieces without punishment? Arm therefore, says he, all the Ecclesiastical Power and the King's of the one side, and the King and his Cabinet of the other side, protect his own Innocency, and in all manner of ways prevent his being humiliated and avow'd. That he was as far from ordain'd or designing any such deed to be done, as he was from doing it himself, and that he was heartily sorry for it when he heard of it. He also employ'd the chief Men of his Kingdom, for Reputation, Learning and Judgment, to defend his Innocency, and to shew that the King's Power over the Pope, and the Pope's power over the King, was not a quiet King.'
A.D. 1170
Reg. 16.

ever Wit could devise; so that they kept off the highest Centre, tho' it was every day expanded, and by gravely urging the Milichief that might grow upon the great Severity, they so allied the first Heat, that the tempestuous king came hopes of a pacification, till the Pope sent two Cardinals at Lateri, Gratianus and Vitalianus, into Normandy to interdict him and his Dominions, which exceedingly disturbed him, but the King having gotten some notice of their coming and intention, appeals to the presence of the Pope upon their entrance, and so put off that trouble. And when he came into England again, to prevent the like, forbids all Brief-Carriers, of what Condition or Order ever, to pass the Seas, without giving good Security for their Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

The King then was the Controversy, which the King had with the Church caused him much trouble, yet he omitted nothing which tended to the Advancement of his Kingdom, and Enlargement of his Dominions, which at this time he undertook by an Expedition into Ireland for the Conquest of it; and so much the rather, that at this time he might make the better effect, unaided by any design at the beginning of his Reign, and to prepare his way to it without opposition, had obtained leave of Pope Adrian IV. to go on with it, under the pretence of reducing a Rude and Barbarous People from their Vicious Caustions to the Faith and Truth of Christ, and upon promise of paying an hundred thousand Pounds, to the Church, (who is always willing to give away what is not his own, to get something by it) readily granted the King's Petition, and sent his Ambassadors back with an Injunction of Consequence in Writing to this effect: 'That it was a laudable and glorious thing for so magnificent a Prince to enlarge his Dominions for the Conversion of Souls, and but the Court had for ever to invade the same, and to execute whatsoever should be to the Honour of God, and Good of the Country, with a Refraining of the Rights of the Church, and Peter-Pence promised; and concludes with an Exhortation to settle an holy and exemplary Clergy among them, etc. But that he should not, by a having on too important Matters in hand, laid these Thoughts for the present aside, and did not return them till a fair occasion offer'd it self of procuring it with success, which was thus given him: Dermot Mac-Maur, one of the five Kings that then ruled Ireland, came to him into Agitatia to crave his Aid against his Great and powerful Brother, Donough, King of Conomnaugh, who aiming at the Dominion of the whole Country, had expelled him out of his Dominions of Leinster. The King of England, glad of this opportunity of introducing his Forces into the Country, promised him assistance; and thought he was a little detained by other Affairs of Ireland, and his own Business, by which means many of his Subjects as he would, to try their Fortunes with him. The occasion of the Quarrel between the two Irish Princes was very foul on Dermott's part, who had corrupted and stolen away the Wife of Robrike, and for that reason, with his Injuices to his People, (the common Causes of musing and transterring Kingdoms) was by force of Arms driven out of his Dominions of Leinster; and being expelled, he seeks to the King of England for help to recover his Right, and having obtained the former Grant of him, went into Wales, where he first prevailed with Robert Fitz-Stephen, a Man of a deliberate Fortune, but good Interest among the Welsh, by promises of 

great Riches and Reward; and afterward with A.D. Richard Earl of Pembroke, Cloyse, and Strigill, 1170. famed Strongbow, a Lord of great Courage and Reg. 16. of Worth, of whom both in England and Normandy, and well followed, whom he called by a Contract of giving him his only Daughter in Marriage, and the Succession of the Kingdom of Leinster after him. Fitz-Stephen, with his half-Brother Maurice Fitz-Geord, pulled over first with Stephen Conquer, a small Force, and landed at a place call'd by the Irish Raghe, which lies upon the Holy Land, and therefore looked upon as an Omen of good Success: Whereof it retains the Memory to this day in this Rhytum:

At the head of Bagg and Bunn, Ireland was left and won.

The next day arrived Maurice Priddergnoff with two Ships full of armed Men, and Archers, to join with Fitz-Stephen, who made up together about four hundred Men. With this small Army they marched with Banners display'd to the City of Winiford, in so strange a form and order, that the English could not understand it without monstrous appearances of War, and supposing them by their Front to be far more numerous than they were, were overcome with fear, and render'd up themselves to them, with their City of Winiford, which Dermot gave to Robert Fitz-Stephen with the Country adhering, to encourage him, and raise the hopes of his Countrymen. And the next Year, 1171, King Richard the English settled in Ireland, which hath continued there ever since, retaining still our ancient Garb, and much of our Language, which is proper to that City, and the Country about it, call'd the Winiford Speech. The next Year they had a new Supply out of Wales, and after, upon news of their forces, the Earl of Pembroke went over with two hundred armed Men, and a thousand other Soldiers, and landing at Waterford, takes the Town, which was then call'd Portlimer, and Ireland puts all the Inhabitants to the Sword, not only to terrify others, but to make room for his own People. And here Dermot gave the Earl his Daughter, Ewa to Wife, with the Brevity of his Country, which after he had liv'd for ever, confecrated to his Wickedness, he liv'd not long to see, but dy'd miserably, leaving nothing memorable but the infamous Name of Ninig, which signifies a Friend to Strangers; as a Brand of his unnatural Treachery to his own Country. The Earl, after he had gotten his Inheritance conveyed, and secured the place, armed march with his Forces thro' the whole Island without refisance, Robrike the Great not daring to make good his Name, nor appear in opposition to him, but kept in the Wilds and Strong Hols of Conmanagh, and never met the Enemy. So that he took Pledges of the Inhabitants to secure their Obedience as he could, the pleasanter part of which it was, to let a little of the Inhabitants of Dublin, the head City of the Island, Thus did the Welsh first win the Kingdom of Ireland, and (which is most strange) without Battel, a thing scarce credible, that so populous a Country as Ireland was, and a Nation of that Disposition, should not lift up any hands in their own Defence; but it seems, the' they had continual Wars almost among themselves, yet they had no little Armour and Discipline, that they were terrify'd with the Warlike Appearances of the English.

The King of England being inform'd of the great Succes of the former Adventurers, began to be jealous of them, left they should think
A D. themselves something greater than Subjects; and, 1171. therefore to stop their farther Proceedings, and Reg. 17, gain the Glory of the Conquest of Ireland, he immediately declares that they had gone beyond the Limits, and puts out our Proclamation, 'That no Vassel should carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland.' That all his Subjects there should defect from farther Attempts, and return home immediately, or else he should forfeit their Eftates in England. And vital, sends over William Fitz-Aldeno and Robert Fitz-

for He?iyv King. That ha-

Ireland made Subject to England, and a tolerable Settlement made, tho' it proved not very lasting; because both this, and some succeeding Reg. 17. Kings, had such innumerable Diversions that, they could not attend to the full Establishment of it.

On the Easter-Monday after he set sail from Ire: The King's land into England again, but made a very short return from stay there, because he had appointed the Pope's Legates, Theodosius and Albertus, to meet them in Normandy, who were sent by Pope Alexander where he had summoned them in their Holy Convocation; and there, be and into the Murther of the late Archbifhop Becker (see of Sec-

The King goes into Ireland & conquer it. 1172.

His Reformation of Ireland.

Ships from Waterford and Milford, by which he held the way for him, while he himself provided a Navy of four hundred Ships well furnish'd with Men, and all Necelfaries for the Expedition at Milford Har-

from whence he failed into Ireland, and ar-

 lawyers, in Ireland, and their own Country) came and submitted themselves with all their Clergy to him, taking an Oath of Fidelity to him and his Successors for ever; thus chufing rather to unite with a Stranger in a com-

subject, than with one another to deliver themselves from Slavery, because they had lived long in Ennity. The King went from Water-

the Commons, and there he held his Assembly of all the Lords, Kings, Episcopal, and Temporal of Ireland, to allure him more fully of their Allegiance, and to reform and order all things in the State; which when he had done, he summoned a Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy at Caflf, (to whom he appointed a Chapl-

rail, he would for three Years go in Perfou to the 

Holy Wars, unless hinder'd by the Pope or his 

Successors, or employ'd against the Saracens in 

Spain. 4. That he should put so much Money 

prefently into the Tempfars hands, as should 

maintain two Hundred Men in the Holy War 

for one Year. 5. That he must have all the 

had fuffer'd Banifhment for the Archbifhop, and 

rejoice at their and their Pofteffions. 6. That he 

should aboli{h allCUSTOMS which had been in-

duced in his time, to the Prejudice of the 

Church. When the King had sworn to the afore-

Reformation Conclafions, he made his Son Henry to ra-

tithe to the Pope, except such as concerned his own Perfon; and having had his Session with the Cardinals, he deliver'd them to be kept in the Roman Church. Thus ended this tedious Controverfie, which made fuch a Noise in the World, and Becker 'tho' he could not conquer the 

King while he lived, did it by his Death, hav-

ning gained the Name of a Saint in Heaven by his Sufferings, and a Shrine in the Church, to

which his Sovereign Lord mutt bow himself and pray, or else be thought a worfe Enemy to him than ever; So that this obfinate Archbifhop was above his Will when alive, and over his Fait when dead. But how good a Man he was may appear by this, that forty Eight Years after his Death Henry and Pope Alexander having had a great War, and were damn'd or fa'v'd, and one Roger, a Nor-

man, maintain'd he had justly deliv'red Death, for rebelling againft his Sovereign, the Vicege-

rent of God. After the ending of this Affair, the 

King, that he might pacifie all Parties, and content the King of France, had his Son Henry crowned with the King of France; for the young King

* For Pope Alexander Canonoiz' him soon after this Agreement, and his Shrine was erected at Canterbury by his new Suc-

ceflor but one Stephen Langton, at very great Expense and Charge; and he became so famous a Saint for Miracles (no less than 170 being faid to be done at his Shrine) that the Gifts at it Anually were computed worth 1000, and the Vifions in a Jubilee an hundred thousand.

2 In St. Swini's Church in Windreflers. This was done the 27th of August, before the ending of the Affair of Belfry's Death; 

For the King pur'd himself of it at Armagh on the 27th of September following.
A. D. Henry obtain'd leave of his Father to visit Paris, 1172. and his Father-in-Law the French King, where Reg. 18. staying some time, he imbib'd those Instruction which kindled his Ambition, and overthrew his Obedience to his Father, being taught there, that to be a King was to have a Supreme Power, and to do as he pleased; and Instantly proposed, upon this Occasion, Henry the Father, who was always watchful to lay hold of every Opportunity of advancing his own Greatness and Power, took a Journey in Person to Avignon, and so to Amfertort,1 where he purchased a Match at the Price of five thousand Marks for his youngest Son John, who was to be married to the Daughter of Robert, Earl of Martina and Lord of Pouwout and Sai-

toy, with a Contingent of having all those Coun-

tries, containing many Seigniories, Cities and

Cortels, after her Father's decease. The King of England also affured to his Son John the Castles of Chamon, Lodan, and Mirbel at Limago, where he went, and got to Brit, which he was joyfully receive'd by the French King, who had no way else

to prevent the over-growing Greatness of his Neighbour, but such an unnatural Division; and to strengthen the Breach, fummons all the Princes of France, and all the Friends he could make to assist King Henry the Son against the Father, and to make the Father's Subjects factious, and to either deploifers King Henry of his Kingdoms, or bring him to their Conditions. The young King like-

twise fawes to them never to make Peace with his Father without their Consent; and to encourage his Allies, he engaged to give Philip Earl of Flanders &c. a year, with the County of Kent, and Dorchester and Rochefort to Mat-

tiel Earl of Bohraine, the said Earl's Brother, Ker ton Soaks in Lindsey, the Earldom of Morston, with the Honour of Heze, to Thobald Earl of Brie 2 500 l. a Year in Anjou, the Castle of Ab- buys, with all his Right in Turene, which Grants he confirm'd under his Seal, with many others, to his Followers for their Service, to the King of Scots, where he desired to be Admitted to the River Trye, and to his Brother the Earldoms of Huntington and Camesbridge. Many different Lords both of England and Normandy, who hoped for new Advantages by Changes in State, and a broken Sovereignty, adhered to him; as Robert

Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigott, Hugh Earl of Che-

ter, Roger Accrway, &c. to whom he gave seve-

ral large Promises of the Lion's Skin before he Reg. 19. was dead. Queen Eleanor enrag'd for some In-

juries done to her Bed, 3 like a furious Alcide,
blows up the Coals of War between the Father and Son; and, according to the usage of his Nation, and Jeffrey, to join in the Rebellion against their Father, made the Confederacy so strong, that the King was left dejecte both of Friends and Subjects to defend his Right. Some faithful Mi-

nifiers he had, yet 'tis but very few; as Wil-

liam Earl of Mandrevile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, Matthew, Prince's Brother, and Robert, but his People fortook him so generally, that he was forced to hire twenty thousand Brabanfons (which were Mercenary Soldiers, commonly called Roure or Coverelles) to maintain and hold his Kingdoms. This happen'd about the 20th Year of his Reign. The King having yet the Bowsels of a Father, and his People forced him to seek all ways to heal the Breach, offering him several Con-

venient Allowances for his Effate, and advantage-

ous Conditions of Peace; but all would not do, his Sword was drawn, and nothing would satisfie him but War; and therefore with the King of France his Forces he invades Normandy, and be-

comes the Suffering of France, and the Great Strength and Importance. The King of Scots enters England, and takes York, and makes great Havock there. Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp valiantly defended the Castle of Fervol, and after a Month's Siege, the Citizens (being deject of Provision) obtain a Truce of the King of France, and a Per-

mission to send for Succours to their King, which if they could get, would be better for them. His People would surrender their City, and in the mean time gave him Hostages; and on the other side, the King of France, Prince Henry, and divers other Lords and Bishops swore, That if they furren-

der'd the City at the day appointed, their Ho-

stages should be return'd, and no Harm be done to their City, in which the King came with all the Forces he could gather just at the day appointed, and dippes his Army for Battel; but the King of France to avoid it, sends the Archibishop of Sane and Earl of Blot to procure a Parly, which was granted on the Morrow, but left Fervol; for the King of France neither came, nor sent to that Parly, but kept his Men in the Town, and then gave him the Town according to the Covenant, which contrary to his Oath he demolish'd, plunder'd, and taking Hostages removed his Camp, and left the King of England disappointed; who being inrag'd at it, purf'd the flying Arm-

ary, of which he got some Booty, enters Fervol, and the next day took the Castle of Dambury, with many others. From hence he pursu'd to Rouen, and there sent his Brabanfons into Brit-

ain against Hugh Earl of Clefer, and Ralph Fal-

giers, who had gotten that whole Country into their Power; but being not able to withstand this Army of the King's in the Field, they with all the great Men of those Parts got into the Ca-

ske of Dale, and threatened themselves in the same; the King following in Person being'd and took it, and in it about eighty Lords, besides others of Note and Valour, by which Defeat the rest of the Country was brought to yield. By this Suc-

cess the King's Enemies were so much diver-

* Henold drew Daniel into this Mistake. The Father and Son meet, according to other Authors, with Eberit Earl of Marlwns (now of Ears), in Elements in Angourey, and indeed 'tis very unlikely that King Henry should go to see his Father in Italy, to get a Wife for his Son. 2 500 l. of Anjoun Money. 3 This was done as a great Council held at Paris, where Philip Earl of Hants, Matthew his Brother Earl of Boulbgny, and Thes-

bald Earl of Blois, did Young Prince Henry's Humour. 4 King Henry had lately brought his Affections on Edfard, Laughter to the Lord Clifford, whom he keeps as his Mannour of Woodpool. 5 Of the Province of Brabant.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Second.

A.D. 1173. Try. At this Treaty the King of England, the
every way superiour, was so condescending to
his Children for a Pacification sake, that he offer'd
to his Son Henry half his Revenues of the County
of Cornwall, at his Command, and would submit to the
Archbishops of the Archbishop of Toronto, and the
Pope's Legates, to add any Allowance which they
should in their Judgments think fit, revering to
himself his Royal Authority, and Administration of
Justice. But all these fair Proposals did not fatisifie :
The King of France was for no Agreement, as is plain from the Indignities offer'd to the
King at the Treaty; and the Pope's fay, that
Robert Earl of Leicester reproached him to his
Face, and attempted to draw his Sword at him.

The Meeting ended with quarrelling, and the
Armies began their daily Bickering, tho' the
French had the worst. The Earl of Leicester with
an Army gets over into England, where he was
received by John the Younger, Prince of Pre-
minent, Richard de Lucy Chief Justice of Eng-
land, and Humphry Bohun the King's Confaible,
being then upon the Borders of Scotland, and
hearing of his arrival, made a Truce with the King of Scots, and halted away with their
Forces to St. Edmundsbury, where the Earls of
Cornwall, Glocefter, and Norwich joined with them,
and the Earl of Leicester to enter the Earl of
Leicester at Farnham, whose Army they defe-
ed, killing ten thousand Flemings, and taking
himself, Wife, and several other great Men Pri-
soners, whom he sent to the King in Normandy.
In the mean time the King himself was not idle,
but daily got Caftles and Forses from his Ene-
my's hands, and for his Arms to make a Truce till Eafter, which also the Bishop of Dur-
ham did with the King of Scots, for three thou-
sand Marks of Silver, to be paid out of the Lands
of the Barons of Northumberland.

The Spring being come, the Truce on all
sides being expired, King Henry the Son, and
Brothers, are return'd from Granvela, with a great Army for England. The King of Scots also entred Northumberland, and fends his Brother David to relieve the small Reminders of the Earl of Leicester's Forces, which held the Town of Leicester, but too late; for Robert de Lucy and the Earl of Cornwall had taken and rafed the Town, and seiz'd Robert Monford coming to help them, and sent him into the Table of Death. The
Father seeing his Son's Preparations for Eng-
land, draws off his Forces from other Employ-
ments, and brings them down to Barnfloto, and
pafs'd over to Southampton, with his Prisoners, Queen Eleanor, Margaret his Son Henry's Wife,
and the Earls of Leicester and Cheffer; and from thence, with their Power, to Croyden, to hift his own
Martyr, and perform his Vows of Victory; and
fome write, that when he came in fight of the
Church, he allighted from his Horfe, and went
three Miles barefoot to it; the Stones which cut his Feet receiving bloody Tokens of his Devotion.
But in recompence of this meritorious Action, they add, That the fame day, when he departed
from Canterbury, the King of Scots was conquer'd, A.D. and taken at Ashwicke by some Knights of Tork-
here, viz. Robert de Sturvicke, Odonel de Ham Reg. 20.
free, William de Vefey, Ralph de Glanvill, Ralph
de Tilny, and Bernard Baldul; and his Son Henry
was by Temples beat back again into France,
where the King of Scots sent his Cardinal of his
Father's passage into England, and the King of
the King of Scots, call'd him to the Siege of Roa.
Henry, after his fit of Devotion was over, being
ready for business, soon quieted and settled the
disorder'd State of his Nations. For he took the
Caffles of Huntingdon, Frensham, Bongay, Dur-
ham, and Carlisle, which Hugh Boyer and the Bishop of Durham refused to give him, but
by his granting them his Favour and Pardon. Ralph
Monford also yield'd himself up with his Caffle of
Trofe, Earl Ferrers refign'd his Caffles of Tref-
bury, Dofffield; one Ankilift, Malleryr, and William
Droce, Contables of the Earl of Leicester, the
Caffles of Leicester, Montmorill and Grady. So
that within this Peace, which was fettled contrary to
Arms. When the King had thus fettled England,
he being enforce'd with a thousand Wellmen, went
with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, Earls of
Leicester and Cheffer, and paisles over into Nor-
mandy to relieve Roan. His Wellmen being first
fent over the River Seine, made way through the
knaves of the Earl of Roan, which he had given to the
Wood, without any loss, playing an Arch of their
Enemies; and so got into the City with the
King's Forces, who open'd the Gates to provoke the
French King to Battel, but in vain. For Lewis
having fent away the weakift of his People be-
fore, follow'd after with the reft, by the permif-
sion of the King of Roan; of whom he got leave by the Archbishops of Senn, of the Bishops of
Blows, to depart, under pretence of a Parley to be
the next day, which he never perform'd. How-
ever the King of France feeing that all his Arts
provd nothing advantageous, either to himfelf
or his Confederates, he again fends the former
Agents to the King of England with the fame
proffers of Peace as he gave to him, and his Sons,
and yet upon fuch as he would the Goodness of his
Nature, and Love to his Children: His whole Pro-
cedings in this War proving, that not his Will,
but Necessity moved him to Action. At the signi-
g of the Archbishops of Peace, when his Son Henry
would have done him Homage (which is a Per-
sonal Service) he refufed it, becaufe he was a
King, but of his Sons Richard and Jeffrey he ac-
cepted it: Yet Henry, to free his Father from all
fensile, fware Fealty to him as a Subject against
all Men, in the prefence of the Archbishops of
Roan, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Montcrue, and
many others; for the King Henry, in his Treaty of
this Peace the Earl of Flanders yielded up to
King Henry the Father his Son's Charter of Re-
ward for his Alliance, and had another con-
firm'd to him for a Penion of a thoufand Marks
to be paid out of England yearly upon Condition
of Homage, and to find the King of England five
hundred Marks for his yearly Penion, and to
receive all the Summons given him. This buinfefs being ended, the Kings (Father and Son) took their progres
into all the Provinces on that side of the Sea, to
visit and reform the Diforders of War, and fettle all
Affairs; and fent Richard into Aquitaine, and Jeffrey
into Britain for the fame purpofe, and fettled them there with their Council to take care of their own.

* Parisham, in a Meadow near the Church of St. Genevfr.
* Our Historians relate, he fubmitted his Back to receive eighty Lashes from the Monks and Clerks of that Church, to make
* full satisfaction for his Offence against their Arch-bishop Baker, who had been lately Converted.
* As Palliers on the 23d of September.

Shortly
Shortly after the two Kings, Father and Son, returned into England, where there was at great Reg. 21. necessity of a Reformation of Government both in Church and State as there was in France. The King desirous to compleat both, first had a Council of the Clergy called under Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, in which many Enerentics of the Clergy were reform'd, as may be seen in the Canons of that Synod. The King supply'd all Vacancies, and gave to John Overford (his chief Minifter) the Bishopric of Norwich. Then he took into his hands all the Castles he could seize, and among others the Tower of Blandford, which was surrender'd to him by the Earl of Gloucester, and was join'd by the King to the Castles before he had exacted certain Penalties of all, both Clerks and Laymen, who had in the time of the War done any Injuries to the King's Forests, for which he was accused of Injustice, because Richard Lucy the King's Justice, had by the King's Warrant, discharge'd them for the same; but the gain, which such Molts yielded him, made him the more severe. For after the Death of Main de Neall, who had been chief Justice of all the Forests of England, he divided them into severall parts, appointing four Justices to oversee every one of them, whereas two were to be Clerks, and two Knights. And over all other Forcers he confrued three Sacks, and shortly after, he divided these Sacks, and gave them power to impale any, the Lord being at York, there came to him

The King of William King of Scots, with almost all the Nobility, Abbeys, and Bishops of his Kingdom, and confirmed the Peace and final Agreement, which had been between his Wife and that of England, even in Normandy, before all the greatest Perfonages of both Kingdoms, the Copy of which is in Roger Hovedoji. A little after a Council was held at Windfor, to which certain Irish Bishops, and the Chancellor of Rodvices King of Cononught came, who concluded a firm Agreement for their Matter, doing Homage and Fealty, and obliging him to send a tribute of one sufficient hide of forty ten Beasts killed within his Kingdom, and those Provinces that hold of it. The same Year a Parliament was summoned to meet at Nottingham, where, by the advice and consent of his Nobles, he caufed the Kingdom to be divided into six parts, and did his chief Judges in each Justice, were to travel from place to place to administer Justice, cautioning them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists faithfully to observe, and caufe to be observed by all his Majesty's English Subjects, the Statutes made at Clarendon, and renew'd at Northampton, concerning Murther, Theft, Robbery, and Receivers of fich as were guilty of any of these Robberies. The King of Navarre, which Facts, if any were found guilty of by the Verdict of twelve Men, they were to pass the Trial of Water-Ordeal, whereby, if they were not acquitted, their punishment was the loss of a Leg, or Banishment; it being held in that Age a more deterring Spectacle to see a miserable Man deprived of a Leg, than when they did not shed Blood in those cases. And yet we find, that in this King's Reign one Gibert Thompion, a Layman, being accused of a Rape, was condemned by Ralph Glossire Chief Justice of England to Reg. 22. hang'd on a Gibbet; but before the Execution, it was discover'd, that Glossire did it out of a Glance's design of getting his Wife, a great Heir to, for one of the King's Daughters. Receiver Sheriff of Yorkshire, and by the Charnons of the People, and Authority of Baldwin Bishop of Worcester he was hanged, till his Innocency was clear'd to the King, who thereupon stopped the Sentence. This Act of Justice leaves a foul Blot upon the Memory of Glantville, though he was a chief Infrument in compelling that Body of the Laws and Customs of England that pass under his Name.

The Charge given at the Affizes at this time 1177. confuted but of very few points, besides the Fe-Reg. 23. monies aforesaid, and was especially for taking Ho- mage and Allegiance of the King's Subjects, demolishing Castles, securing the King's Rights of his Crown and Exchequer. The multitude of Actions which arose in succeeding Aces proceeded from new Crimes, and increasing of Laws and Contests, which were then but in the Cradle. This Year the King of Sicily fent and craved to have the King of the King's Daughter Jannus in Marriage; and Sicily ob- 

ained it. But Henry having taken the advice of his Parliament, King's which he call'd on parwo, granted his Request, of his Daughter in Marriage, and yield'd the one endow'd her with many Cities and Castles in his Ille. But the Great Match which the King had provided for his Son John, was at this time broken off by Death, and he was marry'd to the Daughter of William Earl of Glouceter's, by whom he was to have that Earldom. This William was the Son of the Son of the King's Father, and a natural Brother to Maud the Empress, so ferioufly afcerted her Right. The fame Year he marry'd Eleanor, another of his Daughters, to Al aliens King of Caffle, and determin'd a Contro- verzie between him and his Uncle Senio King of Nofcarre, about the detaining of certain parts of each other's Kingdom, he being chosen Arbitrator between them 2. Likewise the Marriage between his Son Richard, and Alice the Daughter of the French King (who was trusted to his Care and Keeping) was again treated on, and urged by the Pope's Legates, to be commutated upon pain of Interdiction 3, but it was defender'd, the both Kings entered into a personal and League both offensive and Defensive, and vow'd an Expedition into the Holy Land together, which they never liv'd to Reg. 24. perform.

The King of France in a dangerous Sicknes of The King of his Son Philip vow'd to visit the Sepulchre for the Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury, and by a Lie of the first of England from the Courts of France, and promise of the King's Forty Thousand Leagues, and the King's Command, that they should buy in his Kingdom. He stay'd in England three

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1. The King of the Scots came to York in Aug. 1176. By this Treaty Ralbarth, Berwick, Colnworth, Edinburgh, and Sterling Castles were deliver'd to King Henry. In this Charter of Peace, which is at large in Hovedoji, 'tis expressly mention'd, that the King of Scots did homage to the King of England for all Scotland. The Council at Windfor was held about Michaelmas, 1173. The Council at Nottingham was held on the 24th of January, in the same Year 1174. They arriv'd about Whitsants, Anno 1176. Reg. Hvo.

2. The Earl of Glouceter left all his Estate to John the King's youngest Son, on Condition he marry'd Maud the Earl's youngest Daughter. Some Authors place this Marriage in the first Year of Richard II. Anno 1189. Her five elder Sibers had Pensions allow'd them.

3. Red. de Dicta, and others, relate, That the Princeps Ethelstan, who was then but seven Years old, was marry'd to King Alpin's in 1169.

4. The Controversy was debated and determin'd by the Great Council of the Nation, but the King had the Honour of it, and judgment was not given till the next Year, 1177.

5. It happen'd in Feb. 1177.


Months.
The Life and Reign of HENRY the Second.

A. D. Months, and then return'd into France, being
1179. conducted by the King of England to Dover. What
Reg. 25. Effect this Journey had upon the Recovery of the
Son, 'tis hard to conjecture; but 'tis certain, that
it wrought most upon the aged King, who was
miserably sick at S. Devedos, near the Seine. He was taken
with a Palsy, and died of it within a few days;
yet foreseeing his Death, he caused his Son to be
cried, 'tho' but then fifteen Years of Age,
which was done at Reims, Anno Dom. 1179.

The Duke

of Saxony

Duke

of Saxony

Henry, who had married Man
duc'd the King's Daughter, was expell'd from his
and was conduct'd by Fire, while
rick's for seven Years; because he detain'd cer-
tain Revenues from the Archibishop of Cologne,
which were payable to him out of Saxony,
and refus'd to come to a Tryal about it at the
Imperial Chamber, according to his Faith and
Promise made to the Emperor: So that he was
forbid to murder his Wife and Children to
his Father-in-Law the King of England for Alli-
fiance, and remain'd with him three Years, till
the Archibishop of Cologne coming to visit the
Sepulchre of S. Thomas of Canterbury, the King
forced the Archibishop, that he was refor'd to
his Dutchy, and a Contract of Marriage made
between Richard the King's Son and the Empe-
riour's Daughter, which the Pope's Agent
contract made with. The French King's Daugh-
Reg. 26., ter, had been committ'd, had not Death pre-
victed. The King Henry allo sends his Son John
to refide in Ireland, thinking that the Majesty of a Court,
and Gallantry of his Attendants might
Both and civilize that Country; but he allowed it with many young Men, who
had more Wit than Judgment, did more Harm
there than Good. For the joces Courtiers forming
and deriding the Irish for their rude Habits and
Paffions to anger'd the Natives, that three
of their most potent Kings, viz. of Limerick, Con-
marble, and Cork, fell into open Rebellion, for
as Contempt, to their King. The Barbarous Nations are
ignorant of Honours, yet they are affected to be ho-
1180. mould above measure, and are quickly touch'd
and incend'd with any Signs of Digeste and

Contempt, but their Anger was soon all-
lay'd.

Henry enjoyed now days of Peace, employ'd
himself to find out all means possible to fill his
Treasury, and to diminish the burdens of himself,
and the first thing he attempted this
way, was this. Roger Archibishop of York dy'd
very rich, and in his Sicknes disposs'd of very
great Sum's by Will to godly Uses; which as soon
as the King had Intelligence of it, he sent Commissi-
ioners to feize for his Use, because he al-
ready, he had acted against a Canon of his own
making; which was, That it is against Law for
any Ecclesiastical Person to dispose of any thing by
Will, unless before he was sick. The Commissioners
in Prosecution of their Office having found out,
that Hugh Bishop of Durham had receiv'd three
hundred Marks of Silver of the Archibishop's
Mansion, which he had receiv'd in the King's Name,
demanded the same for the King; but the Bishop fail'd.
He had dispos'd of the Money according to the
Archibishop's Will to the Leprors, Blind and
Lame, and in repairing Churches, Bridges and
Hospitals; and if they would have the Money,
they must take it of them. Which round An-
fertion was oppugn'd by the King, then seiz'd upon
his Castle of Durham, and brought him into ma-
ny Troubles. The King's Revenues (besides his

Demesne and the Benefit of his Forefets) were but
A. D.
small in England, which caus'd him sometimes to 1180.
shopicks and Benefits vacant, as he did that of
Lincns Eighteen Years. He made a new Coin in his
was to make the King's Crown very heavy: And his
Revenues, by the Charge of Horse and Armour was
very burthenome to him, to have his own Purse
when he caused every man's Lands and Effects to be
rated for the furnishing out of them. This Method
he began to take first in his Dominions beyond
Curie; and the many Laws that had 100 l.
of Augment Money in Goods and Chattels, should
find an Horfe, and all Military Furniture belong-
ing to it; and all that had 40, 30, or 20 l.
of Augment Money, should find a Croset, Helm-
piece, and Sword, or a Bow and Arrows, with
a first Prohibition, That no Man should sell or
pawn his Armour, but leave it when he died,
to his next Heir: And this Creation he establisht in England by the Consent of his Par-
liament. The King of France and the Earl of
Flanders, much liking his politic Invention,
made the like Constitutions in their Country.
But notwithstanding all his Arts of getting and
saving, he could hardly get much more than
what he had before. For the Pope oblig'd it to be
at in to large Dominions, for Expendi-
tments, Pensions and Rewards, Buildings and For-
tifications, besides his extraordinary Dilbur-
ments, which either for Honour or Policy he was
forced to; for he was often fain to bribe the
Pope's Legates, to make them favourable to him
in the King's Court.

The King's

Ves-

sion

liberty.

He

will

bear

his

self.

The

King's

Chriftians at Jerufalem with a Royal Bounty,
giving them forty two thousand Marks of Silver
and five hundred Marks of Gold, which is in our
Money 47333/; 6 s. 8 d. And when Pope Lu-
cius, being reduced to very great Struggles by
the People of Rome, defir'd his Alibisance, he
sent him a very great Sum of Gold and Silver, Reg. 28.
which he levied of the Clergy, partly at their
own Desire: For when the Pope's Nunco's came
to defire the fame, they went to the King and
adviz'd him, that He should supply his Wants,
and that as he was the most virtuous Son for his Honour,
both for hisfelf and them, it was better
that their King should receive any Impof-
tion laid upon them than the Pope, left it
should be an ill President, and begat a Custom,
which may prove of very great Detriment to
the Kingdom.

The Peace made between the two Kings, the
King of France and the Earl of 
Flanders, continued between them for two Years, when a fresh Quarrel broke out between
them upon this Occasion, as far as can be ga-
er'd from the uncertain Relations of those
Times. In the 29th Year of his Reign he kept his
Children at Cane in Normandy, and Knted
most magnificently his Sons, Henry, Richard, and
Jeffrey, together with the Duke's Wife and
Children, and all the Nobility of that Place. At
this Meeting the King advis'd his Son Henry to
take the Homages of his Brothers Richard Earl of
Pembii, and Jeffrey Earl of Brittany. Richard at
first refused to do it, but upon Persuasion offer'd
it, but was then refus'd. Whereupon he depart-
ed into Arjou from his Father's Court, to fortify
and furnish his Castles there. The King his Bro-

* Prince John did not go for Ireland till the Year 1182. He was still King of that Island, and had a Crown of Peacocks Fe-
athers, interwoven with Gold, sent him by Pope Latini the 9th.
The Young Prince, King Henry, and his Father being reconciled, and again at Eumity. 

A. D. 1183. 

that follows him, being put upon it by the Barons of Poitou and Aquitain, who defected Reg. 29. from him; but in the end he long had his Dominions against his Brother's Power and better Title; and Jeffrey, Earl of Britain, joined his Forces with the King his Brother. Richard being over-power'd, sent for Alliffance to his Father, who immediately came into Poitou, not to make War, but constrain his three Sons to a Peace, with a powerful Army, by which he soon effected it, and brought them to swear Obedience to him, and to live in Peace one with another, which was ratified not long after at Mirabel, and the Barons of Poitou, and Aquitain at the Defire of Henry (who had sworn to defend them against his Brother Richard) included in it, and Richard sent them all a Pledge of a most entire Subjection of his Mind, by which in few days he died. The Young Prince of excellent Parts, but ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence and Rigour; who never suffered him to be a King, tho' he made him one by his Coronation, putting those Defiles of Majesty in his Heart which he was forced to break, that he might keep up his Throne. The King was extremely grieved at the Death of his Son, but did not defer from his Revenge he had begun against the Barons of Aquitain, whom he fiercely proceeded, seiz'd on their Castles, and raised that of Limoges to the Ground. Jeffrey upon his Sub-mission again received into Favour, but dierd in the next Year at the sudden News of the Young Prince's Death. A.D. 1184. 

there followed to Death by Horses: And thus Henry liv'd to see half his Male-sheft extinct before him, and that by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions. The other two indeed surviv'd him, but were no less miserable in their Ends, as this ensuing Story will shew. 

Philip the Second King of France, being now Philip the Fourth, seated upon his Father's Throne (and able to effect more than his Father could) soon after the Death of his Cousin, the Young Prince of King Henry the Son, requires that the Country with King of Veron, which was given in Dower with his Sister Henry and Margaret, should be restored; but the King of England (who never could to part with any thing in his Possession) chose rather to pay Yearly a hundred Thousand Pounds willed to King George Doneware, than to part with itoding. And because he saw this Prince to be of a high Spirit and very active, and so likely to give him Disturbance in his old Age, he did Homage to him for all his Dominions he had in France (which he never would do to his Father, and was the Father's first time he did; with great Consequence. He shrung, vow'd to take upon him the Crofs, and give over all Worldly Enviues, and unlesed he would give him leave (without which he could not go) he would instantly kill himself. His Father being amaz'd at this sudden and strange Palatation, first asked him, Whether any Discontent or Intimation had he made to him? He could not answer it, and took the Vow: The Son protefs, That it was merely to obtain the Remission of those Sins he had committed against his Perfon. His Father much diftrusted him from this Purrudence; but finding him very obfinate, and reiovd'd after all the Arguments he could use, he laid unto him, Son, God's Will be done, and yours: If you will serve the God and the Prince, I will take care to fit you out according to your Greatness and State. The Son (while his Father was pellable) befouathed to deal merci- fully with the Barons, who held out the Castle of Limoges against him; and by Importunity ob-reg. 29. 1185. 1245. He ruin'd it, upon condition, that they should give him Pledges for their Fidelity for the future, which they seem'd contented to do. But in the Performance of the Condition, some who were against this Peace made such Disturbances, that all former Tender's and Confrontions were broken; and the young Princes fell again in open Rebellion with their Confederates against him, and being made Heads of the Faction, were forced to commit Theft and Sacrilege to support their Adherent. The Father immediately besieges Limoges; and the Son, who was engag'd against him very unwillingly, fell into a Fever and Flux, which abated all the Alarm of his imagination of Mind, by which in few days he died. 

The Young Prince of excellent Parts, but ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence and Rigour; who never suffered him to be a King, tho' he made him one by his Coronation, putting those Defiles of Majesty in his Heart which he was forced to break, that he might keep up his Throne. The King was extremely grieved at the Death of his Son, but did not defer from his Revenge he had begun against the Barons of Aquitain, whom he fiercely proceeded, seiz'd on their Castles, and raised that of Limoges to the Ground. Jeffrey upon his Sub-mission again received into Favour, but dierd in the next Year at the sudden News of the Young Prince's Death. A.D. 1184. there followed to Death by Horses: And thus Henry liv'd to see half his Male-sheft extinct before him, and that by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions. The other two indeed surviv'd him, but were no less miserable in their Ends, as this ensuing Story will shew. 

Philip the Second King of France, being now Philip the Fourth, seated upon his Father's Throne (and able to effect more than his Father could) soon after the Death of his Cousin, the Young Prince of King Henry the Son, requires that the Country with King of Veron, which was given in Dower with his Sister Henry and Margaret, should be restored; but the King of England (who never could to part with any thing in his Possession) chose rather to pay Yearly a hundred Thousand Pounds willed to King George Doneware, than to part with it. And because he saw this Prince to be of a high Spirit and very active, and so likely to give him Disturbance in his old Age, he did Homage to him for all his Dominions he had in France (which he never would do to his Father, and was the Father's first time he did; with great Consequence. He shrung, vow'd to take upon him the Crofs, and give over all Worldly Enviues, and unlesed he would give him leave (without which he could not go) he would instantly kill himself. His Father being amaz'd at this sudden and strange Palatation, first asked him, Whether any Discontent or Intimation had he made to him? He could not answer it, and took the Vow: The Son protefs, That it was merely to obtain the Remission of those Sins he had committed against his Perfon. His Father much diftrusted him from this Purrudence; but finding him very obfinate, and reiovd'd after all the Arguments he could use, he laid unto him, Son, God's Will be done, and yours: If you will serve the God and the Prince, I will take care to fit you out according to your Greatness and State. The Son (while his Father was pellable) befouathed to deal merci- 

* Rad. de Diocet. writes, they were disconnetted with him for his severe Government. 

* Henry and Philip had gain'd the Castle of Limoges, and thus oug the King; who coming near the Castle to treat with them, the young Prince Guards ftood at him, and an Arrow had certainly pier'd his Heart: if his Horse had not by chance call'd up his Head and receiv'd it in his Forehead. 

* The French Historians affirm he dy'd of a Fever, and that it was not till the Year 1186. 

* It is 1570 A.D. only in Eng. Hist. Mr. D. Daniel has corrected, and made it 1570 rer. A.D. for 1750 A.D. for that Money would be a float Joyne for a Princeps, an English Stilling was then of the same Value with 2d. of deiva Money. 

Vol. I.
A.D. French King's Sister to his Son Richard to Wife, 1185. the King of France gave his hand to Dover, but her Sister Margaret had been before. But these Tyes held not long. The young King of France having contracted so great a Familiarity with Richard the King's Son, that one Bed and Board is said to have held them, so fir'd up the Jealousie of the old King, that he went for his Son home, and caufed him to swear upon them hispreferent Fidelity to him against all Perfons whatsoever. The King of France seeing this, laid hold upon the old Caufe to pick a Quarrel, and threatned that he would invade and deslroy Normandy, unless he would either deliver his Sifer to Richard forthwith, or relige Giftes and the Country of Tonklin to his hands. The news of his Action brought the two Kings to another Parly between Giftes and Try, to settle matters in difference between them, but never came to any mention of them. For the Archibishop of Tyre (who came from the East to obtain affiurance against the Turks in the Holy War) did with a Parly in both Nations urge that busines, that these two great Princes let fall all Contentions between themselves, and with joynt confent refolved to undertake that laborious and dangerous Expedition against the Infidels.

And now fuch was the Zeal of these two Kings, that they were throught, or talk'd on, but preparations for that War. They agreed to raife each of them a strong Army; and for a mark of Diffimation among their Followers and People it was agreed upon, that the King of England should wear a White Crof, the French a Red, and the Flemings a Green. And as a farther Engagement in this Bofnies, the King of England wrote to the Pope and the Legates about a comfortable and pious Letter, concluding with these words: 'That among other Princes, he himfelf, and his Son, rejecting the Glory of this World, and defighting all the Pleafures thereof, in their own Perfons, and with all their strength; did intend, God willing, to vifit them shortly. To raife Money to fill this Undertaking, it was ordain'd by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bifhops, Earls, and other in both their Dominions in France, that all Perfons, as well of the Clergy as Laity, (except only fuch as went with them) fhould pay the tenth part of all their Lands for that Year, and of all their Merchandize and Chaffes, as well in Great as in Smaller. And besides they made many excellent Orders for the restraint of all Exceffes in Meat, Drink, and Apparel, as was convenient for the Undertakers of fo good and devout an Action. The King of England having laid these Impofitions upon his Dominions in France, comes over into England, and calls a Parliament of his Biſhops and other great Men, the members of the Clergy and Laity, at Gaytongroat 2, and by their confent impofes the fame Tax upon all his Subjects in England; and prrefently fends forth Collectors into every Shire to gather it, as he had done in France. But in all the Cities of England he fought out the Riched Men, and commanded them to pay the whole Hundred pounds, and proportionately in the reft; which at a Time and Place appointed he fummon'd to appear before him, and took of them the tenth part of all their Moveables, as they were rated to him by credible Men, who knew their Efates; and if any refufed to pay, he impofion'd them till they did. In which Exadtion, Piety bore him out, A.D. otherwise 'twould not have concurred in those times. The King alfo fent Hugh Bishop of Reg. 32. Durefia, with other Commissiorners, to William King of Scots, to collect the like Tenfhs in his Country; which that King would not allow of, or offer'd to give the King of England five thoufand Marks of Silver, and a Captaine, which he claim'd, but the King of England refufed the fame.

Whilft these Preparations were making, and the Defign Money collecting, a Quarrel happen'd between the Holy Richard Earl of Poiiton, and Raymond Earl of War laid Tonklin, which baffled their whole Defign, and that upon this occasion: The Earl of Tonklin, by refolution of one Peter Sullane, did take certain Merchants of Aquitain, and used them very hardly. The Earl of Poitou being difpleafed at it, furyfizes Peter, imprifons him, and would not fuffer the Earl of Tonklin to redeem him up on any Condition. Whereupon that Earl imprifons two Gentlemen, Servants of the King of England, Robert and Ralph Poer, who were trafficking with a King's Merchant, the Knight St. James of Compofelles; which Earl Richard took to fill, that he immediately entered Tonklin with an Army, which he had prepared for a better defign, destroys the Country with Fire and Sword, and took several Captives. The People and Earl of Tonklin, not able to oppofe Richard's Forces, Reg. 32. made a Treaty with him to deliver the Merchants, and fends to the King of England to know, whether his Son Richard had done this by his advice or confent? The King anfwers, That he had given neither to his Son, but that his Son had fent him word by the Archibishop of Dublin, that he did it with the confent of the King of France. This that King look'd upon as a deflroying Affair, and therefore removed in the_ifame Year, from that Country, and takes divers Captives belonging to the King of England. This Act of Holfility broke all meafures laid for the Holy War, and they fell into open and violent Wars between themselves. The Pope by his Legates, and many other Princes, endeavouer'd to reconcile thefe Factions, but only fucceeded in some external Conferences, but all to no purpofe; they went away ufually greater Enemies than they came. The Pope's Legates looking upon the French King the caufe of this lamentable Breach, threaten'd him, unlefs he would make a Peace with the King of England, to interdict him; but the French King made the Pope to tell them that he was bound to the Pope, being grounded upon no Equity, and it not belonging to the Church of Rome by any Sentence to hinder the King of France from chaffizing his Relbiffhful Subjects, and added, That they were the Starlings of England. This produced a worfe King Richard effect than any thing that had hitherto been done, ry depor- For the King of England upon this Occafion ut- terly, that he从来没 more farthers than to his own felf, and brought his felf and his whole Courage, But the French King, Sifer, to Richard, tho' he offer'd to give her to his Son John with larger Conditions, fo angered his Sifer Richard, that he fell to the King of France, did Homage to him for the Dukehum of Aquitain, and joyn'd his Forces with him againft his Father. This quite broke the Heart of the King of Eng- land, and made him lofs all the advantage of his ancient Courage, as well as of many of his Subjects, buckles to any Conditions, leaves the De- fence of Mons, (which he had undertaken by Otho never to forfake, by reafon it was the Tomb of his Father) and flies away with few hundred Men, and afterward's did Homage to the King of

The Assembly met at Gaytongroat, now Gayton, about ten Miles from Northampton, in January 1185. Reg. 32. he did Homage for his Transmarine Dominions on St. Nicholas's day, anno 1185, about 40 years before.
France for all his Dominions on that side the Sea, 1189. accordingly I4 J. One that Fealty should be given to Richard of all his Dominions, and parson all his adherents, covenants to pay the King of France twenty thousand Marks in Silver, as a reparation of the Damages he had suffer'd the last War. And as if he had been afflicted out of his Reason and Wit at those Thunderings which are said to have happened at some Interviews between himself and King of France, he permitted, that in case he should not perform these Articles, his Barons should fine to renounce him, and betake themselves to the King of France and Earl Richard; and for more security, he yielded the Cities of Mons and Theves, with divers other Offices into their hands, &c. And thus having concluded this business, he endeavoured also his Life three days after, the greatness of his Heart not being able to flink under the weight of his declining Fortune, and therefore with grief and sorrow broke. Some few hours before he dy'd he saw a Lift of their Names, who had conspired against him with the King of France and his Son Richard, and finding among them his Son John to be the first, he fell into a very extravagant Passion, cursing his Son's and his own Birth, and in that Fit of Anger departed the World, which he had so often durb'd, having reign'd thirty five years, seven Months, and five Days. After he had thus dier'd, carrying to his Burying (adorned, according to the manner of Kings, with all Royal Ornaments open fac'd) when his Son Richard drew near his Body, the Blood gushed out of the Nostrils (which being usually noted, as a Sign of Guiltines) may righly be account-}

A. D. France for all his Dominions on that side the Sea, 1189. rendes up Alice to his Son Richard, upon Condi-
Reg. 35. tion he should be marry'd to him when he return'd from the Holy War, and in the mean time to remain in the C Abbey of any one of such five as the King of England should nominate; grants Fealty should be given to Richard of all his Dominions, and parsons all his adherents, covenants to pay the King of France twenty thousand Marks in Silver, as a reparation of the Damages he had suffer'd the last War. And as if he had been afflicted out of his Reason and Wit at those Thunderings which are said to have happened at some Interviews between himself and King of France, he permitted, that in case he should not perform these Articles, his Barons should fine to renounce him, and betake themselves to the King of France and Earl Richard; and for more security, he yielded the Cities of Mons and Theves, with divers other Offices into their hands, &c. And thus having concluded this business, he endeavored also his Life three days after, the greatness of his Heart not being able to flinch under the weight of his declining Fortune, and therefore with grief and sorrow broke. Some few hours before he dy'd he saw a Lift of their Names, who had conspired against him with the King of France and his Son Richard, and finding among them his Son John to be the first, he fell into a very extravagant Passion, cursing his Son's and his own Birth, and in that Fit of Anger departed the World, which he had so often disturb'd, having reign'd thirty five years, seven Months, and five Days. After he had thus die'd, carrying to his Burying (adorned, according to the manner of Kings, with all Royal Ornaments open face'd) when his Son Richard drew near his Body, the Blood gushed out of the Nostrils (which being usually noted, as a Sign of Guiltiness) may rightly be account-

ed as a Voice of Nature giving notice of the A. D. Wrongs and unnatural Offences Richard had done 1189. to him, which was so interpreted by Richard.Reg. 35. himself, for at the Sight of it being surpris'd, he is said to have burnt out into extreme sorrow and Lamentations. He had by his Wife Eleanor several Children, viz. four Sons: Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, besides two, viz. William the eldest, and Philip the youngest but one, which dy'd young; and three Daughters, viz. Maud, married to Henry Duke of Savoy, Eleanor, who was given to Alfonso VIII. King of Castile, and Joanna, who was married to William King of Sicily. He had also two Natural Sons by his Concubine Fair Rosamond, Daughter of Sir Walter Lord Clifford, viz. William furtharm: a certain Longeoffe of Long-Sword, and Jeffrey Archbishops of York, who after five Years banishment in his Brother King John's time, died Anna Dom. 1215. The other Son William Longeoffe, who was Earl of Salisbury in Right of Elsa his Wife, Daughter and only Heireff of William Earl of Salisbury, Son of Patrick, had felio William Earl of Salisbury, and Stephen Earl of Ulster, Elsa Counsell of War-wick, Elsa Lady Beaumont of Berff, and Isabel Lady Vefey. It is said, that King Henry had a third Natural Son call'd Morgan, by the Wife of one Randolph Bloxfor Blevins, a Knight. He lived to be Provost of Beverly, and was elected to the Bishoprick of Duleham; and coming to Rome for a Dispensation (because his Baffard made him incapable of it) the Pope advised him to profess himself as Blevins Lawful Son, and not the King's Natural, promising him the Bishoprick under that Condition; but he (by the Counsel of one William Lane his Chaplain) told the Pope plainly, that he would not renounce his Father, or deny himself to be of the Royal Blood to gain the greatest Earthly Promotion.

**Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of Henry II.**

In the 6th Year of his Reign thirty German Hereticks came into England to propagate their Opinions: One Gerard was their Leader. They said they were Christians, but denied the Supper, the Lord's Supper, and Matrimony, for which they were condemned by a Council of Bishops at Oxford, and deliver'd over to the Secular Power to be punisht: Accordingly they were mark'd in the Forehead with a red hot Iron, whip'd and thrust out of Doors naked in the midst of Winter: Where none daring to relieve them, an Order having been publish'd to the contrary, they dy'd of Hunger and Cold, and were the first that ever suffer'd for Herefie in England.

In his 14th Year Robert Bishop of Lincoln dy'd, and the King kept his See vacant seventeen Years, harmless, that while recovering the Revenue all of that Worth was lost. In his 15th Year a mighty Tempest happen'd in England, Scottland, and Ireland, and three Men were kill'd by Thunder and Lightning, at Andover in Hampshire, on Christmas-Day. Hol. The same Year as King Henry was about to take Horfe at Cardifie in Glamorganshire, an Apparition appear'd to him; and having threaten'd him with foum dreadful Plagues if he did not amend his Life, it vanish'd. Ibid.

The next Year this Infamous Collect was order'd to be us'd in all Churches in the Province of Canterbury, to expiate the Guilt of Becker's Murder. Be favourable, good Lord, to our Supplication and Prayer, that we which acknowledge our fault: guilty of Iniquity, may be deliver'd by the Intercession of Thomas thy Blessed Martyr and Bishop. Ibid.

In his 23d Year it rain'd Blood in the Isle of Wight for two Days. Ibid.

In his 26th Year, on the 19th of June, after Sun-set, the New Moon then shining out fair withThunder, which at the upper end of the upper field of the same Town, was cover'd with this Cloud, there appear'd to rise a burning Brand, casting forth Sparks and Flames as if it had been on fire. The Body of the Moon seem'd to wriggle like an Adder that is beaten: It did so above twelve

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* King Stephen dy'd the 29th of October, 1154, and King Henry the Second the 6th of July, 1189. and during the Commencement of King Henry's Reign from the Day of Stephen's Death, he reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months, and nineteen Days.

* Sir Ralph Blevins.
times, and then turn'd black. In September, the Moon being about twenty seven days old, at fix a Clock a Particular Eclipse of the Sun happen'd, its Body appear'd to be horn'd, the Horns shooting towards the Well, as the Moon does at twenty days old: The rcf of it was cover'd with a black Roundel, which coming down by little and little, threw about the horn'd Brightness that remain'd, till both the Horns hung down on either side towards the Earth, and as the black Roundel went a little forwards, the Horns turn'd to the Well, and the Black'ns palling away, the Sun recover'd his former Brightness. Hol.

In the Christmas Holidays, June 1179. the 26th of Henry II. says Rog. Hou. near Derlington, in the Bilboprick of Durham, at a place call'd Oxen-Hull, the Earth rais'd it self up like a lofty Tower, and remain'd several Hours in that posture; on a sudden it sunk down again with a horrid Noise, and the Earth so fuck'd it in, that it made there a deep Pit, which continues to this day. And Mr. Cumbden, in his Britannia, new Edit. p. 774. supposes it to be the Wells that are now call'd Hell-Kettles.

In the Year 1185. there was fo great an Earthquake as overthrow the Church of Lincoln, and other Churches. There was also almost a total Eclipse of the Sun.

In the 24th Year of his Reign a Crucifix was seen in the Air at Dunstable, and Streams of Blood seem'd to flow out of the Wounds of the Feet, Hands and Side; was visible several Hours. Hol.

In the laft Year of this King, Mr. Holinshed (who is apt to take too much notice of thesl things) reports, That the Fifth leap'd out of the Water in a Pool in Normandy, and fought together on dry Land, with fuch noise as drew the neighbouring People to behold this Wonder; which, it seems, was in the Night-time.

**Men Famous in Arms in this King's Reign were**


Those that follow were Renowned for their Learning, Viz.

- Ralph Glawe the Lawyer, Nicholas Breck spear, who was Pope by the Name of Adrian the Fourth, Gilbert de Sempringham, John Serlo, furnam'd Grammaticus, Abbot of Fountain, John Prior of Haggesfield or Hexam in Northumberland.

**Historians:** Adam of Evreux, Thomas of Monmouth, John of Salisbury in great Favour with the King: Adelbertus Lusitani, Germaine of Cirencester, Òdo of Kent, Clement Prior of Lanthony, Walter Daniell, Robert Knout, Robert Polior, William Ramfey, Senatus Braxons, Robert the Scribe, Òdo Miremuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Dover, William of Peterborough, and Bartolo new Jesuns.

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### THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD I.

**Richard began his Reign, July 6. A.D. 1189. Reg. 1.**

**Richard, surnam'd Cœur de Lion, Earl of Poitou: (born at Oxford) succeed his Father in all his Dominions, and first seizes upon his Treasures in France, which being then in the Custody of one Stephen Turnham, Senechal of Normandy, he imprisoned the Treasurer, that he might by Seve rities extort the full Sum in his Hands; which having gotten, he departed to Rouen, where he was girded with the Sword of Normandy, by Walter Archibishop of there, and took Fealty of the Clergy and Laity. Then he went to the King of France to agree with him about the Reffitution of some parcels of his Dominions, which had been taken from his Father in the late Wars, which he obtain'd not by his old Friendship, but his Money; and to confirm a lasting Amity between them, he gave his Niece Maud, the Daughter of the Duke of Saxony, to Jeffrey the Earl of Perch's Son. While he continual'd in France to settle his Affairs there, Queen Eleanor his Mother, whom he had freed from a long Imprisonment of twelve Years, and put into Power in his absence, endeav'our'd to prepare his People's Affections for his coming into England, by illusing out Pardons, and relieving Oppreftions; and at laft went to meet him at Winchelsea, and welcome him into England. Soon after his arrival (besides the great Sum which came to him by his Father's Treasures, which is in Treasures and Conven^sion.)**

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3. *Tit said, he was Senecfal of Arjas, and sent over to Winchelsea, where he was kept in Prison, in Fences of thirty Pounds weight, till he had paid thirty thousand Pounds of Arjas Money down, and given Security for fifteen thousand more.

4. Archbishop of Rouen.

5. He gave him four thousand Marks above the twenty thousand his Father had agreed to pay the French King.

6. *Matt. Evans writes, There was found ninety thousand Pounds in Money, besides Jewels and other Treasures.

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**Gold**
And, and but the which there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which finish'd that Day with Blood. The Jews inhabiting about the Cities of London and Westminster, desirous to gain the favour of the new King, came to offer their Presents, as an afflicted People in a strange Country, but the Rabbi, who before would not affront them, set upon them, and in a tumultuous manner so flied them, that they left both their Lives and Money, and their Example was follow'd in the Towns of Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Lincoln, Stamford, and Linc. After his Coronation he refol'd the Thoughts of his Expedition to Jerusalem, and resolvd to go thro' Flanders. The Treaty which was left by his Father was not thought sufficient to defray the Expenze of that Action, and therefore he contriv'd the Ways he could to raise more Money. And first he fold many of the Crown-Lands both to the Clergy and others: Godfrey de Lucy Bishop of Winchester bought two Manors and Mines, and the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury the Manor of Mildlow for a thousand Marks of Silver; the Bishop of Durham the Manor of Saltsborough, with the Palatinate Dignity of the whole Province, which gave occasion to that Jocose Speech of his concerning that Bishop, That he was a cunning Workman, that would make a New Earl of an old Bishop. He also granted to William King of Seats the Castles of Berwick and Roxburgh for ten thousand Marks, and gave him a Relafe from thole Covnents made and confirmed by Charter to King Henry II, as extorted from him by force while he was a Prisoner, but referring to himself such Rights as were, and had been performed by his Brother Matilda, and made him Lord of England. Farther, pretending that his Signet was loft, he made a new one, and put out a Proclamation, That whoever would enjoy peaceably the Grants made under the former Seal, must have them confirm'd by the New, by which means he brought in great Sums of Money to the gret of his Subjects. Then he prov'd to them the Pope, who was his Friend with such Perfons as had vow'd to take the Crofs, and were not willing to go, he got great Fines of them. All which Monies he lev'd with great Expedition, because the King of France in November after his Coronation, had sent the Earl of Perche, with other Commissioners, to acquaint King Richard with the Death of King Henry, and he had solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists to be ready at Tours, with all his Princes and People who had undertaken the Crofs, upon Exeter-day following, and from thence to set forward to the Holy Land, and to affurn of his this Revolution, he lent a Charter of their Agreement, defiring the King of England to lend him the same Assistance to meet him at the same Time and Place, which the King did at a general Assembly held at London. In December, the King, having stay'd but four Months in England after his Coronation, departs into Normandy, kept his Christianas at Rome, and profcntly had a Con- 
ference with the King of France at Rheims in 1189, both themselves, and most of the Nobility of Reg. 1. both Kingdoms, enter'd into a firm Peace and Union one with another, to preserve each other, and their EFF'ates; and agreed upon many Orders for their Journey. These things being settled, Richard sent for Queen Eleanor his Mother, his Brother John, the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Norwic, Bath, St. Hulfe, Ely, Chester, and others, who came unto him at Rouen, where he committed the Charge of the Kingdom to William Longchamp, and appointed to his Bishop of Ely, under the Title of Chief Justice, to go to England, and gave him one of his Seals, and the Holy Pallifer, and the Bishopric of Ely upon Hugh Bishop of Durham the supreme Command of the North, from Hummer to Scotland, and the keeping of Windsor-Castle, which proved after a cause of Quarrel between these two ambitious Prelates, who were impatient of each others Greatness. Hugh Bardulf, William Marshall, Jeoffrey, and others procured to him the Pope's Consent in his Commission with the Bishop of Ely. The King knowing the ambitious Mind of his Brother John, dare not trust him in the Commission; but left him he should cause any Disturbance in his absence, he caus'd him to take an Oath*, that he would not come into England for the space of three Years next following, and if he should be obliged to the more to believe himself peaceably, he confess'd upon him the Earldoms of Mortain, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Darby, and Leicester; which, with the Earldom of Gloucester, the Honour of Wilt- 

ingford, Tivoli, and Eye, and Castles of Marl- 

gbrough and Langel, which he had by his Wife Isabel, Daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, to make him a very great and powerful Prince; but were so far from containing his Mind, that they only increased his Desires of more, and made him a dangerous Subject, whenever an opportunity should offer. The King having thus provided for the Safety of his Kingdom, and Government of his Realms, he set forward to the Place where he was to have made his Expedition. 

* Cardinal of Canterbury says, 'twas the 2d of September. 

† The Book of Essex, he fold it to the Liege of Northumberland. 

‡ He releas'd his Brother John from his Oath, and gave him leave to return to England upon his taking another Oath, that he would faithfully serve him in his absence. 


|| These were Richard de Camville and William de Fort. 

*² Two Saddle-Horses, and two Sampurers.
all his Forces at the latter end of June, in the
1169. Company of the King of France to Lyons, where
Reg. 7. their People growing so numerous, that they were
ublime to each other, the two Kings parted;
the King of France went to Genoa by Land, and
the King of England to Marseilles, where having
lay'd eight Days, expecting his Fleet, which was
kept back by Tempefs, he was forced to hire ten
great Ships with Frenchmen to conduct him and
his Army into Sicily. The King of France,
who had taken Ship at Genoa, was likewise
driven by Tempefs upon the same Ile. They
were forced both to winter there, because the
French King's Ships were fo flatter'd by the Tem-
pefs, that they could not go further till repaired,
and this being the French Republic's only means
of great Troubles to the Ile*; as well as themselves,
the English and French not agreeing. William late
King of Sicily, who marry'd Donna the King of
England's Sister, was dead, and Tancred, Earl Son
of Roger, William's Grandfather, was invested in
the Kingdom, contrary to the Will of the late
King. The great Galley was taken, the Lawful
Daughter of the said Roger, who was mar-
ried to Henry the eldest Son of the Emperor Fre-
derick Barbarossa. This Match created Tancred
very powerful Enemies, against whose Force he
could hardily hold his Kingdom; but after the
King of England's coming he much strengthen'd his
forces, by making a League with the King, to
defend the Kingdom, upon Condition, he
should pay his Sister twenty thousand Ounces of
Gold for her Dower, and twenty thousand mor-
upon a Match between Arthur Earl of Britain, his
Brother Jeffrey's Son, and then Heir of his Crown,
and Tancred's Daughter.*

At the beginning of the Spring the two Kings
being in a new League, and signed sever-
Al Articles and Agreements of Peace, as their
Conquests in the Ile oblige'd them to, the King of
France first fet forward to the Holy Land; but the
King of England being detained by the com-
ing of his Mother Eleanor, which brought Ber-
gersa, Daughter of the King of Navarre, to be a
wife to his Son, he lay'd upon the Account till
Whitsunday after, when the Queen return'd home,
and the King with his Sister, the Queen Dowager
of Sicily, and the young Lady, proceeded on his
Journey with an hundred and thirty Ships, and
fifty Galleys. In his way he was by a Tempefl
driven upon the Ile of Cyprus, and being de-
nee'd entrance, he betot the Ile on all sides, fa-
flaid and took it; and placing Garrisons in it, he
committed the Custody of it to Richard de Can-
nvile and Robert de Tursham, taking half the Goods
of the Inhabitants from them, to confirm the use
of their own Laws. And here our Historians say,
that he marry'd the Lady Berengera, and had
her crown'd Queen*. From hence pafted this
England to the Island of Cyprus, where he
Arch'd with the Spoils and Treasure of three noble and rich Illands,
England, Sicily, and Cyprus, besides what he had
gotten out of Normandy and Guien, which he con-

* King Richard took the City of Meffina.
* Jeffrey Vincent, a Learned Historian of these Times, and the Author of King Richard's Travels to Jerusalem, writes, That
he gave him twenty thousand Ounces more, to be free from all other Demands for the Plate, and other rich Nobles, belonging
to the late King, husband to King Richard's Sister Joanna. The same Authors relate, That Richard divided this vast Sun with the
King of England, and he, the King of the Island, his Father's Relever, that he had no manner of Preceptions to any part of it.

During his Stay in this Ile he is said to have given much to himself his Sins, leading a very circumferient and pious Life; and
fending for the Abbots Ioachim from Calabria to hear him preach, because he was had no more riches for his Learning, Weilbanch, and Prewodrick Spirit. In a Sermon before King Richard, the Abbots is said to
depend, That the Pope was Amalricus.

It drove him far into Cotes, then into Rhodos, where he lay'd ten Days, and the Ship, wherein the Lady Berengera was,
being driven into the Port of Lemosin in Cyprus, the King followed her thither.

In May, 1141. they were attack'd by John the Bishop of Antioch*.

Some other Noble Perfons are remember'd by our Historians to have perished in this Holy Expedition, whether Peculiarly
yet Karen, as Ingham of Fencer, the Ancestor of the Right Honourable the Lord Say and Seck, the Lord Daresb, Theophilus Clun-
ery Earl of Louth, while these Arm still retain the Edges of the Holy War, Stars, Crests and Crowns, as in St. John, St.while,

Clare.
A. D. Clare and Walter de Kinsey, but in vain, till the United Forces of these two Kings, after three MontsSiege more, forced them to surrender upon Articles. At the Entrance into the City, after it was taken, the Ensign of Leopold Duke of Austrich, which he had set upon the Wall, was order'd to be pull'd down by King Richard, and the two Kings Standards to be let up, which being ill refect'd, engag'd a jar between them, and misfortune. Besides, during the Siege the two Kings themselves had several Differences concerning Richard's Marriage with Barzenga, and rejecting the French King's Sister, about dividing the Spoils of their Voyage; which, by their Agreement, were to be parted equally. For the King of France had an Office in that,See, and agreed to this Contra," and made his Share in the Earl of Flunder's Goods and Estate, which the King of France had feiz'd ; lastly, about the Crown of Jerusalem, which was pretended to by Constantin, Marquis of Montferrat, and Guy of Lusignan, who married Sibilla, the Sister of the late King, and was in Possession of the Kingdom. The King of England took Guy's Part, and the King of France Conrado's. Thus these two Kings liv'd in continual Jars, till a dangerous Sicknefs through the Heat and Contagion of the Country, put an end not to them only, but almost to their Lives. As soon as they were recover'd, the King of France resolves to return into France with all imaginable Speed, and more Honour than there, especially by the Death of the Earl of Flunder, whose bordering Countries he had a mind to add to his Kingdom: And therefore defires the King of England's Leave (for by their Agreement, it was not lawful for them to depart without each other's Leave) to return home; but the Earl of Flunder, as well for the King of France, to which he had a mind, as for himself, to be the more free of the Trouble he might create his Dominions in his absence: But at length, by earnest Solicitations and Promises made by the King of France not to molest his Countries in France, he obtain'd his Defires, and so departed, leaving the Earl of Bargagne Lieutenant of his Forces. Richard boon after he was gone befiegr'd Acalon, and wrote invective Letters against the King of France for leaving him, and on the other fide, the French King to be even with him, desir'd Richard among his Neighbours at home. King Richard flaid ten Months longer, continuing both his Men and Treasure in the Country, and believing he might in the Earl of Bargagne by his Mafier's Injunctions, prove always an Impediment in Matters of Importance, till his Death, which at length happen'd at dawn. Courtois, who was fo much fav'd by the King of France in his Title to the Kingdom, was murder'd by two Affalins, not with the Conscince (as was afterwards propos'd) of the King of England. The Earl of Courtenay mur'd his Widow, who was Sifer to Queen Sibilla, and was by King Richard prefered to the Crown of Jerusalem, and Guy of Lusignan (the other Pretender to it) he made King of Cyprus, and gave Content to them both. While these things were doing in the East, England mak'd much at home under the Government of Longchamp, who affuming the whole Regal Authority to himself, and excluding both the Nobility and the Comminioners whom the King had join'd with him, did act so arbitrarily A. D. and infolently, that he became odious to the whole Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity; which Reg. 1192. concurring with the Prejudice the English had against him as a Femalemon, and Envy for his executive Grandure and Pride, bega a general Opposition to his Proceedings; which being encourag'd by Earl John, who they all ways to make humble Apologies to his Fat, and to whom England, long brake out upon this Occasion. Jeffrey, Archbifhop of York Efecl, bafe Son to Henry the Second, whom Richard, who was averse to any Preferment of him in England, had confid'd to Normandy during his abjace, obtain'd by great Labour of Pope Celefine a Licence to be invif'd by Conrade, who was out of this Kingdom by his Death, and for that cause committed Conformity. The Chancellour Longchamp having Intelligence of his Arrival, met him at Dover to apprehend him; but the Archbifhop efecl'd to the Church to secure himself; Longchamp purfued him to the very Altar, and in a barbarous manner drawing him from thence in his Pontifical Veilments imprifon'd him in the Caffle. This Action gave just Caufe of Offence not only to Earl John, but all the Bishops; who thereupon commanded the Chancellour not only to releafe him, but alfo to anfver the Matter before the Affembly of Bishops and Nobles, which should meet for that purpofe at St. Paul's. Here divers Articles of hine Censurers Offences committed by this Burger were of them given him, and the Interelt of the King and Kingdom, were exhibited againft him. The Archbifhop of Roan allo, and William Mayell Earl of Sigy食材, openly fhew'd them the King's Letters Patents, dated at Maffina in Sicily, whereby they were made Comminioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom of England. That he never would permit them to manage any publick Business, but took upon him to do as he thought fit. Whereupon in the efecl, he was by the Affembly 4 deposed from his Office, and the Archbifhop of Roan, who would do no thing without the Concurrence and Advice of the Peers, put in his Place, to whom the Tower of London, Castle of Windflower, and Legatian Power, was by him also unwillingly resign'd. Longchamp defperately thus flripp'd of all his Power and Greatnefs, endeavour'd to make his Efecl to the King in the Habit of a Woman, with a Parcel of Linnen Cloth under his Arm; but being oblig'd to deliver another (which he was already under Obligation to) to the People, and made Prisoner in the Caffle, till Earl John releafe'd him within eight Days, and fuffer'd him to go on in his intended Journey; by which being the Meffenger of his own Misfortunes, he had the advantage of his Adveraries, and mightly incendi the Popc against them, because they had fo villify'd the Legatian Power, which he was very touch'd at: After his releafe, Earl John, the Archbifhop of Roan, and the other Justices of the King granted unto the City of London their Immunities, and the Citizens Iwave Fealty to King Richard and his Heirs; and if he dy'd without Blues, they promis'd to receive Earl John for their King, and Iwave likewise Fealty unto him against all their, retaining their Faith to King Richard. In so great Forwardsness was John for his Brother's Crown, while he befiegr'd Acalon, and grapp'd with Saladin in the East.

* The Author of King Richard's Travels to Jerusalem affirms, That 300000 Pilgrims perifh'd in this Siege.
* These Affilins were a prefic Soft of Malcontents, dwelling together in the Countrie of Armenia in Syria, being about 40000 in Number, govern'd by one Chief Master, a Saracen Emir, whom they call'd, The Old Man of the Mountains. At his Command they were ready to undertake any dangerous Ambreks, and would flay any Prince whom he appeare.th to Death, Wily War, one of M. Part's famous Affalins. Three Affilins were two young Servants, whom they bega in Servitude.
* He came from a mean Original, being only a Farmer's Son, and in his great Dignity afficted a very subterraneous Grandure; So he had 500 in his Retinue, as Wolfe had a 1000, and had all things else proportionable.

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But Richard was not so intent upon Victory over the Infidels, but that he was careful to keep Possession of; wherefore the hearing of the Proceedings in England, and that the King of France had taken Gisors, and the Country of Vexin contrary to his Oath, he embrac'd St. John's Proffer of a Truce for three Years upon Condition, That he should restore Aljuda to the same State wherein he found it before the Siege, which was done by the price of five Templars, and the whole Army; and presently leaving his Wife, Sisters, and People, to come after him as fast as they could conveniently, he took Ship in three Galleys with some few Attendants, and hasted into England: In their Palfinge they pretended themselves to be Pilgrims, with the King was soon espoused by his Irish Expendes, and began to be valued by the Masters of the Vechels as a Prize, which when he had notice of, he left his Company, and with one Man only passed on Horseback through wild Defectors and a Rocky Country Day and Night into Aisfride's, where Fame having given notice both to the French and the Italian Army, was informed of his Company, and brought before Leopold the Duke of Aisfride's, who glad of this Opportunity, to revenge the Disgrace he had receiv'd from Richard at the entering of Aisou, seiz'd upon him, and sent him (as rather told him for fifty thousand Marks) to the Emperor Henry VI. who, after he had anger'd him by his Love, was his Son-in-law, in the Uprispurn of the Crown of Sicily against Constauntia, the Lawful Daughter of the said Roger, whom this Emperor had married. The News of Richard's Misfortune was soon dispersed into the adjoining Countries. The Emperor sent word to the King of France of it, that he might rejoice with him; because, as the said Roger was an old friend of the Empire, and Defender of the Kingdom of France into his Power, England much lamented the Captivity of their Magnanimous King, and endeavour'd all ways possible to obtain his Release, but it could not be effected for a whole Year and six Weeks; the he clear'd himself of the Scandal laid on him for his Death, by confessing he had implored the Emperor's Kindness, and other his Actions in the said, and resign'd his Kingdom of England to the Emperor, in the Presence of the German and English Nobility, to hold it of him by the Annual Tribute of five thousand Marks. So as to obtain his Freedom; because Earl John, his Brother, and the King of France, offer'd the Emperor great Sums to keep him Prisoner; and intreated by their continual Bribes to keep him in perpetual Impertinence, that John might be effectually in all his Dominions with no small Advantage to the King of France: For to that end Earl John did Homage to the King of France for England, Normandy, and all the rest of the Transmarine Provinces, refrain'd Gisors, and other his Country Treasures from him, and swore to marry his Sister Alice, and to be divorc'd from his other Wife the Earl of Gloucester's Daughter; and the King of France on the other side, covenant'd to give him his Sister that part of Flambert, which he had taken from that Earl, and favour to affliit him in gaining England, and he took him to his Brother. After this, John went over into England with an Army of French and Flemings, had the Caffles of Wallington and Winsford surrender'd to him present-
us and defire our Promotion. Witness Our self at 
Sipta, 22. Sept. The Emperor alfo wrote at 
the fame time to the Bifhops and Barons, and 
other the Kings Subjects in England, how he pur-
poffition of advance and generously to honour 
his efpecial Friend their King: And thus were 
the English recompenced for the large Expences 
y they had been at in redeeming their King. The 
King then fent for his Mother Queen Eleanor, 
Archbishop of Rouen, and many others, to come 
unto him about the Time and Bufinefs of the 
Deliverance, for which there was imposed upon 
every Knight's Fee twenty Shillings, the fourth 
part of all Lay-men Revenues and Clergy-men, 
with a fourth part of their Goods. The Chal- 
ces, and Treasure of all Churches, are taken 
to make up the Sum, and the like was done in 
all the King's Territories beyond Sea: So dearly 
clearly did the King's Voyage into the Earl, in going 
and returning, cost his People. Nor did the Queen's 
return have any great Affemblies a second time.

The Queen's return home.

Gras, 22. Sept. The Emperor wrote him 
that the Devil was gone lofe, and defired him to look to himself, 
which he did, that the King of France was not 
left disappointing of his Hopes, than Earl John 
declared that the King had undertaken 
for adhering to and his other Enemies; 
and it was determined, that they should both ap-
pear upon a day fix'd, to answer according 
to Law: Which if they refused to do, the Earl 
should be banifi'd, and the Bishop undergo 
Punishment from the Clergy and Laity as 
his Crime deh'd. But the Bishop, within two 
years after, was refer'd to the King's Favour, 
and his Bishopric for two thousand Marks. On 
the third day, the Parliament granted to 
the King two Shillings from every Plough-Land in 
England, and besides, the King requir'd a third 
part of the Service of every Knight's Fee for his 
Attendance in Normandy, and all that Year of the Ciftercian Monks, which being a very 
grovis Tax to them, he compounded with them 
for it. The fourth and fift day was spent in 
hearing and determining of Grievances and Ac-
culations, and fo this Alleniely broke up, after 
a solemn Declaration, to return at the 
first following at Winifhel.

Whilft the King remain'd about Nottingham, the King 
after the Parliament was broke up, Willian King of Scots 
came to him to require the Dignities and King-
Bishops which his Predecessor had of Right chad 
joy'd in England, and with all the Countries of 
Northumberland, Wifhmond, and Lancafcr. The 
King reply'd. That he could not fatisfie him, till 
he had taken the Advice of his Council, which 
he intended shortly to call at Northampton. 
Where after Consultation had, he told him, 
That he could not grant his Petition with Reafon 
for then, the Chief part of the Privilege 

tage were his Enemies at that time; and if he 
should part with fo much of his Country then, 
'twould be thought rather an Act of Feat, than 
Love or Justice; and fo put him off with fair 
Words and Prouincies, but granted by the Confept 
of his Parliament under his Charter to William 
King of Scots, and his Heirs for ever. 'That if 
at any time being lummon'd, they should come 
to the King's Court, the Bishop of 
Durham, and Sheriff of Northumberland should 
receive them at the River Tweed, and bring 
them under that Act Conduct to the River Teris, 
and from thence the Archbishop of York and 
Sheriff of Durham before they may enter through 
that Country, and the Sheriffs of other Shires, 
till they came to the King's Court, being al-
low'd all along their Paffage, and at their re-
turn an hundred Shillings a day, and when they 
were at the Court thirty Shillings a Day, 
twelve Loaves of fine Bread, and twelve Sim-
plings of the King's; four Quarts of the King's 
beft Wine, and five of ordinary Wine; two Pounds 
of Pepper, and four Pounds of Cinnamon;

* This Occasion fo clear'd the Church of Plate, that the Priei's celebrated the Sacrament in Tin and Linen Caps, by the Pope's 
Order and Allowance, as they continued to a good after while.

* He gave him the safe Conduct to Antwerp, where he was under the Protection of the Duke of Luys, and he arriv'd at 
Sandwich on the 15th of March, 1194.

* Hudson p. 419. says, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, sat on his Right Hand, and Jeffrey Archbishop of York at his 
Left.

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A Parlia-
ment at 
Nortin-
ham, and 
the Arc.
At this Coronation William King of the Scots bore one of the three Swords carry'd on that occasion before King Richard.

He resides in Normandy all the rest of his reign.

A. D. 1154. From Northampton both Kings went to Woodstock, and from thence to Winchester, where the Coronation was sumptuously solemnized on the 17th of April, 1194. When the Ceremony was over, he refumed the two Manours he had feudal to the Bishop of Winchester when he went to the Holy War, with the other Sales of the Country and Castle, and all other the Demeñes belonging to the Crown; alleging, That it was not in his power to alienate any of his Revenues, whereby his Dignity was to be maintain'd. The Bishop of Dorcan observing this, voluntarily deliver'd up the Castle of Dorcan, with the Country of Northumberland, which he had order'd to put into the hands of Hugh Bardolph. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln at the same time gave for the liberty of his Church a thousand Marks of Silver, redeeming thereby the Caution of giving to the King of England every Year a Cloak lined with Sable Furs. Ruther also were all such as had fided with his Brother, and defended his Castles, to mon'd to appear; of whom the Richer were fined, and the Poorer for feats at liberty, but by giving Sureties of an hundred Marks a-piece to appear in the King's Courts whenever they should be call'd. The King of Scots seeing the King of England make use of all means to bring Money into his Treasur, and order'd his own Kin'd to put thousand Marks for Northumberland, with the Apparauences; alledging, That King Henry II. gave the fame to Henry his Father, and that Malcolm after him enjoy'd it five Years. This large proffer of Money tempted King Richard so, that he consulted his Parliament about it again; and in confequution was content to yield to the King of Scots, with a Refervation of the Caftles to himself; but the King of Scots would not accept it, and fo in a diftant part of his own Country. Richard two Years after fent Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, to York to treat with the King of Scots about a Marriage between Queen Eleanor, and Margaret, his fair Sisiter, for that King's Daughter, with whom he was to give all Lenox for her Dowar; and he would give with his Neofh Northumberland, and the Earldom of Carlow, with all the Caftles: But in the time of this Treaty the Queen of Scots being found to be with Child, it took no effect. From Winchester, after the King had gotten as much Money as he could out of his Subjects, he returned a time as he stay'd, which was but from the end of February to the tenth of May, he hafted over into Normandy, in an hundred Ships, to spend it in his Atchievements there, which took up all the remaining part of his Reign, which was but nine Years in all, of which he spent not above eight Months in England. Nor do we know that the Queen of Scots was ever there, or had any Honour or Dowar, or was of any great Regard with him, however Delivering the was in her felt.

And now by the King's Resifcence in Normandy was the Charge and Labour of the English much gre'n'd; all Affairs, which either con-

cern'd the State in general, or the People in particular, being to be dispatched there. The first 1194. Action that Richard undertook at his entrance in Reg. 4. to his Territories there, was to relieve Verdon, then beleagur'd by the King of France, which he had done himself in those Countries against his potent Enemy the King of France, which he did first by giving his Sisiter Joanna, then married to Guy, the Son of Sicily, to Raymond Earl of Toulouse, who was his nearest Neighbour of Power to his Dutchy of Guien. Then he made a Leagu of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, from whom the King of France had taken away Artois and Vermandois; and so on all sides seek'd to vex his Enemy. Four Years at leaft did these two great Princes continue their furious Attacks one against another, invading, surprizing, spoiling and ruining each other's Estates and Dominions, making fweus indeed of Peace and Reconciliation by frequent Leagues and Truces, but they leаft no longer than some Advantages offer'd of either side. The King of France, on the other side, to frustrate this, and to oppose the English, marry'd Bulisa the Sisiter of Counte or Conuey King of Denmark; but this Match, which he fought not through Affection, but for his Politick Ends, created him greater Trouble; for he put her away the next Day after his Wedding, upon a pretence of too great nearnefs and similarity of Blood, and King of Denmark his Enemy. The Emperor at the fame time sent to the King of England, a maffy Crown of Gold, and offers to affit him against the King of France, and invade his Kingdom; but Richard was not willing to have him engage in this Quarter, either because he faw that the Emperor had a mind to add the Kingdom of France to his Empire, or because he fear'd the King of France might win him over to him by his Money to joyn against himfelf, return'd only a Compliment of Thanks for his Tender.

But the Normandy was the Stage of Action, his means England was the Treasury, from whence the King's Men, for all his Leagues and Marriages, which to fupply, he foughl all manner of ways to bring in Taxes and Fines upon the People. And first he gave out his Commission to certain Itinerant Justices, whom he fent into every Shire of England, to raife and exact Sums of Money upon Pleas of the Crown for Exchequers, Wardhips, and Marriages, to improve his Demefies, to take an account of Men's Estate, and exprefs all the fine, on whom he would have none to prey but himself; to raife an Impofition upon his allowance of Turfaments, viz. twenty Marks of Silver for every Earl, ten for a Baron, four for a Knight having Lands, and two for a Li- centiate of Church as had none, the Collection of which the Archbishop left to his Brother The- radal Wafter. He order'd alfo a new Seal to be made, becaufe the old one was loft by his Vice- Chancellor at the taking of Cyprus, which was a means for another Extortion. But the Proceedings in the Pleas of the Crown, and extorting of Penalties, Anna Regni 9. by Hugh Bardolph,
A.D. Roger Averulje, and Jeffrey Hurter, Itinerant Jus-
tice for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Reg. 5.
Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Lan-
cashire, were intolerable, being managed with gra-
dual Trials of the People's Patience and Abilities. So
that (as Hoveden Faith) all England, from Sea to
Sea, was reduced to extreme Poverty. Yet did
not the King, in the mean time, what he pleased him-
self: Chief Justice, Hugh War and Erasfe de Noye
Justices of the Forrest brought a greater Trouble
upon the Subjects, by the severe Execution of the
cruel Forrest-Laws introduced by the Conqueror,
which, being fixed to be only damn'd to eternal
Oblivion, that not be particularly mention'd. Besides in
the fourth Year of this King imposed a Tax
upon every Hide, or Plough-land, (which
contains about an hundred Acres) of five Shil-
lings, which was levied with great Cruelty. Like-
wise he required by his Viceregent, the Arch-
bishop of Canterbury, That the People of England
to his Service, who a Thousand Knights in a Year
in his Service, or so much Money as would main-
tain them at three Shillings a Day: Which Hugh
Bishop of Lincoln opposed, and said, 'He would
never yield to the King's Will in this, because
of the Damage it might bring to Povertie by
'so ill An Example, which might give them cause
to think that a New Feud, Our Forest, our forty
Graves, and the Childrens Teeth are set on
Edge, and turning himself to the Archibishop, de-
ferred him to do nothing, of which he might after-
ward be abashed. But the Archibishop could
defend this, and yet pretend to have well meri-
ted of the King for his other Services in this
kind; for in the five first Year of the Reign, he
gave an account to him, that he had levied of
the Kingdom within the space of two Years an
hundred thousand Marks of Silver, which at
that time was an admirable Sum.

The King's Depredations.

And now, as the first Act of this King was his
Death, and violent Proceedings with Stephen Turazon
Snel-
chiel of Normandy, his Father's Treasurers, about his
Treasure, So was his second Act, the cause of his Destruction, for Widmore Vicount of
Limoges, having found a great Treasure of Silver and Gold in his Ground, lends a great part
of it to the King, but he refuted it, laying claim to
the whole; Widmore deny'd it. And so the
King laid Siege to the Castle, where he ima-
gines the Rental of the Castle was being unable to defend themselves, offer'd to fur-
render the same, upon Condition, that their Lives,
Arms and Members should be secured; which the
King would not yield to, but wove that he would
burn the Castle, and hang them all: Whereupon
desperately refused to hand to their de-

cence with the King's Assistance. Mar-
key, General of the Brahans, his mercenary
Soldiers, going about the Castle to observe what
place was fittest for an Assault, Bertram de Gar-
don from the Walls shot a Barbed Arrow at the
King, and gave him a mortal Wound on the Arm.
The King was immediately carry'd to his Lodg-
ing, but gave Commandment to his Forces to
prosecute the Siege without Interruption, which
they did, and taking the Castle, put all the De-
fenders of it to Death, except Bertram, who was
referred by the King's Command. The Arrow
was drawn out with great Torture, and much A.D.
mauling of his Flesh, by an unskilful Chyrurgeon 1199.
belonging to Mercereau, which caused him to de-Reg. 9.
pair of Life; and by Will to dispose of his Eftate,
three parts to his Brother John, and one to his Ser-
vants.

Before his Death he call'd for Bertram Berarum de
Gardoo to be brought to him, and demanded him of
'f Royd.' He kill'd him, and vowing to do him pro-
richard, vowed to him this Mifchief: Bertram de his Cause
plied, 'Thou didst kill my Father and two Brot and Re-
ners with thy own hand, and now order me ward.

* to be flain: Take what Revenge thou wilt up-
on me, I willingly endure any Torment thou
'st inflict, since I have flain thee, who haft
'd done fuch, and so much mischief to the World.
The King, notwithstanding this rough and de-
perate Antiver, caufed him to be fett at liberty,
not only forgiving him for his Fact, but com-
manding an hundred Shillings to be given him;
but Mercereau after his Death cauf'd him to be
ify'd alive, and afterward hang'd. Thus dy'd this
'Like-like King, when he had reign'd nine
Years and nine Months; wherein he exacted
and confirmed more of the Wealth of this Kingdom
then all his Predecessors from the Norman Con-
quell had done, and yet with very little Noise
and Trouble, because of his undertaking of the
Caufe of Church (as it was then effeemed) in the
Holy War, the Clergy feeding the People's De-

tion of the Merit of that Expedition with strange
Relations both of his Valour and Succes, and his
Ministers at home being very careful and zealous
for him to keep their place, and fo doing per-
haps more for him in his absence than he could
have done with his presence. But the infolent
Oppositions of the Normans, and the Tempests of the
future more careful and judicious to provide for
themselves: Excefs usually procure Altera-
tions. So that his Succesors have reason to blame
his and his Brother's Oppreffions and Irregulari-
ties for those Limitations of their Power, which
have been extorted rather from them, than vo-
luntarily granted by them. Yet what this Prince
would have been, had his Days been prolong'd
to a time of Peace, is uncertain: But that his
Temper was very pliable and yielding to good His god
Council, is manifest from the good effect that
Temer.

little which a poor Hermit beftow'd upon him
wrought; advizing him in a Sermon to think fe-
riously upon the Consequence of each action,
fin from things un lawful, otherwise the de-

The Life and Reign of Richrad the First.

1197.

Holinhead says, He was a Vicount in the Dearth of Bytagge; and that the Treasures which he found were the Images of an
Eagle, his Wife and Children; all in fine Gold.

The Castle of Chalnes, near Limoges.

He lay eleven Days in great Torment.

He dy'd on the 6th of April; his Body was bury'd at Fonteavres, at the Face of his Father, his Heart at Lyon, and his
Head at Chartres in Poitou.

Holinhead writes, He was in the Forty Earth Year of his Age; but he was born in 1117, and dy'd in 1159. So he could be
no more than forty two Years of Age.

He had a natural Son, nam'd Philip, who in the Year following kill'd the Vicount of Limoges for the Death of his Fa-
ther. His

God.
God. The King gave him the Lye, and said, "He knew who ye be." Yes, Sir, replied the Priest.

Three Daughters you have, which are these, Pride, Covetousness, and Lething.
The King apprehending his Meaning, call'd the Lords and great Persons who were attending upon him, and having told them what the Priest had said to him, required them to bear Witness how he did dispoise of his three Daughters. *My Pride I gave to the Templars and Hosptaltiers, my Covetousnes; I give to the Celferian Monk, and my Letchery to the Clergy*." This sudden Repartee shews us his great Quickness of Wit, and what kind of Men were then out of Favour with him.

Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of Richard I.

In the 20th Year of his Reign, on Midsummer-Eve, the Sun was eclips'd for three Hours, and the Stars appear'd in the Heavens at ten a Clock in the Forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th, and 7th Years of his Reign there was so great a Death in England and France, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for almost twenty Shillings, as much as six Pound now; which was follow'd by a severe Mortality, that carry'd off innumerable Multitudes of People by a Pestilential Fever. It lasted five Months, and during that time, the dead were bury'd in Pits a great many at once; for they dy'd so fast, that those who surviv'd had not Leisure to bury them singly. About Whitsunday two Suns appear'd, the true Sun and another, and were so like each other, that the Astronomers were forc'd to take a View of them with their Instruments to distinguish them.

Men Eminent in his Time for their Courage were


The most Famous for Learning were

Daniel Morley a famous Mathematician, Richard Prior of Hugilford, Hermon, William Fitz-Stephens, who wrote the Life of Pecker, Richard of the Deviser, John Brompton, Hilhorst; Robert de Belto feco an excellent Philosopher, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, who dy'd at Tyre in Phcenicia, and wrote several Treatises of Divinity; Hubert his Successor in that See, William Bishop of Ely a great Politician, Richard the Abbot of the Order of Præmonstratens, and Nicholas Walkingon.

The Life and Reign of King John.

John, the Brother of Richard, and youngest Son of Henry the Second, being at his Brother's Death with his Army in the Field, and among all his Servants and Followers, had as good an Opportunity as he could have defend'd to secure his ambitious Aims of the Crown of England, by making his Interests with them, which he did by large Promises of Gifts and Rewards. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then in Normandy about some Business, and John knowing him to be a Man of great Power and Interests in England, engages him to his Defign, and presentely dispatches him into England with Witl. A. D. 1199. Reg. 3.

* My Letters I give to the Prelates of the Church, who have most Pleasure and Felicity therein. Hol. 
* Lord Chief Justice. 
* They held an Assembly of the States at Northampton, who agreed to accept of Prince John for their King. Hol. among
among the English; which because they saw the King of Scots only could intercept and hinder, they fend him word, That upon John's Settlement there should be no pardon for his former Confinement for his Claim in England, and fo thop'd him from any present Attempts. In the mean time, Arthur Earl of Argyll, Son of John's elder Brother Jeffrey, who had the Right of Succession by his Birth, was not atchiue with the Nobility of Scotland, Maria, and Turines, to maintain and recover his Inheritance by the Advice of his Mother. Confiuice put him under the Protection of the King of France, who receiv'd him, and under-took the Defence of his Right. John was not infeincible of the Cloud that was gathering over his Head; and tho' he had reason to fear a violent Storm from it, yet judg'd it best to secure the Possession of England first; he having before the Infeclusion of Normandy with all the Rites of it, paff'd prefently into England with his Mother Eleanor (who was a forward Adfiant in this her Son's Propotion) and by way of Election, receiv'd the Crown upon the 26th Day of May, at the hands of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who (in his Declaration of Composition fix'd before) before the Assembly of Nobles met at that Solemnity faid, That by all Reason Divine and Human, none ought to succeed in the Kingdom, but he who for his Vertue and Wor- thy Refign was unanimously chosen by the State, and that his Man was, Or. which he then urg'd to put a fair Pretend to the Treasure, but being defperate, he faid the Right of Succession was againft him; but after being question'd for it, he confess'd to his Friends, That he forefaw, that John would in the end obtain the Crown, whatever Blood and Trouble it cost; and therefore he thought it the beft way to preferempt, rather than to devote that Man who should, make himfelf, and that their Election would be a tie upon him to rule them well. Thus did John get the Crown of England, which he go- vern'd with as much Injustice as he got it, and involv'd the Kingdome in thofe Miliries and Troubles, which after produc'd 때rter Efects, and made those Alterations in Government, which follow'd.

England being thus fecur'd, John returns into Normandy, having receiv'd Information of a ge- neral Revolt of his Dominions beyond Sea, proc'd by Philip the French King, who had con- fider'd the Order of Knighthood upon Arthur, and faw his Titles of this Province, Mafia, Turines, and allo Normandy it felf, becaufe (as he pretend'd) King John had neglected to come and do HIm homage for the fame. King John being unwilling to engage in foudden a War, fo fon after his new and doubtful Admiufion to the Crown, meditated for a Parley with the King of England, but to no purpofe, for that King well understand'd his own Advantage under the Circumstances, requireth fuch unleaionable Con- diitions, as John could not with Honour comply with, and fo they proceeded to decide the Quar- rel with the Sword. The King of France had the better of John, and gain'd feveral Parts of his Dominions; but it was fo plain that what he did was for himself, not for Arthur, as he pretend'd, that Arthur and his Mother Confiuice were induc'd (by the Perfufion of their Chief Miniifter William de la Roche) to commit themfelves to the Protection of King John. But neither here could they find a fàfe Refuge, for either through some secret Jealousie, or (as fome fay) having Infor- mation of John's Purpofes to imprifon them, they got away the next Night after their coming Reg. 2. John got against Phil- lip King of France. 1200. Reg. 2.
A Conspiracy against John, and the King's Flight from the Barons, by the Barons of Poitou into Normandy, for Justice to the King of France, and summon'd A.D. 1202. to appear in his Court at Reg. 1203. Dover. But he was condemned to lose his Duchy of Normandy, which his Ancestors had held three hundred Years, and all his other Dominions in France, which either through his own Negligence, or Treachery of his Ministers, who were disaffected to him, was brought about, and he wholly dispossessed.

In this miserable Condition he returns into England, and charges the Lords and Barons with his Losses in France, and fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods for refusing their Allegiance, and not sparing the Church it fell. Hitherto Archbishop of Canterbury exacted this rigorous Tax of the Clergy for the Rebuilding of the Palace of England of the Lairy. But all this Treasure was not sufficient to supply his Wants, and furnish him with Allegiance to recover his Losses, which was the end of raising it and therefore in less than a Year he was forced to call a Parliament at Oxford, to obtain in a more satisfactory way another Truce for two Years, and Grant to two Marks and an half upon every Knight's Fee a Military Aid, and a proportionable Contribution of the Clergy. But no sooner was this Money gathered, but an Occasion was offer'd of spending it in France, that devouring Gulp of the English Treasure, by a Revolt begun in Britain by Guido, the Husband of Constance, Arthur's Mother, Savoy and Mâcon, and a Brother of Judges and the Barons, against the Confederates; who not receiving that Satisfaction they expected from their new Master, call'd in the old one again; showing us, that only Men's private Interests sway their Affections, though they often pretend Honour and Justice. King John hearing of it, hasted over into Normandy, and by the Treaty of Longchamps, he won the Castle of Mont-ében, and a little after the City of Ansers, and was in a fair way of recovering more; but the King of France, by the Fortune of one Day, (wherein he overthrew and took Prisoners the chief Confederates, Guido, Almeric, and Serosy) forced him to accept, of a Truce for two Years, and Grant to two Marks for more Supplies, which he took his old Methods Reg. 7. to obtain, by imposing a Tax of the thirteenth part of every Man's Moveables, and others Goods, both of the Clergy and Lairy. But his Subjects now seeing their Estates continued without success, and likely to be a continual Prey to his extravagant Desires, began to bethink themselves of recovering their ancient Liberties. They had been usurped by their late Kings, and eafe themselves of those Burthens indirectly laid upon them. The Archbishop of York was the first Man that began the Quarrel between the King and his Subjects, by opposing the Collection of the Impostion, and solemnly CURFING the Receipt and Dividend thereof, under the pretence of the Kingdom, choosing rather to live in Banishment abroad, than under Oppression at home. And here began the miserable Breach between the King and his People, who cost more Noble Blood to make up again than all the foreign Wars since the Conquest. For this Contest (the 't had several Intermissions), and was finally concluded by the Great Charter (which was first obtain'd of this King John, and confirm'd by his Son Henry III.)
The Life and Reign of King John.

A.D. 1207.
Reg. 9.

An Election of an Archbishop of Canterbury by the Monks and Kings.

but was never observed by either) was freely ratified by that Judicious King, Edward I. in the 27th Year of his Reign, which was above eighty Years after. This was the first Civil Dis- 

fension between the King and his Nobility, since we firft hear of the Establishment of the English Kingdom; and to understand the Causes and Occasions of it, I shall take a View of the posture of Affairs at that time.

It was about an hundred and forty Years since William the Conqueror planted the Norman Nobility here, whole Power being now by the(empty)

meet English, were at this time very Numerous, Rich, and of great Spirits, being exercised in the Wars of France, where most of them were Commanders of Castles, and had great Estates, as well as in England. But being under this violent and unsuccessful King deprived both of their Employ- 
ments and Estates abroad, they contriv'd all they

could to preserve what they had left, and enrich themselves at home; which, because they could not do so long as they were perpetually harraled at the King's Will, they resolv'd to make use of their own Martial Courage, and the Privileges of the Nation to do it. Their Cause was much

more than their Cause, that the Bishops of Ely, and all things with Injustice and Diforder.

The strange Corruption of the Times contributed much to the Mitihief. An ambition Clergy, polluted with Avarice, brought in aigned Piety to be a Party in it. The Occasion of their Inter- 

course in this Affair began about the Election of a new Archbishop of Canterbury after the Death of Hubert; after this manner: The Monks of that

Convent pretending, that it belonged to them by their ancient Privileges to elect an Archbishop, met in the Night, and chose one Regional their Sub-prior, on purpose to prevent the King's No- 

mination, and taking an Oath of Secrecy of him, dispatch'd him to Rome to be inftall'd. But his

great Joy for his Preferment soon brake out, and his Election was openly discover'd at his arrival in Flanders, which the Monks hearing, and fear- 

ing the King's Difpleasure, they tent to crave leave to elect a fit Perfon for their See. The King thereupon nominates to them John Grey Bi- 

shop of Chester; and the Sub-prior, to be answer'd, and had prevail'd to prefer; which, after long De- 

bate, they yield'd to: And so John Gray was ad- 

vanced to the Chair, wherein (faith Matz Paris) their last Eror was rotte than their first; and began that Controft, which proved an irreprens- 

able Damage to the whole Kingdom.

This Election being made, the King sends to

Rome some of the Monks of Canterbury (among whom was Elias de Bransfieid, a trusty Servant of the King's) with a plentiful Provision for their Journey, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of it.

The Suffragan Bishops of the Church of Canter- 

bury lent also their Complaints against the Monks, for the declining of their Right and Cusfom they ought to have; allowing, that three Archbishops had been by them elected. The Monks opposed their Allegation, and offer'd to bring proof, that they only, by the special Privilege of the Roman See, were ac- 

custom'd to elect. The Pope appointed a certain Day for the deciding of this Controversie, and upon hearing of both sides fully, pronounced both

Elections void, by the advice of the Cardinals; the first, because it was made in the Nignt, and not in a fit Seafon; and the other, because the first, tho' irregular, was not juridically made null:

And then propounded unto the Monks a third Man, which was Stephen de Langton, an English-
That it was for his Reputation, not his Fault, that he had liv'd so long at Paris, where he had made to great Progress in his Studies as to be created a Doctor not only of the Learned Sciences but of Divinity; and for his Life, agreeable to his Learning, on the Premise he could not but wonder, that a Man of so great Note, and a Native of his Kingdom should be unknown to him, at least in Fame, especially since (faith he) you had written, three unto him, since he had been made a Cardinal by us, affuring him, that this you had a Desire to call him by your Name. And for your Assistance, yet you informed that he was exalted to an higher Office. Then he makes an Excuse to the King, that his Content was not required; and, as he (faith he) in Elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the Con- tent of Princes is not to be expected; yet were two Monks reputed to go unseel'd, after your Word: But, who were stopped at Dover, so that they could not deliver the Message enjoy'd them, with many other Things. So that at length (faith he) we resolv'd to do, as the Cis- tional Sanctions order'd, without declining to the Right Hand or to the Left; there might be no farther Delays to the Fulness of his Defence, and that to attain the Lord's flock might be without Pastor Care, and therefore it can't be revok'd. And in the Conclusion he utter'd these Words; As we have had more Respect to your Honour, than we were oblig'd in Duty, do you give us that Honour which is our Due, that you may deliver God's Favour and our's; left by doing the contrary you will be the Faller to great Troubles, as can't easily be remov'd. For he in the end must overcome, to whom all Knees bow both in Heaven and Earth and Hell, whose Viceregency here below we (tho' unworthy) do exercise: Yield not therefore to their Counsels, who desire to involve you in Controversies, that themselves may find in troubled Waters, that we left off the Pleasure, which will tend to your Prate and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to oppose God and the Church, for which the Blessed Martyr and Eminent Bishop Thomas lately dy'd; especially since your Father and Brother, of Glorious Memory, late Kings of England, have by the same Hands of it been the Subjects of the Author of longitude, &c. abjur'd that impious Custom: We, if you behave your self well, will sufficiently take care, that no Pre- judice shall arise to you, or yours hereby. Dated at the Letteran in the 18th Year of our Pontificate. Thus did these two great and powerful Princes defend their Prerogatives and Power, (the Bishop of London not understood with what Severity the King had proceeded against the Monks of Canterbury, he sends presently his Mandate to the Bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, commanding them to treat with him mildly, with the King, and exhort him to reform his Actions; but if he obstinately persist, to inter- mediate to the whole Kingdom, and that would not prevail, he would deal more severly with him himself: And withal, charged the Suffer- ing Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, by Virtue of their Obedience, to receive their Arch- bishop Stephens, and to obey him with all Re- spect. The Bishops, according to the Pope's Mandate, presented the Mandate to the King, and withdrew him from the Pope's Mandate, beholding him, for the Love of God, to recall the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury, and to use them with Kindness, and Respect, that he might avoid the Trouble of an Interdiction, &c. The King interrupt- ing the Bishops Speech, broke out into a violent Pettition against the Pope and Cardinals, swearing by God if he ever saw or heard it, that if they or any other should dare to put the Kingdom under Interdi- c tion, he would send all the Clergy of England immediately to the Pope and confirct their Goods: And if any Person sent from Rome for that end were found in any part of the Land, he would have their Eyes put out and Noses cut off, and to sent home, by these Marks, they might be known of every Nation, charg- ing the Bishops to depart his Presence imme- diately, as they tended their own Safety. The Bishops follow after give the Pope an Account of the Succes of their Message, and the King- dom was thereupon Interdicted, the Ministration of Sacraments ceased (except of Confession, Ex- term Unction, and Baptism of Children) and dead were buried without Priest or Prayer. The Bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Bath and Hereford, fled secretly out of the Kingdom. The King to require this Severity, finds his Sheriffs and other Ministers, to command all the Bishops and their Servants to depart forthwith out of the Kingdom, with the Bishop of London, and other Priests into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their Revenues; but the Bishops got into the Monksfries, and would not depart, unless expelled by Force, which the Officers would not do, because their Communion did not reach so far, wherefore they sign'd on their Goods for the King's Service to the Monks. The Writers give us a Tragical Account of the barbarous Ufage the Clergy and Religious Men met withal from the King's Servants at this time, and the proposed the incensed King might encourage Men to injure and abufe them, from whom he suffered so much, but their rebellions Oblivion deferv'd such Severities, that their credible Re- lations will pass for Foresight.

The King not having been able to prevent this, and with his Curfe, sets himself to hinder the ill Consequences that attend it. He was sensible, that this Breach with his Church would endanger his Peace, and pro- bably cause a Difection among his Subjects; and therefore to avoid it, he sent a Body of Soldiers to the Court, to defend his Person; and he, by means of the Abbeys, required of them Hostages for their Fidelity, which many of them yielded to, sending some to their Sons, other their Nephews, and others their nearest Kin, William de Beaufort, a Nobleman, being require to deliver his Hostage, was pre- vented in his Answer by his Wife, who told the Bishop, 'The King should have none of her Sons to keep, because he kept Archer his own Brother's Son for ill, which rash Speech the Baron sharply reproving his Wife for before the King's Servants, told them, 'That he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfie the King without any Pledge, according to the Judge- ment of the Barons, one of that of his Peers.'

Time or Place whatever. But his Wife's Answer was taken more notice of than his, and reported to the King, who sends immediately to apprehend the Baron, but he having notice of it, or hearing what would follow, got away with his Wife and Children into Ireland, where this Affili- tation, the King pursuing him all ways, to pacifie the King's Wrath, and preftented the Queen with four hun- dred Milk-white Cows and a Bull: But this would not procure her Pardon. The King at length apprehended her and her Sons (the Baron himself

\[1\] His usual Oath was, 'By God's Word, and he swore to it.

\[2\] Their Commissions, Prerogatives, are particularly named by Patur to be taken from them, and the Prerogatives and Oaths were forced to pay great Compensations to recover them.
The Life and Reign of King John.

A.D. 1208. Escaping into France and imprisoned with the Bishop of Citeaux, where both he and his innocent Children were presently put to Death, a harsh Punishment for a Ruthless Tongue.  

The King displeased with the Lords, removed his Exchequer to Newhaven, and with a great Army marched towards Scotland, to make War upon that King for barbouring him, and affiling them against him, and by mediation a Peace was agreed upon, on these Conditions: Thus the King of Scots should pay eleven thousand Marks of Silver, and deliver up his two Daughters Hophages to secure the Peace. In his return he caused all the Inclinations of his Subjects, and all the greatfe Grief of his Subjects; whom, though he never minded to fatisfie, yet he fought all means to soften them in their Obedience, (whereof Love, not Rigour, is the fittest type) and therefore took Homage of all Free-Tenants, yet even of Children of twelve Years old throughout the Kingdom.  

King John Excommunicated.  

After the Interdiction had lain upon the Kingdom two Years, to the Distraffion of the People, but without the effect intended upon the King, the Pope thinking to bring him to compliance, proceeds to the Excommunication of his Person; a piece of Rigour, which his Predecessor Alexander was not bold enough to use, in the Person of King Henry II. he accused of a more heinous Crime upon the Person of Thomas Becket; but this method failed also, and the King grew only the more enraged against the Clergy: So that, notwithstanding the Pope's Mandate, they durst not execute it for many Days after, but kept it close from the Ear of the Pledge, and the Pope, lis ringed on his Ear, by the means of Jeffrey Arch-bishop of Norwich, an Officer in the King's Exchequer, who conferring with his Fellows about the Sentence, affirmed, That it was not lawful for any Beneficed Men to remain in the Service and Obedience of an Excommunicated King; and so withdrew from within his Person to his own House. The King hearing of this Action was very angry, and presently sent Sir William Talbot with armed Men to apprehend him, and lay him in Fetters in close Imprisonment; and afterward, at the King's Command, he was put into a Sheet of Lead, in which, with the weight, and want of Vitals, he perished.  

This Excommunication of the King of England was accompany'd the same Year with another of the Emperor Otto, his Nephew, which like his Uncle's was look'd upon as a strain of the Pope's Pride and Injustice; because it was done in a Cafe of the Pope's own private Interest, seeking to extend his Authority beyond the bounds of Italy, to Seirutan: but this reached only to their Souls, not Estates. For tho' the Pope had been very Instrumental in raising him to the Imperial Dignity, and opposing the Election of Philip, Son of Fredericke Barbarossa, for his own ends, because in the Vacancy of the Empire he had seized certain Parts of Italy belonging to it, and hoped to keep them, yet when Otto fought to recover his Right, he procured the Pope's Displeasure, who sent him divers Meffages to defect from the Protection of his Defign, both in respect to himself, and Frederick King of Sicily, who had put himself under the Protection of the Archbishop. To these Meffages the Emperor replied, 'Thou hast done worse to this King, than ulip any thing that belongs to the Empire, he must abrogate me from the Oath which he caufed me to take at my Coronation, which was, That:

* Should recall and recover the Rights which A.D. 1209. 
* But the Pope refusing this, and the Emp. Reg. 1208. Act not desisting from his Claim, the Pope did out his Excommunication against him, and absolved all the States of Germany from their Obedience to him. And thus were two of the greatest and best Princes of Europe, the English and the German, relieved by this Measure, in the Close of their Subjects, so far as lay in the Pope's power; but the Ligaments and Schemes of Government were not so wholly dissolved, especially in England, but the Kingdom continued till in some tolerable Order and Quiet, the Natural Affections of some, Sente of Duty and Obligations of Interest, and others, from the Monarch to the Subjects, and that most of the Nobles adhered to their King.  

But because Exac and Ilenfes would probably corrupt his Loyal Subjects, and make them ready to hearken to the Suggestions of the Pope against him, therefore the King resolved to keep them in Employment, and having received an Intelligence of a Revolt of the Irish, he undertakes an Expedition into Ireland to secure his Dominions there. At his first arrival, all the great Men, who held the Cities and Champion Country near the Coasts, came in, and did their Homage and Fealty to him at Dublin, but those that lived in the more remote Parts, were so far from being satisfied, as of which course of Consequences, he was the strongest, and the Confidence of the reef. King John therefore attack'd and conquer'd him, and soon became absolute Master of the Country; which to reduce into better Order, he commanded to be governor'd by the Laws and Customs of England, which were in the King's Power, and which were not fome to be fomewhat fettled, might have kept that Kingdom in entire Obedience ever after, and saved all the Pains and Expence which it co'll in after-Ages to preserve it. After three Months stay, having made John Gray Bishop of Norwich Chief Justice there, he return'd home, and preluming upon his strength, summon'd all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him at London, where he exerted them from the Reduction of theirSeats from the Litany an hundred thousand Pound Sterling. With the Sum of Silver which he went with, he purchased of Wales, to be reduced to its Ob- 

In the twelfth Year of his Reign, taking twenty eight Children of their lawful Families for Pledges of their future Submission. At his return, he exacted two Marks of every Knight that attended not upon his Army in that Expedition; and by the One at Newcastle is pleased to receive the Pope's Agents, Pandolphus and Durnulius, who came from the Pope to make Peace between the Kingdom and Clergy, and found the King to be pleas'd to their Proposals and Advice, in Confir- 

A. D. 1212. 

Emperor and Monks of Cenabum, and with all the exil'd Bishops, he should return to their Places, but refused to make good their Estates which he had confiected: At which the Agents of the Pope departing unfaithful, brought greater Troubles upon the King. For the Pope finding him a little yielding, grew more intolerably Imperious, and What he would not do for that end absolv'd all his Subjects, of what Condition soever, from their Obedience, strictley forbidding them, under pain of Excommunication, the King's Table, Council.
A.D. and Conference; which notwithstanding prevailed not so much as to keep his Subjects from paying their Service to him; the cause of which was a Revolt of the French, and their own desire of freedom, by which means he was for some time deprived of his power against them. The King being forced to fly, and had up their twenty eight Hostages for breach of Peace, but before he could effect it, the Conspiracy against his Perfon being discovered, he was obliged to return to London to suppress the suspected Nobles, of which he got Pledges; but Englishmen and Robert Fitz-Walter, the Leaders of it, escaped, the one into France, and the other into Scotland. The Pope being thus again disappointed of his Designs, proceeded to his last Efforts, and pronounced the greatest and most impious Sentence that ever was given against any Sovereign Prince, viz. an absolute interdict against all the real and feign'd Officers of the Church, and wrote to the King of France, 'That as he defired to have Remission of his Sins, he should undertake to expel King John out of the Kingdom of England, and pollcfs the fame for himself and his Heirs for ever. And to the same effect he sent his Letters to other Princes, and to the Popes at Rome, and the Bishops, and other Hierarchy. Thus did the King of France in executing the Contumacious King of England, who had done so great Injury to the Universal Church; granting them the fame Remission of Sins, as if they undertook the Holy War. With the former Communion were the Archbishoprs of Canterbury and York, and the other Bishops with the Papal Dispensation, dispatch'd to the King of France for the Execution thereof, which notwithstanding the Pope seems to have done, rather to terrifie King John, than greaten the King of France, whom the Pope defired not to make more powerful, for he ordered Pandulphus to condition thus with him apart: 'That if upon the premises nothing gained by him against King John, he could bring the King of England to such Conclusions as he should propound, he should be abdolved and restored. The King of France, upon this Request and Order of the Pope, and Solicitation of his Ministers, commanded all his Nobility and Princes within his Dominions to receive the French, and return to their Homes, and all Ammunition, to aflift him in this businesse, and be ready in the Spring under pain of being depriv'd of their Estates, preparing also a great Navy for their Tranportation into England. King John having Information of these Designs against him, seizes to all the Ports of his Kingdom, commanding, That all the Ships, which could possibly be gotten, be ready against the Spring for this Expedition, and summoning all Earls, Barons, and all Persons of every Condition whatsoever, that could bear Arms, to be ready at Dover immediately after Easter, furnish'd with Horses, Armour, and all other Military Provifions necessary for the Defence of Kings of England against the intended Invasion, under pain of Calvergate (i.e. being branded for Cowards) and perpetual Servitude. Whereupon so great numbers of People referred to Dover, Doverhampton, Ipswich, and other places afflicted for their landing, that sufficient Arms and Provision could not be got for them; so that Multitudes were sent home again as unnecessary, and only the choice and abler fort reserved, which amounted to the A.D. number of forty thousand, well provided for Battle, besides the Navy, much greater than the Reg. 15. number of the French Princes. The King of France was prepared, and was in expectation of his Enemies, when privately two Knights Templars, sent over by Pandulphus, came to propound a Treaty to him about a Pacification, which, notwithstanding all this preparation, the King accepted. Pandulphus being presently advertised of it, withdraws himself out of the French Army, and came over to treat with him; whom he so terrified with the Forces bent against him, and the Danger he was in, that John's Subjects yielded to any Conditions whatsoever; and not only grants a Restitution and Satisfaction of whatever had been taken from the Archibishop and Monks of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Luke, and Donny, Ely, Bath, and Lincoln, who were tied to the Archibishop, but also lays down his Crown, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and King, the Badges of his Royal Dignity, at the Feet of Pandulphus, delivering up therewith the Kingdom of England to the Pope, and submitting himself to the Judgment and Mercy of the Church. Two Days (some months before the Pope was to leave him) Pandulphus gave him his Crown; and at the receiving of it he swore, (his Earls undertaking for him) That he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of England, and the Lordship of Ireland, of the See of Rome, at the Yearly Tribute of a thousand Marks of Silver. And this, with his Homage and Fealty, he confirmed to another of the Templars near Dover. The weighty Reasons which moved King John to confedent and such honourable Terms are said by the Historians of those Times to be these: The Sense of his own Sins against God, having lived five Years excommunicated, and the Troubles the King was in by the Interdict. 2. The Greatness of his Enemies, the King of France, and his Adherents. 3. The doubtful Allegiance of his Nobility, whom he had offended. 4. The Approach of Ascension-day, after which one Peter, an Hermite and Southfayer, had prophesied, he should be no more King of England, which, the truth to the manner, was in some fort fulfilled by this Reconciliation of the Church; for he and his Southfayer and his Son was put to Death not long after for his otherwise Interpreted Divination. But notwithstanding this Subdivision of King John, the Interdictn of the Kingdom continued; and his own Abolition was declared, till full Reftitution was made to the Clergy, for whom eight thousand Marks of Silver was presently delivered to Pandulphus, who at the receiving thereof trampled it under his Feet, as conserving the base Matter in respect of the Grace conferred upon the Transgiffors; and so return'd with it into France, where he declared what had passed in England, and fords the King of France, upon pain of Excommunication, and the Loss of all his Kingdom; this Expedition, since King John has so much submitted himself to the Church.

The King of France being in a readiness for this great Invasion, and full of hopes of Victory, flew into a great Parnion at the Receipt of this sudden and unexpected Medlange, and was hardly diverted by report of the Panderers, and the Great Charge he had been at, and through the
John en- 
the Letter to the with the Great of the King of France, who had appointed him to receive his left Deni- 

ward, abrogating all unjust Laws: That he A.D. would judge all his Subjects according to the 1213. Reg. 15. 

but for his own Reputation, and through desire of Revenge, having to great Forces a-foot, and 

his Navy ready at the Mouth of the Seine, he re- 

The Life and Reign of King John. 165 

Dihomour of the things; but at last, seeing his 

Confederates all discouraged by the Menaces of the Prophecy, but for his own Reputation, and 

through desire of Revenge, having to great Forces a-foot, and 

his Navy ready at the Mouth of the Seine, he re- 

the Conquest of his late Brother William 

Longefpee Earl of Salisbury, and Reginald Earl of 

Bologne; whom being driven out of France for 

some Demerit, he had entertain'd in his Court, 

and allow'd him a Pension. This being arrived at 

the Port of Dam, found the French Navy in great 

Danger; and was with the good Advice of being 

gone out of it to invade the Country) and 

setting upon it defeated it wholly; and after- 

ward, joining their Power with Fernando's, drove 

the King of France's Army home with great 

Dihomour and exceeding great Losses.

King John being elevated with this Victory, 

defin'd with exceeding great Dignity, and of the 

Overthrow of the King of France, contrives 

to recover all his Dominions on that side the Sea, 

by assailing that King on all sides, engaging 

his Nephew Oblo, the Emperor, to join 

the Earl of Flanders and invade the East Parts of 

France, while he with all his Forces would en- 

ter the West; for the Execution of which pur- 

poe, he sends first a Supply of Money to his 

Captains in Flanders, and then assembles a great 

Army at Portsmouth to pass the Seas: But all 

his Contrivance was delay'd and fail'd by the 

Revolt of his Nobility, who rebel'd to all his 

orders, and refusing the Money, had not only 

confirmed their Liberties to them. This unex- 

pected Opposition to his Affairs in hand much 

encag'd him, but seeing no way to avoid it, he 

sends immediately for the Archbishop of Canter- 

bury, and the other Bishops who were yet in 

France, and promis'd them Restitution and Sa- 

tisfaction under the Hands and Seals of twenty 

four of his Barons, and Earls who undertook for 

the Performance thereof according to the Form 

of the Charter made on this account before. 

Pandulph, with the rest of the exil'd Bishops, came 

over forthwith and find the King at Winchester, where 

he came forth to meet them, and on his Knees 

with Tears receiv'd them, before him they 

have Compassion on him and of the Kingdom of 

England. He was absolvt with great Repen- 

tance, and Compallion of all the Schelders 

express'd with Tears, and flies upon the Evangeli- 

ists. To love, defend, and maintain Holy 

Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their 

Amen to all the Christian World: To 

he would bring into Uie again the good Laws 

of his Predecessors, and especially of King Ed- 

ward, abrogating all unjust Laws: That he A.D. would judge all his Subjects according to the 1213. Reg. 15. 

but for his own Reputation, and through desire of Revenge, having to great Forces a-foot, and 

his Navy ready at the Mouth of the Seine, he re- 

solved to undertake something that might give 

to the Adventurers, and his own People, who had embark'd in that Action. And 

because of the Friendshipp he had with King John, refus'd to follow him 

this Expedition, he falls upon him, who was 

next him, and enters his Port of Dam, vow'd 

That Flanders should be France, or France Flu- 

ders. Fernando being this Tempert coming on him, 

fends to King John to abate him, who be- 

ing glad that he had escap'd a defensive War at 

home, was eager to enter into an offensive one 

abroad, both to employ his Navy and keep his 

People in Action, who would be unsatisfi'd (he 

knew) if he dispos'd them without Action; and 

therefore sends away five hundred Sail of Ships, 

with seven hundred Knights, unto Flanders, un- 

der the Conduct of his kife Brother William 

Longefpee Earl of Salisbury, and Reginald Earl of 

Bologne; whom being driven out of France for 

some Demerit, he had entertain'd in his Court, 

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he would bring into Uie again the good Laws 

of his Predecessors, and especially of King Ed-
A. D. to break the Peace he had lately concluded. And 1215. first to make himself an absolute Matter of his Reg. 15. Subjects (of whose Combination against him he had gotten Intelligence) it is said, That he sent an Ambitafge by Thomas Hurtington, Ralph Fitz-Nicols, Knight, and Robert of London, Clerk, his Commissioners, to "Munimentum the Moor, in the time of King John, to Spens, who was then the Terror of all Christendom, with his mighty Army, promising him to reëm his Kingdom to him and hold it ever after by Treaty from him, as his Sovereign Lord, to forfeike the Chriftian Faith (which he held vain) and become a Malometean, if he would lend him a foot of Land, and retrench on the Kingdoms of England and Ireland: whereupon they returned with an incfeal Fouls, either because (as his Enemies the Monks relate) he diliain'd the Bafenes and Impiety of the Offer, or he was made unable to do it by reafon of the Overthrow of his great Army with the Death of his Son, which soon after happened. The King being disappointed in this Attempt, takes another way to bring about his Defigns, and try Pope Innocent (a Perfon caflie to be induc'd to do any thing for Money) with great Sums, and a repeated Affurance of his Subjeftion, which he shortly after confirmed by a fresh Oath and a new Charter to the Pope's Legate, the Bishop of Tunbridg', who was very knowing in the Pope's Service, with a full Authority to comprofe all Differences between the King and the Church. Several Affairs were laid in divers places to settle this Agreement, and in the end the King having promis'd, and given Security to pay thirtine thousand Marks more in full Satisfacdon for the Damages done to the Church. The Receipt of this Money was released the King had eafily made Fix Years, three Months, and fourteen Days, to the inftimable Loss of the Church and Churchmen, and the King commended to the Court of Rome for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Son of the Church; and the Clergy, infeal of a Satisfacdon for their particular Damages, by Letters brought in to the Lega of the Pope, that the King revived a sharp Reprimand for their Obfidency in oppofing him.

The King having refer'd the Determination of this whole Controversy to the Legate and fome of his own Minifters (being fully affid of the Pope's Favour) was gone into Poitou to attack the Army according to this Defign and Agreement with the Emperor Otto, who was to invade him by the way of Flanders. He landed at Rochef with his Queen, and having receiv'd the Prafty of many of the Baron's of Poitou, march'd forward into the Country, and recover'd many Cafles and Places of Importance (as appears by their Letters to the famous John de la Esquie, in which he affays, that he had promis'd his Daughter Joanna in Marriage to the Earl of Marche's Son, tho' the King of France had defir'd her for his Son, but fraudulently.) From thence he goes into Britan, takes the City of Nantes, and prepar'd to encounter Lewis the French King's Son, who was come into those Parts with a mighty Army to ftop his Proceedings. But the Poitouins having discover'd the Force of the Enemy, refuf'd to fight: Whereupon the King to his extreme Grief, fortook the A.D. Field, and was forced to come to a dishonourable Peace with the King of France, and to irreconcil. Reg. 16. verably loft his Dominions there. But his Forces in Flanders, which were joyn'd with the Empe- rour's, and Ferrand's, had fur enough. For the King of England had been left alone in France, he could together, encounter'd them at Re- The Battle the Borted rizer's Bridge, and overthrow the Emperor with of Bawtes all the Confederate Army, which confifted of one hundred fifty thoufand Foot, besides Horfe; of which fifteen hundred Knights were slain, and Ferrand Earl of Flanders, the Earls of Salisbury and Bologne, and (as the Annals of Flanders re- cord) that of the French Nation. And when the Earl's of Sussex and Luxemburg were taken Prisoners, the Emperor Otto IV. himfelf hardly eftaping, who lived not long after.

The Barons of England hearing of the King's But the Barons's Mistakens, and learning his outrages Anqer at the Earl of Buckingham, his return, aslembl'd themselves at St. Edvnbur- the Earl of Buckingham, was after through Fene who the late produced Chrift of Henry the first, thay swore to one another upon the high Altar, That if King John refuf'd to reftore and confirm to them their Liberties and the Rights of the King dom contain'd in it, they would make War upon him, till he had given them Satisfaction therein; and as a further Argument of their Re- petition for the fame, and in the mean time furnish'd themselves with Horfes and Arms to be ready (if the King should recede from his Oath made at Winchester at the time of his Ablution, for the Confirmation of their Liberties) to com pel him to ratify their Demands. After Chrift mas, the Earl of Barons committed to the Military manner to the King, who then lay in his Temple, urging their Deffires with great Vehemence. The King feeing their Resolution and Inclination to War, made them an Avver, 'That the Matter they defir'd being of Importance, he would take time to confider of it till Eafter, and in the mean time takes upon him the Vom, and in the King's place, to defend and defend what there were Laws and Liberties: To whom they gave a Schedule, or Lift of them, to deliver to the King; which when the Commiffioners read to the King, he alied them in great Anger, 'Why the Barons did not like wise demand the King dom? And swore, that he would never grant them Liberties whereby himself should become a Slave. The Barons having receiv'd this An.ver, and being as haft as he was averse, refolved to feize upon the King's Cafles; and having

This Embassy to Minimentum, the Morfie Emporor, is fud'd by our English Historian a Monkifh Lye, invented to blacken the Memory of this King, because he had been so fervous of his Faith, for it was the common Chronicle of the Monks, that they had no Religion who would not their Orders. The Partis is the only Author that relates this Story, yet it seems improb able, that he who liv'd and wrote in the Reign of this King's Son, and by his particular Encouragement, should dare to report fuch a Deferibition of a Man so Eminent in it as it was.

A Archbishop Legatm (the great Historian to the Roman See) and all the Nobility prevail'd against this Act of King John, in fubmitting his See to the Pope; and the Nobility declard, That one of the chief Crosses of their making War upon him was, because he had legally alienated his Kingdom; And upon this account it was, that this Subjection to the Pope was reudled by Parliament: 5 Edw. 1. and 40 Edw. 3.

The Interdiction was taken off in S. Paul's Church the 29th of Jun. 1214. 2d. made.
The Life and Reign of King John.

A.D. made Robert Fitz-Walter their General, whom they entitled, The Marshal of the Army of God and Reg. 17. Holy church, they presently march towards Northampton, which they besieged; but finding it in vain, departed to Bedford, where William de Bescamps, and the other concerned, sent a private Melage to them to invite them into their City, which they would deliver up to be ruled by them. The Barons, glad of this news, repair immediately thither, and are joyfully accepted. And now being in possession of the great strength of the Kingdom, they not only insisted daily in their Party, but grew bolder with the King, making another solemn protestation, never to give over the prosecution of their intended design, till they constrain the King (whom they held perjured) to grant them their Rights. The King being himself in a manner wholly forsaken, having scarce seven Knights faithful to him, counterfeits the Bishop's Seals, and writes in their Names to all Nations, 'That the English were turn'd Apostates, and whatsoever would come to invade them, he by the Pope's consent would confer upon them all their Lands and Possessions. But this device taking no effect, because of the small confidence they had in the Commons, the King, after excommunicating the People, without the mediation of the Earl Marshal and others was obtained with the Barons, to be had between Windsor and Staines, in a Meadow called 'Fawning Meadow,' (a place anciently used for such Conferences) where, after many Meetings and much Debate, the King freely condescended, for the Glory of God and his own defence, to Signifie to the Commons the Laws and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordained by Henry the First (contained now in the Great Charter, and Charta Forensis.) And that there might be no differences in this kind for the future, he granted them a Security for the firm and long Enjoyment of these Laws and Liberties in this manner: 'That there should be twenty-five Barons chosen out of their Number, whom they would, who to the utmost of their power should cause the same to be observed. And if the King, or his Chief Justice, should break any Article of those Laws, and their Officers, who should by any discovery, four Barons of the twenty-five should satisfy, the mean of the King, and his Commands, to leave the Kingdom, to his Justice, and signify the Offence, requiring a Redress without delay; which, if it were not made within forty Days after notice given, then those four should refer the Cause to the rest of the twenty-five, who with the Commons of the Land, might compel and force him by all means they could, viz. by seizing his Castles and Accounts, (his own, Queen's and Children's Persons excepted) till redress be made according to their Arbitration. And that whatsoever would, should take their Oath for the Execution of it, and obey the Command of the twenty-five Barons without protestation, and if not, then the major, or common part of them, in whatsoever they thought fit, to treat concerning those Castles, and none should be placed in them, but such as were faithful, and would observe that Oath, &c. 'That several Strangers, of which divers are expressly named, should be banished the Kingdom, and a general Purdon for all.' A.D. 1217. Persons concern'd in this Difference and Controvert 1217. from first to last: That both Parties should en-reg. 17. gage by Oath to keep this Agreement inviolable. 17. In all its Articles. The King also sends his Letter to the Nation and all the Subjects of the Kingdom, to cauie all his Subjects, of what Degree soever, within their several Shires, to swear to observe those Laws and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

After this manner, and no better, were the King's Rights of the Kingdom recovered; whereof, the whole People are styling this the Grant of the Magna Charta.
A. D. Barons, as far as the Borders of Scotland, and was 1215. absolute Matter of all England, except the City Reg. 17, of London, on which he was afraid to adventure, for, having taken up Powder, he had vow'd to die together in the defence of it: But dividing his Forces, with one part he cut off all ways of Supply, that he might annoy them, himself with another part marching Northward, and laying waste the Countries as he went, as far as Berwick. He was intended to have invaded Sund's and promised from his threatening. A vox der King of the Scots. That he would bust the Fox out of his Hole, allying to his red Hair: But the news of some fresh Defigins plotted by the Barons brought him back from those parts. For they seeing themselves deprived of their Eftates, (which were given to Strangers) their Wives and Daughters, and with others of his, on fum'd, desperately fall upon another extremity, and send for allience to Lewis the French King's Son, promising him by their free Election to invest him with the Crown of England, and engaged to give him Pledges for the Performance; being per- fumed, that upon the approach of the French, King John's Forces would wither likely. Lewis gave a good entertainment to the Meifage, and in a Parliament call'd for that purpose by his Father Philip, it was revol'd upon, and a Meifage bent to the Barons, that he would speedily fend them Relief, and be not long behind them himself in Person; having hopes of the Crown of England, not only for his own, but if Lewis, who, as the extream, if Luther, and, but always upon the Title which he pretended from Blanch his Wife, King John's Sister's Daughter*. The Intelligence of this Design soon flew to Rome, and got to the Pope's Ears, who prefently sends his Agent to the King of France with Letters to entreat him not to fuffer his Son to invade or dif- quiet the King of England, and fend Lewis a Bailiff, upon condition he was a Varial of the Roman Church, and the Kingdom, as to the Dominion of it, did belong thereunto. The King of France answers: That the Kingdom of England never was, nor is ever shall be, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and that King John was never lawful King thereof, and if he were, it was by the Murther of Prince Arthur, for which he was condemned in his Court; neither could he give away the Kingdom without the Consent of the Barons, who are bound to defend the fame: And if the Pope would maintain this Error, 'twould be a pernicious Example to all Kingdoms. With this Answer the Pope's Agent is satisfied, and having dispatch'd Commissioners to Rome, to declare his Right, and justify his Undertakings, sets forth from Calais with six hundred Ships, and eighty other Velels, and lands* at Sandwich with his Army. King John waited at Dover for his landing, with purpose to encounter him, but upon view of his great Forces, and-difficult the Faith of his Mercenaries, forfook the Field; and A. D. having committed the keeping of the Castle to 1216. Hubert de Burgh, fies first to Winchester, and at Reg. 18, the end of November, returns to Gloucester, and leaves all to the Will of his Enemy Lewis, who, after he had gotten the Sub- mission of all Kent (except of Dover-Castle, which he never could obtain) he march'd to London, where he is received by the Barons with great Joy, and upon his Oath to restore their Laws, and preferve their Rights, hath Homage and Peace, and delivered to them him as their Soverain Lord. To him also came the Earls Warren, Arundel, Salisbury, and William Marshall the younger, with many others, forfaking King John, and render'd themselves to him. Gisello, the Pope's Agent, purf'd Lewis, and the he pull'd through many Dangers by Lewis's party, got to Glouceft, lhears King Johns the Pope's Char, and, having with him, and taken his manner pronounces the Sentence of Excommunication against Lewis, and all his Adherents: Which, tho' it brought some little Comfort to John for the preфent, yet did his Enemy little or no harm, nor could confirm his hired Soldiers in their Fidelity to him: For soon after most of them dieried, and either went over to Lewis or return'd home with the Spoils they had gotten; yet was he not so utterly forfaken, but he had Forces enough to annoy, tho' not to encounter his Enemy, and some Minifters at a distance from him, that stood firm to him. Dover-Castle held out with a small Company against all the Forces Lewis brought against it: After a Week, the King with sixty Men, ftood out against all the Barons could do; and Nottingham and Lincoln Caffles made a refolute Reffistance, and could not be gain'd. Nothing was effect'd almoft, but the Ruine and Deftruction of the open and undefended Country, and that in the most fruitful and plentiful parts of the Kingdom. After Lewis went, the Barons, the Earls of Wales, Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and London, which were the Seat of the War. But this Mifchief, which had continued all that Summer, came to an end about the latter end of October, when a burning Fever seiz'd upon this fiery King. The Castle of it was thought to have been taken, but he was saved by receiv'd by the lofs of his Carriages, which paling over the Sands between Lin and Bofon, were loft, and was increas'd by a Surfeit of Peaches and New Aile, gotten at the Abby of Swisfland, from whence he was convey'd in great Weaknes to Newrirk, where, after he had receiv'd the Eu- charift, and taken Order for the Succesion of his Son Henry, he dy'd in the one and fiftith Year his Death of his Age, having Reign'd eighteen Years, five Months, and four Days*. The Abbot of Crocke- flow, a Perfon well skil'd in Phyfic, and at that time the King's Phyfician, dillouew'd him, and would no doubt have given notice to the World, had not his Mind (as it was afterward proven) been poison'd by a Monk of Swifland-Abby;
Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of King John.

In the 3d Year of his Reign about December, five Moons were seen in Yorkshire, one in the East, the second in the West, the third in the North, the fourth in the South, and the fifth in the middle of them, having many Stars about it: Which Wonder was in those days, observ'd to precede a violent Seafon for Cold and Rain afterwards. The next Year the Floods were so high, that Bridges were thrown down, the Corn and Hay spoilt, and Cartel and Men drowned in several Places. In that which followed, after an extraordinary cold Winter, there happen'd very tempestuous, terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning, and Hail, the Storms as big as Hens Eggs; Spirits were seen in the Air in the Shape of Birds, lying up and down with Fire in their Beaks, which they dropped on several Houses, and set them on fire. Holleshead.

If the Miraculous Events are not true, they serve at least to give us an Idea of the Superstition and Ignorance of those Times.

In the 6th Year of his Reign, the Fishermen of Oxford in Suffolk took a Sea Monster in their Nets, resembling a Man in Shape. They presented him to Six Earth de Glendur, Governor of the Cattle of Oxford, who kept him several Days. He was naked, and like a Man in all his Limbs and Members; he was hairy in those Parts of the Body where Hair grows, except the Crown of his Head, which was bald; his Beard was long and rugged, and his Breast hairy; he greedily devour'd whatever Meat was set before him, Fifh or Fleeth, raw or boil'd; the raw he pres't'd in his hand, till he squee'd out the Mouture, and then he swallow'd it. He would not, or cou'd not speak, tho' to force him to it, the Knight's Servants ty'd him up by the Heels, and cruelly torment'd him. He lay down on his Couch at Sun-set, and rose at Sun-rising. They carry'd him one Day to the Sea, and suffer'd him to go into it, having secr'd him from getting from them as they thought, by spreading three rows of strong Nets; but the Monster div'd down below them all, past them, and came up again beyond them. He there shew'd himself to the Country Fellows that waited for him on the Shore, he pop'd up and down in the Water as if he mock'd them for suffering him to deceive them; and having sport'd some time, when they gave him over for lost, he voluntarily return'd to them: But two Months after he grew weary of Land, and watching his Opportunity stole away to the Sea. Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall, and John Snow, both tell this very odd Story; and Caxton, who wrote above two hundred Years ago, has it at large, but he places it in this King's Reign, and the two former Historians in the 3d of Henry the second. If the Authority of those Writers can warrant for the Truth of it, 'tis the most remarkable Adventure that ever History transmitted to Posterity.

In the Winter, this Year, there was a hard Frost from January to April, which produc'd a Dearth, and in the next Year was a dreadful Storm of Wind, that blew down abundance of Housës; and driving the Snow which then lay on the Ground about in Drifts, overwhelm'd great Numbers of Sheep and Cattle.

In the Year 1228, the 1oth Year of this King, the Citizens of London had a Charter from him to chuie their own Mayors, who the King nam'd before himself; and on Michaelmas-day they chose Henry Fitz-Alwin, who as Snow reports, had that Office in the first Year of Richard the First, to be their Mayor. On the same Day, the Title of the Bailiffs of London was chang'd into that of Sheriffs, and Peter Duke and Thomas Neal were sworn Sheriffs, the first who bore that Office under that Name in London.

In his 11th Year the Students at Oxford being terrify'd at the hanging of three of their Fellows, removed to Cambridge and Reading, and were not then persuaded to return to their old University. In the fame Year one Alexander Cencenarius, furnam'd Theologus, preach'd against the Pope's meddling with Temporal Affairs; affirming, No Power was granted to St. Peter, but in Matters only relating to the Church.
In his 14th Year, on the 10th of July, St. Mary Overy's Church in Southwark was burnt with London Bridge, and a great part of the City; three thousand People were supposed to be burnt and crownd in the Confusion the Inhabitants were in upon the Fire taking both ends of the Bridge at once.

Men Illustrious in Arms in his Time were

Robert Fitz-Walter, General of the Barons, Eustace Veseis, Peter de Breunbe, William de Albanie, Hugh de Lucy, famous Allitors of English Liberty. William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, who was always on the King's side, and many other Barons who were on both sides, assisted by Palkin or Intereft, did brave things in the Civil War.

Jeffrey Fitz-Peter, King John's chief Minifter, was reckond one of the ableft Politicians of his Age.


low a Benedictine Monk, Stephen Langton, who wrote the Life of Becket, and Alain Abbob of Tewfhibury, Heribert de Bifham, Joannes Caroten ei, and William of Canterbury, which laft four joyn'd together to write the Quadrilogium of Becket. Yefto of Dounfhire a Poet, Simon Trench a Philofopher, of whom his fayd, that he was miraculously feiz'd with a Fit of Oblivion or Forgeruines, and turn'd fool, as a Judgment upon him for his high Opinion of his own Wit, and his Contempt of the Deity. Hubert Walter, and Langton, Archbishops of Canterbury; Walter Bishop of Lincoln, Coleman furnand Sir Simon, Simon Abi, Richardus Cancovius, William Fregrene, Gersaffe of Dover, John Haufeli, Nigell Waver, Gilbert de Holland, Bennet of Peterborough, Alexander furnand Theologus, Walter Majis, Gilbert Leffey, Maurice Morgan, John de Fordbam, William Leiferfer, Joceline Brackland, Roger of Cowland, John de St. Omer, and Adam of Barkin, Diuines and Mathematicians.

THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF

HENRY III.

A. D.
1216.
Reg. 1.

Henry III.
crowned
King at
Glocefter.

HENRY, the eldest Son of King John, a Child of about ten years old, was immediately upon the Death of his Father crown'd King of England at Glocefter, October 28. nine Days after his Father's Death, and being, by reason of his Age, unable to manage a Kingdom, especially in fuch Trouble, he was committed to the Care and Guardianfhip of the great Marshal, William Earl of Pembroke, a Man eminent both for Courage and Council; who as he had been the grand Supporter of his Father in his Right, he was the chief Premier of the Crown to this his Son. Lewis ftil held his Hopes, and with his Party ftood up as his Rival in the Kingdom, which this Loyal Earl made it his firft attempt to remove, and to that end, joyn'd with Wallo the Pope's Legate, the Bifhops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, ufed all means to draw the Barons, and others the moft A. D. powerful Men of their Party, to their new and 1216. natural King, from the Excommunicated Stranger Reg. 1. and his Adherents. The Propofition was received with fome hefitancy at firft, because they had oblig'd themfelves by Oath to adhere to Lewis, the moft of them thought it their Duty to return to their Allegiance, when their old King, the Caufe of the Quarell, was dead, and his Succefsor gave them fuch Hopes. But at length, observing the Infolence of the French, and how Lewis, contrary to his Oath to them, had subjeft'd all places to Spoil and Plunder to enrich himfelf and his Nation, and it being discover'd to them by the Vifcount Melun, a Frenchman, upon his Death-Bed, that Lewis had vow'd utterly to extinguih the Engliffh for their rebellious Hu- mour, when he was compleat Master of the King-

* He was not immediately crown'd King; the Earl of Pembroke brought him to Glocefter, and furnand'd the Barons, who were on the late King's Side, to meet him there; when they were met, he made a Speech to them in behalf of the young Prince, and was oppof'd by the Earl of Chester; but at last they all agreed, that he fould be their King, erring (as the author of this Page) as if divinely infpir'd, but Reafon, but Reafon. Let him be made King. Let him be made King. Walter Haninfod Chrift. He was crown'd with a plain Crepe or Chaplet of Gold, for want of a Regal Diadem.

* The Pope had been very zealous for King John in his Life-time, againfis Lewis and the Barons, and had Excommunicated them with wonderful Sablimenies, to deter the People from joyning with them; and after his Death, Wallo the Pope's Legate ufed the fame methods to fuccefe the Young Prince Henry, caufing Lewis and his Party to be Excommunicated in all Churches every Sunday and Holiday, and interdicting Waives for affiling him in which, the Pope fhow'd his Good-will, yet the Spiritual Sword would have done this young Prince little good, had not the Temporal Joyn'd with it, in the Hand of that Noble, Loyal, and Courageous Perfon, the Earl of Pembroke.

* Other Historians say, That Lewis, and sixteen of his greatest Lords, swore, That if he got the Crown of England, he would banish all those that fought againft their King, and forfeit their Estates; and the Vifcount Melun was one of them.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third.

A.D. 1179.  

1216. Reg. 2.  

You took upon such an aversion against him, that many of them relinquished their from William, Earl of Salisbury, the King's Uncle, who brought over a considerable Party with him, the Earls of Arundel and Warenf, and William the Son and Heir of the Great Marthaf, who having been six Months in the Service of Lewis, more out of Policy than Disaffection, return'd again to their Fidelity to their Natural King. Yet Lewis found Alliats enough to keep London, with all the Countries about, a whole Year after: So that the young King, being in the minority, could have no hope of to Wincefier, Wearcefier, and Brifol, till his vigilant and plentiful Minifters might find out ways to break their united Forces, and draw them from their strong Hold, the Head of the Kingdom. And this they did firft by beleaging the Castle of Montefole in Lecefterfhir, which belonged to Suer de Salfury, and one of the great Members of Lewis's Party, to relieve which a considerable Body was fent from London, and the adjoining parts, who after went to Lincoln, and posifefled themselves of that City, all but the Caffle, which was defended against them for a whole Year by a Noble Lady named Philippa, a Woman of fable Valour, and a brave Heir to the Earl of Cornwall. Time hath deprived us of the knowledge.  

The French Forces having here posifled themfelves, the Earl Marthaf, the Protector of the King and Kingdom, with his Son William, the Bifhops of Winnefier, Salithury, and Chefter; the Earls of Salithury, Ferrers, and Abouenotes, William de Warenf, and many other Barons and great Captains, with all the young King's Army (which increaf'd daily in their March) came to a place call'd Stow, within eight Miles of Lincoln, where Gafofl the Legate (to inflire the Army with Courage and Resolution) cauf'd, upon the Confefion of their Sins, the En- charit to be adminiftr'd to them, and gave them a plenary Ablution of all their Sins, and having afterward ac{ur'd Lewis, with all his Adherents, as feprated from the Church, they fet forward to beleige the City, and affifted it fo violently on all fides, that notwithstanding they made a gallant defence (in which the Earl of Perce was flain) Lewis with his Party put the Town with very few Men: And all their principal Men made Prisoners; of which there are named, Suer de Winnefier, Henry de Robun Earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant, made Earl of Lincoln by Lewis, Robert Fitz- Walter, Richard Montfiechter, William Monmbry, William Beauchamp, William Mandli, Oliver Har- coult, Robert Croft, William Calenfa, William de Ra, Robert de Roofey, and Ralph Oxende, Bar- ons, besides four hundred Knights, or Men of Arms, with their Servants, Horfe and Foot, by which Victory the King gave Lewis such a blow, that it was the laft Battel he ever fought in Eng- land. The Spoils of the City, which fell to the King's Party, were very great, it being at that time a place full of Rich Merchants; when, while they pillag'd, they term'd it in Derifion Lewis's Fair. Some of the Beaffes efcape'd out of the Overthrow, but were moft of them lain by the Country People in their Palaff towards London. Some other Parts of Lewis, as to London, and the Principal Men into France, and fimmuns all his Party in England to London. The Earl Marthaf, with the young King, bend all their Forces immediately thither, intending either to affault the City in their Diffipation and Trouble for their Lods, or bring Lewis to some Agreement to relinquifh the Kingdom. At their approach, the King being found difficult and dangerous, the latter was propounded, but would not at all be liften'd to by Lewis, until he had received the news, that his Recruits coming out of France were beaten by Philipp de dalfie and Hugh de Barby, with the Forces of the Cinque Ports, and then, being void of all hopes of any future Succours, or defying with Safety, he came to this Agreement, 'That upon the Lewis his Agreement to depart Lewis, he would abjure his Claim to this Kingdom, the King, and procure, as far as in him lay, that the King did his Father should refore the Provinces of France, which belonged to Lewis, and which he had taken from the French. And Lewis, to refore them in a peaceable manner, which he promis'd by Oath to perform. On the other fide, Henry takes his Oath, and the Legate and Protecor for him, 'to refore unto the Barons of this Realm, and all his other Subjects, all their Rights and Inheritances, with thofe Liberties, for which the Contention between the King and Father began.' A General Pardon is granted, and all Prisoners releafed on both fides; Lewis is honourably difmif'd, and attend'd as far as Dover, from whence he paft out of England about Michaelmas, two Years after his firft arrival, having been received for the moft of that time as King, and profeffed to have been fatisfa&ed for himself; and made a Conquief of the Kingdom, than the Norman, because he was invited thither by a ftrong Party, and maintain'd by others. But God, who is the wife Director of all things, ordered it otherwife, and fave us from a foreign Enemy. Thus were the Deftrufions wrought among the Englifh by the Violences and Oppofitions of an unruly King again compofed, and the Son, notwithstanding the Father's Faults, received by the People, who are naturally given to love and obey their Princes, unless forced by Oppref- fion, and defpair of Redrefs, to vindicate their own Rights and Privileges. In this Settlement Lewis's Father Gaflaf was fent home by this New Government, where his Kingdom was fix'd, and the Pope's Inlerett, than the real advantage of the Kingdom; and what he did was lefs worthy of Thanks or Reward; Yet, be- caufe his Service was advantageous to the King, Wallo re- ceiv'd, he was well paid for his pains; and notwith- standing the great diffrefs of the Kingdom, carry'd away with him to Rome twelve thousand Marks.  

The Nation being thus eafe'd of the principal An Expe- Cau of her Difurbance, began to hope for Days int the Peace and Quietness; but this could not be effeeted, fo long as many troublefome Members, who had no way to live but in Wars and Con- fufion, remain'd in it. For many of the No- bles, who had fided with the King, being un- fatisfa&ed in their Expectations, and having no Eflates to maintain their Greatnefs, fell to mutiny,  

* On the 19th of May, 1217.  
* The Weftts, who had affiliated Lewis, were not included in it, nor the Clergy, because Wallo gained the Power of Punifhing them, and, when he was apprehended, he was releafed with the Collay, he did by Derfyvant and Finas, vic. He fad the Bishop of Linclia's Thauffand Marks to the Pope, and an hundred Marks to his Father, and other proportions.  
* On one fide King Henry, the Legate, and the Marthaf met, and Prince Lewis and the Barons on the other, as in an Island in the Thames near Staines, where the Peace was made on the 1th of September.  

Vol. I. Z 2 Surprising.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third.

A.D. 1218. Surprising Castles and making Spoils in the Country, of which were the Earl of Albemarle, Robert de Vaypon, Folke de Breut, Brian de Lise, Robert de Albano, and many others, fronts with great Forces thither, by which agrees, together with an Order, which was put at the same time to command all Strangers, except Merchants, to depart the Land, the Nation was at once rid of all the trouble and burden and Members of it. Things being thus composed and settled by agreement, the Earl of Pembroke, the State received a free Charity by his Death, which happened immediately after, to the great Loss and Sorrow of the whole Kingdom, leaving behind him a great Name for his admirable Courage, Policy, and Love of his Country and King. The Bishop of Winchester of the King's Death informed his representative, the Earl of Pembroke, of the Affairs of the Kingdom. While the King was under his care, he was again crown'd; and had by a Parliament granted to him for Efficace of the State, and some of his Person's service, for the Affairs of the Kingdom and the Recovery of his Dominions beyond the Sea, which was now defign'd; and Mollon de Savy the Poitouwine, with William Longwood Earl of Salisbury, sent over into Guien to try the Affections of that People to the King of England, and found them inclinable to the King of France; but the King of France also was resolv'd to make Restitution of what he had usurp'd from the English Crown, but returned Anver, 'That what he had gotten by Forfeiture and Law of Arms, he would keep. To hold Friendship with Scotland, and secure Peace at home, Huon the King's Sifer, was sent again to the King of France, and Alexander and Margaret, Alexander's Sifers, to Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice of England, and the Chief Perfon that manage the great Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time likewise the Welsh under their Prince Leweline revoluted, and gave the Nation some Trouble and Charge, till not long after they were subdu'd wholly. Hugh Lacy also took a Continent in Ireland, but it was Prevailed on by William Earl of Pembroke, Son to the late great Marshall; and so the Kingdom remain'd quiet for some Years, faving that Folke de Breut, with certain Governors of Castles (the Dragons of War) having fortify'd the Castles of Bedford, and other Forts, committed several Outrages to the Diftierce of the Peace, till they were taken by Alafon.

172. The King being now arrived at Years of Underfanding (viz. An. Reg. 7, and the 17th Year of his Age) was now in a Parliament assembled at London, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, put in mind of his Oath made by Humphrey, and taken by others for him at the Conference of the Peace with Lewis, to confirm the A.D. Liberties of the Kingdom; for which there had been Such bloody Controversies with his Father Reg. 7. been such bloody Controversies with his Father Reg. 7. and without which the Peace now settled would not hold, advising him timely to prevent the miserable Inconveniences of such Controversies, and Ratis their Ancient Laws and Liberties. Some of his Minions opp'd the Proposition (of whom one William Brewer a Counsellor was one) and urged, That his Promis and Oath was construe'd, and ought not to be performed, but their Advice prevail'd not so far as to hinder it: For the King promis'd to ratifie them, and to that end twelve Knights, or other sufficient Men of every shire were sent into the Nation, and charged to examine the Laws and Liberties, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and of which the Name of Delay they'd too great a Compliance with those that connell'd him against it, and was look'd upon as a shift by feveral of the Nobility, whose Affections towards him cooled upon this Denial: For presently the Earls of Chester and Albemarle, with many other great Men and Officers, met at Winchester in a Parliament to observe the Terms, the Earl of Pembroke, Chief Justice, and other Officers about him, who were oppos'd to hinder this Motion. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his Spiritual Power, and the rest of the Nobility, who were careful to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, stood up in the Defence of the King, and success in these Proceedings in that kind as yet; and to the Lords effect'd nothing at that time, but were constrain'd to come in and submit themselves. At this Parliament the King by an Act refurb'd such Lands, as had been alienated from the Crown by his Ancestors, and to which he might have Revenue sufficient to maintain the Officers of the Crown. The Earl of Pembroke, he was constrain'd to pass, and that for not being such a Body of Men as the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom required. And tho' this Motion much concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom (being the Inheritance of the King, and most of his Nobility, which no doubt they were very desirous to recover) yet they would not grant this Subsidy until their Liberties were confirm'd; which in the end they obtain'd in the same Parliament. As King John had granted them in the two Charters aforesaid, and twelve Knights or sufficient Men were chosen in every shire, and sworn to part the old Forests from the new, and all such Forests as had been made since, and lands added to Forests, since the first Coronation of Henry the Third, were immediately confirmed and confirmed, and other new Forests as were the lawful Owners of them. Whereupon they were pleased, and improved to the great Comfort and Advantage of the Subjects, and more better maintain'd by the Use of those Lands, which before were left to the wild Beasts, Indistinct making those Places fruitful, which Pleasure had caused to lie barren. Two
A. D. 1225. Two Years were the Liberties enjoy'd by the Kingdom with general Peace and Content, Reg. 10. where the King called a Parliament at Oxford, and there declaring himself to be of Age, and free from a Guardianship, to dispose of the Affairs of the Kingdom, he dissolves and cancels the Charter of Forests, as being granted in his Minority, and therefore of no Force; and causses Proclamation to be made, That the Clergy and all others, that would enjoy their Liberties, must come and have their Charters renew'd and confirm'd again under his new Seal, for which they were forc'd to renounce according to their Abilities, but as the Chief Justice Hugh de Burgh, bore the Blame of the Fact, and the Hatred of all the People, but this bred a new Infurrection of the Nobility against the King upon this Occasion. Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's Brother, had the Castle of Barkamjied belonging to his Earldom, which the King feiz'd upon without the Earl's Consent, and put it into the Custody of one Walleran, a Dutchman. The Earl returning out of Gascony with Forces, flush'd with Honour, seiz'd upon his Castle, and turn'd out Walleran. The King hearing it, commands his Brother to restore the Castle to Walleran, which he had given him for his good Services, or depart the Kingdom. The Earl and his Brother, 'twixt their Feuds and the Judgment of Peers; and so departed to his House, leaving the King much disturb'd at his Answer. Hugo de de Burgh, Chief Justice, fearing a Disturbance of the Peace, advises the King to apprehend the Earl, and commit him to close Custody; but the Earl either 판단'd the King great Service by having notice of his Design, flees presently to Marlborough, where he finds William Earl Marshal his Friend and Confidetrate by Oath, with whom he went to Stamford. While he remain'd here, the Nobility, who were lately gone under a great Distinction for their cancelling of their Liberties and Charters, flock'd to him, and form'd to abett his Quarel. The Heads and Leaders of them were the Earls of Chester, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Warwick, Ferrers, and many others, who being attended with a considerable Force of arm'd Men, fend to the King to advise him to defeat from injuring his Brother, of which they accus'd Hugo de de Burgh, Chief Justice, to his own great, and require Restitution to be made immediately of the Liberties of the Forests, which he had lately cancell'd at Oxford; which if he refuse to do, they would compel him to it by the Sword. The King, to avoid this impending Danger, appoints a Day to meet them in a Parliament, at Westminster, where at length came to an Agreement; and the King to satisfie his Brother, restore'd to him his Caffle, and gave him besides, his Mother's Dower, and all the Lands that the Earls of Britain and Bologna held in England; and so the Parliament was dissolv'd. After the Dissolution of this Parliament, there was a Motion made for the Holy War, which found so great Entertainment in that credulous and zealous Age, that fifty thousand able Men are fai'd to have undertak'n that Voyage under the Command of Peter Bilhop of Wincheste, and William Bilhop of Exeter. About this time the King receiv'd a freth Invitation by Hugo le Brun Earl of March, who had marry'd his Mother, from the Nobles of England, to come over to France to recover his Right, upon Reg. 12. the great Alterations which happen'd there on this Occasion. Lewis VIII. the Son and Successor of King Philip II. being dead, after his great Siege of Tarentum in Apo- myconum, and his War with the Albigensian in the Dominions of Poitou, a Child of twelve Years old, to inherit his Thrones, who being too young to manage the Affairs of a Kingdom, his Mother Blanche took the Regency of it upon her in his Minority. This Action to discontents the Princes of the Blood, that they rebell'd, as holding it both dishonorable and dangerous, that a Woman and a Girl should manage the Affairs of the Kingdom. The Spaniards (whom he entertain'd and prefer'd above the Natives of the Kingdom) govern all according to her Pleasure, and therefore joyn'd in a League against her. The Chief of them were Philip Earl of Bologna, the King's Uncle by Father Side, Robert Earl of Champagne, Peter de Dune Duke of Britain, and Robert Earl of Devon his Brother, and with them Hugh the Earl of March took part, being insinugated to it by his Wife the late Queen of England, who was angry with the Queen Regent for requiring her Husband to do Homage to her Son Alphonso lately made Duke of Poitou, by which the thought of her Greatness was great. So the King, with his Brother the Earl of Lopijan into that Conspiracy: But not thinking themselves able to oppose the Power of the Queen, they invited the King of England over to assist them. Henry readily accepts their Defires; and having supply'd him with Money for this Occasion, by exacting the King's great Scents of Lands in London for their Liberties, and by taking a third part of all the Goods of the Jews, pass'd over with a great Army, lands at St. Malo's, and is there met by many Nobles of Poitou, who with the Earl of Britain did him Homage, and assist him in making great Preparations to obtain his Provinces, which had been gotten from his Father by the King of France. The Queen Regent rais'd a powerful Army to stop the Proceedings of the King of England, and much Mischief was done by both sides in Poitou, Xainctonge, and Angoumois, as well to their Friends as Enemies; but at length they were both weary of the War and the fruitless running, and the Queen calls the King of England having expend'd a great March his Officers of Treasure, and left divers of his Nobles to account. And valiant Men in this Expedition, returned home; bringing with him the Earl of Britain, and many of the chief Men of Poitou to receive their Promis'd Reward, for which farther Sums must be writ from King of England. And first to the Earl of Britain, by whose Counsels he was now chiefly directed and dissuaded from a Marriage with the King of Scots Siller, which he had entertain'd with great dislike of his Nobility, he gave five thousand Marks, and to the Poitouins the Preseriments which he got by displacing his Officers, Receivers, and such as he thought fit to call to an account, and call out under a Pretence of disarming him; of whom the chief were Ralph Breston, Treasurer of his Chamber, whom he imprisoned and fin'd, and Hugo de de Burgh his Chief Justice, who had been a principal Man with him, was cast out of his Office, and Stewen de Sargent, a warlike

* At this Parliament, it is happen'd, that Philip de Bretat took Judge Brachliole in his Council, and imprison'd him in Redford Castle, which was look'd upon as to hold an Affair of the Justice and Authority of the Nation, that as soon it was known to the King and Parliament they all went down in Peron, being'd the Castle, and having after three Month's Siege taken it, deliver'd it with the Ground, humbled him, hang'd his Affidavit, and freed the Judge. This Parliament met the 9th of August, 1227.

* He gave the Citizens at this time a Privilege of putting 700 free men into all England.

* On the 3d of May, 1230.
but the Lords seeing themselves defièd at A. D. Court, and not thinking it fit to venture them-

of such Multitudes of Strangers as the Reg. 17. 

King had about him, refused to come; nor would

be persuaded to it by a second and third Cita-

and now the Signs of a publick Breach became so evident, that Robert Bruce, the Prot- 

from the Duke of Gloucester, and Roger Bacon in a jeering way, told the King plainly, 

That he would make Shipwreck of his Kingdom, if he did not avoid what the Seamen 

chiefly feared, Petra & Roger wistfully alluding to the 

Advice of Peter de Rupinis, Bishop of Winchester, 

by whom he was milled at this Juncture. But 

the King, from the Body of the Peers, and of the 

other Parliament at Westminster, and fummon'd 6th Par-

the Lords to; but they dealt now more plainly- 

ment, with him, and let him word, That they would 

not come, unless he would remove the Bishop of Win-

chefter and the Poitouvins from his Court, which, 

if he refused to do, they would erect him and his 

Archbishop and Bishop, and the Court of the 

new King. These bold Threats, which founded 

harf in the King's Ears, caused him to require of 

all his Nobility Pledges of their Allegiance by a certain Day, and to issue out his Writs to 

all, who held any Lands of him by KnightsSer-

vice to repair to him at Gloucester; which being 

the first that he had done, and which was 

conderates, the King without the Judgment of his 

Court, or their Peers, proclaimed them Outlaws, 

and feiz'd upon their Lands, which he gave to the 

Poitouvins, and sent out his Writs to attach 

their Bodies in any Place of his Kingdom. The 

Bishop of Winchester to weaken the Earl Marthal's 

Party, he hurried away from the Earl of Lincoln, and 

and a Gift of a thousand Marks, and the King by his Kindnes from them both the 

Brother the Earl of Cornwall. The Lords being a 

little wearied of these Loifs, withdrew into 

Wales, and there strengthen'd their Party by a 

Confederacy with Lewlin, and the other great 

Men of that Country; who with Hugh de Burgh, 

who was lately offer'd to the Earl Marthal, and 

Caile, took an Oath one to another, that they 

would not come to any Agreement with the 

King. The King, after their Departure, purifies them with an Army into Wales, engages 

them, but with so much Loifs, that he return'd 

d with great Dihonour to Gloucester, and 'tho' 

he modestly close it, and let the Court of 

the Lords, yet he mis'd of Success. And now Force 

Tenders of being found usefes, another Stratagem was in 

vented to heal the Difference, by sending a Friar 

of the Order of Minoras, to confer with the Earl 

Marthal, and persuade him to come in and 

mit to the King's Mercy, who was inclinable to 

parley. But the King, after a long Conference, 

which lasted forty days, and gave him leave to 

great a part of Herefordshire befdies, as shoulcl 

maintain him in great State and Grandure. The 

Fryar prevailed him very earnestly to submit, 

ing him, That as it was his Duty, so would be 

his Advantage and Safety: But the Earl being 

nothing moved to it, That the King's
They took Sunbury not to avoid their Accounts, but to prevent the impending Seal which was coming upon them for proceses they had against the Irish Deputies, which he left in London, quartered in Ireland, of which he left a copy in London.

She was married to the Emperor about March 1233 and in May 1236 an Agent came from her Husband to demand the Money which was promised him with the Princes Seal, for notwithstanding the Tax, it seems 'twas not then paid.

* On the 14th of January 1237.*

* The Assembly of Parliament was fummoned to meet at London, and at the opening of the Seffion the King removed to the Tower; but the Lords refusing to come thither, he was forc'd to go back to his Palace at Westminster.*
A. D. ney, Horfe and Armour for the Service of the
1277. Common-welth. For the Collection of this Sub-
Reg. 21. Reg. 21, fifty, four Knights of every Shire, and one of
the King's Clerks were appointed, and sworn to de-
lever it, after they had gather'd it, either to some
Abbey, or Cafte, to be referved there; if the
King failed in the performance of his Grants,
it might be reforted to the Country from whom
it was called for. Before this Parliamant broke
out, the King, to fhew the Reality of his In-
tentions in performing that promife, which he had
frequently repeated, of uing the Counfel of his
own Subjects only, caufed the Earl Warren and
Ferrers, with John Fitz-Jeffrey, to be sworn his
Counfellors; but after it was difímirfled, he no-
ter gave the Kingdom to before he had try'd the
Strangers, nor observed such a method in levying
the Tax as was cafe and convenient for his Sub-
jects. For he caufed Men's Effates to be over-
valued, and made William Valentine, the young
Queen's Uncle, his Chief Counfelor; invited
over the Earl of Providence, a poor Prince, to share
in his Treafure, making Monford, the Coun-
Ferrers, valued, the Queen's Brother, an ambitious Youth, and Heir ap-
parent to the Crown, was chosen the Head; it
chiefly concerning him (as they faid) to preferv
the Good of the Kingdom, and remove all de-
structive Grievances from it. Richard receives this Employment, and going over
with the fubtentions of his People to him, and
reproves him for his lavish Expence of his Tre-
ure upon Strangers, his heavy Exactions from his
People, his impious Gains made of the Vacancies
of Arch-bishops and Bifhopricks, Abbies, Earl-
doms, Baronies, Wardhip, and Monifteries; and
yet his Treafeure, which should be the Strength
of his Kingdom, he had thrown into the Hands of
him his Objeqtively to the Roman See, and his
Fondness of the Pope's Legate, without whose
Advice and Confent he would do nothing: So
that he fecom'd perfetti the Pope's Pendary, which
troubled his People at the Heart. The King
upon this plain and fevere Remonftrance of his Bro-
ther, fearing the Kingdom, either he had try'd the
Arms, or the Londoners, and found them a-
verfe to him, and by the Pope's Legate fought to
draw his Brother over to him in vain) call'd a
Parliament at London, where the Lords came
arm'd, both for their own defence, and to con-
front the King (if he refolved to obferve his
former Promifes, and not to profel to the Laws.
In the mean while, after severall Debates, the King
(having fworm) refers the whole Controverfie to
the Determination of certain Grave Men of his
Kingdom, and Articles between both Parties are
drawn, feated, and publicly fet up, with the
Seals of the Legate, and several great Men. But
before any thing was agreed, Simon de Monfort A. D.
and the Earl of Lincoln having made their Peace 1238.
with the Earl of Cornwall, he grew cold in the Reg. 22.
business, and the other Earls being discouraged
by his Indifferency, fell off from that Enterprife,
and ftno thing was effected, but the Miferies of
the Kingdom continued as they had been.
Simon de Monfort, after the Death of King Henry
with Gilbert de Penbrook (the third Son of
William the Great Malhall) that him out of his feet.
Court at Winchester, whereupon he retired into
the North. And to fhew his Incaflicy in dif-
pofing his Favours, he removed Simon Norman,
the Mafter of his Seal, yea, as he was call'd, Mafter
Monford, of the Kingdom, and Kingdom, took his
Seal from him with difgrace, and having committed
him to the Abbot of Elyfam. Likewise he turn'd his
Brother Jeffrey, a Knight-Templar, out of his
Council, becaufe they would not yield to grant Reg. 23.
to Thomas Earl of Flanders, the Queen's Uncle,
a Grant upon every Sack of Wool, in which
Action, thefe they left the King's Favour, yet they
regain'd the good Opinion of the People, and
People of the Nation, who having often de-
ferred their Removal from the King's Council, as
corrupt Officers, were found by this Deed better
Friends to the Kingdom than they were ima-
gined; and proved, that Officers under bad Princes
are not many times fo faulty as the World thinks
them. Shortly after this, the King being grounded
unto the Earl of Flanders three hundred Marks to
be paid annually out of his Exchequer.
Befides the great Exactions of this King, the Pope's
Bifhop of Rome, to maintain his Wars againft the
Eno/roads Emporer, extorft great Sums from the Kingdoms
up to the King,
through the permission of the King; which for
encouraging his People, he had feized upon
feize upon their Pafleffions, fending over three
hundred of the Roman-Clergy, and Commanding by
his Mandate that they fhould be prefered to
the first Benefices that fell, which much annoxzed
the Clergy in general, and especially Eobard
Archbifhop of Canterbury, who forefeeling that
thefe Emotions upon the Liberties of the Church
would tend to his diaprte, and to his own
who thould withdraft it, gave over all, and re-
ftered into the Abby of Ponsiniac in France,
and perfent his Life in Contemplation; but before his
departure, he gave eight hundred Marks to the
Pope as a fanfonfor his Churchs •. But the
other Clerge were not the Pope's Ufarption
wardly; for besides they often and daily
Exclamations against the Pope's Avarice, they
made as strong an Opposition to his Rapine as
they could; and that they might do it the most
effectually, they repair to the King, and repre-
ent him to him, how prejudicial and derogatory it
was to his Royal Power, and Liberty of the
Kingdom, that the King and his Predecessors
and never spend, and would be
of dangerous Confequence to his Succeffors.
The King, either not apprehehve of the Mif-
chief, or content to join with the Pope to punifh
and uve his Kingdom, not only refers all to the
Legate, but offers to deliver up the chief Op-

ders.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third.

A.D. 1239.

Reg. 23.

The clergy oppose the Pope's Authority.

powers of the Pope's Impositions to him; which, for the encouragement of the Pope's Legate, that he more promptly urges them to supply the Pope's present wants, and calls a Convocation at London for effecting the same. The Clergy, tho' deserted by the King, yet float mostly to the Privileges of their Nation, and told the Legate, * That the]

* For the Defruction of the Emperor, and the Effusion of Charitie upon such terms as he thought necessary. He knew the Pope would connive, not consider as such by the Judgment of the Church, tho' Excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, being required under pain of Ecclesiastical Cutture, as a thing of Ser- vice and Compulsion: That they had herebefore withstood the Pope, who had, in a Condi- tion that he should not exact any thing of them for the future, left it to be drawn into a Custom; for as much as Bions e inconsistent confederations: That they should create an Enemy to themselves by it, and hinder their Pallilage to Rome through the Emperor's Dominions: That they should impoverish their Nation, and deprive them, and could not live without War long, which would not be safe for the Kingdom: That the Church having made divers Contri- butions for the furnishing out many Noblemen for the Holy War, was so poor as hardly to be able to sustain it: That General Contri- butions from the Bishops should be levied by a Common Council, &c. These Reasons somewhat staggered the Legate; but not daring to desist from his attempt, he first won the most powerful Opponists with Promises of Preferment, after which the rents were forced to yield: And so the Pope prevailed in this business by Treachery, and Division of the Commons.

Edmond the Prince born.

The King about this time had a Son born, whom he named Edward, and Richard Earl of Cornwall, having also Issues, was at this time allowed by the Nation to undertake the Cross, (which he was deny'd before) with whom his Uncle William Longeward Earl of Salisbury, and many other Noblemen, journeyed in the Expedition. After their departure, Pope Alexander, and Queen's Uncle, comes into England, is fequested sumptuously, Knighted, and made Earl of Rich- mond, besides many Gifts beftow'd on him out of the Jews Pockets, who were compell'd by the King that Year to pay twenty thousand Marks; and Boucrue, the Son of Peter of Saroe, the Queen's eldest Son, being of a Happy Condition of his fortune this the King made another Expedition into Wales, which had often put him to great Charge and Labour, but all in vain, so long as Lewelinn the Prince or King of North-Wales liv'd; but he being dead, his two Sons, David and Griffin, among whom his State was divided, fell into Quarrels one another, to whom they gave theirs to their common Enemy. For David calling Henry as his allie, did him Honour for his own part to affist him to conquer the other; and so without Labour or Charge (for David paid the Charges of his Journey,) he became Master of that which he could not purchase before with so much Blood.

The Earl of March, with his Wife, the Queen Dowager, and many great Lords of Poitou, solicited the King again to undertake an Expedition into France, to recover his Dominions there, and by their Affurances of Success, so prevail'd with him, that he resolves upon it, and moves it with the De- figu met with a general Opposition, it being al- leg'd, * That it was a great Expence, and the 1241. 2nd Attempt was very prejudicial to the Kings Reg. 25. Home and Kingdom; and the King himself, for break the Truce made with the King of France, who was now so strong for them to do any good, &c. Yet these Arguments did not deter many of the Nobility from liking to it, being allured by fair Promises, and hopes of Recovery of their Losses. The King, by his own Bat- teries, both on Land and Sea, and some Ad- visers, that was sojourn'd in France, and an Aide demanded for it. But a Moras- c for Money, after so many Taxes as this King had had from the beginning of his Reign, was very difficult, and began nothing but a fresh Memory of the heavy Impositions of Carcage, Hydage, Ekeage, Ellicets, Annuities, and several parts of their Properties, which the King had receiver of them, besides the Excites of the Pope, and their Expenes for the Holy War, they would grant no more, especially considering, that the thirtieth part of their Moveables, which was lea- d about four Years before, and laid up in the Caftles, and not to be deliver'd out but by the allowance of Eps, it could not be England Nobility, to the King to their knowledge having no necessary occasion to employ it for the Publick. The King seeing this, comes in Person to the Parliament, and in a most submissive manner craves their Aid at this time; throwing them a Letter from the Pope to persuade them. But all he could do was, that they, having been sent to the King, to the Pope, to the Parliament, to the Publick, and all, this was to for Money, either by Loan or Gift, with whom he found so much Interest, as he carry'd over him thirty Barrels of Money; and so taking the Queen along with him, he went over into France, leaving the Government to the Arch- bishop of York, who, commanding the Earl of North-Wales to keep the City of Edin- burgh, and the Earl of Cornwall, in Scotland, and the Earl of Chester, in Wales; and thus, having provided for his safety, he then proceed to London, to signify an Alliance with the King of Scots, by the 1242. Marriage of his Infant Daughter Margaret to his eldest Son Alexander, to whom he committed the Government of the Marches. This second Expe- dition was as unsuccessful and unfortunate to him as the first, for in it he spent all his Treas- ure upon foreigner, and could not buy any Security (which for that reason left him) and being deceived by the Poiloruines, whom he trusted, was after an whole Year's stay for many to make a dif- honourable Truce with the King of France, nor could return home, till he had received Proviv- ion out of England, and a Tax of Ekeage to de- fray the Charge of his Publick Service.

After his return he imposed another Tax upon the Jews for their Redemption, requires a Com- plete Return of the Londoners, and was visited by them in France, his Wife's Mother, the Countess of Provence, who, with her Daughters, the King's Widow, and Lewis, the King's Brother, which was lately dead, and himself returned from the Holy War. The old Countess at her departure was presented with many Rich Gifts, besides the four thousand Marks which he despatched him of soon after her return home, giving the same with her youngest Daughter Beatrice to Charles the French King's Brother, who was after King of Naples and Sicily: So that the liv'd to fee all her four Daughters Queens, Richard Earl of Cornwall being elected King of the Romans.

* On the 16th of June, 1239.
* For which he was to pay he thousand Pounds Sterling every Year. At Pari.
* He took from one Jew, Arson of Troy, four Marks of Gold, and four thousand Marks of Silver.
A.D. 1244. After these large Expen-ces of the King's in Weddings and Entertainment, there happen'd an in-crease of Marriages, and the staffe of the Realm against the Incumbrances of the Scotch and Welsh, who now revolted. The King had now no way to raise Money but by the Parlia-
manship, which was therefore assembled at West-
ferry this Year, Anna Reg. 28. and the King's extreem Occasions urged and preluded upon them, but nothing could effect without an Affirmative Act of Re-
formation, and the due Execution of Laws, that the King came to it in Perfon; and to this end it was intitated, That four of the most great and prudent Peers should be chosen Conferants of the Kingdom, and being sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, should see Justice duly admin-
istered, the Treasure frugally and wisely dispos'd of, and refer'd his Cause upon the King, the Lord Chief Justices, Lord Chancellor, two Justices of the Benches, and two Barons of the Exchequer, should be chosen by the Parliament: That as their Office was publick, so should their Election be. But while these things were debating, the Enemy of Mankind, and the Inhabitants of Paris, hinder'd the Acc-
complishment of them by the coming of one Martin, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Power to exact Money upon the Kingdom than ever, which he supposed was now moulded to, as to yield to anything, but he soon found himself mistaken: For the Parliament gave him a bad Reception, and him bonâ fide with this Pleas and Mgement, That the Kingdom was poor, and involved in Wars: That the Church was in debt, and not able to give anything: That these Impositions were of ill Consequence to the Kingdom, which would thus been expos'd to the Pope's Pleasure; and therefore gave a General Consent to the Legate at Lyon's; and the Church wanted any Relief, it is fit it should be done by a General Convent in that Council. And indeed the Parliament were en-
couraged the rather to give this Answer to the Pope at this time, because they had received Letter's from the Emperor Frederick, which were read in the Assembly, declaring, that the Pope had no Supplies out of England, which were only to uphold him in his Oppression of the Empire, whose Cities and Cafles he had, contrary to all Justice and Feiety, seized; and to detain them from him, had proceeded against him in all foul and hostile ways, to Excommu-
cicate and make War against him. That he had referred his Cause to the Arbitration of the Kings of England and France, and the Barons of both Kingdoms, and hoped that they would not take part with his Enemy, whom he had made his Judges: Adding in the Conclusion, That if the King would be ad'ventured by him, he should free his Kingdom from the heavy Burden of the Tongue Tri-
defy, and other Peers had laid upon it. The Interposition of this Affair took up too much time, that nothing was done in this Parliament more, besides a Tax granted to the King for the Marriages of his Daughter, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and that with much unwillingnes, and a Rejection of all his former Proposals. Having overthrown this Expedition against Alexander King of Scots, and commanded all his Barons, both Laymen and Ecclesiastick, which held any Lands of him, under the Degree of Baron, and the former Persons, and Thomas Earl of Flanders, with thirty Knights, and an hundred Servants, came over to alight him; which was taken ill by the Barons, because it they'd, that the Strength of the King-
dom was not thought sufficient for that Action; but it was suddenly ended by a fair Conclusion of a Peace with that King, who is highly com-
mended by the Writers of those Times for a Vir-
tuous Prince. Being arrived at London again, he calls another Parliament in the Winter, and moves for a Tax to enable him to go against the Welsh, and pay his other Debts, which, as he urg'd, were so great, that he could not flir out of his Chamber for a month. Fearing the power of the Pope, he sold for Wine, and other Necessities of his House; but they told him unanimously to his Face, they would grant him nothing. Whereupon he fell upon violent Courtes to supply his Wants, viz. He quarrell'd with the Loungers, and made them pay fifteen thousand Marks: He gives a Com-
maller for the Burgesses, to deliver his Money, which was of all such as had encroach'd upon hisForests, and fine them therewith, which he did with so much Rigour, that his had many of the King's Subjects, he filled the King's Treasure, and had gotten himself a Balthropicke, as a Reward of his Fidelity, (viz. the Bilioprick of Chicheley) but that was not accepted in the King's Court.

And now, that the King might be acquainted with the State of the Nation, and the Oppression of the Pope, it was appointed, that an Enquiry in the Pope's Receipt in England should be made throughout the Kingdom, what Revenues the Romans and Ithemen had out of England, and it was found that they received sixty thousand Marks, which was more than the Yearly Revenue of the Church at Lyon's; and so moved the King, that he caused the fame to be represent'd to the General Assembly at Lyon's, 1245, with other the Pope's Exactions. This Complaint (with the ill usage of his Legate Martin) so an-
greed the Pope, that he is laid to have utter'd those Words, It is high time that we make a quick end with this Pompous King, his Oxford and his Princes, Kings, (viz. of France and England) For if the Dragon be once appeased or destroied, the latter Snakes will soon be troubled down. This impious Speech from a Mouth which should have utter'd nothing but Words of Peace and Charity, gave great Offence, and awaken'd those Princes to fe-
cureth and to provide a Device against this Pompous Monarch of England, who were always most forward to vindicate the State and Church from his Opp-
position: For upon the Pope's rejecting the Con-
Side of the Grievances of England, par-
A.D. 1246. ticularly deliver'd to him by the King's Procurators at this Council at Lyon's, and desiring the King's Assent to the Hid Dictate, Concerning the peace peremptorily ordain'd, under great Penalty, That no Con-
tribution of Money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of England, and the King's just Ex-
ümation against those Exactions, as gave some hopes that they would now cease. But be-
ing of a timorous and fickle Temper, he from gave over the purport of what he had bravely begun, and did to the Pope continued his Raigne. And this through the Exclamations of the Clergy he pro-

*An Epistle was written to the Council of Lyon in the Name of the General Body of the Kingdom; which Epistle was carry'd to the Assembly by the Earl Roger Bigot, John Ely, John de Dunstable, Philip Boffin, and other Bishops, who, having no satisfactory Answer from the Council, made a Levie of Oath or Protestation, that they would never pay, nor permit any one to be granted so large a Tribute to the Pope. *The King himself gave the Parliament a List of those Grievances which the Kingdom laboured under, and which required a speedy Redress. 1. That the Pope extorted great Sums of Money from his Subjects without their assent. 2. That he deprived Parents of their right of Preteriting to their Children above 21 by his Provisions. 3. That he oppress'd his Subjects by unanswerable Pretext of Law, by requiring Appeals, by disputing with Oaths, Cautions and Grants, and the King was open to have them reform'd by Law.
A.D. 1247.

mified never to send any more Legates into Eng-
land, yet he employ'd other Minifters, under the
Reg. 30. Name of Clerks, who had the fame power, and
were called the 'Informers.'

And as the Church, fo also the State, found
much cause of Complaint. For Peter de Savoy, 
Earl of Richmond, brought over several great Virginias to be marry'd to the King's Wards, young
Noblemen of England, of which Edward Earl of 
Lincoln had one, and Richard de Burgh another,
and the fame Year three of the King's Brothers,
by Mother-fide, viz. Guy de Lignan, William de 
Valence, and Athenelar Clerk, were sent over to
be provided of Eftates and Preferment in England.
L. Thomas of Savoy also (some time Earl of 
Flanders, in right of his Wife) came with his
Sifter Beatrix, Countefs of Provence, the Queen's 
Mother, and they were greatly Treated and Grief-
fed at the Expenditure of the People. Thofe things
were alfo reprefented to the King by the Parliament,
which met in London in Condemnation-Term, and
boldly reproved the King for his breach of
Promife (upon his requiring another Supply)
having vow'd and declared (at the Grant of the 
late Acts) that they would not injure the State again in that kind: They
blame him alfo for taking up Provisions of
Wine, Dye, Silks, &c. of the Sellers against
their Wills, to the great Diffcouragement of
Merchantize: That his Judges went their Cir-
cuits under a pretence of doing Justice to fleece
the great Nobility, and having the Order of
great Sums from fuch as border'd upon his
Forefts, and therefore they wonder'd he could
defire any Relief from the Commons he had
so much impoverish'd, and advise him to take
what he wanted of his Favourites, and refume
the old Lands belonging to the Crown. They
fey the Commons are by much more refpective: 
and Abbeys in his Hands vacant, contrary to
the Liberties of the Church, and his Oath made
at his Coronation. Latly, They all complain'd
in general, that the Chief Juflice, Chancellour
and Trefifter, were not made by the Commons
Council of the Kingdom, as they had been in
the time of his Predecessors, as was convenient
they fhou'd; but fuch were advanced to thofe
places of Truth, as wholly fought how to pleafe
him, and profit themselves, without regarding
the Advantage of the Kingdom. The King pa-
tiently endured all this Reproof, and gives them
Promifes of Redrefs, in hopes to obtain his De-
fiance without giving them great trouble; but they, to
refo!d't to fee how the King would behave him-
self towards them, firft accordingly and oblige
and fatiſfie him; and after many Debates they were
progrond till Midsummer. But this Delay pro-
duced no good Advantage: The King grew more
ferve and fevere to his People, infomuch that at
the next Session he made a Speech to their
Frofe, from which you may judge, at what time of
his Life he was as well able to ferve the Nation as
in his Youth, and impose a Servery
Condition upon him? Will you prouly deny
him that which every one of you hath power
to do? It is lawful for every one of you to
take whole Counti he pleafes, and for every
Mutter of a Family to prefer whom he pleafes
to their Officiers, and remove them as he will; and will you nithely deny your Lord and
Sovereign to do the like? Servants ought not
to judge their Masters, nor Subjects their Prince,
or hold them to Conditions: For the Servant is
not above his Lord, nor the Diptile above his
Mutter. Neither is he your King, but Servant,
who must submit to your pleafure. Wherefore A.D.
he answers them plainly. That he would not re-
move the Chief Justice, Chancellor, or Trefifter Reg. 32.
at their Deʃire, and fo he required the Parliament
for the United Letters to aid them with
Objections, requiring positively a Tax, which he
fai'd concern'd their Right as well as his: And fo
the Parliament broke up in great Diſcontent.
The King being now left to furnish his own Wants, fold
all his Plate and Jewels, being told, That as Ri-
vers return'd it to the Sea, fo they would revert to
Fire; The City of London bought them, which
when, which they heard, he inveigh'd againft it,
and fought all ways to draw the Trade
from it.

The Cheriftmas following he putted without any The King's
Royal Magnificence, merely requiring New-years mean was
Gifts of the Lords and; and shortly after writes
Letters to them imposing Letters to aid them with
Money, which at length with much unwillingneff
they confented to do, to the Sum of twenty thou-
land Pound; for which, the next Year after, he
creaved Pardon of them, feding for them to Welf-
milfer Hall. And notwithstanding his continual
taking up all Provisions for his Houfe, yet he fo
fodd his Officers (Viz. the Perfonal Officers, as the
Roman way of Living) that it was held very
diffamourable, and unfual to the English Magnifi-
cence of their Kings. Then, whereas he could
obtain nothing of his Parliament, he either fends
for, or writes to every Nobleman apart, declaring
his Poverty, and that he was bound by a Charter
in a Debt of forty thousand Pounds, to the
Bardeaux, and the Galicqon, ever since he was
left in France, notwithstanding which, he required
nothing of them, but in Favour; which, where he
found, he would return the like. But he could
obtain nothing of them, no more than of the Bi-
shops, to whom he addreffed the fame Requests.
By the aid of his Friends he got an hundred Pound
of the Abbot of Rumley; but the Abbot of Borough
deny'd him the like Sum, tho' the King told him,
that it was more Alms to give to him, than to a
Beggar that went from Door to Door. The Ab-
bot of St. Albans was more yielding, and gave
him fifty Marks. To fuch a lownefs did the Ne-
cellities of this King, through his own Navigation,
bring him. But tho' his other Subjects felt not the
weight of his Wants, yet the Jews did, whom he
always polled at every low ebb of his Fortunes.
One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was
forced to pay feven hundred Marks for his Re-
demption. Aaron, another Jew, protefted, That
the King had made him to return him what he had
from him at times thirty thousand Marks of Sil-
ver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold, which
he had prefented to the Queen. And in like
manner he ufed many other of the Jews.

The Lords meet again at London, and urge the
1250. King with his Promifc made to them. That the
Chief Juflice, Chancellor, and Trefifter
were not made by the Commons
the General Council of the King-
and but by reason that Richard Earl of Corn-
wall was not prefent, which was thought to have
been on purpofe, they could not obtain their De-
fire; fo that the Discontents of both fides ftill
remained, to the great Diſtraction of the Nation,
and great Struggings were on both parts. But
the King in this fome how nothing for himself, he The King
was very zealous to gain fomethings for others, preferbi
especially to prefer his Brother Athenelar to the
Bailifhip of Cornwall, and to that end, endeav-
ours all he could to perudize the Covent to chufe
him. But he could not prevail, becaufe of his
Youth and Inufficiency: Wherefore he tells them,

* He was marry'd to the Daughter of Guinivere dextereful, and created Earl of Pembroke.
* Saying, on my Confluence the City of London were able to pafsage the Treasure of Augustus.
A. D. That he would keep it eight or nine Years in his hands, till he was grown to a greater Age. Shortly after the Bishops of Winchester became void, and thither he immediately sends his Agents to prepare the Way for the Election of that Cathedra, and to obey his Brother, and that he might not meet with a Denial from them, he went down thereto in Person, enters the Chapter House, as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the President's Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes this Text, *Judges force driven each other*; and thereupon utes these Words, *To me and other Kings, and to our Princes and Judges, who are to govern the People, belongs the Administration of Judgment and Justice. To you, who are Men of Religion and Piety, Peace and Tranquility: And this Day I hear that you have for your own Ad- vantage been favourable to my Request, and for Justice, *the Nation* was offended by each other.

I was angry once with you for opposing me in the Election of William Rule, your late Bishop, a Man that I lik'd not; but now I am Friends with you for this Election, and will both remember and reward your Kindnesses. As by a Woman came the Definition of the World, so by a Woman he declared the Remedy of his Injuries, who was defirous to prefer her Un- cle William Valentine, disquieted and damni- fied you; so now being willing to advance my Brother, the Mother, will reconcile my self to you, &c. Consider, that in this City I was born, and in this Church baptiz'd and brought up, and being now at a mature Age, the Bond of Affection, &c. Then he commenced the high Birth and good Parts of his Brother, and what Honour and Benefit they would have by electing him, but concluded with some Threat- nings: So that the Monks seeing him thus to require the Bishops, thought it vain to de- ny him, and Adelard was elected; but with this Reservation, If the Pope should allow the Pope, after he had done the Memorable Caufe of Sir Hen- ry Bath, *one* of the Judges of this Kingdom, and a great Counsellor to the King, who having got a great Empe in his Place by Bribery and Corruption (for he is said to have got 200000 Oxen to Groom in one Circuit) was at length accused by Sir Philip D'Estey, who was the President of his Office, and Treaties, which as incen'd the King, that in the Parliament holden about this time Sir Henry Bath's Cause. 1571.
Fifteenth Parliament at London, Proclamation was made, That every Person that had any Action or Complaint against Sir Henry Bath, he might come in and should be heard, whereupon one of his Fellow Judges accused him of acquiring a Malefactor for a Bribe. But Sir Henry was so strong in Re- lations and Friends, who were at hand ready arm'd for his Refue, that the King saw he could not be punish'd openly; and therefore he breaks out into a Rage, and said, That whosever would kill Sir Henry Bath, should be acquitted for that Deed. But this was the more reason that he did not matter; the King, who had the Mediation of the Earl of Cornwall, had the Bishop of London, who urging the Danger of the Time, and the Difficulties of the Kingdom, and that his severe Proceedings with one that had serv'd him in great Bifins, would discourage others from serving such a Mafter; who upon malicious Accusations, no doubt he would forfeit them. Words and Places are ever expos'd to Detraction, so pre- vail'd with the King, that Sir Henry upon the Payment of two thousand Marks, was restored to his former Place and Favour. The King keeping his Chrifhaut at York, the Marriage between A. D. Alexander King of Scots and Margaret his Daughter, 1671. was solemniz'd there with very great Ciffs. Reg. 35. linens of Apparel and Provision, the Archbishop, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, with the King's Serjeant were present at the Marriage, and four thousand Marks for other Charges, which the King took as his right, which a King's Money was in a Conscquences to oblige him to do it.

The Pope, and Alfonfus King of Castile, fel Henry fel- l, lik't the King to understand the Ciff, and the King's offer to accompany him in Perfon to rescue the King of France, who having emptied'd his Country both of his Treasure and Nobility, was taken Prisoner by the Sultan, and kept in infe- rable Captivity, out of which he could not easily be redeem'd, because the Money, which with his Knights, and those of his Father, Nom- inations, was lost in a Tempe at Sea. This made the Captive King feel other means, and offer the King of England to restore Normandy, if he would undertake to rescue him; which tho' the Nobility of France took ill, and blam'd the Weakness of their King for, yet upon the Pope's Solicitation, and the Reward of a thousand Marks, the Papal and Laty for three Years to come, the King of England undertakes the Ciff, yet rather to get the Money (which had it been collected, would have amounted to 600000 L.) than to perform the Journey, which he saw nothing but a politick Device of the Pope's to impoverish his King- dom, and to destroy the Example of Peace which he might enlarge his own Power and Dominin. However the King, as if his Design had been real, first summon'd the Lords at Westminster, and there by the Bishops of Winchefer and Chiche- fter declares his Intention to them, who added their Exhortations to the People to attend him, but few were moved by their Perfofations, only twenty Knights, and two of the Nobility; one named, whom the King embrac'd, kis'd, and call'd Brethern, checking the Backwards of the Lords in fo pious an Action, and swear- ing to set forth on Midsummer-Day. After this, Sixteenth Parliament was call'd at London to confirm Parliament the Tenth granted by the Pope, not by the People of England, but the Pope, for this was the King's Work was first require'd to induce the ref, but they absolutely refus'd the fame: Which Example the Lords so closely follow'd, that the King in a Rage drove them out of his Chamber. Then the King tries to persuade them to it severally, and first began with the Bishop of Ely, and in a mild manner tells him, *How many Favours he had receiv'd from his hands, and how forward he had formerly found him to supply his Occa- sions, and therefore intreats him now to give a good Example to others. The Bishop rep- ply'd, *That he was glad, that he had at any time done him good Service, but in this he be- fore his Highness's family, to have his Example, since he thought it a dillihent Act to recede from the Univerfal Determination of the Nation, and therefore diftances him from that Journey by the Example of the King of France, on whom he saw the Judgment of God fall in for robbing his People to enrich his Em- pire, whereas to him, both the vast Treasure- line that Christian Princes had transport'd thir- ther. The King hearing this positive Anfwer of the Bishop, commanded his Servants in a great Paimon to thrust him out of his Palace; and judg-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third

A.D. 1252. Reg. 36. Guy de Lusignan being entertain'd by the Abbot of S. Albanus, violates all the Laws of Hospitality and Civility, and many others did the like Injuries to the English; insomuch, that their general Complaint was, 'Our Inheritance is given to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers, which notwithstanding, the more they might prefer: For a Daughter of Guy de Lusignan Earl of Angoulea, is married to Richard (or Gilbert) de Clare Earl of Gloucester, an eminent Man, and much love'd of the Nobility, learned in the Laws, and a great Patriot of the Rights of the Subject from which this near Alliance to the King could not but keep the King and the Liberties of the Nation. The King promised to the Earl five thousand Marks for a Dower, and sought to borrow it of many, but could not; wherefore he again compels the Lords to contribute a thousand Marks.

The People of Gascoigne being about to revolt, The People of Gascoigne under a speedy Remonstrance, were taken, the King's Council general Mutters to be made, and gave order, That whoever could expend 12. per annum, should furnish out an Horfe for that Expedition. This, with the extreme Wants of the King, occasion'd another Parliament, wherein the States Seventeenth Day were assembled, which, after a long while considering, that all their Opposition did not answer to any good, they were all ready to act one way or other; and that it was heavier for private Men to do it, than for the King in general, agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant Courses he took: Yet upon condition, that he would reform the Government, and ratifie their ancient Laws. The Charter of the Thirteenth Days Consuluation about the way of raising a sufficient Sum for this Expedition, which was at length agreed to be done by a Tenth from the Clergy for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee was done after the mo ft fum manner, and with as much Ceremony as Religion and State could devise, for the King, with all the Chief Nobility, and Bishops, in their Robes, and with Candles burning in their hands, being assembled, the Charters granted by King John his Father were openly read, and the terrible Sentence of Excommunication being pronounced against all the Breakers of the fame in thefe Words: 'Authority Dei omnipotentis, et Baltharum, The Charter's solemnly ratified, let them who incur this Sentence, be extirp'd, and flink in Hell. And the King, who laid his hand on his Breast all the while the Sentence was read, fai'd with a loud Voice, 'As God shall help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, an Officer (Artillery) of the King's, I will laby observe all these Things. And at this the Bells rung out, and all the People shout'd for Joy: So that never Laws were published with more Ceremony than these, except two of God himself from Mount Sinai; and if Prayers could have procured the fame Thunders and Lightnings, it should have been done to make them reverently to be obser'd, and the Breach of them formidable. After this, the Bishops of Gascoigne being taken into Consideration, being the"Gascoigne thing that required their present Care; which to understand, we must look back a little to the Original. The King, by the Counsel of the Lords, had sent a convoy of Goods the year before, Stately granted to his Brother Richard all that Province of Gascoigne, which thereupon receiv'd him as their Lord, and swore Faith to him. 

The Infidels of Strangers.

The Conclave of a Rundley's Suit and Speech. The Reproj given the Mather of the Hospital of Carven-well.

Lett out the reft upon the Floor. The Bishop of Winchester also did great Wongs to an
A.D. The Queen, after the King had a Son by her, 1253. solicits him to revoke his Grant to his Mother, who declared her Right of Edward, which he immediately did. But Richard, tho' he were depriv'd of the Poffeffion, would not yield to forego his Right; so that when the King was left in Gafcoigne, the People were doubtful whom to attend. The King therefore in great Difficulhies came to a parfit Agreement with them, wherein he renounced his Right, which he refusing to do, the King commanded the People of Bordeaux to take him and imprison him; but they considering his Greatness, and the Mutability of the King's Temper, would not venture to do it till he promised them a large Reward of Money, by which the Earl perceiving what was天然 in order, had procured an Accident, Bordeaux, and got into England. The King after his departure assembles the Nobility of Gafcoigne at Bordeaux, where having much inveigh'd against his Brother, as a covetous Oppreffor, and promised them not only a better Government, but thirty thousand Marks, (which they required him to give them by his Charter and Oath) he nullified the Charter of Donvel to his Brother, and takes their Homage and Fealty to himself. In which, tho' they pleas'd him, yet by holding him to the performance of his Oath, they afterward loft his Love; and to be reveng'd of them, he sent Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a rough and warlike Man, to curb their Pride, gave him a large Sum of Money, and appointed him with ten thousand Marks, that he might execute his Command the better. Montfort by his severe management did discontent the People of Gafcoigne, that they after three Years Sufferings send over the Archbishop of Bordeaux, with other great Men, to complain of his hard Dealing, and ac- cuse the King of his unrighteous Course: But privately he had procured the approbation of the King, in his Ex- pensive Service and Breach of Promise, gave him the Lye, and threaten'd to make him repent of that Action, if his Regal Dignity did not protect him, called him no Christian, with many like Abuses; which caus'd the King to tell him, that he repented that he had admitted him into England, and so much preferred him. The Gafcoignes, however, were for the most part privately by the King, who comforted them, and encouraged them against Montfort, whom he told them he would fend over again to his Charge with chipt Wings, that they might be reveng'd of him; and confirmed the State of Gafcoigne to his Son Edward, whom he promised shortly to fend over to them, to give them his Supply, and to defend them; and having done him Homage, depart. The effect of this Contivrance was but bad. Montfort returns in Flames, plagues the Gafcoignes, and they in like manner; but he by his great Alliance in France, got so many Forces, as overmatch'd that People, and so fo'd all their Effates. The People being thus opprefted by a powerfull Army, fend over their Complaints again; alleging, That unless they were speedily relied'd, they muft of necfity put their Country into some other hands to protect them. In this State was Gafcoigne at the meeting of this Parliament. Wherefore the King, as soon as he obtained the Supply (laying aside his Raleigh design) goes over with three hundred Sail of great Ships, and lands at Bordeaux in August, in the 38th Year of his Reign, having first deposed Simon Montfort from his Government, and made void his Charter by Proclamation. Montfort retires, and is offer'd Entertainment by the French, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had pretty well appeas'd the Coun- cil, and sett up a new Prince, and had long before, that Henry might be the more secure, he sends to him to treat of a Marriage between Prince Edward and his Sister Eleanor, to which the King of Spain willingly consented. After this the King kept his Christmas at Bordeaux, whither the Queen sends him a New-years Gift of five hundred Marks, and having returned with equal Charge went over to him with the Prince, and the Marriage was consummated at Bourges, where the King of Spain Knighted the Prince, and by his Charter quits his Claim to Aquitaine for him and his Heirs for ever. The King of England also invests the Prince and his Wife therein; and besides, gives him Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stanford, and Greenwich; which under his former very able治理, the King parts with this, having return'd, having continued all his Treasure in these Journeys, which was reckon'd 270000L. more than all the Lands which he had in those Countries were worth, had they been fold right-out; which, when he was told of, he defire'd it might not be published to his Dilgrace. The Seas being dangerous, and his Heroes not being heard, the King of France (lately releas'd from his Captivity) to pass through his Country homeward, and in his Paffage goes to Paris with a Retinue of a thousand Horse, besides Sumpters and Carts, where he staid eight Days, and was magnificently receiv'd by the King of France, which he returned to with equal Charge, and in respect to the two Queens with him, and the Countires of Cornwall and Procenoe. About Christmas the King arriv'd in England, and was presented by the Londnurers with an hundred Pounds in Silver, which being received without Thanks, they gave him a piece of Plate of double the Value, which had a more kind acceptance, though it could not excite them from greater Sums afterwards.

The main business of the King after his arrival being to recruit his Treaure, and cafe himself of his Debts, which he had by his Prodigality contracted, and now lay heavy upon him, he studied all ways to raise Money. And first he begins to receiv'd the Service from the Lords and Barons, who borrows great Sums of the Earl of Cornwall upon Pawn. The Londnurers were also compell'd to pay him three thousand Marks for (uring a Prifoner to ecape; and the poor Jews are again finceed, and then let out to farm to the rich Earl of Cornwall to make the belt of them. AtCornwall he has a Parliament in Easter Term, in which he expected large Contributions to his Wants; but instead of that, he meets with no thing but Complaints of Breaches of their Charter, and other Grievances from them, who in- fifted upon their pretend'd Rights of chuing the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurers: About

* Matt's Paris eyes Twas 20000 l. and 50000 Marks, spent on his Palfin half Brothers. He beg'd fame that told him of it, not to mention it any more: Oh for the Head of God (his Oath) say no more of it, left the Same Relation make men wonder, and shun am'd.
A. D. which things, when there had been much Debate to no purpose, the Parliament was adjourn'd to Reg. 41. Michaelmas, without any Grant of Money to
not flann'd according to the Tenure of Magna
because, of for about the Freedom. which of
of his the Queen's Brother, is at War with the City of Trieren, and must be supp'd by Money by the King and Queen, and Baunfear Arch-
not be fupp'd by him, nor can it be done by the Bank of England, or any other Bank. The Bills of Toledo, Eleet, the King of Spain's Brother, came over, with other Great Men of that Nation, stay at the King's Charge, and are richly Prencefed. Shortly after Election, the Prince's Wife, visits the King, with a multitude of Spaniards; and the must be met, and received by the Lords, in a costly manner, and is after much flattering fent home with Rich Presents. The Prince lends the Bifhop of Bononia with a King of Invifitute to Edward, the King's second Son, for the Kingdom of Sicily (with which Innocent IV. had deluded the King himfelf before) and he also was fent back with great Rewards. Then arrives Rufian- don, who gives the Tenants in Scotland, and Ireland, for the use of the Pope and King, and abfolve the King from his Oath for the Holy War, upon Condition that he should come to deftroy Manfled, the Emperor Frederic's Son, who was now in Poliflion of the Kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, and put his Son Edmund in Place of him, who was not fo pleased with, that he vow'd to go presently upon that Expedition, being encouraged to it by a Report, that Manfled had receiv'd a Defeat by the Pope's Power in Apulia, which proved false; for Manfled had conquer'd the Pope's Army, and was eftablisht in his Government by the general Consent of the People, who were angry with the Pope for giving away their Country without their conftent to Strangers. But Rufian-don could not obtain that he came for of the Clergy, (he got a rich Penfent at York of the King) who protell'd, That they would rather lose their Lives and Livings, than yield in this thing either to the Will of the Pope or King, who, they faid, were at the Shepheard and the Wolf, who combined to deftroy the Flock.

The King this Year keeps his Christmas at Win-<ref>nado, and here the Merchants of Gascoigne, who had their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers, without due Satisfaction for them, com- plained before the Iflands, who were propof'd to their Lord, and tell him, * That they had better trade with Savoys and Inhabitants, than the English, if they were thus us'd. The Prince addresses himself to his Father, and begs a Redrefs, but was fo far from gaining it, that he brought the Storm upon himfelf. For the Officers having prefent'd the King that their Complaints were full and many he brake upon them, and fo came to the Prince's Motion, and faid, "That his own * Bowels, his Son, affiaicted and oppofed him, as his Brother had done; and the Miferies of his * Grandfather Henry II. were come upon him. But this Paffion being allay'd by his Council, he gave order, That thofe Injuries should be redrefs'd. However, the Prince fearing the ill effeets of his Father's Difpleafure, enlarged his Train, and rode with two hundred Horfe for his Guard. While the Prince, who was very young, rath, and unexperienced, remained in England with a Train of Strangers, moft of them of no Quality, and of youthful and violent Spirits (f aid to be more Ravenous than the Crew which Lewis brought with him out of France) many Outrages A. D. were committed to the great Trouble of the King's 1247. Subjects; for they made every thing a Prey that Reg. 41. they could get into their power, yes, and the Prince himself is laid upon the Road to make the Ear of a young Man to be cut off, and one of his Eyes put out, whom he met travelling about his bunfines; which foul Act made many to have no good Opinion of his Diffipation, and fear what he would after prove. But long Experience in War, and the great Nobleness of Mind, so fup-
proved his Vices, that he after paid a very worthy Prince. But for the present he fuffered some Diffidence for his Youthful Follies; which the English had broke out into open Rebellion against him, who was then their Governor. He tried the Affiffance of his Father, Mother, and Uncle Richard, to fuppress them: But the King's Treasure was gone to France with Edmund, the Queen's to the Duke of Savoys, and Earl Rich-ard had lent more already than he could get again; and fo nothing was done, but only a rough Medifine fent him. That was his Princedom, and he was charg'd he must fins the fupply of it. The King used all the Shifts he could to fupply his own everlafting Wants. He comes himfelf into his Exchequer, and with his own Voice order'd, * That every Sheriff which appeared not yearly in the Offices of S. Michael with his Money, as well of his Farms, as of Fines and other Duties, for the first Diitribution, be fent from Marks, for the fexed, for the third fifteenth, and for the fourth at the King's pleafure. In like manner, that all Cities and Free-Towns, which anfwer by their Bailiff, should be fin'd for the fume Defaults, and the fourth Day to lofe their Freedom. Besides every Sheriff throughout England was fin'd for the Fourth Moneth, because they did not divafien within their Countries all that held ten Pound Land per Annun, and came not to be made a Knight, or freed by the King. Then he fell to the Examination of Fees for Wine and Ale, Bathels and Weights, which brought him in some small Sums; and every Year he had a Quarrel with the Lords for one thing or ano- ther, and got something out of them, by various ways finoping his great Charge.

But now happen'd a bunfines, which as it took Richard up some time, fo it was look'd upon by all the World as advantageous to the English, viz. the Election of Richard Earl of Cornwall to be King of the Romans, by the general Consent of all the Electors, who beat him in the prefent prefent. It was firft debated in the Council, whether he should accept of the Offer: Some, who thought his Prefence neceffary for the Affairs of this Kingdom, were againft it, and difuafed him from it by the Examples of two lately elected to that Dignity, Henry Lancriow of living, and William Earl of Holland; who came to this Kind. But others, of which the King himfelf was one, perfuafed him to it, judging him too great for a Subject, and very useful if a foreign Prince: This the Earl yielded to, tho' with a femeing unwillingness. But the German Writers (who are belit Witneffes of their own Affairs) give a different Account of it, and fay, That after the Murder of the Earl of Holland the Electors were divided about a Succesor; fome were for their old Custom of electing a Native, others were for a Stranger, who might support their declining State, which was molt politick, and at last prevailed. But in this they had fome difference about the Compe-<ref>titors, Alfonfus King of Spain, and Richard Earl
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A.D. of Cornwall, who offer'd them large Sums for it. 1257.

Richard, who was nearest in Reg. 41. Person and Money readily, was prefer'd and 
crown'd at Aquitaine*. He behave'd himself, 
say they, with great Tyranny and Severity to 
those who had oppos'd his Election, thinking there-
by to confirm himself in his Power, but it proved 
contrary: For having confiscated his Riches by 
forcing their Votes, and by giving great 
Gifts afterward, he was forsworn and disposed of by 
his Subjects, and forc'd to return into Eng-
lund to his Brother Henry, who was then in War 
with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it, but in 
our Histories we find it thus: Before the Earl 
de parted out of England, the Parliament of John 
went into Germany to 
their Affections towards him, who return'd 
well satisfied of the Befudus; and shortly after 
the Archibishop of Cologne came to conduct him 
over, and the Earl befor'd five hundred Marks 
upon him towards his Charges, and a rich Mitre 
set with precious Stones. This Prince, that 
early of Cologne, is reported to have been able to 
extend an hundred Marks a Day for ten years, 
besides his Revenues in England. The French, and 
especially the King of Spain, were much displea-
sed with this Choice, and complain'd to the Pope 
and King of England, that he was supplanted by 
the Earl, Spain pretending that he was first elec-
ted for that Place, and had studied a profound 
knowledge of Mathematics (which he revive'd in Europe) he 
was drawing Lines when he should have drawn 
his Purse, and so loft his Hopes, and Richard 
left in before him*.

About the time that Earl Richard departed out 
of England, while the Kingdom was yet in its 
Joltyr for this New Prince, Sir John Aven 
went forward another, of his Son Ed-
ward, whom bringing forth to them in an Ap-
pearance, He thus Spake to the Assembly, ' Be-
hold, my good Subjects, here my Son Edward, 
whom God of his Grace hath called to the Digni-
ty of Regal Excellency, how worthy is he of 
your Favour, and how inflamed will it be to 
their Lord and to their Affair, to deny him 
your Counsel and Aid? And then he threw 
them how, by the Advice and Kindnes of the 
Pope, and the Church of England, he had for 
the attaining of the Kingdom of Sicily, bound him-
self under a Covenant of losing his Kingdom of 
England in the Sum of an hundred forty thou-
sand Marks, &c. That he had obtained in the 
Church of the Clergy for three Years to come of all their 
Benefices to be valud at the full Rate, without 
Deduction of Expences, unless very necessary, 
besides their Firth-fruits for three Years; which 
Declaration was not very pleasant to the Clergy, 
as may be judged from their former Grumblings. 
Nevertheless, after some further Excurses for 
their Firth-fruits, they promised, upon the usual Con-
tent, That Magna Charta, and the Liberties of 
the Kingdom should be finally established, which 
had been so often bought before, fifty two thou-
sand Marks, tho' this satisfied him not. Where-
fore the next Year he summons another Parlia-
ment at London, wherein he pretend'd them hard 
for such Supplicas as might enable him to pay 
his Debts to the Pope; but the Lords tell him plain-
ly, ' That they would not yield to pay him any 
thing, if he had without their Consent, 
unadvisedly bought the Kingdom of Sicily, and 
was chanted, he should impute it to his own 
Weakness, and have taken Example by his 
Brother; who when it was offer'd him by the A. D. 
Pope's Agent, absolutely refuse'd it, because it 1258. 
lay to far off, so many Nations were between, Reg. 42. 
the Pope full of Cavis, the People unfaithful, 
and the Pretender powerful, &c. Then they 
repeated their own Gravencies, how that he 
had broke his Promises, contemning his Pledge, 
key'd his Church, and the Chancery, he had 
folemnly sworn to observe, how insulting his 
Brethren, and other Strangers were, against 
whom no Writ, by his own Order, was to pass 
in any Cause whatsoever out of Chancery; 
That their Pride was intolerable, especially of 
William de Valence, who had given them the 
Earl of Gloucester, and was portul'd for it 
upon Complaint; That they abounded in Riches, 
and kept him so poor, that he could not sup-
port the small Forces of the Weifs, who waited 
the Borders of England, but going the last Year 
against them, return'd with Dillanour. The 
King hearing this, grew fesible of his Faults, and 
being no way satisfied, left his Mind, and 
and told them, ' That he had indeed been fe-
duced by ill Counsel, but promis'd by Oath, 
which he took upon S. Edward's Tomb, to re-
form all these Errors. But the Lords not know-
ing how to hold this ever-changing Proteus (as 
Paris says) got the Parliament to be adjourn'd 
till S. Bartholomew's Day, and then returned to 
Oxford. In the mean time, the Earl of Gloucester, the 
Eccles. Leicester and Hereford, the Earl Marshall Byggis, his son 
Spencers, and other great Men, enter into a Con-
to bind each 
other, and provide Force sufficient to effect 
their Defires, whilst the King put to great Straights for 
Money, procures the Abbot of Westminster by 
promise of great Prebends, to give him 
the Deed seal'd with the Seal of the Covenant for 
three hundred Marks*, to encourage others to 
do the like; which he lent by some trusty 
Officers to the several Monarchies with their Letters, 
and his said Deed, to effect. But all the Art 
and Threats that they could use, could not bring 
them to yield to such Deeds. They were 
Wished, but the King was Lord of all they had, 
and therefore they ought really to offer a small 
part for the Supply of his Wants; but they re-
plied, 'That they acknowledg'd the King Lord of 
all they had, but it was to defend and enrich, 
not to destroy and undo them. So the Officers 
return'd without Success, and the King was dis-
appointed of his Expectation. But Prince, who 
for the Milites of his Father's Wants, forc'd to mort-
gage the Towns of Stamford, Brambs, and many other 
Places, to William de Valence; that out of 
his Stores he might supply his Father and him-
self with Money, which prov'd the Breath of 
all Love and Favour between them.

And in the time for the Parliament's meeting at Oxford in an hot time, but not form as 
the Diffcontents of the Nation, which burst out 
then into furious Flames, were much hotter than 
the Seacoa. The Lords appear'd with a very 
Great Train, as for War, which indeed they 
pretend'd to be designd against the Weifs, and 
landing of Foreigners at the feveral Ports; but 
the Orders given by them to the Londoners 
were to keep their Gates shut, and the Association under 
Hands, and with Oaths which they had enter'd 
into one with another, proved some other De-
signs. At the opening of the Parliament they 
begin to call for their former Liberties, and re-
quire Hills, the Obligation of the Observation 
concerning the King's Oath formerly made. That the

* He was crowned at Ausa de Chapelle in May, 1257.

* He oblig'd his Convent for 2,500 Marks. M. Paris.
Shire should inquire into the Oppressions of the A. D. Poor, done by those great Men, and certify the 1278. fame under their Hands and Seals to the Barons, Reg. 42. that Redrefs might be made. Moreover Order was taken, * That from thenceforth no Man * should give any thing (but Provifions) for Ju* rie, or to hinder it; but the Corrupter and * corrupted to be grievously punifh'd. But not* withstanding this Care for the Publick, yet the * Lords opprefled the King's Tenants that dwelt near * them, and became Turidim Tyrani: For * they furnifh'd the chief Ports of the Kingdom * Garriions of their own, sworn to be faithul * to the State, and to the like Affurance of all the * Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Correggors, and other pub- * lic Officers, intriguing by Oath into the Beha- * vior of many Commissioners; and to make * their Caufe the more popular, they gave it out, * that the King's Neceltities must be supply'd out * of the Peoples Eftates, and that he would not * want while they had it; Whereupon the King * fliies out his Proclamation, declaring, * That * whereas certain malicious Perfons had fallily * and fereditiously reported, that he defign'd un- * lawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert * the Laws and Libertyes of the Kingdom, and * by fuch false Suggenions, drew the Hearts of * his People from him; he defign'd therefore to * give Credit to fuch Difturbers of their Peace, * because he was refolv'd to defend all Rights * and Customs belonging to them; and that they * might be affurd of it, he had caufed thefe * Letters to be made Patents. * And now, after Treafure, Gouernor, and fponcer, who * had by the late Conftitution of the twenty four * Converfors of the Kingdom, gotten the whole * Management of all things into their hand, forc'd * the King to call a Parliament at London, where * five of the whole Authority of the twenty four was de-Parliament * volv'd upon them, and Order taken, That three * of them at the leaft fhould always attend at * Court to difpofe of the Cufody of Caulles, and * manage other Bufinefies of the Kingdom, to de- * rect the Chancellour, Chief Juftice and Treafurer, * and all other Officers both great and small, and * befides, oblige the King to lofe them from their * Obedience whenever he broke his Charter. * In this State and Condition was the Kingdom, when * there came Intelligence to the Lords, that * Rich- * Ward King of the Romans was coming over into * the Romans * England, which being not expected, gave * them * grounds to fufpect, that he was fent for by the * King to come over with an Army to overthrow * their Constitution, as King John had done. * Where- * upon they fent to him to know the Caufe of his * coming, and require an Oath of him before he land- * ed, that he would do nothing prejudicial to their * Eftablishment newly made in the Kingdom. But * the King of the Romans gave them a ftern An- * fwer and Refufal, faying, * He had no Peers in * England, being the Son and Brother of a King, * and therefore was above their Power; * they faw it neceffary to reform the Kingdom, * they ought first to have fent for him, and not * fo preumpioufly attempted a Bufinefs of fo * great Importance with him. The Lords, upon * hearing thefe Words, fent down a Force * to guard the Ports, and came down very well ord' * d, and attended to encounter him if neceffary; * but finding his Train small, viz. only his Queen, two * German Earls, and eight Knights, they permitted * him to land upon his Promise of taking their * Oath, which they propounded to him; but would * not permit him nor the King, who also came
A. D. 1257.

_The King takes an Oath imponed by the Lords._

Richard was now made to understand, that he must take an Oath, to support the Liberties of the Realm, which had hitherto been more or less neglected by his predecessors. This Oath, which was in the form of:

"Hear me, Richard: I am made to understand, that you have promised to my predecessor, my father, that you would support the Liberties of the Realm. You have therefore, by this Oath, to swear that you will support the same, and that you will not make any change in them, without the consent of the Commons of the Realm, assembled and represented in Parliament, and that you will not make any change in the Laws, without the same consents."

Under this Oath, Richard was free to act as he pleased, and the Commons had no means of control over him. The King had thus secured his own power, and had established a precedent for future kings.

Richard now set about establishing his rule, and to this end he proceeded to Rome to be crowned as King of France. The Pope, Urban IV, was eager to have a French king crowned in Rome, as it would strengthen the position of the Papacy in Europe. Richard, who was a bold and ambitious ruler, seized this opportunity to assert his power in France.

Richard's coronation was a significant event in English history, as it marked the beginning of the era of Plantagenet rule in France. Richard's reign was characterized by his military campaigns, his attempts to assert English interests in France, and his efforts to secure the Angevin Empire. Richard's reign was also marked by his decision to campaign in the Holy Land, where he fought against the Muslims in the Third Crusade.

1258.

_The King seeks to recover his Power over the English lands._

Richard returned from the Holy Land to find himself in a difficult position. The English had been left to their own devices, and many of them had taken advantage of the situation. Richard's return was met with resistance, and he had to make a number of concessions to assert his authority.

Richard's return was also marked by a series of events that would have significant consequences for the future of England. Richard's decision to campaign in the Holy Land was a major factor in the fall of Acre, which led to the loss of the Angevin Empire in the East. Richard's return was also marked by a series of events that would have significant consequences for the future of England. Richard's decision to campaign in the Holy Land was a major factor in the fall of Acre, which led to the loss of the Angevin Empire in the East. Richard's return was also marked by a series of events that would have significant consequences for the future of England. Richard's decision to campaign in the Holy Land was a major factor in the fall of Acre, which led to the loss of the Angevin Empire in the East.
A.D. 1264.

At Windsor, where, in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst, and was forced to yield only to his Party, the Prince, fortified Windsor-Castle, well v ictual’d it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to Bristol, where in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst, and was forced to yield only to his Party, the Prince, fortified Windsor-Castle, well victual’d it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to Bristol, where, in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst, and was forced to yield only to his Party, the Prince, fortified Windsor-Castle, well victual’d it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to Bristol, where, in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst, and was forced to yield only to his Party, the Prince, fortified Windsor-Castle, well victual’d it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to Bristol, where, in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst, and was forced to yield only to his Party, the Prince, fortified Windsor-Castle, well victual’d it, and put in Strangers to defend it; 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A.D. 1627, and the Kingdom went to Win-ccester, and call’d by
265. a Parliament ; in which all who adher’d to Sir
Reg. 49, now Montfort, were depriv’d of their
267. Eftates, which were confer’d upon others at the King’s
268. Pleasure. The Londoners had their Liberties ta-
269. ken from them, Simon and Guy de Monfort, the
270. Sons of the Earl of Leicester, who were the ditto tions of the others, who had taken the Battel of
271. Ely, The Callie of ‘Killingworth was defended by
272. the Servants of the late Earl, tho’ it were in the
273. Heart of the Kingdom, and maintain’d a Siege
274. of half a Year against the King and his Army;
275. but in the end, their Tryumphs were yiel’d, yie-
276. led to the British Nation. Then they resolved that they should depri-
277. ve their Lives, Members, and Goods alike : And
278. thus conclude this Rebellion. ‘And it is wor-
279. thy of our Observation, That we find no Exec-
280.utions of Men put to Death, except in open
281. Battel, in all thee Combutions; or any No-
282. blemen dying on the Scaffold, either in this
283. King’s Service, or any other, but the Con-
284. liber, which is now almost three hundred Years.
285. Only in the 26th Year of this King, William Marq.
286. the Son of Jeffrey Marq., a Nobleman of Ireland,
287. being condemn’d for Piracy and Treason was hang’d, beaded and quarter’d, which is the first Ex-
288. ample of that kind of Punishment, which we
289. read.
290. After this Parliament at Winchester, the King
291. marches with an Army against the dilfeed Bar-
292. sons and their Adherents, who were many de-
293. perate Perlos strongly linked together; but
294. being come to Nor-westam, Simon and Guy de
295. Monfort, by the Medicaid of Friends and Pro-
296. mises of Favour, and the Peace of London, were
297. sent to the King, who at the Request of the Earl of
298. Cornwall their Uncle, and the Lord Philip Buffer, had
299. refus’d them to their Elizabeths: But Gloucester
300. and some others, who doubted their Affections,
301. perfurmed the King to keep them under; so
302. that they were forc’d in the end to fly the
303. Kingdom and make their Fortunes, the elder in
304. Piracy and Treason, and the younger in Favour and
305. Lives, who ranied two great Families. Their Mother was
306. banish’d soon after the Battel of Evesham: ‘She
307. was a Lady of great Worth, the Daughter and
308. Sister to a King, culpable only by her For-
309. tunce, who being appl’d of her Coronet of mi-
310. nerable Honour, betook her self to a Religious
311. Life, and became a Nun of the Order of St.
312. Francis. Three Years the dilseed Barons held out in
313. those Fortresses of the Kingdom, where they could
314. best defend themselves, making many Sal-
315. lies to the great Damage and Vexation of the
316. King’s Subjects. At length Conditions of Sur-
317. render are proposed, but the King’s Council was
318. divided among themselves, and the whole ele-
319. minate Man, and much in Favour with the King,
320. who was perfuas’d of many difficulties the Eftates,
321. oppo’d their Reformation to them, alluding,
322. ‘That it is a great piece of injustice to have that
323. taken from them again, which the King had
324. for their Labour and Fidelity below’d on them,
325. and was forfeit’d by them for their Treason
326. and Rebellion, and therefore they would hold
327. what they had. Gloucester, and twelve more, who
328. were empow’d to settle the Peace of the State
329. for a Reformation, and his Friends with him; but not obtaining his Design as he ex-
330. pected, he takes up new Difficulties, retreats A.D.
331. from Court, refuses to come to the King’s Feast
332. on S. Edward’s Day, 5, and sends Meslengers to Reg. 51.
333. warn the King. ‘To remove Strangers from his
334. Council, and obverse the Provisions of Oxford,
335. according to his late Promise made at Ely,
336. other Parls who held the Land and Service with the
337. Knightly Title, who was under the Obliga-
338. tion, if he
339. himself I did what he pleased. Thus Victory
340. of those Factions was not Fettle in these factious and disconfort-
341. ed Times; wherefore it was thought fit to have
342. recourse at last to a Parliament, the furpest way to
343. cure thefe Diffempers, and accordingly one
344. was call’d at Bury, whether all Perls who held
345. the Lands and Service with the Knightly Title, or the
346. Service of the blom of Ely, should be empow’d to
347. subject the Provinces of Oxford to the
348. authority of the King; which was agreeable to the
349. Parliament, and accordingly the
350. New Times, and Londoners of their Liberty,
351. the last return.

Guy and Simon de Montfort submit to the King.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third.

A.D. 1257, which the Bishops of Rochester and Bath, and the Abbot of Waltham, were bound for to the Pope's Merchants for the King's Service, when they were at Rome. They answer, They never con- ferred to any such Loan, and therefore were not bound to discharge it, etc. Then the Legate from the Pope required, 'That they should make 10 Marks to the Cross for the Holy War. To this they said, 'That the Nation was almost confounded already by the Sword, and if they should put Men upon this Action, the Nation would not be able to defend itself, but be a Prey to Strangers. 8. Lastly, It was urg'd, 'That the Clergy had been so long under the Pope as a Midwife to all the Kings of England, by their Oath at Canterbury, wherefor they swore to assist in all they could. They answer, 'That when they took that Oath they meant no more than spiritual and welleoun Confess. So the King met with Demands only in this Parliament, and obtained nothing of the Clergy.

The Legate also sent certain Perambus for the dispossessed Lords, which held the Isle of Ely, to solicit them, 'To return to the Faith and Unity of the Church, their Duty and Allegiance to the King, according to the Provision made at Canterbury. for redeeming their Estates from such as held them by Gift from the King for 50 Years. The Lords of the Commons, by their Robberies. The Lords return'd this Answer to the Legate, 'That they retain'd the Faith, which they receiv'd from their Catholic Fathers, and paid Obedience to the Roman Church, as the Mother Church of all Christians, but would not submit to the Covetousness and cruel Envy of that false Government's Name; That they accounted themselves unjustly dispossessed of their Lands, left them by their Predecessours, who had purchas'd it by Conquest: 'That they had formerly taken an Oath to defend the Kingdom and Holy Church, the Bishops thundering out Excommunications against such as opposed them, and they were ready to venture their Lives to make good that Oath, and since they made War for the Safety of the Kingdom and Holy Church, they ought to live upon the Goods of those Enemies who kept their Estates from them: That the Legate ought to see their Estates restored, that they might use them profitably for the King's Service. That they, the Spoils they had taken were not so great as was reported, but that the Prince commit-ted great Robberies, and laid them on their Party to make them odious; wherefore they de- fird the Legate not to give Credit to such Reports, because if any among them had done such, they would have given themselves up to the Punishment for it. Farther, they declar'd to the Legate, 'That he had taken out of the Kingdom the Bishops of Winchester, London, and Chichester, Men of great Caution and deep Judgment, whereby the Council of the King-dom was much weaken'd to the great Danger of it, wherefore they advis'd him to take Care of the Reformation of the same, and that they might be refer'd to their Lands without Re- compence: 'That the Provisions of Oxford might be observ'd: 'That they might have Holtes.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Third.

In the 5th Year of his Reign two Impositors were crucify’d for giving out, they were both of them the Melchior, or Christ, and two Women were executed, the one for pretending to be the Virgin Mary, and the other the Mary Magdalen.

In the 6th Year there was a dreadful Tempest of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, in February, which threw down several Churches, and rooted up Trees. This was follow’d by extraordinary Raines, and that by a Death, another violent Tempest, an Earthquake, a prodigious Storm of Wind, Inundations, and a Comet.

In his 17th Year, it Thunder’d for fifteen Days together. The next Year began with terrible Tempests of Thunder, Rain, and Floods, which spoiled the Fruits of the Earth.

In April, 1232. Matt. Paris affirms, There appear’d four Sails in Wocesviforo and Hereford-place. The true Sun was of a red Colour, with a great Circle of Chryfiallina Colour, whose Circuit seem’d as large as the Kingdom of England; from its sides went forth certain half Circles, in whole Sections the four Sails appear’d. The true one was in the East, it being about five in the Morning. The Bishops, Freemen, and Sir John Monmouth saw and wonder’d at this Wonder. In June, near the Sea-side, two huge Dragons were seen fighting in the Air; after a long dispute, the one vanquish’d the other, and drove him into the Sea; and the Conqueror being them, they were both no more seen. The same Year there was a Death, which was preceded by an Earthquake. Hol.

In his 25th Year, following to Matt. Paris, the most credible Historian of those Times, Near Roch-Abby in the North two Troops of arm’d Men seem’d to ride out of the Earth, and to engage with Spear, Shield, Sword, and Rammers display’d; they would sometimes tilt as at a Tournament of Triumph, and the Country People beheld them at a little distance wounding and unhorsing one another. What was most strange was, the Grufs of the Ground where they appear’d to give Battel seem’d trodden down, and Prints of Feet remain’d there. The same Sight was seen more apparently in Ireland. This Year was full of Prodiges, thunder, Lightning, Floods, &c. which destroy’d abundance of People and Cattle.

* Prince Edward overtook the King of France at the Siege of Toulouse, and with his Army soon brought the City to give a Capitulation. Edward refused to hear of it, as contrary to their Vow: the Kings of France and Stilv accepted it, and so it was determined; upon this Articles. 1. That all Chriftian Captives should be reduc’d, 2. That the Chriftian Religion should be free, and the Church of France should be the Church of the People of the Kingdom of Stilv, as a Tributary. But the Mistrusts that held these two Kings soon after, were impoused to their Breach of Vow, and to much the more, because Prince Edward, who oppos’d them, escap’d any such Calamity.

** Walter Stangford, p. 506. affirms, The Prince fail’d directly from Stilv to the Holy Land, taking Cyprus in his way. Most Authors agree, that he was not at the Siege of Toulouse.

† Henry, before his Death, confir’d the Earl of Gloucester Ruler of the Kingdom in his Son’s Silence, if he recum’d not before his Death, and Ivo was to till the Peers to accept and obey his Son Edward for his Father, tho’ he were at his Death out of the Kingdom.

‡ He dy’d on the 27th of November, 1272.

§ The King of the Romans and King Henry dy’d in the same Year, the former in April, 1272; the latter in November.

¶ His Reign may very well take up a whole part of the History, since it’s almost a fourth part of the Time from the Norman Invasion.

* The two eldest.

* He had three Daughters by his Queen, Margaret, Beatrice, and Katherine, who was born in November, Ano 1255, and dy’d at five Years of Age.
On the 16th of June, 1239, the 2d of this King's Reign, Prince Edward, his eldest Son was born, before his Birthday day there appear'd a new Star in the Heavens for several Days together. It was carry'd with a swift Course through a long Circuit of Air, it seem'd sometimes to bear Fire along with it, and sometimes to leave Smoak behind it. In the next year, there was a great Battel of Fifh at Sea; the Consequence of which was, that eleven Whales were cast on the Shore, and appear'd to be dead of some Wounds they had receiv'd. 

But William Soon, who was a Prodigy, tells this Story. Not long after, a great Sound was heard at one time in all parts of England, as if it had been the Noise of Mountains fall'n into the Sea.

In the 26th Year the Sun was Eclip'd in a terrible manner; and two Years afterwards so many Stars seem'd to fall in one Night, that (says Hollinshead) if there had to many fall'n indeed, there would not have been left in the Sky.

In his 32d Year, a dreadful Earthquake happen'd on the 14th of February, and the Sea, for a long Tract near the Coast of England, cease'd to ebb and flow near three Months together. The next Year the Town of New-Castle was destroy'd by Fire; and an Earthquake threw down several Steeples and Houses in Somersettshire.

On the 1st of October, in his 24th Year, the Moon appear'd red and bloated, which was the Pre- sage of a Storm of Wind, so violent, that the Sea flow'd twice without ebbing, and in the Night seem'd to burn: Soon after an Earthquake was felt at St. Albans. In the following Year, the Chamber where the Queen and her Children were was blown down by a terrible Storm, and her whole Apparment (at Windsor) shaken and torn; Oaks in the Park were rent ainder, and turn'd up by the Roots; and all was accompany'd with such Thunders and Lightnings, as had not been heard or seen in the Memory of Man.

In May, the New Moon appear'd three Days before her time; and the Sun, Moon and Stars, for fifteen Days succincetly, seem'd of a red Colour. A Death, and a Murraim among Cattel follow'd this Prodigy. In his 38th Year, the New Moon in February was seen four Days before the Courfe of her Time. In his 37th Year, a Ship was seen in the Air at St. Albans; and in his 46th, a Comet.

In his 52d Year, the two Companies of Goldsmiths and Taylor's of London bought, and several were kill'd on both sides. The Sheriffs appear'd the Tumult, and thirteen of the moft Mutinous of them were hang'd. As were thirty Citizens of Norwich in the last Year of his Reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the Monks of that City.

Hollinshead has many more Miracles, Prodigies, and extraordinary Sights, in his History of King Henry the Third: But we have reported enough to let the Reader fee, that the Seafons were as much distracted as the Times, and that Nature seem'd to be disturb'd in all her Productions during the Reign of this weak Prince; who had, however, many brave Subjects, and govern'd a People that heaz'd they might have been Great and Happy, had their Prince known how to have made them so.

Men Famous in his Days for their Valour and Wisdom were

Simon Earl of Leicester, and his Son Simon and Guy Monfort, Gilbert de Clare, the Earls of Chester and Gloucester, Roger Mortemer, great Warriors; Hubert de Burgh, and Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Maffets in Politicks.

In Learning the moft Eminent were

Robert Grosseteste, made a Cardinal for his Knowledge of Divine and Humane Letters, Gersaffe de Mellicie, Albericia of London, Hugh Kirkhead, Richard of Ely, Peter Hextam, John Gîles, an excellent Physician; Caducem, a Welfham, Bishop of Bangor, Alexander, Author of several Treatises in Divinity, Philosophy, and Humanity, both in Profe and Verse; William Lantony, Peter of St. Savin, a Canon of Trinity-House near London, Alexander Hales, an excellent Divine, Thomas Aquinas's and St. Bonaventure's Master; Ralph Abbot of Coggeshall in Essex; Alexander Ekeburh, who wrote an Epitome of our English Annals; Matthew Paris, a Monk of St. Albans, whom the Bishop of Carlisle calls One of the moft renowned Historians of this Kingdom; his History comes down to the Year 1259, in which he dry'd; Alexander Neckam, Robert Bacon, John Stifled, and Robert of Gloucester, who wrote a Rhyming Chronicle; Ralph Earl of Chester, and Henry Brathum, both learned in the Laws of England, Roger Bacon the Astronomer, thought to be a Conjurer by the vulgar fort of People; Richard Furnam, a Physician; Alexander Wendock Bishop of Cleeber, Edmond Rich, Robert Rich, John Blunt, Richard Furnam's Theologus, Walter of Piffam, Ralph Frebourn, Laurence Somerset, Cardinal Somerset his Brother, Dr. Nicholas Ferrar a Physicin, Simon Langton Brother to Archbishop Langton, Richard Fiftaker, Simon Stokes, John of Kent, William Shrewd, Michael Blantin, John Godward, Vincent of Coventry, Aubrey de Vere a Learned Baron, Richard Wick, John of Balzamhke, Roger Waltham, William Setjoban, and Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln, who had a long Diffpute with Pope Innocent IV. Johannes a Sacro Baco, who wrote of the Sphere, and is made an Englishman by Leland and Bate, but Sir James Ware puts him among the Irish Writers.
immediately after the death of king Henry, Edward his son was proclaimed king by the order of all the chief bishops and peers of the kingdom, who for that purpose met in the new temple, and there all favored his fidelity to him; tho' at that time they saw not whether he were alive or dead. But till they were certified of the truth of either, they proceeded to fettle and secure the government, caused a new seal to be made, and appointed fit ministers and officers for the management of his treasure, and preparation of the peace, while he remained in palermo, where he received the siege of sir john gifford, which was ready to yield to the savages, and did many other extraordinary acts of valour against the infidels [he was dangerously wounded in three places of his body with a poison'd knife by a treacherous affalian, of which wounds, when no medicine could cure him, his loving wife queen eleanor extracting the poison by sucking them, perfectly healed them.] when he had continued three years in the holy lands, and underwent many dangers without any great effect, saving that he had well managed and fortified acair, being disappoited of aids which he expected, he resolved upon his return home, and first sailing to sicily, he was kindly received and entertained by charles the king of that island. from thence he fail'd to italy, where in his paffage by land through that country he received all imaginable expressions of honour and respect from the pope and other princes of that nation. at his entrance into gros, at the foot of the alps, he was met by many of the nobility of england, and there chaleng'd by the earl of chabrown, (a valiant warrior) to a tournament; in which, tho' it may seem beneath his dignity so lightly to hazard his perfon, yet his greatness of his valour would not suffer him to refuse the combat, tho' with a perfon much beneath him, and thereupon engaging with him, fo overmatch'd him both in skill and strength, that the earl was forc'd to yield to him. from hence he came down into france, where he was magnificently receive'd, and entertain'd by king philip iii, furnand the hardy, to whom he did homage for all his territories he had obtain'd of that crown. leaving france he went into aquitaine, where he spent some time in ordering his affairs, and then after fix years absence returns into england, and receives the crown, three years after he was first proclaim'd king, from the hands of robert wilshay, archbishop of canterbury, sept. 1273; and with him his royal comfort queen eleanor, there being present at this solemnity his mother queen eleanor, alexander king of scots, and john duke of britain, who had marry'd his two sons.

the many brave and princely actions which this prince had signaliz'd himself to the world by, before his accession to the crown, viz. his victory over the barons at esquillon, and his prosecution of the disaffected barons in the isle of ely, his great readiness to expel his perfon to all hazards and labours, his single fight with sir adam gordan, the outlaw, at fornbam, his expedition into the east, and his great experience in all civil affairs by his age (being about thirty-five years old before he came to the crown) gave the kingdom hopes of a well-managed government, and flourishing state under so compleat a master, whose discretion and reputation were equally unparalleled. soon after his coronation he call'd a parliament at westminster, where he made trial of his peoples patience and affections towards him, and had a fifteenth of all the goods both of the clergy and laity granted him without any reposing; tho' the clergy had not long before given a tenth for two years to his brother edward, for the carrying on of the holy war. but the liberality of the clergy could not divert them from the defence of which he had sworn to himself, of abating the clergy ecclesiastical power, which by long and woul...
Experience of former times, he saw, had been very prejudicial to the Regal Authority, especially in the reign of King Henry II., and therefore, while he was high in the opinion of his people, he set about that difficult Work to abate their Privileges. And to that end, in the fifth Year of his reign, he deprived the Popes of their ancient and powerful Monarchies of the Kingdom of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of King Henry III. his father. In the Year following he got the Statute of Mortmain to be enacted, to hinder the increase of their Temporal Power, which was found to be prejudicial to the Kingdom, and Military Affairs. In the second Statute of Westminster he confined the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Judges to narrower Limits. Nor did he end here, but, trying heavier upon them, he required one half of all their Goods, both Temporal and Spiritual, for one Year, at which, though they were very much disturb'd, yet they were forc'd to yield to his Demand; because, their Difficul...
A.D. it, yet was himself slain in the Battel by a common Soldier; and his Head being cut off, was Reg. 11. presented to King Edward, who (as if it had been sufficient witness) caused it to be crown'd with Ivy, and set upon the Tower of London. And thus died the last Prince of Wales, who was betray'd (as they write) by the Men of Breul. Shortly after David his Brother was taken in Wales, and sentenced in England to an ignominious Death, which was then a very popular scene. Then his Head was carried about the City of Shrewsbury, and then beheaded, his Body quarter'd, and his Heart and Bowels burnt. His Head was sent to be set on the Tower with his Brother's, and his four Quarter's to the four Cities, viz. Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. An Execution never before feared in this Kingdom, upon the Son of a Prince, or any other Noblemans, that we read of in any of our Histories. But by this Example it after grew usual in the Nation: Even this King (under whom it began) had the Fate of such a miserable Death entail'd upon his Family, several of his own Brother's Pardon dying on the Scaffold. And just upon this Parliament, when the Clergy, the Yeomanry, the People, and every other Class of Men, had lived two Years old (and a Prince of great hopes) dy'd; and Edward, lately born at Carnarvon, is his Heir to the Kingdom, and the first of the English who was entitled Prince of Wales; as it had been an Omen of that Defection which, as we shall after see, befell him in his Regal Dignity. (The little Kingdom of Great Britain, those thores Nations could reserve to themselves from their first Conquerors the Saxons) united to the Crown of England in the eleventh Year of this King's Reign, Anno Dom. 1283. A thing not to be wonder'd at, that they were at last wholly subdued, seeing twas next to a Miracle how they held their ground, without any power but the King, in England, without any foreign Aids and Assistance. Whether the Ground of the Conquest was just, is not for us to examine. It was certainly of great Benefit to the Nation; for the miserable Contests and bloody Milichiefs, which often happen'd to both Nations, were hereby extirpated, and they being govern'd by one Law, and under one Prince, as may be seen by the Statute of Riotland, Anno Reg. 12.

This Work being effect'd and settle'd, King Edward having heard of the Death of the King of France, Philip the Hardy, and the Succession of Philip IV, (called the Fair) went over into France to renew and confirm those Laws of his Father, as were to be perform'd for the preservation of his Dominions beyond Sea under the new King, and did him Homage for Aquitaine, having before quitted his Claim to Normandy for ever. When he had A.D. finish'd his own Affairs, he accommodated the Kingdom of Navarre; and the Dukes of Burgundy, according to a Treaty made Reg. 14. in Spain, (to whom he was Alli'd) redeem'd Charles, entitled Prince of Achas, (the Son of Charles King of Sicily) from his Imprisonment in Aragon, paying thirty thousand Pounds for his ransom. After his being three Years and an half abroad, he returned into England, with his Coffers full, and his Vows of Duty never fail'd. He was six Days in his Palace, and fupply'd again. And for it an opportune Occasion is offer'd. For at his return he meets with many Complaints concerning the ill Administration of Justice in his absence, which he could not but listen to, and punish the chief Ministers for, if they were found guilty. The Parliament met at that Session; and the Chief of whatever was great a Milichief in the Kingdom being pronounced, the Judges were all into Examination, and upon a plain proof of their Extortions, they were fin'd to pay these following Sums. First, Sir Ralph Hengham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, seven thousand Marks; Sir John Fon for Lecington, five thousand Marks; Sir John Scrope, and Sir William Bragmore, Justice, fix thousand Marks; Sir Solomon Rocheler four thousand Marks, Sir Richard Boyald four thousand, Sir Thomas Soddington two thousand, Sir Walter Hopson two thousand, which four last were Judges Itinerant; Sir William Solomone three thousand Marks, Sir Robert Lecester, M.P. the Towns, one thousand; Roger Bray, Echeunge and Judge for the Jews, one thousand; But Sir Adam Stratton, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fin'd thirty four thousand Marks; and Thomas Wylayde, who was found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Subsidy, had all his Goods seiz'd, and what Effeats belonged to the King, which, as the King by his Charter to Sir Adam Stratton's Fine, all the Fines together make a hundred thousand Marks, to enrich the King's Treasury; which, according to the Rate of Money now, is above three hundred thousand Marks; a mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the Hands of so few Men, if it were not probable, that the fewness of Money would ruin the Nation, the Crowns, the poor, and these those few but ingenious Times more advantageous. Of no less Grievance did this King ease the Nation by the Banishment of the Jews, for which the Parliament willingly granted him a Fifteenth. The Banishment of the Jews. The Nation indeed had before offer'd him, in the ninth Year of his Reign, a fifth part of all their Goods to have them banish'd; but the Jews, not only for the love of their own Liberty, but the love of their little property, and his more, and so flaid till this time; which brought him a greater benefit by confecrating all their Effeats, with their Tallies and Obligations, which

A.D. 1283. Philip the Fair, King of France.
A. D. amounted to an infinite Treasure, which, the it was the last advantage the Crown could hope for Reg. 17, from them, yet he gained a more valuable Treasure by it, viz. the Good-will of his People, who as they had granted him many Supplies, were obliged by such Provisions always to aid him with their best endeavours. For he had committed a great Sacrilege in his Church, and having great occasion for Money, he was driven to all the Shifts possible to fill it. For besides what he had given him by the Parliament and Pope in the first three Years of his Reign before mentioned, in the seventh Year of his Reign he was called on, and New Commissions, because it had been much desired by the Jews, two hundred ninety seven Persons being executed at London at one time for this Crime; and this also brought it great benefit to the King. In his eighth Year he had a design to examine every Man's Title to his Land by a Quo-Fariantate, but it was so fiercely opposed by the Earl Warren, who went out with his Sword upon the Writ, saying, That he held his Land by his Sword, and by it he would make his Tenure good. Whereupon the King desisted from that Attempt, and obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the 11th Year he had a thirteenth of the Latty, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for the Reformation of such Crimes; by which means, he raised an Army of forty Shillings every Knight's Fee for the same purpose. In the 14th Year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants, who were fined for false Weights. In his 17th he had the Fines of the Judges before mentioned; and in his 18th Year, this Confiscation of the Jews Estates, and fifteenth of the Church, after the 12th Year of his Reign, upon a pretence of a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy granted him an eleventh part of all their Moveables. And shortly after the Pope procured him a tenth for six Years, to be gather'd in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and laid up in Monasteries, till he was enticed into the State of Magna Charta. But he made the Collectors pay him the Money gather'd for three Years, without going so far, having occasion to use it about the purchase of a new Kingdom.

For the Crown of Scotland, upon the Death of King Alexander, who dy'd without Heirs, was in Controverie. Scotland had no Title to it, yet they were all descended from David Earl of Huntingdon, the younger Brother of William King of Scots, who was Grandfather to the late King Alexander. Edward pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdom, undertakes to decide the Quarrel; and the Scots, who govern'd the Nation in the Inveigement, to avoid further Inconveniences, were forced to make him Arbitrator, and the six Competitors to stand to his Award. "John Balliol," Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce, both descended of David, Brother of King William, the one of the first, the other of the eldest Daughter, had the plainst and most Reg. 17, undisputable Claim. The Controverie was long, and the debate by the most Learned in the Law of both Kingdoms, and the Civiliens of Prince, and the Councils of the two, was much in vain, for four years, remained undecided. King Edward therefore, to put an end to this busines, but with some advantage to himself, took a Journey into the North with his Queen, but in the Way he lost his greatest Worldly Felicity, Queen Roberto Eclara Eleanora, who dy'd Novem. 25. at Harlebe. In Lieue of her homage, this Accident not only carried away the Grief to King, but brought him back again to inter her Body at Westminster, and all along the Road, in the places where it rested, viz. at Stamford, Wakefield, Wakeleap, Charing, &c. he erected goodly Groffes, engraved with her Image, in Testimony of his great Affection to her, and as Monuments of her Fidelitie and Virtues.; in the excellence I'll add Womankind, as much as she did in Dignity. Her Funeral Solemnities being performed, the King return'd back to his Scotch Baunfies; and that he might settle it to his own Honour and Advantage, he first treats privately with Robert Bruce (who had the weaker Title, but was most Fronted) and the Pope, that it might be an Act of Fidelity and Homage to the Crown of England, by which the King of Scotland, would make him King of Scotland. But Bruce answer'd him, That he was not so defirous of Rule, as to destroy the Liberties of his Country for it. Then he makes the like offer to Balliol, who having indeed the better Title, but left Love and Interest, and being moved by a great the threatening Anarchy of England, and the lesser Honour, to yield to the offers of the King, came to an agreeable Compromise, by his Majesty's making him Duke of Rothesay, his Brother Earl of March, and himself Earl of Buchan; and by the Crown of Scotland, he had the Duchy of Rothesay, and the Earldom of Buchan, granted him. From this period he was called by the Name of King Edward, for he did it for his own Benefit, and the good of his People. For being very little below'd before, he now became leas; and such as would for Bruce, and other Noblemen, who were defirous to preserve the Liberties of their Country, were much incensed against him, not only for this Act, but for his Injustice done in the Case of the Earl of Fife, who having been one of the first Competitors in this Anarchy, was after slain by the Family of Abercorn. The Earl's Brother profected the Murthers by Law, and brought the Cause before the King, Balliol, in his Parliament; but not obtaining Justice, the King deciding it for the Abercorns, the wronged Gentlemen appeals to the Court of England. King Balliol upon this is fummon'd to answer, and appears, sitting with King Edward in his Parliament till his Cause was to be try'd; and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and

* The other four were Eric King of Norway, Francis Earl of Holland, John Holling Lord of Abercorn, and John Earl of Ridoune, where there were four Competitors more, Patrick Dunbar Earl of March, William de Vey, William de Bar, Robert de Poyzy, Nicholas de Sowerly, Roger de Maudeville.
* The Queen did not die in this Journey, but the last Year, when King Edward was going into Scotland, to put his Daughter in, who was then a Match for that Kingdom, he was carrying the half Title to the Crown. She dy'd also before the King reach'd the Border. And this Year he was call'd back by the Death of Queen Eleanor his Mother.

* This Story is so far from being true, that when the Diffam about the Succession to the Crown of Scotland was first let to King Edward to be decided, all the Competitors were oblig'd to own the King's Superiority over that Kingdom, and Robert Bruce was the first of them that did it, in these words: I acknowledge the King of England superior and chief Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, and will before and from him, as my Superior and chief Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, obey and receive Justice, Ron. de superioritate Regis Anglie in Scotiam, 18 Ed. 1. — in the Tower.

* On the 26th of December, 1773. He did Homage in these words, My Lord, Edward, King of England, Superior Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland; as also in the same Cause, in which he for his own Benefit, and the good of his People, gave up the Title to the Crown of Scotland, to King of Scotland and Lord of the Kingdom, in such Terms, which King Edward to claim, and ought of right to hold, for my £ and your Heirs, Kings of Scotland, and for the more just and bad, Kings of Scotland, of the Robin Hood, your Heirs, Kings of England, and shall bear Faith to you and your Heirs, Kings of England, of Life and Limb, and to your Heirs, of Lie and Limb, and any other Person or Persons, who shall be adverse to the same.

* It appears by the Rolls in the Tower, De Sup. Reg. Ang. 2. in Sest. and Riche's Placita Parlamentaria, that Roberti Earl of Fife, brought a Complaint or Appeal, for certain Lands, against King John; and the Proceeds of this Suit being before King Edward, in the Parliament of Scotland, he, in the Space, had given theScottis Lege with Bishops in the course of this Affair, and all the Words that follow'd between the two Kingdoms.

A.D. 1295. The King's Council with Scoth

A Tax for the Holy War.

The Occasion of Edward's War with Scotland.
A.D. 1296.
flound at the place appointed for Pleading. Baliol
Reg. 21.
unwilling to do it, pleads. That he might answer
by a Procurator, but was deny'd, whereupon he
refused himself, defends, and pleads his Caule:
But taking it for an Indignity, offer'd him by
the King of England, he returns home with an
enlarged mind, andJOHN Ravaq, renews the ancient League with France,
and confirms it with the Marriage of his Son Ed-
ward to a Daughter of Charles, King Philip's Bro-
ther, who was glad to embrace a Quarrel with
the King of England, with whom he was offended,
and when he had thus done, he bids Defi-
ance, King Edward, and returns his Alle-
giance, as unlawfully promised, being not in his
Power without the Consent of the State to do
any such Act. And now began the Contests be-
tween these two Nations, which split more Chri-
tian Blood, did more Milkshew, and continu'd
longer than any Wars (that we read of) between
any two of: King Baliol, the Son of Bruce, who
succeed'd for three hundred Years together, even
to the Elecked Union of them by John
James I. had their Share more or less in this
Quarrel. And though England, being much the
greater and stronger Nation, had the good Fort-
tune often to overcome; yet it was with so great
Experience of Blood, Time, and Treafeure, that
the Scots more than was wished, and was so
soon lof: again, the Scots being never fo fully sub-
du'd, but that they were foon for recovering their
Liberties again, and that with Success: So that
Providence may seem to decree no Union firm
between these two Nations, that was made by Force,
but by the milder way of Peace and Succession.
and Edward, who had now hope to him-
selt a Defeat of obtaining the Kingdom of Scot-
land, is by the fairest means he could, for that
end sought to match his Son Edward to Margarets
King of Norway's Daughter, Heir to the laft
King Alexander, but by her Death was disap-
pointed, refolves to do it by Force, upon this De-
fenfe. So that when he could have been
feizable that he had no contemptible Enemy to
deal with, upon the account of his League with
the King of France, he counter- leagues with all
the Neighbouring Princes that he could either
by Gifts or Alliance draw in to strengtheen his
Party; as first with Guy Earl of Lancaster, who
promised hedefign'd to match his Son Edward: Then with Abolhous of Naffow the
Emperor, to whom he gave 15000 L Sterling
to recover certain Territories of France, which
he claimed as belonging to the Empire. He had
likewise marry'd one of his Daughter's to the
Duke of Parr, who pretended a little to Cham-
paign, and another to John Duke of Bradfor-
d, all which Princes, with many other, who bore
'der on France, he settles upon that King. On
the other fide, the King of France commum
King Edward, as owne Homage to his Crown,
to appear and anfwer in his Court for certain
Spots committed on the Coasts of Norway by the
Befis, which he refufed to do, or make
ning, and the Befis were not willing the Venue
was by 675 Judges to be held in Reay
Arrest condemn'd to lose all his Territories in
France, and an Army was presently fen under
the Command of Charles de Talley, and Arnold
de Neal, Comitabe of France, to feize upon them,
who took Bourdeaux and many other important
Places, and fortifie'd them. The King of England A.D. 1296.
hearing this, sends over his Brother Edward Earl of
London, the Earl of Lincoln and Richmond, Reg. 22.
with twenty eight Banners, seven hundred Men
at Arms, and a Navy of three hundred and fifty
Sail to recover his Right in France. And in the
mean Time, as if the Scots were not content
Summons to appear at his Court at Newcastle,
and standing upon his Guard) and enters Scotland
with an Army big enough to conquer a greater
Nation, confifting of four thousand Horse and
thirty thousand Foot, besides what the Bishop of
Durham brought to his Aid, which were
itted, and committed to the care of his
Sons to make a speedy Congepe of Scotland, that
he might afterward pass over into France to arift
his Confederates, and be reveng'd on the King of
France. He first took Berwick with the Slash-Scotland
ter of fifteen thousand Scots, or more: and, after a well
fed on upon the Caftles of Dunbar, Roxborough,
King Edward entered into
King Edward's War on Scotland, and
with King
Bailiol, and
the King of
France, who
affifted him.

The Wars
between
Scotland
and Eng-
land began, 1296.

The clergy, who had privily procured of
Pope Boniface 8 a Prohibition of paying any Tal-
lage, or Impofition, laid upon them by any Lay
Prince, or upon any thing that belong'd to the
Church, abfolutely refuf'd to pay any thing (ha-
ving had so many Levies rais'd upon them late-
ly, 1295., 1296., 1297., 1298.) and in the twenty third Year of his Reign the
King feiz'd into his hands all the Priories and
their Goods that were in the Poffeifion of Stran-
gers, besides a Loan, which he had of the Clergy
amounting to 100000 L £ of which the Abbot
of Bury did have part, and was by 675 Judges
Condemn'd to lose all their Realms:
The clergy, who had privily procured of
Pope Boniface's a Prohibition of paying any Tal-
lage, or Impofition, laid upon them by any Lay
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lage, or Impofition, laid upon them by any Lay
Prince, or upon any thing that belong'd to the
Church, abfolutely refuf'd to pay any thing (sha
197

A Parliament at St. 

Library, in 

which it be 

denied, 

the

right to go into 

France. 

The Griev-

ance of 

the King, 

dombrung 

to him. 

1299.

197 A.D.

ill Men, and could have no Justice or Redress in the King's Courts. This Strain of State, which Reg. 25, was never before used, nor could be foreseen, to

avoid the Clergy, that the Archbishop of York, 

the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lin-

coln, yielded to pay a fifth part of all their 

Goods towards the Maintenance of the King's 

Wars; and the King's Wrath was appeased, and 

they were received into Favor. But the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who

animated all the rest to stand out, had all 

his Goods seiz'd on, and all the Monasteries 

within his Dioceses, and part of Lincoln, taken 

into the King's hand, and Officers appointed to 

collect their Revenues and Rents for the King, 

allowing them only so much out of them as was 

sufficient for their Support. But to begin with 

the Abbots and Monks, with all Priefts, giving 

the King a fourth part of their Goods, redeem'd 

themselves and the King's Favor. Thus will 

Warlike Princes force Supplies from their 

Subjects in their Neccesities, tho' they are very 

willing, and it be burdensome to them.

This Lords Register show to the Clergy, the King called a Parliament of his No-

bility at Salisbury, to which no Churchmen 

were admitted, and in it he requires some of his 

Great Lords to go over with him into his Wars in 

France, where he wanted a present Supply of Com-

manders, because of the Death of his Brother Ed-

ward, and the desire he had to recover the

Trezure that was cut off by the siege of Nor-

folk. But the King, having trod on the Graves 

of the Stewards, and gone over the Crym, in 

vain, return'd to Bayson, then in the Poletion of the 

Englishe, and there died: But they all singly made Excuses for 

themselves; which so anger'd the King, that he 
told them, 'They should go, or he would give 
their Lands to them that should. Upon this 

Threat, the Earl of Hereford, and the Earl of 

Worcester, and several other Lords, advow'd 

the Clergy, the King receiv'd the Archbishop of Con-

terbury into his Favour. Being now ready to 

take Ship, the Archbishop, Bishops, Earls, Bar-

rons, and the Commons, send him a Roll of the 

general Grievances of his Subjects; 'Concern-

ing his Taxes, Subsidies, and Impostions; his 

being made a Foe to the Nation, and a Friend to 

Enemies; his being a Warrer, and his Injur'd 

Courts; his late Impofit of forty Shillings up 

on every Sack of Wool, which was but a Noble 
'Sack before, valuing the Wool of England to be 

a fifth part of all the Subsistence of it. The King 

fends them this Answer; 'That he could not 

spare any thing without the Advice of a Council, 

which were not now about him; and therefore 

'spy'd at once they would not go to his Wars. 

him, tho' he went in Perfon in this Expedition, 

because he went not into France or Scotland, 

that they would not disturb the Peace of the 

Kingdom in his absence, and at his return he 

would set all things in order. And so he set 

forward in his Journey with five hundred Sall, 

and eighteen Thousand Foot, and armed Men 

not Fortune so favouurable in Flanders, as usually 

the had been to him. For contrary to his Expec-

tation he found the People divided into popular 

Factions, and tho' they were willing to aliiff 

their Prince and defend their Liberties, yet to 

rich and proud, that they would be commanded 

on no otherwise, and the King's forces daily 

growing, having won Lille, Dompay, Courtenay, 

force, and the Emperor Adolph falling in his Perfonal Alliance contrary to 

his Engagement and Bargain; all which much 

perplex'd him, with tedious Delays, and put 

him to great Trouble and Expenes: So that he 

found it impossible to go to France; and to 

England, and feared to call a Parliament at 

York, to procure him Supplies of Money and 

men at Treasure; and because he would not be disap-

pointed of a liberal Grant, coendcended to all 

Articles that were demanded concerning the 

great Charter, promising never after to change 

his Subjects otherwise than by their own Con-

cients in Parliament, and to pardon those that 

refuse to attend him in this Journey, for which 

all the Commons of the Realm granted him the 

fourth Penny of their Goods; the Archbishop of 

Canterbury, with the Clergy of his Province, the 

tenth Penny, and the Archbishop of York and 

his Province the fifth, and so the King's Wails 


* Moit of these Events, from the Invasion of Scotland, happen'd in the Year 1296.
  1 Henry de Kegmex, in his Book de Evenghus Anglia, saith, that he had fifteen thousand Harfe and fifty thousand choice 
  Foor, of which thirty thousand were Welifh, an incredible Number.
A.D. were relieved and Kingdom satisfied, but such
Concessions, which are extorted by Nevelity, are
Reg. 26. always un sincere, and so never lasting. The
King being thus supply'd, he said all that Win-
er at Gaunt, where his Soldiers committed so
many Outrages, that the Citizens being exagge-
rated thereby took Arms, flew many; and tho'
the Earl Guy did all he could by not only fair
Words to appease the incensed Rabble, yet they
purpos'd the King and his Forces so hard, that
they could hardly get safe out of the Country.
Thus the King left Flandres without Success, hav-
ing made a Truce with the King of France for
two Years; and leaving the poor Earl Guy to shift for himself, who being arm'd and a
Partner to his Enemies, and being made a Prisoner in Paris died of Grief, with his Daughter, and
Flanders was made subject to the King of France,
though he kept it not long: For after they had
received him for their Lord, his Exactions and
Oppressions upon them were so great, contrary
to their ancient Liberties, that they purposed all
the States against him, being rich and mighty,
gave France the biggest Blow that ever it
had at once received at the Battle of Courtray, where
in the Earl of Atois, General of the Army, Ar-
wald de Neuf Conflable of France, and all the
Commanders, with twelve thousand Gentlemen, were
plain and the' still maintained the Quarrel, against
another Country, yet was he with his great Damage: For he left in the eleven
Years face the Lives of an hundred thousand
Frenchmen (as their own Histories affirm) and
by his Imposts of new Taxes of Maltcote, and
the tenth Denier, i.e. Penny upon every Livre or Pound of all Merchandizes, bred great
great Contentions and dissensions among
his Subjects, the lamentable Fruits of such At-
ttempts, which may justly deter Princes from
meddling upon such unjust Titles.

King Edward being come hither, immediately prepares for an Expedition into Scotland, which
in his absence had beaten his Officers and Peo-
dle almost out of the Country, and for this purpose
sent Earl Warren to fly, and slain Sir Hugh Cressingham,
with six thousand English, recover'd many Caftles, and
regain'd Berwick, and all the by the Encour-
agement and Conduct of a poor private Gentleman,
then defend'd of a Noble Family, William Wal-
lis, who feeing his Country in miserable Slavery, that
in Captivity and Subjection, and all the Hopes of Recovery from other ways to
no purpose expected, gather'd a Company of Men
of as poor and desperate Condition as himself, and
attempts upon all Advantages he could dis-
cover to annoy the English, wherein having good
Success, his Company and Courage so increas'd, that
the stubborn and obdurate, the adamant of the whole
Kingdom, and having given the English
several Defeats, was in a great Possibility to have
reclaim'd his Country from Subjection to Eng-
land. So much could the Courage of one brave
Man contribute to fix a whole Nation free, which
being all that he aim'd at, and not a Diadem or
Crown, made his Vertues more admirable to all
Ages, than otherwise would they have been.

And now King Edward, that he might the bet-
ter govern his two Kingdoms, removes his Ex-
exchequer and Courts of Juflice to York, where
they continued above fix Years; and here he cal-
led a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that
A.D. held of him by Knight's Service, to be ready at
such a Day, who according Reg. 27. assembled in great Numbers, viz. three thou-
sand armed Men with barded Horses, and four
thousand other armed Horsemen without Bards, with
an Army of Fifteen thousand, proportionable to the number of thirty
and Trifls, besides five hun-
dred Men out of Gascony, and with this Army he makes his second Expedition into Scotland.
The Earl of Hereford and Norfolk, notwithstanding
their former Contempt, attended him: But the
he was at the Head of a mighty Army, and
surrounded with a great Strength, yet in their
heaviness. The English requested that the two Charters and their Privileges might
be ratifid, which they thought not sufficiently
f-sided to them, because they were granted be-
yond Sea; wherefore the Bishop of Durham, and
the Earls of Surrey, Warwick, and Gloucester, under-
stood for the King, that after he had fab'd his
Enemies and was return'd, he should grant
their Deferes, and those two Earls, with the
Earl of Lincoln, led his Vanguard at the
nous Battle of Falkirk, wherein the King of
Scotland obtain'd a great Victory at the Expendit.
come of two hundred Knights, and above forty thou-
sand Scots, and reduc'd
Ed.] Blood: But Walris, with some few, to their
charge, as the Distance again Scots might seem quite overcome, might be
by the Eilates of the Earls and Barons of Scotland
(with their Titles) for this Revolt being given to
the English Nobility to make them more refo-
lute and ready to maintain this Conquest, and a
Parliament is call'd at St. Andrews, where all
the great Principles of the Kingdom (except the
only Earl of Walri's) fav'd Fidelity to the King of
Scotland. The Norf Writers brand King Edward with
most cruel Tyranny in this Expedition: Be-
cause he was not content to carry away cap-
tive all that were likely to create any Dif-
ferences in the Nation, but endeavou'd to blot
out their Memory for ever, by abolishing their
ancient Laws, changing their Ecclesiastical Rites
for the Customs of England, taking from them
their Histories, Infrumens of State, Monu-
ments of Antiquity, either left by the Romans or
erected by themselves, carrying all their
Books and Learned Men into England, and re-
mond'd of his further power, of being the Chair, even the
Dignity of their Kingdom, as they imag'd, depend-
ed on if he had reliev'd not only to deprive
them of their Strength, but their Underhand-
ings, that he might establish a perpetual De-
mension over them.

This Expedition being over, he call'd another AParlia-
ment in Westminster, wherein he profess'd men at
Court to confirm the two Charters; and a farther Act
for

* Eighty thousand.

* Walris says forty thousand, Evelyn and the Chronicle of Norham fifteen thousand, Trivel
twenty thousand, Bassi and Buchanan 300,000. Forty thousand only.

EDWARD the First.

* He did not stay to hold a Parliament. The Scots having wished their Country, he was force'd to return for want of Prov-

* She was married in Sept. 1299, which agrees with Mr. Daniel's Account of his Age. He was thirty-five Years old when he

* Perambulation of certain 1298. 1299. Edward Dunbar upon a certain Day, who according Reg. 27. was attended by nor-

* He invaded by Bourbon, a very Fabricious Author, and has been often confuted.

* She was married in Sept. 1299, which agrees with Mr. Daniel's Account of his Age. He was thirty-five Years old when he

* He invaded by Bourbon, a very Fabricious Author, and has been often confuted.
Second Year of his Age, and his Daughter was
acceded to the Prince, and Restitution made of
what the King of France had taken in Flagrante
Scots returns to the Obedience of the King of
England, (to the Merchants of the City he
paid a hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the
Expenditures of his Brothers Edward in the late Wars)
and so far is on that side. The same Pope
also obtained a Permission of Edward, that John
Balchin, the Captive King of the Scots, should go
and live upon certain Lands he had in France,
and upon the surrender of the Person, and
his Confinement; but he shortly after died,
having had little Joy in a Crown, and fearce lefi-
fare to know he was a King. About this
time the crying-down and calling-in of a certain base
Money, call'd Crocodd and Poliard, and stamping
them again, brought some advantage to the King's
Treasury. But he had soon an occasion to spend
it in a third Expedition into Scotland (from which he
had not been return'd above eighteen Months)
wherein he did little more than recover Sterling-
Castle, defended three Months against all
his Forces by William Oliver, and at last surren-
dered him upon Conditions. The rest of the
Scots, instead of being affrighted at the Moun-
tains and strong Hills of the Country, where
the King's Armies was more disstrofe, than
the Enemy.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace with France,
the Scots being left out, and having none to re-
lieve them, send their lamentable Complaints to
Pope Boniface, directoring to him the afflicted
State of their Country, the Uproaration of the
King of England upon them, and his very Tymannal
Proceedings with them, contrary to all Right
and Equity; protesting, That they never knew
of any Sovereignty he had over them, but that
they were a free Kingdom of themselves; and
that if they were not their own Masters, it was
the fault of their late King Alexander, both in the Treaty
of Marriage for his Son Edward with Margaret
the Heir of Scotland, and also after her Death
for the decision of the Title of their Crown,
wherein he fought by their Confessors to be made
Arbitrator, as he was: And tho' since they have
been his Friends, yet they consider it an injury
by force, because they were not able to resist the
Pope having received this Remonstrance, writes
powerful Letters to the King of England, com-
manding him to forbear further proceedings a-
gainst them, claiming withal the Sovereign Au-
thority over that Kingdom, as belonging to the
Crown of England, and over the Persons of the Letters
at large, proving from all Antiquity, that the
Dominion of Scotland had ever appertained to
the English Crown, even from Britons to their own
time. And at the same time all the Nobility
wrote to the Pope, owning and claiming the
State Right; and peremptorily conscude, That
the King, their Lord, should in no wise under-
go his Holiness's judgment therein, and send
his Procurators (as was required) about that busi-
siness, as tho' their Title were dubious,
the prejudice of the Crown, the Royal Digni-

ty, Liberties, Custom, and Laws of England,
which by their Oath and Duty they were bound
to observe, and would defend with their Lives,
 nor could they permit, if the Pope made such
unlawful proceedings. And therefore be-
fought his Holiness not to concern himself far-
ther in this matter. Those Letters were sub-
scribed with all their Names (let down particu-
larly in Speed, p. 541.) and dated at Lincoln,
where the Parliament was then holden, Aug. A. D.
1301. The Pope upon this Answer, tho' 1301.
not very grateful to him, yet stirr'd no more in Reg. 28.
to the Scots cause, because he had his Hands full of
other Matters. For the King of France, whom
he had Excommunicated, and given away to the
Kingdom to Albert of Aquitaine, then Emperor,
shortly after so wrought as his Spiritualty was
surpriz'd at Aunoe, a City of Armorica, whither
he was retir'd from the Troubles of Rome, and
violently treated by Scifena Colonelle, a Bandito
and Abbeget an Abbeget, both whom he
had perFEcted in extrim Anger and Anguish,
within few Days after he ends his turbulent
Life.

The King of England, not yet enjoying a peace-
able Possession of Scotland, was forced to make a
Third Expedition thither, to allay fresh Com-
motions there; and to furnish him all for this
Action, he called a Parliament at Lincoln, where
he confirmed the two Charters again, and received
of the People, as a grateful Acknowledgement
of his Kindness to them, a fifteenth of all their
Goods. Being thus supply'd with Money, he invades
Scotland again, and had Homage and Fealty sworn to
him a fourth time, as conqueror of it, which,
according a sufficient confirmation of hisSovereignty
over it, he return'd in a Triumphant manner,
and in his way removes his Exchequer fromYork,
seals his Nobility at Lincoln magnificently, and
so comes to London, where he gave folem; Thanks
to God and S. Edward for the Victory; which Act
of Piety may be considered as a Coronation of the
Castle of his obtaining a more compleat Victory, by
by bringing into his power his greatest Enemy (that renowned
Guardian of his Country) William Wallis, who
being betray'd by his Companion, was taken by
William Wallis, Sir John Menteith, and sent up to the
King to Lon-
don, where he was try'd for his many Treasons.
In his Arraign-
ment he would not acknowledge him to be his
King) and was condemned, according to the Laws
of England, to be draw'd, hang'd and quarter'd,
and accordingly suffer'd the Sentence. Thus dy'd
that worthy Man, for the defence of the Liberties
of his own Country, in a strange one, and re-
nowned for his extraordinary Examples of Piety and
Courage in that kind. And now that (as he suppos'd)
secure from all Disturbances abroad and at home, being an universal Lord
of the whole Isle, and having strong Alliances abroad,
began to look nearly into his Government, and
to raise himself Advantages from thole Diforders
which the Barons had caus'd. And the first Example
of his Power (which he would have equal to
his Will) was in the Case of Sir Nicholas Segar,
one of the greatest Knights of the Kingdom, who
being accused of Treason by Sir John Cronwall
off'd to jusform his self by Duel; which, because
the King refus'd to grant, in respect to the
present War, he left the Camp, and went over the
Sea to fight his Enemy. The King in Anger at his
Contempt of his Prohibition, accuses him of exposing his Royal Person to the Rage of
his Enemies, and orders Justice to proceed against
him. The Judges consulted three Days on his
Case, and at last adjudged him guilty of Death,
and that he be Moves and Immovable to be for-
feited to the King, but adds, 'That he went out
' of the Nation, not in contempt of the King, but
' to be reveng'd of his Enemy, and therefore it
' was in the King's power to shew him Mercy.'
The King in anger replied, 'Have you been all
this while 커딩 for this? I know it is in

A. D. 1301. 199
my power to shew Mercy on whom I please; and who ever submitted to me, that hath not tafted of it? But I shall not do it for your fakes, tho' more than a Dog, fhall not judge, nor be recorded, and ever held as a Law. And fo Sir Nicholas, for Example and Error to others, was put into Prifon, tho' afterward, by the Interceffion of many Noblefmen of the Kingdom, and thirty of his Equals, being bound Body for Body, and Goods for Goods, for his Appearance whenever he fhould be call'd, the King referved him to his Effeate. Shortly after the King likewife fends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called the Traif-Bafton, to fearch out, and enquire after Intruders on other Men's Lands, who, to keep out the right Owner of them, fhould make over their Land to great Men, as also after Barterers, who were hire or being Men; Breakers of the Peace, Ravillers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fights, fierce Jurors, and other fuch Malefactors, which Inquisition was ftrictly executed, and fo great Fines impofed upon fuch as were guilty of any of the faid Crimes, that the King's Treasure was much increafed by it. And fo did likewise another Commission, to examine into the Behaviour of all Officers, and Minifters of Justice; whereby many were found Delin- quents, and paid dearly for it. By this means Informers grew in great Requifite, and were encouraged, as the King's Friends, and his chief Agents for his Treasury. But beside the great in- creafe of the King's handly, the King folicited the fome profit of certain Silver Mines in Devonfhire, (as Holb- liff had) but it teems they were not faught after in following times, becaufe the Charge was greater than the Profit.

And now the King being become a Terror to his Subjects, began to fhew his Reafonment of the fame, and to punifh them with his rebellious Burmes.

A New Recruit in Scotland, in which JoComyn was slain.

A Writ of Inquisition, called the Traif-Bafton.
have the First-fruits of those Churches, which A. D. 
the Pope took care to secure, by sending Car-

er a Pretence of confirming the Marriage of 

between Prince Edward and Isabel, the King of 

France's Daughter; by which Ambaffage the 

Cardinal got nothing, tho' not so much as was 

expected. While the King was thus bufed at 

Carlifte, Robert Bruce about the beginning of 

the Spring appointed some Forces he had gotten 

by his Secret agree to march, and arriving 

upon the Earl of Carlifte and his Scn 

unawares, gave him a great Defeat; and 

within three Days drives the Earl of Glocifier into 

the Castle of Air, in which he befieged him, till 

the King's Forces drove him to his former Retreat, 

in which so long as he was secure, the English 

could never expect an end of the War. And 

this was the Reason, that King Edward gave 

another Proclamation, to command all that owed 

him Service, to attend him at Carlifte upon the 

Midsummer-day after, fending the Prince in the 

mean while to London to confebrate his Mari- 

riage. In Italy, tho' he found himfeif much infi- 

depeted, he entered Scotland with a refh Army; 

but was not able to make the diftance, for the 

Scots would not ferve under his Orders, and 

thefe three Years and feven Months, in the 

fifty eighth Year of his Age. He was a Prince of 
a generous Spirit, born and bred for 

Action, and very judicious in Military Affairs; 

a Man and provident in his own Affairs, watch- 

ful and ambitious to enrich his Power, deiring 

more the Grcafsenes than Quiet of England. Ne- 

ver King fied fo much Christian Blood in Eng- 

land while he lived, nor was the caufe of shel- 

ding fo much after his Death. 

He had by his firft Wife Queen Eleanor four of his 

Sons, of which only Edward surviv'd him, and 

nine Daughters. Eleanor, who had been expofed to 

Alphonfo King of Aragon, who died two Years 

after his Marriage, was after married to John Earl of 

Barry; Joanna was marry'd to Clifford Clare, 

Earl of Glocifier; Margaret to John Duke of 

Brabant; Mary lived a Nun in the Monaffery 

of Ambalfcry, Elizabeth marry'd firft to John 

Earl of Holland, and after to Humphrey Bohun 

Earl of Hereford, the refte dier young. His 

Second Wife he had Thomas, furnam'd Bretonton, 

who was Marshal, and Earl of Norfolk, and 

Edward Earl of Kent.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

SURNAM'D LONGSHANKS.

IN the 2d Year of his Reign a general Earthquake happen'd in England, it threw down St. Mi- 

chael's Church on the Hill, without Gloucefter in Somerfetfide, it also rain'd Blood in 

Wales, Mott. Weft. In his 16th Year the fame Author writes, That as the King and Queen were talking 

together in their Bed-chamber, a Plaff of Lightinng fixt in at the Window, pass'd by them, kill'd two of 

their Servants who were waiting upon them, but did them no Prejudice. In the following Year

\[\text{A.D. Enemies, executing many great Perforons, who in 1307, had been concerned in the Murder of Cowry, Reg. 24, and Amendment of Bruce, as a Tyrant for the}\\end{align}
there was so great Plenty, that Wheat was sold in some places for twelve Pence a Quarter; and not many Years after, for twenty Shilling a Bushel, as much as four Pounds now.

**Men Eminent in his Time in War were**

John Earl Warren, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry de Pawsam Earl of Hereford and Exef, Roger Bignall Earl Marshal of England, who were always zealous and brave in the defence of their Rights.

**For Learning the most Famous were**

Henry de Hennu, a Carmelite Fryar; Goodwin Chantor of the Church of Safford, Seward Arch-bishop of York, a bold Prelate, who defended his Clergy against the Popes, and was cashiered by Peter Semaington, Elias Trickingham, Elias of Elham, Ralph Boking of Suffolk, Alphred surmum'd Anglican, James a Ciferian Monk, William of Ware, Robert Oxford, Thomas Docking, Robert Dollford, Peter de Ickham of Kent, Dr. John Beckton, William Hamberg, Provincial of the Carmelites in England, Cardinal Kilwardy Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Portia in Italy; Gilbert Martyn, a Ciferian Monk, Elias Ross, Walter Recihe, Hugh le Evefham, William Paghiam, Henry Esborn, John de Haides, John Derlinton, a Dominican Fryar, John Chelmsfion, Thomas Borrowdale of Norfolk, Gregory de Bridlington, Hugh de Mancherf, Provincial of the Dominicans in England; Richard Knopwell, a Dominican Fryar, John Peckton, Sir John Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Thomas de Iley, a Carmelite Fryar of Ipswich; Thomas Sutton, a Dominican Fryar, Simon de Grant, William Hostun, Provincial of the Dominicans, John de Hide, a Monk of Winchester; Robert Cowt, a Franciscan Fryar; Richard Middleton, a Fryar Minor; Dr. Liddington, a Carmelite Fryar of Stamford; John Bier, a Monk of Heffenden, Adam de Mairfo, or More, a Somereference-man, a famous Divine; Gregory Huntington, a Linguist; John Grammaticus, so call'd from his Excellence in Grammar; Thomas Spot, a Chronologer; John Eversfien, John Read, Richard Garret, William Rofanger, Continuator of Matt. Paris's Historian, Historians. Roger Bacon, Thomas Busey, Hugh of Newcastle, William of Macclesfieid, Philosophers and Mathematicians; and Nicholas Scot, an excellent Physician.

# THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD II.

A. D. 1307.
Reg. 1.

Edward the Second succeeded his Father.

EDWARD, surmum'd of Cornavum, succeded his Father of the same Name, and began his Reign in July 1307, in the 23rd Year of his Age. A Prince not only much inferior to his Father in Age and Experience when he came to the Crown, might be imputed to his Youth, but naturally in Greatness, and height of Spirit, and like his Grandfather in Flexibleness and Easiness of Temper. Yet never Prince came to the Crown with greater Love, and more general Applause of all his Subjects, than he did; which, being built upon the Admiration of his Father's Worth, might have been easily secured to him by a little wise Management. But he being a wilful and revengeful Prince, began his Reign with such dishonourable Actions to all his Subjects, as left them their good Opinion immediately upon his, and after proved fatal to him. For the first thing he did, after his return from Scotland, where he received the Homage of many of the Scotch Lords at Dunfrie, before his departure, was, The entertaining his old Companion Prince Gavelfone, whom his Father had banished the Kingdom, because he had corrupted his Son, and led him into many Extravagancies, of which the Robbing of the Bishop of Chester's Park was one, for which the King his Father was so angry, that he imprioned his Son, and banished Gavelfone) and as if he had foreseen the Mischief of his Advice, charged him on his Death-bed never to recall him; requiring the Lords who were present, to see his Will observed in this particular, But notwithstanding this wise Caution, and severe Command of his Father, he sent for Prince Gavelfone before his Father's Funeral was solemnized, those re- called, and courted, and invited him to the Earldom of Cornwall, and Ladship of the Isle of Man, which was part of the Dememies of the Crown, and he impri- .

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1. He was so eager to be Crown'd, That he left Scotland immediately, and would not stay to subdue the Rebels, as his Father ordered him.
2. William de Longton, King Edward the First's Treasurer, was Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and not of Chester.
and made a new Treasurer in his room. Which

done, he removed most of the Court-Officers
Reg. 1. placed by his Father, and put in new ones of his
own choosing; and all this without the Advice
or Consent of the Privy-Council, which gave a
great alarm and Content, and diffident of all Ill Dispo-
nition in him.

Before his Coronation there was a Parliament
held at Northampton, wherein it was enacted, That
the Monies coined by his Father, notwithstanding
they were accepted bad Metal, should be Cur-
rent, and he obtain a fifteenth of the Clergy, and
twentieth of the Livery; After which, having per-
formed the Funeral Rites of his Father at Welf-
minster, he took a Voyage into France to be mar-
ry'd to the Lady Isabel, the Daughter of Philip
the Fair, King of France; where their Nuptials
were celebrated with great Magnificence and So-
lemnity, there being present at them the King of
France, and King of Navarre his Son, the King of
Almain, the King of Sicily, and three Queens be-
sides the Bride, with an extraordinary Concours
of Princes and great Men. Gavestone was also at
this Feast, and is said to have exceeded all the
Company in Richness and Bravery of Attire, with
which afterwards he infected the Court of Eng-
land, and compared himself with the greatest
Men. He was great enough to undo a Kingdom alone, with
the Expense to maintain it. Yet this was not all the
Mischief he did, for he filled the Court with Pa-
risties, Bulfoons, Eilders, Stage-players, and all kind of
diffolute Perfons, to entertain and fill the
King with certain Delights and Pleasures, in which he
was so deeply engag'd, that he led to other Com-
pany his former Times Wantonness, neglecting the Affairs of State, and the Counsell
of his Nobles. These things so much disturbed the
great Men, that when he was to be crown'd
with his Queen at Westminster in the second Year
of his Reign, they met together, and requir'd of
him. That Gavestone might be removed out of his
Court, and that he would consult the King to
hinder his Coronation at that time. The King,
to avoid so great Disgrace, promised to grant what-
ever they desired in the next Parliament; and so
the Coronation was permitted to be solemnized,
yet it was done with that Jaff and precipitancy,
as took off the Reverence and Grace of it. In
the King's Geben, Tho' Aris'ty was prevailed on the
Bayy'd by him, which greatly incensed the Lords
against him, and added much to their former
Offence and Hatred of him.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights
Templars throughout England were at once arrest-
ed, and committed to Prifon, according to the
Example which had been given him by the King of
France, and most other Princes of Christendom.
They were an Order of Knights first instituted by
Balduin IV. King of Jerusalem, about two hun-
dred Years before this time, and were appointed
for the Defence of that City, and the safe Convoy
of all such as went thither. Afterwards by the
pious Bounty of Princes, they were differfed
throughout the whole Nation. A Multitude of
this order, with large Poffessions, which made them dege-
nerate much from their first Institution, and be-
come executably Vicious; for which Reafon the
Christian Princes combined together to apprehend
them, and turn them out of their Order and Eftates,
the King of France being foremost in the design,
becaus he intended to make one of his Sons King
of Jerusalem, and get their Revenues for him. 1309.
Their Accusation was brought to the Council at Reg. 3.
Tours: and they were condemn'd (more by Fame
than Proof) as is evident from the condenmatory
Sentence in the Roll of Pope Clement III. His Lordship
there are these words, Quamdomque dixit non postrum, quatenus ad plenitudinem Posseditis, dimitto Ordinem
reprobantes, and then their Eftates were given to the
Hospitellers. This Affair being over, the Lords
prosecute their Design against Gavestone, who pre-
sumed running upon the King's Favour, insolently form'd for his be-
then, as much as they hated him, terming him
Chiefest of his Enemies by reproachful Names, as he
pleasted, viz. Thomas Earl of Lancaster he call'd
the Stage-player, Ayen de Valence Earl of Pem-
broke, Joseph the Jew, and Guy Earl of Warwick,
the Black Dog of Arles, which Scotts he height-
tend their desires of Revenge, that in the next
Parliament, the whole Affair of Law, as if they had
engaged in the Quarrel, humbly besought the
Affairs of the King-
dom, and their Counfel he might avoid the great Mischiefe the King
which would fall upon him through neglect of
sent en to, and to

His Coro-
nation. 1309.

The Knights
Templars
improv'd.
A.D. 1310.
Reg. 4.

The Barons threat to depose the King.

plained of Want of Maintenance (to her Father) but the whole Kingdom, which by his immediate Gifts to him, was presently possessed of the Barons, that they find him plain Word. 'That unless he did put from him his
Fishermen, and observe the Articles, which he had promised by Oath to keep, they would all with one Confet rise up in Arms against him, as a perjured Prince. The King, who was early to the effect the Messengers of his Nobles, as they found, not only yields again to the Banishment of his Favourites, but granted them further, 4 That if he were ever after found in the King's dominions, he should be condemned to Death, as an Enemy of the State. Perceval having left England, could find no safe Place of retreat; Ireland could not protect him. France was very unsafe for him, because wait was laid for him there to apprehend him. In Flanders he lurk'd a while, but in great Danger; whereof seeing he could be secure no where, he resolves to adventure again into England, and commit himself to the King's Protection, a Sanctuary that would not suffer him to be touch'd. The King received him with great Joy, and that he might be out of the envious Eye of his Nobility, he carry'd him into the North Parts of England, but he was soon after discover'd by the Lords; who, withal hearing that he was, tho' privately, in as great Favour as ever, presently 5 combine together and take measures. The King, hearing that the Son of Edward Earl of Lancaster, brother to Henry III. for their Leader, a Man very popular and powerful, and Earl likewise of Leicester, Ferrers and Lincoln. With him joyn'd Humphrey, Bobfon Earl of Hereford, Agnew de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Pembroke, and many more Barons. But Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, the King's Nephew, being desirous neither to offend the King, nor being willing to his Peers, stood Mediator between both Parties for the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom. The Earl of Warren was devoutful, and favour'd the King's Party rather, till the Archbishop of Canterbury brought him to join with the Lords who were being well prepar'd against all Encounters, send to the King in behalf of the whole Community of England, 6 Befeeching him to deliver up 7 Perceval Gavetone to them, or lend him with all 8 his Train out of England. The King neglecting an Answer to their Petition, they set forward with Earl Forest, Mowbray the Earl of Chester, The King of France and Gavetone withdrew to Newcastle, and there having a full Account of the Strength of the Lords, they took Ship together (leaving the Queen, then with Child, in great Grief behind) and land at Scarborough Castle, into which the King puts Gavetone, with the belt Forces he could get for his Defence and lev'ing him departed into Warwickshire. The Earls of Pembroke and Warren, who were sent by the Earl of Lancaster, by Siege to the Castle, and Gavetone forrard'd himself into their hands, but in treachery, that he might have Liberty to speak once more to the King, and then they should do as they pleasure'd with him. The Earl of Pembroke undertakes 9 that he should upon his Honour, but as his Servants were carrying him, the Earl of Warwick met them, and took him by force from them, and commits him to his Castle of Warwick; where, after some Confutation among the Lords (the A.D. 1311. 4.) the Earl magnificently furnished for his Life) they 10 condemned him without Tryal to the Block, and Reg. 4. cut off his Head. And this was the end of Perceval Gavetone 11: He was a Native of Gascony, and Gave for the great Service his Father had done to this same King, was educated by King Edward the First in the Royal of Cowing, 12 and with his Son the Prince, by which means he gained such an Interest in his Favour. He had a goodly Perfon, of undaunted Courage, and a faithful Man at Arms, as he shew'd himself at a Tournament at Wallingford, wherein he challeng'd the best of our Nobility, and is said to have fould them all, which infam'd their Malice against him. In Ireland, during the short time he was there in his Bengent, he conquer'd the Rebels in the Mountains of Dublin, built Newcastle in the Kern Country, repair'd Kewa-Cathil, and afterward pafted up into Munster and Thomond, doing great Service to his Mutter with much Valour and Bravery. He seems to have been a Perfon, that could not infamous the King, nor love'd his Nation, but to the time his Nature so far, as to temporize with his Enemies: But presuming upon his Fortune, grew in the end to be arrogant and proud, and was so intolerable as nothing but his Ruin, which it produced, could case the Subjects of that heavy Burthen. The Lords having got them their Desire upon The Barons, 13弋ing, and thereby finding the King's Weakness (for he should never have fall'n into their hands, if the King had had Power enough which they have kept him out) affume to themselves greater Authority; and as if all things were under their Command, praemoritary record the Confirmation and immediate Execution of all the Articles from the former Earls of Pembroke, John of Gaunt, 14 and he was left unlesse he perform'd the same, as they defir'd, they would force him to it; and for this end, with their Swords drawn, assambling at Dunstable made moves towards London, where the King lay. The great Bishops, and Earl of Gloucester, seeing the Tempet gathering, labour to appease them, and was it not to his great Good fortune (for that time were sent by the Pope to reform the Disorders of the Kingdom) repairing to St. Alban's, desire Conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but rejected the Pope's Letters written to them: saying, 'They were Swordsmen, and minded not Letters. They were therefore taken and brought to the Archbishop. The whole Counsellors they would use, and not Strangers, who knew not the Caufe of their rising, and therefore would not permit Foreigners to concern themselves in their Actions, or the Affairs of the Kingdom, with which Anwer the Cardinals return to London. But the English, The Bishops and Earls, at last were brought by the King to submit to hisseys, the King, 1121. to the King. To the King's great Joy, the great Men and Ladies of France, would have been baptiz'd by the Name of her Father Philip, but

4 And that she was declar'd of the King's Love, because Perceval engag'd the King in Whoredom and Adultery.
5 The Bishops were very zealous Conquerors in this Affair; mounten, that the Archbishop unaccompanied Waler Bishop of Conisbrough with the rest of the Earls to join Prince Philip, at that time with such a lew.
6 Dr. Stubbs, in his appendix to his Eng. Hist. affirms, That this was not the Earl of Pembroke, but the Lord Henry de la for the great Service his Father had done to this same King, was educated by King Edward the First in the Royal of Cowing, 12 and with his Son the Prince, by which means he gained such an Interest in his Favour. He had a goodly Perfon, of undaunted Courage, and a faithful Man at Arms, as he shew'd himself at a Tournament at Wallingford, wherein he challeng'd the best of our Nobility, and is said to have fould them all, which infam'd their Malice against him. In Ireland, during the short time he was there in his Bengent, he conquer'd the Rebels in the Mountains of Dublin, built Newcastle in the Kern Country, repair'd Kewa-Cathil, and afterward pafted up into Munster and Thomond, doing great Service to his Mutter with much Valour and Bravery. He seems to have been a Person, that could not infamous the King, nor love'd his Nation, but to the time his Nature so far, as to temporize with his Enemies: But presuming upon his Fortune, grew in the end to be arrogant and proud, and was so intolerable as nothing but his Ruin, which it produced, could case the Subjects of that heavy Burthen. The Lords having got them their Desire upon The Barons, 13弋ing, and thereby finding the King's Weakness (for he should never have fall'n into their hands, if the King had had Power enough which they have kept him out) affume to themselves greater Authority; and as if all things were under their Command, praemoritary record the Confirmation and immediate Execution of all the Articles from the former Earls of Pembroke, John of Gaunt, 14 and he was left unlesse he perform'd the same, as they defir'd, they would force him to it; and for this end, with their Swords drawn, assambling at Dunstable made moves towards London, where the King lay. The great Bishops, and Earl of Gloucester, seeing the Tempet gathering, labour to appease them, and was it not to his great Good fortune (for that time were sent by the Pope to reform the Disorders of the Kingdom) repairing to St. Alban's, desire Conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but rejected the Pope's Letters written to them: saying, 'They were Swordsmen, and minded not Letters. They were therefore taken and brought to the Archbishop. The whole Counsellors they would use, and not Strangers, who knew not the Caufe of their rising, and therefore would not permit Foreigners to concern themselves in their Actions, or the Affairs of the Kingdom, with which Anwer the Cardinals return to London. But the English, The Bishops and Earls, at last were brought by the King to submit to hisseys, the King, 1121. to the King. To the King's great Joy, the great Men and Ladies of France, would have been baptiz'd by the Name of her Father Philip, but

7 The Barons 1. of Arms.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Second.

A.D. the Nobility of England had him nam’d Edward. 1313. Here the King kept his Christmas, reading the
Reg. 7. French with great Magnificence, by whom he
was inspexit by his Barons to have had ill Ad-
cent of at London.

That and ordain’d the Enemy who had contem’d him, rais’d
War in his Realm against him, and mutter’d
Prince Gascovaine. But they unanimously an-
swer’d him, That they had not offended in fo
large a thing, that he had writ to his Lords and Favour-
ors, having taken Arms not in Contempt to his
his Royal Perfon, but to destroy the Publick
Enemy of the Kingdom, who as fuch had been
knight’d before by two Kings, a Man by whom
his Reputation and Honour was blemish’d, his
Revenue want’d, and a dangerous Conteft raief-
t between him and his Subject’s. But the
there could otherwise be no end with all their
Labour. Adding farther, That they would not
be longer decid’d with vain Promises or Delays,
concerning their requir’d Articles, as they had
been. The Queen and Bishops seeing their
Revolution, endeavour’d by their Perfonations to
ally their Heat, and prevail’d at length for
Kings, and the Earl of Hereford, to make the
Confederates submit to beg the King’s Pardon
in open Parliament, which they obtain’d; and
the King having receiv’d them into his Favour
as his Loyal Subjects, granted them their Arti-
cles, and particularly pardon’d by his Charter all
such as had been concern’d in the Death of Con-
federates, and the violation of his Faith by
great Wants, granted him a fifteenth.

Guy de Beaumarch, Earl of Warwick, was here alfo ap-
poin’d to be one of the King’s Council; who
being a Perfon much envy’d by tho’ that he had
the King’s Favour Chiefly, d’d shortly in that
Station, not without Sufpicion of Poison.

1314. The Scots mov’d de
forth Eng-

land.

Edward’s great Army.

This great Misfortune was not fingle, but A Death in the
next Year many great Calamities fol, England,
low’d it, viz. fuch Inundations as brought forth
Dearth, and Dearth produced Fatigue, and Fatig-
which con-
sume Peftilence, all which exceed’d any that had ever
been in England before; infomuch, that a Rate of
Parliament was call’d at London to abate and let
the Privy Seal, and the Ordinances of the
impro’d. And therefore it was ordain’d,
That an Ox fatt’d with Gras should be fold for
16 s. fatt’d with Corn for 20 s. the heft Cow for
12 s., a fat Hog of two Years old for 4 s. 4 s., a
fat Sheep thorn’d 14 d. with the Fleece 20 d. a fat
Goat 2 d., a fat Capon 2 d. a fat Hen 1 d. four
Pigeons 1 d. a Whelp which to fuch a price
forfeit their Goods to the King. Here fceems
then to have been no Cloves, Lamba, Golines,
Chickens, or young Pigs to be fold, fuch Dain-
tries were not yet in use. After the Settlement of
thefe Rates, all kind of Provision grew more
scarce; for there happen’d fuch a Murmurn to
Cartel, and a Defire of justice, and ftill a great
quantity of Corn lef’t on foot, that no Corn thon’d be mad’d or been’d with, that Barley might be prefer’d for Bread.

Plenty,
A D. Plenty, and not able to work, fell to Robbery 1317. and Spoil, so that nothing was safe from danger.

Reg. II. Three Years this Affliction held, and was attended with such a general Sicknes and Mortality of the common fort, caused by their unwhol- som Custom of living, and the Want of Meat, that it was necessary to bury the Dead. But all these Miseries, which befel the Nation, could not slay the Diffcontents and Hatred between the King and his Nobles, but they were daily seeking opportunity to in- crease it. The King employes one Richard St. Martin, a deformed Dwarf, to take the Wife of the late Earl of Lancasfer out of his Hands at Cambridge in Dorsetshire, claiming her for his Wife, and de- claring, He had Lian with her before the marry'd the Earl; which the Lady, to her eternal Di- grace, owned. By her this mean Perfon claim'd the Earl's Rents of Lincoln and Salisbury, of which she was Heir, and raised not only a desire of Re- venge in her a part, and himself, but the King, who was look'd upon to be the chief Agent in it. This and other of the King's Actions became so observable to his People, that a Knight fetting a Woman in a fatafical Drefs upon an Helpe, fent a Letter by her into Westminifter-Hall to the King as he fat at Dinner upon the Feast of Pentecot, whereby he is informed of fog many things as had been done him and his Father good Services, and ad- vancing Men of mean Parts, and no Deferts, &c. At which, tho' the King was angry at first, yet when the Knight owned he did it for his Honour, he was satisfied, and did nothing to him. While these Afflictions lay upon the Nation with their fame, it wou'd not be long before the King, with which the English, who undertook to defend them, fo far joy'd, that what they kept the Scots from taking away and spoiling, they took them- selves. So that the miserable People were ut- terly undone by being plunder'd all fides; and Bruce, who was now abolute King of the Scots, fent his Brother with a mighty Army into Ireland, which they got a part, and reign'd under the Title of a King three Years 4. Thus all things, both at home and abroad, went ill with England. But yet they were a means of producing fame good, for they were an occasion of that Reconciliation which was shortly after made between the King and Earl of Lancasfer, by the mediation of two ChattelLords, and a fuch Condiftion with which they were to- gether穿衣 after broken unjustly by the King. For a Knight was taken paffing by Powfort, with Letters, fealed with the King's Seal, directed to the King of Scots, about murthering the Earl. The Meffenger was executed, and his Head fet upon the top of the Caille, and his Letters referred to witnefs the injustice of the Act. This Act, whether true or fälle, cast a foul Aperfon upon the King, and made many take the Earl's part. After this, up- on an Invasion of the Scots, who foraged as far as York, a Parliament is called at London, in which the King, by the Intereftion of the Cardinals and Clergy of England, yields faithfully to obferve the Articles of Confederacy, and thereupon an Army is agreed to be rais'd, at the Expecfion of the People, to go against the Scots; London fends two hundred, Caufeyfort forty, St Albans ten, and to all other Cities and Boroughs according to their A D. proportion; by which means a confiderable Ar- my was lev'y'd, but being come as far as York, Reg. 10. through Matrimony and Diffcontents was dissolve, and to return homeward, and not daring to return next Year after, upon the Surrender of Berwick to the Scots, by the Treat'f of Peter Spalding, who had the keeping of it, the King rais'd an Army and befieged it. The Scots, to divert his Forces, 1318. entered England in other places, and had almost surpriz'd the Queen's Perfon lying at York; but the Siege, not being defending this Town continued, and the King was in great Probability to have gained the Town, had not the Earl of Lancasfer and his Followers withdrawn themselves upon a Diffcontent, hearing the King far, that he would give the keeping of it to the Lord Hugh Spencer the younger, who now was the King's Favourite, and therefore hated by the Earl. Again, The Inha- bitants of York, and the adjoining Counties, hav- ing received ineffimable Dainages by the Scots, gather an Army of ten thousand Men, and en- counter them at Milton on the Swale, but being not well conducted nor experienced, they were beaten with the loss of three thousand Men. 5. This being related to the King, he feared all things, and the Army with the Scots for two Years, and it leaves those parts dishonourably.

In the time of this Peace, a great Flame arose from a small Spark, which was kindled by this occasion. A Baron, whose Name was William Brewer, having by his Prodigality and Vice wasted his Fortune, was made a Bonifide {en for his part in the former Great War, by Richard Earl of Hereford, because the Lands adjourn'd to his Eftate, beg leave of the King to buy it, and offer of bargains for it. The two Marton's, Uncle and Nephew, great Men in those parts, not knowing of the former Bargain, made a Contract also for it with Sir William Brewer. Hugh Spencer the younger hearing also that those Lands were to be sold, and lay near his Eftate, offers a more particular Grant of the King, being his Chamber- lain, and buys it out of all their hands. The Earl of Hereford being thus defeated of his Bargain, complains to the Earl of Lancasfer (the Re- luge of all Great Contemplation of Men) of this Affair, and induced him to enter into a Confederacy with divers other Barons there assembled, obliging themfelves by an Oath to live and die one with another, in maintaining the Rights of the Kingdom, and procuring the Banishment of the two Spons-The Barons ever 1, the Father and Son, whom they flil The Banions Seducers of the King, and Opprores of the State against the Scots, and difpofting all things at Court as they please; and two Spons, suffering nothing to be obtained but by their own means, which the State accounted an intolerable Raving Army. Under thefe pretences they take up Arms, and contrary to all Justice and Right feizes upon and deftroy'd the Lands and Goods of those Perfon's, for which they were intended to intercede, and of all those that had any Affiliation or Friendship with them, killing their Servants, and disposing of their Cailles at their pleasure. Which done, they marched to St. Albans, and from thence fend

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1 The meaner sort are Dogs and Horses; and, as our Historians add, Children and Men were fob'n for Food, yet it appears by the Earl. Roll, i Edw. 2, p 55. that the Price of Corn and Venables was fendifer. Mr. Daniel places this Act two Years too early. This roll is printed in part June 1317.
2 He was a Knight, Thomas Wallingham calls him Sir Richard of St. Martyn, a Recenn to the Earl of Surrey.
3 The two Chiefs of thefe Banditti were Gilbert de Middleton, and Walter de Selby; the former was surpris'd in his Caille and hang'd, what became of the other we do not read in the Historian of this Reign.
4 He went over to Ireland in the Year 1317, and was kill'd in Battle by the Lord Birmingham, on the 14th of October, 1318.
5 His Body was quarter'd and his Head sent to England.
6 William de Beyngs, Lord of Gowerland, and not Pontis.
7 The two Sponsers were not mention'd in their Engagement, To live and die for Justice, and the Distillation of Traitors; by which the Sponers, Father and Son, were mean't.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Second.

A.D. 1321.

The King resideth at London, and was in Council in the Bishop of London, Salisbury, Hertford, and Checcheborough, about settling the Peace. The Bishops seeing this, defined him, as he tendered the Peace and Happines of his Realm, to banish from his Court those Traitors, the Speakers, who were condemned in many Ar- canists of High Treason by the Commons of the Nation, and withal to grant a Pardon and Indemnity unto the Barons, and all their Ad- herents, that they should not hereafter suffer for any Crime, past or present. The King an- swered, that 'Tis Hugh Spencer the Father was be- yond seas employed in the busines of the Nation, and that the Earl of Chester was within the same, according to his Duty; and that it was both against Law, and the Custom of the Realm, that they should be banished without being heard; That their Petition was against Justice and Reafon, because the Speakers were always ready to an- swer all Complaints made against them accord- ing to their Place, and that they had offended against any Statute of the Realm, they would submit to a Tryal. Farther- wise, that he would never break his Cor- onation-Oath, by granting a Pardon to such no- torious Offenders, as contemned his Person, dis- turbed his Government, and violated his Ma- jesty. This Answer so exasperated the Lords that they immediately drew near to the Londoners and lodged in the suburbs, till they could obtain leave to enter into the City: which being granted, they came to the King, and boldly urge their Demands; which at length the King, by the mediation of the Queen and Chief Bishops, condemend to; and by his Edict, published in Westminster-Hall by the Speaker, commanded the Earl of Chester, and he that came to the City, to deliver up the Kingdom for their Lives. Hugo the Father kept beyond the Seas, but the Son fied privately in England, expecting a Turn of Affairs. The Lords (being satisfied, and pardoned) return home, yet not to live securc as to give over all provocation for their own Defence. Yet all their Care could not prevent, that in the Lord, which rove, that follow'd, upon this Occasion: The Queen, who had always been a principal Infrument of Peace and Concord between the King and his Barons, going on a Progres to Canterbury, was dis- posed to lodge in the Caffe of Leeds, which belonged to the Lord Bedelfome, who was lately the King's Servant, but then took the same, and to that end for her Marchall before to make things ready for her and her Attendants. But the Keeper plainly told him, That neither the Queen, nor any Body else should be admitted without Letters from his Lord; which Anwer he also gave to the Queen her self coming in Peron, so that he was forced to take up fuch Lodging that Night as they could get for her. This Indignity to the Queen at her return complain'd of to the King, who took it so ill, that he presently went down with a Body of armed Men out of London, and laying fiege to the Caffe, took it, hang'd the Keeper Thomas Colbyer, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord Bedelfome to the Tower, and feizes upon all his Goods and Treasure. And now A.D. having this power about him, and emboldend by 1322. Success, and the Inflation of the Queen, he went Reg. 15. 0. to Gafelor, where he kept his Christmas, and there providens An Army against the Barons. Some of the Lords seeing the King's Power to increas, left their Associates, and yield'd themselves to the King's Mercy; among whom were the two Mortimer's, Men of great Elegies and Interests, the Lords Hugh Audley and Maurice Berkeley, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their Expectation, were sent to divers Prisons 1. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford being this sudden Change, withdrew themselves and their Compan- iions, and fled from Gafelor towards the Northumberland, the Queen with whom were the Earls of Aubel and Angus, followed them with his Army, and engag- ing them at Barton upon Trent, subdu'd their Barons forces, and put them all to flight. Whereupon they retired farther North, and at Borough-Bridge, Trent, and were engaged by Sir Simon W. and Sheriff of York, and Sir John and Sir John, near Hardley Constance in Carlile, which blew the Earl of Hereford in trying to pass the Bridge, and took the Earl of Lancaster, and divers other Lords, Prisoners. The King being at Pen- frey, the Captive Lords were carry'd thither to him; and on the third Day after their coming, the King fitting himself in judgment, with Ed- ward and Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Clare, and the Count Durward, he commanded to take the hole, which he and a branch being, as a Traitor, but the said, which two were being pardon ed, because he was of the were the Royal Blood, he was beheaded the same Day at Penfrey, without the before mentioned Certificate 2. And by the like Judgment were condemned and executed at York the Lords Roger Clifford, Warren, Lyle, William Trenchet, Thomas Mandie, Henry Bradburn, William Fitz-Williams, William Lord Cheynor, Thomas Lord Maulan, and Vereo Lord Darnall. Shortly after the Lord Hen- ry Teyor was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at London, and Archbishop at Winifler, the Lords Radefhore and Ashburnam at Canterbury, the Lord Gifford at Gafelor, principal Men in principal Places, to spread the Terror of their Actions over the Kingdom, all their Eleges and Inheritances being confiscat', and new Men put into them. And this was the first Boy of the Nobility, which after this manner finished the Conquest, which being to prodibly split, procured sharp Revenge soon after.

The King, exalted with this Success against his Barons, thought Fortune would now continually attend him; and therefore, as well to compleat his Conquests, as to keep the Minds and Hands of his People, he declared his wish for a mighty Holf into Scotland. He was but badly provided of Victuals for so great a Multitude, which the Scots having notice of, convey'd themselves and all Saccors out of the way, and thereby forced him to endure to great Wants, that he was constrained to return with Difhonour, having conquer'd his Armies without Blows. In his Pallage

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1 Adam Murray, in his History of this King, in Magul. Coll. Lib. in Overy, writes, That the younger Spencer turn'd Pyrate, and robbed all the Merchant-Ships he could meet with.

2 Sir Roger Mortimer, and some others of the Imperial Lords, espy'd out of Prison, and fled into France.

3 The King is said to have not so much Severity against these Lords, by the Advice and Inflation of the Speakers, who thought, by this removing their Enemies, so remiss in the King's Favour without disturbance.

4 This Earl of Lancaster was reckoned a Saint of the common People, who loving him for his Love of his Country, after he was dead was in Pilgrimage to his Tomb; the Speakers, enter'd at the Helpet paid to his sanctuary, gave the King to order a Guard to be placed about the Tomb, where he was buried, which was very beloved, towards the Northumberland. In the next Reign a Church was built over his Tomb, and Queen Isabeau her self went to the Pope to justify the Normans done there, and to define his Canonisation, which indeed he deferv'd much more than any of his Countrymen, who had daudt for that honour for the Conquest. For if the love of his Country may be call'd Pyre, he was truly and unstainedly a pious Man, and was afterwards Canonicalized, Anno 1389.

5 The Speakers got the greater share of them.

homeward,
homeward, when he had advanced a pretty way into his own Country, the Scots fell upon his Reg. 16. Army unawares, took the Earl of Richmond, the King himself hardly escaping, and having spoil'd the Country as far as the Walls of York, returned laden with great Spoils.

The King, of this unfortunate King (who was not born for Triumphant) in his third Expedition into Scotland. After this, the King being at leisure, and in a calmer Humour it seems, began to reflect upon the Execution of the Earl of Lancaster, which he disrov'd upon this Occasion. Some of his Courtiers marking an earnest Petition to him to pardon one of the Earl's Followers (a Man of low Degree) and prelating him much to it, he bursts out into a Passion, and exclaims against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who can urge him so much to lave the Life of a notorious Villain, but would not speak one Word to command the Earl of Lancaster, who, said he, had he lived, might have been serviceable to me and the whole Kingdom; but this Fellow, the longer he lives the more Mischief he'll do, and therefore by the Soul of God, he shall die the Death he hath deserv'd. Sir Andrew Barkley, who took the Earl of Lancaster Prisoner at York, and for that Sentence was advanced to the Earldom of Carlisle, enjoy'd his Honour but a little while; for the next Year, either through the Malice of the Speakers, who envy'd his Preterest, or else for joining with the Scots in hopes of a great Match (as was prov'd upon him) he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at the Tower.

A Parliament called.

In it was decreed by the common Consent of all the Assembly, That the King should not go in Perlon into France at that time, but send some Principal to treat or to frame or to Appoint on his behalf. In this Parliament the King required a Subsidy both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Redemption of John Brittain Earl of Richmond, who was lately taken Prisoner by the Scots. But it was deny'd and alledged, That no Contribution ought of right to be made for the Redemption of any Person but King, Queen or Prince; and that it was much against the Common Sense and Interest of the Nation, to call for a Contribution. And the King, without the Parliament, by seeking for Contributions, was in a State of a Privey Bar. But the King, upon the Parliament, that the King of England would give the King of France, Edward the Dutchy of Aquitain, with the Prince of Pondibuy, and send him over to do Duke du Mal for the fame; which after many Conflicts, Aquitain, the King was persuaded to yield unto his Humage.

The Prince therefore is sent with the Bishop of Exeter, and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was to make a solemn Address to his Mother, who hereinafter got his Aims, and was wholly bent upon Revenge (of which Women are usually more eager) found there, as well as in the whole Kingdom, enough to nourish that Humour in her plots against whom the chief was Roger Mortimer, Lord of the King, Pescue, a gallant Gentleman, whom the whole Examination of, and having be turn'd out of the Tower of London. The Bishop of Exeter perceiving some Plots in hand, by their Confutations, which they managed closely without him, withdraws secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed of their Actions. The King therefore sends presently for the Queen and the Prince, and solicits the King of France.

what he was charg'd with. Shortly after he was A. D. again taken and converted as before, which the 1324. Clergy understanding, the Archbishops of Con-Rag. 17. Verby, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, went to the Place of Judgment with their Crosses erected, and the Success of administering all Men upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. This audacious Act much displeased the King, who commanded, that Inquiry should be made concerning the Objections brought against the Bishop, His Office, &c. and being found guilty of that, all his Goods and Reliques were seiz'd into the King's hands. This Act of the King's left him the Clergy, and added much to the discontented Party of the Nation, which was now grown to be almost universal, except the Speakers, and their Followers; who being fill'd with the Spoils of the Bishops, governed all things as they pleased, telling the King's favours, and suffering none to live to him, but whom they list; and at length becoming so arbitrary in their Dispositions, that they pretend'd to abridge the King's Maintenance, and leften her Husband, which was the fatal Act that proved their undoing.

The King's Magistrate neglected in France, whereupon the King of France proceeded so far, that all Kings, Bishops, 

Edward's Territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance seiz'd upon by the French. The King lent over his Brother Edward into Gascogne to secure his Dominions, and brotherly joined in a Treaty with the French hands, but to little purpose, the King of France was before him, and had gotten the People over to him, being the stronger side. So that nothing could be done, unless either the King would go over in Person, or send the Queen to her Brother to mediate a Peace, otherwise all was in danger to be lost. As for the King's going in Perlon, the Speakers held it unsafe both for him and them, if he should leave his Kingdom in so great and general Discontents, as then it was; wherefore the Queen, with a small Train, is sent over to accommodate the Bishops, which he negociated so well, that it was agreed. This made a new Condition, that the King of England would give the King of France Edward the Dutchy of Aquitain, with the Earl the Prince of Pondibuy, and send him over to do Duke du Mal for the fame; which after many Conflicts, Aquitain, the King was persuaded to yield unto his Humage.

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* Soon after a Peace was concluded by the King and the Scots for thirteen years, by the mediation of the Pope.
* He was degraded of his House before Execution, and in the first Influence of that kind in English History.
* Adam de Orlea, a febile, but famous Man.
* This was done by the Speakers, wnat, because the diffick the King's Right to the Lords, they pretended it was he that the King of France, his brother, had invaded the King's Territories as that side.
* Walter Stapleton, a grave and wise Prelate.
A.D. to haften their return: But when he saw it was neglected and delay'd, he caused them openly to neglect it. Reg. 19. to be proclaimed in Edinburgh, the Kingdom, and

1 had him with all their Adherents. Leaving all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sending three Admirals, who should wait on several Courts to oppose their landing. On the other side, as the King hath a faithful Subject, to do the Queen's officious Perions; who to enframe her again, and to destroy the King and Kingdom, did in

2 and 3 all the Earl of Kent, and the younger Spencer, and the Earl of Hereford, being then a rich and potent Prince, and Earl of Holland, to whose Daughter Philippa the contracted her Son the Prince, and

4 gets both sufficient Aid and Money of him to transport her safely into England. Arriving at Harwich', with the Prince, Earl of Kent, the King's Brother (whom the brought with her from the Court of France) the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Roger Mortimer, and John the Earl of Hereford's Brother, with 12,000 Horses and Footings: She was received with great Joy, and a general Congres of all the discontented Nobility, and others of the Nation, and especially the Bishop of Rochester, who had left the King's Favour, bought by this means to recover their Loys by abducting the Queen. The King having notice of the sudden and safe Arrival of the Queen, demands assurance of the City of London, who returns answer, 'That they would with all Duty honour the King, Queen, and Prince, and that they would neither of them go to London, nor to any Place, nor hire any Foreigners or Traitors to the Realm, and with all their power withstand them'. The King and his Council, nor daring to rely upon such an Answer, resolved to leave them, and having first put out a Proclamation, that none upon pain of Death should assist the Queen, but destroy all her Adherents, only her own Person, the Prince, and his Brother the Earl of Kent, excepted; and promising, That whosoever should bring the Head of Roger Mortimer should have a thousand Pound, And committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir John Weylin, with the prevarication of his younger Son John of Eltham, and his Neice the Countess of Pembroke, he was fitted for the Place of Prince Greville, and now of Henry Spencer the younger, a Lady always unfortunate by the over-great Favour of her Husband) departed towards the Welt, hoping to find as great assistance now as he had done before against the Barons; but he found the Cafe altered, and no Man regarded him, nor would be hired to fight for him. The Queen having an account of the King's Courte and Design, marches after him (growing every Day stronger as she went on) and comes to Oxford, where the Bishop of Hereford preach'd before her, and the whole Assembly and University, taking for his Text, (2 Kings 4.19.) My Head:eth, my Head:eth: from which he took occasion to deliver the Canons of the Queen's proceedings against her Husband, and concluded at last, moit unlike a good Divine, That an acting and fick Head of a Kingdom is of necessity to be taken off, and not other-wise to be cured. A most execrable Doctrine, as

5 repugnant to that sacred Ward, which in all corrupted Times is produced by wicked Tempo-

6 riers, to abufe Men's Creditions, and justify the Reg. 19. inquiries of the Ministers of the King, and to confume the Queen's proceedings the more. If a

7 and 8 the Queen's notified abroad. That Two Cardinels were in her Camp, sent by the Pope to eommunicate all such as took up Arms against her, who fought nothing by appearing in Arms, but to delib-

8 erate the King and Kingdom from the Spencers, who were the Mihlees of the King, and De-

9 stroyers of the Kingdom, and their Aderents, the Lord Chancellors and others; all other of the King's Subjects to be safe. And that the might fatigue all Perpons, the put out a Proclamation, That nothing should be taken from any Subject without paying them Money, and a severe Pe-

10 nalty imposed upon any one that should dare to do the contrary; as, for the value of Three-

11 pence to lose a Finger, of Six-pence, an Hand; of a Shilling, the Head; and whosoever brought to the Queen the younger Spencer's Head should have two thousand Pound. This was a bad Coute cover'd with a show of Justice, and the unnatural Opposition of a Wise against Her husband, and a Son against his Father, made plausible and seemingly just by Powers; which, tho' in fictious Times it pulle well enough, hath left an indelible Mark of Ignorancy and Difgrace upon her Memory for ever.

12 A.D. 1326. the mitifying the nation by the (which is the main support of Majesty) lamentable and abandoned. The King

13 is torn in pieces by his Purturers, found few or no Hands to assist him; so that after he had put Hugh Spencer the Father into the Castle of Bristol, with such Forces as he was able to provide for the defence of it, he leaves the Nation to his own Will, and does not return to the Idea, with a design either to conceal himself anywhere, or to the Ile of Lundy, or pass over into Ireland; but being oppossed by contrary WInds, and delayed by those few Attendants he had with him, viz. Sir Thomas Blunt, his Steward, and others, he was driven a-shore in Walcum in Glanorgarve, where, tho' he found not Protection, he met with Love, and was hidden in the Abby of Nevis. The Queen in the mean time goes with her Army from Oxford to Gloucester, where the Lords Peircy and Wake met her with Aids from the North; and from thence the marched to Bristol, attains and wins the Castle, and puts to Death the Defender, Hugh Spencer, without Pattern of Law, causing them to be drawn and hung on the common Law in his Coat-Armour, cut up before he was dead, headed and quarter'd. This done, the pafle to Hereford, and the King being not to be found, a Proclamation was put out, That if he would come and govern the Nation, as he ought to do, he should again be accepted as King with a general Consent: The King was then too daring to trust himself to them, or not having sufficient Information, still concealed himself; and thereupon they took the advantage to dispo-

14 ple of the Government, and the Prince, who was now under their Care and Management, was made Guardian of the Kingdom, hath Fealty sworn to him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer are appointed. But the King was too great to be concealed long; and being discover'd was by Henry the Earl of Lancaster, Brother to the late Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Tryal of Law, by certain

15 Williams Lord Zouch, and Ries of Howell, taken Barons.
A.D. and convey’d to the Castle of Kenelworth. The 1226. younger Spencer, with Baldocke the Chancellor, Reg. 19, and Son in Reading, who were appointed with his consent to the Queen at Hereford. Spenc- er, who was at this time Earl of Glaefier, is drawn and hang’d on a Gallows fifty Foot high, in his Coat-Armour, on which it was written, *Qnigloriarum Militis, P.s. 52. Simon Reading was hang’d ten Foot lower than he. But Baldocke, because he was a Priest, and by the Vicar to be buried to Death in Nenaghe.* And here likewise a little before was the Earl of Anevald, with two Barons, John Deswyl and Thomas Michelwee, exe- cuted as Traitors¹, by the procurement of Roger Mortonier, for adhering to the King’s Party. And that the Mob may not fail to act its part in such Rebellion, the Commons of Lincoln, and force their Mayor, who held his Loyalty, to join with them to let out all Prisoners, possefs themselves of the Tower, put to Death the Conspailer of it Sir John Weyton, and murderer’d the Bishop of Erie- ter, whom they hated, because when he was the King’s Treasurer he caused the Justices Itinerant to fit in London, who laid heavy Fines upon them. And thus all things were in Confusion.

According to a Month’s fay at Hereford, the Queen return’d with the Prince, and kept her Chrifmas at Wallingford, and her Candlemas at London, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depofe the King as unfit to govern, objecting ma- ny Faults, against him, and to elect his eldest Son Edward, which they did in the great Hall at Wallingford, with the univerfal Confent of the People there present; and the Archibishop of Can- terbury made a Sermon upon this Text, Vox Populi, Vox Dei, exhorting the People to pray to the King of Kings for him that they had chosen. The Mob, being seeing what was doing, began now fooner to reflect upon her felf, and her own Actions, which were the caufe of it; and either out of remorse of Confiquence, or trouble for the los of her own Dignity, they.gave great difcountent at this Election, infomuch that her Son to com- fort her was forced to fwear, That he would not accept of the Crown without the confent of his Fa- ther. This Revolution of the Prince produced a common Decree in Parliament, *That three Bi- shops, two Earls, two Abotts, four Barons, three Knights of every Shore, with a certain number of Befieges of every City and Borough, and efpccialiy of the Cinque-ports, fhould be fent to the King at Kenelworth, to decifion unto him the Election of his Son, and to require of him the Renunciation of his Crown and Royal Dig- nity, whereunto, if he refufed to conftant, the A.D. State would refolve to proceed as they thought 1227, fir, and renunciation their Children, choose whom Reg. 20. they pleated. The King being firft privately ac- quainted with the Mefliege, which was one of the moft ungrateful that could be fent to any Prince, was after by two, whom he chiefly hated, the Bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, brought before him personally; when they had deposed the King, and the Mefliege he fay to them (as soon as his Paffion would give him leave) *He confiffed that he had been misguided (the common Excufe of a poor man), and done many things, of which he now repented; and which, if he were to govern again, he would amend;* and was very fer- rous to the Bishops, and never to affift them in the Affairs of State, but utterly fhould reject him: But yet thanked them, that they were fo favourable to him as to choofe his elfed Son for King. Having faid this, they proceeded to the Ceremony of his Reafignation, which confifted chiefly in the fur- rendering his Crown, and all the Parlia- ment, Procurator, regent to fhirde the Edward the Homage that was made to thee fome time fince; and from this time forward now following, I defte thee, and prive thee of all thy Royal Power; and I fhall never be tendant on thee, as King, from this time. Thus was the latf Act, and firft Example of the Chief King, not only prohibitious honourable to the Nation, than unto him. He was a Prince more weak than Evil. His Faults in Government were many, but not fo many as those of his People to him, in dealing too roughly and uncivilly with him. He is reported by fome to have been Learned (which perhaps might make him the fomcr) and written Veres when he was in Prison. He is faid to have been the Founder of Oriat-College and S. Mary-Hall in Oxford.

He had by his Wife Isabel two Sons, Edward, his Elde, born at Winfor, who fucceeded, and John, fur- nam’d of Eftona, who was created Earl of Corn- wall in 1311, and dy’d in the Flower of his Age in Scotland: And two Daughters, Joanna mar- ry’d to David Prince of Scotland, and Eleanor to the Duke of Gelders.

Remarking Occurrences in the Reign of Edward II.

Some time before Chrifmas, in the 9th Year of his Reign, a Blazing Star or Comet appear’d in the North, was feen for a Month together, and was the Forerunner of a Famine and a Mortality. The Death was occafion’d by prodigious Raines in the Summer, which hinder’d the People’s get- ting in their Corn, and what was a Month before very little. Wheat was fold for forty Shillings a Quarter, as much as eight Pound now; and a Murrain deftroyc’d the Cattle.

¹ He was Bishop of Norwich.
² Thomas of Walfingham in his Chronic relaces, That Baldocke the King’s Chancellor was committ frift to the Bishop of Lincoln’s Prison, from whence he was pul’d out by the common People of London to be car- ry’d to Nenaghe, but they beat him to cruelty by the way, that he dy’d of his Bruises in great Torture.
³ Thomas Walfingham.
⁴ Walter Rynde, who, tho’ prefer’d by the King, yet was carry’d down with the Curem.
⁵ This Sermon was preach’d at his Coronation. T. Walfingham.
⁶ John de Strafford Bishop of Walfinger, Cam de Ortein Bifhop of Hereford, and Henry Barrowe : The Bifhop of Walfinger was the firft to the King, partly to perfeuide, and partly to accufe him. Sir Thomas de la Nire in his Historie relates, That the Bifhop of Walfinger and the Bifhop of Lincola were both two Bifhops that were fear’d before the King, to bring him to it.
⁷ He fell into a Swoon, and laid faith to the Ground, had he not been supported by the Earl of Lancaster, and the Bishop of Walfinger.
The next Year the Famine continuing, the Poor were forced to eat Horse-flesh, Dogs, and Cats; and there was not sufficient, even of that vile Food, to keep them alive. Wheat was sold for near 3 l. a Quarter, and the Mortality raged as violently as in the Year preceding, Holinshed.

In his 12th Year on the 14th of November, the greatest Earthquake happen'd that had been known in England, to the unutterable Terror of Men, Women and Children.

In his 20th Year the Bishop of Exeter, Walter de Stapleton, Founder of Exeter College and Hart Hall in Oxford, was kill'd in an Insurrection of the People at London. He was a Minister of State in Edward II’s Reign, and fell'd with the Courtiers.

The Barons of greatest Fame in his Reign were

Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, the Lords Audley, Mowbray, Clifford and Zet, who all dy'd in defence of the Liberties of the People; Roger Mortimer, and Edmund Earl of Kent, the King’s Uncle, great Captains.

In his Time flourish’d several Men of Letters, as

John Dun, furinam’d Socrates, the Schoolman, Nicholas de Lyra an English Convert Jew, who wrote several Treatises against the Rabbins; William Ockham, who wrote against John Dun and against the Pope, in behalf of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; Robert Pereserat a Yorkshire Man, fanc’d to be a Magician. Robert Boffton a Carmelite Fryar of Scarborough, whom King Edward took into his Service into Scotland, to write his History of that War, but the Success of it faileth Boffon the Trouble; Ralph Baldock Biphop of


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**THE LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD III.**

Edward III, being thus made King by the Resignation of his Father Edward II. the late King, begun his Reign Jan. 20. 1327, being about fourteen Years of Age, and immediately sends out his Proclama-
tions for the Preservation of the Peace into all Counties, in this Form, 1 Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, To N. N. our Sheriff of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord Edward, the late King of England, our Father, by the Common Council and Affent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Chief Men, with the whole Commonalty of this Realm, did voluntarily amove himself from the Government thereof, willing and granting that we his Eldges son and Heir should assume the Government of the same, &c. A Preamble intended to palliate the Wrong done to his Father, but indeed making it more apparent. Five days after he was crown’d at West-

minister, by Walter Archbiphop of Canterbury, but the Queen seem’d much troubled and grieved at it, till the was pacified soon after by a great Enlargement of her Joynture, the King letting upon her three parts of his Revenue. The Management of the Kingdom was the next thing to be consider’d, which was put into the hands of twelve of the most able, and grave State-men during the King’s Minority, till he should be of Age to govern it himself; which were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Hereford, Wince-

fier, and Worcester, Thomas Brotherton Earl Mar-

thal, Edmund Earl of Kent, John Earl Warrein,

Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Peires, Oliver

Lord Ingham, and John Lord Keffe. But the

Queen and Mortimer murpt their Charge, and

left them nothing but a Name of Governors.

And the first Bill that was acted by this new

King by their Advice, was an Expedition into

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*The Reader will all along perceive that this Author is no Friend to the Bacons, and their Cause.

*Henry Earl of Lancaster was deposed to have the Care of his Person.

Vol. I. E e 2 Scotland,
Scotland, undertaken not only to recover the Honour of the Nation, but to keep Mens Minds busy at present, and uphold the Change; and neither not only a considerable Body of English are lent, but all the Strangers which were brought over with the Queen under the Title of Sir Humble, and Sir M. Hampden's Brother, and at To & the whole Army met, where the English (being not all of a Party) quarrel with the foreign Aids, and so great a Content rose between them, that some Blood was spilt, and it was very hardly appeased. At Stanhope Park the English came to an Engagement with the Scots, who fell upon them, and the English were treble the number, and might easily have conquer'd them, yet through the Treafor of some great Men (as it was reported) they all escap'd, and nothing remarkable was done, and so the young King, who was born for Victories, was deprived of the Honour of this his first Action, with which being satisfied, by others Advice, was not so demolished unto him as it was to others. However, upon his return, all the Henoways and Stipendiary Soldiers were sent home.

During this Expedition, the depofed King remained a Prisioner at Wrington, under an Allowance of an hundred Marks a Week for his Wear and Expense of all the Comforts the World should yield him. His Wife, whom he loved greatly (tho' now the Author of all his Miseries) sends him fine Clothes, and kind Letters, but deny'd him her Presence (tho' it was often desire'd by the King by Letters) upon a Pre- 
tence, that she was not allow'd to come to his LIFE; but after the King's return, he was removed, because he was not thought safe enough, nor look'd so striktly to as ought, being in Custody of his Uncle * the Earl of Lan-
coffer, and * was committed to more faithful Keepers, two Men of the most rough Natures that could be found, the Lord *Mistrewe; * and Sir Thomas Gourney the Elder, who immediately removed them from thence, and put him into the Caflle of Barkley in Gloucefsfure, where he stay'd not long, but he was removed to Carfe Caflle, and from thence from one place to another to disappoint his Friends; who, they fear'd, were laying plots to 4 remove him, till at last, they brought him in an empty Boat, having thrown his Head with cold Water in the open Fields, while he sat upon a Mole-hill, to Barkley Caflle again; where shortly after, Gourney and Mistrewe cauht him to be murdered in a most barbarous manner, by thrashing up an hot Iron into his Bowels through a hollow Instrument put up into his Pamment, by which Means no outward Sign appeard to discover his Death; for his Body being afterwards laid forth to be viewed by many Substantial Citizens of Gloucester * (who were fammon'd for that purpose) they could find no sign either of Wound or Poifen; so that A. D. they concluded that he dy'd of Grief, as was 1527. reported. Thus dy'd Edward II. within eight Reg. 1. Months after he was depoited, and was buried in the Abbey Church of the Benedictines at Gloucester. The Emperor then desir'd to have the Body of this Prince reveres, tho' they had a Commissiôn from the Queen to do as they did; yet the being abham'd to own it, they dare not undergo the Tryal, but pretently fled their Country. Gourney three Years after was taken at Merfellies, but was murther'd in his Palfage into England, that he might not discover who brought him from the Scots, till Markets lock'd a long time in Germany. But this Deed cost more Trouble and Blood afterwards; for the Judgments of God fell heavily, not only upon the Confrons of this Wickedness, but upon the whole Kingdom in general, and the King's Po-tice and Fertility and Nobilities and Children in particular; and civil and civil Wars of the Nation in after Ages, will plainly prove, tho' for the present the Authors of it, the Queen and Mistrewe lately created Earl of March, prosper'd and govern'd all to the no small Dif satisfaction of the Nation, which brought forth new Factions, according to the Nature of their Wellbarne. The King's Marriage with Philippa of Henneford 1528. was now solemniz'd, and a Parliament is held at the King's Northampton, at which a dishonourable Peace was concluded with the Scots, and confirm'd by a Match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, called, Son of Robert Bruce, the present King, and Joanna Sifher, the Daughter of the late King of England which King, by reason of the tender Age of the Prince, could promise but little good to the Nation. Besides, by the secret Contrivance of the Queen Mother, Roger Mistrewe, lately made Earl of March, and Sir James Douglase, 4 The King surrenders by his Charter his Title and Sovereignty to the Kingdom of Scotland, reforres many Deeds and Acts of forced Treaty with the Scots, and grants them Fealty, with the famous Evidence call'd the 4th Ragman Roll, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments; among which, was one of great Value, call'd the Black Craft of Scotland, &c. and besides, all Englishmen were not permitted to hold any Lands in Scotland, unless they were lords, and besides, they were not allowed to keep any Grants. King Bruce was to pay the King thirty thousand 4 Marks. Shortly after a Parliament was held at Winchester, where Edmund Earl of Kent, Brother to the late depoited King, is accus'd and condemn'd by his own Confection, for endeav-ouring to reforre his Brother, and conferring with Lords of the Peopke, without any Matter of Fact*. This miserable Earl stood on the Scaffold from one till five o'Clock in the Afternoon, and no Man would execute him, but at length, a filly Wretch of the King's

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* He was not his Uncle, but his Cofin being Brother of Thomas and Son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, who was his Uncle.  
* By the Queen and Mistrewe's Order, but not with the King's hand.  
* Sir John Mistrewe.  
* King, God had many Friends, who wished at least, if they did not endeavour, to reforre him to his Crown. The whole Or-der of the Friars-Freachers really maintaine'd his Right, and are said to have contriv'd his Reforation; which to avoid, the Queen and Mistrewe are reim'd to have lent private Orders to his barbuous Keepers to dispatch him: But tho' they par'd no other ill Usage, yet they were a little bard'd at this, and sent to the Bifhop of Hereford, a fit Cassil, who was, it's thought, the Adviser of it, to know whether it was lawful. The Bifhop willing to further it, but not to con-fess it, sent them this Answer. To bgl to King Edward you want not but fear it is good; which Answer, by putting a Comma in different Places, is a Plac for himself, and his Successor to consider, of the same.  
* Taken out of a Dent, the Time of Bratfand and Abbots of Gloucester were chosen to view the Body.  
* He was made Earl of March in the Parliament held at Wiltshire in August 1528, and at that at Northampton, where the shameful Person of the Execution was enacted in the March bein.  
* The Ragman Roll was a Secrecy and Memorial of the Fealty and Homage, which the Scots ought to pay to the Kings of England.  
* Henry de Knaflton Gave twenty thousand, and Mistrewe had the Money.  
* This Earl of Soum Edmond position'd the King in the next Parliament. That the Judgment against his Father might be revers'd, for that his Father had been tally accus'd by Roger Mistrewe, that King Edward was alive after he was murthred. 'Tis said, that accordingly Sir Edward entered into a Pact for his Delivery out of Carfe Caflle, where the Tyrants who had receiv'd him precedent he was still confin'd.
A. D. 1529.

Marshall's death cut off his head. But the French displeased at Windigess, on the 14th of March, 1529. by the Jacobite, Paul philip, who was rewarded with the title of Duke of Burgundy, and his son was created Prince of Orange. This was done after the Duke had married a Spanish princess, and was suspected to have procured the death of his father. He was then 21 years old, and had been educated at the court of France, where he had received a good education. He was a brave and able soldier, and had been commanded in several campaigns. He was killed in the battle of Parnawa, where he was fighting against the Turks. The news of his death was received with great sorrow in Scotland, and a resolution was formed to send a embassy to the Pope to request his intercession for the release of the Earl of Bothwell. The Pope, however, refused to intercede, and the Earl was executed.

And thus things remained until the Queen was A. D. delivered, which happened to be a daughter, and 1532. Robert de Artois, a Peer of great power, was Philip accused of principal means of his Preten- tion, and the Ex- clusion of Edward. Shortly after this settlement between, France, the of the French Crown, Edward was summoned to and ed- edward met King Philip at Amiens, where two Prais of the French Kingdom were made by the Council of both Kings. Concerning the Quality of the Homage pretended to be due by the Council of King Philip, but denied by King Edward's. About the Land of Guernsey, which the late King Charles had detainted from Edward, of which his Council required Restitution, as belonging to his Duchy. The Resolution of this last Point was eafe, because of King Philip, and the Gilbert, and Edward the Second, the last of May, 1525, where- in their Rights were secured by mutual Protests, and Homage received, and paid to the said King Charles by the said Edward before he was King; which Protestations were repeated, and agreed to be followed in this, with a Covenant, That if King Edward would purifie his Right in Parliament, he should have Justice done him for the things in Controversy. But as for the Point concerning the Quality of his Homage, it was agreed by both Parties that it should be done and received according to the usual manner of the former Kings; and a sufficient time was granted to King Edward, to enquire of it, and make Declaration of it, which being done, King Edward upon the 4th of June, 1526, in a Crimson Velvet Gown, embroiderd with Leopards, with many of his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, his Ruff, and Golden Spurs on his Heels, presents himself in the body of the Cathedral Church at Amiens before King Philip, sitting in a Chair of State in a Velvet Gown of Violet-Colour embroiderd with Flower-de-luces of Gold, his Crown on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him*. Then the Viscount Melun Chamberlain of France first orders King Edward to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip, and then the Viscount putting both his Hands together between the Hands of the King of France, and the Words of this Act were these: 'You shall become LiegeMAN to the King my Master here present, as Duke of Guise * and Peer of France, and you promise to bear Faith and Loyalty to him. Say Teas, and King Edward laid Teas, and killed the King of France, as Lord of the Fee, on the Mouth. The like Homage he did for the Earl of Bothwell. This Act of Submission, he* conformed to be by the King at that Juncture, yet he took himself wronged by Philip in exacting it so punctually of him, and was thereby highly provoked and angered, that he resolved upon a Revenge, which he so severely performed afterward, as not only Philip himself, but all Christendom with him the ceremony had spared. At King Edward's return home, he met with W. Edward a Diversion from his Dignity upon France by a break, with occasion of the Alteration of Affairs in Scotland.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.

A.D. might not seem to break it: he took the opportunity of their Differences to set it aside after Reg. 5; this manner: The Minority of the present King (which is the misery of Kingdoms) being attended with the Emulations and Factions of the great Men, encouraged Edward Bald, Son of John Bald, to set him upon the Government of these States three years after his Father's Deposition, to attempt the Recovery of that Crown; and accordingly by the Solicitation of his Friends he comes out of France, where he had all that while remained, into England, where he was permitted underhand to get Aid; which all those Scots and English, which were the great friends of his Brother, presently offered him, and with them he suddenly affults the Governors of the Kingdom in the Naong of the young King David (who was at that time with the King of France) and overcame them in a Battel, wherein many Nobleemen, and thousands of the Common-people were slain, and thereafter he immediately crownd King of Scotland at Stowe. But his Party not being so strong as to maintain what he had gotten, or defend him in the Possession of it against those that opposed him, he was forced, notwithstanding his first Victory, to return again into England, to get more Assistance.

This King Edward, who now flew himself in the Council of his Subject, had already procured the Newlaw King David, and goes in Perfon with a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three Months Siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord Secon, was again taken, and the whole Army of Scots, which came to relieve it at Halfor-Hill, utterly defeated and routed, with the slaughter of many Earls, the late King's Knights and Barones, four hundred Squires, and about thirty two thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report, but theirs say fourteen thousand, and thus was Ballo brought through a torrent of Blood to the Crown of Scotland again.

In the Siege of Berwick one memorable Action of the Lord Secon is not to be pass'd over, related by the Scotch Writers, which is this: When the Lord Secon saw that the Relief he expected failed, and the Assauts of the Enemies were very violent, so that he could not hold out, he conditioned with King Edward, that if he had not Relief by such a time he would surrender the Town to him, and for the allowance of this Promise delivers him two of his Sons. King Edward soon after having notice of the approach of the Scotch Army, that it was greater, and came with more Speed than was expected, and would be there before the Day, summons the Lord Secon to render the Town presentley; otherwise he would execute his condition on those Sons before his Person; and with this Gallowa is prepared within sight of the Town, and the young Gentlemen brought forth and put under the Executioner's Hands. The Lord seeing this, was doubtful what to do, being distract between Love and Duty, till his Wife, the Mother of those Sons, and a Lady of masculine A.D. Courage, comes to him and exhorts him to receive member his Allegiance sworn to the King, the Reg. 5.

Love he owes to his Country, and the Dignity of his noble Family; that they had other Children left, if those were destroy'd, and themselfs as well; and the preservation of the Line of Kings, more; That if they should be preferred from Death now, they might perish otherwise soon upon a worse occasion; That it would be an eternal Blemish upon his Name to yield up a Place committed to his Charge, and yet it is uncertain whether he could prefer his Children before his Family; that he was resolved to sacrifice all other Children before himself; that he, having a Son by his own Wife, that he would prefer that Son before all others; that he should have the Protestation of his Father, and therefore besought him not to prefer an uncertain and momentary Advantage before a certain and perpetual Ignominy. And fo having recovered his Resolution to hold it out, the withdrew him from the Walls of the Town, that he might not see the Sufferings of his innocent Children.

The next Year after this Battel at Halfor-Hill A.D. 1333. King Edward Baldi of Scots did Homage to the King of England, as his suiprior Lord, at New-Caffle, and took his Oath of Fealty, binding to Edward himself and his Heirs to hold that Kingdom of the King of England, and not to declare War against him; and he afterwards promised to maintain the heritance of five Countries next adjoining to the Borders. So large a part of his Kingdom he was willing to part with, rather than be in danger of losing the whole; which yet was so far from securing his peaceable Enjoyment of it, that it rather embroiled the whole, by reason of the Discontent which most of the Nobility of Scotland took at this Act of Alienation of their Country, so that it created both Princes much Trouble, and cost a great Expence of Treasure to keep what they had gotten. The King of England had a fifteenth of their Laity, a twelfth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament held at London, granted to him for those Wars, and three Years together he went in Perfon with his Army into those parts, and never returned without fo great Deprivation and bloodshed. that it is admirable how such a small Country could find so many Men to maintain their Quarrel, and fight for such barren Defents. But Edward procured the Buffet of Scotland not meerly to be Matter of it, but to settle it as that it might not be an hindrance to his greater Designs upon France, which he chiefly intended, and was the sooner put upon by the Infiltration of Robert de Artois, who being driven out of the Kingdom by King Philip his Brother-in-law, came over into England, and was supported A.D. 1335. by King Robert de Artois, who being driven out of the Kingdom by King Philip his Brother-in-law, came over into England, and was supported by King Robert de Artois.

This Story is taken out of Hester Barthol, a Scotch Historian, but a Writer of no very good Credit, and seems design'd to be made of so much to honour the Name of the Lord Secon, as to blacken the Memory of this great Prince Edward III., for which Reasons it is rejected as a Calumny against the King by our English Writers of Judicious. It is even in two Manuscripts, the Chronicle of London in the Cottonian Library, and Scotia Chronic, a French Manuscript in Benner College Library in Cambridge, it appears, that after the fifteenth Days Truce made with Alexander Secon was expired, the King summoned the Town; Secon answer'd, He did not yet doubt of Relief, and did not think himself oblig'd to surrender it. The King replies, that though the Truce was long gone, he could not, nor would he doe the performance of a promise of his Father (which was done to his Son, and not to both his Beggars) by the Advice of his Council, and upon this the Garrison and Townsmen came to new terms, to have the Truce prolong'd for eight Days; in which time, if they were not reliefed, they would yield up the Town. which indeed they did, but that himselvse was extoll'd to fake with King Edward, which is not probable he would have done upon any Computation, had he said him to barbarously, and contrary to Article. But these Authors are not so famous for Veracity, especially where the Cause of their own Country is concerned.
Edward makes an Alliance against the French King.

Edward, who ever since his return from Anjou had been making Preparations against the King of France, and by the Alliances of his Father, had been drawn into a Confederacy with him the Dukes of Burgundy and Gelder, the Earl of Juliers, Archbishops of Cologne, and Vogmers his Brother, John of Hainault, and other Princes of Germany, doth now strengthen his Intercourses further, and by Gifts obtain'd of Lewis of Bavaria, the present Emperor, to be Vice General of the Empire, by which Office he might require all the Princes that confined upon France to serve him. And this the Emperor did the more readily, because Edward had stood for him against Frederick of Auffria, who was a Competitor with him for the Empire, and had marry'd his Wife's Sister. Then, by the means of one Francois de Arville, a Citizen of Geneva, the first Letters of the Flandings in all their Tumults, he gained all the People of those Cities in Flande, who maintain'd a kind of Liberty among themselves, and who were the more easily won, because their Wealth chiefly proceeded from the Woos of this Kingdom, which by a Parliament holden at Louvain, confirmed him his Title, and all his Suits forbidden to be transported unwrought, but Clothes should be made here; and to that end, liberty was allow'd to all such Artificers as would come over and make Cloaths here; no Man being allow'd to wear any thing but English Cloth, except the King, Queen, and their Families, or the Officers to wear any thing else, and all the Kings of Silks or Furs, but such as could extend an hundred Pound for them. And for this Alliance, the Council and Confederacies, having engaged on his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, (who was in arms against good King Edward and his Adversaries with three hundred Horse for fifty six thousand Florins.) The Bishop of Merz, Albert and Goby Dukes of Auffria, Theodore Marquis of Altenvart, Anne Earl of Genoves; besides many Princes of States, and divers great Capitains of Germany, French Courts, and the Spanish Armies, were add to this, and it is said, that all the chief Kingdoms of the Christian World were either actually in Arms, or asleep in this Quarrrel between these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing before they came to engage, and much was endeavour'd by the Pope and King of Sicily, who being a great Astrologer foretold an ill Event of this Quarrrel to the King of France, to have compos'd the Dispute, but to no pur-

* The English had now pleas'd Wool, but no Skill to employ it. Wherefore as by this Act encouragement was given to such as had Skill, but no Seeds, to come out of Flanders and settle here, so accordingly many, glad of this opportunity to advance their Fortunes, came into England, and in a great Farmes Hous'd at first, and after removed into Towns; from whence several Kts of Woollen Manufactures were made Customary; as: Wince Sudberg, Earl of Colchester, Seas and Segges; in Kent, Broad Cloths in Desford, Kerkes; in Wales, Frenses; in Worceste, Kendal-Cloth, Erc. These were Celli to the great Monarchies in France.

* The peace was made at Worms in the ninth Year of the King's Reign; he was call'd the Black Prince, not from his Colour, but Ferrecnus in Barcel. In his Ninth Year he was made Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall.

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The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.

A.D. 1340. The War began on the Borders of each other's Dominions, King Edward sets upon Conquest, defended by the French, and Philip foizes on the Dutchy of Guiné, sending Count Deux Conflable of France, with the Earls of Poix and Armagnac, who farripered many strong places of it, before he had a great Navy at Sea, which committed much Spoil on the Coast of England. King Edward entered France by the way of Vendome and Thibercia, and approaches near to King Philip. Both Armies were encamped between Viron Foile and La Planenguer, and the Day for the Fight was appointed. After this, and after the Orders on both sides made ready, but the French had the advantage by Numbers. Both sides were well furnished with brave Men, but yet departed without a Battel: The French effecting it no Discretion to put the Perfon and State of their King to the hazard of a Fight within his own Kingdom, and the taking of London, confifting of left Numbers, thought not fit to affail them. And so they palled the Day in facing one another, and nothing was done. Only this Accident fell out, which proved a Matter of Sport afterward: An Hare starting before the Head of the French Army, a great Shoot was suddenly made, which was then called before the Morning to have been at the Onset of the Battel, dispatched themselves to fight, and some Equries for their more Encouragement were, according to the Custom, presently Knighted, which were ever after called The Knights of the Hare. The next Morning early both Kings decamped, and the French retied to Paris, and the King of England to Bra- benet. King Edward having flaid a little time at Bra- benet to settle his Confederates, and order his Affairs, leaves the Queen, and returns into England about Candlemon, after a Year's absence from thence, and lands at the Tower about Midnight, which finding ungarded, he was made undisputed, and King Edward entered London, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treafurer, with John S. Paul, Michael Wath, Philip Toorp, and Henry Stratford, Clerks, (who were Officers for his Recepts) and John Scooner Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellor, were arrested and committed to Prifon, as were also the other Miniflers of Justice and Accompanys, upon Enquiry made into their unjust proceedings. Then he call'd a Parliament in London in Lent, which granted unto him for the Cuffom of every Sack of Wool 40s. for every three hundred Wool-fells 40s. for every Laft of Leather 40s. and so for other Merchandizes, providentially, which Impofition was to en- dure from that Epifol to the Whitfunday twelve month after. Before there was granted of Civizens and Burgeffes a ninth part of their Goods, a fiftenth of Foreign Merchants and others; and the ninth Sheat, Fleec, and Lamb for two Years. Alto another tenth of the Waft was. And Deference Captain Simply he had Loans of divers wealthy Perfons, and the City of London lent him twenty thonfand Marks. In Confederation of which Grants and Contributions, the King (besides his Pardons to divers kinds of Offenders) remitted all Amencements for all Treachery in his Forces, Reliefs and Scurage, even to the tine of his going into Flanders. Besides all Aids for the Marriages of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign, pardoning and re-mitting all ancient Debs and Arrears, both in regard of his Farmers and others, any ways due either in the time of his Anceftors or his own, till the ten years of his Reign. (even the fees were compounded for, and order'd to be paid into his Exchequer) and now likewise he confirmed the Great Charter.

During King Edward's stay in England, William the English Monragne Earl of Suffolk and Sir William Aflford Earl of Suffolk, who were left in Flanders to oppose the proceedings of the French, performed several great Exploits with happy Success, and preemining upon their Fortune, were in an Encounter about Life fo overmatch'd with Numbers, that they were both taken and lent Prisoners to Paris, to the great Joy of the French King, who now, to hinder the King of England's return, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of Suez, confisting of two hundred Sail of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand arm'd Men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing. King Edward being inform'd of it, provided a like Number of Ships well manned, and puts out to Sea upon Midsummer Eve, being met the next Day by the Spanish, and after Signal under the Conduct of Sir Robert Morley. With thefe Forces he encounter'd the Enemy, which was disposed in this Way, to lay in the way to intercept him, with Siffp Convoy- fage and Strength, and a great advantage of Wind and Weather, that he defeated their whole Navy, took and forc'd all their Ships, flew thirty thousand Man, and landed with as great a Loyal as such a Victory would yield, which being the first that the English ever got by Sea, was the more honourable to him. Most of the French, rather than endure the Arrows and sharp Swords of the English, leaped into the Sea. This Lofe was fo great, that the French dare not tell the King of it, and therefore let his Jefter on work did, cover it to him, who going into his Presence in a feeming Paflion, cry'd out often, Cowardly Eng- liffhmen, Dafflur Englishmen, Fain-heart'd Eng- liffhmen. The King at length asked him, Why he called them so? The Jefter answer'd, Because they cannot leap out of their Ships into the Sea, nor dance as Soldiers do, nor fight as Men who the King apprehended the Overthrow of his Fleet, with the French attribute to one Nicholas Bubbett, one of their Commanders, who had manned his Ships with Soldiers of the baft fort, who would ferve for small pay, and retir'd Gentlemen, and fufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater Wages, as it hath often happen'd, that the Avance of Commanders have been the Caufe of great Defeats. But notwithstanding this Lofe of the French by Sea, their King, in thofe Martial Times, was soon fupply'd with Power sufficient out of his own and Confederates Dominions to make a Strong Opposition against the victorious and mighty King of England, who suddenly lets down before Tournay with all his own and his Adherent's Forces. And from Glos (a place near it, where he lodg'd) fans his Curzel, July 17, to Philip de Valois, lodging at S. Andrews Las Air, with his mighty Army, declaring, That he with the Strength of his own Kingdom, and Allience of the Flemings, was come to recover his Right in the Kingdom of France, unjustly detained.
from him, contrary to the Laws of God and Man; and since no other means could prevail, he was forced to fly to the Sword. But because the<br>Controversy was between them two, he offer'd, that the bedding of Christian Blood, and the Impediments of Time, were not to be hindr'd to try their Right by Combat in close Camp, Body to Body, or each of them accompany'd with a hundred choice Percions; which, if the said Philip refus'd, then to join Battel within ten Days after, before the City of Tournai.

The French in this Challenge, the last of July, in this manner: Philip by the Grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England. We have perused your Letters lent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certain Reques'ts to the said Philip; but because it appears, that thofe Letters and Answer to which, they say, we will in no ftate anfwer you. But feeing by the faid Letters, and otherwife, we understand, that you, guided by your own Will, without all Reafon, have enter'd our Kingdom of France with an Army, and have done no ftall damage to our People and Country, contrary to the Duty of that Kingdom which has more lately been done to us, anfwer 'g him by Right of King of France, and hath promis'd that Obfervation that is due from the Valia to his Liege-lord; as is maifiied by your Letters-Patents under your Great Seal, which we have with us, and you ought to have with you: Therefore our Intention is, as it becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our Kingdom, as we firmly hope in Chrift (from whom we have our Power) to do. Because by this War, which you have moft wickedly begun, our intended Journey into the East is hinder'd, great numbers of Christians there mur'd, that Holy Service neglected, and the Church dishonnour'd. And whereas you lay, you are with the Flemings, wherein we affume our felves, that they will not fo far forget their Honour and Fidelity to our Cofin their Earl, and us, their fupreme Lord, as to act fo much against the common Good. The French Historians write, that King Philip lent word to King Edward, by the Meffengers of this Letter, That when he return'd, he would have nothing from you, but only expos'd another's Dominions, which was unreaſonable; That if he would hazard the Kingdom of England (to do which we were) against the Kingdom of France, King Philip would enter the Combat in close Camp with him, upon Condition, that the Conqueror should enjoy both the Realm; and you, Edward, would not conſent. The fide Combat was thus rejected by both fides, Edward went on with the Siege of Tournai, which held out three Months, fo that nothing was effected but the Deftruction of the Country. All Chriftendom impatiently expected the Event, and both Kingdoms were in doubt of the Consequences of it, till Tome de Valois, Sifer of King Philip, William Duke of Houaild, the Father of Philipps the Wife of King Edward, undertook to negociate a Peace between her Brother and Son; and leaving her Nunmery at Pouenelles, with indefatigable Industry travell'd fo long from one to the other, till at length by her Advice and Treaty the obtained. The Parle was there to know, that thefe enraged Princes diffimil'd their Armies, and the French King return'd home, and Edward with his Queen return'd into England, having remained three Years in those parts; in which time his Queen brought him two Sons, Lionell, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and John born at Geneva, first A. D. Earl of Richmon, and after Duke of Lancaster. 1341. But King Edward's Conclufion to this fluden Reg. 15: Truce had really no other motive, but his want of Treasure; which, notwithstanding the great Expences in the late Campaigns, was now in a large ftate, and must be supply'd, as indeed it was after thefe Delays, which thus hap'd. The King at his left being in England had removed his Chancell, and imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers, who were most of them Clergymen, and the Parliament kept them under Confinement, which Severe- ty, the King, yet foangry Julian, Evesham, Bifhop of Canterbur, (on whom the King laid the Blame of his Wants) that he wrote a Bold and sharp Letter to the King to this effect: That it was for the Safety and Happinefs of Kings and their Kingdoms, to use wife and grave Coun- cills favourably and kindly, alledgeing many Examples of that farty (as he fays) flourishing Condition of fuch as took that course, and the Miseries of thofe that did the contrary. Then he advises him to call to mind, how his Father, being guided by evil Counsel, vex'd the Nation, putting many of the Nobility to Death contrary to Law, and to consider what fhould be the Confequences of his own, and that he himself at first, through the ill Conduct of fuch as managed his Affairs, had almost loft the Love of his People; but afterward, by the great Care and wise Management of his Nobles and Bishops, his Affairs were again brought in to fuch Order, as that he recover'd his Honour, and now pursued the great Credit with his People, that all, both Clergy and Laity, have yielded their affiiance to him, more than any of his Royal Anceftors; by which means he hath triumphed over the French and Scots, and is reputed the nobleft Prince in Chriftendom. But now, through the wicked Advice of such as affect their own Advantages more than his Ho- nour, or the Welfare of his People, he has caiued several Clergymen and others to be arrefted, and kept in Prison by undue Proceedings, contrary to the Laws of England, which he was by his Coronation-Oath bound strictly to obferve, and againf Magna Charta, which whofever fhall prefume to break, are to be excommunion by all the Princes of the Church, to the Bift of Innocent IV. So that by their Actions he had brought no small Danger upon his Son, and Damage to his State and Honour. Then he tells him, That if he went on in this manner, he would certainly lose the Hearts of his People, and their Help, fo that he would not be able to carry on the War in hand, but expofe himfelf to his Enemies, to the great haz- ard of his Perfon and Kingdom. And therefore advises him to call an Assembly of the Nobility, and prudent Men of the Land, and confult with them (without whole Aftiance and Consent) he could not govern the Kingdom well, nor go through with his preseant Defts), concerning what is aml. In a letter, he tells him, That if he fome Percions about you, by their Flattery and Cuning, betray and deceive you, we do hereby pronounce them Excommunicate, and befeech you, as your Spiritual Father, to esteem and deal with them as fuch. Besides, he urges, that where as he had dot the Negligence and fal- hood of fome of his Minifters, the Clofe of the Year was not taken, the Matter might be exa- mine in Parliament, and a diligent Enquiry made, into whole Hands, ever since the begin- ning of the War, the Wolls and Monies raised

*It should beぼorches in Trenchs.*

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have come, and how they have been bestowed, and by what fault it was the City of Towns, new was not taken, but left in that manner it was, and that as a just Prince he would punish such as were found guilty, and not condemn or misuse his Subjects without a legal Trial. This Letter bore Date January 1.

The Archbishop's Letter to the Chancellor B. Bouver, and a second Letter to the King and his Council.

Another Letter he wrote to Robert Bouver (or Bouver, Chancellor of England), relating what Contributions the Clergy had given the King by their free consent, and that nothing more was to be exacted of them, requiring him 'to do nothing contrary to the Law of Magna Charta,' and 'that if any Writ, Commiilion or Precept, had gone out of the Chancery, contrary to it, or of the Privileges and Liberties of the Church and Kingdom, he should within ten Days after the Receipt of the same, recoll, and make void the same.' This Letter was dated January 28.

After this he wrote a third Letter to the King and his whole Council, declaring, 'That while his Council had the God and Liberty of the Church and Kingdom, contained in Magna Charta, John de S. Paul, Michael de Walthe, Robert Cherrick, John Thorpe, and Henry Starke, were arrested, committed to Prison, and there detained, without being indicted or convicted of any notorious Crime; and that his Council had put their Signatures upon such proceedings, had incurred the Sentence inflicted in the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his own Diocese, and thofe of his Suffragans. And therefore befought the King and his whole Council without delay to release the said Prisoners, otherwise he threatens, that as Bishop of London, he would proceed to the Execution of the Sentence; concluding, That it was not in his Intention in the Shaft to include in it the King, Queen, or their Children, as far as they could be excused. And for this end he tend to the Bishop of London, and all his other Suffragan Bishops, and having complained of the great Wrongs done to the Church by Laymen, charges him and them not only to publish in their Churches, but fix up in all eminent Places, the Sentence of Excommunication against all Offenders that should break those Articles of Magna Charta, which he annexed to his Letter, that (as he said) no Man might pretend Ignorance of the Sentence. The King being thus rouzed by the Archbishop's Letters, sends his Apology immediately to the Bishop of London, in a Letter to him; whereupon, having declared first how much he had honored and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of unjust and deceitful Dealing in his Trust, and says, 'That it was by his Council and Advice he undertook this Action against the French, and was affur'd by him, that he should not want sufficient Treasure to go through with it: So that he need do no more than provide Men to execute the Design; That notwithstanding this Service, through the Negligence or Malice of the Archbishop and his Officers, such Supplies were granted by his Subjects in Parliament, were so badly collected, and sent over to Grafty, that he was forced (to his great Grief and Shame) to accept of the last Truce, and through his extreme Want to come into the Parliaments, to take the Intelligences given him, just caufd to look into the management of his Officers, of whom he found some guilty of Male-admission of Justice, and such Corruptions and Opinions of his Subjects, that he removed the greatest of them from his Places, and the lefser, who were in the same Crimes, he committed to Prison; and there A.D. 1341. they detained them, that by first Examination he might find out their unlawful Proceedings, of Reg. 15., which none could give him good Information as the Archbishop, to whom he had for a long time committed the whole Administration of the Kingdom. And therefore being devious to you to confer with him and London the Defick Affairs, he had sent a Meffenger on pur-pole to him, truly Servant Nicholas de Castel-leau, to inform him thither. But the Archbishop had refused to come to him, allying, That he stood in fear of some Permons about the King, and would not run the hazard of departing from this Place. The King, therefore, Richard Stafford, with the Steward of his House, with a promis of safe Paffage under his Seal; but then was answered, That he would have no Conference with the King but in open Parliament, which he knew not at that time to be conveniently called. Then he aggravates the Archbishop's undutiful Behaviour and False Dealings towards him; declaring, That tho' by God's Providence and an Hereditary Right he was advanced to the Throne of England, yet he abhorred all Abuses of his Regal Authority, and defired nothing more in this World than to govern his Subjects with fuch Mildness and Justice, as no one might desire more in his Person than Fear. That notwithstanding this his Care to govern well, the Archbishop had wrongfully (by his Letters published in divers parts of his Kingdom) injured his Innocency, and slander'd his most faithful Counsellors and Officers, who administered Justice, giving out, that the People were endanger'd, that the Clergy mind'd the Administration burden'd with heavy Taxes; and many Exactions, which the King argues could be done with no other design, but to raise Sedition among his People, and to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from him. Lastly, To shew the Archbishop's Failings, he declares, That he himself, while he was under Age, had by his Advice made to many prodigious Donations, unlawful Alienations, and excessive Gifts, that his Trea- sury was now utterly exhausted, and his Crown Revenues mightily diminished; and that the Archbishop, being corrupted with Bribes, had remit'd without any reasonable caufe great Supplies, which were adverse to his own, or of others not well delerving of them, many Advantages and Revenues, which should have been preferred for his neceffary Support. And therefore concluded, That unless he defisted from his rebellious Obitimancy, he intended in due time and place to proceed against him, respecting him to publish all and singular the wicked Actions, and to caufe others to do the like, for the more clear mani- festation of his pious and principly Intentions in relieving his own and his Subjects Wrongs. This Letter was laid to be pen'd by Archbishop of Winchester, and bore Date the 4th of February, Anno Reg. 15. Thus the Difference between the King and his Officers, whose Actions must not be too sharply look'd into, was ended, and the grand Imputation falls upon the Archbishop, who is charg'd with the Receipt of great Sums, and vehemently urg'd by the King's Creditors to pay them. Shortly after this a Parlia- ment was met, where the Officers gave him hard put to it to satisfy their Demands; for he was earnestly petition'd by the whole Assembly The King of the three States, That the Great Charter of their Liberties, and the Charter of Forefets might be duly observed, and that whatsoever of the King's Officers did break the fame should lose their
The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.

A. D. 1341.

That which in times, by Parliament, but the King stood strongly upon his Election and Prerogative, but yielded (that he might gain his Design, as he confessed) that those Officers should take an Oath in Parliament to do Justice to all Men in their Offices; and a Statute was made for that purpose, and confirmed with the King's Consent. To secure that and many other Grants to his Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part soon after revoked.

The Truce agreed upon at Tournay, and concluded at Arras, for one Year, by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, both against the Duke of Blois and Paris, and others of Plots against each other. Lewis of Bavaria the Emperor being won over to the King of France's side, became his sworn Conjurateur, and revoked the Vexillation of the Empire, which he had lately confirmed to the King of England, giving this as the Reason in his Letter* to King Edward that French king, the three at this time without his consent; which Edward fully and directly answered. But instead of this remote and inconsequent Conjurateur, Providence brought him another, more near and more serviceable to his design, within that Kingdom, after this manner: The Inheritance of the Dutchy of Brittain having descended in the female line, the King of Scots, whom Edward, though his poor son was still in his hands, would not give up to his own Country, against which he had not only disgraced Edward, but served him five Years. Shortly after these Supplies were sent into Brittain, King Edward followed in Person with more, and lying before Vannes, which was lately recovered by the French, John Duke of Normandy, eldest Son to the Present King, went to (to) the Duke de Blois with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him Battle; and being ready to engage, two Cardinals, sent for that purpose by Pope Clement VI. undertook to mediate a Peace, and after much Solicitation procured a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, that the Pope and Court should return to Rome shortly, and examine the Territory between the two Kingdoms, but not determine them without the Consent of both Kings. This Cessation of Arms gave place to both sides to provide for greater Quarrels, the in Brittain small Shirmishes continued.

King Edward being returned home after the King Ed. Conclusion of the Truce, made an Expedition into Scotland against the Balmainers, and directed the Garter (to) go to the Islands. At this time the Isle of Man was conquer'd by William Montague Earl of Salisbury, whom the King made Governor of it, under the Title of King. At the King's return from Scotland, solemn Terms were held at Dunstable, where two hundred and thirty Knights met him to exercise his Right of Garter, only one then in Request) as they did afterwards at Swithfield, Windsor, and other places. A Society all of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of the Round Table, and a Chamber of two hundred Foot round erected for the fame at Windsor, many Strangers out of foreign parts were admitted, among which the many from France also erects the joke Martial Society in France. About this time also began the Order of the Garter, being appointed at a solemn Feast at Windsor, which was held there many Days, not from the Countess of Salisbury's Garter, which the King is said to have taken up in Dancing with a Lady of his own Consorting with her, but also in an Harmony of Commendation in Honour and Loyalty which ought to be among those that are admitted into that Order. For it would be a Dishonour to that Noble Institution, which is perform'd with so much Religious Ceremony, to imagine it should arise from an Act of Lightness. But besides the Exercises of Arms, which the King promoted at this time, he took to bestow Garters of the Order, and that the Absence of it might be re-

* During this Truce, the Scots, by the Injunction of the King of France, invaded England; and the King of England, to justify his own intended Proceedings against them, complained of the Breach of the Peace to the Pope. He offered in the same Letter to be the Mediator of a Peace between them.

† He was a Sea Wolf, which he so long at in large in Mr. Speed, and Fox, p. 351, 352, with the Emperor's Letter to him.

‡ Sir Affable in Walpole's History of the Garter, p. 186. Of the Institution of the Order of the Garter to the 234 of April, 1349, five Years afterwards.

The Original Book says, It was dedicated from an Action of King Richard I. at Aisne, who commanded a Garter to be ty'd about the Leg of one of his Chief Captains, to Brr up their Valor, by wearing such a Badge as brought them always under his Observation in the Fight. They are twenty six, and their Badge is a blue Garter. Vol. I. F. 2 formed.
A.D. 1444, he called a Parliament at Westminster to consider upon, and administer a speedy and suitable remedy for them. And the first thing they ventured to cure, was the Collation of Ecclesiastical Benefices upon strangers, of which the Earl of Barons, Knights and Burgesses gathered to protest at the Parliament, by sending a Letter to the Pope, Clement VI. the Caufe of it, in humble manner representing to him, that it is not convenient it was, and derogatory to the State of the Kingdom of England, that such Refervations, Provisions, and Collations of Benefices, as had been formerly used, and should be continued, to the prejudice of the Churches of England; and that the Pope might be enabled by noble and pious Persons, which the People might be instructed by their own Countrymen in their Mother-Tongue.

But by the Upharpan of some of his Predecessors, strangers and others, sometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferred in their own Design of Reducing this, by which means the Profits of them were lost out of the Nation, the Cures neglected, Alms and Hospitality dilated, the Hofts ruined, and the Charity and Devotion of the People much Jeained, and many other Disorders (contrary to the Intention of the Founders) occasioned, which they could not suffer any longer; and therefore he endeavoured to get the Papal Ordinance so far revised that such Reservations, Provisions and Collations, that fit Men of the Natives might supply the Cures, and without delay to signify his Intention in this matter, otherwise they would take speedy methods themselves for a Redress. These Letters were dated in full Parliament, May 28, 1444. The Pope, the King sent his Letters to the same effect, by Sir John Stortford, a grave Person, and of great Understanding in the Law; but at this time so unwelcome to the Court of Rome upon the account of his Message, that he departed without Leave or Answer; which, tho' the Pope sent afterward, yet the King and Parliament proceeded in their design of Reduding this grievance, and made the Statute of Provisions, prohibiting all such Provisions and Collations within this Realm, upon pain of Imprisonment, or Death to any such Person as shall for the time to come present or admit any Person or Persons, who was so preferred by the Pope, to the office of the King's Royal Preceptor, and to this end were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others who were concerned, strictly forbidding them to act any thing contrary to this Statute. In this Parliament Archbishop Stratford was upon his submission, but with much difficulty, accepted to the King's Favour. There was also a long Debate concerning Woods, how they should be affected in several parts of the Realm, and what they should pay for Customs, when they were exported, and three Marks and a half upon every Sack was mentioned, but nothing was at this Session concluded. The Prince Edward also being then about thirteen Years old, were created Prince of Wales, and Commissioners were appointed to be sent to the Pope to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of England and France, according to the Articles propounded in the Truce, which were John Bishop of Exeter, Henry de Lansaughter Earl of Dorby, Hugo le Dif- pencer Lord of Glamorgan, the King's Cousin, A.D. Ralph Lord Stafford, with others.

The next Year after another Parliament, or ra-Reg. 18, the same prorogued, was held at London, in which, after many Contests, a Tenor was granted a Parliament, as was before mentioned. This was very beneficial, the Pope having notice of it by some of his Agents here, would by an Act of Provision prejudice of such Places to such Foreigners, as he pleased, whereby Parson were decreated of their Prebendals, and Englieth of their Prebendals, unless they would buy off the Provisions.

Notwithstanding this Act, Pope Clement sent two Cardinals the next Year with certain Provisions for Benefices, to the King, and the Nobles sent them back with Letters, purporting a full Refolution to withstand them.
when he fled from him. Thus both being present for a while the Peace was quite laid aside, and the War began.

This mighty and active Prince King Edward had now begun the 20th year of his Reign, and being full of Courage and Youth was very eager upon his Expedition into France, for which he prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet crost'd the Sea for France, and over he pulled into Normandy in July, leaving for the Wardens of Eng.

land in his absence the Lords Percy and Avrill, and taking the young Prince with him, who was about fifteen years old, to give him a Specimen of the Labours and Achievements of Princes to attain Glory. His Army consisted of four thousand in number. The French, who were on the other side besides Wolfe and Joffe, which follow'd him on his feet. He had with him the Earls of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, Warwick, Suffolk, and Oxford; the Lords Marmion (afterward made Earl of March) Job, Lewis, and Roger Berkeley, Cobham, Lucy, Basset, Berkeley, Will-

lington, Huntington, and the late Earl's Landing.-He had also of late entertain'd Godfrey de Harcourt, a great Favourite of the French King's; but upon some discontent, or be- cause he was suspected of favouring the English Party in Britain, for which the King of France had a little before executed Olivier de Clifon, Baron de Pouilly, who was one of the Earl's Confidants, was forced to fly, and came to King Edward, with whom the said one long before he made his Peace with his Mafter, yet he did his Country and King much mischief. For upon King Edwards landing with his mighty Army in the Isle of Olentia in Normandy, by his art and stratagem got out of the Earl of Arundel's Marchals, and the Earl of Warwick the other, the Earl of Arundel being appointed Comtiable. The King being landed, divided his Army into three parts, the one to march on his left hand along the Sea-Coasts, and the other on the right, conducted by the two Marchals, and himself in the middle with the main Body of his Army. The Earl of Essex having a double Fleet and gain ord'er'd to take all the Ships he could find on the Sea-Coasts. The three Armies by Land lodg'd every Night in one Field. And first he sacked Charroux, burnt and destroyed the City, and flew all the Inhabitants, as well unarmed as arm'd, saying, 'That he made them Sacrifices to Bacoon,' because he was a Godfather of one of the Earl's Confidants. Upon the principal Gates unjustly put to Death by Philip. He then marched forward, and took St. Leo, a rich Town for Merchandise, and plunder'd it. Then he marched to Caen, and after some Skirmishes became Master of it, and put all the Country into so great a terror, that Par-

is, Athens, and Rome were frighted. Strong well Towns came and render'd themselves to his hands. This done, he marches into the Isle of France, to provoke the King of France to Battel, giving out, that he would wretche with him for his Kingdom in the Eye of all France, on the great Theatre before his Capital City of Paris.

King Philip in the mean time was not idle in making all possible Preparations for his own De- fense, and had gather'd one of the finest Armies (as the French Historians relate) that ever was seen in France, made up of French, Loraines, Ger-

man, and Germans, which he led towards Meulan, where it was said King Edward waited for him; but upon the News of his coming retreated, or as it was reported fled for fear, tho' the Event A.D. 1346, was rather out of Policy. King Philip 1346. follows him, and over takes him at a Village, King Philip led Arvines, which signifying Sand, might have told Philip on how weak a Foundation he built his hopes of Victory, when he accounted all his own, because he was at home. King Edward re-

tired, to gain the River of Some at Blamengraux, where it is said the French Army, which overtook him, but the Paf-

lage was to be disputed with the Swale, King Philip having sent Comendeur de Fay with a thou-

sand Horse, and six thousand Foot to guard it. King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass over perh, and plunges foremost into the River, cry-

ing out, Let them then lose me, follow me. At every step, the French Army, which was more than four times the Inhabitants, the Earl of Arundel, was divided, and led RivoSone forward, striving who should follow his brave Example the closest, and presently gained the Shor. Gonderan almonished with this sudden and unexpected adventure, so affrighted his People with his fearful Looks, that after a short and dis-

orderly Encounter, they all fled before the Eng.

lish; but the Earl of Arundel greater than eight times, because they had a false retreat at Albeville and S. Reynier, which were hard-by. King Philip en-

caged with this dishonourable Victory, resolved to revenge it, and presently to provoke King Edward to Battel. His Council advised the contrary, that he should suffer his Troops to rest a few Days, and recover the loss of Note, whereby, and King Edward to spend his. But their King's Patience to stay above one day in Albeville, but being elevated with hopes of Victory, marches into the Field to bid Edward Battel. King Edward more cool and wary, managed his Eminend The manner with admirable Difcretion, having very strongly of King Edward's or- ders himself at 00评判, and on all sides by his Trenches and Counter-marches forcd several Points, which confituted but of thirty thousand Men, but in Order and Courage double the number. The Vanguard he gave to the Prince, and for his Guides the Earl of Warwick, Godfrey de Harcourt, the Lords Stafford, Devizes, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, Sir John Chandos, Sir Barcar-

hines, Barcia de Cunaks, and the Earls of Oxford and Warwick. The French King's Army was greater both in shew and strength, being above 500,000, and forty thousand fighting Men well arm'd; of whom the Chief Commanders were, Charles Earl of Alenon the King's Brother, John de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, Charles de Blois the King's Nephew, Ralph Duke of Lorain, the Earl of Plan-

ners, Nevvilly, Savoyard, and the Dolphin of Fian-

cois. On the Night before the Battel came into the Earl of Sirov, with a thousand Men at Arms more to allift their King, which gave him such an affi-

rance of Victory, that he long'd for an En-

counter. The Vanguard he committed to Count d'Alenon, the King's Brother, the Rear to the Earl of Sirov, and led the main Battel himself.
A. D. His Heat would hardly permit him to hear any
Reg. 32. King Edward, who was advised, King's army, should
take some reprieve, and that the Infantry, con-
stituting of about fifteen hundred Gewesfe, with
Cross-Bows, and some Men, should make the
Front, and the Cavalry to follow, which were
both agreed to and done. But the Count de Alm-
zon took it so ill, that the Gewesfe were put
in the first Rank, that in his Fury to Order,
he caused them to change their Place with
Disorder, and so much to the Anger and Provo-
cation of the Soldiers, that they were very
miserably bent against the Captain than the Enemy.
While this was doing there fell a piercing Shower of
Rain, which disordered the Bowmen's Strings,
and the first rank of them. And then the Sun
rising up, the Sun shone full in the Face of
the French, as if Heaven had joined with the English
in this Victory. King Edward, who had poitned
himself on the top of a Windmill-Hill, beholding
from thence the present pittance of the Enemy in
changing their Places, and through the accident of
his Horse's Heel, to take the Advantage of
both, and instantly lends a Party to charge them,
without giving them leave to little themselves.
The discouraged Gewesfe immediately give
Ground, when which the Count de Almazon per-
ceived, he comes up in great Rage with his Horse,
crying out, On, on, let us make way upon the Bel-
les, who, though surcharged as, and so forced his way through the midst of them,
attended with the Earls of Lornin and Szwuy, and the Dolphin of Viennois, and
held on his course till he came up to the English Battle, where he found the Prince
better setted, attended on all lands with Troops of Archers, where Strings
having grown thin, they turned to the Bowmen's
Steel upon them, as cooled their Fury, and
disorder'd them. The French King seeing his
Brother in great danger, makes up to defignage
him; whereupon the Fight grew so hot and doubl-
ful, that the Commanders about the Prince fent
to the King to come up with all his Power to
affect them. The King demaned the Meffengers,
Whether his Son were slain or hurt? Who an-
swer'd, Neither, but likely to be overpowred.
Well then, said the King, Go back and tell them
that fent you, That so long as my Son is alive
I will heaken to nothing, whatever happens; for
I would have him carry away the Honour of this
Victory. And thus being left to defend them-
self, the battle became so hot, that the French
recovered the advantage by having killed
the French King's Horse under him, so that he
had almost been trodden to Death, had not he
been saved by the Lord John Beaumont his new
Penfioner. But this Accident so encouraged the
English, and disheartened the French, that the
Battel went to the English, and the French
were over the French lost, having lain upon the Place, and
in the Pursuit, thirty thousand, of whom the Chief were
Charles Almazon, John Duke of Bourbon, Ralph Earl of Lorain, Lewis Earl of
Plantagenet, Jaques Dauphin of Vienna, Son to Earls, who after gave Dauphin to the Crown of
France, the Earls of Simmonton, Mercure (Brother
to Geoffrey) and many other Earls, Barons, and A. D. Gentleman, to the number of fifteen hundred. 1346
The French King himself with a small Company Reg. 20. got to Bray in the Night, where he was received
with the Tears and Lamentations of his People,
whom yet he fought to comfort all he could.
Some few Troops, that held together, liv'd them-
selves by retiring to Places adjoining. This
memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday
after the Battle Callamhon's Day, being June 24. 1346.

King Edward managed this Victory with as King Ed-
great Moderation as he won it; and first having come at
embraced his Son, and commended the Valour of
for the King, he showed that Day, ' he rendered Thanks to God,
though he had before begged at the beginning of the Battle, and next Morning, being Sunday, he sent out three hundred
Lances, and two thousand Archers, to dif-
cover what became of the Enemy, who met great
Troops of Soldiers coming from Abbe-ville, S. Re-
quier, Rouen and Beaumuay (ignorant of what had
happened) conducted by the Archbishop of Rouen,
and having got a sight of them, they were overpowered,
and flew even thousand more. Our Writers report,That to great Numbers of Stragglers, which
fold from the Battel, and lost their Way in the
Fog the next Morning, were slain, as equal'd
the kill'd in the Field. So great a Loss did France
sustain by this one fatal Battel.
The Earl of Mortimer was not all the Victories that fell to The King of
Edward. Another was another was among the
Greater Importance gotten in England by the
English, and his People over the Scots, who being hot
set on by the French to drive the War there,
entreated the Kingdom with sixty thousand Men
(our Writers report) affibing themselves of
Victory, because, as they suppozed, the main
Strength of this Battel was the French Bishops and
the contrary. For the Lords of the North, as
Gilbert de Hunsfrid, Earl of Angus, Henry Percy,
Ralph Neville, William Daincourt, with the Arch-
bishop of York, Bishop of Durham, and others of
the Clergy, gather'd to strong an Army, and to
well order'd them by the encouragement of the
Queen, and a great crowd of People in Perpignan, as
that they utterly routed this great Army, took King
David Prisoner, with the Earls of Fife, Methst, 
Murey, and Sherwood, the Lord Douglas, the
Archbishop of S. Andrews, and others, and flew
15000 Scots, This Victory happen'd likewise on a
Saturday, and fix Weeks after that of Crecy.
And though Providence had design'd to make this Year
in all places Triumphant, the Aids sent to the
Counties of Mons in Britain, under the
Command of Sir Thomas Dugworth, overheard
and took Prisoner Charles de Blois, the Pretender
to that Dutschy, and with him Monsieur La Val,
the Lords Rochford, Beaumont, Ledyon, with
many other Barons, Knights and Esquires, and
went with them to Perpignan, where they got
the Earl of Val, (Father of him which was taken)
Vic-
three Countes, Monsieur De Chateau, Brian de
Malsôrold, De Quinlin, De Direval, great Lords,
besides many other worthy Warriours, Knights
and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred.
Thus all places fell before the Sword of Eng-
lund.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.

A.D. 1346. King Edward pursuing his Victory in France, marched on directly forward, and without molesting Reg. 20. with the great Cities of Amiens and Abbeville, which were near, set down before Calais, a Town of more Importance than any for England, besieged Castel du Lion, at Vienne Marshal of France, and the Lord d' A-

Dreglen, a great Man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King Edward having shelter'd his People as in another Town built of Sheds, and Covets to dwell in, furnished with all Pro-

visions, lay without any Molestation of the French King, who was now likewise besieg'd with the Miferies of his own Estate, which was not only his real Misfortune, but thought his Fault. The King of France was in great Necelcity, which must be supplied from a People who groaned under the Burthen of Poverty, and were very discontented for the ill management of the Treas-

ure, the fadness of the Financiers, the crying down of the Money, want of Trade, greatness of Taxes, &c. No way could be found to fet all things to rights, but by an Assembly of the States, wherein all the Financiers, Receivers and Managers of Monies, are called to an account, and the Treasurers committed to the diploph of the Cler-
gy, and the most of his noble Citizens by ill Dealings. Pierre de Effars, Treasurers of France was committed to Priion, and obliged to pay a great Fine to the King, and the other Officers and Accomplices forced to retire at once what they had been gathering many Years. The Ban-
quiers, Lomards, and other Citizens are put to the Spoils, and those that fell off from his Val-
firs being proved to exceed the Principal, which was confiscated to the King, and the In-

terests given to the Debtors. Thus was the poor oppressed People a little atfifted, and the King's Necelcity supplied, by which he was enabled with the ready Service of his Nobles and able Subjects to get another Army into the Field the next Spring to relieve Calais, but apprised it could find no way open to attempt it, the King of England being Mafter both of the Haven, and possifed of all other ways that were palatable, and having the Flemings his Friends, who with an huge Army had besieged Ayre, and did much mischief on the Confineries of France, which to op-

effect it was necessary to put to its end. The Dur-
manship, the Prince out of Guien, Henry of Lan-
caster Earl of Darby, having an Army of twelve hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand Foot, English and Gruffoniers, took in most of the Towns of Lantonge and Bolton, be-
sieged and fenced Poitiers; and so returns to Bur-
dens, and the Gait for all the rest, which followed her carry. Thus the French suffered every where, and their King was not able to relieve them. But at length, to shew his Will more than Abi-

lity, he sends to the King of England, to solicit him to appoint some place of Battel, and he would encounter him. King Edward returned his answer according to this manner. 'I have no mind to come thither to him, there he should find him; but he would not leave the Place, now he was ready to take it, having Lim to long it at with great Labour and Charge. And hence two Cardinals were sent by the Pope to mediate for a Peace, but nothing could be effected. So the King of England and Edward of France ren-

ter to Paris, leaving Calais to the Mercy of the

Befogre, which, when they understood, they fent A. D. to define a Parley, had it granted, and therein re-

ceived this final Sentence, 'That fix of their Reg. 20. chief Burgeffes should be fent to the King bare-

headed and barefooted, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Cable in their Hands, and fufpect

themselves to the King's Will, and the rest be

would pardon. This Sentence being related to the miferable Townfmen, they were in great La-

mentation about the choice of this Sacrifice, who of them it should be that must die for the reft, till one among them stands up, and make bold-

ly to this effect: 'Fellow-Citizens, I have of often

explored my Life in this long Siege for my Coun-

try, (and have been every Day to ready to die) 'that I am now most willing to facrifice my Life, as my last Oblation for it, and will cheer-

fully carry my Head to the vincible King

of England, not defiring to survive the Evo-

lation of my miferable Country. This free and

relate Speech so wrought upon the amazed Peo-

ple, that now they frived who should be one of the fix, and cryed out, Let us go, let us go unto Death, it is our Duty to our Native So-

This that are prefently chosen, and fent according to the Will of the King, to the King's Knees, their Knees to the King, and befeecling him to shew Mercy unto them. The King commands them infinitely to carry'd to their Execution, and would not in regard of his Oath be perfunal to Ipare them by all the Intricacies and earnest Petition of his Council, till the Queen, great with

Tears obtained their Pardon, and had them given

her. Which done, the caufed them to be clothed, gave them their Dinner, and fix Nobles a Man, appointing them to be conveyed safely through the Army, and set at liberty. An Act of Mercy worthy of fo great a Queen. The King, tho' in this he was feverer, yet he was more Iparing of Blood than his Grandfather Edward I, and had more of Compallion, as he shewed by one Act in this Siege. When Vichuus within the Town be-

gan to fail, and all unufel Perfons, as old Men, Women and Children were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again, as he might have done, to confume their Store, but fuffered them to pafs through the Town, and have two Holes and two Pence a-piece to every one. And thus was the strong Tower of Calais gotten, Aug. 3. 1347. after almost a Year's Siege, with infinite Cost and Calais is no more, Labour. All the Inhabitants were turned out of it, being forced to seek new Dwellings, and a Colony of English placed in it; and it remained in the pov'ty of the Crown of England two hundred and ten Years. And now this Triumphal King having made a Truce for fome few Months, and taken care to fecurity what he had gotten, goes over with his Queen, Prince, and many of his People into England, to spend fome time in Fcafts and Triumphs, carrying over fuch abundance of Spoils, that every Home and House had some part, and the English Wife are grown ex-

traelely fine with French Ornaments. And to add to this Glory, the Princes Electors of Ger-

many fend in the midl of this Jollity to the King, to signifye that they had choen him King of the Romans; but he refufes the Office, tho' it was of great Honour to have the Title of King in his way, and would be burthenfome to him to

* On the 7th of September 1346.
* The King of France fought to draw away the Flemings from the King of England, by Promises of Freedom, Trade, and Gifts, but could not prevail with them.
* "Eloge de St. Pierre." To the number of seventeen hundred.
* The Archbishop of Monte, Rodolph and Roger Chartalise of the Buns and Dukes of Burges, Louis Marquess of Brandeburg and Enzola, and the two Dukes of Glouces, elected King Edward Emperor. See, p. 2:55. ma-
things bought and sold between their People, there A. D. was no exception in the Truce; and so held it. 1346. Shrewsbury, June 20: left his diversified Kingdom to his Son John, who King of England.

Fate it was not to see better Fortunes, dy'd, and there friend, for it and of the five Wars. Calais, 15th this land, and in Spain to look for better Nations among themselves given France time and leave to recover its Liberty and Strength. King Edward the next Year went again in Peril to his Fleet to Sea, to encounter certain Spanish Ships pulling from Flanders, laden with Cloth and other Commodities, which after a sharp Fight, and therefore his Silver, and left a Cargo of rich Goods. And this he did, because the Spaniards the Year before had entered the River Gironne, and taken certain English Ships laden with Wines, and flew all the English. In the mean time, the King's Forces in Guiene were not idle, but there were many Conflicts between the English, and the French, to prevent a final conclusion, and was hotly maintained between the two Ladies, the Widow of Monfort, and the Wife of Charles de Blois (who was a Prisoner in England). Divers Propositions of Peace had been made by the Pope's Legates, and Commissioners had often met, to the great Expense of both Kings, and the Kings was concluded, and so temporary. Truces were set on foot to gain time. These Delays not only confuned our Men, but also, for the War was not able to maintain itself, too invasive. The Money was here after, and abated in Weight, and yet made to "go above par" according to the former Value. And whereas there were no other pieces of Money, but Nobles, and half Nobles, of the Cobin of Silver called Stelligs, the King caused Groat two-pences of equal Value with the Sterling-money to be coined, which railed the Prices of Commodities, that usually rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of Money, made Servants and Labourers to rise their Wages. Whereas the Parliament also made several Orders in their favour for the governing and ordering the Staple, because the King being displeased with the People of Flanders for disappointing him of the Match between his Daughter and their young Earl Lewis (who was escaped into France, and married to the Duke of Braham's Daughter) had removed the staple of Wool from England, and which were greatly enriched thereby, and caused it to be kept at Welfington, Chichester, Canterbury, Lincoln, Wark, Yonge, Newfield, Ester, Cambridge, Brest, and Hull, judging it more convenient to enrich his own Towns, than Strangers, by the Commodities of his Kingdom. An Act also was made in this Parliament, that all Wools, Mils, and other stoppages of Riches, which hindered
dred the Palaces of Lighters, Boats, and other
Velleys up and down the Country, should be re-
moved. An Act very advantageous to the King-
dom, but through Bribery and Corruptions of
great Men, it took no effect. So that that Age
had only the Honour of making so good an Or-
derance. It is said also, that another Act was
made this Parliament at the earnest Request of the
Earl of Warwick, and another, that if any Man
wear any Hood, except striped with divers Co-
lours or Furs, and their Garments reverfed, the
wrong side outward; a good design to make
so foul a Sin become infamous, and at length
odious.

After this Parliament, Henry Earl of Dorby
created Duke of Lancjfter, and Ralph Lord Staff-
ord Earl of Stafford, and Charles de Blois, who
had been a Prisoner long in England, was released
for forty thousand Florins, and permitted to re-
turn into Britain to provide the Time. Great
Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the
two Kings, and Compromises met to conclude a
Peace. Articles were proposed, of which the
Chief was, viz. 'That the King of England
should hold all the Lands of the Duchy of
Aquitain without Homage, and quit his Title
to the rest of France, but the French would not
yield it, (tho' after they were forced to ac-
ccept of it) at least of the Armes of the Chief
Brigades.' Whereupon the King of England being
incendi, would not hear of any further Pro-
motion of the Truce, tho' much urged to it by
two Cardinals sent on purpose from Avignon by
Pope Clement VI, and prepares a fresh for the
War. And first the Prince of Wales grown now
a Man, is appointed by Parliament to go into
Gafcony, with a thousand Men at Arms, two
thousand Archers, and a great number of Well-
mens; and in June following sets out with three
hundred Sail of Ships, attended with the Earls of
Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, the
Lords Chandos, and James Audley, Sir Robert
Knyvett, Sir France de Hall, and many others.

About Michaelmas following the King himself
went over to Callis with another Army, taking
with him his two Sons, Lionel of Antwerp, now
Earl of Ulster, in right of his Wife Elizabeth,
Daughter and Heir to William Burg, and John
of Gannet Earl of Richmond. There met him at
Callis a thousand Men at Arms, and a Hundred
of Archers and Brookants, which he had hired, to
that his Army consisted of three thousand Men
at Arms, and two thousand Archers on Hors-
back, besides Archers a-foot. The City of Lon-
don sent him this hundred Men at Arms, and
five hundred Archers, all in livery, at their own
Charge. But with all this great Force he
could effect nothing, because the French King
would not be drawn to engage him, in regard
he was too powerful, and his People under dif-
contents; but he so removed all Provisions out
of his way, that the King of England was forced
to return. The Disturbances of France arose at
this time from Charles de Normandy, who had
married Jane the French King's Daughter, a
Prince of an active Spirit, subtil and proud, by
reason of his great Estate and high Blood, being
the Son of Lewis Count D'Eureux, and Jane
Daughter to King Lewis Hattin, who was
inhabited of the Crown of France by Philip the
Lambe in Hall, of such a nature, that if it had
ferred him by to be Queen of Norma, in which

Right this Charles her Son had the Title of that
A. D. Kingdom; and other great Inheritances with it. 1557.
But he not being content with them, coveted Reg. 27
also the Countries of Champagne and Bto, which (as
belonged to his Mother by the same Right as the King
of Normandy of Normatu did, and taking himself as
wrong'd, entered into violent Courtes; but not king
during to complain directly of the King, he falls
upon the Confable of France, as the Chief of his
Council, and one of whom he was most jealous, in
regard of the King's Favour to him, and in the
end caused him to be mutin'd in his Bed at L'Aigle in Normandy, sufficing himself up into
his Chamber, with his Brother Philip of Normandy,
two of the said Archers divers out of his Guard,
and Retinue, and then flying to his City of Eureux,
justifies the Act to be lawful. The French King,
who much displeased at the cruel Fact, yet was
forced not to retent it, and promises the King of
Normandy, if he would come and crave his Pardon,
he should have it. Upon this he appears at Paris
before the Council to give a Renton of the Fact,
which is condemned as guilty of Treason, (notwith-
standing the King's Promise) and committed to
Prison, and could be hardly released at the
Request of three Queens, viz. his Mother, Sister
and Wife. Being difmissed, he goes presently in
his Palion and offers his Service to the King of
England (what with the want of his own Court,
and such a powerful Member) and wholly surprizes
several pieces in Normandy, endeavouring all he
could to draw the Affections of the People from
their King, when he had not need. These Injuries
the French King for a while dillsable, till he could
find some advantage against him, which at length
fell out thus. Charles his eldest Son being lately
involved in the Dutty of Normandy, was visited
by all the great Men of the Country, among whom
came the King of Normandy, and is Royally
feated at Roan. The French King having no-
ice of it at Paris, sets out with a Body of Men,
takes him at Dinner with his Soin, and without
any of these Men of Law caufes four of the Chief
that miscarried the Confable to be presently execu-
ted, of which the two Harcutts were part, and
fends the King of Normandy under a Strong Guard of
King of
 of Aras, and his chief Servants to other Priions, France im-
This sudden Execution enraged the Friends of the
King of Normandy, and especially Philip his Brother, who
with Jeffreys of Quincus, Harcourt, and the
Brethren, pooled over into England, exclaiming
against this barbarous Murther, begging aid of
King Edward in revenging so notorious an In-
justice, and offering him their Hearts, Goods,
Towns and Havens to let him into Normandy,
which the King was not backward to accept and
entertain.

And first the King fends over the Duke of Lau-
caster with four thousand Men at Arms, who by
the help of fo great Forces, wins many strong
Towns, and in the mean while himself, that he is
might be well furnilhed for fo great an Action,
Normandy, obtains his of Parliament, which he called for
that purpose, a Tax of thirty Shillings of every
Sack of Wool for six Years next enlisting, by
which Imposition it was thought (say our Histori-
es) that our King was able to exped a thou-
sand Marks Sterling a Doy; so great a Vent was
there at that time for Wool. Soon after this Par-
lament broke up, the King, as hardy as cour-
egious, went to Court with his Army to regale
theo' it was then Winter, which had been of late

* This was done by the general Confeune of the whole Parliament, and he was invil'd by the Chafure and Sward, with power
to hold a Court of Chafure, in the County of Leeds. Rib. A. 25. Ead. 325. 235. This Expedition was in the Year 1555, and Sir France de Hall, whom Mr. Daniel places among those who went with
Prince Edward to Gafcony, commanded the German or Flemifh Auxiliaries, that fer'd the King in Placentia. Henry de Knighten.

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surprized
A. D. surprised by the Scots, and not only recovered 1555. the Town, but had the whole Kingdom regained Reg. 29. to him by * Robert Balfour King of Scots, who had indeed the beft Title to that Honour, but had not so good an Intereft as his Competitor King 1556. of Scotland referred to A. D. Balfour.

The Scots, in this new Attempt, did not think proper to engage in Battle, but advanced towards the Town, and forced them to give battle. The Scots, however, were beaten, and the King of Scots was taken Prisoner, and it was thought that the Battle was lost, and the King of Scotland would be expelled from the Kingdom. So that all the neighbouring Nations were in great Trouble, but 1556. England, which flourished with Victories and Triumphs. While the King was baffled at home, the Prince of Wales enter'd Quebec, pulled over Longueve to Thulot, who was not there, and it was known the next morning that the Prince had killed himself, and was killed by the Scots. The Prince was obliged to leave them, and returned to Bordeaux. The French King being thus affuluated on all hands, gathers together all the Force he could, and first goes against his Enemy in Normandy, and recover'd many of his lost Towns, and might have prevailed there, but the Prince of Wales, who was got abroad again, and had invaded Toulouse, obliged him to carry his Army from thence to oppofe him, and ftop his Courfe; to which end he marched towards him with his whole Army, caugbt all the Towns and Pluffles upon the River Loire to be stronglyguarded. The Prince knowing himself to be outmatched, orders the French as they advanced towards Bordeaux, but was purified by the French, who within two Leagues of Poitiers had him at an advantage. At this Infult came two Cardinals 1556. from the Pope, to defign a Peace between them, and prevailed to far upon the Prince, that he was contented to return to the French King what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice to his Honour, in which he faid, He ftood account- able to his Father and his Country. But the French King fuppofing that he now had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince fhould deliver him four Ho- friages, and surrender up himfelf and Army into his Hands, to be used according to his Diffcretion, otherwife (notwithftanding the Legate's Perilla- tions to milder terms) he would immediately fet upon the Prince with his Army (which was fix to five times as great as the Prince being prefumed to be) Straights, that he must yield either to difhonneur- able terms, or fight immediately, prepares for a Battle, taking what advantage he could of the Ground, and providently getting the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Bulfhes on that Side, where he was likely to be affaulted most furiously by the French Archers. The Scots perfifted in the Prince's Expectation; for the French Cavalry, to whom the French King defigned to give the Ho- nour of the Victory, with fome difcontent to the reft, being upon their firft attack entangled among the Vines, were fo disorder'd and gaff'd by the English Archers, without harm or danger to them- felves, that they were forced to give ground, and the whole Army was by that means confounded, and the Prince, who muft have been ruined by delay, purchas'd to memorable a Victory, as was never before attained by the English with fo few A. D. hands. For the French King himfelf and young 1556. elt Son Philip (who vaually defended his Fat. Reg. 30. her, when his other two Brothers had forfaken him, for which afterward he had the Title of Stoddard, and Dukeidon of Bourgogne given him) were taken Prifoners with them Jacques de Bordeaux, Count de Poullien, the Archchifip of Sees, John d'Artoy, Count D'Eis, Charles de Ar- toy, his Brother Count de Longueville, Charles Count de Tancravelle, the Counts of Toulouf, Salbougre, Damperon, and La Roche, with many other eminent Lords, besides two thousand Knights, Efquires, and Companions, which the Conqueftors were willing to be so great a Number, to be kept Prifoners, releaf'd many of them. The French, who belt knew their own Lollies, relate, that there were fliam in this Battel fourteen hundred Gentlemen, among whom were fifty two Bannorets, and many of the Nobility, as Peter de Bourdon, the Duke D'Aurore, Count de France, du Clermont Marfafr, Jeffrey de Charmy, High Chamberlain. Three of the French King's Sons escaped (for they were all in the Battel) viz. Charles the Dauphin, who was the fift to be entitl'd, Louis afterward Duke of Burgund of Anjou, and John Duke of Berry, all of them Men of great Achievement in the following times. This Battle was of fuch great Importance, as to fub- pleat overthrow, and fubb'd it entirely to the Crown of England, but that it was a Body of fo many strong Limbs, and fo great extent, that it is almost impoffible to weaken it fo much, but that it will recover at length again, as it did from Battle, the Prince of Wales in this Battel gained a double Victory, the one by his Sword, and the other by his Courierie; for he visited the Captive King with all the Reverence and Respect due to his Majesty, comforted him by the Examples of like Fortunes in War, and affured him of all fair Treatment, according to his Dignity. The Chief Nobles, who attended the Prince in this Action, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, and Stafford, the Lords Cobham, Spencer, Barkley, and Eaffir, and of Gafcoigne, Le Capitale de Berfe, the Lords Parer, Choumair, and others. But the moft remarkable Inftrance of Honour and Valour was the Lord James Archb. The Prince's late Brother, who marched among the Scions of the Prince, and fought with his Life to cover the Battel, performed his Word, and confirmed it in 1556, with many Wounds, for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred Marks per Annum. Fee-dimple in England, he prefently gave it to four of his Efquires, who had underwent the fame Dangers with him. The Prince knowing it, asked him, whether he did not accept of his Gift? He answer'd, Yes, but those Men had de- served it as well as himfelf, and had more need of it. The Prince was plea'd at this Reply, and gave him five hundred Marks more, as if he refo- ved, that to fo much Worth should not go un- rewarded.

All things being carefullv fetted and accom- modated by the Prince after the Battel, he re- tir'd with his Prifoners firft to Bordeaux, and shortly after he paff'd with great Glory into Eng-
The State of France during the King's Captivity.

The Dauphin thus disheartened and perplexed, with much Difficulty got out of that tumultuous City of London, and flies into Compagnie, where he assembled the States, and made his peace with them, and to yield him all Affections. The Prince of the great Towns refusing all with much Difficulty, and so ready to shake off all Regal Authority and Power.

The Dauphin then appeared before the King, who was at liberty, and offered his own Liberty to the King, to have the King of Navarre deliver his immediate Reliefe, according to the Decrees of the Deputies, and at least the greater part of the Towns taken Arms, and would not suffer the Prince to receive any Relief from the City of Arques, who had the keeping of him, that he was released after nineteen Months Imprisonment, comes to Paris accompany'd with a flately Train, and so much Confidence, as if he would shew that he intended to revenge himself, and was receiv'd with universal Joy of the Citizens, to have the Prince of Navarre and Count de Guise, and was about to stir up the Towns to rise. The Prince was in a Transport. He had receiv'd, and intimated, that he had Title to their Crown, and so put that City into such a Confusion, that the Redemption of A. D. the King was quite laid aside, and the Prince was 1577: for'd by an Act of Abolition to pardon the King Reg. 21. of Navarre, and all his Companys for all former

Offences to pacify them. The Prince seeing the Perverse Disposure of the King, going in the largest Offers to purchase the King's Liberty, in the Assembly of the three States at Toul-

loise, promising in it to their Governor the Count D'Amboise, not only to contribute their Revenues, and movables, but to sell their Wives and Children to raise a sufficient Sum for it, and to utter their Sorrow, and turn'd the City to all the For-
A.D. of disband'd Soldiers, who had nothing to sub-
1359. it of, joined together in Companies, and re-
Reg. 33. wanted the King's Protection, but also omitted the Re-
demption of their King; so that King Edward, who longed to fill his Treasure with a large Price for his Ransom, began not only to exact Ho-
Diligence, and the taking of the King himself. And still he marches to the City of Ar-
r, which he took within three Days, thence into 
Borougy, where the Cities of Sens and Nevers 
Succellors, and by their Example other Cities contributed their Proportions:
and for King John was again fet at Liberty, &c.
with the principal Mutineers, who was created Regent) had pohted himself with a 
considerable Body of Men, who in the common 
Dangers fought together to defend their Country, 
and in the latter part of his Life (both he and his Grandfather) drawn out to hazard them, 
but only flood upon his Defence, which the 
King of England seeing, after many Provocations, 
he raised the Siege and returned into Britain 
to refresh his Army. In the mean time, the Re-
gent lays in great flux of Villains, and provides 
that he might have enough to maintain his Sol-
diers, he does not omit the procuring of the 
with extremel Diligence so fortify'd the City, 
that King Edward returning with all his fresh 
Power, was not able to do any thing against him, 
as he expected; and so the City, that so lately 
was like to have endanger'd the whole Kingdom, 
was now the only means to save it. From Paris 
therefore King Edward, with his Army re-
to Orleans, where he was received with the 
Treasury of Orleans with a Defiance to besiege that 
City, but in the way he was so affrighted with 
a terrible Storm of Hall, Thunder and Lightning, 
which fell upon his Army, that he vow'd he 
would make Peace with the French King upon 
any reasonable Conditions, as he shortly after 
came to an agreement, whereof he after 
the Treaty of Troyes, was to be 
that the Country of Po-
dom, the Fiiefs of Touraine and Belleville, 
the Countries of Gascony, Aquitaine, Perigord, Li-
neaux, Cabors, Turbe, Bayers, Rousser, Ango-
levia in Sovereignty, with the Homages of the 
Lords within those Territories; Montreuil, 
Comines, Pouilly, Callis, Gisors, La Merke, 
Sanguy, Bourbon, Hannes, Vales, and Ouis, 
should be under the Command of the King of 
England, That King John should pay for his 
Rainom three Millions of Scutes of Gold, of 
which fix hundred thousand to be presently 
paid in hand, four hundred thousand the Year 
following, and the remaining part in the two 
next Years upon reasonable demand: And in 
Confidération of the former Grants, the King of 

England, and his Son the Prince of Wales was A.D. 
well for themselves as their Successors, for ever 
should renounce all the Right which they pre-
tended to the Crown of France, the Dutchy of 
Normandy, the Countries of Tourain, Anjou and 
Maine, the Sovereignty and Homage of the 
Dutchy of Brittany, and the Estobon of Fland-
ers, and within three Weeks King John should 
carry his Cousins and his sister Land at the 
King of England's Charge, except the Expen-
es of his Hous. And for the sure Performance of 
these Articles on the King of France's part, the 
King of England was to have the,-thefe Hapages 
deliver'd to him, Lewis Duke of Aquitain, John 
Duke of Berry (his Son) Philip Duke of Orleans 
Treaty of Troyes, and the Prince of Wales, 
Counts of Blois, Alencon, S. Pol, Harcourt, Ponthieu, 
Valentinois, Grand Pre, De Breone, Des Forests, 
the Lords Vaudemont, Conkey, Ponces, De 
Vernon, De Leucques, De Monceray, De Garanciers, 
La Roche, Guion, Ebelouille, La Dapline, d' 
Aveyron, d' Archiay, and De Cram, sufficient 
Securitics for the said Sunnday and Conditions. The 
Scouts also were not to be aided by the French King, 
or Fumingly by the Bishop: Charles King of Na-
vaire, and his Brother Philip were likewise com-
prehended in these Articles, &c. This Agreement of Peace enter'd into by both Kings, was ratified 
by their two eldest Sons Charles and Edward, and 
by the French Nobles, and the King's three 
Sons. The Hapages were thereupon deliver'd to King 
Edward, who departing from Honfleur, brought 
them over into England, leaving the Earl of War-
nick in France to compleat the Peace. 
King John is honourably attended to CaHis, ready to 
be deliver'd at the Payment of the first part of his 
Random, which to the City of Paris, pays one 
thousand Royals, and by their Example 
other Cities contributed their Proportions:
And for King John was again set at Liberty, &c.
King John had been remaining about five Years a Prisoner in 
England, the two King's parting from each other 
with all outward Demonstrations of Brotherly 
Affection.

King Edward being returned home, calls a Par-
liament, wherein the Form of Peace between him and 
the French King was read, approv'd on by 
all the States, and an Oath taken by all the 
Nobility to observe the same for their parts. 
And here the King restored the Lords, Henes, and 
Towns, which he had taken from the French 
Strangers, An. Reg. 12. to maintain him in his 
French Wars, which now being ended, he granted 
them to them again in as free a manner as they 
before had held them: A rare Example of Justice in 
this King, it being seldom known that a Prince 
will part with any thing he hath gotten. And now was 
the glory and Happiness of England a little 
attayd by a great Mortality, call'd the Sc.
Great Plague, by which many Noblemen died, Plague, 
of whom the chief was Henry Duke of Lancaster, again. 
One of the Royal Blood; a Prince eminent for 
his Wisdom and Valour, who had been a chief 
Actor in all these Wars, and a principal Support 
to the Crown of England, whole Daughter and 
Heir was a little before marry'd to John of Gaunt 
(by a Dispensation from the Pope for their too 
Near Confiniacy) whereby he was Duke of 

* He made a View now to return into England till he had brought Peace to his Terms. 
† It consist'd in all of an hundred thousand Men. Prius. 
‡ He has been in the larger here in this Expedition. 
§ Yet when a consisting Union was made, and by the immediate Perfections of the Duke of Lancastor, and Simon de Langres the 
Lancastor.
A. D. Lenoxton. And shortly after, by the like Dic-1662. pensation, the Prince of Wtles marryed the Coun-
Reg. 36. tefs of Kent, the Daughter of Edmund, Brother to Edward II. The King upon this Marriage gives
to the Prince of Wales the Dutchy of Aquitaine, refering to himself4 Homage and Fealty, and then at the death of William of Wales, the Duke of Aquitaine, his Birth-day, and Fifth-year of his Age. This Day, that he might render remarkable-
by John his Birth-day, to his Subjects. His thoughts were of S. Brice, his Birth-day, and Fifth-year of his Age.

All Petitions me making, and make his Judges, which before were in French, should be made
in English, that the Subjects might understand the
Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to
know what he doth. An excellent Act, and
worthy of so great a Prince; but he had deferred
greater Honour, if he could have freed it from
these Difficulties and Mysteries, which had been
a great Apathy to the People than a Remedy.
In it also was made a Statute for Purveyors (as
there had been many before) enacting, That no
Provisions for the King's Court should be taken
up, but for ready Money, under a sever Punish-
ment. For which Edictments the Parliament
granted him 26s, upon every Sack of coal trans-
ported for their own Consumption, and made his
People Great abroad, so allo to reform their Vices,
and make them Good at home. And to this end,
in the next Parliament held at Westminster, Annos
Regis. 37. he cau'd to be enacted cer ain frymp-
tuary Laws to prevent all Excets both in Apparel
and Dyet, appointing every degree of Men, from
the greatest to the meanest, to wear a Cloth,
which they should wear, prohibiting all Ornament,
of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all,
extep Perons of Quality, by which foreign Superfluities
were excluded from the Nation, and our own
Manufacture only used. The Labourer and Huf-
bandman appointed but one Mea's day, and what
Meat else of it was to be used in the Conscience and Religion.
Gluttony and Drunkenness, those Vices which
have enfeebled the Nation since, were totally 
banished. So careful was this wife and frugal
King to preserve his Subject's Eftates from ex-
ces. And as provident was he for the ordering
and securing of his own Treasurie, committing
the Care of it to the most Befudiged of Experience and Religion.
For by a Certificate fent to Pope Urban, Annos
Regis. 29. concerning Pluralitys, and the Eftates of
the Churchmen in England, there were more
Clergy in Office than about the King, than about
any Prince in Chriflendom before. For first Sr.
A. D. non Longham Archijbihop of Canterbury was
Chancellor of England; William Wicklifh Archijbihop Reg. 36.
Lincoln, keeper of the Privy-Seal, David Wcl-
Parson of Sommer, Master of the Rolls;
ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of Chan-
edly William; William Dighton, S. Martin's, Chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver
and Keeper of the King's Treasurie and Jewels;
William Asked Archijbihop of Norwich, Chancellor
of the Exchequer; William Digbyt Pref-
bendary of St. Martin's, the Clerk of the Privy-Seal;
Simon Crewe, Richard Clifton, prebendaries of St.
Men's, Treasurer of the King's House; Henry Sack
Parson of Oundle, Master of the King's Ward-
robe; John Newham Parson of Femi-Stanton,
one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and
Keeper of the Treasurie and Jewels; John Romby
Parson of Harwick, Surveyer and Controller of
the King's Wood, The Prince's Butler. Never-
theless, Treasurer to the King for the Parts of
Guilford, and Marches of Calis John Troye Trea-
urer of Ireland, a Priest, and beneficed there.
These Men, who were defir'd of Feminine Allome-
ments to Expence and Pomp, and desir'd to join
Christianity, were thought the firft to be trufht
with his Revenues in the Kingdom.

Shortly after this, three Kings came to visitit Edward the
King of England, the King of France, King 7'is
fitted by
three Kings of Scots, and King of Cyprus. The occasion of the
first war.

French King's coming was chiefly to free some
Hoffages* that remained here, and to clear himself
of the Impositions laid to him, for not ob-
erving the late Peace in all points; wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many
Contests role about it; fo that in an Assembly
of the States at Paris, certain Lords, whole Homanes
by the Treaty were due to the King of England,
protected against it, alleging, That the King
'could not dispof of the Sovereignty of his
Kingdom, nor alienate his Demeffe, and there-
fore they would not acquiesce in any of his
Interests, which the French King, left King Edward should
look upon it as Contrivance between the King
and his Subjects, published his Edict to command
the Observation of the Treaty, and certified the
King of England of it. Besides, he had resolve-
upon an Expedition to the Holy War, and defir'd
his Nobles to make all they could of it, and
for their part were at home repeating a con-
trivance of his own, and not his Love to the Councils of Salis-
bury's, as was imagined by some. But howsoever
it was, this King shewed a strange Inclination to return to his Gaol, where he had endured to
much Affliction, and where shortly after his com-
munication he endeavoured to recover the King of
England, who solemnly attended his Carriage
to Dover, from whence it was conveyed to S. Den-
nis, and there entomb'd with his Ancestors. The Debate for the Dutchty of Britain was about this
1664. time ended by the Death of Charles de Blois, about
who was slain in a Battell near Vannes by John
Britain de Monfort, and the English Forces comnected by
the Lord Lantomer, Sir John Chandos, and
Sir Hugo Cowleyer. John de Monfort marries Mary
of the Daughter of King Edward, and by his Consent
did Homage for that Dutchty to Charles now

* She was call'd the Councils of Salisbury by some Historians, because she had in her Youth been borto'd to William

** He granted a general and special Pardon. Act. Par. 16 Edw. 3. c. 15.

*** To evade his Son the Duke of Almain's forfeeling away from Calis, where he was ou's upon his Parole, being one of the French

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4. As Sir Richard Baker, and some other modern Writers, fully relate.

5. On the 9th of April, 1664.
A.D. 1364. King of France, complying with the Widow of Charles de Blois for a Sum of Money, and some Reg. 38. Estates in Land. And now Peace began to lurish, whereby a great Warrior, who found such En- tertainment among the Princes there for the Re- formation of military Discipline among them, and such Honour and Estrate by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statue (tho' he was but Tylery) is yet set among their Princes, most memorable for Virtue and Actions. So that in England at that time to furnish the World with great Commanders.

1366. And now is this mighty King come to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which if it had been the last, he had dy'd the most glorious Prince of the World, having always hitherto had Fortune his Friend; but after this he fulfill'd his wish. He being in his Age, Frailties brought some Blemishes upon his Actions. Charles V. King of France, famish'd the Wife, having learned, ed, by the Sufferings of his Father and himselv, to manage a Crown before he had one, by his prudent Government got most great advantages of him, and by the Advise of his Council, and good Conduct of his Wars by Gueslin, a Brittain, chosen Constable of France, recovered his Estrate and
Power.

1367. The Prince of Wales remaining in the Ducht of Aquitain, with a great Court, and many military Attendants, which had no Employment, was solicited by Perre King of Castile,' whom his Father Edward the Third had, obliging him to his Kingdom to alib in recovering it; which the Prince, having obtained his Father's Consent, and being allur'd to, by the large Promises of Riches of the said Perre, undertakes. The Caufe was much better than the Perfon. For this Perre, Son to Alphonzus II. King of Castile, was beloved his People, for he was by his mannerly tyrannical Cruelties actioned upon them, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to enrich himself, and after murdering his Wife (who was the Duke of Bourron's Daughter, and Sitter to the present Queen of France) by the Instigation of his Cons- cumbine Martha de Fondilla, whom he after marry'd. This made him so injurious upon his People, that they adhering to his Baffard-Brother Henry, a more virtuous Prince, crown'd him King of Spain at Burgos, and forced Perre to fly his Kingdom. Perre being thus rejected of his People, and ex- pelled his own Dominions, fled to the Prince of Wales, and obtained of him so much, that he was able to support on Armes thirty thousand Pecule from his Brother John Duke of Lancaster, and many other English Lords, to re-inveit him in his Kingdom. Henry had to support his Poffession the French, under the Command of Gueslin Confi- tabile, and Denheben Marchal of France, be- sides to many Captains, Christians and Saracens, as made up an Army of near one hundred thousand Men. Upon the Confines of Castile these
Princes and their Armies came to a Battel *, and A.D. the Prince had the Victory, Henry being put to 1367. Death, the Prince obtained upon Prifoners, and Reg. 41. Perre placed upon his Throne again. ~ The Work being done, the Prince required the promised Reward, but Perre could not, nor would provide it but having tired him with Delays, forced him at laft to return to Bordeaux, without Money to pay his Army, and which was work, without Health, which he never after re- covered. This Success proved not fortunate to either. Perre, an ungrateful Tyrant, enjoy'd not his Right long, but was soon after dippofed of again, taken and put to Death. The Prince of Wales returning out of Spain without Reward, was forced to find out ways to content his Sol- diers, to enrich them, and pay for a new Tax upon the Gasconies, of France, or Chimney money; which so disconcerted the People, that they exclaimed against the Government of the English, and appealed to the King and Court of France for Redrefs. The King of France, at the earnest request of the great Lords, and others, who were his Subjects, did obliging the Crown of England, send a Gentleman and Prince of Wales at Bordeaux, to fummon him to answer to their Complaints before him and his Court at Paris *. At the same time alfo the Lords Arminius, D. Albert, Peregrine, Comings, and many others, made their Protestations against the Prince and his Government, in behalf of the Crown of France, which, said they, they were at as much to obey, and not a strange Prince; That it was King Edward, against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom to separate them from the Crown; That the Contract was made in Prifon, and therefore constrained, and fo not to be observed by the Right of Nations. So that they were resolved to Spi their Prison, and forsake England, and return to the Government of England. And by their Example the Cities of the County of Ponthieu submitted themselves to Guy Count of S. Poi, and Guy de Chartillon. The King of England disfplexed with this Breach of the Treaty, complains to the Pope, and the Emperor Charles IV. who made this Treaty unmade by his own Command to his Kingdom, submit themselves to the English, and reconcile the two Kings. The Archbishop of Canterbury submitted both the Princes to the Caufe and Kings of France. The English alledged first, 'That this Treaty English had being made more for the advantage of France than England, in that we regnified there by not only our Title to Normandy, Touraine, and Armor, but the Dominions of the English States, Title to the Crown, that we might have the Sovereign Dominium of the Ducht of Aquitain, the County of Ponthieu, with some other pieces, which by Right of Inheritance belonged to the Crown of England, whereby the Efluition of the Christian Blood was prevented, France had the Revenge of their King, and desired them to be allowed Conditions as could be devis'd. Notwith- standing this, the French King (who himselle, with all the Council of France, had agreed upon on the Peace, and sworn to observ it) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had gotten his Hoftages by Fraud) seiz'd upon the Ducht of Aquitain, and County of Ponthieu, without denouncing War, &c. The

* Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he erred a Noble Monument for him in that City, where it is called by the Italians Johanne Autr, de Acio. Paulinar, Vitis Eglo, Thir, ibid 2. 10 Serain d'Estrages. 2 * Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he erred a Noble Monument for him in that City, where it is called by the Italians Johanne Autr, de Acio. Paulinar, Vitis Eglo, Thir, ibid 2. 10 Serain d'Estrages. 2 * Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he erred a Noble Monument for him in that City, where it is called by the Italians Johanne Autr, de Acio. Paulinar, Vitis Eglo, Thir, ibid 2. 10 Serain d'Estrages. 2 * Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he erred a Noble Monument for him in that City, where it is called by the Italians Johanne Autr, de Acio. Paulinar, Vitis Eglo, Thir, ibid 2. 10 Serain d'Estrages. 2 * Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he erred a Noble Monument for him in that City, where it is called by the Italians Johanne Autr, de Acio. Paulinar, Vitis Eglo, Thir, ibid 2. 10 Serain d'Estrages. 2 * Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Effow, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, fole by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He part into Italy after the Peace; was mightily employed by Barnay Duke of Altan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republik of Horcnca, where he err
French reply, 'That we by the Treaty ought to have immediately drawn our Army out of France,' but did not during all King John's Reign, by which means the Peace was more offensive to them than the War, they being for ever put to the charge of their King, and for more charge than would have maintained an Army: So that the Brench was on our side. That King Edward was bound by it to renounce his Title to the Crown of France in an open Parliament of both Realms, which he had not done. And as to the Release of their King, they first promised the deposit of their Souldiers, and that to redeem their King S. Lewis, with his Nobles and whole Army, when taken by the Souldiers of Egypt, an Infilde. Thus both sides defended themselves. But the French King (it seems) tho' willing to get in what he could of his Country, yet was unwilling to renew the War, and therefore courted the King of England, and Peace by many Presents. But Edward seeing himself thus deluded, prepared to vindicate himself by the Sword; and having borrowed great Sums of Money of the Clergy, lends upon John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphrey, Theon Earl of Hereford, with a mighty Army to call for Peace. But the French Kings endeavours to recover the rebellious Towns of the other. But the Duke returned a little after without effect. Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was then sent over with fresh Supplies, but dy'd in the Journey. Sir Robert Knoll, 1, a Man highly celebrated in those times for his Conduct and Valour, was taken prisoners, and afterwards furnished by means of great Lords, who diddaining to be commanded by one that they accounted their Inferiour, overthrew themselves, and frustrated that Expedition. Thus the English lost their ground, and the French King grew greater both in Power and Alliance. For Margaret, the only Daughter of Henry the Second, was married to Philip the Duke of Burgoyne, Brother of the French King. This much vexed the King of England, who, altering himself the better, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein he returns his Claim to the Crown of France, and if the French will not recover it, he will recover it, and obtained it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand Pound to be paid the same Year, and the Latiby as much. For the levying of which every Parish in England was rated at first to pay 7 s. 4 d. (the Great to help the Lests) upon a Supposition there had been Parishes enough to have made up that Sum. But by a Certificate made in return to the King's Writs, sent out to enquire what Number of Parishes there were in every Shire, they found it came short, and then they rated every Parish at 5 l. 16 s. (the Greater to help the Lests) and so of 8000 Parishes found to be in the 37 Shires, 5018 l. 6 s. 8 d. was raised, which being likely was not sufficient, and that the 471 l. was abated, and so the King received 5000 l. for the Latiby. Upon the grant of this Supply, the King again confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of Forefts, and promised that they should be observed in all points, which in most of his Parliaments was his first Act, as appears by the printed

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The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.

A.D. 1359. 1359.

Reg. 43. A.D.

French, but did not during all King John's Reign, by which means the Peace was more offensive to them than the War, they being for ever put to the charge of their King, and for more charge than would have maintained an Army: So that the Brench was on our side. That King Edward was bound by it to renounce his Title to the Crown of France in an open Parliament of both Realms, which he had not done. And as to the Release of their King, they first promised the deposit of their Souldiers, and that to redeem their King S. Lewis, with his Nobles and whole Army, when taken by the Souldiers of Egypt, an Infilde. Thus both sides defended themselves. But the French King (it seems) tho' willing to get in what he could of his Country, yet was unwilling to renew the War, and therefore courted the King of England, and Peace by many Presents. But Edward seeing himself thus deluded, prepared to vindicate himself by the Sword; and having borrowed great Sums of Money of the Clergy, lends upon John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphrey, Theon Earl of Hereford, with a mighty Army to call for Peace. But the French Kings endeavours to recover the rebellious Towns of the other. But the Duke returned a little after without effect. Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was then sent over with fresh Supplies, but dy'd in the Journey. Sir Robert Knoll, 1, a Man highly celebrated in those times for his Conduct and Valour, was taken prisoners, and afterwards furnished by means of great Lords, who diddaining to be commanded by one that they accounted their Inferiour, overthrew themselves, and frustrated that Expedition. Thus the English lost their ground, and the French King grew greater both in Power and Alliance. For Margaret, the only Daughter of Henry the Second, was married to Philip the Duke of Burgoyne, Brother of the French King. This much vexed the King of England, who, altering himself the better, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein he returns his Claim to the Crown of France, and if the French will not recover it, he will recover it, and obtained it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand Pound to be paid the same Year, and the Latiby as much. For the levying of which every Parish in England was rated at first to pay 7 s. 4 d. (the Great to help the Lests) upon a Supposition there had been Parishes enough to have made up that Sum. But by a Certificate made in return to the King's Writs, sent out to enquire what Number of Parishes there were in every Shire, they found it came short, and then they rated every Parish at 5 l. 16 s. (the Greater to help the Lests) and so of 8000 Parishes found to be in the 37 Shires, 5018 l. 6 s. 8 d. was raised, which being likely was not sufficient, and that the 471 l. was abated, and so the King received 5000 l. for the Latiby. Upon the grant of this Supply, the King again confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of Forefts, and promised that they should be observed in all points, which in most of his Parliaments was his first Act, as appears by the printed Statutes. And now John Duke of Lancaster, and A.D. 1359.

Reg. 43. A.D.

Edward Earl of Cambridge, are sent with Forces 1371. into Aquitain to affit the Prince of Wales, who Reg. 45. after he had taken Limerick that had revoluted, this his Health not holding out to perform any more, the Prince for nearly two Years the protection of his Father's Realms, and with his Wife, and young Son Richard, born at 1372. York, in England, at Bordeaux, returns home into England, and re-joins the figs to his Father the Dutchey of Aquitain. The Duke of Duke of Lancaster, after the departure of the Lancaster Prince, did little else but provide himself a Wife. For being a Widoower by the Death of his Wife, where he reprovd the French Princes, among whom he was full of his Time of the Queen Philippe's Death, he marry'd Concurrence the Daughter of Peter King of Cuffile, by whom he had (after her Father's Death) the empty Title of King of Cuffile and Leu, but left it to his Daughter to pollece. For Katherine, whom he had by her, being marry'd to Henry the Grand of the Ulterpor, Henry the Bailiff, and in her Right now King of both those Realms, be became Queen of Cuffile and Leu, and left her Poffernity Kings of Spain. Edward Earl of Cambridge marry'd at the same time Isabet the Daughther of Peter King, and both of them shortly after returned into England, tho' without Victory, yet he receiving both Forces of England, and France, his late predeceffor, had marry'd Violenta, the Daughter of the Duke of Milan in Italy, where they feemed him so much, that he dy'd soon after. The City of The Earl of Rochel, which yet held out for the English, had endured a long Siege both by Set and Land; to force to re- relieve which important place, the Earl of Pembroke, being taken Prisoner, was sent to Paris, there left to ftrengthen the English Armies and deferves, and furnished with twenty thousand 1373. Marks to defray the Charge of the Voyage. But encountering the Spanish Arme, which was fent to aid the French in this Siege by Henry King of Cuffile, after a long and cruel Fight he was taken Prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King Edward hazing determined to recover the French Coasts, had a mighty Army to recover those Lollies, but lost the more, Winds and Fortune being against him to beat him back; so that all his Preparations, in which he had spent nine hundred thoufand Marks, were to no purpose. Shortly after John Duke of Lancaster went over to Castile with ano- ther Army, and, having some Success in the County of Avergne, and left many of his People in the Mountains for want of Vivialls, and almost all his Horfe; so that he came to Bordeaux with his Army almost farr'd. After he had refrained them well, he made some attempts upon the Enemy, but without effect; the Date of the English Victories was out, and all those attempts were unfuffectful. The Duke returns the next Year, and all Gagesrevolv, except Bordeaux and Bayon, King Edward obtained another Supply of the Parliament, a tenth of the Clergy, and fifteenth of the Latiby, towards their Wars. But France with fought all means to end them by a Treaty; a very French, to which the English King was not willing to be led through France. But as the English were spent therein at Burges and other places, in great Charges by Commissaries, and with much Debate, The French having now the advantage of the Time, would make their own Conditions, requiring Cattis, and Restitution of great Sums of Money, which would not be granted. So that nothing but temporary Truces could be gotten,
A. D. and in them the English and their Party had all the ways the world.

Reg. 47. Nor was the state of the King's Affairs better at home than abroad. The Sicknels of the Prince of Wales grew degenerate, the Government disorder'd, the King's Subjects, the Old Age of the Duke of Lenox, the Duke of Lenox, the Duke of Lenox, the Duke of Lenox, and all Affairs ill managed. A Parliament was call'd at Westminster to cure these Evils, in which the King's Wants were laid open, and Supplies required; but the whole Body of that Assembly, weary of bearing such continual Burthens, instead of contributing, procured Ministers, charging the Ministers with Fraud, and humbly begg'd, that the Duke of Lenox, the Lord Latimer then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Peice the King's Concubine, and one Sir Richard Sturcy, might be removed from Court. These Complaints and Defires were so vehemently urg'd by their Speaker, Sir Peter Parke 4, that the King, rather than not be fipp'd, gave way to them, and all those Persons are immediately expell'd from Court. The Prince was thought to favor these proceedings, because there was no good Correspondence between him and his Brother the Duke of Lenox, who manage'd all under his aged Father's Administration might be dangerous to his young Son Richard, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. In this Parliament, the King being now in the 50th Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another General Parson, as a second Jubilee, only excepting 5 William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, who was lately fallen under the King's Displeasure, through the procurement of the Duke of Lenox, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this Jubilee was turn'd into Sorrow by the Death of the 1 Prince of Wales, which happen'd while this Parliament sate: A great loss to the State, being a Prince endowed with all excellent Virtues, and free from all those faults which his Death chamber'd the Right of Affection. The late excluded Persons return to the Court, and their former Places, and so this Parliament (tho' call'd the good Parliament) produced ill effects by their Petitions. For Sir Peter of the Mare, at the Suit of Alice Peice, an impudent Woman, was committed to a perpetual Imprisonment at Winchester. But the Duke of Lenox is call'd by the Regency, and manages all the Affairs of the Kingdom. But King Edward, to prevent the mischief which might arise by disordering of the Secession, providently settled the time in Parliament upon Richard of Bordeaux, creating him Lord Chancellor, and all the Seates of the Duke of Lenox, which the Duke of Lenox had formal'd to supplant him. For this Confirmation by the A. D. Parliament, which he had offended, and the Breach 1736. he had with the Londoners; soon after, deterr'd him from so much as attempting that which his Son in the Act 1736. 26. is against the King's Person, but that he was in under his Father, he play'd the King very much, and carry'd him very imperiously. And first he shews his Authority upon the Earl of Marl, commanding him to go over to guard Carlis, and the parts adjoining, which the Earl refused, and chose rather to lay down his Office than to perform the Command he had from his Office. The Duke gave him to Sir Henry Percy, one of his intimate Friends. About this time the Parliament met again at Westminster, (whether it was a new one, or the last prorogued, I know not) and thither the Duke himself brings Prince Richard (being about eleven Years old) and places him in the King's Seat, having taught him to demand a Sutffy, which was only two Tenths to be paid in one Year, or Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandizes fold for one Year, and one Pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-House one Penny. And this Demand the Duke earnestly urged, saying, That one of them would not receive any benefit, because the King who had proclaimed War, and purposed to invade the Realm. The Knights of the Parliament (who were all pack'd by the Duke, as 'tis said, except twelve, which he could not remove) required a time to give their Answer, and so a day was appointed. The major part made choice of one Hanover's, a Creature of the Duke, to give their Answer. The other would have Sir Peter of the Mare to be enlarged, and deliver theirs, and answer to what could be objected against him before the Lords in Parliament, and submit to their Judgment. Then the Duke demanded Aid of the Bishops, but they refused to treat about it, as was wont; and the Bishops, who was prohibited from coming to the Parliament, and so nothing was obtained, and the Duke disappointed, which they shew'd no small Restament of afterwards.

Another Accident happen'd now, which much interrupted this and all other Affairs. A certain Divinity, 6 a Fellow of Oxf, the Archbishop of Canterbury of a Benefice in Oxford, which he was found unjustly to hold, grew thereupon discontented, (an Humour which generally breeds Schism) envied him in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, against the Abuses of Christnians, Monks, and other Religious Orders, (which were indeed not free from scandal, but that they deserved blame) and had by

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4 This Parliament was call'd the Good Parliament.
5 Who made too wide Signs of affecting the Crown.
6 A certain Divinity, John Wickliffe, and Dr. John Wycliffe, being a Fellow of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury of a Benefice in Oxford, which he was found unjustly to hold, grew thereupon discontented, (an Humour which generally breeds Schism) envied him in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, against the Abuses of Christnians, Monks, and other Religious Orders, (which were indeed not free from scandal, but that they deserved blame) and had by
A. D. his Doctrine there and at London, gotten him
1376. and many Followers (who after were called in
Reg. 50. Contempt Lollards) proceeding Poverty, going
bare-footed, and poorly clad in Ruffets; which
made them (asEXTERNALually are) the more
noted, and get the more into the Opinion of the
People, who are apt to embrace Novelties, and
usually beguiled with Diffignities, being more apt
to believe than judge. Among other his Do-
trines he taught, That neither any King nor
Temporal Lord could give anything in Perpetu-
ty to Churches, or any of them temporal
wealth if they needed, might lawfully take away
the Goods of such Religious Perions to relieve
themselves in their Necel/sities by the Example of
william Rufus, &c. A Doctrine very pleaded
to great Men, who embrace Sects, either thro'
Ambition to get, or Fear of losing, or thro'
Hate, that they may revenge themselves.
This Man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Six Hen-
ry Peirce, much favour'd and encouraged, extol-
ing him both for his Learning and Integrity of
Life, which so embolden'd him, that he daily
in one Church or other publish'd his Opinions
concerning the King, and opposed his Policy.
Next year, after the Archbishops and Bishops of
London, and others in S. Paul's. At the day ap-
pointed the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Marshal
went to conduct him, and by the way he was
animated by his Followers not to fear the Bish-
ops. When they came to S. Paul's the Prefes
were so moved, that hardly any Person could be
made into the Church; whereupon the Marshal
using some Violence, thrust in among the Peo-
ple; which Courtray the Bishop of London obser-
ving, forbid him to do, saying, 'If he had
known that he wou'd have behav'd himself so
in that place, he shou'd not have come into it.
This Duke hearing these words, angrily replied
'That he should both be execis'd and confidered
whether he would or no. When they were
come to our Lady's Chapel, the Duke, Barons,
and Bishops sitting down, 'John Wicliff' being
sent for in by the Lord Marshal, was by him de-
ferred to fit down, because as he said, 'The Men
had much to answer to, and needed a convenient
Seat to be able to shew his Authority.' But it
was against all Law and Reason, that a Person
cited before his Ordinary should sit, and there-
upon angry words arose between the Lord Mar-
shal and the Bishop. The Duke takes the Mar-
shall's part, and sharply reproved the Bishop,
and the Bishop returns the like to the Duke;
who, as the Marshal had been to his own Church.
He swore, 'That he would pull down the Pride
of him, and all the Bishops of England: And
'the' you trust, saith he, to your Parentage, that
'shall do you no Service. The Bishop answ'er'd,
'I trust not in my Parents, or any Man living,
but in God only, in whom I ought to trust.
The Duke, as if he whisper'd in his Ear, told
him, 'That he had rather pull him out of the
Church by the Hair of the Head, than suffer
such Indignities and Affronts, which Words
the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud
Voice, 'They would lose their Lives, rather than
suffer their Bishop to be thus injur'd, and threa-
tened to be pull'd out of his own Church. And
their Fury was the greater towards the Duke,
because the day before in the Parliament (of which
he was President) it was requir'd in the King's
Name, that from thenceforth there shou'd be no
more a Mayor of London, but a Captain apoin-
ted for the Government of the City, and that the
Lord Marshal of England should arrest Officers A. D.
within the Liberties, as in other places. About
1377. this Busines, and the W'oung offer'd to their BishoL Reg. 51.
the Citizens assembled the next day, to consult
among themselves what to do, which, as they
were converting upon, the Lord Fitz-Walter and
Guido Brion, came into the City. The People
feeling them, furrount to ran them, and had like to
have fallen upon them for coming unfeit for at
that time: But the Lord Fitz-Walter pro-
tected. That he came for no other end, but to
offer his Service to the City, being by Inheri-
tance their Standard barger; and therefore
thought himself oblig'd to take all Injuries of-
fer'd to them as done to himself, and defir'd
them to stand upon their own Defence. At this
The Cler-
ics fufficient
attempts
with the
Mar-
bans and
Bishops and
a Priuycr in his Shackles, and fet him at Liber-
ty, but found not the Lord Marshal, whom they
bought, being at Dimner that day with the Duke
at 'John de Vere's' Houfe. Then did the furious
Multitude run to affault the Savoy, the Duke's Houfe;
which a Knight of the Duke's Retinue seeing, went
forth to the Place, and was charg'd to acquaint him
with this Uprour in the City. The Duke hearing it, leaps to hastily from
the Table, that he broke both his Shins against the
Form, and with Sir Henry Peirce, patts over by
Boat to Kennington near Lambeth, to the Prince
and Princes his Mother, to complain of the Vi-
olence offer'd by the Multitude to the Inno-
cent Citizens. In the mean time, the Multitude com-
ing to the Savoy met a Prieg, who being inqui-
itive to know the Bishops they were about, was
answer'd, 'They were going to take the Duke
and Lord Marshal, and compel them to releafe
Sir Peter de la Mare from his unjust Prison-
ment. The Prieg replied, 'That Sir Peter was
a Traitor to the King, and defir'd to be hang'd, &c.
in this Tyme, in the Name of the King and the
Rabble at these words cry'd out, 'This is my King,
The Rabbles at these words cry'd out, 'This is my
Peirce, the Trayer to England, his Speech be-a Prieg.
'Trays him, tho' in Disguise, and prefently they
fell upon him and kill'd him. The Bishop of the Bishop
London hearing of this Tumult, leaves his Din-
er, and goes in hal to the Savoy, where he ad-
monish the Multitude, and orders it to be mindful of the Holy
Time of Lent, and befieching them for the Love
of Christ to desist from such Flagitious Attempts,
and affurinh them that all things shou'd be end-
ned for the Good of the City: He so pacified them
that they forbore to affault the Duke's Houfe,
having mislied of his Person, whom in their Fury,
they had cut off his Head, and called it to his
him, as also the Lord Marshal; but to shew their
Anger, they hung up his Arms revers'd in Sign
of Treamon, in all the principal Streets of the
City. 'The Princes, from Kennington, lent Albert
de Vere, Lewis Clifford, and Simon Barleghy, to
persuade the People to part, and make them
peace with the Duke. They returned, and the Cit-
izens demur'd that for her Honour they would do whatever
they commanded, but enjoy'd the Meffengers to
require the Duke to suffer the Bishop of Wifh to
Sylvester, and Sir Peter de la Mare to have the
Lawful Tryal according to the Cuftom of Eng.' The King
Land. They fent likewise some of their chief
Men to the BishoL to e'cute the Wishes for this
Tumult: protesting, 'That they were not pri-
vy to it, but endeavours all they could to sup-
press it, but could not do it, because the whole
Community were in a Commotion; being in-
form'd, 'That all their Liberties were likely to
be taken from them by Parliament. The King

A. D. as Eminent Merchant.

Kcitlington.

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A.D. 1377. 

Reg. 1. — The Duke of Lancaster's Revene the King in the Chirch. 

Priest. to priv' of their Libraries, but defir'd ra-
ther to enligh' them; and therefore required 
them to refile librarie, and order d order, which upon this Anser they eafily did. 
But they could not hinder Rhyme and Libel 
(tho' fecret Striges of Eftenteft) which were 
spread daily about the City to defame the Duke, 
and make him odious to the People; for which the Duke cauf'd the Authors to be exeufed 
crated to the Efpicopacy. But noting the vi-
and order, to which this Anver this Anver 
referred the Duke's, very inrauo-
dious as well to hisfelf as the King, yet the 
Commons being afsembl'd in Parliament, granted 
the King a Tax, upon condition that being levied, it 
should be put into the hands of certain Earlis and 
Barons to be difpof'd of according to the Act. 

A Tax granted the 
for King in 
the Chirch. 

The Duke of Lancaster's Revenue to the Chirch. 

of a good and graceful Sature, affable and cour-
teous, well expreffing himself. He was a great 
1377; 
A.D. 

Reg. 21. — At March anv 
Chief Virtues of a King. His Juflice he shou'd, 
in making fo many Statutes for the Execution of 
it, and the Oaths he cauf'd his Juflices to take 
for that end, and the fevere Punishment he in-
cli'd upon his Judges (vzis. Sir Henry Green, and 
Sir William Slappinau) for their Corruption. He 
also inclin'd upon them, and particularlly in granting the Ori-

dation of their Charters in moft of his Parlia-
ments; and when (Anna Reg. 14. ) they were 
jealous, that upon his affuming the Title of King of 
France he would confider England to that Crown; 
pufh'd a Statute to clear their Doubts, that this 
Kingdom fhou'd remain entire as before, without 
any Change of their Privileges. He faw no circumfet 
in all his Actions, never undertakings 
anything but what he had means to perform, 
which his Subjects knowing, yielded him more 
Taxes readily, than any of his Predecessors had 
before him, and he was as careful to expend them 
for the Good and Honour of the Kingdom. He 
was particular in the fervice of Monefry, and 
Satisfaftion of the opprefling any Man, as his Grandfather did 
the Judges, Jews, and his other Officers. His 
Gifts were never profufe, or misplaced, fo as to 
hurt his Treasure, Fame, or Reverence with his 
People. In fine, he was a Prince who knew his 
Work, and did it; and therefore he was better 
obeyed, more refpefted, and better ferv'd than 
any Prince of his Age. 

His Works of Piety were many. He founded his 
Works the Abby of Euffhiniel for Ciflarians, near the 
Tower, a Nunnery at Derfords, the King's Hall 
in Cambridge for poor Scholars; an Hopital at 
Caultis, and S. Sfbeepon's Chapel at Welfhiniel, and 
the Church he endowed with 251. per Annum. 
He instructed the Chirch in Affairs, and founded 
the free for the Churchmen, but 
twenty four poor Knights. Threfe were his pub-
lick Works, the reft Monuments to perpetuate 
the Memories of Princes. Besides thefe, his pri-
ivate Buildings were many; as the Cofle of 
Wefberg, which he re-edificd and enlarged, the 
Cofle of S. Andrew, the Fingers, 
and other Places. He fewn his Magnificence 
in his Triumphs and Feats, which were fump-
ious, with all due Rites and Ceremonies to 
preserve Reverence and Majeffy. To conclude, 
He was a Prince whose Nature was fo fuitable to 
his Office, as if he were made only for it. His 
Failures are to be uprugged to Age, in which 
Princes are never happy, their Vifir and Fortu-
nee departing unufually together. His Queen was a 
Lady of excellent Vertue, who tho' the brought 
him little or no Eftate, yielded him much Con-
tent, fome Alliance and a fair IFILE. She confi-
nted to advance his Honour and Power, and 
was very gracious and loving to the Nation, doing 
many pioce Actions, among which, Queen's Colle-- 
in Oxford is a Monument of her Goodnefs and 
Name. She bare him feven Sons, of whom five 
lived to have Children; Edward Prince of Wales,

Lionel

He was a Prince beft known by his Actions, 
Zof. 1. — He was the fommeft a Man, and the longeth that held fo 
of any we read. He was of a comely Perfonage,

A.D. 

1377; 

Reg. 21. — At March and 
Chief Virtues of a King. His Juflice he shou'd, 
in making fo many Statutes for the Execution of 
it, and the Oaths he cauf'd his Juflices to take 
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Name. She bare him feven Sons, of whom five 
lived to have Children; Edward Prince of Wales,
In the fourth Year of his Reign, on the 16th of July, there happen'd a great Eclipse of the Sun, and the Rains were so violent this Year, that the Harvev did not begin till Michaelmas. At Christmas a mighty Weather wind overthrew several private Houles and publick Edifices, tore Trees up by the Roots, and did a vast deal of Mischief.

In his 9th Year the Rains were so fatal, that the Corn was spoilt, a Dearth ensu'd, Wheat being sold for 40. a Quarter as much as 20. a Bushel now, and the Cartel was destroy'd by a Murrain.

In the 12th Year it rain'd almost continually from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, and then came a Froot upon it, which lasted twelve Weeks; yet, tho' the Corn was destroy'd by it in a great measure, the War with Scotland, lays My Author, made Money so scarce, that all forts of Grain were sold at a reasonable Rate.

In another Hundred and twenty Laymen and several Priests, besides Women, were drown'd by an Inundation of Water at Newcastle upon Tyne.

While the Battel of Cressy was fighting, in the 26th Year of his Reign, there fell a violent Storm of Hail, accompany'd with an Eclipse, and terrible Thunderers, at which time prodigious Flights of Crows hoverd over the English and French Armies.

In his 22d Year it rain'd from Midsummer to Christmas so constantly, that there was not one Day or Night dry together. This wet Season caus'd great Floods, and a Fetillence, which rag'd for a whole Year: The Earth was at the same time barren, and even the Sea did not produce Fish plentiful of Fish as formerly. The Mortality was so great, that in the City of London two hundred Corps were bury'd every Day in the Charterhouse-yard, besides those intern'd in other common burying Places, and this latt'd from Candlemas to Easter.

His 27th Year was remarkable for the Sacritie of Corn and Provisions in England and France, occasion'd by a great Drought: "Twas call'd the Dear Summer, Rye was brought out of Zealand to support the Poor, who otherwise must have perish'd for want of Sustenance.

In his 34th Year Men and Beasts were destroy'd in severall Parts by Thunder and Lightning, many Men, Beasts, and Sheep, were hugg'd by it, and frighten'd Sights were also seen. The Second Mortality happen'd, so call'd to distinguiish it from that we have mention'd already: This latter was more remarkable, because it feiz'd generally on Men; and in the same Year, if we may give Credit to the Continuator of Nie. Trew's Historie, two Cartels were feen in the Air, the one in the South-east the other in the South-west, out of which Cartels about Noon there seem'd to fall several Troops of arm'd Men. The Band that came forth of the Cartel in the South-east appear'd in White, and the other in Black: They fought for some time, the White conquer'd at first but in the end the Black got the Victory.

In his 59th Year the Rains were again violent, and a great Dearth and Pefillence follow'd: Flights of Sparrows fought in the Air, and many of them dropp'd dead down to the Ground.

Caxton.

In his 42d Year a Comet appeard in March between the North and Weft, the Beasts were dart'd towards France, and were thought to preface new Troubles to that Kingdom in the following Year. The Western Parts of England, and Oxford particularly, were sorely affliected with a Pefillence.

This King's Reign, as it was glorious in Arms, so it was renown'd for the Arts and Sciences which flourish'd in his Days more then in any of the former Reigns since the Norman Invasion.

Edward the Black Prince, John of Gauss Duke of Lancaster, Henry Duke of Lancaster his Father-in-Law, Earl of Cambridge afterwards Duke of York; the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Stafford, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Basset, the Lord Thomas Holland, the Lord Walter De Manny, the Lord Spencer, the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir John Capland, Sir Thomas Felton, the Capital de Benoé Knight of the Garter, born in Gascorgy; Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Hugh Holtry, Sir Ralph Percey, Sir John de la Pole, Sir James Dike, Sir Thomas Dogworth, and Sir John Hawkwood, were all of them famous for their brave Actions in War: As those that we are about to name, were for their Vertue and Learning, John Baconstroe, Doctor of both Laws in the Universities of Oxford and Paris; William

Vol. I.
Ockham, John Bloxam a Carmelite Fryar, William Almick a Fryar Minor, John of Trian an excellent Musician, and a Monk at Canterbury, Hugh of St. Neot, a Carmelite Fryar, an Eminent Divine, and William of Aton a Black Fryar; Richard Stredley who wrote several Treatises of the Scripture; William Herbert a Welflham and Fryar Minor, Richard Comington a Preacher, William of Exeter, Lucas Boflen a Carmelite Fryar, Thomas Wallace a Dominican Fryar, a great Divine; Tio- Pontius a Monk of Canterbury, John Riderall a Gray Fryar, Henry Coffa a Fryar Minor, Geoffrey Alveunt of Yorkfhe, a Carmelite Fryar; Dr. Simon Barfkmme, Provincial of the Dominican or Black Fryars; Dr. Walter Burley, who wrote a Comment on Aristotle's Ethics, Schoolmater to Prince Edward; John Berwick, Reader to the Fryar Minors in Oxford; William Notingham, Robert Glacion, of Huntingftonshire; John Tol- fton, John Watetf Kingham, Thomas de Hame a Fryar Minor, Robert Elipha a Gray Fryar, Geoffrey Grandfield an Augustin Fryar, Hugh Wifely a Carmelite Fryar of Norwich, William Encourt a Black Fryar of Boflon, Hugh Ditton a Fryar Preacher of Cambefhire, Dr. Adam Car- thofams, John Lartcr a Mathematician, and an Eminent Philofopher, Walter Cotton and Tho- mas Ecelofon, both Gray Fryars; John Fofham a Carmefte Fryar of Norwich, Benet of Norfolk, William of Southampton a Black Fryar, Adam Nizcar, A.M. William Sifly a Fryar Minor, John Repinke a White Fryar, Christopher Mathofons a Black Fryar, Richard Angerfelle Bifhop of Dar- dam, and Lord Chancelor of England, John Maudtik a Divine, John of Olifte in Gloucefter, a Carfhufian Monk; Thomas Stratfoam a Fryar Minor of Briof, Robert of Leiceter a Francifcan or Gray Fryar, John of Northampton a Carmefte Fryar and a Mathematician; Robert Warofp of Yorkfhe a Black Fryar at Tickfli, William Bran- hird a Black Fryar, Richard Row a Excellent Divine, Dr. John Rofefly a Francifcan Fryar, Provincial of his Order; Rodulph Raph- tofus a Fryar Minor, Robert Holofy a Black Fryar, William Mifterly a Logician, John of Tenefbury, Thomas Bradwardin, born in Hare- ffield in Suffolk, Archbifhop of Canterbury, he wrote againft the Pelagians; Richard Wetherf, William Breton a Gray Fryar, a Fryar of Faith, born in Norfolk, a Carmelte Fryar in Burfam, John Goodwir, born alo in Norfolk, an Augustin Fryar at Linn, William Robewell, Geoffrey Watetor a Monk of Bury, Richard Fitz-Rafe, Pupil to John Bacrothope, and afterwards Archbifhop of Armagh; Dr. Richard Kilington, William Grifron a Phifician, who lived at Mafefelle, he was call'd Anglicus from his Country, his Son rofe to be Pope, and bore the Name of Urban the Vth; John Bofbol, born in Suffolk, Bifhop of Landaff; Adam Woodfam a Fryar Minor, Simon Henron a Black Fryar, William de Pagûa, Dr. John Wick- liff, Geoffrey Hardby a Black Fryar of Leiceter, William Binkam, Roger Conwy a Welflham, and a Gray Fryar; Richard Bifloming, William Do- rob a Lawyer, John Killingworth a Philofopher, Astronomer, and Phifician; William of Oxenferry a Carmelte Fryar, John Elftowd a Philofopher, Thomas Ratcliff an Augustin Fryar of Leiceter, Barbara the Gravevelle, defended from the Family of that Name, Earls of Suffolk; Robert Computa a Monk of Bury, John Wilton, Simon Wifcombe, John Deir a notable Divine, Simon Hfc Archbifhop of Canterbury, George Chadley, John of Tonnath, Peter Balifen, Walter Winborne; Divines; Nicholas of Lyne a Carmelte Fryar, and an Artiecheler, John Ridington, John Ranor in Stafford, Adam a Monk of the Giffcrinan Order, Roger Wifelpedale a Mathematician, John Ein a Carmelte Fryar, born in Norfolk; Thomas de Storly, Serviorius Gualenfis a Welflham, Si- mon de Tynfelock of Norfolk, Provincial of the Gray Fryars; Lewis Caerlon a Welflham, an Afrono- mer, and Mathematician; John Garfyn, Nicho- las Duram a Carmelte Fryar of Newfale, Wi- liam Fleer an Hermit, who preach'd up Repen- tance to the English; John of Stafford a Fryar Minor, Thomas Ruffled a Black Fryar, Ralph Strile a Logician, William of St. Fante a Carmelte Fryar of Norfolk, Thomas of Decr a Monk of that Abby, John Soker an Augustin Fryar of Suffolk, John Horsey a Carmelte Fryar of Boflon, Henry Bederick an Augustin Fryar Si- mon Alcock a Divine, Ured Bafam a Welflham, and a Monk at Durbam, William Jordon an Aug- uftine Fryar, John Hiton a Friar Minor, Wil- liam of Lincoln a Carmelte Fryar, Adam Saxing- ban the fame born in Norfolk, Simon Metham Pef- bref, John Palolfo a Carmelte Fryar, William Newam a Carmelte Fryar of Cambridge, and John Wicken- ton, a Gray Fryar, Nicholas Triver, Son of Sir Nicholas Trivet, one of the King's Jufices; John Everefon a Monk of Bury, Robert Langifand, Roger of Chofter, John Beaif, Walter Hufingford a Canon of Giffbrn, Richard Chofter a Monk of Barthomay a Gravevelle, John of Weymouth a Fryar of Faith, born in the monastery of the Saxons Anno 449, to the Year 1348, Rau- mph Higdon, Matthew of Weffington, William Thou, John Bryonder, Adam Hereford, Thomas Studs, John Chini an Irifman, John Matvern a Monk of Wafeon, Hifborms, and Sir John Maner adhesive the great Traveller, who dy'd at Liege the 17th of November, 1372.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD II.

RICHARD II., surnamed of Bardeley, a City in the Province of Guienne in France, when his Father, the most illustrious English Hero, Edward the Black-Prince was Duke of Aquitaine, succeeded his Grandfather Edward III., in the Throne of England, June 21, 1377. He was but eleven Years old when he began his Reign, but there appeared in him so great a pregnancy of Wit above his Years, and so great a Disposition, set off with an admirable Beauty and proportion of Body, that the People were enamoured of him, and as if the Virtues of both his immediate Ancestors were united in him, received him for their King with universal Joy and Satisfaction; the less of their brave Prince Edward III. so lately deceased, was quite forgotten, being swallowed up with the hopes of that Happiness which they promised themselves under this his Successor. And indeed their high Opinion of this young Prince was much confirmed by the first Action which he undertook after he was King, viz. the Reconciliation of the Duke of Lancaster and City of London, in which he showed a Prudence and Moderation much above his Age, because it is their Custom, who had gotten a certain Information of the King's approaching Death, had made an Address to him, then Prince of Wales, the day before his Grandfather's decease, alluring him of their Service and Fidelity, if their present King should die, and petitioning his Highness to mediate between his Uncle the Duke of Lancaster and himself; and he return'd them not only promises of his Love and Favour to their City, but of his Endeavours to effect their Defires; and accordingly the very next day spoke to his Uncle about it, and brought him to submit to his Decision. Of which he gave the Citizens notice immediately by the Lord Latimer, Sir Richard Alderbury, Sir Simon Burley, Prince Richard's Tutor, and Sir Nicholas Bond, whom he sent on purpose upon that Message, and to tell them, that he expected the like Submission from them. The Citizens were a little afraid, left the Influence which the Duke had upon him might prove to their disadvantage, if they should leave the matter entirely to his Judgment, but Sir Richard Alderbury giving them hopes of a good Conclusion, brought them to yield; and so certain Aldermen going along with him to (then King) at Shene near Richmond, were reconciled honourably to the Duke in the Name of the whole City; and in favour to them, the King also released Sir Peter de la Mare from his Imprisonment, and receiv'd him into his Special Grace.

The only thing which threaten'd a disturbance to the Nation being thus composed, the next Care was to settle the Crown upon the young King's Reg. 1. Head; and to that end the Parliament, was summoned for his Coronation. This the Nation took for a fit opportunity of testifying their Affections to him; and therefore all things by general consent were so prepared, that it might be as magnificent and splendid as possible. The Duke of Lancaster, who for his Dukedom of Lancaster, and Earldoms of Leicester and Banbury, had given his Claim to be High Steward, Bearer of the King's chief Sword, call'd Cæterna, and Carver at that Salmecy, (which two last Offices he executed by his Deputies the Earls of Darby and Stafford) held the Steward's Court several days in Westminster-Hall, to receive the Claims of such Persons as for certain Tenures or Offices were to officiate at that Ceremony, and such as were of an inferior degree, he put Noblemen into their places, that none but Persons of the best Quality might attend upon the King at it. On the day before the Coronation, the King rode through the City to Westminster-Hall, in great State, and being royally attended by his Nobles and Great Men, the Citizens, in his Pafnage gave him that noblest welcome, as of their Loyalty and Affections, having adorn'd their Houses with rich Tapestry, and erected several costly Pagodas, the Conduits ran Wine, and the People in crowds saluted the King with loud Acclamations, and wishes of Blessings and Prosperity. The Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Percy, who rode before the King behald them themselves with much Obliquefs and Respect to the Citizens, the whole along, that all the Spectators were fully persuaded, that the late Reconciliation made between the City and them was real and hearty. The King lodged at Westminster that night, and the next day was crown'd in the Abbey-Church, by Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, with the usual Ceremonies of Anointing, giving him the Sword of Justice, taking an Oath of him for the good Government of the Nation, and requiring the People's Consent to have him for their King. After his Coronation, the King return'd to Westminster-Hall to Dinner; but before he sat down, he created four Earl's, viz. His Uncle Thomas Earl of Ulster, Sir John de la Pole Earl of Norfolk, and the younger Brother of John Lord Mowbrey, the younger Brother of John Lord Mowbrey Earl of Northampton, Guy bard Angolifon, a Gascoigne, his Tutor, Earl of Huntingdon, and Henry Percy, Son of Henry Lord Percy Earl of Northumberland, allowing his Uncle and Tutor a thousand Marks a Year a-piece out of his Treas-
A. D. fury, till he could provide them an Eftate of equal Value. He alfo made at the fame time nine Reg. I. Knights. The next day was celebrated a very devoion Precept by the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, to pray for the Peace of the Realm, and pious Reafon of the King. Thomas *Rufigngh Bishop of Rochefter prefented, for in his Scandalous and uncivilly exhorted all Men to Peace and Unity, conjuring all of a superiour degree to deal gently with the Commons, and the People to obey their Superiors willingly, but most of all the Nobility, who were to be about the King, to give him a Religious and Virtuous Example, left the King being either by their Placates, their Wiles and Laxity of the People should have caufe to curfe them. This was the young King fully settled in his Throne, but because he was himself, by reason of his tender Age, unable to rule, the Government was committed to the Care of the King's Mother, his two Uncles, John of Gown Duke of Lancaster, and Edmund Earl of Cambridge, and certain Bishops, who were as well to provide for the Security and Happiness of the Nation, as the Education of the King.

But notwithstanding the ordering and supreme dispose of all things was put into fo many hands, and if one Perfon, whose Confidence, Intereft and Honour were obliged to manage them so fairs, both the Birth of the King and People, yet as if a Kingdom could never be govern'd well by Guardians, or as if many Governors were very little better than none, the old Enemies of the Nation, the French and Scots, thought the Min- nority of the King a fit opportunity to annoy and spoil it. The French, who had been making Preparations for that end in King Edward's Reign, and had many years before, before his Death, to re- venge all the Loses they had suffer'd by his victo- rious Sword, entered the narrow Seas immediately after his deceafl, and while the Nation was bufied in settling their new King, invaded the Coasts of England, and did much mischief, which they continued for feveral Months without oppofition, and the Scots, that day, as well as the next, put in with fifty Ships at Ry in Suffolk, and having rived and plunder'd the Town at their pleasure, fet it on Fire, and fo departed, leaving the helpless Inhabitants to quench the Flames with their Tears. From hence they contrived to the Isle of Wight, and enter'd it without Refeffence. The French made many feizures of all fuch Goods as were valuable, and easily carry'd to their Ships, but fpared the Buildings from burning, having coumpounded with the People of the Isle for a thoufand Marks to forbear that Cruelty, and fo left it, sooner perhaps than they intended, because they could not, after feveral attempts, make themselves Masters of it. They had mean'd to perfuade them to joyn against them by the valiant Governor of it, Sir Hugh Tyrrell. From hence they return'd back to do the like at Winchelsea, fuppoifing that the terror of the Sufferings of their neighboring Town of Ry would have made it an efficac Prey to them, but they found the contrary at their coming. For the Abbey of Battle, being a Man of Courage, and fome Skill in Warlike Affairs, had in fortify'd and mann'd the Town for its defence, that the French could gain no entrance into it; yet fuppofing it to be easily taken, they feem to

the Abbot to redeem it from Affaulf; but the A. D. Abbot return'd them answcr, That he had no rea- fon to deserve what was not lof!. The French here- upon havimg in vain endeavour to draw the De- fendants out of the Town to a pitch Battel in the Fields, or at a Sall, they commiffioned the Wale with other Engi- fhes and Warlike Infignias, that they had brought with them on purpose, but with no effect. So that they were forced to leave the Town with little advantage. But in the mean time they fent a Parry to Haliftre, which finding almost void of People, who were gone to maintain the Siege of Winchefter, they burn it and utterly confufed it. This in the mean time was upon the 6th of severable Reign in Suffolk, near Lewis, where the Prior of Lewis, Sir John Falkefly, Sir Thomas Choyney, and one Mr. Brokley, fo zealous for the prefevation of their Country, that they did not confider what Forces they had to do it with, encountered them boldly with an unarm'd and undifciplined Rabbage of People, who were a part of the Commons, yet were in the end beatlen, the Prior and Knight, with some others, being taken Prisoners, and an hundred flain. Many other Towns they plunder'd and robb'd, as Porifouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth; by the Spills of all which, having fill'd their Ships, they return'd home, and fo left the French no longer any thing to fear, to which which they got by their own Valour, but the Trefon of the Lord Gurney, a German, the Go- vernor of it, who for a Bribe refign'd it to them. But he had but small Enjoyment of his late Gain, being foon taken by Sir Hugh Calverley Gover- nor of Chaff, and fent into England to suffer the deferved Punishment of his Treachery. The Scots and theiri were againft the Town of Lefroygh, then in the poftiefion of the English, and having gain'd it with no small loss to themselves, took what was of any price out of it, and then burn it. Thus was the Nation inferable affifted by a double hurt, that they little or no care took to secure the People from them; whether out of negligence, design, or want of Shipping, or whether it was born till a Parliament could meet, and provide some more effectual Remedy against them, is uncertain; yet the Duke of Lancaster, who had the chief Management of publick Affairs, brought the Defh of Oxford upon him and the Goods and People ever after, because he did not endeav- our their Relief fo diligently as his Place and the People's Necessities required.

About Michaelmas a Parliament met, to rectifie fuch Par- Diforders, and provide for the Security of the Nation, the first thing they went upon was the punishment of Alice Fortune, the late King's Con- cumb, who had been the caufe of many Mis- chiefs in the late Reign, and for that end had been banifh'd from the Court, and made to take an Oath, that she would never return again; but, as it generally happens, that those who allow them- selves in one Sin, felon make any Confequenc e of committing another, she kept her Oath no longer than to return to her Sodom and Gomor. It became as great at Court, and as infolent as be- fore, and caus'd Sir Peter de la Mare, the Speaker of the House of Commons, to imprifon it. Thes impudent Actions the Parliament thought fit to...
That the Monies collected should be deposited in the hands of two eminent Citizens of London, William Walcot and John Sturt, who were to take care that they were expended for the public Good: 2. That for the future the King should maintain his State and Wars out of his own Revenues, which it well managed would be sufficient to maintain both. The Laws which the King made in Compensation of this Tax, for the good of the People, were those of the Great Charter, Charter of Forests, and the many good Laws of his Ancestors unrecorded, and enacted, 'That the Peace should be carefully preferred, and justice impartially done to all his Subjects; That the Prelates, and the rest of the Clergy, should have a Remedy by Action of Treason against all Purveyors, who contrary to Law, and against the Rules of their Profession, should take away their Corn, Hay, Beasts, or Carriages from their Housés, Mannours, or Granges for the King's use, and should recover treble Damages; That Perons that maintain any Quarrels, if Officers of the King's Exchequer, or other Courts, shall lose their places, shall be deprived of their good, as well as those who shall take, and all Persons that shall arrest any Clergyman in his Church, or the Church-yard, or while he is performing divine Service, shall suffer Imprisonment, and be random'd at the King's Will, but shall first make satisfaction to the Person arrested. The King also confirmed the Pardon granted by his Grandfather in the twentieth Year of his Reign. In this Parliament it was farther moved, 'That the Clergy might be refrain'd by Statute from imposin' Money-penance upon Offenders, because by this means the Church exhaust the Treasures of the Nation. The Clergy hotly opposed the Proposilion, and the King uninwardly is disposed to this branch. But the House of the Lords proceed through it, which being according to the Canons of Holy Church, and not otherwise. But the Commons did not prevail in the restraint of their own Clergy's Exactions, they were more successful in opposing the Pope's Encroachments; for they obtained severall Acts, whereby it was order'd, 'That the Pope's Collection of the fifth Fruits of Benefices in this Realm no longer, and that the Clergy should not pay them; 'That no Man should procure any Benefice by provocation from Rome, on pain of being put out of the King's Protection; 'That no Englishman farm any such Benefice of any Alien, on the like penalty. In it 's fall, the 'Pope had for thousand and year by from England by such Benefices, That a Remedy be provided against the Pope's Restraints of Dignities Elecive, they being against the Treaty made with the Pope by King Edward III. These Matters being thus settled and debated, the Parliament broke up about the Feast of All Saints. 

After the Parliament was riven, the Governors of the Nation being enabled to act against the 1778. Enemy, began to think upon force ways to re-tr. 2. venge the late Summer's Losses, sustained by the People from the French, and having received several Alliances of formation, that the Spanish Fleet lay at Scilly in the English Channel, extremely laden with Wines, and other Commodities, and waiting only for a Fair Wind to French attack, they sent out a great Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of Britain, Earl of Buckingham, the Lords Latimer and Fitz-William, Sir Robert Koller, and other chosen Captains, to intercept them in their passage; but contrary Winds they were to clipper and tracket, that they could not at that time execute their design. A little after this, Sir Hugh Calverly Governor of Calais was more fortunate in his Adventures against the French. For making an Inroad towards Bullogue, he plunder'd twenty-six Vessels, besides Barges, which lay in the Haven, and a great part of the Suburbs of the Town; and in his return, drove along with him into Calais a great Estate of Sheep and Cows, which he found in the Fauhires adjoining, to the great enriching of his Garrison. He also recover'd the Castle of S. Mark, on the same day the French had it betray'd to them by the Picards, whom Sir Hugh stillat. Not long after, Sir Hugh with his Garrison Soldiers made an attempt upon the Town of Flll., where the Admiral of the French had their Charters of Paris, Amiens, Bullogue, and Lepperla., had brought great Quantities of Goods thither to sell, which all became an easy prey to the English. The more valuable and portable they carry'd back with them, the rest they told to the Merchants themselves for a great Sum of Money, reserving others to be re-transported to the Court of England. The Garrison at Calais thus added its part under its valiant Captain, the Fleet under the Earl of Buckingham being gotten together, and new rig'd, set out to Sea, and cruising upon the Coast of Britain near Yett took eight Spanish Ships, and might have taken more, had not their own Divisions and the tempestuous Weather been an Impediment to their farther Success. While the King's Ships were thus employ'd against the Enemy, divers private Men and Towns provided Ships, and observed all opportunities of annoying them. The Lord Percy with one great Ship and some small Vessels putting out to sea, met with a Fleet of fifty Sort of English and French Ships, laden with French Merchandize, which he plunder'd. 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The next Year. She marry'd Sir William of Windles, and they obtain a De Referal of the late Judgment in Parliament. But the French, Part. 4. 2. * It appears by the Statutes made in this his first Session of Parliament, Cap. 1. That he confer'd the Liberty of the Church, and the Great Charter of England. The Magna Carta, or Great Charter, is not mentioned, but that was always done of course at the beginning of every Session. * It should be Sir Thomas Percy.
A.D. but before he retire d, he settled such Governors 1378. about the King as were more pleasing to the Reg. 2. People, viz. William Courteny Bishop of Lon- don, Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, and several others, yet because the Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Latimer were put in the Number, they were not fully contented, and thro a desire of securing the Nation from their Enemies, he requested that the Money granted the last Parliament for that end might be put into his hands, and he would take care to guard the Coaifs from the Incursions of the French, and their Confederate, for the next Year. Some of the Nobility opp'd his Propos'tion, but it was at length contented to, and the Duke immedi-ately set himself to provide a sufficient Navy for the Safety of the People, and hired eight Ships of the City of Ebor to join with it; but before the Duke's Ships were ready (which they were, or if want of delay, was not known), Mercer, a deserter from us, having got together a few Number of Scotch, French, and Spanish Ships, enter'd the Havens of Scarborough, and seizing upon several Ships in it, carry'd them away to Scotland. This Michiel he did to that Town, because his Father, who had been taken not long before by the Duke of Northumberland, was by the Earl of Northumberland committed Prisoner to Scarborough Castle. This Success much encour'd him and his Crew, so that he greatly increased those Seas; and tho' the Duke of Lancaster had undertaken to prevent such Evils, and Com- plaints of it were brought to the King and his Counsellors, yet they allowed the Piracy, so that those Parts of the Kingdom suffer'd many Calamities from them. The News of these things being brought to London, John Philipps, an Alder- man, and a great Lover of his Country, pitying the Miseries of the People resolv'd upon a Re- lief to his own Charge; and fitting out such a Number of well-built Ships, as would conveniently carry a thousand Men, with Provisions and Ammunition, and Provision, which he hired and paid himself, he set out to Sea with them himself being their Captain, and found out Mercer and his Associates, whom he immediately set upon, and after a short Engagement conquer'd taking Mercer him self, and all his Ships he had carry'd from Scarbo- rough, with fifteen Spanish Galleys, which he was not so rich, tho' he'll got Goods. With Speil and Victory Philipps returns to London, where he met with Acclamations from the People, but no wel- come from the Nobles, who envi'd him that Honour which they had not either Courage or Fi- delity enough to make its wealth to fear and gain. For he was but one of the many of the King and the Council, who form'd his Action, which tho' they could not dislike, yet much blam'd him for daring it witho- ut a Communion from the King and his Coun- sil; and Hincg Earl of Stafford charg'd him with doing a very unlawful Act to levy Arms in the King's Dominions without his Leave. But Mr. Philipps made him good fervice and supported Defence, rel- ington them, 'That it was not out of any Delire or 4 ambitions Aim to get himself a Name, or raise 4 to himself the Reputation of being a great Sol- dier, that induc'd him to venture his Money and Men to vanquish the Scrocb Pirate, but 4 merely out of Love to his Countrymen, and 4 the Honour of the Nation, that it did the Sloop 4 of such as ought to have secured the Nation, 4 might not rune the People and make it con- tempting. This Answer to satisf'ed the Coun- cil, that he return'd with as much Commenda- tion from some of the Nobility as he was receiv'd A.D. by the City with Applause. The Duke of Lancaster lay at Anchor Reg. 2. with his Ships, getting in Provision and Ammo- nation swiftly, and without necessary Delays, some of the Duke's Men being informed of the Duke's Preservation and of plundering their own Brethren, set out for the Sea under the Command of the Earls of Salisbury and Arundel, and fail'd towards the Coasts of Britain; Sir Peter and Sir Philip Courteny, two Brothers, who had the Command of some Ships, laying certain Vessels belonging to the Enemy in an inconvenient situation; and the Duke, being the whole Spanish Fleet, and tho' they bravely fought and defended themselves, yet in the end were beaten, most of the Men, who were good Gentlemen of Somersetshire and Devonshire, being slain, and Sir Peter with some others were taken Prin- soners. This Misfortune at their first setting out much disheartned them, but yet they were not dispirit'd in their Design, and went on in their intended Voyage, which proved some Compensation to their former Loses; for being arrived, they found the King of Navarre fall'n into a Difference with the King of France, and very desirous of an Al- liance with the King of England: Whereupon, for this Reason, they put the Duke of Arundel, and a Confederacy establish'd between the Eng- lish and him. The Haven of Chierbourg was put into the Possession of the English, whereby an ex- ert- est Entry was made for them at all times in the hands of to Normandy, and present occasion given them of to annoy the French; but this advantage Alli- the English, or rather the Scots, was the Duke of Scots left them with. But the London Fleet, and the Los of the Gentlemen that were kill'd, and taken Captive at the beginning of this Voyage: Yet the Spanish did not long escape without Loses for the Ships of Bantam coasting about the Kingdom to defend it from the Enemy, took fourteen Ships laden with Wine and other Goods. In the latter end of this Year Pope Gregory XI. Pope Gen- eral wrote a Letter to the King, remonstrating him to ac- cull the Bishops in suppers, John Wickliffe and his Adherents; but that the Bishop's Heat flour'd, up by his Letters to them almost of the same Date, was little encour'd by the King's Author- ity, the Favour that Wickliffe Round many ferve for so strong a Vessel. The Letters from the Pope to the King and Bishops are printed at large in Mr. Fox Acts and Mon. in the beginning of this King's Reign. About Missumner the Duke of Lancaster having compleatly equipp'd his Ships, put out to Sea with a great Force, and landing in Brittain, laid Siege to St. Malo de l'Isle, an important Fortr- es with a good Port, the Parts of Brittany, Stafford, Warwick, and other Noblemen, who had great Experience in Warlike Affairs, man- ag'd it with much Art and Subtlety; but it was so well defended by the French, that the Duke was forced to raise the Siege and return home. A little after the Duke's Departure from England, the Pope's Delegation, viz. the French Legat, together with the Scots, who were the Ambas- sadors at the Court of Rome and Persia, solic' d the French to return, in order to the 배는 Revival of the Duchess of Coffile and Leon, two Gen- tlemen Robert Hanl, and John Shakel, had by their Valor taken the Earl of Dorset Prisoner; and that such brave Actions might be encourag'd,
and so ought to be accepted and obey'd: That all Benefices of the Nation, which were held and enjoyed by such Bishops, or others, as were Rebels to Pope Urban, should be seized into the King's hands; and the Profits of them answered to him; That whosoever should purchase or obtain any Provisions, or other Infrumants from any other Pope than the fald Urban, shall be put out of the King's Protection.

This Law is said to have been made upon the Advice of the Archbishop. 3. That all Persons that shall report any flanders words, concerning any Bishop or Nobleman, shall be imprisoned till he can produce the Author of fuch Communiques. Some other things were propounded, but nothing enabled concerning them. The Archbishop conclamed of the late Affair of the Sanctuary of Welfinmer, and defired that fame officer and Courts might be taken to secure the Privileges of Sanctuarys; but the Nobles objecting the voluntary Abuses of them maintained by the Clergy in protecting Debtors, Accountants, 

...
About Charles, 1379.

The Captains of Chichester and Callis changed.

This following Summer the Plague so afflicted the Northern Counties, that the Inhabitants were many of them forced to remove their Dwellings into other parts of the Nation; and, tho' whom either Necessity or Charity obliged to remain there, the Scoth being faire of no resistance, was infidted by some of the French, that the Country was almost wholly depopulated. 

The Duke of Britain, who in the first Year of Reg. 2. this King's Reign came into England to beg the Duke of Buckingham's assistance against his Rebellious Subjects, who by joining with the King of France had expelled him out of his Dominions, was now invited to come by the Prince of Wales, and the Government of his Country. He had hitherto solicited with small success, because the Duke of Lancaster thought to have got his Dukedom for himself, and for that end went over with a powerful Army; but the Contable of France opposed him with so strong a Force, that he was obliged to go over the seas, where he gained so much frequent and sufficient Aid granted him to attend him into his Country, and greater Forces promised to be sent after him. On Augl. 4. Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Percy set him afar in his own Country, where he was received by his Nobility, and all his other Subjects, with a great deal of Joy, and the most express marks of great Places, the French Government, and were likely to lose him by his coming. But because it could not be expected, but the French Faction would create him great Troubles and Disturbance; therefore on the Feast of St. Nicholas, Sept. 10. the Army promised him, to maintain him in his Dignity, was sent after the Command of Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Revere, Sir Nichol. Trampton, and Sir Thomas Delawre, with others; but in their Passage they met with so terrible a Tempest, that they could not touch the French Shore, twenty five Ships were cast away, most of the Captains drowned, and a great number of Soldiers. This unlucky Accident was look'd upon as a just Omen. The English had then upon them borne such Calamities, which they had commit'd on shore, not only plundering Houses, and robbing Churches, but ravishing Men's Wives and Daughters, and carrying them on Board with them to faturate their Lulfs, whom they cast into the Sea when the Tempest began, and so inhumanly hasted the ruin of all their Goods.

A little after Easter the Parliament was assembled at Westminster, and some things setted of most necessity. For after the King, according to the usual Custom, had confirm'd the Privileges of the Church, and the two Great Charters; the principal was about the Privileges of Scotland, corrupted by the English, to a great part of what of Westminster, which being found to be abused to protect Debtors against their Creditors, it was enacted, That all rich Debtors, as after they have made over their Goods and Lands by Feoffments, Deeds of Gifts, or otherwife, to their Friends, and had for protection fled into Sanctuary, to defrauding their Creditors, were subject to the fines of Westminster; and in Proclamation made at the Gates of the Sanctuary, Judgment should pass against them, and an Execution be awarded upon their Goods and Lands, which were without such privileged places, as well such as are given by Collusion or otherwise. By this Parliament a Poll-tax was levied for the King's Contingent, but with a particular Exemption of the Commons, and therefore laid the more heavy upon the Nobility and Gentry; for A.D. 1379. Marks; Bishops, Earls, and mitred Abbots, six Marks; Monks, ten Grosists, and Gentlemen, and some freemen all the other Clergy, at a certain Rate, none was exempted.

A Peace in

The Merchants of London being jealous of their own Trade, to spoil the Project, caused them to be disaffixed.

This Wickedness is particularly laid to the Charge of Sir John Arundel.
tain'd a compleat Victory, taking Sir William himself, and a hundred and twenty Prisoners. But this sort of victory was not so great a comfort to the English soon after; for several English Ships lying in the Haven of Britain, under the protection of a Castle, then kept by the English, under the command of Sir John Clarke, a valiant Captain, the French had intelligence of it, and going with a Squadron, sent one Ship into the Haven, either to furnish them with provisions, or to intercept their letters to the King for the daring and the misbehaving of it, by which means they might come into their hands. The English, not suspicioning the design, accordingly purloin'd the Ship, and Sir John Clarke and his Men went aboard to effect the taking of it, and so fell into the Ambuscade. Sir John perceiving his danger, fought bravely to free his Ships, but after a tremendous battle, the French were too strong for them; and the few of the Men fell into the Enemy's hand, many being kill'd, among which was the Captain himself; and some escaping a shoar, they gain'd the Ships, but so hatter d they could not carry them home.

About October the Earl of Salisbury was remov'd from the Lieutenancy of Callis, and Sir John Denvers was put in his place. Sir John Harleston also was call'd home from Chester, and Sir William of Windsor went over to succed him. About the Feast of St. Hilary a Parliament met at Westminister, and late till the beginning of March. In this Parliament it was enacted, 'That since many Soldiers and Servants of the French, who were brought into Callis, had been brought into the hands of Strangers, who neither could nor did do their Duty in hearing Confessions, preaching to, and teaching the People, maintaining Holtpatly, or furthering the good of Men's Souls, contrary to the intent of the pious Donors, and the ancient Canolf of the Church and State of the French Nation, it was carry'd into foreign parts; therefore no Alien Should hold any Benefices in England, nor any Englishman be a Farmer, Procurator, or Attorney for such Aliens, without an express Licence from the King and his Council. The Commons also petition'd, 'That a Provison should be made against the Pope's Collectors of the first Fruits of all Ecclesiastical Benefices within this Realm, and that all Priors Aliens might be remov'd out of their Housés, and licenced to depart the Nation, never to return, and that Englishmen be put in their places, anwering the King's Revenues as they did. At the Request of the Commons, the Parliament appointed the Earl of Warwick, who was already there, to be the Commander-in-Chief of the French forces that were in the King's Service, and so the Lieutenant-General of the French forces in the Warick Camp. The Duke of Buckingham was made sole Governor of the King's Person, instead of the greater number of Bishops and Barons, which hither to had enjoy'd that Office, because they were found burthenome and chargeable to the Nation; and he had a competent Salary allow'd him for his Care and Attendance. This Parliament granted to the King a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteen of the Laity, but upon condition that the King should not summon another Parliament till the Michaelmas twelve-month alter, which the above present he allented to, yet was not perform'd. A little after Easter, the Lady Jane de Courteny, the King's half Sister, was marry'd to the Lord Talbot, Earl of Salisbury, who had been taken Prisoner in the Marches of Callis, was kept in the English Court, and by his winning Behaviour much engag'd the young Lady's Affections to him. The Princess her Mother was very much amidst the March; but fearing left it might be prejudicial to the King's future Sitter, was marry'd to the Lord Bucking-ham, and the King gave his Consent, and for her Dower belov'd upon the Earl the Manum' of Bickley.' The Duke of Britain having been disappoint'd of the Aids which he expected from England soon after his arrival, but were kept back by a Tempest, and not knowing the Cape of the Deluge, sent a Ref. of a Token to the King for his own security, and the French, upon seven or eight thousand Men were reduc'd to this last to be conducted thither, under the Command of the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas of Britain, Sir Percy, Sir Hugh Calvay, Sir Robert Knowles; whereupon Sir John Harleston, and other experienced Con- Reg. 3. manders, but dreading the former danger by Sea, were for landing at Callis, June 4, and bid Sir John to pass through France into Britain. In their Portage by the Country, tho they did much harm to the French, yet they met with no Opposition. The Duke of Burgundy would have lain opposed them, and the injured People were very ready to offer them their Independence, but King Charles being a very politic Prince, strictly commanded his People not to engage them, who could have no Refuge in the midst of their Enemies, but an irreconcileable Boldness and Depravity; he order'd them to keep themselves and Castel close in their Towns, while they pass'd by, and in the mean time to do with their Bre- tains, that he made their Journey unproductive, for the City of Nantes deny'd utterly to receive them, and the Britains gave them a cold welcome; which Disappointment did more damage to the English, than the French had suffer'd by them, and Charles the First's Policy outdid their Force, and Charles the Second's kept them. For that great Prince having been poison'd about the time that the English landed at Callis, was hardly preserved by a German Physician a few Months, and dy'd Sept. 30, just as the English were passing the River Sartie, and left his Kingdom to his Son Charles VI. then but twelve Years old. This Accident of his Death might have proved fatal to the English, had the Duke persever'd in his Quarrel with France, especially since there was a Diftention among the French Princes of the Blood about the Registry and Government of the King's Person; but the Peers of Britain being more desirous of Peace than War, and the French as willing to comply with them, the English were lent home again, and a Peace concluded to the no small dishonour of the Earl of Buckingham, and his whole Army, whom to appease the Duke pretended, that his Nobles over-rul'd him, and for'd him to it; which Exculpe did not satisfy the angry Soldiers. While the English under the Earl of Buckingham were being provided with Supplies and Money, by a Grant of the Commons and the Livery under the Command of the Lord Olivier of England, Clifton, and other great Men, much inflected the Coasts of England, especially in the Western parts, where they took several Ships; and at last, entering the Thames, burn't Gravesend, after they had plunder'd it, and so return'd with much Booty. About the latter end of June the Merchandize Towns of the West set out a Fleet to repulse the French In- fidelies, which being in pursuit of them, forced them into Ireland to King's Dale; but they were so astounded from the Irish and English in both sides, that above four hundred of them were slain, most of their Captains and Ships taken, besides one and twenty Vessels, which had been taken from the English, which they now recovered. But of the most desperate of their Captains escaped, who being engag'd at their lods, got up what Force they could together, and observing their Opportunity, came again upon the English Coasts, robbing, killing, and burning in a more outrageous manner than before; against whom, the People oppos'd themselves with what they could get, and did some Execution upon them, yet they suffer'd much damage, for they burnt the Town of Winclesea, and put the Abbot of Bette to Vol. I. 12 to
John Kirby, a Merchant of London, who was one A. D. of those that had barbarously kill'd the 
Gentle 1580. Merchant: And it was feared, that his suffering Reg. 4.
in the City might occasion some Tumult by the 
Interests of his Dependants or Friends, to he had 
his Tryal at Northampton, and was hanged. By 
this Parliament was granted to the King a "Tax of 
the Poll upon all Persons whatever being of the 
Age of fourteen Years and upward (such as took 
Aims only excepted) which was then thought to 
considerable a Sum, that it raised a great Diff 
content among the Commons, as we shall fee, 
when we come to the Account of the Collection 
of it.

Soon after the rifting of this Parliament, which 
was about Christmas, Thomas Braintreehingham 
Bishop of Exeter, was put out of his Office of 
Treasurer, and Sir Robert Hater Lord Prior of 
St. John's Hospital in Southwield, was put into 
his place; a very worthy and gallant Person, 
but not below of the Commons, as a Mamber of 
the King's Council began to be treated of between the King and the 
Emperor's Sifter, and the Duke of Turfina and 
the Cardinal of S. Praxef, came over to the 
King about it. The Cardinal made it a very 
adventurous Negotiation, for preluming upon the 
King's Favour and Permission, he fold Inde-
pendence; foremost, to all the Parliament's 
Letters, Portative and Bald, and of all Abolutions 
and Dispenfations at dear Rates to the 
Hiperficient People and Clergy, who glad 
of such near Markets, catch'd at them eagerly, 
to the great enriching of the Cardinal.

The Truce with the Scots being now jult upon 
The Truce the Expiration, the Duke of Lancafer was lent with 
the Duke of Richmond toindre a 
Compromise of the Truce re-
Truce for a longer time, viz. three Years. 

The Duke was the more zealous to promote a 
firm Peace at home, because he had an Opportunity 
put into his hand, as he thought, of recovering 
his Wife's Right to the Crown of Spain, by 
the Breach between the King of Portugal and the 
U defe. The former had lent to the Duke to 
affid him, and he dismiss'd away his 
Ewond Earl of Cambridge, with the Lords Wil.
Portugal, liam Beauchamp and Boireux, and Sir Mathew 
Gourney, with a confiderable Force to help him, 
intending to follow himself with greater Strength 
as soon as things were put into a settled Poffure 
at home; but while he was endeavouring to 
lengthen the Peace with a Foreign Negotiation, 
unexpected Diffurbance, but very dangerous one, 
arose at home among the People upon this Oc-
casion.

The Collection of the Poll-Tax, which was so 
much displeasing to the Common People, began in 
the Spring, and, being managed by indigref and 
the Commons, produce more a Confufion of 
the Counties of England, that they were everywhere 
almost ripe for Rebellion: For tho' 'ts probable 
the severe exacting of fo small a Sum would not 
have raised such Combinations alone, yet meeting 
with other Grouns of Difaftration, which the 
People had long smother'd, it did ruffled them to fo big 
A Bott, that they could not both longer in. 
The Government of the Duke of Lancafer, the Exaffions 
and Corruptions of Lawyers and Attorneys, and 
the Oppreflion from Lords of Manors by their 
Tenures of Villanage, had fat very uneafy upon 
their shoulders a great while, and they longed 
for a Deliverance from both; but more espe-
cially from the former. These Lords, whose Slaves and Servants they generally 
were, doing all their Work and Drudgery, as 
plowing, fowing, carrying their Dng, cutting

Sir Ralph 
Vebery 
Vern 
A.D. 1580. 
Reg. 4. 
A. D. 
1580. 
Reg. 4.

The Scots 
invade 
England.

The Scots, who were always joyed with their 
old Confederates the French, in allauthing 
England, were not backward at this time to 
contend for their Bllance; and because the French called 
only as Pirates, without declaring War, therefore 
the Scots made this a Pretence of their Inva-
 tion, that the Townsmen of Newcastle and Hull 
had taken one of their Ships worth fix or seven 
thousand Marks, tho' they took it not from the 
Scots, but from the Pirates that infected England. 
Whereupon the Scots, with a confiderable Body 
of Men, encamp'd Cumberland and Waftmorland, 
fealing and destroying the Country; and out of 
the Forest of Inglewood drove away forty thousand 
Head of great and small Cattle as was thought. It 
happ'd, that just at this time Penvish Fair was 
kept, of which, when the Scots had notice, they 
hailed thither; and finding none to oppole them 
for the Trade-men, who were naked and unarmed, 
having of their coming, had left their Goods to save 
their Lives; they feized upon all their Shops and 
Stalls, and returned laden home by the City of Car-
lifc, which, tho' strong enough to defend itself, 
yet made no Resistance; and so the Scots got safe 
into their own Country, fave that an Ambatt 
Archers cut off some of them. The Earl of Nor-
thern, who was the Guardian of thefe 
Northern Parts, hearing of thefe Mischiefs done by 
the Scots, was preparing a Sharp Revenge 
against them, but was forbidden by Letters from 
the King and Council to proceed against them, 
till the time of Treaty with them was past, that 
it might be known, whether they could make any 
Satisfaction for thefe Wrongs or no.

A Treaty 
with the 
Scots.

About Michaelmas the Duke of Lancafer, the 
Earls of Warwick and Stafford, with other Noble-
men, went with a great Army into the North, 
and lay on the Borders to treat with the Scots. 
This Negotiation, which lafted long, ended in a 
Truce till Easter following, but was so great a 
Burden to the poor Inhabitants, that they had 
thera have had the Scots fill their Enemies, 
that the Company of their Friends with the Army 
that attended them, who did them as much 
Injury as they could have done. The Truce was 
indeed no Security to the English, the Scots ever 
making afe to the Laws of lownor to plun-
ders England the more fearfully, for they never 
obeied them longer than they could gain an 
adventurous Opportunity to break them. While 
the English Army lay here, some treatable 
Letters were found at London by a poor Man, feal'd 
with Sir Ralph Ferrer's Arms, who was one of 
the King's Council, and directed Sir Ralph, 
Glefferson, the Lord de la River, Chamberlain of 
France, the Lord Guefelin, and the Patron of 
the French Gallies. They were carried to Mr. John 
Philipps, and by him to the King and Council, 
who went him with them to the Duke of Lancafer, 
that the Knight might be feal'd and secur'd; 
which the Duke accordingly did, and imposed 
upon him in Durham Chaffel, but upon his Examination 
at the next Parliament he was fet at Liberty, 
four Barons being bound for his Appearance, till 
His Innocency could be more fully cleared.

The King called another Parliament to meet 
Reg. 4. at Northampton in November, a place tho' not ve-
Fifth Par-
lament, its 
regard to a 
means of fo great a Company, and so Auguft an Assem-
ly, yet was thought more fit than London at 
that time, because he was resolved to punish

* This Tax was prov'd by the Lords.
A. D. their Wood, and carrying it to their Houces, which being a great Avocation from their own, they were glad of a just Cure and Opportunity of vindicating their Liberty. And this they were much the more encourag'd to do by the Sermons of a pedition Priest, nam'd John Rall, who in his Popular Discourses told the Commons, That all Men by Nature are as Free as Chil-

dren of Adam no Man is better than another; That if God had appointed any Man to Slav-er-y, he would have declared, who should be Lords, and who Servants; That Servitude, which is gotten by unjust Force, is confirmed by as unjust Laws, and therefore he advised the King and Legislature to vindicate their Liberty, which if they could not obtain, to re- cover it with their Swords. Whether these Injurious had produced any settled Resolutions in the People to cafe themselves after that manner, is uncertain; but that they made them more ready to lay hold of a flight Occasion to rebel, is out of all Question. And it means to rule that Flame, which the Poll-Tax served but as a Pretence to this Rebellion first began at Dartmouth in Kent, where a rude Collec-tor of the Poll-Greates having offer'd some In- civility to * one Jack Tyler's Daughter, created a Quarrel with the Father; which coming to Blows, the Tyler being the younger, were come to a stand, and the sister, who was in the top of her Brain. The Fact was appli-cated by his Neighbours, but yet fearing he should be punisht for it, they gather'd together for his Defence, and in a short time were become a large Multitude able to defend themselves against any Force almost whatsoever: For not only the People of Kent, but all England, view'd his Cause as Right, and were willing to lend him his Caufe, and to aid him in it, to the utmost of his Strength: they freely engag'd each other with an Oath, 'That they would be true to King * Richard, and the Interests of the Commons of * England; That they never would receive a * Jobo (meaning the Duke of Lancaster) for their * King; That they would perfide all their * Strength against the Faithful; and that they * would never yield to the Payment of any Tax, * but a 15th. Being firmly united by this Oath, they began their March from Maidstone, where their stead Rendezvous was, towards London, plundering all that would not join with them in their Pillage. At Blackheath they had a general Mu- lther, where they appeared to be near ten thousand, or as others say, an hundred thousand. The King hearing the Approach of so great a Multitude in an Army, sent to them to know the Caufe of their tumultuous meeting, and they sent him word, 'That they were come to speak with him about Matters of Importance, and * declared him to come to them. The Message being related to the King, it was held in the Council, whether he should go to them or no: Some thought it the best way to appease A. D. them, but Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Albemarle, and Sir Robert Hales, Treasurier, were utterly against it, as not safe for the King's Perfon. This Advice was taken, and the Rebels Petition rejected, which, as soon as they heard the Authors of it, they would cut off their Heads; but the King learning that this Denial would provoke them, he went down by Water as far as Rochester, and joined with them. They were pleased with his Pre- fence, and petition'd him to come a-shore among them, but that would not be granted: So that this new Drift created a greater Displeasure against the King's Ministers, and Perils about him. As soon as the King had left them, they marched forward to London, and on Corpus Christi Day, to London, * June 2, enter'd Southwark, where they plunder'd the rich Holute-keepers, let out the Prisoners of there, the Marshallsea and Kings-Bench, whom they lifted into their own Company. The Mayor and Chief Men of the City adier'd firmly to the King, and thrup their Gates against him, but the Communion taking their part, and the Rebels themselves threatening to burn all the Borough of Southwark, unleas they had free Access into the City; they were forced to open the Gates to them, as well for their own as Friends Safety. And the being Masters of the all the Wealth and Power of the Nation, they (as it may be called) over- threw their Actions, but their own Will; the Wine- Cells and Shambles yielded them Dainties for their Bellies and Palates, and every Banker's Shop was their Treasury. The meanest Peaftan knew no Want, when abundance of all things was at hand: but these Lawless Actions they justified by their Zeal for the common Good, and taking off such as they called the Enemies of the publick, which they were not sparing in the Execution of, or in destroying their Houces and Police. For they burn'd the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and the Duke of Lancaster's Houfe in the Swoop, with all their rich Furniture and Goods; which, as it they had been devoted to God, they would suffer no Man to remove from the Flame, but when one of their Company took a piece of Plate, and put it in his Bofom, they call'd him into the Fire. S. John's Hospital in Smithfield also they set on fire, and the Manor of Highbury, be-longing to it. All the Professors of the Law, which, for the year or two before their Power, they put to Death; and entring into the Temple, they destroy'd all the Rolls or Records of the Chancery which they could find, with all Law-Books and Writings of the Students, and so they dealt with the other Inns of Court. They divided themselves into three parts to prevent any Oppo- sition, and remained one part in the City un- der Jack Straw, a strong man, and a third at Tower-Hill * . The King and his Govern- ment (tho' twelve hundred) were so much afraid of them, that they allow'd them to come into the Tower, and took out from thence the Arch- bishop Simon Sudbury, then Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales the Treasurier, and beheaded them on Tower-Hill. In the City also they were very severe to Foreigners, especially the Fren- 

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...and taking them out of the Sanctuaries, whither they were fled to escape their Fury, beheaded many of them. Their Shabboblets to differ from them, was to pronounce the words Bread and Cheese, which if they could not do, but said as usual, Beast and Cowpe, they instantly were beheaded among them. In this manner he beholding his lad, Major, Richard Lyon, in Cheapside, for his necessary Severity to him when he was his Apprentice, much flain their glorious Pretences of reforming publick Difforders, and punishing bad Miniflers of the State. Nor was it very agreeable to the Justice they pretended to do, and the Principles, and the Compurers, and let out those Pests of Societies, Thieves, Burglers, and other disorderly Perfons, burning their Regiflers, that in more fettled times they might not be again apprehended: But fo it for the molt part happens, Hypocrifies can't keep the Vizzard on fo clofe, but their Pretences will be feen through, and their difagreeing Actions betray the Wickednefs of their Designs.

The King compafiating the Miferies of his People, which by force he was unable to relieve, confulted with his Council about fick Courfes as were beft to be taken to prevent them; and upon delibera

King’s methods to appease the Rebels.

Wat. Tyler, Captain of the Kentish Rebels.

London, and John Philipp an Alderman, both Men A. D. of as undaunted Courage as zealous Loyalty, told 1381. the King, That the rude Behaviour of Tyler to Reg. 4. him was intolerable, and defired that the Mayor might have liberty to arrefl him, being in his Jurifdiction. The King doubting the fife of such an Affair in London, in the Manner in which he con

...they meddle’d with the Breed of the King’s horse, and play’d with his Dagger, thieving it from him. Had the other, was afraid he meant some mischief to his Royal Person, and fhook him on the lie with his his Dagger; Alderman Philipp recount’d the Blow with his Sword, and to the Rebel came down.

* This cannot be right, for Mr. Lyon was a very eminent Merchant, the fame that had been in the former Reign condemned in a great fine to the King for several Middle-men, and Alice Peverell begg’d it off for him when he was in favour. So as it is not probable, that Wat the Chamber of the Tyler was ever Prefident to him.

* Sir William Walworth feeling Tyler, he, in meddling with the Breed of the King’s horse, and play’d with his Dagger, thieving it from him. Had the other, was afraid he meant some mischief to his Royal Person, and shook him on the lie with his his Dagger; Alderman Philipp recount’d the Blow with his Sword, and to the Rebel came down.
A. D. the People's Slavery. Thefe beheaded Sir John 1731. Cowper, Lord Chief Justice, who had his Dwell- ing in thole parts, and the Prior of Ely, John of Cambridge*, forcing the Monks of the Abbey to bring forth and burn thole Writings, by which the Privileges of the Monastery over the Townsmen were granted and confirmed, and left the Abbey to them for ever. By their former Immunities of them, they put a Cross, Chalice, and other Jewels belonging to the Mo- nastery into their hands, that the Abbots should be oblig'd to fet a Release of all Services to them for the recovery of them. In Cambridgebridge also and the City of Ely, there were the like tumults, and murmy in the folk of the place, who thrunk away upon the first Proclamation of Pardon, and fav'd themselves. But in Norfolk, tho' they were as forward in dilquisting the Na- tion, yet they were not fo wise to secure them- selves. John Lisstre, a Dyer of Norwich, whom they, hating King of the Commons, headed a vast Rable, and with the fame fury defeft, by the Lawyers, Lords of Mannours, and such as they believe'd Instruments of their Slavery. These were, as they thought, more politic than their Fellows in other parts, in compelling several Gentlemen of that Country to join with them to increase their Numbers, and make themselves the most formidable Body, under the Name of Will- iam Morley, Sir John Brewer, Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Robert Salle. This laft was too Loyal to comply with such a rebellion Rous, and too Bold to keep his Sentiments of their wicked and unjust Actions to himself; wherefore reproving both their Attempt, and the ill Condud of it, he was knock'd on the Head by them, and his Life with fervile Compliances as were worse than an honourable Death, for they were forced to serve Lisstre at Table upon their Knees*, and outwardly applaud his brave Endea- vours for the People's Liberties. They sought to have brought William Safford Earl of Suffolk to the Earls, who, on his return, brake this News from the com- mendation of his Enemies, and immediately resolved'd to 1731. go himself into Kent, and destroy the whole Country, and to fend the Earl of Buckingham and Lord Percy to repref the Ely-Men, to whole Petition for Liberty, though promised before, he reply'd, that 'Slaves they were, and Slaves they fhould be. But the Lords, both their Piracies, and being the Fiercemen of his Piation, and brought him to yield to more gentle and legal ways of proceeding against them. So the Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Thomas Percy, with a good Strength of Men, went into Ely, and finding the Rebels entrenched between Billerica and Hadfield Verowf, within Ditches and Ditches, they laid their Camp, kill'd five hundred of them, and took eight hundred Horses, the reft escaping towards Collectarf, which they defpicable in vain to join with them, and from thence went to Sudbury. The Lord Fitz-Walter and Sir John Havelfon with a Body of Men purfui'd them fo hard, that they flew and fell all before them, and committed them to several Gaols in their own Country. And with the like Tucs did the King's Army subdue the feditious People of Kent. After the Com- pofure of thefe Disturbances, there appear'd a general Quietness over the Nation, which made way for the Punishment of thefe Captains of the Rebels which were refer'ved for Justice.

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir John Wallis M. P., of Worth, had taken several of the Chief of them, as several re- Jack Straw, Allen Threader, John Kirby, and his execu- John Starling, who brag'd that he had flain the Archbishop with his own hands, and being fain'd within his Precincts, they were by Law to be tried before him, from whom they received the

* John of Cambridge and John de Langketh, two Monks of that Priory, were both beheaded.
* They mangled themselves to cunningly, that they became his Favourites, and were made this King of the Nob's Chief Of- ficers, Sir Stephen Hales being his Chief.
A.D. 1381.

Sentence of Condemnation, to be beheaded, which was executed on them accordingly. Jack Straw, without any Promises, or Hopes of Pardon, ingeniously confedered with Execution; he had been fetched in their Enterprise, and could have gotten all the Power into their hands, as they had no final Reason to hope, being so very strong, they intended to have slain the King, Noblemen, Bishops, Monks, Canons, Parliaments, and all the richest and wealthiest among the Commons, and fascinate upon their Poffessions, leaving only the Fryars Monks to administer Sacraments and divine Service; and when they had thus gotten all into their hands, they would have established new Laws for the Government of the Realm, which they had contrived to divide among their Leaders, nor Tyler was to be King of Kent, and others of them in other Countries were to have their petty Kingdoms. This, he said, was true, as God should help him in those his last Moments. John Ball, who was taken about Conventry, was sent up to the King, and try'd before him at S. Albans, with other of the Rebels, brought on a bare-foot with very great Irreverence to the King; and tho' he was advis'd to submit and beg pardon, he for'nm'd and defi'd his Monitors: So he was condem'nd and executed with fifteen others, July 15th. As for the rest, the King sent out his Judges with Commissioners into the several Counties of the Kingdom; these were called Robert Treffian, Chief Justice, went into Essex, and the King himself accompanied him at his Examinations. The Essex Men in a Body of about five hundred Men, address'd themselves bare-foot to the King for Mercy, and had it granted upon Condition, that they should deliver up to Justice the chief Infrumments of Rebellion which they had committed; and accordingly, they were immediately try'd and hang'd ten or twelve, on a Beam at Chaubury, because they were too many to be executed after the usual manner, which was by beheading. In other Counties also, where the Rebellion had come, were the like Executions done; and the Lords commonly dealt with the most Refractory among their Tenants, and punish'd many of them with Death: So that in divers Places of England, no less than fifteen hundred are computed to have suffer'd for this their Dißloyalty; by which means the Mithkiefs they did to others, and the Blood they spill'd, was fully return'd upon themselves. This Rebellion hath for its British Author, Wickliffe, and his Followers Principles, of whom John Ball is said to have been one; but that this is an Aperion invented by Monkhill Historians, to blacken the Protestant Doctrines, may appear to some of the chief Followers of Wickliffe, as the Duke of Lancaster, and all that Wickliffe hath left, thence upon his Condemnation in Leicestershire, was never called in Queniton for this Rebellion; and tho' John Ball, who was a Francifian Friar, was said to be imprison'd by the Archbishop for preaching Wickliffe's Doctrine; yet, 'tis probable his Diffentents, not Opinions, made him forward to promote these Disturbances on the Nation, and therefore God Wickliffe nor his Doctrines were to blame.

The Duke of Lancaster was all the time of these Commotions in Scotland, not so much to conclude the Peace, which upon the first News of them he suddenly clapt up; because if the Scots had heard thereof they would certainly have IV. joined all Propositions for it, as to execute his own Purpose, to whom he knew they bore a deadly Hatred. The Spar, who vex'd that the Duke had by his Policy dein'rd them from a great Advantage, and by his partiality, and were twenty thousand Men to guard himself against the Rebels, if he purposed to return home, or if he thought it better to stay till the Storm was spent, the Accommodations of Holy-wood House, but the Duke accepted the latter, and abode some Months in Scotland extraordinary. This gave the GOVERNMENT an alarm upon this Occasion to return the Duke of Lancaster was gone over to the Scots, and had obtained of them an Army to invade and conquer England; but as soon as the Rebellion was allay'd, the Duke cleared himself of that foul Aperion, by sending a Message to the King to give an account of the Reasons of his stay, and set all Charges against him. That if he had any Suspicion of his Dilatory, he would shew himself to him without any Attendance, or at his Command go into a voluntary Exile. But the King giving no Credit to the Report, sent him word, That he might return with his Retinue, and be coming to Court, gave him an hearty welcome. So did there happen a famous Quarrel between the Duke of Lancaster and Earl A. quarrel of Northumberland; because Sir Matthew Redman, between the Governour of Warwick the Earl, had done the first or second Duke of Lancaster Admittance into that Garrison, and Earl of Northumberland. This Ate the Duke complain'd of betwixt the King in the Earl's Presence, and accused him of Injudicious, and put him to the Inquisition to the Parliament. The Earl being a Man of an high and angry Spirit, burst out into foul and reproachful Language against the Duke; and was so very furious, that tho' the King commanded him Silence, yet he would not hold in his reproachful Language. Whereupon the King command'd him to be return'd to the Earl of Northumberland, but the Earl of Warwick and Suffolk undertaking for his Appearance at the next Parliament, he was left at Liberty, and returned into his own Country. About this time the King made William Cowley, Bishop of London, Archbifhop of Canterbury, who was a zealous Oppofitor of Wickliffe and his Followers.

About the beginning of November the Parlia-ment met at Westminster, and the Earl of Naufland, Sumpherby, and Duke of Lancaster attended it, with only a very small Retinue of armed Men, to the great Terror of all Places where they came. The Earl and his Company were lodg'd in the City, and the Duke with his Men in the Suburbs; and both went every day to the Parliament House with their Guards, to the Amusement of the Citizens. The Quarrel between these two great Perfonages was first debated by the House, and took up to much time before it was fully decy'd by the King, that News was brought of the Queen's Arrival at Dover, before they could proceed with Business; and to the Parliament was prorogued to give Antw'dance upon her Reception, and the Celebration of the Marriage: For many of the Nobility, and others of the Parliament, were sent to receive her, and convey her honourably to the King's Presence. Before the came to London, the Mayor and Aldermen with a great Company of the chief Citizens, met her at Blackwall, and led her in to their City with great Honour and Respect; from whence she was conducted in Triumph to the King at Westminster. Within a few days the King's was marry'd to the King by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Name of Anne, the Daughter of the King of Navarre; and the English Parliament was prorogued, without voting any Conclusion, the Wiccalfe the present Emperor. Her Coronation soon follow'd, which was celebrated with infinite Splendour.
splendour and Magnificence; all the Nobility of the Nation attending, and sparing no Cost to heighten the Glory and State of that day. These Solemnities being ended, the Parliament met again soon after the Feast of Epiphany, and fetted many good Laws for the public Benefit: For after the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Churches, the Persecutions were with less noise and less force, and the Laws found by Experience conducing to the Nation's Welfare, they establisht several new ones, viz.

That no Gold or Silver should be carry'd out of the Realm, either in Coin, or otherwise; it being found, then, as well now, that Traffick with ready Money impoverishes the Nation.

That the Girdles and other articles, which the King's Subjects, should traffick in English bottoms only. That no Wines should be sold for above fix Marks by the Tun. That all Manumissions, Obligations, Releaves, and other Bonds made by Force and Compulsion in the late Tumults, as being against the Laws of the Land, should be void.

That it should be lawful for the King's Loyal Subjects to seize and apprehend all Persons, whom they suspect to be riotously assembled, if there be in number above fix or seven, without the King's Writ, and imprison them till they are brought to answer it. That such Perons as out of Zeal to the Safety of the King and People of the Realm, had disturb'd the late recoveries and fall of the Rebels without a special Commission from the King, should be all pardoned. That such Perons, as in the late Troubles had loft their Charges, Releaves, Obligations, Deeds, and other Monuments, (for the Rebels burnt many, and destroy'd them) upon their Petition to the King and Parliament, should be allow'd to the value of the Form and Tenure of them, their Rights, Titles, and Privileges, should be confirm'd other-wise to them. That Strangers might perfonally sell their Goods in London, without Impediments to the Merchants of England. That no Furs nor Girdles galm'd with Gold or Silver, should be for vend, with some other Articles, should be allow'd to the value of Courts of Law, and Officers Fees. By this Parliament a Subsidy called a Maloetof (which is a fifteenth part) was imposed upon all Wools bought or sold by the Merchants, and at the Request of the Lords and Commons, the Lord Scoop, a Perfon eminent for his Knowledge and Zeal, and who was made Earl of Oxford, and Sir Hugh Segrey Treasurer, those great Places remaining vacant ever since the Rebellion, where-in the Archbishops and Sir Robert Hales were flain.

About this time Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, Lieutenant in Ireland, dy'd in that Nation. He was nearly ally'd to the Crown in the Marches, the only Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, by whom he had large Possessions in the Province of Ulter; and by his prudent Government, had before his Deathsettled that barbarous People in great Peace and Order; he left one Son, Roger, who succeeded him in the Earlom of March, and a Daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Conyers, his Grandmother to King Edward IV. John Wickeiffe also published an Explication of several of his Doctrines and Opinions, which the Archbishops and Elipsours were very zealous to suppress, as Mr. Fox, and our Ecclesiastical Historians relate it.

On the 1st day after the Feast of St. John Port-latin, May 6, another Parliament met at Westminster, in which, at the earnest Petition of the Knights of the Shires, John Wray, a Priest, who had been active in raising the Rebellion in Suffolk, was tried, and after a Legal Sentence drawn and hung'd. In this Parliament, among other things of less Importance, one Act very memorable is laid to have been made, which began the first Persecution against the Bishops, upon the grounds of the Christian Religion, on the Followers of Wickeiffe. By it it was enacted, That Commissions the King should, upon the Certificate and Request of the Archbishops into the Chancery, be directed by the Bishop in Chancery to the Sheriffs, and others, to apprehend certain Preachers of Herefie, who without the Licence of the Parliament, resided not only in Churches and Church-yards, but in Market-places, and other Places of Concours, Sermons full of Errors and Herefie, and their Followers, and to keep them in strong Prison until they shall justify themselves according to the Law of the Land. By Authority of this Act, the Bishops not only proceeded with great Severity against the Followers of Wickeiffe's Doctrine, but as if the Power had been in their own hands, they procured Commissions from the King directed to themselves to prosecute them; and so cruelly imprisond their own friends, and punish'd them as they pleas'd. But this Act, that the Bishops in their Struggles was now, at least passed by the Affent of the Commons (as Mr. Fox in his Acts and Mon. p. 406. shews) but was fraudulently procured by the King by the Bishops to gratifie their own bloody Malice against those whom they pleas'd to call Hereticks. A Subsidy was granted to the King by this Parliament, but upon condition (that the King should be issued up on a Navy to guard the Nation by Sea.

This Summer some Ships that belong't to his Royal Highness, and the adjacent Towns, meeting with some Frigate, were seiz'd, and some passengers taken from others. Also, John Northampton, alias Cambridge, Mayor of London, obtriving with Sorrow the Lewde and Debaucheries of the Citizens, set himself with all Diligence to suppress them, and severely punish'd all such as he found guilty of Immoralities, by imprisonding both Sexes, and caus- ing the Women to be car'd for, and Issued out of London with their Hair short, as Thieves were in those days usual'y expos'd to Shame, with Trumpets and Pipes going before them; nor did he spare the Men more. The Bishops pretend- ing, that the Punishment of such Immoralities belonged to their Jurisdiction rather than the Mayor's, his writs were flown against, and men forbad him; but that did not in the least deter him from proceeding in so good a Work, so long as his Power lasted, tho' against the Bishop's Will, who ought to have encourage'd him. Whether this univer Seal of the Church-men against Opinions and Doctrines, more than various Practices, were the caufe of the Suspicious Judges, which happen'd at the same time they were carrying on their Prosecutions, is hard for us peremptorily to determine; but certain it is, that many heavy Calamities befell the Nation at this time. Such an Earthquake was felt, as not only wrought great Ferrous in the Inhabitants, but shook down rivers Churches and Houfes in the Nation, and

Vol. I. K.
The Life and Reign of Richard the Second.

A. D. principally in Kent. Not many Days after happen'd a Water-fall, as it was called, which beat the Ships in the Havens violently together, that many received no final damage. And about St. Edward's Day there fell such great Rains, as caused mighty inundations, which drowned many Villages and carried away divers Bridges.

The King, being now in his seventeenth Year, began to discover his Inclinations and Affections. He lov'd the State and Magnificence of a King, and was very Noble, Generous and Liberal, outgoing all his Accurers in lately Equages, and the pompous Gallanty of a Court, but he lov'd not, and carried away divers Bridges.

His Favours. This is a very long and detailed text discussing the events and actions of King Richard II, including his reign and the various individuals and events that took place during it. It is written in an informal, conversational style, with references to specific historical events and figures.

The text describes the King's reign in detail, including events such as the Water-fall mentioned earlier, which caused significant damage and flooding. It also discusses the King's affection for the state and magnificence of a king, and his noble, generous, and liberal nature, which led to him dismissing his accusers and overturning the court's pompous gallantry.

The text continues with a long narrative of various events and actions that took place during King Richard's reign, including his dealings with the Barons, the Peers, and the Commons, as well as his relationship with the clergy.

The text concludes with a general statement that the King's reign was marked by both public and private achievements, and that his reign was a period of significant change and development in England.
arriv'd, found the King of Portugal, who had in-
invited them, very backward in his Preparations,
as if he were hardly resolv'd upon a War. They 
lay nine Months in Lisbon in Garrision, without 
any Action of moment, giving their Enemy the 
King of Spain time to raise an Army, which, with 
three of those he had in Flanders, was at his 
orders, too strong for Opposition. So that by 
that time the Portuguese and English were ready to 
fight, the Spaniards was insurmountable, and that 
King, who had no mind to fight at first, was, in the end 
justly deterr'd from it. The English nevertheless's 
being was great in the beginning, could not by the For-
cigners' and their General be kept from taking some- 
thing. Wherefore they invaded the neigh-
bouring Territories of Spain, and taking several 
small Cities, put Garrisons into them. This an-
gred the King of Portugal so much that he refus'd to 
pay the English according to agreement; which had 
like to have begotten Quarrel between them, tho' Co- 
federates; for the English had pur-
pose of plunder the Country, and despoile them-
. But this Breach being compos'd, the King of 
Portugal made a Peace with the King of Spain, 
and sent away the English with all speed, as if he 
had been glad to rid his Kingdom of so terrible 
Guests. The Earl of Cumberland was so much in-
clined to the treatment of the King he 
departed in a great anger, and would not 
leave his Son behind him, tho' he had alianc'd him to 
the King of Portugal's Daughter. His arrival in 
England was no good news to the Duke of Lanca-
fler, whose Title became so much the more worth-
less, as his Enemy was more facethall.
A Bill for a Parliament met at 
Christchurch a Parliament met at 
Westminster, under which the Consideration of the in-
tended Expedition against the Adherents of Pope 
Clement was refer'd, and upon a full Debate dis-
allow'd; but the Clergy and their Friends at 
length made such Intereats that it was permitted, 
and a fifteenth which had been granted to the 
King by the former Parliament was given to him 
for the carrying on the Expedition, and only a tenth 
granted by the Clergy, refer'd for the King's use.
The Bishop of Norwich having received this En-
couragement, sent out his Letters immediately 
unto all Parlions of his Dioces to preach up the 
Merit of this Holy War, and pronounce Fardon 
upon all that would go to Flanders. What 
men in other Dioceses did the fame: Who had so 
great an effect, that by the entrance of the Spring 
he had an Army ready to attend him of fifteen 
thousand Foot, and two thousand Horfe. The chief 
Men, who accompany'd the Bishop in this War, 
were Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Farringdon, 
Henry Lord Buschildon, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir 
John Ferrars, Sir Henry Spoeller the 
Bishop's Nephew, Sir Matthew Redman, Sir Ni-
colas Travers, and some others. Few of the Noble-
men would engage in it, because the Duke of Lan-
caster oppos'd it, and would by no means be 
duced to joy in it, unless they would have made 
War upon the King of Portugal, but went on his 
account. On the 23d of April the Religious 
Warriors put to Sea, and landed at Calais. The 
King had some Days before sent to the Bishop to 
attend him at Court before he left the Realm, 
for what Reason was not known; but the Bishop 
feizing it was to countermand his Proceedings, 
would not go to the King, but went on his 
account. When they were all arriv'd at Calais, 
they entred into a Conflation which way they 
should bend their Forces. Some were for invad-
ing France, because their Committion was to 
make War upon Pope Clement and his Party, 
of which the French were the chief. But the Bi-
shop was for invading Flanders, because the Earl 
Laud had lately expell'd all the English out of his 
Dominions, upon a Supplication, that King Richard 
had joyn'd with the People of Ghent against him, 
and many in their futile Removal from Brussels, 
and other places, had fandle frequent in their 
Merchandises. To the Bishop's Jurement 
they all yield'd, tho' Sir Hugh Calverley and some 
others did not approve of it; and therefore en-
Flan-
dering Flanders in the beginning of May, they be-
beated, and took in less than three Weeks:Overy 
Fleming, 
Dunkirk, and Mardike. This sudden 
campaig

The Life and Reign of Edward the Third.
A.D. 1183. 

The Duke of LANCASTER, and his Brother the Earl of 1184. BUCKINGHAM, went with a very great Army down thither, and wafted all the Country with Fire and Sword, as far as Edinburgh, out of which all the Inhabitants were fled, with the rest of their Goods, to save themselves from this Terror. The Duke of BURGUNDY heard of the Action, which was no Breach of the Truce, because it was not confirmed with the Scots through his own Neglect, immediately dispatched an Embassy into Scotland to compose this Breach; but the Scots, who had received so much Damage, were so hardly brought to fit down without Revenge, that the English Army did almost harm the Country themselves. They therefore forced the Borders to their Countrymen, as they had done to the Scots; but at last a Cession of Arms was conferred to the time fixed, and the English returned home. About this time happened very great Thunders and Lightnings, Preludes of those Tumults, which conjured in the Truce between JOHN NorBHAMPSO.N, call'd for his turbulent Humour CAMBERTOWN, and Sir NICHOLAS BRAWER, Mayor.

A little after this there was a Conversation of a Conven. for the Nobles at Selby; and in it one JOHN Lati-, son of the Marquis, in ber, B.D. an Irish Fryar appeared, and brought an Information against the Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Lift., and his Brothers. He said that the Duke was much in doubting his Crown, relating such Circumstances of his Actions, as render'd the Accusation very probable. The Duke being about the King at the same time came into his Presence, as soon as the King had receiv'd the Accusation, not suspecting what had happen'd, but seeing the King disposed of pleasure, urged him to call the Council together and give Advice of his two Chaplains about it, lest for the Duke, and told him how and by whom he was charged of High Treason against his Person. The Duke not seeming concern'd, as if he had been innocent, gave such an Answer to every Particular, as satisfied the King that he had no such Intentions, yet defined, that the Fryar might be put into Gaol Custoody, till he should clear himself of what he had charg'd him with; Whereupon he was committed to the keeping of the Lord HOL- land, the King's Brother, in the Tower. When the day of Trial was come, and the Duke was to be tried himself, and convince the Fryar of his Guilt, was not the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry GREEN, two of the Duke's Friends, the Night before entering the Fryar's Lodgings, cruelly put him to Death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the Neck and privy Members, and laying a great Stone upon his Breast, which broke his Back; and as if they were not satisfied of these, they drew his dead Body through the Streets the next day, as being devour'd punish'd as a Traytor. This cruel Action got the Duke much Dihonour, and thereto it rid him of a false Accuser, as was thought till the Fryar was so illegally put to Death; yet it render'd his Innocency more obvious than before, and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him fally accused. The Parliament gave the King half a Tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, and so was fatis'd.

The Scots notwithstanding the Truce, which they had agreed to were over-perus'd, rather than yield'd to, could not by the English scarcely be mov'd. The Earl's Daughter, being heir of all his Dominions, was very busy in settling himself in his Government, so that he forgot to give the Scots notice of the Truce. The English having already made Preparations to invade Scotland, proceeded in their Design; and about the beginning of June, the A.D. Duke of Lancaster, and his Brother the Earl of 1184. Backingham, the one by Land, and the other by Sea, sent several Ships to intercept the Craftes, and annoy the Passage into Galloway and Flanders: The Scots invaded the Borders, drove away a great Booty of Cattel, took the Castle of Werke, and burnt it. The Inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the Neighbouring Towns, set out some Ships to defend their Craftes, which took five Ships of the French after a sharp Fight; another Squadron of English Vessels took eight French Ships laden with Wines, to the Quantity of fifteen hundred Tun; but the Scots found no Opposition till the Parliament met, and gave a Tax to destroy the Charge of the Expedition.

On the Monday before the Feast of All Saints, the Confirmation of the Charters, and other old Laws, repealed the Act against the Vizcullers made in the last Parliament, and enacted, that No Foreigner should purchase any Benefit of the Church in this Realm, or enjoy the same without a special Licence from the King, with several other Laws. But since the main end of their meeting was to provide for the Defence of the Nation against the Scots, it was resolved, that a puissant Army should be immediately raised to repref their Infield with Severity; and for that end, there was given the King half a fifteenth of the Laity, and half a tenth of the Clergy, and because the Kings House and the Duke, took upon them an Army of such Strength as was design'd, therefore a part of the Tax was order'd to be allow'd the Lords of the North to guard the Borders, till the Grand Army could arrive. The Scots having Advice of this impending Storm, fled to the King for the Continuance of the Truce, which they had received, against the Law, and the King, on the advice of his two Chaplains about it, sent for the Duke, and told him how and by whom he was charged of High Treason against his Person. The Duke not seeming concern'd, as if he had been innocent, gave such an Answer to every Particular, as satisfied the King that he had no such Intentions, yet defined, that the Fryar might be put into Gaol Custoody, till he should clear himself of what he had charg'd him with; Whereupon he was committed to the keeping of the Lord HOLLAND, the King's Brother, in the Tower. When the day of Trial was come, and the Duke was to be tried himself, and convince the Fryar of his Guilt, was not the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry GREEN, two of the Duke's Friends, the Night before entering the Fryar's Lodgings, cruelly put him to Death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the Neck and privy Members, and laying a great Stone upon his Breast, which broke his Back; and as if they were not satisfied of these, they drew his dead Body through the Streets the next day, as being devour'd punish'd as a Traytor. This cruel Action got the Duke much Dihonour, and thereto it rid him of a false Accuser, as was thought till the Fryar was so illegally put to Death; yet it render'd his Innocency more obvious than before, and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him fally accused. The Parliament gave the King half a Tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, and so was fatis'd.

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The Truce made with the French and their Allies being now near the Expiration, the Duke of Lancaster was sent over again with a great Equage to endeavour a Peace, or renew the Truce for a longer time. He remained a great while there, as if some great things were settled; but at length return'd with the News only of a Continuation of the Truce till May, which was generally meanly thought of, as not worth the time and Expense that was consumed about it. In the Duke's absence John Northampton, Alderman of London, was accused by his own Chaplaining of conspiring against the King and Government, and railing at the City. He had his Trial at Reading, before many of the Nobles of the Realm, but could alledge nothing in his own Defence, only that he ought not to be condemned in the absence of the Duke of Lancaster; yet being found guilty, he was sentenced to perpetual Imprisonment at an hundred Miles distance from London, and sent to Tintagil to be kept there, where Sentence was executed frictly, and he was sent to Tintagil Castle in Cornwall and his Goods and Estate were all seiz'd for the King. The like Punishment did his Associates John More and Richard Northey suffer.

On the Morning of St. Martin, Nov. 12, the Parliament met at Westminster to furnish the King with Moneys for the War, which threaten'd him from the Scots and French; which, when his Subje&ts had given liberally, the King in Recompence palled several Laws for the exact Administration of Justice, viz. That no Judge should keep an Alliace in the County where he lives; That a Judge's Imprisoning a Tenant or Removal in their Administration of Justice, but only of the King; and if any Judge rafe a Record, make a false Entry, or change a Verdict, he shall after Conviction make Satisfaction to the Party aggrieved, and be fined at the King's Pleasure. While this Parliament was sitting, the Scots besieged and took the Town and City of Berwick, and seiz'd the being put in by the Earl of Northumberland, to whom belong'd the keeping of that Garrion, by Inheritance from his Ancestors, brought great Blame upon the Earl. For the Duke of Lancaster, who bore an ill Will to the Earl, so aggravat'd the Loss of the Town, that he had almost perfir'd the Manners of the Commons, and was very much afraid of the possibility of his Cowardice in conspiracy in him and his Deputy to resign it to them; but the King observing the Passion and Prejudice of his Uncle, permitted the Earl to go down to recover it, tho' many of the Nobles were for imprisoning him. He believ'd himself so briskly among his Friends in the North, that he thought he might, at a proper time, contrive to get back Berwick, that the Scots surrer'd it in a few days upon better Conditions than they gave the English, viz. That they should march out with their Arms and Goods, and have two thousand Marks paid them down by the Earl, because he was willing to get it again in so small time, and at length return'd with the News as politic. This set him right again in the good Opinion both of King and Parliament, and taught him more Care for the future, in using such Deputies as would be faithful. In the time of the setting before the King, one between John Welsby, an English Gentleman, and a Novorritus, and the other A.D. between John Wallis and a Novorritus Elquire. The Duke of Lancaster, who being the King's 1st. Uncle, and chief Government about the King, was engaged to use the greatest Obftruction to the ambitious Arms of planted a. the King's Favourites; who growing now importunat. tient of Delays, thought upon all ways to remove him, if not out of the War, yet out of the King's Affections, was now in great Danger of losing both his Life and Honour by their means. For these cunning Flatters having by forged Crimes and Accusations incendi'd the King against him, contriv'd to have him suddenly arrest'd, and try'd before Judge Trijton; who being persuaded to return his Interests, were not ready enough upon tiff Evidence as they should proouze to condemn him. But the Conflabulations were not so clofeely manag'd, but they got Wind, and came to the Duke's Ear; who knowing that Innocency in lich cases could not be Guard sufficient against their bloody Design, sent to Prov. French Castle, to have the Duke's Death determined againt his Adverfaries, drawing in all his Friends of the Nobility to his Affiśmie The Duke indeed was not very well belov'd by the People, yet the King's Favourites were generally fardious, that the greatest Endearment to the People was to oppose them; So that if the King had perrif'd in any other match, or any other Action, he would have been the fingle Fights was accounted a sign of Innocency.

The Duke of Lancaster, who being the King's 2nd. Uncle, and chief Government about the King, was engaged to use the greatest Obftruction to the ambitious Arms of planted another King's Favourites; who growing now importunat. tient of Delays, thought upon all ways to remove him, if not out of the War, yet out of the King's Affections, was now in great Danger of losing both his Life and Honour by their means. For these cunning Flatters having by forged Crimes and Accusations incendi'd the King against him, contriv'd to have him suddenly arrest'd, and try'd before Judge Trijton; who being persuaded to return his Interests, were not ready enough upon tiff Evidence as they should proouze to condemn him. But the Conflabulations were not so clofeely manag'd, but they got Wind, and came to the Duke's Ear; who knowing that Innocency in lich cases could not be Guard sufficient against their bloody Design, sent to Prov. French Castle, to have the Duke's Death determined againt his Adverfaries, drawing in all his Friends of the Nobility to his Affiśmie The Duke indeed was not very well belov'd by the People, yet the King's Favourites were generally fardious, that the greatest Endearment to the People was to oppose them; So that if the King had perrif'd in any other match, or any other Action, he would have been the fingle Fights was accounted a sign of Innocency.

For
Fear of an Invasion hurried up so many to stand up in the publick defence, that the King in a short time had an Army of three hundred thousand Men to attend him. With a part of that, viz. sixty thousand, the Duke of Lancaster was immediately ordered to carry on the conquest of the Scotch Borders, vowing to follow as fast as he could with the rest. The Scots and French had been very bafe in plundering, burning and killing, before they had the news of the Duke of Lancaster's approach; but as soon as they heard of that, they retreated home, and with their Cattel withdrew themselves into the Mountains: So that the Duke found no opposition. The King being come to York, heard of the Scots retir'd, yet proceeded in his journey, and joining with the Duke deftoy'd the Country of Scotland as far as Edinburgh, which City also they burnt, all but the Abbey of Holy-rood, which was spared by the Interception of the Duke of Lancaster, because he had been civilly entertain'd in that Covenant in the time of the late Rebellion.

There were very defirous to have stopped the progress of the English Army, by giving them Battle, but the Scots shewing them from the Hills the Numbers and Strength of the English, prevailed with them to wait for a more probable way of removing the Army from the English than another fate. So they pailing over the Hills, fell into Cumberland, and did much mischief there to countervail their own Losses. The King of England and his Army remain'd but five days about Edinburgh, and then return'd, and by the way heard of the Scots inroads. The Duke of Lancaster and his Lordship, the Duke of York, and Earl of Pembroke, had, in the latter part of that year, or rather the beginning of the next, come to York from the Dominion of the Borders, and upon the report that the King was resolv'd to march into the Country, and upon that occasion, the Duke of Lancaster design'd to bring his Perfon into danger: Whereupon the King, after some conference, and disparted home. In his return, a great trouble happen'd to the Army by the Murder of the Earl of Stafford's eldest Son, slain by the Lord John Hol-

land, the King's half Brother. The Murder was so foul, being without any provocation on the Lord Stafford's part, that the King receiv'd it with the utmost indignation the Commanders, did not act its part so well as it might have done; but yet it kept them from landing, and the People of Callis, Porstmouth, and Dartmouth, with the Ships belonging to their Ports, took about thirty Ships at several times from them, which with eleven that they left by Stornes, much befiege'd the fleet, and depri'd the King of the Triumph they dream'd of. And thus ended the French Expedition.

On the Monday after S. Luke's day a Parliament met at Westminster, wherein though little publick Business was done, yet there happen'd a signal contest about the raising of a Subsidy then grant'd to the King, for after the Laitly had granted him a fifteen and an half, the Clergy refused to bear their proportion of a tenth and an half, according to the usual manner, and Archbishop Courcy being highly urg'd by the Parliament, the Commons being incendi'd at this Refusal of the Clergy, petition'd the King, that he would frame their Temporalties. But the King, who was always a great Favourer of the Church, answer'd, that he would continue the Patronage which he had given them, but they should be oblig'd to the Church of England, and to such a degree, as he liv'd, and would rather gratifie the Clergy. The King's Mother was very importunate with him to pardon the Lord John Holland her Son, who was fled to Sanctuary at Beverley, but not obtaining, the fell fick with the violence of the difcontent, dy'd within four or five days, and was bury'd at Wiltingford. The Scots being return'd home, found their Country so miserably harassed and wasted, that they turn'd their Fury upon the French, who had been the Movers of them to this War, and spoiling them of all they had, sent them home. Nor was the French Navy more successful against the English, than their Land Army had been. The English Fleet indeed, though through negligence of the Commanders, did not act its part so well as it might have done; but yet it kept them from landing, and the People of Callis, Porstmouth, and Dartmouth, with the Ships belonging to their Ports, took about thirty Ships at several times from them, which with eleven that they left by Stornes, much befiege'd the fleet, and depri'd the King of the Triumph they dream'd of. And thus ended the French Expedition.

The King's Mother in explaining Murder.

Le King of Armenia

The Life and Reign of RICHARD the Second.

Reg 9.

A.D. 1385.

Twelfh Parlia-
ment, its
All's and
Acts, 1385.
erected fresh news, that the wild Irish had done
much injury to his Estate in Ulster, which was de-

germed to him by his Mother, he undertook a
voyage into Ireland to appease them, and refute
their lands from their depredations, but was very
unfortunate in this attempt; for not long after
his arrival, the Irish being assembled in a great
Company, assaulted and took his Castle, flaying
him and almost all his Retinue. He left behind
him a numerous Offspring, viz. two Sons and
three Daughters. His two Sons, Edward and Ro-
gert, dy'd Childless; Ann his eldest Daughter was
married to Richard Earl of Cambridg, then eld
Son to the Duke of York, by whom she had a
Child. His other Daughter was a Nun, and Anne
left no Children, if the were marry'd.

The King of Spain pretending a Right to the
Crown of Portugal by his wife, made War this
Spring upon that King, and besieged Lisbon, the
Metropolis of his Country. The Portuguefs had
twice encountered Dutch Successions, and were
help of some English as often fail'd them, but yet
could not raise the Siege of Lisbon. Wherefore the
King of Portugal being sensible that the Duke of
Lancaster, who was King of Spain in Title,
would be glad of any opportunity to make him-
self so indeed, and that there could not be a bet-
ter way to secure himself, than by a Conquest of
that King, and the other Rising into Eng-
land to the Duke, to beg his speedy assistance, and
promise him an easy recovery of his Right,
because he had already fail'd the Spaniards twice
alone, and their united Arms would infallibly
effect a Conquest. The Duke, who had been for
some time making Preparations for War, in Addi-
tion was much encouraged to it by the King and
his Friends, who long'd to have him out of
their way, was ready to embrace so lovely an Of-
fer; and therefore, that he might lose no time,
muster'd up his Forces with all speed, and began
his Voyage thither in the beginning of May.
His Fleet was eighteen Ships, and seven Galleys, of
which Sir Thomas Percy was Admiral, and by Ar-
my, of which the Lord John Holland, who mar-
ry'd his Daughter, was Captain, and Sir Thomas
Moreone one of his Marshals, consist'd of twenty
thousand Men, viz. two thousand Men of Arms,
eight thousand Archers, and ten thousand others.
Many Noblemen accompanied the Duke to Shore in
the March, as Sir John Chetwynd, Sir Richard
Wylloughby, Fitz-Walter, Poyning, Bradly, Fitz-
Warre, Beauchamp, and Beaumont, besides many
Knights and Gentlemen. He carry'd along with
him his Wife, the Lady Constance Princess of
Spain, and Katherine her Daughter, with Philippa
his other Daughter. Juft before his departure, he
hasten'd to the Palace of Madrid, to the Queen,
and the King gave the Duke a Silver

The Duke of Cook, and commanded that his Men should obey
him as King of Spain, and the Queen gave the
Dutchers another Crown of Silver, with many
good Wishes of Success in obtaining their Right.

As the Duke pass'd by Breith with his Army, he
called upon Sir John Roche then Governor of the
Town, who complained that he was much inf-
jured by two Forts lately built by the French to
annoy his Garrison, the Duke sent out a strong
Force under the Lord Fitz-Warre to assault and
demolish them, which they at length did; but
they were so well defended by the French, that
in the pursuit for the same, they fell in with
Robert Swinerton, John Bolton Esq. and others, and
was gained by them at last by Capitulation, the
French Governor the Lord Mileyet being wound-
ed, and most of the Men in the Fort slain. From A.D.
Breith, after this brave Exploit, the Duke pass'd
1386, along the Coasts of Galicia, viz. and landed in the
Groin with all his Army upon St. Lawrence's Eve;
Aug. 9. Here they tarry'd a Month, and then the
Duke went to Compostella. While the Duke winter-
d at Compostella, the Lord John Holland kept the
Army in Action, and won many small Garrisons
in the neighbouring Country, and at last submitted to
the right, and the Spanish Crown, was with
them. The Duke in this Season, which was not
fit for Action, consulted with the King of Portugal
about their Expedition in the Spring at Monzun,
and it was agreed that they should with their
United Forces invade England, and to confirm their
Alliance, the Duke affur'd his Daughter Philipa
the King of Portugal.

While the Duke of Lancaster was in his paffle
French K.
towards Portugal with a numerous Army, the King
of France, who had for some Years past rely'd
upon the Dutch and Englands, reduc'd his Thoughts
abroad, and as if he had not now met with an oppor-
tunity, wherein he could not miss of the Success
he defir'd, because he thought the Duke of Lan-
caster had empty'd the Nation both of Soldiers
and Commanders, gather'd such a mighty Army
and Fleet, as if he intended to conquer and people
the whole Province of England at once with his
French. He is said to have had time to act in
parallel Amies, and put many to the Neck in the
places where they were most likely to land.
The City of London alfo was in such fear, that
they guard'd their Walls, pulling down many
Houses to make their defence the easier from
them. Publick Fails were appointed to lamen-
the Dangers, and implore the Protection of God
from their Enemies. All good Men bewail'd the
approaching Invasion, as an unavoidable Scourge
for the Nation's Sin, and could think upon nothing
but Servitude or Death. The only Remedy and
Defence against this Calamity was a Parliament,
which upon this occasion was call'd together by
Michaelmas, and accordingly met; but the Nobles
bought fuch numbers of Men along with them,
to be ready for their defence against the French
if they should land, that all Towns within twen-
ty Miles round about London, as well as that City
and Suburbs, were fill'd with armed Men, who
had it as a want of a great damage to the In-
habitants. At the opening of this Parliament, the
French King, as the occasion require'd, demand'd a preftent
Subsidy to pay those Armies, which he had al-
ready got for the defence of the Nation, and make
fuch other Provisions against the Enemy as the
State of Affairs required. The Parliament were
fensible of the danger the Kingdom was in, and
easily concanted to the Kings desires, but thought
it unreasonable to put any great Sums into his
power, fo long as he was fo liable to the covetous
Humours of his Favourites, who made his Re-
venues but a Prey to enrich themselves. For At-
ch'ich, Pool, ducr de la Poite the Chancellor, had, in fefe the Cha-
Year's time for the King, the Duke, and other Ac-
and other Incomes, and waiting his Treasures, pur-
chased a thousand Pound a Year in Land, and ga-
t the'd great Sums of Money which he kept in bank, his Oiffices.

a Henry Knighten Esq., they were Crowned of Gold.
b They were kill'd occidentally by the fall of a Tower.
A. D. 1386.

He was generally reputed guilty of Bribery in his Office, and indeed it could not be thought he could grow so suddenly rich, but by the Abuse of the King's Favours: Wherefore the Parliaments unanimously resolved to have him removed with the rest of his Associates, or to give the King no Tax. This they signified to him by a Petition, wherein they only represented the Middlemeans of the Chancellor in his Office, and abusing the King's Favours to his own Gain, but the Poverty of the People which might not be corrected, and not further pressed than Nece-

sarily required, which they humbly conceiv'd was not so great; but if the Chancellor were brought to a just Account, the King's Revenues, and the great Debts in the Chancellor's hands would be sufficient to distrain them. The King receiv'd the Petition very well, and that he might avoid an Answer to it, withdrew to Eltham, leav-

ing the Chancellor to prefer them to grant a Tax, and to demand four fifteenths in his Name.

The Lords and Commons seeing the Cause of the King's Retreat, plainly told him, That they would give no Answer to his Demand, unless the King himself were present in his Office. The King had Intelligence soon of these Proceedings, and immediately sent up to the Parliament to order, that forty of their wisest Members should come down to him at Eltham, to declare to him the Reasons and Grounds of their Actions. The Parliament were in a great Disorder by this Message, because it was said, That the King had a Design to destroy and enfranchise them; but at length it was agreed upon by both Houses, That the Duke of Glocester, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, should be sent to the King in the Name of the whole Parliament, and the King was contented to have it so. When they came into the Presence, after all submission as might be made to them, they infamously declar'd their Message to this Effect, That the

4 Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, destr'd nothing more than to live in Peace and Quietness as good Subjects under his Go-

vernment; That as he might lawfully once a Year summon a Parliament, so required the same of the Lords and Commons; that by mutual Advice and Consent, they might reform all Oppressions, Wrongs, Extortions, and other grievous Enormies in the Realm, and enact such wholesome Laws as were for the Peace and Welfare of the King's Subjects, so they were met according to their own Order, and by the same Design than to purifie those Ends; That his late absence was a great Discomfort to them, and since there was an old Statute, whereby it was enacted, That if the King not hinder'd by Sicknes or necessary Business did absent himself forty days from his Parliament, they might return home, they should be oblige'd by him, if he still deny'd them his Pre-


cesence. The King remaining yet in his Difcon- tent and Anger reply'd, That he perceiv'd his People went about to rebel against him, and that he thought it better to defire the Affiliation of the King of France, than submitt to his own Subjects. The Lords reply'd, That the French

King was the ancient and most inveterate Ene-

my of the Nation; who as he usurped his Do-

minations in France, so gazped after the English

Throne, and therefore no Affiliation was fur-

ther to be expected from him, than such as

might hinder his Provenience for the Positions of his Right: That such Resolutions could proceed from nothing but the desperate Advice of his evil Counsellors, who by their Policy sought to uphold a Breach between him and his Parliament, which would end in his own Ruin, wherefore the King was sure to

fight him to lay aside all Prejudice against his good Subjects, and to return to his Parliament, which no less sought and desired his Felicity than Presence. Thence, and other Arguments, which thefe wise Peers urged to the fame Pur-
pofe, had so good an Effect upon the King, that he promised to follow them, and accordingly

came to the Houfes after them. And The King here, in the midft of his Nobles and People, he returns to immediately showed how wise and good a Prince

he was in himself, being separated from the bad Company and ill Counsellors that were about him; for he without much Rehectancy granted to the Duke of Arundel, and certain other Bishops and Nobles,

men, to survey and examine the Eftate of his Houfe and Courts, all his Officers and Minifters, Rents, Profits and Revenues; to correct and amend any Defaults and Offences prejudicial to his Perfon or Crown, and particularly to call an Indent to the Earl of Soffle, the Lord Chancellor, to an account about the Management of his Office. John Ford, or Fordham, Bishop of Dur-

ham, also was removed from his Place of Treas-

urer, and John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, was put in his Place. And because the Realm had for some Years past been badly governed, the Ad-

miniftration of all publick Affairs was put into the Hands of the President of the Parliament, viz. Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, the Treasurier, Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Lord Keeper; William Archbifhop of Canterbury, Alex-

ander Archbifhop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Glocester, William Bishop of Win-

clefter, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, and Lords Secretary and Lord Ordin-

treas. Richard Earl of Arundel, and Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, were made Admirals, and sent to Sea with a strong Navy to defend the Shore, and hinder the Pajlage of the Enemy. Robert de la Duke de Taires Marquis of Dublin, created Duke of Iris of Ireland, being in this Land in this Parliament, was at the Petition of the Lords, sent home to Ireland before Easter next, and that the Nation might be rid of so dangerous a Perfon, and ill Councillor, they confident that he should have thirty thousand Marks, which were shortly to be paid the King for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Bleis by the French, to provide him with an Equi-
page, where he was not, his Councillors and John Lord Ordin- 

treas were thus order'd by the main Body of the Parliament, the Duke of Glocester, and Earl of Arundel, with the other Lords in Communion with them, had examined and try'd the Chancellor, Michael whom having found guilty of many high Crimes, foul frauds and Treasons, they not only deposed him out of his Office, but confiected his Eftate of a many Crimes, de-

1200 l. a Year, and fined him twenty thousand Marks, and so that the Parliament not only pro-

icted...
vide effectually for the Security of the Nation, from its foreign Enemy both by Sea and Land (to support the Charge of which, they gave the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth) but also for the Happiness and Peace of the King and People, had the King been so far resolved as to maintain their Orders and Decisions when it was divulged. Not without Reason for its Defence, the French King held on his purpose to invade it with no less hopes of Success; and having all things ready for that Enterprize, waited at Sluice for nothing but the coming of the Duke of Berry, and a fair Wind. On All Saints' Day a Fair Gale blew, and the French King set his exulting Ambition on the embarked. But they had no sooner arrived, chafing rather that the Duke should follow them than lose fair an Opportunity; but when they had paffed about seven Leagues the Wind unexpectedly and suddenly turned, and brought them back again with much Loss. Before the Wind favour'd their Defign again, the Duke of Berry, who was always averse to the Attempt, and delay'd his coming on purpose to prevent or discourage it, was arrived; and because the Winter was pretty well advanced, it being December, he very much diffus'd the King and Council from proceeding in it, as being both unsafe to his Kingdom and Army. This Advice was thought right, particularly as the preceding was laid aside till the Spring, and so that chargeable Defign in the end came to nothing. But a clear different Account was carry'd of these Affairs into Spain, for there it was given out, that the French Army was landed in England, and therefore the King of Portugal's Council, more out of their own respect to his Marriage with the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, till they should know the Event of the French Expedition into England, because if that proved successfull, as 'twas probable, an Alliance with the Duke would be of no Worth, which occasion'd some Coldness in the Duke's Affairs in Portugal, tho' the Reafons were kept from him for the present. The Parliament being broken up, and returned home, the King was left again to his own unsteady Reflections and partial Affections, which being so far link'd to his old Companions, easily made way for their Reconciliation, or rather for their Revival: and for the Duke of Berry it was not yet determin'd what was to be done either for or against him. Sufferings had been immedicated, or inflidcted against his Will, he received them again with wonderful Expressions of Love. TheFine which had been imposed upon the Earl of Suffolk, Michael de la Poil, he immediately releas'd; and as if he had intended to make him Satisfaction for what he had done by rebuffing his Honour, he caus'd him to becloathed in Royal Robes, and to sit at Table with him, and that in publick up on Continaus Fesivals, to the no small Grief and Favour of the Nation. The Duke of Ireland, and Archbishop of York, he admitted into greater Intimacy than ever, and they became again the three only Peruns in the Nation, which the King shew'd any particular Delight in. This doing Honour of the King they were not flagglia to improve, as they thought for their own Advantage, which they imagin'd would be best promt by a sharp Revenge upon the chief Intrurers of it, whom they imagin'd as the only Obfassa- cles of their ambitious Aims and design'd Happi- nes. They easily perfuaded the King, That 'all they fauffer'd was for his Sake; That their Crimes were forg'd to make him odious to the People; and that if he could not protect them, who did nothing but by his Command, and for his Interest, it would not be long but he would be too weak to defend himself. That the Aim of those ambitious Nobles, their Enemies, was to dethrone him by disgracing his Minis- ters. For 'tis an enemie and populi; Inference, That the King is not fit to rule, who knows not whom to trust: He must be a good Prince, that hath had Office: By theft, and such like Ar- guments, they were told to create an Hatred of those they accounted their Enemies, that he readily concord'd with them to put in Execution any Contrivance for their Deduction. The Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Arundel were the most eminent, being the Earl of Suffolk's Judges; and therefore the first Plot was to take off the Duke, and thereby to dethrone him, as they had Success in their first Attempt. This they contriv'd to do under the fair Pretence of Love and Friendship, inviting the Duke to a Feast at the Lords Sir Nicholas Brandon's House in the City, where to be prov'd, the Mayor, Sir Nicholas Exton, and Aldermen, had made a Treat for several Peers and great Gentlemen, and had agreed with the Duke that if he was in his Mirth, and not supfending any ill Design, he shou'd be either poison'd or affidivated. This base Action was so much abhor'd by the Mayor, Sir Nicholas Exton, that he privately gave the Duke notice of it, and defir'd him to take care of his present and future Safety, which he did by not going to the Feast. And to this their first wicked Purpose was defeated. The Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, who were appointed Admirals of the Navy, which by Order of Parliament was to defend the Nation and annoy the French, did all the Winter follow the French ure their unadulterated diligence to furnish themselves with able Ships and stout Men, that the Noblemen who were to be furnisht in March as before they embarked, might give a good Account of them to the Governors; for they had at no Cost nor Charges to gather up the bravest and strongest Men in the Nation for this special Service. In the Spring they were all rely'd on, and had a prospect of doing the thing receiv'd Information that the French, Flemish, and Swiss, were laden with Wine, lay at Rochell waiting for a fair Wind, to fail to their several Ports for which they were bound, the Earls put to Sea with all speed to intercept them in their Puffage. On Lady-Day they met them, and after a short Engagement took an hundred Earl of Rochell'd, by being fraudulently, with sixteen thousand Tun of Wine, and other Commodities. The Citizens of Middleborough of- ferd the Earls to buy all their Wines at 5 l. a Tun, but they refused to go a market told them, That they would let none but the People of Eng- land whom they served, to have the Wine and Adv- anagements of them; and bringing them into divers Ports of the Nation, caus'd to greater plenty, that Wines were sold generally for a Mark a Tun, and the beft not above 20. Their own Shares they generously gave among their Friends, and having refitted their Ships, went out to Sea again. The Succes of their first Achievement

* He waited at Sluice from the middle of August to the middle of November. Hid.
* The Army consisted of no less than fifty thousand whipping Men, and the Fleet of near thirteen hundred Sails, on board which, besides the King himself, there were forty Dukes and Earls, and a vast Number of Knights and Esquires. Proicer.
* He offered them only, that he suffered him to sit down at his Table, and does not mention his clathioning him in Royal Robes, which indeed is improbable.
* Who said, he would never have his hands immersed in innocent Blood.
* Kingdom says, the Admiral of Flanders and several other Peers of Quality were taken.
had much terrify'd the Enemy, and therefore in this second they met with but faint opposition; for they landed in many places on the Coasts of Flanders, and burnt or plunder'd the Country as they pleased; and at length arriving at Bréffy, they took a new Fort which the French had lately erected to annoy the Castle, made it, and supplying it with plenty of Provisions and Ammunition, returned home. Success always raises Men's Reputation with the Commons; and these Earls having added to their couragious and brave Actions a generous Contemplation of their own Advantage, and a signal Zeal for the common Good and publick Safety, begot so high an opinion of their Worth in the Minds of all Men, that they became a Subject of publick Praise and Admiration. But this happened very unluckily for the Designs that they were managing at Court against the Earl of Arundel, and thole of his Party, that he whom they had decreed to Destruction should be thought most worthy of Life by all Men; and left the King himself should conceive the most favourable Opinion of them for these Actions, they endeavou'red by all their Artifices to blast the Reputation of them, telling the King, 'That though the Vulgar cried up the late Action of the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, in taking the Flensfield Fleet, as a brave and glorious Achievement, yet to fuch a Pyrrhic; we did all in the Power of the State, quite off the Merchants all our foreign Trade would be spoilt, and no Nation would care to trade with us, who liv'd so much upon the ruin of them. So that tho' a small Gain did redound to the Nation by their Pyrrhic for the present, it would prove an inestimable Loss in the end.' Yet the King's Mind being thus by-pass'd by their Calamities, look'd up on his Admirals great Service as demerit, and when they came to Court, gave them such a cold Reception, that they could easily fee their Enemies had been with the King before them, and their good Actions were made their Crime; at which they took so great a Sorrow, that they resignd their Office, retired to their private Mansions, choosing rather to live in Obscurity, than to serve that King who would not thank them for their most faithful Labours, but counted their Merits little better than Faults.

The late disappointment which the King's Favour had given me in the end of my Voyage from Gloucester's Life, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Peron very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of Ireland, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Behaviour, by his Wise and prudent Conduct and affection towards the Duke of Gloucester, did not so disconcert them from farther efforts, but they were still hatching new desig

Image contains text that is not clearly visible.
great multitudes not knowing the Design in Hand, A. D. 1837.

And thereby ready yielded their alliance, as their Duty to their King in their opinion obliged them.

While their Miles were preparing to commit the Lords at Nottingham, there happend a very great disturbance in the Church upon this occasion. One Monks_hyperforse

Walter Difie, a Carmelite Fryar, and formerly Conflreffor to the Duke of Lancaster, having ob-

tained of Pope Urban, in favour of his old Matter, a liberty of Concurring the Honour and Privileges of the Pope's Chalbns on such as would purchase them for their Money, Peter Dateball an Angli-

Fryar, and a Favourer of Wickhiffs Doctrine, being defirous of liberty and freedom from his Munfih Conffinement, and the Society of those vile Perfons he lived with, procured himself to be admitted the Pope's Chaplain, and immediately left his Monftry. He was a Perfons passionate and learned, and spent his time much in Preaching after his Release. His abhorrence of the wicked Lives of the Monks, which he had with great Sor-

row obferved while he liv'd among them, made him very zealous in blaming their Hypocrite and wicked Actions, in unbecoming their ftrict Pro-

fefion of Religion. The Pepper and Monks much miffioned his Dicfours, being generally defiected to the Monks, and added to Wickhiff's Doctrine, which his Invetivts favour'd of. The Monks, impatient of Reproof, they'd great difpleafure againft him and his Sermons, and fo frequently disturbed his Preaching, that paffly through the Contes be-

tween his Hearers and the Monks, with whom this Difpute would come to Blow in even in the Churches, and partly through fear of them, he was forced to give over public Preaching, and by the advice of his Friends (of whom fome were very con-

fiderable, viz. Sir Williams Nell, Sir Richard Sinny, and Sir John Montague) broke himself from Writing, which he accufed the Monks of many horrid Crimes, as Murther, Sodomy, and

Treafon, of which he gave fuch convincing proofs, by naming the Perfons, both Actors and Patients, that all People credited his Relations, and be-

lieved the Monfiers no better than he who term'd that from whence he came, The Devil's

enantagonist, for that the Books London, The Biblia

bored the Monks.

The Judgment which the King and his Fa-

voures, through the compliance of the Judges, had pulled upon the Lords, tho' abfent, was no fooner given, but the Lords themselves had a full

proceeding of it, and the Lords favourite Great Perfons were therein.

The Lords were Alexander Archbifhop of York, Robert Archbifhop of Dublin, John Ephob of Durham, Thomas Ephob of

Chichefier, John Ephob of S Sergs, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolck; together with John Bray-

brook, he refrained the King's Life in Cafe,

that of the Nobles with him, how unjustly they were condemned, and what danger they were in; and having taken a solemn Oath upon the Ev-men-

gefts, that he was fludious of the Safety and

The Lordscondemned 40 of 47 of the

condemned. The Lords were only 744 and condemned. Wifliamf says only, that the Lords were pack'd for the Jury found the Bill, and no other credible Author mention that they were actually condemned. 2

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Prosperity
The Life and Reign of Richard the Second.

A. D. 1377.

Prospertime of the King’s Person and Realm, and never had entertain’d so much as any undutiful Thought against him, much less had done any thing which might delver so severely a Sentence as was passed upon him, unless the Revenge which he had threaten’d Death and the Justice of more than one Hundred thousand Pounds for the Injury he gave to his Kinswoman, and did not yet recede from, might be interpreted for such, and designed him to wait on the King to mediate a Reconciliation between himself, and the Lords and King. The Bishop did not unwillingly undertake so good an Office, and being a Person both pious and learned, and a good Advocate, he took the King so far into his Confidence, that the King seem’d so lately as his Uncle, and because the Bishop had fully satisfy’d him, that a Quarrel between him and his Uncle would ruin them both, he desired a Reconciliation. But the Earl of Suffolk, who was by, knowing that if it were compleated it would prove fatal to his interest, and would put him in a difficult Charge of Popularty and Rebellion laid upon the Lords, alter’d the King’s good Inclinations to Peace, and the Bishop was commanded out of his Presence: tho’ he with undaunted Courage maintain’d his first Arguments, and told the Earl, That he being a Person condemed by Parliament, had no hopes to be safe, and recommended himself of his Adversaries, (as he accounted all the chief Members of it) but to set all things in a Com- bution, and therefore was not to be allow’d to speak, who was a Party yet he return’d, without success in his Negotiations, to the Lords. The Duke of Gloucester and the cemand’d Peers in the mean time were vent unmindful of their own Interest, but had confer’d together to secure them- selves in case their Submissive Address to the King for Peace should prove ineffectual, which they had reason to fear, so long as the Authors of those violent Courses were about his Person, and could so easily by-pass him against them. Wherefore when the Bishop return’d with the news of his ill Success, and found the King determined to raise what Force they could, and standing up in their own defence to expellulate with the King, why he fought their Death, and feared himself to be go- vern’d by such Traitors. The King and his Friends easily foreseeing the effects of this irrefh Provocation, thought to prevent any opposition from them by a sudden attempt, which might get togethcr, and for that purpose sends the Earl of Northumberland to apprehend the Earl of Arundel at his Castle of Rygge, but he found him so well guarded, that he was forct to dilemble the Rea- son of his coming, and let it pass for a Vist. This disappointment the King thought so amend by pur- pursing their Design, and therefore set a strong force to night to arrest him; but the Earl dispeasting what after happen’d, had made his escape to the Duke of Gloucester at Harvington-Park, near Highgate, and there they join’d their Forces with the Earls of Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby. The news of the Lords being united much disturb’d the King and his Friends, who could now expect no easy terms from them, whose own ill dealings had made desperate, and who were too powerful to be readily matter’d. Wherefore a great Council was call’d to debate and consult what was best to be done in so difficult a juncture. Alexander Nevill Archibishop of York would have had the Kingdom going into Council to the City of London, and into all parts of the Nation, to raise a Royal Army, and reprise those rebellious Subjects by main force; but this being found un- on tryal a thing not feasible, (for tho’ the City could raise an Army of fifty thousand Men soon, A. D. yet very few of them would fight against the Lords) the Duke of Ireland, and Earl of Suffolk, and two or three more, who perulied the King that the Lords intended to bring him under their Government, and insisted on the Bishops doing it, de- vised him to make the King of France his Friend, by resigning Callis and all his other Dominions beyond Sea to him. These three Favourites coun- felled thus, because nothing but Arns could fe- cure them from the Lords Fury. Whereas tho’se whole Quilt and Fears were left, offer’d quite dif- ferent Proposals. Ralph and Bajfier told the King plainly, That he was his true Subject, and so would ever continue, and if the Quarrel had been his own, he would venture all he had in the defence of his Right, but would not have his Head broke in the Duke of Ireland’s Cause. The Earl of Northumberland affiered the King, That the Lords, tho’ now in Armes, were his true and Faithful Sub- jects, and would not attempt any thing against his Crown and Dignity; but all they aim’d at was to cefe themselves and the Nation of those ill Perons about him, who fought to oppress and destroy them, and many of his good Subjects; and therefore humbly begged of the King, that he would not interrupt the Fears of his Realm, and their assembling with so many People, and he doubted not but they would give him just Satisfac- tion. The greatest part of the Council ap- proved of this Proposition, and the King himself allerted to it. Whereupon the Archibishop of Canterbury and Bishops of Ely were sent immedi- ately to Advertise this to the Lords, and to the Peers, and make them understand the Signs of such as were about him, and told the Bish- ops, That they would certainly attend his pleasure upon promise of Protection. The Bishops of Ely, being very zealous to make up the Breach between the King and his Nobles, engag’d himself upon oath, that if there were any dangerous Designs against the King, they would Defend with their Lives, and their Bodies in the timelv notice of it, and so got their promise to meet the King that day. The time of Meeting approaching, and the Lords being ready to attend the King, a Message came the night before from the Bishop of Ely to them, giving them Informa- tion, that an Ambush of a thousand Men, com- mand’d by Sir Thomas de Barne and Sir Nicholas Barnebray, was laid in the Mean to fortune them; and advising them either to delay their coming, or if they adventurer’d to come, to guard them- selves with a sufficient Force for Security. But the Lords thought the first least hazardous, and so appear’d not. The King, as had been agreed upon, met the Bishop at Tewin, and in the Company to the City of London, where the King and Prince, they thought it vain to treat with him. The King started at this reply, as if he had no ways been privy to it, for so that he knew nothing of it, and immediately gave the Sheriffs of London order
The Life and Reign of Richard the Second.

A.D. 1387.

1. To search the place mention’d, and if they found any such thing, to kill or take them, but before it could be done, the chief Actors in it had notice of the Discovery, and did disperse themselves. This Action of the King’s, confirm’d by his Oath, seem’d such a Proof to the Lords, that that bafe Contravince was carry’d on purely by their Enemies without the King’s Approbation, tho’ not without a full Confession of his own, if it had been effect’d, that upon his fresh Promise of their Security, they soon after attended upon him at Westminster, yet with such strong guards, as shew’d that they came not to undest or petition, but to demand or capitulate. On the day of their meeting the King being set on his horse, and Rides of his Princes, he had chosen to put gentler Methods first in Execution, to avoid the Effusion of his Subjects Blood if possible, and therefore had sent for them to discourse with them, and know the Reasons and Causes of their Discontents, and why they in so tumultuous a manner had drawn together with a number of People, and made answer, ‘That it was not out of any bittious or turbulent Humour, that they had taken Arms, for they neither affected his Crown, nor envy’d his Peace, but through an unavoidable Necessity of preferring his Person and Realm, and securing their own Lives from the impending Dangers, with which the Nation was upon them by such Persons as were Enemies to both, and throw’d their ill Actions under his Favour; That the Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Archibishop of York, Sir Robert Tiefiban, Sir Nicolas Brander, and some others, were those Traytors to the King and Realm, who they were afraid of, and fought to remove; because so long as they were in Power, the Nation must be miserable, nor could any Man be safe, and that they had not brought any false Accusation against them, they declared themselves ready (if his Majesty would yield to it) to justify what they had alliad’d by single Cases; and then threw down their Gloves as Signs of Challenge. Others heard them with much Calmness; gave them this moderate and rational Reply, ‘That supposing it were true which they had alliad’d, yet they had taken a very improper Method to rectify their Grievances, which ought to be done by the course of Justice, not Acts of Rebellion, That their present Unilities were a great Consequence, and would encourage the Multitude to make use of the like Methods, which would be difficult to repress; That he would speedily call a Parliament, wherein the Persons accused should appear and all Matters of Difference should be adjudg’d, and all true Causes of trouble or Peace to themselves and the Nation be removed, and in the mean time, would pardon all that was past, and take them into his Protection. The King having thus finisht his Speech, took the Duke of Glocester by the hand, rufed him from his Knees, and bid the rest arise, and retreating with them into a private Chamber, gave them leave to speak for themselves, or the Nation be removed; and in the mean time, would pardon all that was past, and take them into his Protection. The King having thus finish’d his Speech, took the Duke of Glocester by the hand, rufed him from his Knees, and bid the rest arise, and retreating with them into a private Chamber, gave them leave to speak for themselves, or the Nation be removed; and in the mean time, would pardon all that was past, and take them into his Protection.

The Duke of Ireland, and the rest of the Person concerned, were not present at this Meeting. The King then declared, that the Lords were in good hopes of a fair Conclusion, yet they thought it not safe, lest there should lurk some secret Contrivance against them, to defraud their Army. Which Resolution taken up merely from Suspicion, or upon Information, proved very fortunate to them; for while Affairs looked so well at London, the Duke of Ireland had a private Communion from the King to get ther an Army of such as were his Friends about Chefter, and to come to London; in which they hoped to find so many Affiliates, as to make up with Safety to their Forces collected from the Western Parts to the Lords.

The King encourages the Race, prises the bility, Sir Ralph Vernon, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, the Scurv of Chefter, and others, gather’d a good Body of six thousand Men out of Chelfer and Lancashire, threats and well armed, marched according to the King’s Order towards London, but at Radcott Bridge near Wiltshire, where they were met by the Earl of Darby and his Men, who prevent their Progress and force them to fight, had broken down the Bridge. The Duke was surpriz’d at their approach, and being fearful of his own Fate, perfur’d the Gentlemen to retreat; but Sir Thomas Mabon was a Man of great Courage failed. Though a Party of the Lords Army, and that commanded by the Earl of Darby, a Man famous neither for Courage nor Conduct, and if they should give ground to these, they could not hope to effect any thing against the whole Power of the Lords, and therefore encouraged them to prepare for a Fight. The Chelfer Gentlemen were easily won, and the Duke, after yielding his Guilt and Fears, would not suffer him to confer, and so a Fight was begun the next day. The Earl of Battele was very sharp, and haste’d long; Sir Tho. Darby’s nam mas Mabon was thin, and most of his Army yielding, the Earl of tre kild or taken. The Duke faw the begins’d scning of the Engagement, but fled long before the Victory was felt. The Lomgs over the River Tethoven to make his ecape; but was forced to quit his Horæ, because he could not make the farther Bank, and get away on foot. His Horæ and Baggage, with his Armour, were all taken, and brought to the Earl of Darby. In his Trunks was found a Letter fent to him by the King himself, wherein he commanded him to return to London with what fped he could, and procure him safe leave to live and die with him. The Duke of Ireland was suppos’d to have been drown’d, because his Horæ was found in the River, but afterward he was discover’d to have fled into Holland, and from thence into France. The News of this lucky Fortune, the over but a fewal Party, was not better receiv’d by the Lords than it’s being drov’d; for it prov’d in a manner the utter Overthrow of their Enemies. For the Duke of Ireland never return’d, the Earl of Suffolk fied to Calis to his Brother, who was Captain of that Fortres; the King betook himfelf to the Tower, and Tre- tific and the Archbishop, with all the rest of the Party, withdrew from London, and concealed themselves. The Enemies of the Confeidate Lords all appear’d, and no Opposition was

A.D. 1387.
A. D. was visible: Whereupon the Lords being again united, marched with their Army of forty thousand, and with the Governor of the Tower, well within the Prospect of the Tower. The Archbishop, and some others of the Peers, who were desirous to end this Quarrel, pray'd the King to condescend to a peaceable Comporture of Affairs, but he made light of the Proposal, and told them, 'That they would soon disfile of themselves without any Treaty, their Multitude would in a short time consume all their Provision, and then they must break in pieces of course. The Lords had notice of these words, and being incensed a little at them, swore, That they would not depart from London (which by this time had open'd her Gates to them) till they had had given him notice of it, set a strong Guard about the Tower, that he might not clude them by a private escape. The King being thus befted, and having no way to avoid a Treaty condescended, and sent the Archbishop to acquaint them with it. The Lords accepted the News joyfully, but fearing some farther delay, they Hasted to the Tower, if they should attend him there, as he had appointed, they begg'd that the King would meet them at Westminster, but at length reconc'd to that Defire, because the King deal'd so candidly with them, that he sent them the Keys of the Gates, Turrets, and strong Chambers, and gave them the number of one hundred and fifty Men of War there, and Places, and clear up their Sufpicions. The Duke of Gloucester and Earls of Warrick, Arundel, Darby, and Nottingham, were the chief who manag'd this Treaty with the King, who receiv'd them in a Pavilion of State, and after retir'd with them into his Chamber. Here they charg'd him with many accusations and unjust Grievances against themselves, and the Nation, viz. 'That he had by forg'd Crimes and an unjust Sentence, confer'd with his Favourites at Nottingham, to take away their Lives; which tho' they had at their meeting at Westminster been incapable to upbraid him with, out of respect to his Honour, because they knew an amicable Agreement was likely to go forward, yet now they could not but lay before him, because they had since found Letters from him to the Duke of Ireland, to raise Forces in Cheleftre against them, even at the time of their former Treaty, by which Action he added Perfidiousness to Cruelty, and plainly shew'd that his Favour and Affection were then directed towards a Vail to his Defeas against them. That he had made an Agreement with the French King (as by some Letters which they had intercepted, and then fhow'd, they made it appear) to reign Callis, and his other Dominions on that side to him, upon condition he might enjoy them, as am Homage to his Crown, and hold them according to the Convenement, and that these were fła-c'd to him to compleat this Agreement, which was indeed to betray the English Possessions, purchas'd with so Blood, into their Enemies hands. Many other lefs Gravious they also mention'd, which they were plentifully furnish'd with from the ill Conduct of the Ministers of State, employ'd for them. The King had little to lay in his own Defence, because their Accusation was so plainly prov'd; but falling into an ingenuous Confession of his Errors and Misgovernment, with Tears, agreed to meet them the next day at Westminster, to rectifie whatever was amiss by their Advice and Consent. The Lords receiv'd his Promise, departed, but the Earl of Darby, whom the King invited to Supper with him, and detain'd, A. D. as an Injunace of his Resolution to join with them in these farther Negotiations, and that the Earl pretended expre'd much Satisfaction in, so long as the Earl was present. But when the Earl was departed, the King fell into Confutation with such as were about him; who tho' not so obstinac as those that were fled, yet being either their Friends, or acting by their Medifires, soon turn'd his Mind from his former purpose; and because they had buzz'd it into his Head, that that Meeting tended much to the Hazard of his Person, and would end with a great Diminution of his Authority, he fully resolve'd against it. The Lords, according to Appointment met the next day at Westminster, and expected the King, but in vain, for he would not leave the Tower; which when they understood, they grew impatient at his Inconfinity, and sent him word plainly, 'That if he would not meet them according to his Promise, they would certainly chuse another King, who should have more regard to the Public Advices and Services of his Lords; and that the Peers would thereupon declare the Maffon, and unexpect'd, wrought the King into Compliance, so that he met them on the Morrow in Westminster-Hall. The main thing that the Lords infused upon, and the King tho' not very freely agreed to, was, That several traitors and wicked Persons, should for the Honour of the King's Person, and the Welfare of the State, to be removed from Court; and accordingly Alexander Archibald, the King's Confessor, John Bishop of Ard and fe Chichefier (the two first of which were fled) were strictly forbidden to come into the King's Palace or Preceace. The Lords Zouche, Barnwell, and Beaumont, Sir Alberick de Vere, Sir Baldwin Berkeley, Sir Richard Alderbury, Sir John Worthe, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Sir John Lewell, fuffer'd the like Banishment from Court, but with a further Impofition, That they should give Sureties for their Appearance at the next Parliament, which was to meet shortly. Some Ladies also of no very great Reputation, or rank, threw them from the Court, and forced to give Sureties for their Appearance at the next Parliament, viz. the Ladies Aben, Moings, Paynings, and Wortb. Others whose Crimes were greater, or at least more open and prejudicial to the Nation, were imprifon'd, viz. Sir Simon Barty, Sir William Ellinghune, Sir John Salfbury, Sir Thomas Afwell, Sir John Giffard, Sir John Dowsworth, and Sir Nicholas Brander, Knights; Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, and John Mistford, Clerks; Sir John Beauchamp, Keeper of the King's Privy-purje, Nicholas Lake, Dean of the Chapel, and John Blake, Barrifier of Law, to be tried the next Parliament.

The time drawing very near, when the Par. Parliament was to meet by the unanimous Agree- ment of the King and Lords, the King, who knew very well that it would prove fatal to his Times, Friends, fought all means to prologue it; but not daring to stand upon his Prerogative at this time, left they should raise as great a Mifchief to himself, permitted them to meet on Feb. 7. The Lords came to it with fuch Attendance, as seem'd necessary for their Safety. The Commons re- forted to it with great Diligence, because of the general Expectation there was of a compleat Reformation of all Disorders by this Session; which it was well eftic'd, that it was thought to defer the House of Lords from Par. To. Parl. At the usual Forms of opening the Parliament,
A.D. they entered upon Action, and on the first day of their meeting arrested all the Judges that were sitting in Westminster-Hall upon the Bench, except Trotzian, who concealed himself in disguise, and Sir William Shipworth, and lent them to the Tower, viz. Sir Robert Betkman, Sir Roger Fulkmoun, Sir John Cury, Sir John Holte, Sir William Brooke, and John Lockton the King's Serjeant at Law. Their Crime was, 'That in the last Parliament they had over-ruled the Actions and Determinations of the Lords with their Advice and Directions, and had afflu'd them that all was done according to Law, but afterwards had given false confinement to the King, as John Lockton, who had deliver'd it as their Opinion, that the Actions of the said Parliament were illegal and traitorous. The Judges had nothing to plead in excuse of this base Action but their Fears of the Duke of Ireland, who threaten'd their ruin, unless they made such Answers to the Questions as he expected and desired, and therefore left themselves to the Judgment of the Parliament; who considering that the whole matter was managed by Trotzian, and that the rest of the Judges were surpriz'd, and forced to give their Sentence, laid the milder Punishment upon them, and only confecrated their Goods, and banish'd them for their Lives to the Northern Parts and that good and judicious Sentence was only made by the Author of that illegal Judgment when they could apprehend him. The next thing that they entred upon was to proceed against Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nellor Arch-bishop of York, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Trotzian Lord Chief Justice of England, and Nichol. of Holland Lord Chief Justice of the North, and Sir John Thornhill, Judges of Assizes, and Sir William Perse of Bar, and Sir John Lockton, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Sir John Vyne. These were four Lords, who had been hang'd, and for their lives banish'd, and for all Merchants and others which they laid 2.£ a Tunn, and 52. for every Sack of Wool, and then was disallow'd; but the King was discontented, and angry at what he had done in it. Just at the rising of this Parliament, the Lord John Holland was created Earl of Huntington.

The Earl of Arundel being made Admiral again Reg. 12. by the Parliament, put before them with his Navy, well for'd with Land-Forces and several Noblemen to assist the Duke of Brittany, who beganning under the King of France's displeasure, because he had imprisond the Lord Gageley Con-triestable of France, fear'd an Invasion from thence. The English Fleet arrived at Richel, and landing some Men, began to spoil the Country about Har- rant; but a Peace being suddenly concluded between the Duke and the French King, the Earl return'd, and in his way meeting the French Fleet, took eight of them, and invaded the Isle of Brest, and burnt it. He also took the Isle of Oleron.

The Trace between the Scots and English being the Scene ever since William of Orange, of which see the Difinitions of England to be an advantageous Juncture for them to invade it, made great Preparations for that end, and entered the bordering Countries, burning, killing, and plundering all places they came in. Glenelg in Cumberland, which belong'd to the Lord Dacre, felt their Fury first, where Inhabitants they shut up in their Houses by two hundred in a Company, and set them on Fire. They then invaded the North with the like Barbarity, and came as far as New-Castle, where they met with the Earl of Northumber-land, and his Sons, Henry Lord Percy, furnis'd with Haufton and Ralph, with a small Force to oppose them, as Guardians of those parts, and favouring them by the Peace of the Scour. The young Noblemen defirous to gain Honour, were eager to engage them, and

Sir William Upright was not with his Brethren the Judges at Nottingham when they answer'd the King's Queries. He was absent by reason of Sickness.  
A. They were all of them that were in Caffodyl condemn'd by the Lords Temporal, with the advise of the King, to be hang'd and hag'd at Truro's, their Heirs disinherit'd, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Charters to be forfeit'd in the King's Name. In the Kings name. Sir John Holte, Sir William Brooke, Sir John Lockton the Kings Sergeant, and Thomas Tycy Under-Sheriff of Middlefick, who pick'd the Jury that found the Indictment against the Lords. The Bishops, just as Sentence had pass'd, came in and they were remov'd to Justice of the King's Bench, and there to be hang'd.  
R. It appears by the fame Rolls, Par. 3. N° 15. that Sir Nicholas Brander was condemn'd and executed in the fame manner as Trotzian.

Pleake, and Thomas Upright, were all draw'd and hang'd A. D. for the same Crimes. Sir Simon Barley, Lord 1588. Chamberlain, and Confable of Dover-Castle, being acquitt'd of conspiring to deliver up that Cattle Sir Simon to the French, was also behead'd, tho' the Earl Barley not of Darby interceded much to save his Life, being- for his Crimes.  
Early
or, and the Tutors! Service in the Courts, and in the House of Commons as forward to join the Battle. They came to a fight at Otterbury, and Earl Dowgaffe encountered the Lord Receit singly, seeking by force to extort his Name from him; but being equal'd in Courage, and overmatch'd with Strength, he was slain, and became a Monument of his Enemy's Valour. This Victory was hardly obtained before, for the Earl of Danbury came upon the English with a much greater Force, and having slain the greatest part of them, took the Lord Receit and his Brother Prisoners.

The Parliament was again summoned to meet in September, and accordingly assembled at Combridge, but our Statute-Book lays at Canterbury on the morrow after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Sept. 8, this Parliament seems to have met to settle several Diforders and Irregularities of the Nation, not sufficiently provided for by Law before; and to that end enacted, 'That no Offices under the Seal of the King's Body, or of the Peace, Sheriffs, or any other Officers in any of the King's Courts, should be ordained or made, for any Gift or Broaching, Favour or Affection, but for their known Abilities and Deserts only; it being but reasonabl e to suppose, as it is usually found, that they who buy such Officers, or be made by their Office, be well able to perform the duties of the same, in order to the magnitude of the Service, and the advantage of the State.'

This Law was made to keep Servants to good Behaviour, and secure Matters from retaining idle and liable Persons in their Services, and because Servants grew too exacting for their Wages, therefore a Law was made, 'That no Person should give or receive more Wages for the Service of Men or Women, than what was limited by the Statute under several Penalties. It was also enacted, 'That all fancy Beggars, who were able to serve, should be punished, and the ancient Statute of Labourers should be put in execution,' so that the want of Men to work in Husbandry might be no plea to enhance their Wages. Therefore this Act of several parts, was passed to forbid Servants to wear a Sword, Buckler, or Dagger; Another to prohibit all Persons using any unlawful Games; Another to punish any scandalous Abuses of the Peers and great Men of the Kingdom; Another to prohibit the making of Dunghills, and calling of Carrioon into Bitches, and other great Towns to infilt the Air, by which Diseases were created among the Inhabitants; Another to make it a Premunire for any Person to go to Rome to procure any Benefice of the Pope; and lastly, A Statute was made to remove the Staple of Wool from Middleborough to Callis. The King had a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Lay grant him by this Parliament. During this Session, Sir Thomas Trivet, a Favourite of the King's, riding to Barnwell with the King to his Lodgings, was thrown by his Horse, and d'yd of the Brute receive'd by the Fall. His Death was not much lamented by the People, because he was accosted an Enemy to the Lords, and the common Good.

After the rising of this Parliament a Treaty of Peace was set on foot between England, France, A. D. and Scotland. The Commissioners for England were Walter Shirley Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Claverton, Pencruer, and Sir Nicholas Dagsworth, for France, the Bishop of, between of Biberon, the Lord Valeran Earl of St. Paul, and France, Sir Guillem Molin, Sir NIch. Baceins, and Sir John and conduct, for the Scots, the Bishop of Aberdon, for six time Sir James and Sir Daniell Shrews, and Sir Walter T. Sancier, four for each Nation. They met at Pallingshaw, a small Town between Calvis and Balloigne, and after many Debates with much difficulty, came at length to agree upon a Truce between the three Nations for three Years, to commence from Midsummer next ensuing. While it was in agitation the Scots had made several Incursions into Northumberland, and carry'd away great Booties, which Thomas Monmouth Earl of Norrington was not able to prevent, tho' he was sent against them with five hundred Archers, because his Force was too weak to withstand their much greater Numbers. The Scots were so well pleased with their Robberies, and the News of the Treat of Peace no kind welcome, and were hardly persuaded to accept it by the Lord Valeran, and some others of the French, who came over to see it establisht and confirmed in these Nations, and so at length the Truce began on Augt. 11. on the Borders, and Augt. 17. in other parts of both Nations, and all Hopes of any short Respite.

In Lent this Year was a memorable Contest between the Oxford-Scholars. The Weiljs, who were always quarrelsome and proud, having firmly united the Scholars of the Southern parts to their side, began to abuse the Scholars of the North, whose being very numerous, stood up together in their own defence, and so by the opposition much mischief was done on both sides. At length they came to an agreement, to determine all by a pitch Fight, but the Duke of Gloucester hearing of it, and being much concern'd not only at the ill Example, but bad Consequences of it, found means to prevent it, and cau'd several of the Weiljs, who were the Authors of this unhandsome Broil, to be expell'd the University, and others to be punish'd with the usual Academick Mulcts, and so put the whole Body into good order again.

Peace being thus every ways establisht at the King's home and abroad, the King and his Friends, being of the opinion, the English Government the better opportunity to assume to himself the Government of the Nation out of the Lords hands, did, in which it had been put for some Years. He was now full one and twenty Years of Age, and was undeniably capabill to be master of his own Dominions, which because the Lords, either not fond of him, or being very unwilling, no note being heard of, he did not take notice of it, did not resign, he refused to claim; and to that end calling a great Council of his Nobles, and great Men to attend him at Woolminster. As soon as they were all feated, and the King himself at the head of them, he demand'd of them, 'What Age they suppos'd him to be of now? They answer'd. 'That they thought him 12 to be something above one and twenty. The King then reply'd, 'That it was unreasonable that he should be deny'd what he meant.' Subjects enjoy'd, who at that Age came into the management and full possession of their Birthrigts, and were no longer under Guardians and 'The Lord therefore the challenge of the treatment of his of his Kingsmen out of their hands. Those, tho' fearing the ill Consequences of his Rule,
yet did not deny what he required, but readily
yielded their power entirely to him; in which
Act the King was not so well contented, but that
he declared publicly, 'That he renounced their
Rule, and from henceforth did assume to him-
self as full a Power of governing, disputing
Affairs, and administrating Justice in his Realm,
as any of his Predecessors, the Kings of Eng-
l
And that he might give an influence of his Power
and try their Submission, he like a new King
made an Alteration among the great Officers of
State, for he took the great Seal from Thomas
Arundel Bisho! of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, and
gave it to William of Wickham, then Bisho! of
Winchester. To which many of his Subjects,
John Fordham * also Bisho! of Exeter, then Trea-
surer, he remov'd from that Office and put in
another, which also he did to Edmund Stafford,
Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Earl of Arundel,
Lord Admiral, he also deprived of his Com-
mand * and gave it to the Earl of Desmond, the
Earl of Northumberland, and Duke of Wir-
cester, he put out of his Privy Council, and made
five new Judges in the room of those that were hang'd
and imprison'd. Many other Alterations he made
in the Court, which was look'd upon as a new
Model of a worfe Management than had been
before fettled, and for some time fo well carried on
that the State being thus at Peace for the prezent,
the following of Wickliff were not infeible
how happy a Juncture it was for them to pro-
 mote their Doctrines, while their Enemies Heads
were otherwife employ'd, and accordingly had
fo betir'd themselves, that they were become
a form'd Church, and in many Parts of the Na-
tion had regular Congregations, with Pastor's well
qualified and chosen to administer Sacraments,
and preach to the People. The Bishop of Salisbury,
John Walsingham, had gotten a very particu-
lar Account of all their Party, and their present
Condition, by one that had been of their Society;
and th'o' he acquainted his Brethren with the
great Increase of them, yet neither himself, nor
any of the Bishops raised any Persecution against
them. The Bishop of Norwich, Henry Spencer,
threaten'd them loudly, 'That if any were found
in their Society, he would cause them to be
term'd it, Hypocrites, or fry a Fagge; this
and very probable, that he being a rough and Warlike
Prelate, would have made good his Words, but
they had Wit enough to keep out of his way.
One John Smitherly, a Priest, was punish'd as an
Heretic in the Diocfe of Hereford; but because we
previously mention'd the Popish attempt at
some, that same Imprudence in himfelf brought
him into Troubles. The chief Popish Doctrine
that they oppofed was, their Pilgrimages to
Images, especially the Roold and Lady of Walf-
ningham, which being fo profitable a Caffon to the
Priests, would have brought a Storm upon them,
as soon as an Opinion to any other Do-
ctrine; but it was carry'd so privately, that tho'
many were averse to it, yet few would expofe
themselves for it.

The Duke of Gloucester, faies acco-
ced of Trescoan. he was about to raise an Army, and depofe the
King. The Duke was thereupon called into Ex-
amination privately, and charg'd with the Ac-
cusation; but he cleared himself so well, that it
was judged a Forgery both by the King himself
and his Council. The Duke having eluip'd the
Danger, begg'd of the King that the Authors of
fuch false Crimes should be punish'd, but the
Kings consent being wanting, the Duke, out of
a Love to Flattery, enjoy'd his Uncle neither
to expouflate the Matter, nor question his Ac-
cusation.

In November, this Year, the Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of
returned out of Spain into England. He had for Lancaster
almost three Years undergone a various Fortune, and
since he had prov'd through many Troubles, he
left made an honourable Conclufion, and came
home with Joy and Triumph: He had met with there,
as good Success at his first Entrance into Spain,
as he could have defir'd. Many Spaniards came
over to affit him in recovering his Wife's Right
against the Ufurer, and his Arms were every
where victorious. The Sergeant-Majour de
Alcoves de Perez was totally rout'd, and the Spa-
niards terrify'd with the Losi, kept themselves
clofe in their walled Towns, which were also
many of them taken by the English and Por-
toguese. The French indeed promis'd them Alli-
ance to drive out the English, after the intended
Expedition from England was fail'd; but a kind
Fortune so befriended them, that the English
were conquer'd without Weapons: For the Heat
and Unkindnefs of the Climate so afflicid with
mortal Difcases his whole Army, that he left
many of his belt Men, as the Lord Fitzwater,
and others, and the reft were made unfit for any
Warlike Action. The Spaniards also, who had
fided with the Duke, being angry with the
English for making fuch havock of their Country
without Caufe, deferted him and went home;
by which means the Duke and his Friends were
left to fack and open to the Enemy, that in
great Sorrow and Anguish of Mind he lamented
his Misfortune, and begg'd of God, who judges
of every Man's Right, to intercede on his behalf,
and make an honourable Conclufion of that Ex-
pedition for him; which Prayer the Event fo
well answer'd, that God may well be judged to
have heard him in his Troubles. He indeed en-
deavour'd to reclaim his Lofs, by finding into
England for the Prince of Orange, for the
Troubles there would not allow the King to spare
him any, which farther encroach'd his Grief. The
Duke then having obtain'd leave of the King of
Spain, that his fick Soldiers should remain in his
Country till they were recover'd, departed in
Sorrow to Bariom, a City in Gaffogone, and there
remained till such, which Malady as he had
fuffer'd from, was recover'd. Here Providence made way for that happy
Conclufion, which the Duke had defir'd: For
the Duke of Berry, the French King's Uncle, mak-
ing a Propofition of a Marriage with Katherine the
Daughter to the Duke of Lancaster's Son, the Duke
merciis his
dead
the King of
Daughter to the King of
Spain after her Mother's Death, fo routed the
Thoughts of the King of caftrale and Laws, left
that Match should be by the Union of two fuch
potent Interests in France and England, bring Spain's Szm.
greater danger to his Throne than her Mother's
had; that he by the Advice of his Council, be-
came an earnft Sitter to the Duke of Lancaster
for a Match between his Daughter and his eldest
Son Henry, which Proposal, after the Honourable
Conclufion with the Duke of Berry had been made,  

* John Fordham was Bishop of Durham, Favourite to King Richard and Lord Treasurer, was remov'd in a Term of State three Years before, into his Place the King put the Bishop of Hereford, a Friend to the Lords, and now he carry'd him out of his Office, to give it to one of his own.

* They had been enrol'd by the Parliament.

* He swears, &c. Vol. I. M m

\[Continue\]
but yet he pass'd an Act in effect the same; for A. D. 1390. he enacted, That in all Pardons which he granted the Crime should be specified, and the Person at whose Suit it was granted endor'sd; and that all Pardons who procured a Pardon for any guilty of the said Crimes, should be fined according to their Quality, an Archishop or Duke a 1000/. a Bishop or Duke of Lancastre, Squires, Marks, an Abbot, Prior, Baron or Baronet a five hundred Mark, and inferior Sorts two hundred Marks, and a Year's Imprisonment; by which means, tho' the King had fill'd his Power to pardon, yet Sitters were so discourag'd, that the Multitude of Pardons much abated: For Kings seldom grant but with important Blame, and so it should be Trenchon to purchase or bring any Privileges from the Pope for any Ecclesiastical Benefice in England, which tho' it had been before enacted by King Edward III. was not observed, and so it was enforced again to be put in Execution better. These Acts being pass'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Commons, they granted them several Subsidies, viz. 400. a Year for Wool, and 20000/. a Year for Wool to King for his own Expenses at Pleasure, and 300. to be put into the Treasury for the Defence of the Nation; and a Tax of 6d. by the Pound, 4d. to the Treasury and 2d. to the King, and then they were dissimilitude. At the Rising of this Parliament, the King made John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Lord of his own Domaine, and thereunto appointed him enafted by the Cap and Bonnet, and Edward the eldest Son of the Duke of York Earl of Rutland.

In the beginning of the Spring several unhappy Accidents befell the Nation together; Such a tempestuous Wind arose in March, that blew down many Houses, and did much other harm in several Parts. The Plague raged much, especially in the North, where many thousands died of it; but it was particularly observed to have the most malignant Effects upon young Men, who very rarely escaped, and were most easily infected with it. At the same time there was a great Scarcity of Corn, so that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for 16d. which was thought a great Price, and half a Penny for a Bushel. But by a Concourse of Evils, did Divine Providence punish the Irregularities of the People of this Nation.

These Calamities at home made the English to English more ready to pity and relieve the Affairs of against the Princes of other Nations, and for that end, two Parties were raised; one into Foreign Countries. The one consisted of the Command of John Beaumont, Naturalized vegetable, under the Command of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby. The Occasion was this; the Saracens being very troublesome to the Citizens of Genoa, and by their Aggressions threatening the Ruine of their Territories, had no way to secure themselves, but by begging the Alliance of the French and English, who looking upon it as the common Interest of Christendom to keep out those Barbarians from Europe, gladly embraced the Request of the Genoese, and sent a Chace of Men of Annam and of the Thetis. The English sailed over into France and joined with the Forces, intended for the same Expedition by the French King, with whom they marched to Genoa, and there took Ship to assail the Inhabitants of Sicily. The Sarazens were prepare'd to oppose their landing, and flood on the Shore ready to

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* Allia.  
* To the Son of the Duke of York, by the Dutchess of Lancaster's Sitter, younger Daughter of Peter the Cruel.  
* Barons were known in England till the Reign of James I. It should be Baronets.  

engage
A.D. 1590.

...engage them at their first entrance. The English and French Archers being commanded to attack them, soon made room with their Arrows for them to pass, but fought many of them, put the rest to flight. The Christians went forward to Tunis directly and besieged it, which not being able to withstand their Arms, was soon taken, with the slaughter of the King's Brother, divers great Men, and above four thousand others of the Barbarians. The King himself with a sufficient force fled into the Castle, and held it out against the Christians five weeks; at the end of which for want of Provision he was obliged to desire Peace, and offer'd them a great Sum of Money to depart his Country. The Christians being much disturbed by Sicknes in their Camp, did not unnecessarily beset the Port of Tunis; but pressed on other Conditions, obtained farther that they should carry away with them their Prey, and have such Christian Prisoners as they had taken deliver'd to them, and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth oblige themselves to cease from pillaging the Coasts of Italy and France, to which they had been formerly wont, with Riches and Honours. This was the only Voyage wherein the English and French proved successful in their Union, who formerly were used by mutual Diffentions to defeat the design of their Arms. Nor was the Earl of Derby les fortunate in his Achievements. The Lithuanians had by their crowning Successes made the Inhabitants to great Miseries. But the coming of the English under so brave and daring a Captain brought them relief, for they not only drove out the Lithuanians, but invaded their Country, and took one of their Cities, the Earl himself being one of the first that scaled the Walls, and falling thereon he met the hour of himself and his Nation. And thus having refolded the People of that Country to their Peace and Safety, he return'd home with an addition of Fame and Honour. While these things were done abroad, the King diverted himself with Feasts of Arms at a solemn Jufts, at which twenty four Englishmen challenge'd all Comers, and were encounter'd by as many Foreigners with much Art and Valour. The Earls of S. Paul and Ofironan came over to be Spectators of this honourable Tryal of Courage and Skill, which was deservedly admired. The King gave the Strangers Gold-Chains as Badges of his Favour, and released them from their Debts, and had them provided with Particles of content with a Parliament met about their do, but gave no Tax nor did any thing extraordinary.

The King of France considering the detriment that redounded to his Country by continual Diffections with England, sent over an Embassage about Christians to make Proposals of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations. King Richard having taken advice with his Council about it, was much encouraged to compliance, and diffilned them with Promises of a speedy Treaty about it. Soon after their departure, the King by the like advice put out a Proclamation, pursuant to the Statute of Provisors made the last Parliament, and had it publish'd in London, commanding all beneficed Clergymen, who were English-Men by Birth, and then refided in the Court of Rome, to return home within a Year, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Benefits; and if they were not beneficed, under certain other Punishments therein mentioned. This Proclamation startled the Pope, and made him think that now A.D. 1591, the English began to be in earnest, and the Laws made against his profit would be no longer dormant, as they had formerly done. Whereupon the Pope in anger sends his Nuncio to the King, requiring him to abolish and repeal the said Pope's Statutes and Proclamation, so far as they tended to the derogation of the Church's Liberties; other- wise declaring, that he thought himself in Con- science obliged to proceed against all such Persecutors as had been instrumental in making those Laws according to the severity of the Council. Moreover he importuned to the King, that the late Propositions of Peace made by the French King were only intended to farther a design which he had contrived with the Antipope to make himself Emperor, and his Brothers the Dukes of Turin and Brabant, the one King of Hungary and Lombardy, and the other King of Sicily; which Plot, if he could pull England asleep with hopes of a Peace till he could effect it, he should then be in a capacity of making himself absolute Master of all, which it concern'd England incit to prevent, and there- fore beforehand to afill his Matter against the French King, if he invaded Italy, as he had intended to do. The King seem'd to give a favourable ear to the Nuncio's words, and having communicated them to his Council, appointed him to stay till the Parliament met, which should be about Michaelmas, and then he should receive a full answer to all his Demands.

The Duke of Gloucester went this Spring into the Duke of Gloucester's Voyage into Prussia, to no small trouble of the People. He was always accounted the People's Darling, but it is not to be imagined how much he had of the People's Affections before this Voyage; for his departure was as heavily taken as if the Sun had gone down from the Firmament, and the Happines of the Nation were quite vanished with it. His Voyage was very rough and dangerous, as if Providence had been as much against it as the People, for he was carry'd by a violent Tempest upon the Coasts of Norway and Denmark, in his return, and at last with much difficulty arrived at Flensburg, where he tarry'd a short time to refresh himself, and then return'd to his Mansion-house, where he received infinite Expressions of Joy for his safe arrival all along his Journey thither.

This Summer many great Calamities afflicted the Nation, which seem'd to be prefigur'd by some strange Clonds which cover'd the Sun for six weeks, which presaged the Light of it. This first appearance red and bloody, and appeared all day upon the face of it, but at length they turn'd black, and remov'd at noon. Immediately upon the ceasing of this Prodigy follow'd both Pestilence and famine. The Plague broke out in several parts of the Nation, but rag'd most in Norfolk, and about York. In that City there was a Death to have dy'd ten thousand, and in Norfolk a greater number. The Famine afflicted London, and the adjoining Countries chiefly, which was not so deeply inflected with the Plague, but laboured under to great a scarcity of Corn, that the Poor of the City were fed at the City-charge, two thousand Marks being taken out of the Orphan's Stock to buy Corn, and the twenty four Aldermen being forced to joy in twenty Pound a-piece for the same purpose, that the Wants of the Poor might not create them Troubles and Disturbances. They sold the Corn to such as had Money at a moderate price, and to those who lacked a sum to be paid in the next Year, and to those who preferred the
A D. Peace of the City, but obtained a good Opinion of all Men for their Charity and Care of the common Good. The Harvest brought an end of the Evils by its plenty; yet the unwholesome Food, which many had liv'd upon in the time of the Famine, call them into Fluxes and other Dilemmas, to which they liv'd in great Multitudes.

About this time Henry Hotspur Earl of Northumberland, who had been some time Governor of Callis, was call'd home and made Warden of the Marches of Scotland, and Thomas Mambrey Earl of Nottingham was made Lieutenant in his place.

The Parliament, according to the King's promise to the Pope's Nuncio, met on the day after the Feast of all Souls at Westminster. Several things were enacted in this Session to regulate Abuses about the Measures of Corn, the Jurisdiction of the Admiral, Encroachments of the Lords of Mannour upon Freeholders, and other matters of like nature. But the Law which was thought of great benefit at that time, and since hath done great service to the Church, was the Act then made about Appropriations. It seems that before this Parliament it was lawful to appropriate the whole Fruits and Profits of any Beneficce to a Religious House, upon condition that the Abbot or Prior took care to have the Church built, to the honours of the House. This bred many Inconveniences, viz., in that Hospitality was neglected, the Churches and Rectories delapidated, and Ministers were often wanting: Whereupon the Commons complain'd, and procur'd this Act, That in every Licence to be made hereafter in Chancery for the approv'd Exploiture of any Church or Manor, there should have power to reserve a convenient Sum of Money out of the Fruits and Profits of it to sustain the poor Parochioners of the said Church, and to endow a perpetual Vicar sufficiently to supply the Care of Souls con tinually. This Act was the original of most of our Vicarages, which tho' they are a contemptible maintenance for the Clergy, especially since the Obventions of the Altar are removed, yet have proved a very great support to the Church, the poorest Livings often producing the most painful and labourious Ministers. So that the Nation hath a great Reason to applaud this Act, because our Governors ever since have been more solicitous of the Vicars than the Parson, and have given them an Office the better; for had we not had this, 'tis to be feared the Church would have had no provision at all, in abundance of places where Vicarages now are.

The Pope's Complaint against the Statute of Pro visors was prefer'd to the Lords and Commons, and the King and Duke of Lancaster laboured all they could to have it rejected, but by all their Interest and Interpellion could not obtain it: the Provisions of the Pope being accounted an intol erable grievance to the Nation, yet by much Importunity it was allow'd, that the King by his Proclamation shou'd have power to dispence with the Statute till the next Parliament, by which Conceision, the Pope gained not so much as he desired, yet he had his ends, it being not very material whether the Lion be dead or no, if his Claws be cut off, and his Teeth knock'd out, for 'tis all one for a Law not to be at all, and not to be executed. This Parliament granted the King a tenth from the Clergy, and a fifteenth from the Laiety to support the Charges of the Duke of Lancaster, who was in the Lent following to go over to Auvergne to treat of a final Peace with the King of France in person; and 'twas thought necessary that he should be attended with a D. a princely Equipage for the Honour of the Nation, and in respect to the King. And because an Invasion was fear'd from Scotland, therefore another tenth and fifteenth was granted, upon condition the Monks of the Soil were to be so troublesome an Expedition as to gainst them were judged necessary. And then the Parliament was diu'dly, and sent home.

The King and Queen, with a great Concourse of the Bishops, Nobles and Ladies, kept their Christmas at Langley with mighty Magnificence and Splendor. On Christmas-day the King was drank a phin of Ten Foot long, and of a great bigness, was taken about London-Bridge; his coming so far up to land-ward was look'd upon as a Preface of that tempestuous and florid Weather which follow'd in a few days. Soon after Christmas the Duke of Lancaster went to Amiens towards France, to the place of Treaty at Amiens, Peace with the King of France having heard a great Cha. racter of him for his Wildom and Prudence (and indeed he was one of the wisest and greatest Peers of those days) made as magnificent Preparations for his Return as if he had he'd the greatest Empires in the World, and his principal Comfort was the Peace, with his Brother the Duke of Touraine, and his Uncle the Dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Bourgogne, and many other Peers of France. The Changes of the English Ambassadors and their Return was born by the French King from their coming, tho' it was call'd by the Englishmen the Duke of Lancaster and those that they return'd thither again. At the Treaty divers Provisions were made on each side, but both Parties were so cautious to settle an advantageous Peace to themselves, especially since it was to continue so long by agreement, that nothing was concluded farther, than that the Truce which was then on Foot, and to end at Midsummer, should continue another Year, and to the mean time more Effectual Councils should be taken at the meeting of the next Parliament for the conclusion of the intended Peace, and so the Duke of Lancaster and his Return return'd home again. In the absence of the Duke, the King having expended his Treasure for this Embassy, was in want of Money, and much needed it; having borrow'd from the Lords of England a thousand Pounds. One (or, as others say, Ten) thousand Pounds. The Lords, unmindful of their Duty to their King, Prince, flatly deny'd to answer his Request themselves, and when they understood that an Italian, Lombard, or Banker, had undertaken to furnish the King with the defired Sum, they bent and abased him to grant that he was in danger of Death. The King was so displeas'd with this in fidel and rude answer, that he propounded it to his Council, and directed their Advice how he should deal with them, and was encouraged to requite their disloyal and impudent Behaviour with Severity and Arts. But the King himself confessing that the Denial it self was well (for 'twas not reasonable for him to force their Eftates from them) the manner of doing it was very unbecoming Subjects, wisely wou'd his Refolutions till a fitter opportunity should offer it fell to retaliate their Unkindness more de ferced; but as he heard them, which was watchful Iyle from found out.

Soon after the Duke of Lancaster's arrival in England, the King call'd a great Council at Scray-Sanford ford, like a Parliament, for the King summoned called by the King.
A. D. some of the chief Men for Wilton and Expe-
rience in most of the Towns of England, to con-
fult about the Peace to be concluded with France,
or revolve upon a War as soon as the current
Truce was expired. The Duke of Lenag ley put
the King, but came to an agreement; but, the King
of France had engag'd him to hasten the Peace,
that he might relieve Leo King of Arme-
nia, and subdue the other Barbarians, who were
troublesome to Christendom. This Council had
long and hot Debates among themselves about the
Expediency and Conditions of the Peace pro-
pounded; but he had seen so much the other, and
much the rather, because at that time the Duke
of Gelderland, the King's Cousin, a valiant and
foul Prince, came over; and advised the King
to make no Agreement of Peace with the King
of France, but upon such Conditions as were
both advantageous and honourable to himself and
Realm; promising him an Alliance of a con-
deferable Body of Men, if he had occasion to
make War either against the French or Scots.
This Offer made the King, and whole Assembly,
more indifferent to the Peace, and more resolute
to obtain good Conditions if it went on.

While these things were transacting for the
public Good, the Bishop of Salisbury appeared out at
London, which from an inconsiderable beginning
proceeded so far, as to make the Citizens as much
faind in need of the King's Favour, as he did a
little before of their Money. The Occasion was
this: A Baker's Man carrying a Basket of Bread
through Fleetstreet to his Master's Cimftomers, as
he passed by a Number of People, he took out a
Loaf taken out of his Basket by one Walter Ro-
mn the Bishop's Servant. The Baker concern'd
at the Loaf, endeavour'd to take it from the Man
by force, but was worri'd by the Servant, and
wounded in the Scuffle. The People of the Street
knowing that the Baker had received the Wrong,
as well as the Abbot, grew'd together to appre-
hend the Bishop's Servant, and have him pub-
lished for the Freach of the Peace; but his Fel-
low Servants seeing him in danger, got him into the
Palace, and sec'd him against them. The People
without, being enraged more by this Re-
fe, first peaceably, by the Confable, demand-
ed the Servant, and made him to his Man; but they
refusing to retjign him, the unruly Rabblo, who loved not the Bishop, nor
much fear'd him, tho' at that time Lord Tre-
furer, began to be very outrageous, endeavour-
ing to force open the Gates, and because they
had Rebuff'd that they could not, threaten'd to
fire them. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen,
had Information of this Tumult, and with all
Care and Speed sought to repress it; but the
Commons were grown so numerous, and so juf-
tly provok'd, that neither Force nor Persuasions
would prevail a long time: But at last, by much
Intracy, they appeas'd them, and fent them
quarrel'd, both of them was then
with the King at Welfung, and soon receiv'd an
Account of his Servants about this Tumult;
which that might not seem foul on their fide,
represented the Citizens as fpiritually as they could.
The Bishop, who lathed them in general,
became they were commonly reputed Fa-
vourers of Welfung, and fent Enemies to the
Church, entertain'd the Relation with much
Paffion; and having acquainted 
Thomas Arndel, Archbishop of York, and then Lord Chancellor,
with it, immediately preferred a grievous Com-
plaint of the City to the King, as if the Tumult A. D.
bad been encourag'd by the Heads of it, and
was a malicious Outrage not only against the
Church but State, he being both Treasurer
and Bishop. The King, who kept his former Dif-
ference with the City, ordered no Investigation
upon so good an Occasion; but being farther in-
cord'd by the Aggravations they made use of,
was most furiously enraged and threaten'd to
raso the City: But his Heat being allay'd by the
Mediation of some of the Nobility, he fent for
the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other chief Citizens to
the Council of a Province, and objected many Cur-
dictions and Offences against them. They made a model and plain
Defence, but nothing would be accepted as insuf-
cient, wherefore the Mayor was imprison'd at
Welfung, and the rest of them fent to other Gaols,
and all the Liberties and Privileges of the City
took into his own hands. The Authority of the
Mayor was wholly removed, and the King put
in a Governor under the Name of the Wardens
of the City. This Office was firft conferred on Sir Ed-
ward Darlingrig, or as others lay, Bakeringe, on
June 21, but he being thought to be too great a
Friend to the Citizens, was in less than a Fort-
night removed, and Sir Baldwin Radvington
placed in his room. He was as vifibly perfuaded
carry'd himfelf with fuch Anility and Care, that
he pleas'd both the King and City, and gave
them fome hopes, that by their contented Ob-
dience to him and Submiffion to the King, they
might in a little time obtain his Favour again.
The Citizens, in this Condition, were very much
miff'd, and the ferve of the Whole City, and
Queen, the Duke of Glocefter, the Bishop of Lon-
don, and other noble Persons, to the King
to be restored again to their ancient Liberties
and Immunities. Who fo far prevailed at length with
him by the Remembrance of their former good
Services and rich Presents, that he fent for their
Charters, and other Grants of Liberties to the
City, which he cauf'd to be diligently peruf'd;
and allowing fome, and cancelling others, refor-
red the City again to their ancient State and Fa-
avour, excepting their Government by a Mayor,
which they could not obtain, till at feveral times
they prefented the King with two thousand
Marks of Gold, and the fervice of thefe famous
Favourer: So that in the end, the Denial of lending
ten thousand Pound of them above as much
The City
more, and that Favour which they might have
oughten by mere Compliance, they were forced to
buy at a dear rate, and glad they could to attain it.
This Reconciliation being miff'd, the Mayor,
and Sheriffs, were chosen again after their usual
manner, and the Terms which had been removed
from Welfung to York, were again restored.
The Bishop of London, who had had a principal
Interest in making this Peace, was much ho-
purred by the Citizens all his Life for it, and
after his Death the Mayor, Aldermen, and ma-
ny chief Citizens, according to their Companies,
goes nine times a Year in a solemn Procession to
Welfung, where he lay bury'd, to pray for
his Soul and the Souls of all Christians, as a grate-
ful return of his Kindnexit to them.

The Irish about this time revolted from their
Subjection, and the Duke of Glocefter being first the Duke
of Ireland, was furnifh'd with Money to raise an Army for an Expedition thither ready to go
which he did with all imaginable Care, and had
agreed a very great Force ready to pass thither,
which is for

* In Castle's Chronicle, as one of the Bishop of London's Servants. Sir John Hayward, in his Life of Henry IV., agrees with
Hildesfield, that John was the Bishop of Salisbury.

† John Walatham.

‡ Which was then at Nottingham.

§ Wolseingham says it was but one.

bels,
The Life and Reign of Richard the Second.

A. D. 1392.

bels, before his Pillage over thither, for the chief Leaders of the Rewilers had determin'd to fights them, and divers good Acts for the public benefit were made; as concerning Merchant Strangers, Weights, and Measures; Freedom of Freeholders from Suit and Service in the Lords Courts, and the Acts to punish such as obtained Pardons for Murther, Treasons, and Rapes. But the Act of great fault Faine, was the Statute called the Statute of Punishments, made this Session, by and in which it was enacted, That whereas the Bishop of Rome, under a pretence of an absolute Supremacy over the Church, took upon him to dispose by his Mandates of most of the Bishopricks, Abbaties, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices, in Engledord, and if the Bishops did, upon the Legal Preten- dments of the Patrons of such Benefices, institute any Clerks to them, they were thereupon excommunicated by the Pope, to the great Da- mage and unjust Wrong of the King's good Sub- jects. And whereas the Bishop of Rome took upon himself to transfer and reduce the said Morte and Bishops either out of the Realm, or from one See to another within the Realm, without the Knowledge of the King, or Consent of the Bishops themselves. If any Person shall purchase, or cause to be purchased in the Court of Rome, any such Translations, Sentences of Excommu- nations, or Orders of other Acts or Words, in the Detriment of the King and his Realm, both they, and such as bring, receive, notify, or put them in Execution, shall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeited to the King, and their Bodies attach'd, if they can be found, Proceed being made against them, by the Writ called Penarounds facias, as is ordi- n'd in other former Statutes of Provôsers. This Statute was badly refuted at Rome by the Pope, who was very peevish for the Statute of Mortmain, and other less severe Acts against his Inroachment made a little before; but this put his hand under his Cloak, for the next Year, he sent a Letter to the Duke of Bedford, wherein he calls the Act itself Execrable Statutum, a cursed Statute, and the passing of it, Papalis & turpe facinus, a wicked and base Act. In this Parliament the Lairy gave the King no Tax, but the Clergy yielded him half a Tenth to furnish out the Duke of Lancaster and Gloucester for their Negotiation into France, to compleat the Peace between the two Kingdoms, by which they shewed their Duty to their Prince and Zeal for Peace.

In the time of this Session Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, and Duke of Ireland, died at Brantford in great Anguish of Mind and Poverty, and the King conferred his Honour of Lord of Oxford upon his Uncle, the Lord Audley de Vere. By the Death also of John Eure, Con- fiable of Dover Castle, and Lord Steward of the King's Household. Several Promotions were made at Court: For the Lord Thomas Percy, who was Vice-Chamberlain, was raised to be the Lord High Steward; the Lord Thomas Beaumont was made Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and the Lord William Scroop was made Vice-Chamberlain, and soon after bought the Regality of the Isle of Man (for that life was reputed a Kingdom, and the Lords of it were crowned with a Crown of Gold) of the Lord William Montague Earl of Salisbury, but he only held it for his own Life.

In the Spring of this Year the Duke of Lancaster and Gloucester, the Earl of Derby, and several other Peers, passed over to Catalonia in order to finish the Treaty then in hand. They had a full Commissions to conclude a Peace both by Sea and Land between the Kingdoms of England and France and their Allies. The Commissioners for the King of France were the Duke of Burgoyne and Berry: 'The Place of Treaty was Balingham, where they sat for seven Days in Conference. Here they met several days together, and after their Commissions were looked into, Propo- sals were laid down and arg'd on both Sides. The Frenchmen required to have CattaIzas razed, but the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester answered, That they had no Power to treat in that Matter, and that they should treat for the Peace of France, for it was agreed that CattaIzas should be razed; and that the Treaty should be lasting. Hereafter, they are to meet at the Place of their choosing, and if they intended to conclude the Peace, they must not mention it any further, which smart Reply put an end to that Demand. Then the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester infir'd, That the Country was to have a fair and free Trial, which had of late been either in the Possession of the French or of the Inhabitants of the Lordship their Motes, should be restored, and the Florence which were left unpaid by reason of the War, should now be paid; which the English Lawyers professed to be agreeable to Reason and Equity. But the Frenchmen arg'd much against it, and would by no means yield to neither; So that the Dukes were for many Days in Conference, that the Kings on both Sides might be acquainted with what they had done. The Duke of Gloucester, who was for no Peace with France, but upon very good Terms; for which Reason the People de- manded that he might be a Commissioner, was very resolute to have no Peace, unless the former Conditions were granted, and then to the Duke and Nobles, as well as King Richard and the Duke of Lancaster, were very defirous to bring it to an end, and to a Truce at their next meeting was made for four Years; and had not the King of Peace fallen suddenly into his old Disease of the four Years, the Duke and Nobles might have been concluded, the without the Consent of the French. The Duke of Gloucester, who in his heart was wholly for War with France; which, having brought so much advantage to the Nation formerly, was most defir'd by the People, whom the Duke sought to please above all things. After the Conclusion of this Peace the King made Sir Thomas Percy, the younger, Lord War-Sie- tiden of Bevershaun and Aginsberia, and sent him amongst his Accidents of the Reign 30 th: the Nation also filled much by Temple Pells and excessive Rains. There were such vio- lence.
A. D. lent Thunders and Lightnings in many parts, especially about Cambrigdon, that many Houles and Stacks of Corn (for the Harvest was but just past) had been burnt down, and buried in flames. In other parts such abundance of Rain fell, especially about Bury in Suffolk, and New-Market, that the Floods carry'd away many Bridges and Houles. The Pestilence raged in Ely, and swept away great Multitudes. Other things happen'd also concurrent with these accidents. The Lord Reformed, in 1547, the near Approch of the Scots, and stationed Men in his Favour. The Town of Chester, which was engaged to King Richard for the payment of two thousand Marks, by the King of Naturalis, was referr'd to the said King upon the payment of the said Sum. Three Scotch Gentlemans also challenged three English to fight at Jults, viz. the Earl of Mar, the Lord Moray, and the Earl of Arran; the last of those being Bearer, Sir Peter Courtey, the King of England's Standard-bearer; and one Cockburn Esq. Sir Nicholas Hawkeirke. In this Tryal of Manhood the English were Victor's, for the Earl of Mor and Cockburn were unforfeated by their Opponents, the former being so brufted and wounded by the fall, that he dy'd in his return to home. Darrell ran five Figures, and was fo equally match'd, that they neither were Victor's.

A Parliament met at Westminster a little after the Feast of St. Hilary, and after some things of common concern were enacted, the King growing weary of the Charge which he was at to maintain the Dominon in England against the Rebellious Natives, desir'd a Tax to enable him to make an Expedition into that Nation to reduce it by force; for as it now stood, twas an important Burthen to England, the King being yearly at thirty thousand Pound charge to preserve the Dominion of that Island, which had for the latter time been preserved by his own Prowess, and not by his Treafury. The Houles yield'd to his desires, and the Clergy granted him a tenth if he went into Ireland, but half a tenth only if he went not. In this Parliament the Duke of Lancaster accut'd the Earl of Arundel of encouraging and affifting the Commons of Clerker against him, lying in his Castle; and his Defeance, Sir William Darrell, thrown into his Treafury. 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A.D. 1377. orders of the Churchmen both in Doctrine and Manners, preferred several Conventions to the grandum in opposition to the present Orders and Tenets in the Church, not without some affumptions of success. They were twelve in number, and delivered in Words to this effect:—

1. That Pride, through the greatness of the Temporalities, daily increased in the Church, and Faith, Hope and Charity decayed. 2. That the present Priesthood was not the Priesthood of Christ's Institution. 3. That the Celerity of the Priests was the cause of Sodomy, Whore-
dom, and other foul Sins. 4. That Transub-
stantiate engaged Christians in a brutish Idol-
latriy. 5. That Exacitoms and Consecrations were removed of divine Appointment, but magical Incantations. 6. That it was very unseasonly for Prelates to be Judges of Peace, and Curiates civil Officers. 7. That Prayers for the Dead were a bad motive of Alm-igiving. 8. That Pilgrimages to Crucifixes to our Lady's Image, &c. were Idolatrous. 9. That Authority was arrogantly assumed, and proud, and is an encouragement of Sin. 10. That Manlughter and War for Temporal Gains, or Religion fake, is unlawful. 11. That Men's Vows of Chastity produced much Sin. 12. That multitudes of Arts and Trades which were not necessary, were a means of beget-
ting idleness among the Christian Laity.

These Positions, which at the same time were fixed upon S. Pauh's Church-doors, found a very favourable Reception in the Holes, and had so great a Party for them, that the Prelates were afraid all their gainful Doctrine and Practices, which were levell'd at in them, would not be long tolerated if the King did but consent to the Ministry of the Members, as it was likely he would unless he could be otherwise engaged.

This being the only way left, as they imagin'd, to support their tottering Church, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrooke Bishop of London, went down to William Court-
yard, and Edward Braybrooke, to Scotland, and made a Voyage into Ireland to the King, to com-
plain of the Infolence and Prevalency of the He-
reticks, as they call'd them, and to beseech him to engage his Power in the defence of the Church and Religion, which without his assistance was in great danger of being ruin'd. The King, who was always zealous of the Protestant Religion, had been train'd up, gave much attention to the Bishop's Importunities, and promising them his Protection, comprosed his Affairs in Ireland as best as he could, and return'd about Easter into England.

Soon after his arrival he began to look into the Grounds of the Bishop's Complains against the Lollards, and finding that some of his own Ser-
vants and Officers, viz. Sir Richard Story, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer, and Sir John Monte-
due, had been most forward to encourage and uphold them, he called them before him, and made them severally aware, that they would not from henceforward hold or maintain any such erroneous Opinions; adding himself, that if they were found again to do it, they should certainly die for it. Having thus laid a restraint and check upon the chief Abettors of the Hereticks, he proceeded to suppress them, by giving the Bishops a Charge to execute their Offices diligently in their Diocesses, according to the Canon, to cor-
rect all Offenders, search out and examine all A.D. 1375. English Books, root out all erroneous Teachers and Doctrines with all their endeavours, and to bring all the People into the Unity of the Catholick Faith. And that the Laity as well as Clergy might advance this holy Design, as he accounted it, he sent out a Commission into all and every Diocese of the Kingdom, appointing certain Perons zealous for the Church, to be Searchers out of the Lollards, their Favours and Books, charging them to use their utmost diligence and care to find them; and when they have apprehended any, to commit them to the next Gaol till he should give further Orders con-
cerning them. The King was the more zealous in this matter, because Pope Boniface had, by two Letters befought him to alight the Bishops in sup-
pressing this Sect, and recommended it to him as a most meritorious Action; yet his Subjects did not riew as much Zeal in perfecting them, as the King did to excite them to it. The Arch-
"bishops did, the Bishop of London, and began immediately for the arch-
king a metropolitan Vifitation, in which he made a firit search for the Lollards and their Books, and them solemnly excommunicated all such Perons as lards, maintained, or caufed to be maintained, any of the Errors or Opinions of Mr. John Wickifife at the Cathedral in Lincoln and Leiceter-Abby, and made several to recant, and do penance for holding the same, and likewise the Ordinaries of the Church. But we do not find that there were any Produc-
tions of them by the Laity, nor feveral of the Bishops, fo that the King had deprived them of his Protection, God may seem to have made their Enemies as peace with them.

This Spring the French King being in fome doubts which of the Antipopes was to be acknowled-
led for the Head of the Church, called a Ge-
"ncral Council of all his moft able Divines at Pariz, and required their Decision of the Di-
quite that was among the Chriflian Princes about it. The Divines, after much and furious Debate, determined, That Pope Clement was law-
fully elected, and confirmed by the Chriflian Prin-
ciples of the Church; and confirmed this their Judg-
ment by the University of Paris Seal. The King of France having fo good an Authority for ad-
hering to Clement, sent a Copy of their Decision to King Richard, hoping to bring him over to acknowledge him; but King Richard would not fubmit to the Religion which he had been judge of the Judgment of his own Divines upon it, of whom he fummon'd immediately a Convocation of the ableft and moft learned at Oxford. Thefe, after mature Confideration of the Arguments of the contrary Party, made a contrary Determination for Urban and his Succeedors, and warrant'd their Judgment by the Signet. This means the Breach in the Church was made more incurable than it was before, and the Schift much more justifiable.

This Summer the Danish Rovers much infected Reg. 19. the Britifh Seas, and did great mischief on the Coafts, plundering the Ships, and robbing the Seaf-Towns. On the Coafts of Norfolk they laid a general Blockade upon certain Ships belonging to the Merchants of Norwich, and took them, their Cargo being val'd at twenty thoufand Pound. This Wrong so incended the Inhabitants of thofe parts, that they man'd out fome Ships to fight them, but after a Sharp Engagement were defeated, and many of them taken Prisoners, whom they re-
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Archbishop of Canterbury purchased a Bill of the Pope to levy 4d. per pound upon all the spiritual Promotions and Benefices within the said See of Canterbury, and obtained, by the Plunder of the Goods of the English. William Courtenay also Archbishop of Canterbury, which the Clergy, and which the Clergy, was dislik'd and disdained by the Clergy, yet was paid by most of them thro' Fear, the Prebendaries of Lincoln being only excepted, who looking upon it as an unreasonable Exaction, utterly deny'd to pay it, and appealed to the Pope; but the Archbishop's Death prevented this Protest, for before his Death, the Pope would have proved much more chargeable to them had it continued. His Death was effect'd no small Security for the Followers of Wickliffe, to whom he was a bitter Enemy. JohnWalbanke also Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Treasurer di'd, and was by the King's Order buried in Westminster, with the Kings, and Roger Waldes Secretary of State, and Treasurer of Wallis, was put in his place. In the latter end of this Year, the King out of the Love he still retained to the Duke of Ireland after his decease, had his Corps fetched from Brabant where it lay ignobly interred, and brought into England for a more honourable Burial, and richly adorn'd with Robes, a Chain of Gold about his Neck, and rich Rings on his Fingers, and being put in a Cypred Coffin, the King himself came to view his Body, and to shew his Affection to him, looked on his bare Face and touched his Body. His Body, after some time, was interred at Cow. Privet in Essex, the King himself, with the Countess of Oxford, his Mother, several Bishops and Abbots attending his Corps thither. Very few, or none of the Nobility, would shew any Respect to his Reliques, for the Hatred they bore to him when he was alive; the Memory of the Peron being detestible, whom they found so great an Enemy to the common Good, so long as he was in Power and Favour.

The Duke of Lancaster being arriv'd in Aquitaine fummon'd the Lords and chief Inhabitants of the great Towns, and declare'd to them the Gift of the King of England to him, that their Country was given to him and his Heirs for an Inheritance, and that he would divide the French Dominions to them in Subdivision to him as their Supreme Lord. But they return'd him answer, That their Country was ineparably united to the Crown of England, and would never submit to him otherwise than as the King of England's Lieutenant. The Duke in-fil'd upon his Gift, but would use no force to compel them to Submit, unless it were the more lasting ones of Kindness and Moderation; but they constantly stood upon it, that they had ever govern'd by Kings, and could not be alienated from the Crown of England without a Violation of the King's Coronation Oath, and therefore would never submit to their Terms. At length an Embassay was sent to the King about the Royall Match, and the King of England's Brother, of Glocefter (more to keep his Brother out of the Nation, than out of Love to Justice or to his Brothers Interest) profel'd the inviolable Nature of the King's Grant to his Brother; yet the Arguments of the People of Aquitain were so prevalent with the King, that it was decreed, That the Country and Duchy of Aquitain should always remain in the Demise of the Crown of England, left at length it should fall into the hands of some Stranger, but the Duke receiv'd there governing as the King's Deputy, in which Station he manag'd so well, that he gain'd the Love and willing Submission of all the People, being wife, liberal and moderate, so that left the Grant which the King had so lately recall'd the Duke of Lancastcr should be obtain'd against his Will, he sent for the receipt for the Duke the King had been at great Expense to purchase their Favour, yet he chos'd rather to lose his Money than Loyalty, and so return'd to the King at Langley, where he kept his Children.

He stay'd a little at Cour, and then retir'd to his own House at Lincoln, where he marry'd the late Lady Jane Spencer, who had been his Concupine in his Wife's days, and bore him two Sons Thomas and Henry, and one Daughter, whom he named Beaufort. This Match was much dislik'd by the Court Ladies, and the Dutches of Glocefter, Countess of War-wick, Arncel and Darky, particularly dislik'd it, for it was but her prudent Behaviour conquer'd their Partialis, and the became very grateful to them in a short time.

While these things were transacting abroad, King Bi. prepared the Lady Isobel with France, he determin'd to chase a Wife in the French Court, which was the likeliest way to effect his former Designs of Marriage, and to that end sent an Embassay, by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Earls of Ruland and Marshal, and the Lords Beaumont, Spencer and Clifford, to treat of a Marriage between himself and the Lady Isobel the French King's Daughter, who was then but eight Years old. The Proposition was very joyfully accept'd, and the late Lady Jane Spencer a little before promis'd to the Duke of Britain's Son in Marriage, yet because this was likely to prove a more advantageous and honourable Match, and would in all Probability settle that Peace, which was so careufully defin'd by the French as well as English, an Expedition was rais'd upon this Design, and to that end the King was af- firi'd to the King of England. The Embassadors having been fruitfully entertain'd, and their Charges born by the French King, so long as they were in his Country, return'd home with this fav'rablc Answer and Promis, to the great Joy of their Matter.

Pope Boniface IX, who was some time The Pope's father got into the Papal Chair at Rome, after the Pope Urban's decease, by which means the Archbishop of Canterbury was full upheld, having received Information of the Bishops of England, that the Fol-lo'ards, lower's of Wickliffe, notwithstanding all former and rep'd Endevours to lurray's them, grew more numerous, and were spread almost into all parts of the Nation, the Bishops wanting Power to infline what their Zeal was ready to do, wrote a second pathetical and earnest Letter to King Richard to assift the Bishops in the Cause of God,
Richard's Marriage and the Peace between England and France established.

The King having been encouraged in his Proposals of a Marriage in the French Court, was not sluggish in the pursuit of it, but in the beginning of the Spring sent the former Embassadors to France to settle certain Points of Agreement, among which the Consequences of the Treaty was to settle France, a Town on the Borders of the English Pale, and Arde which was on the Confines of the French Territories, rich Pavillions being there erected for the two Kings: The King of France came down with the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, Brittain, and Bedford, to the end of October; the two Kings having first solemnly swore to observe the Laws of Amity at this Interview, came to a Conference about the Peace; and having at several Meetings concluded and agreed on a Peace for thirty years, upon certain Conditions, they solemnly swore upon the Evangelists to observe and keep it faithfully. Then the King of France, with his own hands, delivered his Daughter to King Richard, who thankfully received her, protesting that he took her as the Token of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations; and then delivering her to the Dutchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester, with other great Ladies, had her convey'd honourably to Callis. The King of England returned with his Daughter, in two or three days after; and then with solemn leave taken departed home. King Richard returned to Callis, where he stayed a few days, till he was married by the Archbishof of Canterbury in S. Nicholas Church, and then failed with his Queen to Dover, and so went forward to London. The Mayor and Aldermen of that City having notice of the King's Arrival, with his new Queen, met them at Blackfriars, and entertained them with a great Entertainment. They were lodged, and the Citizens in rich embroidered Liveries, and conducted him to Kensington, where he lodg'd that Night, and continued some time. About Christmas the Queen pul'd by Water to the Tower, and on the fifth of January was crown'd at Westminster with all the State and Magnificence that could be devised for so great an Occasion. The Marriage and Coronation being thus completed, there appeared a general Satisfaction in all Persons, unless in the Duke of Gloucester, who showed much Discontent in his Words and Actions, both at the King's Marriage and Settlement of Peace, which displeased the King; for Richard, as much as he could, advised the Lords-louers not to pay the Tax granted for a War with France, because there was Peace; which they had follow'd, had not the Duke of Lancaster affur'd them that the Peace was settled at great Ex pense;

Soon after Christmas, on the Feast of S. Valentine the Duke of Gloucester and the Grand Parliaments enacted several Things necessary for the common Good. This so far as many Mif-trusted their Chiefs were done by Persons who rode armed, that it was forbidden all Persons as well Lords as Commons, to go or ride by Night or Day armed, except the King's Officers in doing their Duty. And that Justice might be administred without Favour and Affection, it was enacted, That no Lord, or other Person, should fit upon the Bench with the Judges of Affize under great Penalties, let their Preference should influence or by-pass them in their Office. And because the Commons had been much opprest by certain Persons, who pretended themselves to be the King's Ministers, and maintained their Horses, and paid for their Carts to ride about their own Business; therefore it was enacted, That none should take any Fich Horses without the Consent of the Owner: And lastly, That it should be lawful for the Judges Beikkens, Holt, and Burgh, to return from their Exile into England, notwithstanding the former Statutes of Parliament; which was done.

The first Act of the Parliament was the Declaration of Exile of S. Dunstan, that he had been the Bishop of Exeter, and his Son by her, Thomas Beaufort, was made Duke of Somerset. In the Parliament Rolls of this Session there is also recorded a Declaration of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for themselves and the Clergy of their Provinces, That far as much as at their Entailment they were f burdened and taxed to the Pope and See of Rome, if any things were attempted in Parliament in prejudice or restraint of the same, they would not assent to it, but withstand it with all their force. And this Proclamation they desired might be enrolled, which was done accordingly. Some things that concern'd the Church were enacted by this Parliament, viz. At the Petition of the Begging Friars it was enacted, That none of
their Order should pass over the Sea, to Rome or elsewhere, without a special License from their Sovereign; nor take upon them the Design or Title of Murther in Divorce without being first posed and examined in a Provincial Chapter, upon pain of being put out of the King's Protection. As also that the King's Officers for making Arrears or Attachments in Church-yards should be communicated. For these Acts the Clergy gave the King a tenth share, and four shillings.

The Duke of Britain, a little after the Dissolution of the Parliament, whether upon any private Agreement made at the Treaty at Ard, or morely according to the first Condition, went over to King Richard a certain Sum of Money, for the payment of which he had engaged the Haven of Breff, and delivered it up to him, to discharge that Debt, and recover the Town to himself again, King Richard accordingly received the Money, and refign'd it to him. The Duke of Glociffer knowing the place to be an Haven of Importance to the English, was very angry at this unfaithful piece of Justice among Frenchmen, and says there were not a great many of the Soldiers that were lately come from Breff, and had no way to live, crowding into the Hall, told the King, That tho' poor Men had been ill paid, and now having no Employment, knew not how to live. The King reply'd, That it was not his fault, but that of the Thorough, who had paid them poor. The Duke answ'd, That it had been better they had continued where they were, he should first have taken a Town by his own Valour and Conduct, before he had refign'd what his Ancestors had left to him. This Reflection fell sharply upon the King, who chang'd the Question to what is the Archbishops; but the King answer'd, What do you say, Uncle? The Duke then repeated the same words again; whereupon the King in a great Passion, reply'd, Think you that I am a Fool, or Merchant, to sell my Land? No, by S. John Baptist, no: But our Cousin the Duke of Britain having paid the Sums for which the Bishops of Canterbury, and the Abbot of St. Albans, and Prior of Westminster, (which two Left had encourag'd him in the Attempt, by pretending that it was reveal'd to them by a Vision, that King Richard should destroy the Kingdom by his misgovernment) to take him and his whole Council, and punish them according to their deserts. Whether this was true or not, our Historians are in doubt; yet in this case, this Accusation sharpen'd the King's Anger so much against the Duke, that he entered immediately into a Conivrance with the said Earls of Huntingdon, Nottingham, and others, to apprehend the Duke and his Confederates following him. And the Earl of Gloucester was then at his House at Plessey in Eij-Glociffer, and suspected nothing of what was mov'd against him, and therefore was easily apprehend'd in this manner. The King himself with the above-foaid Earls having laid an Ambush ofarm'd Men in Epping-Forest, went with a small Retinue to Plessey the Duke of Gloucester finding in his Bed early in the Morning they rai'd, and pretending carnell Bussines of State, drew him with them to London. The Duke in haste poilted along with the King, and took only a Servant or two with him. When they came at the place of the Ambush, the King riding before, the Earl Martial arrested him, and the Soldiers immediately fixing him, carry'd him blindfold to a Barge, put him on Shipboard, and convey'd him to Calais. He was either too Poular, or else too Innocent to be brought to a publick Tryal in England, and therefore was...
The Earls of Warwick and Arundel were imprisoned in the Tower.

A. D. tenor to Calix, and after a formal or pretended Trial before Judges Rickell, an Attorney, and the King, who sent the King word, that upon his Examination he confessed all that was alleged against him, he was ordered to be executed by Thomas, Marshal, Earl Marshal, who is said to have been unwilling to put him to Death, tho' he was a distant in apprehending him, that he would not do it till the King threaten'd him with Death if he did not execute his Orders. Whereupon he caused him to be murther'd or strangul'd privately, as if he were about to be taken an Instrument of such a base Act. The seizure of the Duke of Glocester was carry'd so secret-ly, that there was no noise of it; and the King thefaw such an even Countenance towards the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, that he invited them to Dinner with him as his greatest Favorites, but while they were at their Meat, he caus'd them to be arrested, and carry'd immediately to the Tower to be kept close Prifoners; the Lord Cobham also and Sir John Chevney were at the same time apprehend'd, and sent to the Isle of Wight. These Actions much amaz'd the People; and left they should rise for the Lords refuse, a Proclamation was put out to allure the Nation, and that they were seiz'd for new Crimes which they had been found guilty of, and which should be prov'd against them at the sitting of the next Parliament, in which the Commons hoped they would have such fair dealings, that every Man refus'd contented, and did not doubt but if they were innocent they would be clear'd, and if guilty of any Crimes deserving Death, twice twit they should have their delers.

In the Interval, before the Parliament met, the King and his Friends were very busy to lay a sure train for the ruin of their Enemies, whom they had now got in their power; and to this end, first, certain of the Nobility, whom the King could deal with, were furnished to impeach them of High-Treason, viz. Edward Earl of Rutland, Thomas Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marshall, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, Thomas Earl of Somerset, John Montague Earl of Salisbury, the Lords Spencer, and Scroop Vice-Chancellor, whose false Honour and Good-will was thought enough alone almost to justify a false Accusation. Next, All Endeavours were used to procure such a Parliament as might be ready to concur with the King's designs, and left the Dukes of Lancafer and York should attempt any thing for the defence of their Brother the Duke of Glocester, whom they knew to be a Prisoner at Calix, or the Friends of the Earl of Arundel and Warwick should undertake their Rescue, the King provided a strong Guard of Clothier-Men, and four thousand Archers, besides the Forces which he had order'd the Lords of his Party to bring with them, to attend and guard the Parliament, in which might at the same time be an excommunication to any refractory Members.

These things being thus prepared, the Parliament was summons'd to meet at Westminster about the middle of September, which it did accordingly. The Dukes of Lancastre and Glocester doubting of their own safety, because their Brother was imprison'd, thought along with them a strong Body of Men to defend themselves, and were received into London, tho' the King before had forbidden the Citizens to entertain them, but certain of the Nobility, who were sent to them from the King, giving them Assurance that there was no ill intended against them, and that nothing should be done against the Lords but with their Advice and Concurrence, so pre-

vail'd with them that they diffimul'd their Forces. A. D. home. The Lords of the King's party, viz. the 1597. Earls of Darby, More, Rutland, and Northam- bert, the Lords Spencer, Henry and Thomas Penney, and Scroop, brought great Troops of arm'd Attendants, which they kept and lodged in the Towns about London all the Session. It was open'd by Edward Stafford Bishop of Exeter, then Lord Chancellor, who in a grave Speech deliv- er'd, 'That the King was of absolute and in-contestable Authority, inferior to none but God; and that all Persons that shall dare to offer or limit his Power, upon any pretences whatsoever, are worthy of Death, as wicked Traitors. These Words within the House, being seconded with the Guards without, were thought a manifest Indication, that not Law but arbitrary Power was to order matters this Session. In the lower House, Sir John Busby, Sir William burger, and Sir Henry Green, the King's Creatures, had a strong party, so that they could carry all things as they pleased. Sir John Busby was chosen the Speaker of the Commons, and a Vote pass'd preferently. That a Person who should be convicted of a high Crime, the King's Power and Regality should suffer as a Traitor. These Foundations of Action being laid, the King by his Attorney prefer'd his Complain of Rebellion and Treason against Thomas Duke of Glocester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers Members of the Parliament, bringing the Judgment of Guilt to them to the Parliament. Sir John Busby having aggrav'd the Crimes and Ingratitude of the said Peers, first required, That since the former Grace and Favour had wrought to little upon them, their Parliaments might be revok'd, which was accordingly done: And then he demanded Judg- ment of the said Peers for their late Crimes, particularly for Treason, in compelling the King to grant them a Commission to govern the Realm; and upon the Archipope for procuring the said Commissions, and granting their Par- liaments. The Archipope rode up to make his Defence, but the King employ'd him Silence till the next Term, and then upon his Appearance in the House he commanded him by the Bishop of Carlisle to go home; and so he came to the House more. After his departure, the King having order'd the Bishops to chose themselves a Procurator, because it was not lawful for them to be present in cafes of Blood, (whereupon they chose Sir Thomas Percy, and departed the House,) he granted a Commission to severall Peers, of which the Duke of Lancastre was High-Steward, to examine and try them for all Crimes and Treasons laid against them. The King had a little before prepared a large Building, like an Hall, open on all sides but the Roof, for their Tryal. Seats for himself, the Parliament, the Appellants and Defendants. When the Day of their Arrignment was come, and the Earls were brought out to their Examination, the Appellants Lords accused them as Traitors, for 1. Forcing the King to grant them a Commissi- on for the Government of his Realm. 2. For usurping the Regal Authority in holding a Parlia- ment in prejudice of the King's Royal Digni- ty, under pretence of that traiterous Com- mission. 3. For traiterously murthering Sir Si- mon Barley and Sir James Barrowby, two of the King's faithful Lige-Subjects, without the least Attempt. And, 4. For raising a traiterous Infraction at Haringey-Park, and en- tering arm'd with the Duke of Glocester and Earl of Warwick into the King's presence; and then
The Life and Reign of Richard the Second.  

A.D. 1397.  

The Earl of Warwick, Richard Fitz-Ailans, first arrived, and boldly deny'd their Charge, saying, 'That he was not a Traitor in Thought, or Word or Deed, and that he had acted, either by Virtue of the aforesaid Commission, or while he was in Arms with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Warwick, was not done with any ill Intention against the King's Person, but for the good of the King and his Realm, which he did not doubt but he could make good against any or all the Appellants by right, if it would please the King to permit him so to vindicate his Innocency against the false and base Accusations. But because his Enemies had him now in their power, and his most innocent Actions would (as he very well knew) be confin'd in the worst Sense, and what they had alleg'd as Treasons, they would make such, he added, as his firmest Plea, which he would abide by; that these very Acts, if Treasonable, were practis'd by him for the King's Interest, and that not only more publicly with the Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Warwick, but he had a special and a particular Pardon for himself. The Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Boyle immediately reply'd, 'That both those Pardons were revoked by the King, his Lords, and his faithful People assembled in Parliament, and therefore could not avail him in this Case. The Earl reply'd, 'That the Revocation of his Pardon was not done by the People, for they lamented him, but by him and his Company, who love no faithful dealer. Then the Duke of Lancaster ask'd him if he had any thing to allege for himself? But he said, 'The King's Pardon was freely granted him, and the benefit of it he hoped would not be deny'd him, for he insisted upon it. But that being over-rid'd, they proceeded to give Sentence upon him in this form: 'If John, steward of England, judge thee, Richard, to be a Traitor, and I condemn thee to be drawn and hanged, beheaded and quarter'd, and thy Land, entails and entail'd, from thee and from those Heirs of thy Body descending to be confin'd,' which usual Sentence in Treason was, according to the Custom, but they rather seem'd to be aspersion'd to all respect paid to his Blood, and he was commanded to be beheaded according to his Condemnation, which was executed upon him the same Afternoon upon Tower-hill, and his Body was inter'd in the Austin-Fryars-Church in Broad-street, London. This noble Earl behav'd himself with much Composure and Calmness in his Sufferings. In his passage to his Execution he gave all the Money he had to the Poor, that he might carry their Prayers with him to his Grave. Several Lords attended him to his Execution, and among them three that were nearly related to him, the Earl of Nottingham that marry'd his Daughter, the Earl of Kent his Sifer Son, and the Earl of Huntingdon. These Men's forwardness he could not but take notice of, and therefore told them, A.D. 1397. 'I was been absent but for that they pleas'd themselves in his Misfortunes, he could foretell them, that their Misfortunes in a short time would be as remarkable as his then were. Then turning to the Executioner, he felt the Sword, and desired him to do his Office as carefully and speedily as he could; and kneel'd down, his Head was separated from his Body by one Blow. His Lands, which were confiscate to the King, were annexed to the Earldom of Chester, which thereupon was added to a Dutchy. His Death was much lamented by the Commons, among whom he was in very great esteem for all his Truth, Valour, and Love of the common Good. Divers Reports were carry'd about, that Miracles were done by his Reliques, and that his Head was again miraculous cemented to his Body; which meeting with a good Opinion of him in Men's Minds, caus'd him to be honour'd as a Martyr. The Earl of Warwick, Thomas Beauchamp, was the Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. the Earl of Warwick, Thomas Beauchamp, was the Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn. The Earl next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the Warwick try'd and condemn.
A. D. 1598, the Name and Title of the Prince of CliefTer to A. D. grace that Honour the more. And as the King fought all means to strengthen himself, and for he also did all that was possible for they enacted, That the Commision granted by the King to certain Noblemen to inquire into and reform Abuses in the Realm, Anno 10. of his Reign, should be repealed as extorted from the King by Threats, and that no such Commision should be granted for the future, and that the Heirs of such Perfons as had been sentenced by the said Commision should be restored to their Inheritance, Lands and Possessions, but should not exact the Revenues of the Perfons from that time. 1. That it should be high Treafon for any Perfon whatsoever to com- pass or imagine the King's Death, 2. To con- vince his Deposition, 3. To receive or prepare to receive, or to aid or abet, or in any manner to contribute to the War against the King in his Realm; Or 4. to declaim the Homage due to him, and that the Heirs of all Perfons who were convicted of any of the said four Articles of Treafon, should be for ever deprived of the Lands and Possessions of their Anceftors, and should not be allowed to have the Benefit of the Laws. This, in an- other, that the whole Power of both Houfe should for a time be put into the hands of certain Perfons nominated by himfelf, viz. John Duke of Lancaster, Edward Duke of York, Edward Duke of Annuere, Thomas Duke of Surrey, John Duke of Exeter, John Marquis Dor- ter, Marqufs Marbui, Earl of Northumberland, Lord of Aumerle, Earl of Gloucefier, and Wilftfere, Sir John Hedges, and some others. Thofe Men were enabled by Virtue of the faid Grant to hear and determine all Matters and Petitions not ended in the laft Sefion; and by Virtue of that Commifion, proceeded to conclude and determine almoft what they pleafed. In the end of the Sefion the King had a Tenth and half of the Clergy, and his own, feventeenth and half of the Laity granted him, be- fides the Cuftoms of Wool at 50. a Sack of every Engli/hman, and 2/4 of every Stranger, and to the Parliament broke up; and a general Pardon immediately followed their Dif missions, of all Perfons but fifty, not named, which was done by commutation of the Nobility in Wills, the King being at Liberty to except almoft whom he pleased by that means. The King having thus eftablifhed his Power, Difcontents and put himfelf beyond all Oppofition and Con- sideration of the Parliament, thought himfelf fure and an abso- lute Prince, but he was lied upon fuch a Foun- dation, and beguile many Perfons among the People, all the Fabrick proved weak, and was soon followed with lamentable Ruine. The Parlia- ment was indeed difloved, but there was strange murmuring about various things that attended it and were done by it, as 1. Thaf it was a Parliament not freely chofen, but pack'd by the King, 2. That the Parliament was peti- tioned on the Shires and Towns by the King's Authority. 2. That it was wholly managed by Cour Favourites, and had bent all its Endeav- ours to deftroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People. 3. That the Duke of Gloucefier was fo illegally murtherd, they were fo far from punifhing the wicked Actors, that they
A.D. approved their Deeds. 4. That the Lords, who 1398. had deferred well of the Nations, and were pardon'd all irregular Actions, were made guilty by an unprincipled Power of revoking their Pardon. The Answer of the Claimants of the condemn'd Perions, was made to many Years before, they had deprived many honest and good Men, both Menial Servants of the said Lords and others, of their lawful Inheritance and Estates. 6. That they had not only laid heavy Taxes upon the Nation themselves, but had exalted to the utmost of their Power, and allowed him such a Power of acting, that he need not observe any Laws but his Will. These things concurring with other Matters of Com plaint in the King's Actions, partly grounded on the Grants of Parliament it fell, as his impo sing the Oaths so severely on all Perions to obviate invisibly the Ordnances of it, and farming the Taxes to Bbegby Beggsz, and Green, who exalted them with the utmost Rigour and Severity; and partly on his own Management, as that he was prodigal in his Ex penses, lewd in his Behaviour, and partial in his Favour: That he discommoded his an cestors' and his Subjects to his nearest Attendance as were neither eminent for Birth nor Virtue, on whom he bestowed the Revenues of the Crown, and impoverish'd the Nation by it: That he preferred such of the Clergy to Bilhopricks and other Dignities of the Church, as either favour'd or joynd with him in his Lewd Behaviour. Thrice things alie nated the Hearts of the People so much from him, that they lay expos'd to a Revolt upon the least Temptation, of which an Occasion shortly after happen'd after this manner, tho' it were some time before it was brought about. The Duke of Hereford and Norfolk riding between the Bells, and difcourfing friendly amongst themselves about Affairs of State, the Duke of Hereford having observed how the People's Affections toward the King declined, freely deliver'd his Thoughts to the Duke of Norfolk, and told him, 4. That the present fent Management and Miniflers were very much alienated from the King; That the King was made odious by his mean and bad Counfellors, who not only raifed the Env y of the Nobles by enjoying the Favours which was their due, but gained him the Hatred of the People by their Conduick, which manifestly tended to their own, not the public Benefit; and therefore he advis'd the Duke of Norfolk, who was a Privy Counsellor, and had an eafe Access to the King's Ear to advertifie the King of it, that he might by a prudent Alteration of things prevent the ill Conquences which would certainly follow; adding, That it was not out of any ill Will he bore to the King, or an Humour of finding fault that he said this, but out of a pure desire. A.D. 1. fire of the Happines of the King and his Go vernment. The Duke of Norfolk seem'd to attinf to the Duke of Hereford's words, as very nece farily and good, and promis'd to represent them so fairly to the King, that they might have the Effect he wishes, and so they parted. The Duke of Norfolk was not unmindful of his The Duke's promise, but being capable how ungrateful a Meffage it was to the King, or perhaps designing to ingratiate himfelf by the Report, he gave it a very vivifying Colour. In the Duke of Here ford's Writ, to him, adding fuch aggravating Expreffions of his own inventing, as made them look like a Calumny both of his Majefly and Government. The King, who was ever very impatient of Reproof, was extremely enraged at the Duke of Hereford, and fends for him to appear before the Council to answer the Accusation brought againft him by the Duke of Nor folk. The Duke of Hereford appeared, and hav ing heard what the Duke of Norfolk had al ledged againft him, thank'd the King for his Favour in giving him Liberty to answer for himfelf, and then ingeniously confelled what he had faid, and with what Intention, but accused the Duke of Norfolk of perverting and mifrep fenting his Difcourfe, either out of Malice or Flattery, which he offer'd to juftifie againft the Duke of Norfolk by Combat, the King would permit him. The Duke of Norfolk unwilling to undergo the Di grace either of recanting his Words, or refuing, avouch'd the Truth of his Relation, and fling ing down his Glove, accepted the Combat. The King was unwilling to grant their defire, and endeavou'rd to pacify the Contention between them by interpolating with his Authority; but when nothing would prevail with them, the King in his Parliament for ten Years, as it sometimes happen'd, wholly guilfied of the Calumny, and to the Duke of Norfolk for his life, as having fown Difcord by his fale Information between the King and his Peers, which was executed within a few Days. The Duke of Norfolk went into Germany, and from thence to Venice, where he

8 Sir John Hayward gives him his Character in iinc. In former Times be had taken part with the Lords, but afterwards was dejirous to be accoimted rather among the great Afins than the gods.

9 Polyfarch Virgi, the moft unfaithful Historian that ever wrote of our Englifh History, has drown the Modern Authors into an Error, by affirming, That the Duke of Norfolk accou't the Duke of Norrfrd, whereas it appears on the contrary, on Rec ord, Placie. Com. in Parl. 1. Richard II. That in the 39th of James Henry of Lancitore came before the King with a Schedule in his hand and laid thus, That having attended him before at Haywood, he there accou't the Duke of Norfolk of many Words, reflecting on his Majesty, and now by his Command he rejected the same which Schedule is to be seen at large in the said Records.

10 Those orders by the King and the Dukes of Lanciitcr, York, Aisburh, Surrey and Essex, the Mervets of Drfet, the Earls of March, Salbytrie, Northumberland and Glouf er, the Earls of Worcifer and Wiltfrie, Sir John Bulby, Sir Henry Green, Sir John Ruffe the Duke of York, Sir Richard Chalmedem, and Sir John Goffe, Commissioiiers, appoinied by the Parliament to decide the Dispute, that the Determination of this Difference should be according to the Law of Chivalry. See the Fore mentioned Plea of the Crown in Parliament, which Record fully confines the Romantick Account of the Glove. The Order of the King was made in the Calendar in Chiffpofe, on the 19th of March, and on Monday the 2oth of April the two Dukes appear'd before the King at Wifdor, where Barrel or Dall was appoinnd between them, for want of other Proofs to determine the Difference.

11 In Apoelig Sir John Haywood.

through
through melancholy and trouble dy'd. The Duke of Hereford, at his departure had four Years of his Banishment relaxed, when he took his leave at Exeter, being full forced to leave the Kingdom for six Years, he went into France, and was honourably received in that Court by Charles the Sixth then King there.

The Departure of the Duke of Hereford, being the only surviving Peer of the popular Lords who was likely to form a faction against the Court, gave Encouragement to more arbitrary proceedings of the King and his Ministers than they had dared to attempt before. For soon after he was gone, the King imposed a great Fine upon all the chief Inhabitants of seventeen Counties in the East parts of the Nation, and gave them to understand, tht they must pay it by forfeiting their Lands, and by having his Agents induced the Noblemen and chief Gentry, as well Temporal as Spiritual, to acknowledge themselves Rebels and Traytors, upon affinences of Pardon, he compelled them to secure their Pardon and his Favours, by undertaking to abide by blank Charter, by which they obliged themselves to pay such Sums of Money to him as he should think fit to require, which pro'd very heavy to many; for some were forced to pay a thousand Pounds, and others a thousand Marks, with like insupportable Sums; commanding them also to take out Letters of Protection, and pay in weekly the Statutes of the late Parliament. This Oath, and these charters were very offensive to the Citizens of London, and therefore they advised their great Sums, by which they were ordered to be imposed upon them, to withstand them. The King was highly displeas'd with their refractory Opposition, and threaten'd a more than usual Severity against them. But the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Walden, who was remov'd from being the King's Chaplain to that See about this time, and their old friend Robert Brasyke Bishop of London so effectually interceded for them to the King, that he promised to forgive them, but did not do it, till by his blank Bonds and Charters he made them pay that which was more than the double of the Sums they had before paid to the late Parliament. Thus he had squee'd great Sums out of them, as he had done from the Clergy and Gentry of the seventeen Counties, and other places before.

On New-Years-Day the River near Belford, which runs between Swalford and Harrowood, divide'd, and became dry about three Miles, and about the same time the Bay-trees, without any unusual or extraordinary Cold, dry'd up and wither'd, which tho' not so much taken notice of at present, yet were thought afterward to portend the Changes of State which appear'd the ensuing Year. About Carneval, it fall'd out that great and horrid Fire at the Houses of the Judiciaries and the Great Chancery, which happen'd the 6th of February, in St. Paul's Church, on the North-Fide of the High-Altar, by his first Wife Blanch, the Daughter of Henry the First, Duke of Lancaster. By this Fire the Duke of Lancaster and all his Books and Lands devoted to his

The King's Injustices to the Duke of Hereford.

And extorts Zeals of the Londoners, from the great Sums Sheriffis, by whom they were order'd to be imposed upon them, to withstand them. The King was highly displeas'd with their refractory Opposition, and threaten'd a more than usual Severity against them. But the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Walden, who was remov'd from being the King's Chaplain to that See about this time, and their old friend Robert Brasyke Bishop of London so effectually interceded for them to the King, that he promised to forgive them, but did not do it, till by his blank Bonds and Charters he made them pay that which was more than the double of the Sums they had before paid to the late Parliament. Thus he had squee'd great Sums out of them, as he had done from the Clergy and Gentry of the seventeen Counties, and other places before.

1399. On New-Years-Day the River near Belford, which runs between Swalford and Harrowood, divide'd, and became dry about three Miles, and about the same time the Bay-trees, without any unusual or extraordinary Cold, dry'd up and wither'd, which tho' not so much taken notice of at present, yet were thought afterward to portend the Changes of State which happen'd the ensuing Year. About Carneval, it fall'd out that great and horrid Fire at the Houses of the Judiciaries and the Great Chancery, which happen'd the 6th of February, in St. Paul's Church, on the North-Fide of the High-Altar, by his first Wife Blanch, the Daughter of Henry the First, Duke of Lancaster. By this Fire the Duke of Lancaster and all his Books and Lands devoted to his
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A.D. 1399.

the Bishop of Chichester, also came into England, out of Greece with Apothecaries' Letters from the Pope, exhorting all well-disposed Persons to affit the Emperor of Constantinople with a liberal Contribution of Money, that he might be able to defend Christendom against the Invaders of the Tartars, and encouraging them to do important Work by a pious Pardon of their Sins; but another Accident hinder'd his succés, and that was the Revolt of the Iris. For Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March and Ulster (who was lately declared to be the lawful and legal King of England, by being made Lieutenant of that Nation) being besieged at Kenilworth by a very strong Body of the wild Iris, there was fea in a Sally with many of his Men, and the English Towns left as a Prey to the Natives, who under Obran, Mackmore, and others, committed great Barbarity and Spoil upon the King's Subjects there. The news of this Rebellion much distur'd the King and his Council, and put them into many Perplexities what to do, they had no Preparations for a War, and 'twould be a shame to the Nation to leave that Kingdom, which had cost so much to conquer, and had been held so long by the English, in his Absence, when they happened to be at last resolv'd, that the King should raise an Army, and go over himself in Person to redress them to their Obedience. Money was wanting, which is the Snow of War; and therefore the Ministers were forced to use many Exactions to raise a Sum to provide for the Expedition, partly borrowing upon the King's Letters-Powers of the Bishops and others, and partly extorting it from those that were unwilling to lend it; and tho' the Necelties of the Nation, and Interests of it might have been some excuse for his Actions, yet his extravagant Expenses in Peace, when wife Princes are to provide a Expedition against War, were no good argument against his present Wants, that tho' he did indeed raise a considerable Army, yet it was with the utmost difcontent of the whole Nation. In the Spring the King was ready to embark for Ireland with his Army, but left he should leave his Queen in difcontent for his departure, and Mackmore, who was his 'fUAGE to London for her several days; and about Whitunday they set forward toward Bristoll, and in two hundred Ships pulled from Milford-Haven in Wales with his Army into Ireland, and landed safely at Waterford on the last day of May, having with him the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Gloucester's and Henry Duke's Letters, and the Lord Salisbury, the Abbot of Westminster, and many other Noblemen; and leaving his Uncle the Duke of York his Deputy in England, whom he had order'd to lend Edward Duke of Anmerle with some Reinforcements to his Army, that he might not be too weak in this Enterprise, if he should not return to his own Relief. While the King remain'd at Bristoll he had some Information given him, that Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and some other Noblemen, were contriving an Insurrection in his absence: Whereupon the King by his Purviant sent to the said Earl and his Associates to attend him in this Expedition with all the Force they could gather together. The Earl of Northumberland return'd answer, 'That it was not safe to draw away the strength of the North to go against the Iris, whom a less Force than what he had with him was enough to subdue, because by that means he should expel those Countries who waited all opportunities, as the King well

knew, to make their Advantages of England, and were no longer Friends than they wanted a fair occasion to shew their Enmity with gain to themselves; That since there was no Guard of the said people, he promised his Majesty would be better advis'd than to require his Attendance, which would be a greater advantage to him at home than his Service could profit him abroad. This modest Answer was look'd upon by the King as a crafty Evacuation of his Command, and confirm'd him in his opinion that he was guilty of the Accident brought against him: Wherefore to deter him from any further Attempts he feiz'd upon his Estate, and proclaim'd him and his Associates Traitors, and so departed into Ireland.

The King being arriv'd in Ireland, they did The King's days at Waterford to refresh his Army, and then march'd forward to Kilkenney, where he resolve'd to stay some time for the arrival of the Duke of Anmerle, whom he daily expected. The King's Army truck'd such a Terror into the Iris Rebels that they dare not appear against him, but after their usual manner kept close in the Woods, and by Parties made their Attacks upon the English, and occasion'd the King to go to the Country of Obran, and was above thirty, with very little Loss. When the King had stay'd about a Fortnight at Kilkenney, and saw the Duke of Anmerle not come, he set forward and invaded the Country of the Arch-rebel Mackmore, who keeping in the Woods with about three thousand Men, liv'd in dread of the King's Army. The King had two thousand five hundred Pioneers with him to grub up the Woods, and open Passages for his Army, who were set to work, but could not by Art and Diligence come at him, so that the English rather suffer'd than gain'd by this Attempt, because many of them were starv'd and kill'd while they were foraging. The Uncle of Mackmore, and several of the Iris of better Note, came to the King with Wythes about their Necks, submitted themselves to his Mercy, and were pardon'd. This the King thought would be a good Example for Mackmore himself to imitate, and therefore order'd him to come with his Associates of the same Mercy. But Mackmore understanding that the English could not long subsist in those places for want of Provision, which could not be had by Force or Money, refused to submit, but offered to lay down his Arms upon assurance of Indemnity for his past Offences, and to have the greater part of his Liberty in the future. The King, after some trouble, enrag'd the King, so that he swear'd he would not leave Ireland till he had Mackmore dead or alive; and being force'd to retreat to Dublin to refresh and victual his Army, took such courses as he thought most effectual to obtain his ends: For Iris he published a Proclamation, wherein he promised a great Reward to any Person that should bring Mackmore to him alive or dead; and after he had refr'd and refresh'd his Army fifteen days, he divid'd it into three parts, and sent them out to besiege the Enemy on all sides, and reduce them if possible. Just as the King had thus sent out his Army, the Duke of Avalon, who was arriv'd in Ireland, with a great Reinforcement in an hundred Ships; and tho' his delay was blame-

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worthy, yet the King received him with much joy, and by the Conjunction of his Forces brought to many of the Irish into Subjection, that had been not called home, he had reduced Ireland into an entire Obedience as ever. But his Fate was now to rule no longer, and the Period of his Folly came thus.  

The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Nation having for several Years past been intolerably oppressed and flighted by the King and his Favourites, and now at the King's departure into Ireland vexed with unjust Excitations, began to look for Relief; and having an open running and by the King's absence to put their Designs in Execution, contrived to settle the Crown on another Head, which might govern them with greater Prudence as well as Mercy. The Earl of Northumberland and his Friends, who had suffer'd lately to deeply for sufferance, were among the foremost in this Action, hoping to regain their Lost by a real, which they had undergone for a suppos'd Inurrection. The Perfon whom they thought fitfeit to weal a Scepter, tho' he had none, was Henry of Ballingbrooke Duke of Lancaster and Hereford. He had all the Qualifications fit to make an excellent King, as well as a fit Trust to Sir Edward Mortimer, Earl of March and Duke of Lancaster, fourth Son of Edward III. and after the Death of Roger Mortimer latterly kill'd in Ireland, next allied to the Crown. He was a Prince of great Will, Courage and Experience, a Lover of the Commons, and a Friend to the Nobles, and having fixed severally by the Reputation and Cruelty of a King, was most likely to make a good one, by not laying those unjust Impressions upon others Shoulders, which he found so heavy on his own. He was indeed in France, but would gladly have return'd home, if he safely might have done it before, how much more now, being invited by the People, and allureed by a Crown. Wherefore they took up a general Resolution to send for him with all the privacy and speed possible, affuring him of their hearty affiance in settling upon him what they so much defir'd he would accept. Thefe their Requesifs and Defires they drew up into a Letter, and sent it over by faithful Mellengers to Archibald Douglas, Duke of Lennox, who was that Eber who by Letters also import'd to be their Advocate with the Duke to comply with them. The Archbishop, being a Fellow-sufferer, gladly accepted the Office, and went with the Mellengers to the Duke of Hereford at Parta, where having obtained a Secrety fit for a matter of such Importance, they delivered their Letters from the Nobles and Commons of England, and the Archbishop feconed them with the best Perfusions which Reafon could invent, or Rhetoric urge. He reprefented to him the Misery of the present State of the English Nation. That they were utterly ruined and de-royed by the ill management of the public Affairs, in which tho' the King himself were not actually concerned, yet so long as he em-ployed and upheld fuch unfit Minifters, he could not be thought fit to govern; That it A.D. is far more intolerable to be Slaves to mean Persons than to the King himfelf, and therefore so long as the King could not be won from maintaining their Pride and Tyranny against their People, it was hardly any fea-son to depofe that Perfon, who left his Power in fuch baile Hands; That the prefent Condition of the Nation was fo low and diftracted, that no-thing but a prefent Remedy can fave it from utter Ruin; for the ancient Honour of the Nation for Chivalry was degenerat'd into Ef-timacy, and the Men who were famed for their Courage and Conduct, either put to death or banifh'd, the Nobility is contempt'd and flighted, the Gentry abused, and the Commons miferably poll'd and taxed, and that not to support the Government, but the Pride and Avarice of their Fellow-Subjects; That the Relief of thefe in an age could not be ex-pected from any Hands but his reafonably, not only because he was fo eminent for all warlike Achievements, but becaufe he had fo near a Relation to the Crown; and therefore the Nation had devolv'd their Hopes of Eafe entirely upon him, which he in Honour and Con-duct was to retrench, and with him having a Son they had resolv'd to fand him in the At-tempt, and it could hardly prove unfortunate to him, where fo much Love, Power, and In-tereff were united. The Duke, who had all the Reafon in the World to heare to thefe Propofals, because twas the only way left him to make the barbarous Duke of Alberne, recover his own Honour and his Eftate, free hisnelf of an uneafy Banifhment, and refiore his Family and Children to their Natural Rights, yet was not fo much enamour'd with fo fair an Offer of a Crown, but he was very cautious of the Acceptance, and told them, That tho' he was fillip'd of the bad State of things in Eng-land, with which the credit need not an ex-pectation from any Hands but his reafonably, and was much obliged to his Countrymen for their good Opinion of him, yet he was not unfensible of the great danger in at- tempting the deposing of a King, and the fickle-ness of People's Affections, which tho' they might lead Men into hazardous Attempts, yet usually proved falfe, and therefore could hardly think it prudent to touch to them. He declared himfelf free from all ambiguouf and afpiring Thoughts, being now of more fixed Years and Confideration; and if he should engage in fo difficult an Action, 'twould be more for the Love of his Country than his own Honour. That tho' he was a ftate motive to rescue himfelf and Family from ruine, yet it was much greater to retrieve an whole Nation; and therefore since the No-bles and Gentry had gone far to retreat without Safety, he would rather run the hazard of his own Life than defert them; and to dif-tribute their good Will with promises of Ac-ceptance if the Nobles and People of England would hold to their Petition. This Auiller, which was carry'd back with as great Secrecy
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A. D. as Hafle, fet the Nobles of England on work to raise what Men they could ready to receive him; and the Duke himself carrying the Matter very closely, obtain'd Leave of the French King to go and visit the Duke of Britain his Kinman, and that he might raise the most multitude into the Army of England, the Lord Cobham, and some other Gentlemen of note attended him. The Duke of Britain accommodated them with some Ships and Men for his design; but the Duke had so great Confidence in his Forces, that he would not carry no Force along with him, but a small Guard of thirty Lances. From Port Blanc in Britain they set off for England, and being arriv'd over'd a while upon the Coasts to observe in what Forwardnes the Nobles were for his Reception, and where he might most safely land. The Earl of Northumberland and his Friends, whose whole Injuries had made them most zealous Enemies to King Richard, had so well dispos'd the People of the North to the Duke of Lancaster, that he easily found their Kindness to him; and thereupon landed 2 at Rason Sparr in Holderness in Yorkshíre. The News of his Arrival was no sooner spread, but the Earl of Lancaster was lock'd in to his Alliance, and the Earl of Northumberland and his Son Henry Husfuar', the Earl of Wefmorland, the Lords Neville, Rolfe, Williamsby, Darby, Beaumont, and many other Person's of Honour, with a considerable Body of Men, came to him; insomuch, that in a very few days his Abode was tenanted by fifty thouland well accouter'd and able Men.

The Duke of York went no further against the Duke of Lancaster.

The Duke of York, who was the Governor of the Nation in the King's absence, had Intelligenc of these things, and like a Person faithful to his Trust, took the most effectual means to meet the impending Danger; and calling the King's Council together, propounded it to them, to consult by what ways they might secure the Nation in its Obedience to their King, and prevent the Descents of the Invader. The chief Men of the Council were Edmund Stafford Bishop of Exeter, Lord Chancellor, William Scop Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Treasurer, John Bishop of Chester, John Cole, and John Ruffell, Knights. These Men, upon deliberate Thoughts, resolved, That it was best to leave London, which had been lately disoblige'd, and had always been inclined to the Lords Party, and raise an Army about S. Albans for the Defence of the King and Nation, with which they might oppose the Duke of Lancaster either at his Abode, or before he had got a Body of Men together to his Allience. This Advice was immediately put in Execution, and an Army of Men, whose Loyalty put them upon that Service, gotten together; but when they under stood that they were to fight against the Duke of Lancaster, they unanimously declared that they would not oppose that noble Lord; but let him quarrel as he pleased, and they believed he fought not the Crown, but the Restitution of his Right, which would be the highest Intolerance to keep him from. This Anfwer quite discourag'd the King's Friends, for they easily saw their Army, tho' in number insufficient to have done much, yet they had it to look to; and they were dif mising it, betook themselves to other ways for their Security. The Duke of York and Bishop of Exeter kept a good Body of Men with them, but the Lord Scop, Bofby, and Green, fled to A. D. Bristol, and fortified themselves in the Castle; and Bagg was sent to Chester, and so escap'd into Ireland.

The Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, who the Duke of Lancaster had found Fortune even to out-go his own Witnes, was invited to proceed in his Attempt by it, and therefore having taken an Oath to the Lords, that he would neither procure nor permit any bodily Harm to be done to King Richard; that he would require only the Lands which were defended to him by Inheritance from his Fa ther, and in Right of his Wife; that he would obtain, that the Commons should be caled of their Taxes and Subsidies, cause the King to lend home his Guard of Chester Men, and bring him to a better Order of Government; he made all the knight he could to London, the Metropolis of the Nation, of which if he could get the Possession, he should easily master the rest. In his Pillage he his Army daily increased, partly through the general Inclination that the People had to him, and partly through the Encouragement that Archbishop Annuel gave him by his Pardons from the Pope, promising Remission of all their Sins to such as would subscribe to his Lafayette, and had a dream that Duke of York had gotten an Army to oppose the Duke of Lancaster in his March thither, but they would not fight against him; and so he was forced to pafs by him to meet the King at his landing in Wales. At London the Duke of Lancaster was received with all Demonstrations of joy, surprising the Expectations of the People of him: The coldfleft Entertainments by Feasting, Pagents, and Proceffions, were thought too little Expressions of their Happines by his Presence; and as if their Allegiance were transferred to him only, they belou'd all their good Wishes and Promises on him, leaving no thing for king Henry to raise and carry on. It pleased the Duke by his abode here, having feuer'd the City on his side, had little to do but to purrife the Enemies of the common Good; and therefore bent his Course to Bristol, where the third chief Infrumens of the Nation's Military had fortifie'd themselves, sending Parties on all sides, and sending his Son Duke of Cornwall, with the few Men that did not join with him and his Confederates. The Duke and his Army besieged the Castle of Bristol, and after four days Siege took it by force, with the Lord Scop, Bofby, and Green that held it. The Hatred of the People to them would bear no delay of their Punishment, wherefor they were arraigned before the Common Ciable and Marthall, they were found guilty of Treafon in misleading the King, and were immediately beheaded. The Duke of York after this Execution, became the Duke's Friend and chief Councillor. The People arrested the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elaborne, and Sir Walter Bever, Laurence Drury, and Thomas Loper, Esquires, and to what through Fear, and what through Affectation, the whole Nation feem'd in a manner fubdu'd to the Duke. From Bristol he went to Chester, which receiv'd him with Pro cessions, and yielded their Charter up to him: From hence he sent his Son into Ireland, with the Duke of Gloucester's Son, but in their Pillage the latter were found dead.

While thefè great Changes were working in England, the King was in Ireland, and had no Intelligence of it; for the Irish Seas were fo


to Durlford were deliver'd up to the Duke of Lancaster, and that all Lords, Gentlemen, and Commons, who had any thing to do with him, and that his true Friends and Councillors had lost their Heads at Durlford, he depair'd of all Success, and calling his Army together, licens'd them to depart to their homes, chusing rather to submit himself to the Mercy of the Duke, than hazard the Lives of his Loyal Subjects in vain: And so he with the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Sroop, and about ten more of his fast Friends, betook themselves to the Castle of Cowesey to the Earl of Salisbury, refusing to keep themselves there till he could gain better Terms and more Security.

A Jacobitie Contrivance to get the King into Scotland. The Soil of England was very strong in it self, but situated so upon the Sea-shore, that the besieged might easily escape into Ireland, if fire-striëd by a Siege. These Advantages the King had so well secur'd, that he fear'd not all the Force of his Enemy the Duke of Lancaster, who was baffling with all his Army to pursue the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerset, who had heard or knew to remain loyal, rais'd an Army of forty thousand Men, ready to march with the King against his Enemies, if he had met them according to his Promise. But when the Earl of Salisbury, who led them to attend the King at the time appointed, seem'd to deceive them; and some had rais'd a Report. That the King had fle'd in Ireland, the whole Army was so poss'd with the Fears or Belief of it, that they would not by any Arguments the Earl could use be persuad'd to begin any Action, till they saw the King, but were contented to stay fourteen days longer for his Arrival; in which time, if it not happen, they would depart home, as they did; and the Duke of Lancaster was left to leave Ireland till eighteen days after the Earl left him, and was three days in his Passage. The King with the Dukes of Anmore and Exeter, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle, with divers other Nobles, landed at Milford Haven in Water, and leaving the Forces which he had brought out of Ireland with the Duke of Anmore at Milford, went in a Dennis to Cowesey to see what Army the Earl of Salisbury had got ready to receiv'e him, but he found, that his delays had rob'd him of his Friends to his great Grief, which he with the Earl of Salisbury much la'ment'd. While the King was gone to Cowesey, the Queen heard of his Deliverance of his Heart by his Actions; for giving it out, that the King had quite left his Army and was fled, not with little Oppriming him, he dismiss'd every Man to provide for his own Safety, and fled himself with five hundred to the Duke of Lancaster. Thomas Peiry Earl of Wors-cerfer afo, who was Steward of the King's House, brake his Staff in the midst of the King's Servants, and by this� he did the King's Family, and fled with him. But the Chefible Men were not corrupt'd by thei' Examples of others, they went to Cowesey to the King; where meeting with others of their Countrymen, they made a considerable Army, and were resolve'd to maintain the King's Right and Interest, and to maintain his Wife and Children. And so he at a narrow Passage near the Town, he divided all his Men into two Ambushes, and plac'd them under a Rock, charging them to keep it; and so he with five Men only in his Company went to the Town, where as soon as he arriv'd, he sent an Herald to the King to de- sire him to come to meet him, and to deliver the Duke of Somerset to him. And so the Duke made firm'd it with a solemn Oath taken upon the Sacrament, that the Duke should perform what he
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he had promised in his Name, and if the King pleased to go to the Duke and confirm the Offer, he should depart whither he pleased afterwards. The King not believing that Treachery could lurk under such holy and sacred Oaths, no word was heard of the former, and the latter was settled.

This Agreement, intending to pass afterwards into Writing, and provide an Army to secure himself against all future hazards. The Earl having obtained his desires, hasten'd the King away with him to the Duke; and having got him on Horseback, with the Earl of Salisbury, Bishop of Carlisle, and the Duke of Perse, who attended him, rode along with him to conduct him. The King defir'd the Earl of Northumberland to ride before to Rutland to provide them a Dinner, which he feem'd difficult to obey, and rode shape from them; but went no farther than his Ambushes, to whom giving notice of the King's approach, and commending their Order, he said till the King came up, who feeing such a company of Men with the Earl, found that he was treacherously enfin'd and betray'd, but he had no way to escape their hands, being on all sides inclosed with Rocks. The Earl forcing the King firp'siz'd, went to him, and knelling down before him, said, That he had appointed to attend his Person, but the King returned, That they were needless, and contrary to his promise, who had affur'd him that he would not have above fix Perions with him; and in an Anger faid, he would return to Conway, but the Earl was then more plain with him, and said he was oblig'd to himself for what he would now carry him to the Duke of Lancaster, as he had engaged to do ten days fince. The King, tho' unwilling, was forc'd to go forward, and dining at Rutland, was conducted to Flint-Caffe that Night to lodge. The next Morning the Duke of Lancaster, who had notice of the King's arrival at Flint-Caffe, drew up his whole Army, consisting of an hundred thousand Men, round about the Caffe; and having first sent the Archbifhop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Percy, and the Earl of Rutland, to the King in the Morning, to prepare and difcurfe him, the Duke himself waited on him in the Afternoon. The King received the Duke with much calmness and obligingness; and when the Duke told him first, that he would only to obtain the Revifion of his Honours and Lands through his favourable permiflion; the King reply'd, That he was ready to accomplish his Will; and when he farther added, That since the People complained of his rigorous Government for these two and twenty Years, he was now revolvd to help him. The Duke then said, Fair Cousin of Lancaster, since 'tis your Will to do fo, it pleafeth me well. The Duke also fpoke to the Bifhop of Carlile, Sir Stephen Scroope, and Sir William Perkeeb, but took no notice of the Earl of Salisbury, who then ghercer'd the Duke's deadly Intention to him. After this difcource was over, the Duke of Lancaster was brought out, and being mounted with his Friends, conducted him that Night to Chofier, where he was kept in the Caffe under the Care of the Duke of Lancaster's and Earl of Arundel's Sons, who hating him for putting their Fathers to Death, would be more watchful to keep him for the Day of their hoped Revenge. From Chofier he was remov'd by Nourizie to New-Caffe in Staffordshire, where the old Earl of Carlile, recalled from his Banishment in the Life of Man, met him to upbraid his Severity to him. From hence he was brought by Stafford to Lichfeeld, and being lodg'd in the Caffe had like to have escaped out at a Window, but was discoverd and put under greater Security. From hence he was carry'd in a few Days through Gorleston, Northampton, Dunfable, and St. Alban's, to London. When the Duke was come within fix Miles of London, the Mayor and Companies in their Liverys, with Trumpets founding, met him, and paid him much more Reverence than the King himfelf. When the Duke came within lefs than two Miles of the City, he made a paufe, and enquir'd of the Citizens what he should do with the King? Who answer'd, That he should be kept at Weffmimifher; but he flay'd only one Night there, and was convey'd the next Day to the Tower, to be kept a clofe Prisoner till the meeting of the next Parliament. Several Citizens had contriv'd to kill him as he pass'd through the City, but the Mayor and Aldermen having timely notice of their Deputies, and by their Vigilance and Care prevent it, and refer'd him to a more miserable Fate.

The Duke of Lancaster remain'd some Days in the City, at the Bifhop of London's Palace and St. John's Hospital without Smithfield, and then retir'd for five Days time into Herefordfure, and having at his firft coming to London in his own Letters, in the King's Name to fummon a Parliament to meet on the falt day of September, was extremly buife in Confultations with his Friends on how to order matters in this critical Session. It is by King Richard.

It seems that it was fully revolvd among them, that King Richard should no longer govern the Nation, but that the Duke of Lancaster should be depriv'd his being thought worthy of Confluence. Many things were propounded, but the Duke of Tork's Advice was folow'd, who thought it beft, that King Richard should both voluntarily resign his Throne, and be solemnly depof'd by the Parliament too, because, as he faid, the Judgment of Parliament would make him think worthy to be depof'd, yet his Depofition would not be juft unlefs he journ'd in a Refignation. This Advice was much approv'd, and accordingly put in execution, for the Day before the Parliament met, which was on the 9th of St. Michael, there assembled in the Tower Thomas Arundel Archbifhop of Canterbury, Thomas Stafford, Archbifhop of York, John Bifhop of Hereford, Henry Duke of Lancaster, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Ralph Earl of Weffmifher, the Lords Bunnell, Barkley, Roije, Willingbly, and Abergwiney, the Abbot of Weffmifher and Prior of Canterbury, William Thorne and John Markham, Chief Juflices, Thomas Stoke and Thomas Barkeft, Doctors of Law; Sir Thomas Harencroft and Sir Thomas Gray, William Ferly and Dennis Lophams, Publick Notaries. When they were fet in their places,
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In the Name of God, Amen, I Richard by the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, do hereby acquit and discharge all Archbishops, Bishops, Lords, Barons, knights, Commons, Lords, and all other my Subjects, both Spiritual and Secular, of what degree forever, from their Oath of Fealty and Homage, and all other Bonds of Allegiance to me due both from them and their Heirs, and do hereby release them from the said Oaths and Allegiance, as far as they concern my Person for ever. I also renounce all my Kingly Majesties and Dominions, with all the Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, and do renounce all the Title and Claim, which I ever had or bore to them. I also renounce the Government of the said Kingdoms, and the Name and Regal Titles thereunto belonging freely and wholly, swearing upon the Evangelists that I will never ascend to my voluntary Resignation, nor suffer to be opposed, as judging my self not unwisely deprived of my Regal Dignity for my defects. This Resignation King Richard read with much cheerfulness and calmness, as if he had gladly parted with the Burthen, not Honours of a Crown, and then signed and affixed it in the Presence of the Lords, amongst them the Duke of Lancaster, on whose Finger he put his Signet, might he be his Successor, and appointing the Archbishops of York and Bishops of Hereford to be his Procurators, to declare and shew this his voluntary Resignation to all the States of Parliament, and his desire that his Confidants, the Duke of Lancaster should succeed him in his Throne. And this done, they took their leave of him.

The Monday following the Parliament met, and after the Archbishops of York and Bishops of Hereford had declared in the King's Name, that he voluntarily had resigned his Regal Dignity and Power, which they all both Lords and Commons agreed to and accepted, he proceeded to his Deposition; and in order to it digested all the Misdemeanours of his whole Reign, as far as they could call them to mind, into 33 Articles of Accusation, allging against him, 'That he had wafted the Publick Treasure, and given away the Pleffions of the Crown to Persons of no Reputation; That he had imprudently committed the Care of the State to Cruel, Base, and Infradors; Lords of Treafon for treating of Matters concerning the State of the Nation, tho' appointed to it by Parliament; That he had forced the Judges to give their Opinions contrary to Law for the deftruction of the Lords; That he had punifhed the Lords, and fined their Attendants for Chronifling by his Proclamation and Charter; That he had detain'd Records of concern for the good of the Nation; That he had unjustly banished the Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, and forbade all his Friends to fuc for his return; That he had procured Bulls from the Pope to force his Subjects to obferve Laws made for his own ends; That he forbade the Duke of Hereford's Proxes to procure or defend his Kaute, notwithstanding his Grant to him under Seal; That he put out divers High-Sheriffs duly elected, and put in his Favourites, and kept them in that Office longer than usual; That he borrowed great Summits of Money, and having credited them, he taxed his Subjects at his pleasure, and would not pay them for Provisions had of them; That he said, All Law was in his own Breast and Head, 1399; and the Lives of his Subjects were in his Hands; That he put out Knights and Burgesses duly elected for the Parliament, and put in Men for his own turn; That he had extorted several Sums of Money, Lands, Goods, from the Clergy, contrary to Law; That he deviided certain new Oaths, and forced his Subjects to take them; That he banished the Archbishop of Canterbury without just Cause, and gave his Goods to his Succeeder, on condition he should observe the Sermons made at Stratford and Coventry; with other Misdemeanours of less Importance. These Articles being composed in form and engrossed, were brought into the Houfes, and being read, it was demanded of the Lords and Commons, what their Judgment was concerning them? They replies'd, That they were notorious Crimes, and that King Richard being manifestly found guilty of the fame, was worthy to be deposed from his Royal Authority and Dignity; and thereupon Commissioners were appointed by both Houfes to pronounce a Sentence of Deposition against him in the manner and form following:

In the Name of God, Amen. We, John Bishop of Affling, John Abbe of Glafebury, Thomas Earl of Oxford, and other Lords and Commons of our Nation, and of this Kingdom, and of the Realm, have by our Command to the Lords, and to the Commons of the Realm, and to the chief Barons, Knights, and Citizens of the said Kingdom, and of the Realm, and to all other Persons within this Kingdom, of what Quality or Degree soever, from this Day forward to be obedient or attantuent on the afofoaid Richard as King and Lord of these Realms. This Sentence of Deposition being pronounced, the said Commissioners in the Name of the Parliament resigned unto Richard all their Homage and Fealty, which in time past they had made or did owe unto him; and to King Richard was look'd upon as wholly deprived of his Regal Power and Kingdoms.

The Report of thefe Commissioners being given in to the Parliament, it was presently voted that the Throne was vacant by the voluntary Cefion and just Deposition of King Richard, and therefore they ought to proceed immediately to the Election of a new Prince into the Throne, left by a long Vacancy the Affairs of the Nation should receive any prejudice. Before any Person was or could be mentioned, Henry Duke of Lancaster was put in his Claim for the Kingdom in these words: Crown.

* The Throne was not formally voted vacant; but as soon as the Deposition and Resignation of King Richard were read, the Duke of Lancaster rose up and claim'd the Crown by descent; after which the Lords and Commons severally and generally consented to choose him for their King.
In the Name of God, Amen. 1, Henry Duke of Lancaster, do claim as my Right the Crown and Realms of England, with all the Dominions and Dependencies thereof belonging, being Linearly descended from Edmund sonned Crouchback, eldest Son of our good Lord Henry the Third; and through the Right which God of his Grace hath for me by Right, and help of my royal, kindred and noble Friends, who have accousted with me to recover the same, being at the point of Destruction for want of good Government and an orderly Distribution of Justice. And then he return'd to his Place, and sat down again.

How far this Claim prevail'd in the Election, 'tis no ways evident. The Archbishops, who made the Proposals, did not think fit to insist much upon this Title, but put it to the Houles choice whom they would have for their King: For he in order mentioned several that had a near Alliance to the Crown, and asked the Houles, First, Whether they would have the Duke of York for their King? And they said, No. Then, Whether they desired his eldest Son Edward Duke of Annerl? And they reply'd, No. Then he pronounced the Duke of York's youngest Son, and several others, but all were refuted. Then the Archbishops putting awhile, asked them, Whether they would have the Duke of Lancaster for their King? And none else, and so answer'd three times. The Choice being thus fixed on the Duke of Lancaster, the Archbishops going to him, kneeled down before him, and declaring to him that the People had unanimously chose him for their King, desired his Acceptance of the Care and Government of the State. The Duke being so on his Knees when they spoke to him, rose up, and reply'd, That since the Kingdom was devolved upon him by a special Disposition of Divine Providence, he durst not refuse it. Then the Archbishops having read to him the Duties of a King tinged him with the Sign of the Cross, and the King kiss'd the Archbishops, and the Confessors taking the Kingdom with which the Kings were wedded to the Realm, thieved it to the whole Assembly, and then put it on the King's Finger, and the King kiss'd the Confessors. Then the Archbishops led the King to the Royal Seat, who made his Prayers immediately before it, and then turning himself to the Assembly, gave Thanks to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the States of the Realm, affearing them, that he would not by way of Crown divide or deprive any Man of his Rights and Franchises which he now enjoyeth, or hath had by the Custom and good Law of the Realm. Then a general Silence being kept a little time, the whole House gave Thanks to God for his Gift of so good a King, to the Nation, and Archbishops role up, and in a Sermon-like Speech upon 1 King. 9. 17. from whence he singled out these words for a Theme, A Marshall rule over my People, declared the Happiness of this Nation in the Person they had chosen; That he was not as the former King, a Child in Understanding, tho' not in Years, under whose Government they suffer'd so many Miseries, but a Man of perfect Reason and vaft Experience and Judgment, under whose aubitious Government we have Assurance of a full and free Profession of Religion, a due Administration of Justice, a lifting Peace and Plenty, concluding with a short Prayer, That he might long prosperously reign over the Kingdom, to the Glory of God and the Prosperity of the Nation. To which the whole Assembly, with joyful Acclamation said, Amen, and Amen.

King Richard was thus depose from his Royal Dignity, and Henry Duke of Lancaster sitteth on the Throne; when he was 20^ Year and twenty Years, three Months and eight Days. The Manner and Form of it was signified to him by Justice William Thynning the next day, who at the same time forreder'd back all Homage and Fealty due unto him, but King Richard for many things gave his consent, hoping, that the new King would throw him the greater Kindness for his willing Reformation of all to him. King Henry, as soon as the Parliament rofe, went to Whitehall, and made a great Feast for all the Members, at which he demand'd him with the usual Obligings and Kindnes, without the Majesty's Refervedness or Distant of a King, to the good liking of his Subjects present. In the Afternoon he was proclaimed King by the Name of Henry the Fourth King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and Proclamations were published to continue all Officers and Justices in their Places, to preserve the Order and Government of the Kingdom.

Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of Richard II.

In the 7th Year of his Reign, when his first Wife Queen Anne came from Bohemia, she had no Soner fet foot on Shore, but such a Tempest immediately arose as had not been seen in many Years. Several Ships were daft'd in pieces in the Harbour, and the Ship in which the Queen came over was shattered and broken; which was the more observable, because his second Wife brought a Storm with her to the English Coasts, in which the King's Baggage was lost, and many Ships of his Fleet cast away. Sir John Hayward.

At Newcastle upon Tyne, as two Ship-Carpenters were figuring a piece of Timber, wherever they hew'd Blood issued forth in Abundance; this was the 21st of May, several Churches were thrown down by an Earthquake; and on the 24th of May there was an Earthquake, or as Holinfhead calls it, a Waterquake; whole Motion was so violent, that it made the Ships in the Harbours beat one against the other, and very much endanger'd them.

About the same time the Ufe of Guns came in, and Sir Hugo Cateury, Governor of Calais, was the first that employ'd them in the English Service.

In his 12th Year Wine was so dear, that the beft was fold for 20. a. and that which was not so good at 13. a. d.

The fame Year Sir John Montacute, a great Follower of Wickiff's, order'd all the Images to be taken out of his Church at Shenly in Buckinghamshire. Holinfhead.

In his 15th Year, while the King was at his Manour of Shen in the Month of July, there appear'd on a sudden such innumerable Swarms of Gnats, that they dar'd not the Air. They skir*
mih'd and fought in Parties, the plain fell down to the Ground by Hearts at a time, and being swept together with Brooms, were found to be many Bifhops fall. About a third part of the whole came off Conqucrors, and few away.

In the following Year a Hurricane threw down many Hooies, deftoy'd Cattle, and rooted up Trees. This preceded a great Mortality, especially among the Youth, and that a Fanire; for says my Author, Wheat was fold for 13 d. a Buthe. Hol. Tho' Money was scarce at that time, yet one won'd think fuch a Price for Corn had never been the Sign of a Decrath in England.

On the 9th of July, in his 15th Year, the Sun appear'd to be obtufd by certain thick and dreary Clouds between that and the Earth: It was about Ten of the Colour of Blood, and gave little or no Light from Noon till it set. These Clouds rode daily for almost fix Weeks together.

The North and Earl Parts of England were at the fame time more afflicted with a Pefilence: In a few Weeks there dy'd eleven thoufand Men, Women, and Children, in the City of York. Hol.

The next Year Wool was fo cheap, 'twas fold in fome places at 22 d. the Stone. The fame Year a Dolphin was taken next London Bridge ten Foot long: His coming up the River fo far was an ill Omen of the Storms that happen'dfoon after.

In his 18th Year an Apparition of Fire was seen in divers Places in England in feveral Forms, fometimes like a turning Wheel burning, fometimes like a Barrel with Flames of Fire flathing out at the Head, and fometimes like a long burning Lance: When it appear'd to any Perfons, it would go as they went, and stop when they flopp'd. A Head was made at this time, the Cruel Parliament then fitting, which spoke of it felf and faid, The Head fhall be cut off, the Head fhall be lift up aloft, the Feet fhall be lift up aloft above the Head; which was done, as Holinshead fuppofes, by Necromancy, and as we would think now by a Trick. In April a fiery Dragon was feen in feveral Counties, and fome time before there happen'd a Computation of the two greatest Planets Saturn and Jupiter.

In the Reign of this King the moft Famous Soldiers were Henry Earl of Darby, who fucceeded him in the Throne, Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, Popular Lords, Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Roger Mortimer Earl of March. For Learning the moft Exceufed were,

Henry of Bory an Austin Fryar.
Simon Alock.
Esther Belton a Wellwoman, and a Monk of Darban.
William Ford a Black Fryar.
John Hilton a Fryar Minor.
John Clifton a Carmelit Fryar in Norttingham.
Ralph Maribane.
John Marke a Gray Fryar.
Thomas Brown a Carmelit Fryar of London.
John Bridlington a Yorkfide Man.
John Thompson a Carmelit Fryar of Norfolk.
Thomas Winterton of Lincolnfide, an Augustine Fryar at Stamford.
John Botellana a Black Fryar of Cambridge.
William Radke in Cambridge.
William Rolfe in Cambridge.
William Schule a Monk of Buckiff Abby in Derefchire.
Thomas Albunc an Anifin Fryar.
John Affon a Wicklewill, fent to perpetual Imprifonment.
Mr. Cafferton a Monk of Norwich, an excellent Divine.
Nicholas Radcliffe a Monk of St. Albas.
John Anfwer an Wicklewill.
Richard of Mathiffe a Carmelit Fryar of Alicefford.
John Wardle in an Augustine Fryar, a great Divine.
Robert Walker Archbishop of Dublin.
Dr. William Berton Chancellour of Oxford, an Enemy to the Wicklewill.
Philip Reppin an Wicklewill.
Thomas Lowe a Carmelit Fryar of Lye.
Dr. Nicholas Herefordone of Wicklewill's Followers.
Henry Herkly Chancellour of Oxford, an Enemy to Wickliff and a great Sophift.
Robert Iivery a Carmelit Fryar of London, the 26th Provincial of his Order here in England.
Dr. Lankina a Londoner, an Augustine Fryar, an Enemy to Wickliff.
William Gillingham a Monk of St. Savours in Canterbury.

Peter Pateflauia a zealous Wicklewill, forc'd at laft to fly to Bohemia.
William Woodford a Francifcan Fryar, a chozen Champion of the Papacy against Wickliff.
John Browney a Lawyer and Divine, one of the fame Principle.
Marcl Fryar, an excellent Divine and Philofopher, one of the first Profeflion in the University of Heidelberg.
Richard Northeil Son to the Lord Mayor of Lon-

In the Reign of this King the moft Famous Soldiers were Henry Earl of Darby, who succeeded him in the Throne, Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, Popular Lords, Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Roger Mortimer Earl of March. For Learning the most Exalted were,

Henry of Bory an Austin Fryar.
Simon Alock.
Esther Belton a Wellwoman, and a Monk of Darban.
William Ford a Black Fryar.
John Hilton a Fryar Minor.
John Clifton a Carmelit Fryar in Norttingham.
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William Radke in Cambridge.
William Rolfe in Cambridge.
William Schule a Monk of Buckiff Abby in Derefchire.
Thomas Albunc an Anifin Fryar.
John Affon a Wicklewill, sentenced to perpetual Imprisonment.
Mr. Cafferton a Monk of Norwich, an excellent Divine.
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Peter Pateflauia a zealous Wicklewill, forc'd at last to fly to Bohemia.
William Woodford a Francisican Fryar, a chosen champion of the Papacy against Wickliff.
John Browney a Lawyer and Divine, one of the same Principle.
Marcel Fryar, an excellent Divine and Philosopher, one of the first Professors in the University of Heidelberg.
Richard Northeil Son to the Lord Mayor of London of that Name.
Thomas Edwardson Prior of St. Austin's Fryars at Clare in Suffolk.
JohnCKER a Francisican Fryar of Bridgewater an Enemy to the Wicklewill.
John Swetwam Bilhop of Bangor, a violent Adversary to the Followers of Wickliff.
William Lawson a Fryar Hermit of the Sect of St. Austin's in Stamford.
Robert Wise a Wicklewill.
Cardinal Adam Effen advanced to that Dignity by Pope Gregory XI. He was Bishop of London.
John Tuffington a Francisican Fryar, and William Rimfou a Monk of Selby, both Champions of the Papacy.
Dr. John Beacons a Carmelit Fryar of Northampton, Prior of that Monaftery.
Roger Treford an Augustine Fryar.
William Shrewsbury.
Richard Wiccbingham, and Ralph Spalding, these were all Priests and Fryars, Men noted in those days for their good Learning and good Preaching.
Henry Daniel a Physician.
Simon Bredon the tame, and an Almoner.
Adam Meriamb a Canon of St. Paul's Church, London.
William Packington Secretary and Treasurer of the Hothold to the Black Prince.
Henry de Knighton. The three last were Historians.
John Trevejia a Cornifhman, translated the Bible.
John Bredon the same, born, but bred up in the University of Paris, he wrote the Romance of the Roif in French, and was translated by Geffyry Chancer.
HENRY, Foremost of Ballingbrooke, a Town of Lincolnshire, the Place of his Birth, having obtained the Crown of England by the Resignation of King Richard, and Election of the Three States of the Realm, then assembled in Parliament, affirmed the Government, Apr. 30. 1399. He was the Eldest Son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Fourth Son of King Edward the Third, and after his Father's Death was himself Duke of Lancaster, as he was before in Right of his Wife, Duke of Hereford. The Regal Power did not belong to him in a Lineal Succession after King Richard, because there were yet surviving Descendants of the House of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence. (The Elder Brother of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,) by a Female Branch, his Daughter Philippa, who being married to Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, left a Son Roger Mortimer, who had been declared next Heir of the Crown by Parliament in Richard's Time, and dying left Edward Mortimer the Heir of his Hounour and Estate, with several Children. But as the great Opinion of Henry's Merit, in rescuing the Nation from the Tyranny of Favourites, and the Oppression of bad Governors, made no Reward to be thought great enough for him, but that of the Crown; so Henry being confident of the People's Favour, and considering the Obsequity of Mortimer's Family. ventured upon it, and, as if the Salic Law had been in Force in England, claimed it the Royal Authority, as the next Heir to it. Edward Mortimer was not inlible of his Right, and tho' he had it in vain, while the Nation was in so great a Turmoil, and the Minds of the People were so passionately set upon the Duke of Lancaster, to oppose the Current of Favour, and Power with his Claim, and therefore be- took himself to Privacy at his Haven of Wre- mure, in Herefordshire; yet it was very gratifying to him to hear Henry call himself Heir of the Crown of England, and therefore paid to his Friends, that he was Heres macus, such an Heir as the Prince is to the Merchant's Goods, which he by Force took from him.

Henry being thus got into the Possession of the Crown, used all the Arts of a politic Prince, to settle himsift firmly in it, and entail it as strongly as was possible upon his Posterity. The First of these he had no other Way left to do, but by his Coronation, which for that End he appointed to be celebrated on St. Edward's Day, October 13, as soon as Preparations could be made for so great a Ceremony. The latter he resolved to do by Parliament, which he upon mature Deliberation dissolved, (because it was called by King Richard's Writ, and therefore its Acts might become disputable, if it had been continued,) and sent out his own Writs to have another chosen, which he appointed to meet the next Day after his Coronation, Octob. 14. in order to his Crowning, which drew on appeal. He not onlyupply'd all Offices of the Court, which were vacant either by the Deaths of such as had fall'n, or were fled for their Middle- menors under King Richard, with such Persons as were most faithful and deserving, (viz. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, he made High Confulble; Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, Earl Marshal; Sir John Norbury, Lord-Treasurer; Sir John Sherley, Chancellor; and Sir Richard Clifford, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and confirmed the other Offices of State, who were to assist at that Ceremony,) but constituted a Special Court to receive the Claims of such as by certain Tenures or Custom were to officiate at it, of which his Second Son Thomas was appointed Steward, and for that Purpose kept his Court in Westminster-Hall several Days to- gether, till all Things were settled, and order'd for the Solemnity. The King on St. Edward's Eve lodged in the Tower of London, and there made his Three Sons, with several of the Sons of the Nobility, and many others to the Num- ber of Forty Six, Knights of the Bath. On St. Edward's Day in the Morning he rode through the City to Westminster, being attended by the dio. Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens of Lon- don, clothed in rich Liveries, and follow'd with a costly Equipage, where he was consecrated, anointed, and crown'd by Tho. Arundel, Arch- bishop of Canterbury. He was anointed with an Oil, which was then thought to have a pecu- liar Sanctity, and Excellency in it, being given to his Grand-father by the Mother-Side, to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, by a religious Her- mit, with this Prophecy; That the Kings that should be anointed with it, should be ensconced with a Seal to preserve and defend the Church. King Richard having found it among his Father's Jewels and Treasures, with a Label, signifying the Use of it, had a Design to have been crown'd again, that he might be anointed with it; but Arch-bishop Arundel affirming it unlawful for him to be anointed twice, put him from that Reflection; and so Henry having got the right of King Richard, at Flint-Colles, by the Arch- bishop's Means, was the first that was anointed with it. At his Coronation, King Henry in-

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A.D. 1399.
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vings, observ'd that his Hereditary Claim was not justifiable, (6) and that it began to be ridi-
culed by his Enemies, caused himself to be pro-
claim'd King of England, first by Conquest, and
then by the Special Delegation of King Richard,
who at his Reignation of his Crown had given
it to him, then were laid to the claim of Lancaster, as his adop-
ted Son. And thus did Henry seem to himself, to have clear'd up his Title, and secured him-
sel a firm Possession of the Crown, which some at that time judged to be given him by God's Special Favour and Providence, so much the more, and in his Coronation he did it on that Day Twelve-month, on which he had been banish'd by King Richard, as if this great
Change of the Kings had been the Reward of the Injustice of the One, and the Innocency of the Other, and God had justified Crown not for
Civil Titles, but Defects.

(6) The Parliament, according to Appointment,
assembled the next Day after the Coro-
nation; and having chosen a new Speaker, Wil-
tiam Dormwood, Elst., in the Place of Sir John Chre-
ney, who design'd to be excused for his Infrig-
imity and Sicknes, they order'd the King, in the
first place, to inspect into the Abuses of
Government, in the Reign of King Richard,
and to regulate all Things that had been found prejudicial to the publick Interests; to examine the Cape of the condemn'd Lords; and, more ef-
nestly, to banish the Murderers of the Duke of
Gloucester to condign Punishment. The Par-
lament were very zealous to obey so just a
Command; and in pursuit of it, having reci-
ted, and condemn'd the Transactions of the
Parliament, in the 21 Rich. II. in banishing the Duke of Gloucester without any reasonable Cause, in condemning the Arch-bishop, without hear-
ing his Defence; in barbarously justifying the
Duke of Gloucester's Murder; in denying the
Earl of Arundel the Benefit of his Pardons, and
putting the whole Power of the Parliament in-
to the Hands of certain select Persons, to the
great Injury of the Nation, they repeal'd, and
utterly made void all, and singular the Statutes
and Ordinances of the said Parliament, and
abrogated the Authority and Power given to
any Person or Persons by any Act or Law of the
same, and revived the Statutes of the Parlia-
mount in the Rich. II. by which the Supreme
Power of the Nation was put into the Hands of
the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundel and
Warwick, and some others, till the King should be
of full Age to assume the Government himself.
by these Acts the Attain'd of Blood was
removed from the Lords, which had suffer'd, or
were condemn'd in the said Parliament; and as
a necessary Consequence of that, the Heirs of
the condemn'd Lords were releas'd to their
Honours and Eullets by another Act made for
that Purpose; yet, with a Præsto, That the
Reclaim'd of Blood should not be enough of the
Persons that had been in Possession of them
for the Time past. And because many Things
had by the said Parliament been made to be
Treason, which had not been formerly so
-often-repeated, and that for no other Reason, but that the
Reclaim'd of the said Lords might be more
notorious; yet with such Prejudice to all the
King's Subjects, that no Man hardly could be
have himself cautiously enough to avoid the
Penalty of it; therefore it was further enacted,
That nothing for the future should be extenu'd,
or adjourn'd to be Treason, but what was or
condemn'd to be Treason by 25 Edw. 3.
The next Thing they entered upon was, the Duke
of Duke of Gloucester's Murder, concerning which
they had a very particular Information given
them by Sir John Bagot, then a Prisoner in the
Tower, who in a Kind of Narrative, among many
and other Things relating to King Richard's Acts,
Abuses and Sayings, discovered; That it was
one of the Tenors of the Duke of Au-
merle, that the Lords were apprehended by
the King, and that the Duke of Gloucester was in
humanely murther'd at Calais. That the Duke
of Norfolk did keep the Duke of Gloucester alive
Three Weeks against the King's Will, but,
that for fear of the King's Displeasure, both
the said Duke and himself, with several of the
King's, and Lord's Servants, went over to
Calais, and faw him put to Death. The Duke
of Aumere denied the Charge brought against
him by Sir John Bagot, and offer'd to justify his
Innocency by Combat; in such manner as should be thought requisite; but Bagot not
being at Liberty to accept the Challenge, the
Lord Fitzwater, with Twenty other Lords, of-
fer'd to make it good by their Bodies, That he
was the very Crip of the Duke of Gloucester's
Death, for the murder, and had made the Lord
Fitzwater, and having affirm'd, that what the
Duke of Aumere had done against the Duke of
Gloucester, was by Constraint and Force, offer'd to vindicate him by Fight: Their Hoods,
which they flung down as Pledges of their In-
centment, were fully receiv'd by the Duke of
Marshall to be kept. The Parliament might have
taken Occasion from the Dillentions of the
Noblemen to have proceeded with greater
Severity against all the Infrumens of this bar-
barous Fact; but the King having prescribed them such Measures as were more fuitable for his present Condition, they contented them-
selves to inflict a more moderate Punishment on
them, viz. That the Dukes of Aumere, Surrey,
and Leicester, the Marquesses of Dorset, and Earl of
Gloucester, who had been the Accusers of the
Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lords, should
have their Lands reduced to a third in the Time
before the Arreft of the said Duke and Lords,
losing only their present Titles of Honour, of
Duke, Marquess, and Earl, but all their
Caftles, Lordships, Manors, or other Possi-
abilities whatsoever, which had been given them
since the last Parliament, and belong'd to any
of the Persons whom they had impac'd, or
were held by Gift from the King, and should
forthwith bring the Charters and Deeds of the
said Lands, Caftles, or Manors into the Chan-
cery to be cancel'd; and, That it should be un-
lawful for any of the said Persons, or their
Successors, to give Livemery to any Retainers, or keep any
Persons about them, but necessry Servants; and
that it should be High-Treason in any of
them to enable, or any ways assist King Ri-
chard, to recover his Crown, and disturb King

These Infictions satisfied the King and Par-
lament, but the Commonalty were not so con-
tented,
...subjected, for they repined against the King, Arch-...the Life and Reign of Henry the Fourth.

A.D. 1399.

Reg. 3. of Richard, whose immediate ancestors...A.D. 1399.

Reg. 1. of Richard, from whose seal...to their immediate and proper subjects;..."subjected; and that because neither one, nor all the...rules and regulations...in the time of this Session hang'd and quarter'd, and his head sent to Calais, to be set upon the Calais...for, if the executioner acting by...in the time of the Session hang'd and quarter'd, their...more the false Accusers and Witneces, who...caused his Condemnation; but Moderation was...more thought necessary at this Juncture, and...more necessary since the King's Authority was plead...their Pretences should be able for the future, a statute was...that it should be no Excuse hereafter for any Persons doing an unlawful Action, to...that he was forced and constrained by the King; and a general Pardon was then granted to all Persons, but the Duke of Gloucester's Murthers.

Proceedings against King Richard.

The Parliament having proceeded thus far in the Matters done in King Richard's Reign, came next to consider about his Person; and the Motion being made how he should be dispofed of, (A) that he might not be a Trouble to the King and Nation for the future, the Houles enter'd into a violent and long Debate concerning be...ing a Matter of very great Importance; and among others, who by special Order of the Houles were allowing to deliver their Opinions upon that Subject without Interruption, John Markes, Bishop of Carlisle, a Person both of Learning and Integrity (and as Sir Walter Rale...perhaps he will be pleased to use his Influence in respect to his Sovereign's Right, and his own Allegiance) has always disliked the former Proceedings, in depoing King Richard, and lecting the Duke of Lancaster on the Throne, deliver'd his Judgment to this Effect, in a grave and learned Speech; "That the Resolution of this Question being so necessary for the settling the Peace of their own Con&iences, as well as the future Order and Quiet of the Nation, they...ought to consider, before they came to any De...termination upon the Two Topics. Where...that King Richard is so sufficiently and lawfully...had, and 2. Whether King Henry be...judicially and prudently chosen in his Place." As...for his own Opinion upon them, he freely and...boldly laid it down before them thus: That...though in a Popular or Capstan State, such as of old, the Commonwealth of the Lacedaemon...and Romanis at first were, and such as the...Empire of Germany, Kingdoms of Denmark,...and of Sweden, and Dukedom of Venice at this Day...are, it may be lawful for the Nobles, or Peo...ple to retrain, or remove their Princes from...their Imperial Power and Dignity, because they...have not Regal Rights, and neither are they Sub...servants as the Sovereign Majesty is abso...lutely seated in the Prince, as it was in the...Three first Empires, and in the Kingdoms of...Israel and Judea anciently, and is in the Na...tions of England, France, Spain, and almost all...the other, the dominion of Affairs left in a Predicament...it is not, nor can be lawful for any, nor all...their Subjects, whether Nobles or Commons...to injure and hurt the Persons, nor limit and...abrogate the Power of such Kings, either by...any judicial Proceedings, or by Force, altho...these, his agents, and he himself, were...full, but intolerable and destructive to their..."that the word of Princes, how unjust it is to de...pose good King Richard, who is really guilty of...neither of Cruelty, nor Impunity. For, if...we impartially examine the Accusations...brought against him, we shall find nothing ei...ther of Truth or Moment objected. Some Er...rors and Overights he may be guilty of, but...such as have proceeded from such Originals...as want of Experience, or corrupt Couns...els, as are very pardonable, and in their...worth Effects have not favoured of Tyranny,...or Cruelty; and if these Failings may be al...low'd as just Causes of deposing Kings, the...best of Princes will be daily in Danger, and...every Tax, Execution of Criminals, or disapp...roved proved to be an Heretic and a Tyrant...themselves. But suppose King Richard must be de...posed without Authority in us, or defect in...him, yet what Right had the Duke of Lancas...fer to the Crown? Why did we give it him?...heir he could not be to the Crown, not only...because King Richard is still alive, and the Li...ving have no Heirs; but because some of the...Polttery of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, are yet...surviving, whole Line by the Judgment of the...Parliament, holden 8 Rich. II. was declared...Heirs to the Crown. By Right of Conquest...he could not have it; for being a Subject, al...though the first of their Commonwealth, and...rebellion, and Victory, I reason. For as King...Richard's Reconciliation of the Crown to the...Duke, it gives him no Title; for by the Laws...of the Land the King the Can not alienate so much...as the ancient Jewels and Ornaments belong...ing to the Right of the Crown in King Edward...Fourth, and Kingdom which, if it were in his...Power, yet since it was exacted of the King in...his Imprisonment, and under Constraint, it...can't in Reason be thought of any Force to...bind him; for no Act of a King can be obliga...tory as it is, and where it is, when a...Liberty is restran't, and Fear unjustly suspected.

(4) Halliwell says, The Common Address was to this Purpouse: That some King Richard had reigned, and was Lawfully depo'd from his Royal Dignity, he might have Judgment thereof against him. P. 512. Vol. I. N 2 We
A.D. 1399. 
Reg. 1.

We have no Collom in England, that the People should elect them a King at their Pleasure, but they are always bound to submit to him, who by Right of Blood is the next Successor; and therefore the People's Election, as it cannot be in contradiction to the Crown, nor to the Royal Title to the Crown, I dare not give any Royal Right, so neither can it make that Title good, which is before by Violence gotten and usurped. 'Twas nothing then that called Henry to the Crown, but Ambition in himself, and a foolish Disposition in the People, though they have gotten greater Wisdom and Courage in their King by the Change; yet will find, if not greater Cruelty and Policy, how 'twas the right Hears ever be able to vindicate their Title by Arms, that they have entailed Mifery and Bloodshed upon themselves and People. From these Premisses, he boldly concluded, that They had neither Power nor Policy to depose King Richard, nor elect King Henry in their Room. That King Richard was still their lawful King, and that they ought not to pass any Judgment concerning him; That the Duke of Lancaster had offended the King and Realmen by his great Mutiny; that King Richard had against him or us, and if they thought not to take Notice of Henry's Injuries done to the Nation, contrary to his Oath, yet their private and publick Duties ought to deter them from any Violent Proceedings against King Richard.

This Speech how well soever it was inwardly approved in such Mens Minds, whose Loyalty was shewn rather than extant, yet was outwardly generally disguifed, and the Bishop himself being apprehended and sent to the Tower by the Earl-Marsh, (a) the House proceeded to this Resolution, and caused it to be enacted, That King Richard having been lawfully depos'd from his Royal Dignity for his Misgovernment, was, by the Clemency of King Henry, granted his Life; yet, for the Security of the Kingdom, should be kept in close Imprisonment so long as he lived, being allow'd a Princefly Attendance and Maintenance; but, if any Perfon should attempt his Deliverance, King Richard himself should be the first Man that should be put to Death for it.

And thus was the Nation secured against King Richard, and the bad Effects of his Government, as well as the Party defending them, provided for as effectually as they could for the future Safety, Greatness, and Continuance of their new King, his Friends, and Children; and to that End made several Statutes, that no Perfon that had been adhering to King Henry, either in favouring King Richard, or his Adherents, or in raising King Henry to the Royal Dignity, should be hereafter impecch'd for Rebellion and Treason. And whereas King Richard had procured a Bull of the Pope for the more certain Observation of some Statutes, and his Papists, as tho' there were not sufficient Power in them to enforce Obdience without the Pope's Concurrence: This was look'd upon by the Parliament as a Daragon to the Royal Dignity of England, and accordingly after they had vot'd it to be an Act of Wrong to the Nation in Richard, to desire any such Bull from the Pope, they enacted, That the Crown of the Realm of England, and the Jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole Realm it felt is still, and at all Times lately past hath been at
vantage, sent the Duke of Bourbon to solicit them to a Revolt, which they had espily been tempted to, had not Sir Robert Knollys, the Englishe Governour there, and some of the most con- siderable Men over-persuaded them, chiefly with his promise that they should have all their Necks to the un- supportable Burthen of French Tyranny, out of mere Fears and Jealousies of a bad Consequence of the Revolution in England, which was at best changing a Certainty for an Uncertainty, and so refrained their Determination for a Time. King Henry was at that moment neither afraid nor much displeased; not only from the Con- fidence, but also from his Neighbors in that Faction, was not insusceptible of all those Inconveniences to himself and Government, but with a won- derful Dexterity he applied such suitable Re- medies to them all, as, in some measure, quickly dispelled the Dangers which seem'd thus to threaten him on all Sides. His own Subjects he won by Kindness, taking the Dukes of Aumerle and Exeter into particular Favour, and special Trust about his Person; which Confidence, tho' his Friends blamed him for, yet he chose to shew to them, lest any Indications of Jealousie should excite them to disturb his unfortified State. The Neighbors therefore, because they respected not as Enemies, but as Robbers. The Neigh- bouring Princes he endeavoured to satisfy, by sending an Embassage to each of them, fully in- structed with all such Arguments for his affir- ming the Regal Dignity, as rather made his Cause plausible, than justified it; and was so successful with all the Princes unconcer'd, that they seem'd to approve what he had done; on- ly it was the King of France, who resolutely took upon a War with England, to restore his Son- in-Law, King Richard, being instigated to it by many of his Nobles, but chiefly by Pomeroy, Earl of Essex, and the Duke of Exeter, who, as Richard's chief Sifter. The depo'ed King, who had been kept a Prisoner in the Tower of London, during the session of Parliament, was removed to his Castle of Leeds in Kent, and a little after sent to Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. The People of Coventry and Avicevna King Henry pacified by sending over to them The, Percy, Earl of West- by, a Person faithful to his Interests, and very expert in managIng Matters of that Nature, with a considerable Body of Men. He behaved himself with that Prudence and Moderation to- wards the wavering People, persuading the better part of them, and those Princes and Argu- ments to continue their Subjection, and terrifi- fying the common People with Threats and Arms, that he in a short time brought those Provinces to swear Fealty to King Richard, and yield as willing Obedience to him, as to any of the former Kings of England; yet he thought fit to plant some Garrisons among them, to secure their Allegiance, if they should be tempted to revolt, and so retourn'd Home again.

Things being thus settled, and tolerably com- posed for the present, the King was encouraged to keep his Christmas after the usual Manner at Wind- sor, in Feasting and Sports, as being ficure from all Dangers, which were near at hand, or with- in his own Dominions at least, and having Time enough to prepare against his only open Enemy the King of France. But as Sorens hastily cured deldom proved found, so this sudden Settlement of all Men's Fears, and the short appear- ance'd to be weak: For, though the Nation generally approved and liked the King, yet there were many Malecontents, who either out of a true Principle of Loyalty, or out of Pity and Compassion to King Richard, or out of Diffi- culty for their own Losses or Sufferings, de- fired and sought the Fall of the new erected Co- vernment. The first Attempt that was made towards it, was begun while the King was gi- ving up himself to the Pleasures and Ease of Christmas; and that it might carry no Shew of the Hilfeef dealings, was contrived to be advan- ced in a Sport, among which the doubles-tres, or jumping, or batting, after this manner. The Ab- bot of Weffminffer, who was a much better Po- litician than Divine, and upon that account had been in great Favour and Credit with King Richard, was upon the Deposition of his Mafter to depose theHonours of it, and Greatness he enjoy'd under him; but by the placing of the Duke of Lancaster on the Throne, was put in great Fears of losing what he still enj- oy'd, because he had heard him often say, when he was a Subject, That the Revenues of the Church were too great, and the Estates of the Noblemen in England too little; which made him conclude, That being now King, he would certainly take away the Revenues of the Abbies, to enrich his Nobles, and to ingratiatize himself with the Laity, as well as strengthen his Intercourse with the Great Men of the Nation. To prevent such a Miff- taker as this, Richard, as well in favor to himself as to the Abbot invited several of the Nobility and Geo- try, whom he knew to be dissatisfied to the present Confutation, to a Feast in his Monas- tery, viz., the Lords lately degraded by Par- liament, Edward, Earl of Rutland, late Duke of Aumerle, Thomas and John Holland, the Earls of Huntington and Kent, late Dukes of Exeter and Surry, John Montague, Earl of Salisbury, and Hugo, Lord Spencer, late Earl of Gloucester, Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Bernard Brecken, Sir Ralph Lansley, Sir Ben- net Cely, and one Mogadra, a Pridic, one of the Princes, his Chaplains, and the whole Parliament, assembled in his Mafter; and after Dinner, withdrawing with them into a private Chamber, he pronounced the Restitution of King Richard. The Earl of Holland, whose Mind was full of Revenge against King Henry for his late Di- grace, as well as of Desires of restoring King Richard, who was not only his brother, but best Benefactor, greedily embraced the Proposal; and having urged it upon the whole Company, 

That they were in Conscience obliged to en- deavour to set their lawful King on his Throne again, and depose the Ulipper, tho' with Loifs of their Estates; that they had no Choice, but to think it an unlawful Face, since the Laws and Examples of all civilized Nations did not bare- ly permit this Action, but resolved and ho- noured the Actors, as the greatest Benefactors to a Commonwealth: so far prevalent, that they all proposed their own Affiliates to depose and murder King Henry, and entered into an Indenture Sextipartite, to bind themselves each to other to be diligent and faithful in the Undertaking, swearing to keep their Delga- secret, and attend carefully upon the Execu- tion.

The Manner of effecting and bringing about their intended Plot, was thus contriv'd: The Earls of Huntington and Salisbury appointed to celebrate a Solemn Jaffet, with Twenty Se'le Men of a Side, at Oxford, under a Pretence of diverting the King; and to that End, the Earl of Huntingdon was to have a Guard of a Thousand, and the Earls of Salisbury, and Middlesex, and that his Majestie would be pleased to be Judge, if any Controversie should arise in their Exercit. The King not suspective any Deceit, promised that he would be there at the Time prefixed, and the Earls made such Preparations as if they were in Earn, referring, when that the King was latent upon the Sport,
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Sport, a Party of Men, placed conveniently on purpose, should fall upon him, and kill him. The Plot went on smoothly and unsuspected till the Day drew near, and the Lords, having all Things in the Ear of Oxford. The Earl of Rutland, late Duke of Avonrile, was one of the principal Conspirators, as was forward as any in the Design; but as he was pailing to Oxford, left his direct Way to give his Father, the Duke of York, a Visit, and did not take with him. The Earl had brought with him the Counterpart of the Indenture, in which he was bound to the Confederates, and having put it in his Bofom as he was eating, it was eloped by his Father, who immediately asked him what Writing it was, and what was the Purport of it? The Earl, conscious of the Subject, and knowing how ungrateful such an Enterprize would be to his Father, submissively told him, That it was nothing that concerned him, and homely benign'd that he might be excused. But the Duke seeing his Son's Backwardness to shew him what he companied with, and the Suit and Enterprize, was the more eager to know the Contents of it, and swearin by St. George, That he would feite it, found upon his Son, and by Force took it from him. When the Duke had read it, and saw the Treatable Design carry'd on by it, he burst out into a great Passion at his Son, charging him not only with Treason to the King, but the most ungrateful Perfidiousness to himself, who being bound for his Allegiance in the late Parliament, was involved in the same Ruine and Deftruction with him: And therefore told him, That since he had so little Regard to the Safety of a Father, that had been so tender of his Son's Preservation, as to lay down his Life at a Pledge for it, he would take Care to secure his own Life, tho' with an Hazard to his Son's; and therefore order'd his Horses to be saddled, to go to Windsor, and discover the whole Matter to the King. The Earl of Rutland, allforight with the present Danger, and having his Conscience, as well as his Father, for his Accuser, was in great Perplexity what he should do; and tho' he was unwilling to de- fert his Confrerates, yet, now nothing but Ruine could be expected, he the Son of the King's Preference, he knew he must turn his thoughts to his own Safety, that he might be excused from all his Father's dislike. For his part, he was desirous of some means to get into the King's Presence, and to prevent his Discovery, and therefore taking his Horse as soon as his father was gone, rode another Way to Windsor, and got to the King before him, Youth and Danger putting Spurs to his Horse. As soon as he arrived at the Ca- stle, and had gain'd Admittance, he pretended, as usual, to Complain to the King of all the Troubles, and the Defires of the Country, and the greatest Miseries of the Nation. The King, neither rathly credulous, nor imprudently careless of his own Safety, enter'tain'd the Discovery kindly, and told the Earl, That if his Relations were ever, he would pardon him; but if he joyn'd to im- pose upon him, it should be at his own Peril. Thiee

Confira
evictoried by the Earl of

Rutland.

Things had hardly pasted between the King and Earl, but the Duke of York arriv'd, who by de- livering the Indenture to the King, gave him a sufficient Demonstration of the intended Treas- on and Plot against his Father, both that he had read and perused it, there was no Room left to doubt of the Confession he had receiv'd from the Earl of Rutland; wherefore, making some Reflections upon the Baseless and Ingra- tiate of his Enemies, whom he feared, con- trived in the Defence of the People to secure himself, and defeat the Designs of his Enemies, for his Intention of going to Oxford out of the Reach of it. And for that End he wrote his Letters to the Earls of Northumberland and West- merland, and such of his Friends as he had in other Countries, to provide what Forces they could raise with all Speed, and come to him to London, whither he posset d as fast as he could, for fear lest his Enemies should surprize him at Windsor; and (g) having acquainted the Ministers of War, he made his way to London in Force for his Defence, resolving to stay there till he could find what Course his Enem- ies would take against him.

The Lords, and the rest of the Conspirators, The Lords car- ried the Proposition of the Rebellion to the King, and requested that he would sign a Proclamation, by which the People might be prevented from resuming the old King's Approaches. The Earl of Oxford, what desired in Expectation of the Earl of Rutland, not hearing of his or the King's Approaches to the late Execution of him. The Earl of Oxford, who waited in Expectation of the Earl of Rutland, not hearing of his or the King's Approaches, and fearing that the Plot was betrayed, and therefore considering, that they had so lately been pardon'd, and could not hope again for Mercy, which they had so grossly abused, resolved to undertake by open Arms, what they had continued to effect more privately: And that they might get a great Party as was possible, they countenanc'd Magdalena in Royal Robes, and gave it out, That King Richard had made his Ecape from Farnfurl- Caffle, and was come among them to recover his Right, having their Henry-Richard ready to jus- tifie their Pretences to the Scrupulous and inquisitive. And because they knew, that the King of France would be glad of an Oppor- tunity of reforning his Son-in-Law K. Richard, they sent to him for his Alliance, and tho' it was not possible to have it presently, yet they hoped that, by the kinder Circumstances of the Spring to their Success. In the mean time, they sent out their Emissaries, to gather as great Numbers out of the Nation to refore King Richard, as they could, and wrought so far upon the People, who generally pifi'd the hard Fate of the Captive King, that in a few Days they had gotten together 4000 Men, well arm'd. This prosperous Beginning feem'd an Omen of their good End, and that they might effect their Defires as soon as possible, they march'd forth towards Windsor against King Henry, whom they could surprize, they hoped to make a Great Capture of the Nation's Troubles: but the King was escap'd to London the Night before, and so they mist'd of their Prey. This Disappointment put them into great Doubts how to proceed effectually against him. Some advised to march forward towards London, if the King was to be sure of, and the City was secure'd, and in no Readiness to make any Resitance, which as it was the best Courfe they could take, for so they'd a brave Courage in the Advers. But the most part, who were more timorous and cautious, thought it better to return King Richard first, lest if

(g) He had a Day or two at Windsor, but hearing the Conspirators had got 4000 Men together, he flew away in the Night to London; and a few Hours after he was gone, the Rebels came to Windsor. Sir J. Harsil's Hist. IV.
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A.D. 1400.

Reg. 1.

Confed, the worse, was accepted, and in pursuance, and to go as a prisoner to Sunbury, near Reading, where Queen Isobel's Palace was, to whom they gave this Account. That the King was gotten from his Imprisonment at Pemfrith, and at the Head of an Army of 10000 Men. Which News was foco to the immediate defection of King Henry's Aruns, and pull'd off his Badge from her Servants, who were engaged to wear it, and then departed with the Lords to meet King Richard; exhorting the People, as they passed along, to take Arms to vitiate the forsaken King, who, and is, and should be here Sovereign. They pull'd through Wallingford, and Abingdon, and at length came to (Cirencester), where having encamp'd their Army in the Fields, the Lords took up their Lodgings in the Town, the Earl of Earl, late Duke of York, and Earl of Salisbury, in one Lane; and Earl of Statington, late Duke of Exeter, and the Lord Speaker, late Earl of Gloucester, in another Lane. The Ballif of the Town, who was a firm Friend to King Henry, observing the ill Conduct of the rebellions Cont, and knowing the Factions would be suppreffed, the misguided Multitude would melt away of itself, look'd upon the impolitic Separation of the Lords from the Body of the Army, to be an Opportunity of suppreffing the Rebellion, if he could get them into the Tower, in which he deemed no difficult Matter, because, with Guards, but small Attendance of Servants: Wherefore, Starring together about Eighty Arches, and other Arms, as the Time would give leave, lacer the Inns, and, though the Duke of Exeter and Earl of Salisbury with their Men made great Resistance as the Place and their Compt would permit, yet they were at length all, at the Duke of Exeter and Sir John Studio'ssynthesize, and carried Prisoners to the Abbey. All was used by the Servants of the Lords, their Retainers to further their Ends, this Town on all hands, in several Places, long, that while the Townsmen were bidde have their Hoofs and Goods, their Masters got Opportunity to get from them: Comfled to the Army to relate the Accident, 1 bring them to relieve their Captains and Men, but all proved in vain; for the Townsmen enframed by the mischievous Action, negliid their Horses, and bringing forth the Lords from they look'd upon as the Authors and Sifers of this cruel Act, beheaded two of them in the Market-place, viz. the Duke of York, and Earl of Salisbury. And the Army of the Duke of York suppo- sed that King by, who had gotten a good Army of London, and others, and was pur- pursing them, harrassed the Town; so every Man flew to savethemselves.

King Henry vy this Time arrive at Oxford, with Inten to flop the Progress of the Rebels; but Service of the Men of Cirencester had to his Arms ufeless, being met there with good News of their Di- fperion, and a Guard, with Sir William Shely, Sir Thomas, Sir Bernard Brocas, and the Earls of Northumberland, knight and Gentle- men more, who was the chief Leaders of the Rebellion, whom they had taken and fent to be difpos'd of at the King's Pleasure. Thole he immediately caufed to be executed there. Some Reg. 1. of the Lords, and others who were Chief in this Revolt, were fled, as the Duke of Exeter, and Sir John Shely, (4) who got into Eiffel, and attempted feveral Times to get over into France, but were driven back by contrary Winds, and at length were taken at Bristol, and Plifby, were exe- cuted in the very Place where the Duke had béfore arrefled the Duke of Gloucester; a just Reward, as was then thought, of his Wick- ednels to that Nobleman. The Earl of Glouce- fer fled towards Wales, but being taken, was beheaded at Beaufort, and Megdon, the Count- erfeit Richard, with one Eiffel, and another, of King Richard's Chaplains, were apprehended in their Flight to Scotland, and being brought to the Tower of London, were hanged and quarter'd. The Heads and Quarter's of many of the Conspirators were set upon London-Bridge, and cut into other Parts of the Nation to be a Terrour to the King's Subjects against all Attempts for the future, which, tho' a jut Punishment, yet favour'd fo much of Cruel- ty, that many grave Men were discontented at it, and照样 not to fry, That in a few Time they should wish they had hol'd Richard, and hard for their Governor, the Faults which proceeded from his Reminifces and Miflefs being more tolera- ble than the Cruelty of their new King. But yet, for the present, all Things seem'd quiet, and the Rebellion was perfectly allay'd, which, though it was great Sorrow to both King Henry and his Friends, yet was born fo heavy, by the Abbot of Welfmünfter, who was the Author of it, that, for mere Griev of the Dis- appointment, he fell suddenly into a Palcy, of which he shortly after died. The Bishop of Carlifhe had the Like Diftress about the fame Time; for being condemn'd for this Rebellion, he prevented his more shameful Execution by dying for Grief and Trouble in Prison. And thus mott of King Richard's best Friends were taken off by this firft Attempt.

But although the Conspiracy against King Hen- ry's Life and Dignity was by a propitious Provi- dence disappointed, and the Actors pen'd as suddenly and exemplarily as the King him- self could have desired; yet fo long as the Cause remained, and King Richard was alive, he thought he could never promise himself any Security, but, upon every New Attempt, the plausible Pretence of restoring King Richard to his Throne would be made ufe of to revenge themselves, and disturb his Quiet; He should be always look'd upon as an Uherpo as long as King Richard, whole Right was confirm'd by 22 Years Pollution, survived; and, notwithstanding the Rebellion was now appeal'd, yet what Respice could he hope from the like Attempts, fo long as the Body of the Rebels still remain'd, wanting only Heads to lead them. Thole Arguments, grounded upon Strong Fears and Prejudices, made him think King Richard's Death necessary first, and after put K. Edard him upon Resolutions of destroying him. Our mother's Hilpover differ much in the Manner of his Death, tho' most agree it was by Henry's Means: For they King Richard should voluntarily give himself for a Confont to the ill Success of the late Rebellion, as none have related, seems very

(1) The King's own servants attended on her.
(2) They got out of her, while the Duke of Surfc, the Earl of Salisbury, and the other Conspirators, were fight- ing with the Townsmen coming to the Rebels Camp, land then designd at the Sight of the Fire in the Town. 11m-
improvable, because he could not be so igno-
mant of the uncertain Events of Battles and
theater, to be on a Disappointment, nor had Reason to despair
of future endeavours for him, since of the
many Thoouandsof men join'd for his Restora-
ton, he had lost Half an Hundred. Those
that oppose King Richard's Death to King
Henry, have done it in a most Improper
manner, they have not got the
Method of doing it. Some Say, He was,
by his Order, kept Fifteen Days together from
Food, and, by the Help of Cold, starv'd to
Death. Others write, That he was every Day
Served with Henry of Clithes fit for a King's
Table, as was order'd by Parliament, but not
permitted to touch any of them, and so died with
Hunger: But both these Ways of de-
stroying were so plain and barbarous, that most of
our Modern Historians are of Opinion, That
King Henry would not so notoriously con-
duct himself, which he had lately made in
Parliament, That King Richard's Life shou'd
not be touch'd. And therefore the general Cur-
rent of our Writers follow the Relation of an
Author (I) of those Times, who seems to have
had very good Intelligence of his Death, and
relies that, he was at Table, one Day very fat and melancholy, built out into
these Words, E'en miserable is my Condition! who live
in continual Fears and Dangers from but one
Cause, and yet have no Man to much my Friend
as to free me from them. Sir Peerce de Exton
hearing these Words, easily guessed what the
King meant, and though he knew them to be
no Order or Command, yet he believ'd it
would be the more acceptable Undertaking to
execute his Delire without an express Com-
mand from him; and therefore immediately
didst, with Eight Ruffians, to Pomfrait to
execute his bloody Design. When he was ar-
riev'd, he order'd the Gentleman, who usu-
ally was King Richard's Tailor, to neglect his
Service, and let him eat what he pleased, be-
cause he should not eat long. When his Diner
thereof was serv'd up, he did not omitting
his Duty, King Richard demanded the
Chief of it, who reply'd, That Sir Pierce de
Exton, who was lately come from the King, had
forbad him. At which Answer King Richard,
being angry, catch'd up the Carving-Knife, and
hitting the Tailor with it, said, The De-
centle Harry of Lancaster, and three together. As
the King spoke these Words, came in Sir Peerce
himself, and his Eight Attendants arm'd. Their
Design was easily known by the Routines of
their Entrance, and King Richard was so far
from being daunted at their Presence, that he
would not look him, but came out of one of their Haberd'
and urged upon his Defence. The Ruffians
and Sir Peerce undauntedly parley'd their latent,
and at last the King, who so well defended
himself, that he kill'd four of them before they
could matter him. At length Sir Peerce
himself coming behind him, struck him a Blow on
the Head, and feld him, and so he died. The
News of King Richard's Death, however it
might inwardly please Henry, yet he openly re-
ceived it with no small Sigms of Sorrow for his
unhappy Fate, and as great Difgust to the
Intelligence, that he, who expected a Reward for this Piece of Service, was
quite put out of Favour, and forced to flee
to escape the Punishment due to his Crime, which
the King, to save his own Honour, seem'd zeal-
ous to execute, and died in Discontent, and
Horour of Conscience.

Thus Richard end his Life, after he
had lived 33 Years, and reigned 22, some
few Months after his Deposition. He was a Man
of a very well-proportion'd Body and graceful
Posture, of a very liberal and kind Disposition,
which, for want of more Age and Expe-
rience, expiated by the short Title of and crea-
tive Insultations of such as were about him,
and humid's His Genius to Pleasures and Pa-
times, which he much lov'd and follow'd. He
was by Nature every way qualifid to have made
an excellent King, neither wanting Understand-
ing to rule, nor Courage to defend a Nation;
but being corrupted in his Youth by Flattery,
and misled by few Persons, he neither knew
himself nor others, which was the only Cause
of his Ruine; for had he dared to do as much
as at his last Arrival in Wales, as he did at his
Death, so had he made a great Number of Enemies,
as he had judgment enough to have done, he
might have kept his Kingdom perhaps, longer
than he did. He was guilty certainly of many
faults in Government; but hope, either real-
ly none of his own, or for want of Experiences,
which they have been in, have been brought
with, by meeting with Pride and Ambition in the Great Ones, and Discon-
tents in the People, proved his Destruction.

King Henry, being thus rid of his Fears, took
such Care of his Funeral, as shew'd, that he nei-
ther neglected him, nor would own him for a
Rival in his Dignity. His Body being embalm'd,
and wrapp'd in Sear-Cloaths, was cover'd with
Lead all but the Face, and set in a Minster
at Pomfrait several Days to be seen of all Per-
s, who, either out of Curiosity or Pity,
would behold him. From there it was re-
moved to London, and in most of the principal
Towns as it was carry'd along, was shew'd
to all Spectators. In its Passage thro' the City,
the Corps was bare-fac'd, and being brought to St. Paul's, lay Three Days also open
to all Beholders, in which time was kept a fo-
tem Observance to the deceased Prince, both in
that Cathedral, and at Westminster, King Henry
himself being present at them, with all the Ma-
grates, and chief Men of the City. These
sacred Offices being perform'd according to the
Religion of those Times, the King commanded
his Corps to be carried down to Longby, in
Buckinghamshire, and thence buried in the
Church of the Priors-Frachers, which was ac-
cordingly done by the Bishop of Chester, and the
Abbots of Waltham, and St. Albans, none of
the Nobles or Commoners being allow'd to at-
 tend it, as was the custom of those Times.
But King Henry afterwards had his Body
brought back again, and magnificently en-
tombed at Westminster, by the Body of his Queen
Ame, by this pious Deed endeavouring to ex-
piate his Father's Injustice, and Cruelty done
to that King.

Much about the Time of King Richard's
Death, deceased also the Dukes of Gloucester, Several
who being extremely grieved for the Los of Great
her Eldest Son Humphrey, who died of the
Duke of Gloucester, who expected the
Riddle of her
Sorrows, and departed this Life. Thomas Mem-
try, Duke of Norfolk, who, for his Accusation
of the then Duke of Hereford, but now the
King, was banish'd for his Life, died also in

(1) Thomas of Walsingham.
al. 1400. 3 Reg. 1

The D. of York's Death and Characters.

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A.D. 1400.

Exile at Venice, John, Duke of Brittany in France, who had for his first wife Mary, Daughter of King Edward the Third, deceased also, leaving behind him a Widow, France, who was not long after married to one of the sons of John, Richard, and Arthur, Edmund, Duke of York, also yielded to Mortality about this Time, and left two sons, Edward, late Duke of Anjou, and then Earl of Kent, who was heir of his Honour and Estates, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his younger son, the Heirs of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and Daughter of Philippa, the only Child surviving of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, became afterwards a Competitor for the Crown. He carry'd himself in his Nephew King Richard's Reign with such Prudence and Caution, that he never inured the Oidum of the Court or People, as almost all the rest of the Nobility did, but was trusted by the King, and yet loved by the Commons. Under King Henry he shew'd more Compliance to the Change of Government, than was thought agreeable to the Relation he had to the Reign of Richard, a Natural Inclination for submitting, where all Opposition had been fruitefs, that even in this worst Act of his Life, he kept up his Reputation of Honesty and Prudence to the last, and died lamented and honoured; his Moderation in all times gaining him both his Age and Esteem.

While these Things happened in England, Charles, King of France, who had resolved to revenge the Wrong done to King Richard by the English, was very active and busy to gather such an Army, as might be able to effect his Design; and by the Abundance of his Nobility, who readily concurred with him in so great a piece of Justice, had got all Things necessary for that Expedition ready against the Spring, and was come down with a mighty Army into Picardy; whence he intended to fall over into England: But the News of the Death of King Richard being brought to the Army, chang'd their Resolutions; and now since they saw it impossible to revenge him, the King and chief Men engag'd in that Enterprise thought it the best way to deflect from the Invasion, which, though it had some shews of Advantage by plundering to rich a Country, for which End some defay'd, had been taken in hand to prevent Hazard attending it, that most were willing and glad of the Opportunity of laying it aside, and to the Army was dismissioned: And it was resolved, that a solene Embassage should be sent over to Henry to demand, this Queen Isabel should be sent into France to her Father with her Dowry, which was accordingly done; but King Henry would give them no other Answer than this, That he would partily assist his Commis- sioners to Call them to account and conclude with their Mages try about that, and several other Affairs of Importance to both Realms, and then would do what was just and Reasonable.

This Summer the Welsh weary of Subjection to the English, and thinking this a fit Opportunity to revolt, when Subjection was grown a disputed Duty, set up Owen Glendower to be their Prince and Captain, and associating themselves in a Body, with the Aid of his Queen, to recover their Ancient Liberty, and free themselves from the English Yoke. This Owen was of no great Parentage among his People nor Estate; but being a Gentleman of great Courage and Boldness in himself, and because he had been a Sieur, and a Gentleman of some Rank, was highly very forward to oppose and annoy King Henry's Dominions, partly to vindicate his Old Ma-
sent out, under the Command of Sir Robert Logan, to surprise the English Fishermen; yet so long as Damages were equal, the Peace was not actually broken, till King *Henry* was thought to be ready to take the Scots, to proclaim open War upon this Account, and for this Reason: *George Dunbar*, Earl of the Marches of Scotland, having betroth'd his Daughter to Prince *David*, the Eldest Son of Robert, King of Scots, had paid that King a great Sum of Money, in the Performance of the Misdemeanor which was shortly to be celebrated; but being defeated in his Agreement by the Sundry of *Archibald*, Earl of *Dumfries*, who enquiring the Dignity of the Earl of March's Family, to prevail'd with the King, that he married his Son to his own Daughter *Martha*. This Affront and Disappointment was a very great Vexation to the Earl of March, insomuch that he could hardly restrain his Passions from breaking out into open Rebellion; but chusing first to make the Cause known, demanded of *Robert* the Restitution of his Money, which he had paid him, but he was not able to spare it; and could not refuse Payment, yet would neither promise it, nor pay it, but put him off with deludory Anwers and Delays. The Earl being impatient at the Injustice of Robert, sends Missengers to the King of England, to requit of him a Performance both of Himself and Family to come into his Dominions, and Letters of safe Conduct for that End, complaining heavily of the Injury done him by his own King, and intending by the Alliances of the English to revenge his Wrongs and Loses. *King Henry* thinking that the Earl might be some Advantage to him, if there should happen any Wars between the Two Nations, gave him Liberty to come into his Kingdom; and he immediately fled out of Scotland with his Family to *Henry*, Earl of Northumberland, by whom he was receiv'd with a grateful Welcome, and by his Alliance and Advice, the Earl made many Incursions into Scotland with Success, burning their Towns, and returning with much Booty.

The King of *Scots* hearing that the Earl of March was gone, and turn'd his open Enemy, deprived him of his Honour, feiz'd upon all his Goods and Possessions in Scotland, and proclaim'd him Traitor, and sending Missengers to King *Henry*, to tell him, That he must either deliver up to him the Earl of Marche, or banish him his Dominions, or else not expect that the Truce between the Two Nations should last long. *King Henry* knowing the uncertain Honour of the Scots, and considering their late Incursions, to the Prejudice of his Subjects, was resolv'd not to lose the Benefit of this Discontent between the King of Scots and Earl of Marche, and therefore return'd an Anwer, That he was desirous of the *Concurrence* of the Peace, but not fearful of the War, which he should rather view the Hazard of than fastifie his Honour and Promise to the Earl of March, and his Company, who had come into his Nation by his Permission and Leave. This Anwer being brought to the Scotch King, fo incensed him, that he proclaim'd War against the Affrighted King, and accordingly, both KIng and King began to prepare for it against the next Spring, when the Season would allow it.

The *Greek Emperor Immmanuel Paleologus*, whose Dominions were in great Danger to be lost by the Incursions of the Turks, under *Ozkan*, took theDevice of Pritaing *Henry's* Alliance against them. The King met him at Black-Hothe, and conducted him with much Hospitality and Honour through the City of London, and entertain'd him magnificently, bearing his Charges all the Time of his Abode in England, which was but short, because he receiv'd News, that the King of *Leo* had defeated the *Ruffs* of Jerusalem, and taken the City, and he thought it might be some Advantage to his Affairs at Home; Wherefore, taking his Leave of *Henry*, he departed, being dissu'd by him with rich Gifts, and Promises of a larger Alliance, when he should by God's Providence have Peace favor'd among his Subjects.

In the *Year* or *Kali of S. Hilary*, Jan. 21., the Parliament met at Westminster, and made divers Acts for the Benefit both of Church and State. For the Good of the Church, it was made a *Promissure* for any Person to purchase any Bull from the Pope, to exempt them from the Payment of Tythes, for the *Ciguerian* Monks, and other religious Orders then begin'd to bring in such Exemptions, not only for their own *Granges*, but also for all their Farms and Lands belonging to their Monastery holden by Laymen, as much latter he could do for the Secular Clergy, which further to prevent, the Parliament made this Act. But that which was then thought to be the best Act for the Support of the Church, was the Statute against the *Lollards*, or Heretics of those Times, because 'twas contrary to the *Divine* Laws, judicial to the Church, than the Loses of its Revenues. The Occasion of this Act, was this: *One William Smeer's*, a Priest, but a follower of *Wickliff's* Doctrine, having formerly recant'd his Opinions before the Bishop of Norwich, grew more zealous upon his Repentance, and from this Fall; and that he might be given for his Lapre, by an Act of singular Courage and Charity, came into the Parliament House, and petition'd, That he might be allow'd to speak something for the ineffinable Benefit and Advantage of the Nation, purposing to pound a general Reformation both of Doctrine and Discipline in the Church. The Bishops, who some of them knew the Man and his Conversation, and that though he were a Man of singular Piety and Virtue, yet worship'd God after the Way which they call'd Hereaft, oppos'd him so earnestly, and desired that the House should be turn'd over to the Convocation to be examin'd, which being granted, he was there accoutted of holding Heterodox Opinions about the Worship of Saints and Angels, Pilgrimages to Tombs and Shrines, and the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. To which, being oblig'd to answer particularly, many Days were spent in his Examination, and Conviction. In the mean time the Clergy and their Friends, being excited by his Forwardness, to stand up for their Doctrine and Church, became earnest Sufferers to the King, to provide a sufficient Honour and Maintenance for an Evil, and obtain'd a severe Act against all erroneous Opinions; because, in this unsettled Estate, he was willing to gratifie the Clergy, who had affli'd him in his coming to the Throne, and being discontented, much more eager to espouse any cause that was for their advantage; and, being incendiary, began to extort, *That none should preach without a *licentie*, except Perous privileged: *That all Luther none should preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholic Faith, or the Determination of the *Holy Church*, and, that none should favour the *Luther* Acts, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the *Diocesan of the Place*, within Forty Days after the Proclamation of this Statute: And,
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A.D. 1401.
Reg. 3.

1. If any Persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against this Ordinance, then the Ordinance of Marriage was to be in force for fourteen months after the Arrest in each Case.

2. Prison till they were Canoically cleans'd of the Articles laid to their Charge, or it was to be proved to the satisfaction of the Judges, that they were publicly and judicially done, and endeavoured to be brought into execution; and, if they were convicted, he might fine them, and keep them in Prison, as to him should seem fit: And if any being convicted did refuse to be fined, or to be brought into execution, the Relapse, then they were to be left to the Secrete Mournors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs being present at the Pleading the Sentence, were to receive them after Sentence, and they before the People in a High-place to be burnt.

This Act was not sooner put in Execution upon William Santos, that it might be a Terror to all others; for being convicted of Herefie, and Relapse, the King infil'd out his Writ, Feb. 26, for his Execution, which was done accordingly, (m) and so the Act was sealed with Blood.

Other Laws also were made of great Use for Advancing the State, sic. That no Provision should be brought from Rome by any religious Person, to exempt him from Obedience to the Seculer Power; and that all such Persons that shall bring any such Provision into the Nation, shall incur a Fronumatory fine, and that no Person shall carry any Gold or Silver in Coin, without the special Licence of the King, out of the Nation; and if any Person shall presume to do the contrary, he shall forfeit all the said Coin to the King.

That the Chirographer of the Common-Plots, and Clerk of the Crown of the King's Branch, the Marshal of the Marchalls of the King's House, should take no greater Fees than what are prescribed and limited by the said Statutes.

By these Acts the due Subjection of the Clergy and People was preserved and secured to the King, the Traffick of the Nation promote and increased, and Justice made an Ease, and not an intolerable Gavannage, as formerly have been, to all such as seek their Rights. We do not find that the King had, or desired any Tax in this or the former Parliament, because, as he had no great Need of more than the Revenues of the Crowns, so he was willing to get the Love of the People by giving them of Charge, and oppressing Taxes.

As soon as the Parliament was dismissed, the King sent his Ambassadors according to his Promise to Ghent, to treat with the French about Queen Isabel's Restoration, and other Matters of Importance. The English Ambassadors were Edward, Duke of York; Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and his Son Henry, furnam'd Hotspur; the Lord Fitz-Warren, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln; and the French were, the Duke of Bourbon, the Lords D'Aubert, Hengies, and Châtelemartain, and the Bishops of Paris and Beauvais. The main Things agreed upon by the English were, that Queen Isabel might be given in Marriage to King Henry, (n) since the Marriage between her and King Richard was never conunicated by actual Knowledge; and that the Truce which was made by King Richard for Thirty Years, might be continued for the Years that were unexpired. The French Ambassadors would by no Means consent to this, but proposed that the Ambassadors should be sent to Paris, to treat, as they did, about the Mating, which was also rejected.

Reg. 2.

The English Ambassadors demanded her in Marriage for the Prince of Wales, King Henry's eldest Son; A Man answerable to her in equal Degree both of Blood and Years.

(17) He was born in Caufield.

(18) The English Ambassadors demanded her in Marriage for the Prince of Wales, King Henry's eldest Son; A Man answerable to her in equal Degree both of Blood and Years.

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A.D. 1401. Res. 3.

...fire, as Henry was in his Promises, because he never durst appear against King Henry, and, 'tis probable, had no other Design, but, by his Delays, to make the King from Aichon till Winter and Want should force him home, which the Time of the Year easily foretold were at Hand, as, indeed, it happen'd accordingly; for the King, out of Generosity, waiting longer than his Appointment, was forced to withdraw Home within the further Action, because of the Weather and the Want of Provision. The Scots, while King Henry remain'd in Scotland, having the Lords Wardens of the Marches with him, had made some Inroads into England, and did much Harm in Cumberland about Barnshale-Castle, but retracted when the People assembled against 'em. And when King Henry was gone, they again vex'd the Borders, under the Command of Sir Thomas Holkerton of Dirleton, and Sir Patrick Holburn of Hales; and though they did little Harm, yet they shew'd, that though they had not Conscience enough to fight their Enemies, they had Malice to revenge themselves upon them. And thus concluded the first Summer's War between the English and Scots.

K. Henry goes against the Wolf.

While the King was thus busied in Scotland, Owen Glendower, and his Wiffes, were (g) very active in annoying the Counties adjoining, doing all manner of Mischief, which either Malice or Cruelty could invent, burning, plundering and destroying as they pleased. The King being return'd, tho' he was not much concern'd to revenge the Earl of Marche's Quarrel, whose Captivity he did not much pity, because he would have been well pleased if a more severe Fate had befallen him; yet hearing of the Miferies of his Subjects in those Parts, he march'd, with his Army, against the Wolf, to punish them for their Cruelty. Owen, as unequal in Strength to the King as in Courage, withdrew himself and his Party, and fled into the Deserts and inaccessible Places about Snowdon Hills (g); so that the King could do no more, than plunder and waste the Country, which he did very severely, to show his Anger against those Rebels, and carried away a great Booty of Cattle with him.

Some Accidents of this Year.

Some remarkable Things so much to have happen'd this Year. King Henry's Enemies, discouraged by the ill Success of their Plot the last Year, dared not to appear in any open and form'd Action, but they are suppos'd to have convey'd a Galthrap (g) into his Bed, which being jo fram'd, That three Iron Spikes, very sharp, fixed upward, it was almost impossible for him to have escap'd Death, if he had chanc'd to have lain down upon it; but discovering it before he went into his Bed, he fixed his Life. The Contrivers and Layers of it could never be found out. The usual Liberty of this Nation was so much abated, that Wheat is said to have been sold at sixteen Shillings a Quarter, which not long before was at Four Shillings; and it had been much dearer, but that the Merchants brought much Rye and Rye-Flour out of Scania, (h) which kept down the Price of Wheat, and kept it very low, but thro' there was such an Judgment upon the Nation as Famine, yet the Natives were not humbled by it, but great Pride and Vainy in Cloathing were used, Mutes and Servants wearing Gowns with Pouch-sleeves down to their Knees, and Pansies and Superfusives. The Conduit in Carnhill was built in a Place, where before had stood a Prison for Night-Walkers, call'd, The Tan, the Materials of which serv'd to raise the new Conduit.

The King having been at very great Charges by his Expeditions into Wales and Scotland, had a Subsidy granted him by the Leity, by way of voluntary Contribution, or Gift, without calling his Parliament; so ready are Subjects to affix the King with Money, when they fee them careful for the public Welfare of the Nation.

About the beginning of March appear'd a number of Libels and very terrible Blazing-Star, sending forth its Reports of the Kings, and their Actions, and Affairs in the North, and at length toward the North, where it seem'd to rx, which was after thought to portend something extraordinary. They had certain Things certain thro' the whole Nation by their Books and Libels, in which they encouraged all Perfons, by Hopes of great Rewards, to affix King Richard, and aspired King Henry as an Uther, and cruel Tyrant. The King had Knowledge of all these Things, and to deter them Diffurb'd the Government from their Designs, he declair'd, That he would ppare none that he could find instrumental in promoting those Reports, and would be at any Pains or Charge to discover them: But it feem'd this did not so afflict them from their Attempts, but that several Persons were approv'd, and upon their Conviction executed, Sir Roger Clarington, who was said to be the Bastard Son of Edward the Black Prince, and Eight Fryars, were hanged and beheaded for reporting, That King Richard was alive. A Priest also was taken, who had a Catalogue of divers Gentle-men and others, who had asur'd, that King Richard was alive, and had promis'd him their Assistance when he shou'd arrive in England. Several of the Persons in the Lift were also taken and imprison'd: However, nothing being prov'd against them, and the Priest himself confessing, that he had never heard any such Thing from them, but had fever down their Names either by the Report of others, or more Conjecture, they were at length dismiss'd, after much Charge and Trouble, and only the rick hang'd and quarter'd. Walter Badolcke, Prior of Lounds, a small Monastery at Lutefyfiirise, was also apprehended, and accus'd of being Instrument in the above-mention'd Reports, but nothing could be prov'd against him; yet because in his Examination he confess'd, that he knew fome that had been industrious in spreading such Treasnable Reports, and afterwards being prov'd against the Peace and Government, he was condemn'd for Misprision of Treafon, and hang'd. Richard Fridey also, a Doctor of Divinity,

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(a) Sir John Heywood writes, That Sir Patrick Holburne was slaid in the First Year of Henry the Fourth's Reign, Life of Hen. IV. p. 140.
(b) In Convulsion.
(c) A Smith's Tool, to call'd.
(d) From Priests.
nity suffer'd the like Punishment, for saying,
upon the Report that King Richard was alive,
That if he were indeed alive, he would fight to
Death in his Quarrel. (c) Theft, with many others, he committed, the King fearing none according to his Refu-
lotion; in which, tho' he may seem to have kept a good Conscience, and rid himself of his Enemies, yet he was exceed'dly cruel, and over-
severe for such an Act.

On this Account his Wife having with Suc-
cess made several Inroads upon the English Bor-
ders, to their great Enriching, began this Summer
with fresh Assaults upon the Inhabitants, burning, plundering, and destroying all Places
where-ever they came. The King desirous to
relieve his oppressed and injured Subjects, af-
fronted a great Army of his Nobles, Gentry,
and Commons to reduce Wales to its due Obe-
dience, who being all troubled at the Sufferings of their Fellow-subjects, went with full Refo-
lutions of subduing it before they return'd: Nor did Owen Glendower seem to retain
for long his unfinished Business, for the Army of Me no so well prepared for an Encounter, the
Wells being all-truck with a panic Fear of their
Destruction. The King with these full Hopes,
arrived in Wales, but before he could enter
upon any Action of moment, there happen'd
such a Change of Weather, that the Army suffer'd much Damage, and the King
was at length forced to return without doing
any thing worthy his Reputation. These Storms
falling out at a Season of the Year, when they
were most unfruitful, were said to be raised by the
Magical Skill of Owen Glendower, who was
thought to be a Wizard.

The Scots hearing of King Henry's Expedition
into Wales with so numerous an Army, and
accompanied with so many Nobles, suppos'd that
the Northern Lords, who were their implacable
Enemies, and the Guardians of their Coun-
try against them, were also gone along with the
King, and therefore they could not have a
fitter Opportunity to invade the English Bor-
ders. Sir Patrick Hepburn, (c) who had the
Year before made some Invasions into Eng-
land with Success, was chosen their Captain,
and with a competent Army of the Men of
Northumberland, or, enter'd Northumberland
as far as New-Castle, taking many Prisoners,
and loading themselves with Spoil and Prey,
as if being out of Fear of Opposition, they came
not to fight, but enrich themselves. But the
Earl of Northumberland, and his Son, who were
left behind upon Suspcion of the Scots At-
tempts, had News of these their Actions, and
with a sufficient Strength, falls upon them at a

1. AtNfj. Town called Nethy: The Scots receiv'd them
congratulately, and maintain'd the Battle stoutly
a good while, but being in Confusion when they
found their Enemy, the Battle were not able
to hold out against the Scots, and a better
order'd Army, so that they were forced to
yield the Victory to the English. Sir Patrick
perceiv'd the Advantage which the English had
against them, and thought to push up the
Defects in their Order, by animating his Men
to charge the Battle, but they were not able
to hold out against them, and a better
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to hold out against them, and a better
Order, so that they were forced to
yield the Victory to the English. Sir Patrick
Nuptials: But it was not in this King's Fate to enjoy Peace or Pleasure long, free Troubles, both at Home and Abroad springing up to disturb his Ease and Quiet.

The First Enemy that annoy'd his Dominions after them, were the French, under the late Edward, Earl of St. Alban. They made that great Profit because it was raised upon the Ruins of his own Interests, gather'd an Army of 16 or 1700 Men, invaded the Isle of Wight, and burnt two Villages, and a few Separate Cottages. The Inhabitants of the Isle, who had formerly been injured by this Earl, were so encouraged, and found that they loved Prey more than Fighting, and Fulkton would stand out against a faint Restistance, assembled in a considerable Body, and drew up against them to fight them. The French, tho' enough in Number to have conquered the Island, yet seeing the Courage of the People, withdrew to their Ships, and with little Prey, and left Honour, return'd Home. The Earl, that he might make this Expedition seem the more considerable, Knighted Four of his Captains, as he pretended, for their Bravery and Valour: But the more knowing Men, who saw the Companies organized at their speedy Return, being sensible, that the Charge of this Expedition was much greater than the Gain. At the same time that the Earl of St. Paul enjoined the English Coasts, John, Earl of Clermont, Son to the Duke of Bourbon, was sent with an Army against the Subjects of the King of England in Gascony, and won the Câlles of S. Peter, S. Mary, and New-Castle from the English, and the Lord de la Bret at the same time got the Câlles of Carkevis; all which were a great Loss to the English. These Damages King Henry's Conscience would not have patiently borne; without a sharp Revenge, he had enjoy'd a peaceable Kingdom at Home; but before he could make any Preparations for a Foreign Expedition, the Rebellion of his own Subjects broke out, and drew all his Delights and Enterlours to secure him self at Home. The Occasion of it was, that the King, having heard of the Peace, which the late Victories gotten by the Earl of Northumberland over the Scots had brought his Dominions, was very eager, and defirous to share in the Gains and Advantage of th'om; and to their great Injury, the Earl of Northumberland had been himself with so much Fidelity to the Nation: And so were diffum'd into their several Countries.

The Relation of the Earl of Northumberland's Victory over the Scots Wars, to encourage them in defending their Dominions, and make up the Damages of the continual Depredations of that faithless People. The King was very angry at this Denial, and distinctly ordered the Earl of Northumberland not only to take the Prisoners he had demanded, but continued his Displeasure to the Earl, not suffering him to come into his Presence. This Severity the Earl, who had been so instrumental in raising King Henry to the Throne, refus'd to be met with great Pomp, because he thought he had Power enough to pull him down. He was, indeed, in very great Power in the North, and commanded in his Country as a Petty King. He had a near Relation to Edmund
A.D. Martyns, Earl of March, by the Marriage of
1403. Eleanor his Aunt. Martyns being Heir of the
Reg. 4.

Crown had no small Interest in the Nation, and
therefore he might well pretend some Obligation
to restore to him his Right, or at least to his
Son, whose Riches, he thought, would be suffi-
cient to effect his Design, especially since the
Earl of March was upon fair Terms with Owen Glendower, and it would be no hard
Matter to unite the Welsh with himself in de-
throneing King Henry. The Earl having laid a
fair Foundation for his future Operations, he
then prepared for his future Actions more plausi-
ble, and make his Party more firm to him, he
by the Advice of his Conun. Tho, Peirce, Earl of Woresger, goes to the
King, and demands the Redemption of the
Earl of March his Kinman, who had long
lain in his foul and miserable Imprisonment,
among the King's Enemies. But the King
answered, That he had no Reason to redeem, or
relieve the Earl of March, nor would, be-
cause he was not taken for his Caufe, nor in
his service, but had suffer'd himself to fall in
to the Hands of Owen Glendower and the Welsh,
because he had rebelled; and the Earl of
March, having receiv'd this Answer, pretended to be
angry, and blast'd aloud the Cruelty of the
King, who would not redeem a Perfon so
nearly related to him, and his Son Henry,
form'd a Plot, said openly, Behold, the
Heir of the Realm is robb'd of his Rights,
and the Robber will not redeem him with
a Part of his own. Hereupon the Earl and his
Son, meeting in the Arch-Deacon of Bangor's
House, (3) with the Earl of March and O-
wen Glendower, by an Indenture Tripartite
obliged themselves mutually and firmly to de-
patch the Earl of March, after his Return from
Dover, it was further agreed to, and among them, That
Owen Glendower should have Wales, and all
the Lands beyond the Severn, to rule over
them as their King and Supreme Lord:
That the Earl of Northumberland should go
over all the Countries on the North Side of
the River Tees, and the Earl of March should
enjoy all the Residue of England in his Right,
as Supreme Lord. This Agreement being
made, they all employ'd the utmost Intent to
have he raised an Armie sufficient for their
Design. The Earl of Northumberland, besides
the Forces raised among his Northern
Neighbours, procured an Augmentation of his
Forces out of Scotland, partly by releasing the
Captives, which he had in his Keeping, and
partly by Promises of several Lordships and
Seignories in those Parts adjoining to their
Country, by which Means they rais'd a large
and well appointed Armie. All Things be-
ing thus prepar'd, they put out their Declara-
tion, That King Henry giving Encourage-
ment to Flatterers and Calumniators, their
Enemies, had enter'd so much an Aversion to
him, that they dare not come into his Pre-
sence, but by the Mediation of the Bishops:
That though he was rais'd to the Throne,
for the Good of the Nation, yet he had
play'd the Tyrant, and abus'd his Trust,
converting the Money given by Parliament,
that he might use for his Private
Interests: Wherefore, that they might secure
their own Perfections, and reform the Govern-
ment, they had rais'd such Force, as might
be sufficient to reduce Things into a better
Course, both for themselves and the whole
Nation. They also gave out a Report, to fur-
ther their Design, That King Richard was
yet alive in the Castle of Chester, ready to join
with Owen Glendower, and so March'd to
Shrewsbury, intendeing to make
that City the Rendezvous of their Army.
The King had no Sufficion of these Trea-
trous Contrivances and Actions, because they
carried them on with very great Secrecy; yet, having
the Earl of March in mind, he rais'd a powerful
Army to reduce them to their
Allegiance; so that when the Earl of
Northumberland's Forces appear'd, he was in a
very good Condition to oppose them. But
Henry's
considering, that a Civil War would bring
great Damages to his Subjects, he chose to
alay the Difficulties of the Sedities Party
by answering their Declaration, alleging,
That he never had denied the Earl of North-
umberland, the Lord Percy his Son, or any of the
Lords of their Party, any Access to him; but
allow'd them to come into his Presence at any Time, to give him any
Protest or Examiner to
Perfous; and that the Monies which had been
given by the Parliament for the Defence of
the Nation, were paid to the Earl of Northum-
berland himself for that End, as he could prove
by his Receipts; so that their Complaints were
all grounded and falacious. The King himself
was inclin'd to wait for the Effect of this
Answer; but the Earl of March, a Son, telling
the King, That Delays would strengthen his
Enemies, put him upon hasting to them, to
give them Battle, which proved of some Ad-
vantage to the King; For the Earl of Northum-
berland, being somewhat indisposed, was not
come up to his Son at Shrewsbury, and the
King's sudden Arrival put the Army there into a
Conformation, so that they were unfit to
engage him. The King being ready to join his
Enemies in Fight, was very loth to spill his
People's Blood, and therefore sent the Abbot
of Shrewsbury, and one of the Clerks of his
Privy- seal, to offer them Pardon upon such
reasonable Terms as they should desire. The
Lord Percy was so far wrong'd upon by their
Periwhations, that he was willing to accept of
the King's Glendower, and feit his燃料电池的
Earl of Woresger, to represent their Grefusions,
and having procure'd a Reformation to submit to
the King. The King is fond to have confedec-
bad beneath himself to heal the Eeash; but
the Earl of Woresger, a Man that fought to
form the Quarell, represented Things too ill to
the Lord Peirce, at his Return, that his Ne-
pew was more incensed than before, and
forthwith blew the Trumpet for Battle. The
King was ready to receive him, and the Signs
being given on both Sides, St. George by the
King, and Eternance Percy by the Lord Peirce,
that 'twas all over, and the Quarell was
settled, the King sent after him with great Resolution, and so fiercely fell upon
the King's Van-guard, that they forced them
to give Ground, and had almost broke in upon
his Main Body, and being secound by the
North, who refer'd themselves for an advan-
tageous Rear, put the King upon his self-
Defence, by a Call in his Reserve to reinforce his Army, by
which means he recover'd his Ground, and,
after a few Encounters, got the better of the

(3) How could the Earl and his Son meet Glendower and March in Wales, the Welsh being at open War with the King, and his Forces in the House of the Earl, and his forces in the hands of the Peirce, when they would venture to treat in Perifia with the Rebel Glendower, before they were prepared to publish their Rebellion to the King and Kingdom; for such an Interview would have given too much Language to both, and ruin'd their Plot.
Rebels. The Lord Peirce, and Earl Donglas.

General of the Scots, despairing of Victory, boldly attempted to lay the King, and overthrew his Standard, and that to end forcing their Way thro' the King's Party, they at length got the King's Standard, which they overthrew, killing Sir Walter Blunt, the Standard-Bearer, and the Earl of Stafford, with many others that stood to guard it. The King was retreated from the Standard, by the Advice of the Earl of March, the Scot, who observing their Dugil, timely warned him of his Danger, and caused him to avoid it. But the King neglected not this Opportunity to assault his Enemies in the Absence of their Captains, and crying, St. George, made such an impetuous Onset upon the Rebels, that he broke their Order, and put them to Flight, and obtain'd a complete Victory. In this Battle, which lasted Three Hours, the King himself was once dismounted, and the Prince, fighting in Defence of his Father, was wounded in the Face, yet would not leave the Army till the Fight was ended, left he should discourage the Soldiers on either Side, and beclouded the other Parties, which were kil'd, and 4000 wounded, on the King's Side; but with much greater Loss to the Rebels, for they had 200 Knights and 900 Soldiers slain, besides the Lord Percey himself. The Earl of Worecroft, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Femyn were taken, and, being condemn'd, were beheaded Two Days after the Battle, on the 2d of July. The Earl's Head was sent up to London, to be fet on the Bridge. The Lord Percey's Body was permitted to be buried, but upon after Thoughts the King commanded it to be taken up again, and being beheaded and quarter'd, disposed of it into several Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of Northumber-land, who had been kept from uniting with his Brother and Son by some Indisposition of Body, soon after the Fight, set out towards Shrewsbury, with a considerable Recruit, to affi- lid his Son and Brother, but being met with in his Passage by the Earl of Welformand and Sir Robert Waterston, with a strong Detachment from the King's Army, he retreated to Work-
worth Castle, and there fortified himself. The King having settled the Countries about Shrewsbury, went to York, and there sent his Forces under the Command of the Earl of Northumber-land, to dis- miss his Forces, and come to him upon Aflia- nce of Mercy. The Earl, seeing no Possi- bility of standing out against the King's Pow- er, obey'd his Summons, and dismissing his Forces, attended upon the King at York upon the Morrow after St. Lawrence's Day, Aug. i. The King, according to his Promise, pard'on'd him his Life, but kept (9) him in Prison sometime, till the Ferment of his Trouble was a little over, and then releas'd him to his Li- berty, but deprived him of his Estate and Ho- nours; and the next Day, afterwards gave him that also, hoping by his Kindness to oblige him to be more faithful and firm to him for the future.

The King having thus settl'd the Difficulties of the North, kept his Army about him, which, by their late Success, was most likely to effect his Designs; he quitted the Welf, and took up some Revolutionary go on, and Endeavours to subdue that People: But wanting Money to pay his Soldiers, and fur- nish himself out for his Expedition, he became wavering in that Affair. Some Perfon's about him, who were more zealous for the King's A.D. Service, and desirous to please him, than to 1403. chuse out fit Ways for it, advised him to seize Reg. 3. upon the Bishops Treasure and Lands; but Archbishop Armada boldly told them, That the Advice, such a Person as he spoil'd them being, to them, was in the Time of the World, wholly contrary to this Jundare, and those, though he would use no Force, yet he dealt with the Archbishop to procure him a Supply in this Exigency, and so prevail'd with him, that calling a Synod of the Clergy, he obtain'd a Tenth of them for him, and the King sent the Prince, with his Army, into Wales.

In the latter end of this Summer, the Brit- The Brit- tain's, under the Conduct of the Lord Caffis, tains, under the came to the English Coasts, and having bur- 1403. der the der'd the Lord Caffis and plunder'd Plimouth, returned Home safe, fit, rob laden with rich Spoils. This Influcence was the Engi- nes of the English, and 2000 Men remained, being incendiary by the Loss, did, by the King's Leave and Permission, man out a Flect, to re- cover their Damage, and sent it to ravage the Coasts of Britain, under the Command of William Walford, Esq; who being both a skil- ful Captain, and a Perfon very zealous for his Country-men Injuries, faithfully discharge his Trust; for he took Forty Sail of Merchant-Ships, laden with Oil and Soap, and a Thousand Tuns of River Wine; and, not con- tented with this Prey, though sufficient to com- pensate for the Spoils of the English, he land'd in the Country of Research, and, for Six Miles together, burnt and destroy'd the Towns and Villages, as far as the Town of St. Mat- them, which also he left in Flames, and re- turning to his Ships, fet several empty Vef- fels on Fire, which lay in the Harbour, and so departed, well furnished with the Retaliation of their Wrongs upon the Britains.

About the Feast of All-Saints a Parliament Reg. 5. was called at Coventry, and sat till St. Andrew's— Fourth Parlia- Day, when they were prorogued, and ordered to meet again at Werminster upon the Observance of Epifcopalities. The King, contrived by the Inconvenience of the Place, there being neither suitable Accommodations for Prov- ision or Lodging. Nothing was done by this Parliament of Moment, their Debates being in- rupted by their fudden Adjunction, only the King proclaimed and granted a Pardon to all such Perfon's, as had been engag'd in the Re- bellion of the Peirys, and all other Offenders against the King's Crown and Dignity, tho' only excep'd, who had contriv'd to deliver up Caffis to the French, whom the King sent out to suffer the Punishment of their Perfidiousness in this Affair.

A little before Christmas a Party of French land- ed in the Isle of Wights, and with their usual Confi- dent to the Inhabitants, That they were come to keep their Christmas with them. They demand- ed a Tax of them for King Richard and Queen Elizabet, and began to plunder, for his his Cattle to their Ships. The People of the Island deriding their Pretentious and Confidence, gather'd together in a Body, and challeng'd them to fight, but the French Men not loving dry Blows, fled to their Ships, and departed without their Prey, to their great shame.

(9) He writes, that he suffer'd him to depart Home at their first Meeting.
The Parliament according to Appointment met at Westminster, and sat Twelve Weeks to settle many Abuses and Irregularities of the Nation, and was pleased to do many Things for the Good of it. The most remarkable Business was against such as procured Parliaments for those Persons that had been once guilty of notorious Felonies, but relapsed into the like Crimes again. That these who procured their Pardon for such notorious Felonies would forfeit 100 L. to the King's Use. That Watches should be constantly kept upon the Sea-Coast, to prevent the Damages done by the French Rovers. That Merchants, Aliens, who brought Goods into the Nation, and sold them, should lay out the Money upon other Falseable Commodities, and not carry out the Coin of the Kingdom into Foreign Parts; That Contables of Castles should not imprison any Man in their own Castles; and that all Vexels that were Gilt, or Silver'd over, should have a Place in the Fout, or elsewhere, to discover their base Metal. In this Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland relevant to his Lands, Earl of Winchelsea, Duke of Orleans, Earl of Exeter, Duke of York, and Earl of Lindsey, met with the nation, and all the Lords, and Honours, excepting only the King of France, which the King had before'd on him (z.) at the Beginning of his Reign, to hold of the Crown by the Tenure of carrying the Lancet's Sword at the Coronation, and now took away from him, which he never before deferved of his Favour. By this Parliament, the King had so great a Tax granted him, that the Houses defir'd there might be no particular Record of it left to posterity, viz. Twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee, and Twenty Pence for every Twenty Pounds a Year, and One Shilling in the Pound for Goods; So cautious was the Parliament of oppressing the People with heavy Taxes, and where Necessity required it, not to leave a President to their Succours of over-loading the People. The Clergy also, being met in their Convocation, gave the King a Vote in the Time of this Seccion of Parliament. The Duke of Orleans, Brother to the French King, a Person courageous, but of more than equal Pride, sent a Challenge to King Henry to meet him to Battle, with 100 Men, well armed, and expert Warriors, and fined him if he would not meet them, and was Victor to have his Prisoner. The King, the sensible of the Presumption of that Peer, gravely answer'd the Meiliegers; 'That he could not but wonder at the Impudence of the Duke, who sought to break the Peace betwixt the Two Nations, by such idle Pre- tences of Feet of Arms. 2. That if this could not be objected, yet it was against the Custom of Nations, for any Crown'd and Ac- knowledged King to accept a Challenge from any Person, but such as is of equal Dignity, of which he could not pretend to be; but yet, that he might satisfy his Country and himself, he promised, upon the Word of a Prince, to go into Coquitains, with a convenient Number of Men; and there, either as he had promiss'd, or by single Combat, for the avoiding of the Edition of Christ's Blood, he would not meet those Terrors, which the Duke bare out into Arms, and raising 5000 Men, invaded Coquitains, and besieged the Town of Vire. Sir Robert Ashley, a valiant Cap- tain, was the Governor of it, and had a Gar- rison of 3000 English, who defended the Town so bravely, that the Duke was forced to leave it, after Three Months Siege.

In the Spring, the Britains, under the Lord Paget, being apprehensive of what their enemies they had sustain'd from the English the last Year, came with 30 Ships, man'd with 1000 Men of Arms, to the English Coasts, and took Two or Three English Ships, laden with Wines, and not being satisfied with to small a Prey, landed about 2000 Men, and forced the Place by the Habitants, who had arm'd themselves in Expectation of their Coming, with no small Loss, and after being met by the English Fleet in Black-Feet, were engaged with so much Success, that the Lord Paget was kill'd, with 400 more of the Common Soldiers, and 200 taken, of whom the Lord Roxburgge, the Marquall of Britain, was one. The Country People, pleased not more with the Success, than that they had an Opportunity to approve their Courage, and Fraternity to the King, presented him with their Ensigns, who joyfully accepted their Service, and gave them Piece of Gold for their Pains; which, though not of equal Value with their Ran- foms, yet was more acceptable to the People, with his Approbation, than greater Sums would have been without it. Yet, some of lower Degree they would not allow of their Prasons.

This Summer Queen Glendaure, with more than usual Cruelty, infcfted the English Borders, plundering and burning their Towns, and car- ryng away many Prisoners and great Booty; and intending to take the Country into his Possession, led against himself divers Castles, which he fortified, and man'd to defend it. This Success, whether through the Neglect of the King, or because other more important Affairs of State took up his Care, was thought an Approbation of his Cause; and so far prevail'd with John Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph, that he fled to him, and took his Part against K. Henry. With these Calamities by the Welsh, concurred other Damages done by the Britains and Flemings, who cruizing upon the English Coasts, took several English Ships, laden with rich Merchandise, and hang'ng the Mariners, carry'd the Goods Home, and sold them. But the King and Queen, having sent him a Ship, which did not so much disturb the King, as a Rumour did, which was dispers'd up and down the Nation at this Time, That King Richard was in Scot- land, at the Head of an Army of French and Scots of 50000, and would shortly come to recover his Crown. This Rumour was built upon the Letters of one Serjant, a Gentleman of King Richard's Bed-Chamber, who having heard of the like Report in France, went into Scotland, and found, indeed, a Gentleman very like King Richard, but not the Person, as he very well knew; yet, in Hatred to King Henry, he sent thence a Letter to several of King Richard's Friends in England, seal'd with his Privy-Seal, That King Richard was, indeed, alive, and would shortly appear, to the Comfort of his Friends, and Continuation of all his Enemies. The Countess of Oxford, Mother to Robert de Vere, late Duke, and ridiculed, exactly he held up this False News, and employ'd her Agents to publish it in all Parts of England; and to confirm such as seem'd most zeal'd to espouse King Richard's Interest, she caus'd a great Number of Hearts of Gold and Silver to be made, and given to them, as Judges of King Richard's Favour,
because that King was went to give such
1404. Tokens of his Kindness to his Friends. King
Reg. 5. Henry, who was very jealous of his Crown,
knowing the Tendency of such Reports might
prove fatal to him, tho’ false, was very watchful
upon the Instruments and Authors of them,
and finding them entertain’d by many, feiz’d upon
on Oxford, and committed her to Prison, and confiscat’d her Goods and Eftate.
Her Secretary, who both by Letters and Repor-
and had spread abroad the false News, he
hang’d and quarter’d. This Severity against
some of the principal Actors Bruck Terror in-
to the Quarterd, and made others Abandon
the gain King Henry’s Favour by apprehending fuch as
had been guilty of the like Crime. For Sir Wil-
liam Clifford, Governour of Berwick, who
had incurred King Henry’s Displeasure in holding out
of the Castle of Berwick against him, ap-
prehended Serjeon and presented him to him,
who thereupon pardoned his own Trafon. Ser-
ton being before known to have been one of the
Perfons that murder’d the Duke of Gla-
cer, was immediately examined about that,
and being found guilty of both, was Condemn’d
at Pontefract, and Executed at London, confessing his
Wrong and Purpofes, and Purpofely and fully
freely, that many pity’d him, and promis’d to hire the Priests to fay Masses for his Soul.
The King had heard, that the Earl of Northum-
berland had been engaged in this Conspiry, and
fent for him to come to him at Pontefract to
clear himself; but the Earl bringing his Two
Nephews to be Pledges of his Fidelity, gave him such Satisfaccion, that the King declar’d him
innocent of this Attempt.

On St. Faith’s Day, October the 6th, a Parlia-
ment met at Groverty, which becaufe it con-
cluded of fuch Perfons as were unprofitable in the
Laws of the Nation, and illiterate, according to
the particular Orders given by the King to the
Sheriffs of Counties, and Mayors of Cor-
porations, that none but fuch Perfons should be
chofen, was called Parliamentum indiginum, or the Euch-Learning Parliament. The Chief Bufi-
ness of this Parliament was to fix a Tax for the
King’s prefent Supply, and therefore little
elfe was done, fave that the Lord Stephen Scroop
of Mobham, and the Lord Fitz-hugh were ad-
mitted to fit among the Peers, and two or three
Acts were made. Fizh. To prohibit the Clergy
from taking any Members of the Court of Renounce, for the
Fifre-Fruits of any Benefice, Dignity, or
Eiftoppick, than was usually paid, under
the Penalty of a double Forbifure of the fame
to the King. Secundy, To prevent the Deceits
of Sheriffs, Eftacuators and Cuftomiers in giving
upon their Accounts. And Fifthly, To provide,
that Merchants-Straingers should not carry their
Goods out of the Nation, which they have
once brought in. Thefe Statutes being fetted,
they proceeded to Debates about the Tax, and
it was concluded by the Commons, That the
King railing in need of very great Sums of
money, the Necessity did require many
Enemies, as then appeared against it, viz.
the Whig, Secty, Britains, Fleming and French,
could not be supplied by the Laity, but that
it was neceffary, that he should feize upon
the Temporality of the Clergy, which be-
long’d to the Third Part of the Nation, and the
Liberty to the Publick, and did the Cler-

gym themselves no good, making them care-
less of their Duty, negligent in their Sta-
dom, and abominably corrupt in their Morals.
And this they judged the more reafonable,
because the Laity ferv’d the King in his
Ways both with their Perfons and Eftates, but
1404.
the Clergy were exempted in their Perfons,
and therefore their Eftates ought to bear a Reg. 6.
greater part of the Charge. Thcfe Votes
much provok’d the Clergy, and the Arch-
Bifhop in a Pallion replied, That the Clergy
had alwaies done as this, as former Kings
thereupon gave large Sums to fupport their
publick Charge, as the Laity: And though
they did not ferve the King in his
Wars, they fent their Tenants to alift him,
and contributed as much to his Succefs by
their Prayers, as the Laity did by their
Wes-

Oaths and other Affairs. To gain the
Commons, a Perfon who was very forward to
make the Clergy’s Revenues a prey to the
King’s Necessities, replied to the Arch-Bifhop;
That they did not value the Clergy’s Pray-
ers, their Lands would do the King and Na-
tion more good. This Anfwer more fir’d
the Arch-Bifhop’s Choler, and he told him
plainly; That that King and Kingdom could
not expect to thrive, where the Prayers and
Suffragies of the Clergy were undervalued;
but yet if they feared not their Religion, they
should find their Perfon and Interests more
necessary, than otherwise, but that they should
have hot Work of it to take away their juft
Rights and Polltions from them, though un-
der the fpecious pretence of a Law. And he
declared, That to long as he was Arch-Bifhop
of Canterbury no Man should meddle with
any Lands belonging to his See, but he would
oppofe them with all his Interfet and Might.
The King was prefent at this Contett between
the Arch-Bifhop and Commons, and fhewed no
little Concern for the Clergy, that he feemed
to favour the Defign of the Commons. Where-
upon the Arch-Bifhop in fome fear of it turned
to the King, and kneeling down befought him,
That he would confider, that God had given
him the Kingdom, that he fould be the Prote-
ctor of his Church, and to that End he had sworn
his Coronation to preferve the Church, and
her Ministers in their Liberties; which Oath
he immediately broke, by makeing a Tax great
enough, to fit upon his own Conftance, and Offence to God, as
well as Injuftice to Men, and therefore imple-
red him to fcar the God by whom he reign’d,
and his own Conftance. The King feeing
the Bifhop’s Earnefhnefs and Zeal, anfwer’d him
that he would be more for the Revenue of the
King, yet his Fears were Groundles as to him,
for he might affile himself, that he would leave
the Church in as good, if not better, Eftate
than he found it. The Arch-Bifhop being en-
couraged with this Promife, told the Common,
That their wicked Advice was intenced more
for their own, than the King’s Advantage;
for as it happen’d to the King’s Predecessors,
who feiz’d upon the Lands and Goods of the
Friars, Almues, which were worth many thou-
sand Pounds ; the Couriers begg’d them, and
left not the King ten Groats of them: so if
your Advice should fo much oppofe the
our Temporality feiz’d, you would find fuch
ways to gratifie your Covetoufnefs by them,
that the King would not in a Twelve-month
be one Farthing the Richer. The Commons
made no Reply, but profefted their Defign fo
bravely, that he had not the Courage to
open a strong Defign againft it in the Houfe of
Lords, the Commons had carry’d it; but by his
Courage and Diligence they were driven from
their Purpofe, and fo fell into the old Current of Taxing: For the Laity were to pay Two
Fifteens, and the Clergy a Tenth and Half, at
upon
but to fnd out the Infrumment of their Releas, in which the Persons employ’d were so Successfull, that they soon discover’d and apprehend’d them both: The Children were remand’d to their Priron, and put into more Safe Custody, and they were made to declare whether the Goal, had his Hands first cut off, and then was behalden. The Duke of York was accused by his own Sifer, the Lady Spencer (c), to be the Head of the Conspiracy, and was imprisow’d upon it in Fenowey-Cifte till the Parliament met. But, hifh it was tho’ he had no idea of being fo; for he was iin want of fuller Proof, or because the King was willing to drop the Prefumption of fo inconfiderable a Fact, epecially he having already suffered imprisonment for it.

Very early in the Spring the King, who had been making Preparations against the Winter, lent his Son the Prince of Wales into the adjoining Parts with a very good Army, and well furnished with all Necesaries; by which he had reduced him to fuch Straights, that he was forced to call a Council of his Nobility to agree what they fhould employ a Sum of Money of them for his present Necessity. The Princes having lately paid their Two Fifteens, were not willing, or not able to fpare any more, and fo were difmiff’d with fome difguit.

Then the King fummon’d the Clergy to St. Almow to defire a Contribution of them; but they refused by the Prefix of the Lord, that they would not grant him any thing; whereupon they alfo were fen Home on Fefto-Sunday, under the King’s Difplearence. But the Prince of Wales had better Succes in the Camp, than his Father in the Council; for he being as Active and Vigorous as ever, after his Arrival exag- gerated the Wiff-Men at a Town called Enfke, on March the 15th, and after a fharfell Battel obtain’d a fignal Victory, flaying fifteen hundred Wiff-Men, and taking Owen Cliflow’d Son Prifoner. Owen Cliflow’d being troubled for the los of his Son, refolved to try the fate of another Battel, in hopes, that if Fortune should favour him, he might recover his Son, and accordingly encountered the English on St. Dniam’s Day, May the 14th, but not with the Succes desired; for the English had much the better in this Fight also, and flaying ma- ny of his Men, took Owen Cliflow’d Chiffioner Prif- oner, who being fen up with the rest of the Prifoners, was latey kept in the Tower with his Mafter’s Son.

While the English Arms were thus employ’d the Fr. againft the Wiff-Men, Eafton, Earl of St. Pow’d, who had fought all Advantages to duffurb King Henry’s high and holy Air, Peace and Dominion, and was encouraged in his attempts that way by his Mafter the French King, laid Siege to the Cabbage of St. Mark’s, which was three Leagues from Collins, with five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred Jennet Ciox-Bows, and a thousand Man of Foot. Sir Henry Sandwich, Governor of it, a very violent Man, who though he had but

(a) According to Island the great Anctuary, he was Baraff-Son to one Ferar, Town Clerk of Wifhamp in Hamp- shire. Hol. pàg. 577.

(b) The Reward of good Affiains is to be expected according to the Sincerity of the Heart. An Apfiration of Charles II. Populifm wifed the Robbers to free their Benefices to the Cabbage and Church-men. This William of Wifhamp was haited by the Black Prince for his Military in the public Offifes he enjoy’d; he was banifh’d afterwards, and lived among all the Time of King Edward’s Reign, from that of his Exile, not until he came into England in the Reign of Richard the Third, and he had prov’d a readier for the public Offifces. He was frat Chaplain to King Edward the Third. Preacher at St. Martines, London, and Arch-Deacon of Wifhamp. Then Surveyor of the King’s Works and Fort’s for the Clergy in these Days early recog- nized. After this he was appointed to be Keeper of the Privy-Seat, Mâ- ster of the Wards, Overseer of the Forrefts, Treasurer of the King’s Dominions in France, Bishop of Wifhamp, and at peace Lord Chancellor: No wonder he raif’d fuch a mighty Eftate in his Ministry, considering he lived in fo high a Government as that of King Richard the Second.

(c) She was Widow to the Lord Hume Spencer, behailed at Britifh. Vol. I. "A.D. 1494. Reg. 6."

1494. Reg. 6.

The Life and Reign of Henry the Fourth.

A.D. 1405.
Reg. 6.  

eighty Archers, and twenty-four Soldiers, yet
defended it so manfully, that the Earl could not
gain it at the first Assault, and at the Second
took only the outward Court, with a confeder-
ate Captian. The Country and Cattle at Calais
in the mean time having Intelligence of this
Aflion of the French against St. Marc, fent out
two hundred Men of Arms, two hundred Ar-
chers, and three hundred Foot, with twelve
Wagons of Munifcents and Artillery, under the
Command of Sir Richard Affrem to relieve it. 
The French, who fearing this Defeat of the
English upon them, had fortified the Town, 
kept themselves clofe in it: However, the Eng-
lish poured in their Arrows fo thick, that the
French could not fend the Bott, but having
left fome of their Number betroth themfelves
to flight, and were purf'd clofe by the
English, that nea? Fourcours of them were
taken, and among them none of Note, viz. the
Lord Damper, Sonfeath of Pofthous, the Lord
de Rambois, Monfieur de Wetmore, and other
Capteins of fome Flar of whom the Lord
of Eonney, the Lord Courre, Sir Robert Bere-
gevone, and fome others were the Chief. The
English feme with the Spoils of the Earl's
Camp, and having gotten fome Pro-
vifions returned to Calais. This Succes en-
couraged them to fof, that within five Days five
hundred lined out by Night, and advanced the
Cafle of Arle, but it was fo well defended by
Sir Mafon de Boy, and the Lord Kine, that
the English were forced to return to Calais with
the Loss of forty of their Men. These
Ironods of the English and French one upon
another made way for greater Defigns; for as King
Henry thought it convenient to Strengthen his
Carrifon at Calais, not only to defend it felf,
but make Invasions upon the English Countries,
by fending a thofe fmall Men thither, fo the
French King made efpecial Provisions a-
againft them, furnifhing Grenading, and other
Fortrefles with plenty of Soldiers for their De-
fence; but because all they could do was not
enough to fecure themselves againft fo potent
an Enemy as the Calafions then were; there-
fore the Duke of Burgundy was fent by the
French King to engage Calais with fix thoufand
Men of Arms, fifteen hundred Crif-Doos, and
twelve thoufand Foot. The King of England
burned with the News of this Sicce, fent a
Navy with three thoufand Land-Men, under
the Command of his Son the Duke of Lau-
cofier, and the Earl of Kent, to raife the Siege
by plundering and burning the adjoining Coun-
tries, which they did for thirty Miles together
in Normanay: Though this did not draw off
the Duke from Calais, till the King of France,
as was thought, by the Advice of the Duke of
Othcro, who envi'd him the Glory of gaining
fo important a Fortrefs, commanded him to
withdraw, and come Home, which caufed a
Ceafation of Arms between the Two Nations
for a little Time.

After the Departure of the Prince of Wales
from the Weft, that People being enraged by
their Losses, became more Troublome and
Mifchievous Neighbours to the bordering Eng-
lish than ever, of which when the King had
News, he relolved to undertake another Ex-
pedition againft them to reduce them: But be-
fore he could get all Things ready, a ftrong
Confpiracy of his Nobles to depofe him was
discovered, and fo he was obliged to lay to
feck himfelf in his Throne. The Confpiracy
was begun and carri'd on in this Manner. It
feems, that King Henry having received a pe-
riphent Dental from his Lords, that they
would give him no Money at London, difmiss'd
them with some angry Words, and sharp Me-
ances, which meeting with Difcontents in fome
of his Nobles, and more especially in Richard
Gruen, Arch-Bifhov of York, and the Earl of
Northumberland, to engag'd them, that they form-
ed a ftrong Confidence against him to depofe
him. This two Persons had confpir'd with, and
engaged feveral other great Men in their Defign,
viz. Thomas Mofley (2), Earl-Mar-
thial, the Lords, Hoftings, Folehurges, Bardin,
and others, and appointed a Meeting of all the
Forces they could gather together upon York-
feild, compo'd certain Articles containing fuch
Things as the Nobles and Commons found
ftemselves aggrieved with, that by divulging
them among the People, and fhewing them
their Friends, they might raife a Strength su-
icient for their Defign. The Piety of the
Arch-Bifhov, who had engaged in this Con-
fpircy, drew fuch Great Multitudes of the
Gentry and Commons to join in his Quarrel,
that almost every one that could bear Arms in
the Countries adjacent followed him. The Ar-
ch-Bifhov feeing this Succes, encouraged them
to proceed in their good Enterprise, and imme-
diately caus'd he and his adherents to be
fet upon the Doors of the Monaftries, and in
the Streets of York, that all Men might un-
derftand the Calaf that moved them to take
Arms againft the King. The Articles were to
this Effect.

Articles of the Wrongs and Ini-
juries done by King Henry to the
Royal Dignity, and People of Eng-
land.

Imprimis. 1 That King Henry at his coming Articles into England out of his Exile against the

King.

1 had voluntarily sworn, that he came only to

2 Challenge, and Recover his Own and Wife's In-

heritance, and not to intermeddle with the

King's Crown or Authoritie in England.

3 Themselves, having as much Power as they

4 was able to maintain in the Realm, and had

5 would not only imprifon his Sovereign Lord King

6 King, but have him a subject of their Councils,

7 to which he might have a right.

8 Thirdly, That ever since the Death of King

9 had unjustly kept the Kingdom,

10 the Crown from his Kinman Edward

11 Westmor, who was the Son and Heir appa-

12 the Daughter and Heir of

13 Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to

14 of the New Upthing King.

15 Fourthly, That he had unjustly put to Death

16 several of the Nobles of this Nation, for en-

17 to promote the Publick Good, and

18 contrary to the Law of the Land caused.

19 Several of his Friends to be Arrefted, and Impris-

20 (2) Son to that Duke of Norfolk, who was benefificial with this King, when he was Duke of Lancaster.
Fifthly, That he had willingly ratified, approved, and confirmed, in his Parliament at Winchelsea, a most wicked Statute made against the Church of Rome, the Powers and Prerogative thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ to St. Peter and his Successors the Bishops of Rome and the Throne of St. Peter, which gave them the Crown of much Honor, and to Pope Simony, Perjury, and other Disorders among the Clergy, and Gentry of the Nation, who felt their Vacant Benefices to be unworthy and unprofitable, to the great discouragement of learning in the Universities, and diligence in the learned professions.

Sixthly, That he had usurped a Tyrannical Government, and so grievously oppressed the Nation by his continual Exactions of Needles, Taxes and Subsidies, when there was no reasonable Cause or Occasion for them, the People are miserably impoverished, and are not compliant, because of his Menaces and Threats.

Seventhly, That no Justice could be expected from him, because, that contrary to his Coronation Oath, he had hindered the Free Election of Favourites by sending his Letters to the chires and Boroughs of the Kingdom, whereby he procured, that such Persons only should be chosen Knights and Burgesses, as would not fail to serve his Turn in their Votes and Acts, as Occasion was offered.

Eighthly, That whereas in Honour and Respect to his Affinity, he ought to have renounced and redeemed his Gown the Earl of March from his loathsome Imprisonment, and the more especially, because he was often solicited to it by the Lords of his Council, he not only denied to grant the same Request, but finally and unstudied published and declared, that the Earl made himself a Prisoner to the Welsh voluntarily, that he might have a more colourable Pretence to join with Traitors and Rebels to confpire and plot against him, and disturb his Peace and Government.

Ninthly, That the Premises being very destructive to the Nation, and calling for a special Redress, they had taken Arms with no other Intention, than to exalt unto the Kingdom the true and lawful Heir, and to crown him as King of England, to bring the Welsh, Irish, and other Enemies of the Kingdom to a perpetual Peace; and lastly, to free the Nation from all those Exactions, Extortions, and unjust Payments, which ruined the People: And therefore as they denied King Henry, as an Unprofitable Tyraunt, and pronounced him Perjured and Excommunicate, so they threatened the Cause of God, and his Holy Church upon all those that should affiim them, and not join with them against him.

These Articles being seen and read, were very well approved by the Generality of People, and brought a mighty Concourse to the Assizes of the Arch-Bishop; infomuch, that they had no reason in the least to doubt of Success. The King having Intelligence of these Articles, gave over all Thoughts of his Expedition into Wales, and resolved to turn his Forces against them: But Ralph Neufilid, Earl of Winterueland, and his Son John, Duke of Lancaster, &c. with several other Great Persons, who were at that Time marching towards Southland to defend the Borders with a considerable Force, thought it necessary to stop the Growth of the Rebellion, by opposing it in the Beginning; and being not far from their Camp, presented themselves with all the Strength they could get in the Country of much Simony, Perjury, and other Disorders among the Clergy, and Gentry of the Nation, who felt their Vacant Benefices to be unworthy and unprofitable, to the great discouragement of learning in the Universities, and diligence in the learned professions.

The Arch-Bishop's Party was much the Stronger, being twenty thousand Men, but yet were not forward to set upon them, which the Earl of Winterueland perceiving, and not daring to affiim them, he contrived to fapiant them by this Stratagem. He sent certain Neighbors to the Arch-Bishop to know the Cause, why a Foe of his Character for Wifdom and Piety, who should by his Place endeavour all he could to promote Peace and Quietness in the Nation, should appear in Arms, and disturb the Government. The Arch-Bishop reply'd, That he attempted nothing against the King's Peace; but all that he intended was, to advance the Good of the Commonwealth, by redressing the Abuses and Corruptions of the Government, contained in certain Articles, of which he gave them a Copy of, and desired them to the Earl to consider of his Party, not doubting but he would agree with him, that his Purpoze was Good and Profitable, as well for the King himself, as for the whole Realm. The Earl having received this Answer, and the Paper which they brought with them, from the Neighbors Hands, read the Articles contained in it; and immediately sent the Bishop Word again; That having well considered of the Articles sent to him, he highly approved the Holy Intention and Purpose of the Arch-Bishop, and was ready to concur with him to his utmost in effectuating the same, desiring to meet the Arch-Bishop in some convenient Place, and with an equal Number of Men, to confer further about the more effectual carrying on of their Delign. The Prelate having received this Message did not suspect the Deceit lurking in it, but repoyed much at the Earl's Proposals, appointing a Place to meet him, as he desired. The Earl-Marshul was afraid of the Trick, but the Arch-Bishop giving Credit to the Earl's Words, peradventure to attend him to the Conference, where the Earl of Winterueland was again present, and that he should not doubt the King would do their Business, that a Reformation should be made according to the forementioned Articles: And then desiring that their Soldiers might be diffimulated to their Camps, they shook Hands, and sat down to drink together, as perfect Friends, which when the Soldiers saw they departed with Joy, and let them; but one of the Troops wheeling about by the Earl of Winterueland's Order, came suddenly upon them as they were sitting, and took the Arch-Bishop, Earl-Marshul, and several other Prisoners. This Perfidious the Arch-Bishop that he was surprised by the Earl of Winterueland with, and that with some Smartnesses; but the Earl pacified him by repeated Promises of his Safety, and of them that were with him. The Earl of Winterueland soon after hearing, that the King himself was come to Fowarth, went thither, accompanied with his Pensions, and conducted them to the King; but whether he forgot to tell the King of his Promise, or whether the King would not perform it, certain it is, that they were both Executed. The Arch-
But Death, which the People worshipped for a Martyr, till the King forbade them. From Forrest the King went from York, where he fined the Citizens at his Pleasure for their Rebellion, and furnished himself with Money and Provision for his further Progress in perliuit of the Earl of Northumberland: but that Earl, with the Lord Bardolf escaped into Scotland, and was received by David, Lord Haamond. The King in his way took the Lord Hfigings and (al SON'br1dges, Sir John Calvetti, and Sir John Griffith, and beleagured them at Durham. Then he assaulted Berwick, Workworth, Ainswick, and several other Citties which belonged to the Earl of Northumberland, and took them, and so put an end to the Rebellion at prefent.

K. Henry's Successor

While the King was thus employ'd against his own Subjects, the Whigs under Owen Glen- dear were very solicitous to strengthen themselves against King Henry's Arms, whose Inten- tions they (though they were not above the whole, yet, deferred, and therefore they might ex- pect him as soon as Things were quiet at Home. They thereupon sent to the King of France for his Assistance, and obtained 31000 Men, which were sent over in 140 ships, under the Com- mand of the Admiral Montmorency, to their Pillage they loft all their Horses for want of fresh Water; and just after their Landing, the Lord Barkley, and Mr. Henry Pay, burnt and took near Thirty of their Ships: But these Lofts they soon recovered upon the English; for joyning with Owen Glen dear, they beleagured Carngill, Waverley, and several other Places, from whence they took store of Spore and Plunder. King Henry hearing of these Troubles from the Whigs, hastened against them; but as if all Fame had pursu'd him, he loft all his Carriages with a violent Tempel, in his Puffle thither; and being arrived, could effect nothing against them; for the Whigs after their usual manner retreated into their Mountains, the King for want of Money and Forraige was forced to return Home without any Action worthy of Mention, losing some of his Car- rriages in his Retreat. The French also returned, and retired with little Gain by their Journey, having lost more than they had gotten.

In the beginning of this Year the Lady Phi- lip, King Henry's younger Daughter, was mar- ried to Erte, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and not long after proclaimed Queen of those Countries on the Conception of our Lady, December 8. in the Presence of the Em- bassidors, who had celebrated the Marriage be- fore. On the Translation of St. Martin, the Town of Ryston was let on Fire, and almost burnt down to the Ground. The Earl of A- ruman returned to the same time married the King of France's natural Daughter, and the King and Queen were at the Marriage.

On the Fifth of March a Parliament met at Westminster. The main Design of their Meet- ing was to grant the King a Subsidy for his present Expences, but that he might have easel to gain his Ends upon them, the King paid several Ads at their Request, about the more regular and orderly Election of Knights of the Shires, and Burgesses for Parliament; against Bulls to be dilcharged of 1 lythes, Provisions, Lineages and Parliaments for Brancfsh, and Jack- cambeats, purchased of the Pope, and brought into the Nation, to the great Prejudice of the Church, and Disturbance of the Order of the Nation, as also for the Confirmation of the ancient Liberties, and Prefervation of the Peace, with several other Statutes; by which Readi- nesses and Facility he thought to oblige them to be more liberal in giving him Money: But when the King's Neceltities and Wants came to be propounded, the House was generally averse to it, and deny'd to grant any Tax at prefent. The King had no way to force them to it, but by prolonging their Sef- sions; and, in the mean Time, he received Money from the Nation, but prejudicial to all their private Interests, in neglecting their Summer-Business; and therefore, when they had long waited for their Dissolution with Impatience, and found the King's Design, they at length granted him a Fifteenth of the Commons; which was so much the more heavy, because the length of the Session had been very Expensive: And the Clergy to eafe the Seculars, who had been much impoverish'd with paying so many Tents, imposed a new Subsidy upon Stipendiary Priests, Mendicant-Friers, and Chantry-Friers, et cetera, three Shilling a Head for Peace and Repining, by them with much Murrnuring and Repining, because of the Poverty of those inferior Friers and Monks and the Novelty of it. By this Parliament the Secession was entailed a-new upon the Pollet ay of King Henry, and a Par- ty formed to give all the Weight in the third in suprelling the late Rebellion, and such riots Meetings as were Precedent, or Conformalient to it.

The King while the Parliament fat, consider- ing how Turbulent the Earl of Northumberland had been to his Government; that he had been the chief Cause and Instrument of Two Revel- lions, and that he could never hope for any Security so long as he was alive; for though he was fled into Scotland, yet being in Love to his Friends in the North, and among his Enemies the Scots, who if out of Love to the Earl, yet out of Hatred to himself and the English, would lay hold of any Opportunity to allure his Dominions, and disturb his Peace, contrived to prevent the Earl's Designs, by getting him into his Hands, and to that End agreed with several of the Scotch Nobles to refor- ce certain Great Men of their Kingdom, whom he had long left in Franchises of the Earls of Northumberland, and Lord Bardolf into his Hands. The Scots readily assented to the King's Proposals, thinking them uneconomical, to value the Safety of Two Rebels, before the Liberty of many of their very good Friends, and accord- ingly conspired to take them and deliver them to him: But the Lord Framlingham, who had en- tertained them, having Intelligence of the De- sign, and being loath to violate the Sacred Rules of Hospitality, gave them Notice of it, and advised them to provide for their Safety elsewhere, since he understood longer procure them, whereupon the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Bardolf fled into Wales. The Scotch Lords being thus disappointed of their Aim, turned their Anger upon the Lord Framlingham, and flew him, but with no less Trouble to the Nation than Cruelty in themselves: For the Cordiality and Friendship of the Earl, being excitated by the Barbaricconies of the Fae, resolved to revenge it, and being in so just a Cause, obtained Assistance easily to effect it. This began a Civil War in Scotland, and rai- ded such dangerous Quarrels in several parts of the Realm, that thence the King not only safe to keep Prince James his Son and Heir at Home, sent him under the Care of the Earl of
of Orkney, and a Bishop, into France to com-

plish his Education, and learn that Language.

Reg. 7. In their Pallage, as they failed by the English

Coast, about City in Norfolk, they were taken by
certain English Ships belonging to those
Parts, and sent to the King at Windsor; who the
next day presented to him the King of
Sicily's Letters, containing a Request of his Fa-
vor to his Son, if he should land in any part
of his Dominions, yet he imprisoned them all
in the Tower of London; saying, He would teach
the Young Prince to speak the French Tongue, and
for they were not received not long in Calody, but either through
Cunning or Convience escaped; and though
a Truce was made a little after between the
two Kings of England and Scotland, yet the
Prince was kept a Prisoner, either as a Pledge
of his Father's Fidelity, or to make him expel
the English Rebels out of his Dominions, whom
he entertained to the King's great Displea-

ture.

In the End of this Summer the Britains, who
served the Queen, were banished the Nation, and
two of her Daughters went along with them by
the Order of the King: Philip also was sent over into Denmark to his Husband,
being attended by Henry Venet, Bishop of Bath,
and the Lord Richard, Brother to the Duke of
York, with a great Train, and was soon after
her Arrival married to the said King with
great Magnificence. At the same time ilemms
Tuners were held at London between the Earl of
Kent, Sir John Cornwall, and the Lord Bea-
more and Three Scots, the Earl of Marre, and
Two Scottish Knights; but the Honour of
the Victory fell to the English. This Year also the
Mayor of London caused all the Weares or Banks,
as far as Gravesend, which had been made into
the Thames to catch the Fish, to be taken down
and demolished, because they were found too
defective to the Fihery. The Earl of Arundel,
and some other of the Nobility opposed the
Mayor in it, but he prevailed through some
Conceissions given the City of London by their
Charters. But the Charters and other
Bones and the Chapell adjoyning to it. The
Pope made Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham,
in the Place of Walter Skirlin, lately deceased.
The French also sent a further Aid to the Welsh
in thirty eight Ships, but lost eight in their
Pallage, and the rest hardly escaping the English,
their abide in much Fear and Danger.

The King, who greatly favoured Edmond
Holland, Earl of Kent, and for that Reason had
railed him to very great Honour and Offices
about him, preferred him to the Lady Lucy,
the Eldest Daughter, and one of the Heirestes
of Barnard, Duke of Devon, which Match he
had obtained for him by great Interest, and
large Expences. She was married to him Janu-
ary the 24th, in the Church of St. Mary Overies,
in Southwark, and the Duke on the Day of her
Marriage paid him by the Hands of Don At-
jofa de Castellar, Duke of Carthage, 1,000
Ducats. About this Time died Roger Woden,
Doctor of Divinity, and at length came to his
Haven of Peace and Quiet, after a Life of infinite
Changes and Troubles; for of all Men living he
was the greatest Influence of the Nobility and
Inconfinacy of Fortune. He was originally of
much Wit, but with certain Fate, but he
being educated in Learning, and of a pregnant
Wit, he raised himself by degrees to the highest
offices both in Church and State; for he was
first made Lord High-Treasurer, and a little after
by the Deputation of Thomas Arundel, he
was made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and so
continued during King Richard's Reign. From
1497, these Princes of Grandeur he was call'd down
by the coming of King Henry to the Throne,
who restored Thomas Arundel to his See. Se-
veral Years he remained in a private Station,
and being at length, as it was said, offered to
Dignity, being made Bishop of London: But, as
though Fortune raised him only to throw her
Powers to cast down, he was again removed from
that See in less than the space of a Year,
and Nicholas Hemy put in his Place; dying
in a year of sixty, yet in almost as mean a Con-
dition as he was born: So uncertain is worldly
Greatness.

The Duke of Orleans early in the Spring ha-
ing gathered a mighty Army, besieg'd the
Town of Burgos and Play in Gallego, not
being

Divers

Accidents

ruling a

Reg. 8. Duke of

Orleans

near

taken

by

some

French

Pirates,

and

by

the

French.

The King near

taken

by

some

French

Pirates,

who

lay

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War,

watch-

ing

for

Prey, fell in among his Ships, having

information of his approaching, and too late
which were next to the King, the muling of the
ship he was in, which they intended to take;
but carrying away six Thomas Kenyon's his
Vict-oriamain, with his Furniture and Ap-
parel; the King himself escaping only through
the swathes of his Ship. The Lords Com-
mander had under him the Title of War, to
convey the King over safely; but either thro'
the

Shuggniffs

of

his

Ship

croft

Winds,

not

being

at

hand
to

guard

the

King

from

this

Danger, was thought to have practis'd with
the

French
to
deliver

the

King

into

their

Hands

and

A.D. 1497. 1456.

of

or

Bartlet,

Death.

Reg. 8.

Duke of

Orleans

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and being Attach'd was impris'd, and oblig'd to undergo his Tryal, but was cleared by his Goods and Offices.

Reg. S. Peers, and restored by the King to his Lands, for

The King of England, Chancellor of Oxford being at Rome with the Pope, obtained a Provision for him of the Arch-Bishoprick of York, when it should become Vacant by the Death of the present Bishop. Richard Scrope beinghead- ing for his Rebellion, Robert policed himself of the Bishoprick, and the King was furnished with his Books for this Investigation, that he was afraid to keep it; and therefore submitted the Dispo- sal of it to the King's Pleasure, who thereupon made Henry Donez, from Bishop of Bath, Arch- Bishop, and put Robert Hakeman into the See of Salisbury, then vacant by the Translation of Henry Cokelby to St. David's. (f) The Prince of Wales much about the same Time won the Cattle of Aisrnesfield (g) in Wales, forcing the Begged to resign it to him upon certain Con- ditions; but the Prince was no sooner depart- ed from the same to enter on the part of his Father, by a subtle Stratagem got Possession of it again; and putting out the Keepers, whom he charg'd with Trefalon for reigning the Cattle without his Consent, put in others more faithful to defend it for his Life.

About the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, Aug. 15, 1427, it was decreed that most Warlike Knight, and Brave English Hero, Sir Robert Knolles, at his Manor of Sandendon in Norfolk, and being carried up to London, was honoura- bly Interred in the Church of the White-Prayer in Farring-Street, by the Lady Constance his Wife; which Church he had a little before re-built. He was of mean Parentage, but by his Courage and Valour raised himself to be the Command- er of Armies, and Governor of Provinces; in which Places he behaved himself so well, that he not only enriched himself, but was a Ter- ror to all the Enemies of the Nation, especially the French and Britains. In his old Age he resigned his Government of the Province of Aquitain, to Sir Thomas Belfort, and gave him- self to Acts of Piety and Charity; in which he was as eminent, as in Heroick Achievements:

For he built the large Bridge at Rochester over the River Medway, with a Chapel at the foot of it; in which is a Table of all the Benefactors to the Bridge, who have given Land or Money to the upholding of it. The Coping hath been added since by John Warner, a Merchant of Rochester, and the Iron Bars and Spikes by Arch- Bishop Warham. He also founded a College of Secular Priests at Pontefract for six Priests, thirteen poor Men and Women, and endowed it with a hundred and eighty Pounds a Year in Lands, with many other Acts of Charity, to his great Honour and the eternal Commenda- tion of his Name.

Reg. 9.

Sir Thomas Remington, Constable of the Tower of London, pulling from Court to the Tower by Water, was drown'd in shooting the Bridge. Sir Richard Whittington the Famous Benefactor to the City of London, was this Year made Mayor, and held that Place three Years. With the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at Gloucester, but was removed in November to Westminister for more Convenience. In this Se- sion little was enacted of publick Advantage, besides the Confirmation of the Ancient Liber- ties, Laws and Usages of the Realm, but only some Irregularities about the Payment of the Goods and Offices.

The King of England's Letter to the Pope was answered by the Pope at Rome, with a Provision for the Bishoprick of Salisbury on the Death of the Bishop. Sir John Cokelby was restored to his See.

Sir Robert Knolles, Knight, killed at the Battle of Mineinster, and buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Parliament met at Gloucester, and was continued to a third time at Westminister, and again to Win- ter.
A.D. 1408. 

Affairs of the Realm, and was in no Readiness to make any Opposition; so that the Earl had time to gain several of his Cousins with cafe, before the King could get his Army together, though he endeavoured it with all speed. These prosperous beginnings encourag'd the Earl to go on with his的设计, and when he was being at War, he put out a Proclamation, affurirg the People, 'That he came to relieve the English Nation from their many and unjust Oppressions; and requiring all Persons that loved the Liberty of their Country to refort to him immediately with all the Forces at Armoury at his Command; by which fair Pretexts great Numbers of People reforted to him. The King being certified of these Things, hastened towards them with a great Army; but not being able to get there time enough to secure those Countries from their RCCrage and Spoil, Sir Thomas Beke or Redeby, High-Shерiff of the County, a Person of signal Courage and Loyalty, assembled the Forces of the County together, if not to fight them, yet to stop their Progress, which without any Signs of Opposition would prove of great Danger to the Lord and his Army advanced forward, and the Sheriff as resolutely marched against them, and meeting them at
Braham-mow next Haleswood, resolved to give them Battell, though with a far left Number than the Earl had. The Rebels chose their Ground, and there received them. The Earl, which Advantage the Sheriff so little regarded, that he fell immediately upon them perhaps more boldly than wisely; but Fortune seconded the Adventurous. The Earl and his Men encountered him with equal Resolution and Bravery. However in the Battle he was forced to retire to<br>

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The Life and Reign of Henry the Fourth.

A.D. 1409.

Reg. 10.}

c. the Miferies of Chriftendom by this Schifm, and how much Blood-hed it had been in general parts of the Chriftian World in this Antipapal Quarrel; and lately in the Con
tention for the Bifhopric of Leffe between the Two Competitors, let up by each Pope 3000 Men had been flain: And then added, "Who would be more confi

ted these Things, he could not but be much troubled at, and for Conſcience fafe ra
ter relinquih his Papal Authority and Gran
dure, than be a further Caufe of fuch deteclu
ble Murders; imitating the Example of the True Mothers, who pleading the Name be
rings, &c. Sallamons cheer, rather to part with the own Child, than fe it cut aunder: And
though by his late Creation of Nine Cardi
nals he had given fome Suficion, that he in
 tended not the End of the Schifm; yet he
hoped, that he abhorded to be guilty of fo
cient Laxity: To the Cardinals he gives
only an Exhortation to behave themselves
with that Candour and Impartiality at the Council of Fifa, that God may be pleafed,
and the Pope himfelf obliged to thank them.
Thefe Letters to the Popes brought the King from Rome by Sir John Coleb, Knight, and Mr. Nothac Riotten, Clerk. Soon after their Departure the Arch-bifhop of Canterbury fummon'd the Clergy of his Province to a Pro
cocation in St. Pauls Church, to chofe fuffi
cient Perions to go to the General Council ap
pointed to be held at Fifa; and they unanim
ously fixed upon Robert Halume, Bifhop of Salisbur, Henry Chickeley, Bifhop of St. Davides, and Thomas Cuilltingden, Prior of Chrift-Church
in Canterbury.

This Summer, notwithstanding the Burning of William Canter, and other Seveilities used a
gainft the Lords in this King's Reign; it was found, that several Learned Men of the Uni
vity of Oxford, and in other parts of the Nation were inclinable to the Doctrines of John Wickhiff, and did publickly in their Ser
mons and Lectures, defend the Opinions and Conclusions tending that way. The Bifhop and chief of the Clergy were much troubled at it; and the Lord-Chancellor, by his Special Mandate, ordered a Convocation of the Heads and Body of the University, to meet and exa
mine the Doctrines of Wickifh, and to accord
ings on June 26. allombling in great Multitudes, viz. both Regents and Non-regents, reprouv'd and condemned with one Confent the Books of John Wickifh, D.D. Etitulated, De Sernante in unarte, Triologum de Sanitate, De perfeftione Satusnum, De ordine Chriftiani, & De gradiuo Civl Ecclefie. As all his Treatise of Logick or Philofophy: Pro
hibiting under the Penalty of the Great Carf
Deprivation and of all Scholafick Degrees, that none from thence-forward fhould affirm, teach, or preach by any manner of means or ways any of the Opinions or Doctrines con
tained and fet forth in the fame Heretical Books.

About the fame time was a famous Play all
ed at Skinner's Well, near Clarkemeth, London, representing the chief Masters of the World

to the Creation: It lafted Eight Days, and A.D. 1409.

Reg. 12.

From hence they went to Royal Jufis in Smithfield, between the Mar-
chial of Hennias and certain Hauwers, Challeng

ers; and the Earl of Somerfer, and an equal Number of Engilh-men Defendants. The Vi
dory was in the Englishmen's fide; for the Earl of Surprifed, and all the English were one.

Glofton also the famous Wofle Rebel died. He
had behaved himfelf with Valour enough; but not being able to effect what he had promifed his Country-men, viz. an abfolute Soverei
ignity among themselves, and a Freedom from the Engilh, he and other Heroes engaged them upon infupporable Expenfes, and an endless War, they defeated him; and he being forfaken, partly through fear of being delivered up to King Henry, and partly thro' difcontent and trouble of Mind, fled into the Mountains and Deferts; where being deftitute of all Comfort and Succour, he ended his meri
fible Life. The Council of Fifa after a long Deliberation about the State of the Church throu
gh the Schifm of the Antipopes, at laft deter
mined againft both, and created Alexander V. Pope in their Name to end the Schifm which had vexed the Chriftian Churches fo long.

The King made Thomas Beaflor, Earl of Sir
rey (k) Lord-Chancellor, and the Lord Serro,
Trefhurer, and after Christmas met his Parlia
ment at Welfmonfer, Jan. 28. In this Parlia
ment it was enacted, That Sheriffs making falfe Returns of Knights of Shires elected for Parliament, shall forfeit a hundred Pound to the King: That Records flall not be amend
ed or corrupted after Judgment enrolled, and that Jurfors fhall be returned into Wlelmonfer
had by the Sheriffs. But that which was most amazing in this Parliament was a Petition of the Commons delivered to the King, purport
ning, That the Temporal Paffifications, Lands and Re
evies of the Clergy were wholly fett, confirmed and wafted by the Bishops, Abbeys and Prioris of the Realm, and that the King had maintaine 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, 5200 Esquires, and 100 Hospitals more than are now a present; by which means the Safety of the Nations would be better provided for, the Poor better maintained, and the Clergy would be more Huma and Pious; for they had found, that many of them took their pretends into his own Hands, and order them accordingly. In their Bill they alleged, That the Tempera
tions of the faid Bishops and Religious Persons a
mented to above 522000 Marks; which at the Alwance of 3000 Marks to an Earl, a 100 Marks to each Knight, and 100 Marks to each Schifh, and an 100 Marks to each Atoms-houfe yearly, would be fufficicnt for the faid Number. But it is faid, that the King was displeafed at this Motion, which having before been made, he command
ed them for the future never to meddle with any fuch Matters. The Commons also peti
tioned, That the Statue which paff the Secon
d Year of the King again the Lordwards might be revoked or qualified with fome Re
ftrictions and Mitigations: But the King fo much favoured the Clergy, that he plainly

(k) This was Thomas Stafor, younger Son of John of Gant, and not Swanford, whom Wharfam erroneously faid to have lived in the Middle of the Modern Age: He is now a creen, copying Sir John. Durety two years after; and this Remark may also correct an Error in Hillis, who fays, that Thomas Beaflor, (Camb. ibid. Tom. Serry,) the Chancellor died this Year 1421. pag. 756. And the very next Page he relates, that Thomas Beaflor was created Cardinal; and in the History of the King's Brother's trial of Devot, and of the Arch-bis
c, tells he was the Son of that Swanford, that we read of in History, and he laid the fortune to be Duke of Exeter, Protector of the Realm, and to be a chief Man in the Government to his Death, which happened in the Year 1434. Hillis, pag. 1077.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fourth.

1. A.D. told them, that he was so far from disavowing or mitigating the fatal Act, that he would have it made more vigorous and sharp for the punishment of such erroneous persons. Then they further desired, that Clerks con- sented should not be delivered to the Bi- shop's Prison, because they escaped the Pu- nishment of their Times by his clemency: But they could not obtain their Requests. These Denials so sharpened the Commons a- gainst the King, that when he desired that he might have annually a Fifteenth of the Lay, and a Tenth of the Clergy, though the Parlia- ment did not fit, they would not agree to it; nor had he gained a present Supply, were it not, that he terrified them with a long session, keeping them till Mid-May, and forcing them to purchase their Dissolution with the Gift of a Fifteenth of the Commons, though with much Difficultie.

In the Time of this Parliament was one John Bodly, a Taylor, of the Diocesse of Worcester, convicted before Thomas, Arch-bishop of Can- terbury of Heresy, and obstinately perilling in the same, because he had been convinced before his Death by the River of his Erroineous Opinions, neither did, nor as yet would forfake them, and therefore was carried to Smithfield, and there burnt in a Pipe or Tun to Ashes. Henry, the Prince of Wales, was present at this Execution, and much compassionating his Sufferings, was very desirous to have saved him, offering him a Pardon if he would recant his Errors before the Fire was kindled; but he refusing, was tied to the Stake, and the Fire made about him. As soon as he felt the Flames he cried out most hearily; which when the Prince heard, he caused the Fire to be put out; he loved and admired him again to renounce his Errors, and he should be saved; and since the Fire had made him Impotent, he promised him Three Pence a Day out of the King's Treasury, as long as he lived; but the Holy Man recovering his Spirits, denied the Prince's Offers; and being put into the Fire again, was burnt to Ashes: With miraculous Confinacy, feeling the Doctor's he had relo- lutely maintained with his Death.

The Duke of Burgundy intending to make a second and more effectual Attempt to take Cal- lisi for the French King (Q) had brought down to St. Omer's many Engines and Provisions for that End. The English Garrison at Calais were so much the more terrified of this Siege, because the Duke was enraged for his laft Success against it; and had now resolved either to take it, or utterly demolish it; for which Purpofe he had brought thither ma- ny strange Engines newly invented, and laid them up in the Abbey there, till all things were ready for the Siege. The Calaisian had a watchful Eye upon the Duke's Motions; and their fears suggested Methods to avoid the Danger, and disappoint his cruel Purpofe: For hiring a young Man, who was both subtle and de- spirate, with a large Sum of Money to enter the Town of St. Omer's and set it on fire; he did it so privately, that it escaped himself un- fafisfied, and burnt St. Omer's, not only the Abbey where the Duke's Provisions and Ammunition lay, but the greatest part of the Town perihibited in the Flames, and to the Duke's Charge, as well as Aim was lost, and the Calaisian prefer'd.

The Minister of the Earl of Salisbury, told the Duke's nephew, himself was Sovereign of great part of the Low-Countries, by marrying the Daughter of the Earl of Flanders and Others.

A.D. 1410. The French King, Charles the Sixth, was the Duke's nephew, himself was Sovereign of great part of the Low-Countries, by marrying the Daughter of the Earl of Flanders and Others.
This Army Atucidentf. 

The cruel War between the Duke of Orleans and Burgundy in France, by which the whole Kingdom was involved in the Troubles of a Civil-War. The Occasion is said to be this: The Duke of Orleans, a Prince not only of great Courage, but of an equal Ambition, seeing the present King his Brother to be a Perfon unfit for Government, because of the Fies of Frenzy to which he was subject, and often fell into, was desirous to have a regent for his common counfell, and being concertd with the Queen to remove the Dauphin, and coaze him into Germany to her Brother the Duke of Bavaria, intended to perfwade the Pope, who in the Schim fat at Avignon, Brvndel XIII, to depofe the prefent King, as Pope Zehary did King Olaf of Sweden. The Duke of Burgundy, the King's Uncle, who had married his Daughter to the Dauphin, was not infe|ible of the Duke of Orleans's ambitious Aims; and as he kept the Dauphin out of the Stares, so he laboured by all means to counterACT against other Pracftices, but taking heed at length through his great Interestes and Policy he might prevail, he hired certain Perfons to murder him, which was soon after done in Paris, near the Barbe-Gate. This Cruelty being committed in the Night, the Actors were not known, but the Duke of Burgundy was veherently surprized, and when after his Burial inquiry was made about the Murderers, the Duke fled, and confirmed all the Sufpifions concerning him. He remained some Months about Angers, and then fled into the King, and invited to the Court, he became as much in Vavour as ever; but still retaining his Emony to the Duke of Orleans's Family, he much discon troo the all his Friends, and put some of them out of their Places, and others Reg. 12, to Death. Charles, Duke of Orleans, Son of the murdered Duke Lewis, being daily burdened with the ill Treatment of the Duke of Burgundy's Party, began to harbour angry and malicious Refentments against the Duke; and as it often happens, that new Difficulties revive the Memory of old Injuries, he became very hot and zealous to revenge the Death of his Father upon the Duke of Burgundy, and made a Pledge to all the World a just and reasonable Cause of making War upon him, since he had not only escaped Justice, but as if it had been a meritorious Act, was in as great Favour as ever. Before he would appear in Arms he con fulted with his Friends, and great Relations, the Dukes of Berry, Bourbons and Anjou, Kings of Navarre and Aragon, and the Earls of Albany, Richemont, Armitwack, and divers other Nobles and great Perfons, who approving his Design, and promitting him their Alloiance, encouraged him to begin. The Duke of Burgundy saw the Storm growing over his Head, and though he had the King and Dauphin on his side, yet he despair'd of being able to withfand the contrary Faction, and therefore begged the Alloiance of King Henry. There had been a Motion a little before made in the Court of France, for a Marriage between the Prince of Wales and the French King's Daughter, (m) which was an Encouragement to the Duke to address himself to King Henry, hoping by the Promis of the Marriage, and other large Frovers to engage him to his Al lowiance; and for that End he sent an Embaffador into England. King Henry received the Embaffadors honourably, but told them,#echo end comment## That the Duke of Orleans did only procure a juif Revenge for his Father's Blood, and therefore was not to be fought with, but appeased, and therefore he thought it reasonable, that he should be tendered all fuitable Satisfacion, which yet if he refused to accept, then he would lend him all convenient Alloiance; and fo di minimed them to their Mafter with hopes of Aid, but with an Obligation to try all Methods of making a peaceable Conclusion of the Quarrel. 

King Henry after their Departure consider Reg. 13, that this Civil Dililention in France might prove of good Advantage to him; and tho' it would not look well in him to encourage a Murderer heely, yet it would be impracticable to neglect his own Interests; hence into France The eighteen hundred Archers and Spearmen, under with assigned the Command of the Earl of Arundel, Gilbert the Duke of Aundeville, Earl of Argy, and Sir Robert Humfry, and frewile his Uncle, Sir John Oldaffe, Lord Cobnham, Sir John Grey, and William Peverell, to join with the Duke of Burgundy, if they give occation. They took Ship at Dover, and landed at Slia, from whence by eafe and careles marchs they came to Arva, where the Duke of Burgundy lay with fifteen thousand Flemings and Ficordes. The coming of the English was not expected; and the Duke having by many Kindnells and Courtships oblig'd them to join with him, marched with them to Paris, where they arrived October the 23d, in the Evening. The Duke of Orleans with the main body of his Army marched to Dennis, any a fmall part of it kept the Town of St. Clew, which held Communication with the Grand

("m") Other Authors say, the Proposal was for the Duke of Burgundy's Daughter.
A.D. Army by a Bridge over the Saint. The Eng-
Reg. 14.ish 11th after their Arrival, not willing to lie
Reg. 13.
still, undertook the Siege of St. Ouen, and on
November the 9th, a sharp Fight won it, laying and drowning nine hundred Men of their Enemies, which were set to keep the Bridge, and taking 400 Prisoners, besides 1200 Horses, which they found in the Town. The Duke of Burgundy partly to encourage the English, but chiefly to gratify his revengeful Temper, purchased the Captives of the English, and among them Sir Manfred de Ros, a valiant Captain: The English glad of the Money sold all their Prisoners, not suspecting the Duke's Deception; but when they saw, that contrary to the Law of Arms which secures the Lives of Prisoners, and permits their Release, he put many of the Chief to Death, they were much troubled, and repented of the Deed in telling them; and though they could not then help it, yet afterward they took this occasion to show their Refravemts of it to the Duke, and bow ungenerous and unmanlike an Action it was; Within a few Days the Armies of the two Dukes had a Skirmish, and the Eng-
lish having again the upper-hand got a great number of the Dutch prisoners, not having Money or Will to redeem, en
dared to perforce the English to put them to Death, as Enemies to their Country: But the Earl of Angus and the English Men boldly re
plied. That they would not be guilty of such a breach of the Law of Arms, as he had been, and would rather die themselves, than any of their Pri
soners should, but they would keep them for ransom, and so they were secured from the Duke of Burgundy's Cruelty. After this Engagement the Duke of Orleans' Party finding themselves too soon from the English, began to withdraw themselves into the mountainous Parts of the Country, and dur'd not for the present appear openly against the Enemy; whereasupon the Duke of Burgundy supposing himself able to keep them down, and to have no further need of the Eng
lish, sent them home with large decrees, and equal Thanks.

While these Things were transacting in France, King Henry assembled his Parliament on All-Saints-Day at Welfinfiner: In it the two Principal Matters that were enacted, were,
1. About the Coin of the Nation, which being much disturbed in the Reign of Bourbon, for other safe Pieces was given scrubulous and not cur
rent; whereupon a Law was made to forbid a certain bad Coin, called then, CDDL-half-pence, which were still used, notwithstanding they had been prohibited in a former Act in the Eleventh Year of his King, and all forreign Money, as well of Scotland as of other Nations.
2. About the Cocks, and other follicious Allelimes. It feems, that King Richard's Ghout haunted this King to his dying Day. The People were ne
ver truly satisfied, but Tumults threatened his Peace very often: Wherefore he was watched, That all Judges of Peace should have every first Eye upon his Subjects, to prevent all riou
s Meetings, and Storifie by as watchful sup
press storms; which, if they neglected, they should each of them forfeite a Hundred Pound to the King for every Offence, or Offense laid. There was no Tax given to the Parliament, but the King to well managed the Business of the Coin, which needed Reformation, and was encou
raged by A.D. of Parliament, that he raised as good a Fund by it, for good and publick uses, as was ever received in Money, and partly by coining new Reg.13. Noble, which he made a Great lighter than formerly they had been, he much enriched his own Treasury; and so as he had no Tax, so he wanted none. Soon after the rising of this Parliament, a new Administration was formed, which they found, by Creations Thomas of Lancaster, who was Lord Steward of of Noble England, and Earl of Anmer, Duke of Clarence, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his Brother, Thomas Beaumont, Earl of Derby.

John, Duke of Burgundy being now free from the Opposition of the Party of the Duke of Orleans, governed all at Court at his Pleasure; and having polliced the King, that it was not his own Cane, but the Crown, that was in Diffique, for all that he had done to the Duke of Orleans was only to secure the Kingdom against his ambitious Aims, was allowed to procure the Duke of Orleans and his Com
plices with the utmost Malice and Rigour, than which nothing was more agreeable to his Temper, as it was for his Interests, and he did more, to what end? which would be grateful to either. The Party of the Duke of Orleans being thus heavily oppressed, had no other Refuge left for their Relief but the King of England, who had been engag'd for the Duke of Burgundy, yet his Army being sent Home, and that not very early, though with a French Civility, they hoped, that as he was free from all Obligations to assist the Duke of Burgundy, fo by fair and advantageous Propo
sals they might win him over to them, and by that means rescue themselves from their Enemy's Hands. With this Confidence they dispaunched over into England, Albert, Prince of Saxe, a Man of great Wit, Learning and Courage, and some other Persons as their lawful Pro
c urators, who might in the Name of all the Confederates, of whom the Chief were, John, Duke of Berri, Charles, Duke of Orleans, Fa
lor, Earl of Blain, Beaumont, Lord of Coucy and Ach, John, Duke of Bourbon, John, Duke of Alencon, Bernard, Earl of Armouenick, and o
thers, tender these following Articles and Co
venants, viz. 1. That if the King of England, or of France, opened the Gates of his Country, and would not shut up his Towns and Mountains, and some other Parts which he of

Tenth Parlia
ment, its Aids and Taxes.

(n) The Dukes of Berri and Orleans, and the Count D'Armagnac, had by other Articles engaged to hold the Counties, Fauconets, Berry, and some other Places by homage and Fealty of King Richard, and to have other Places for Life only.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fourth.

A.D. 1412.

Nobles of France, Church-men, and chief Citizens had always at his Service: That they would put him in possession of the Duchy of Guien, which they were ready to
protest, did now as truly belong to the King of England, with all its Liberties and Freedom, as had done to any of his Majesty's
French Subjects, and would be held by them in that Dutchy to hold of him, and to do all the usual Homages and Services to
him for them: That as much as in them lay, they would deliver to him all the Towns and
Castle which were in their Hands, and did not actually belong to the King of England:
and allow him to recover the rest of the
Hands of their Enemies, only defining, that
the Duke of Berry might hold the County of Poitou during his Life, and the Duke of
Orleans the County of Anjou for Life, and
County of Perigord for ever, and the Earl of
Arundel four Castles, upon such Conditions
and Sureties, as should be agreed on between
them.

King Henry having received these Proposals, gave the Mediators a kind and civil Entertain-
ment; and declining the Duke of Berry's
Challenges, to the Mellefes, who unanimously re-
olved, that it would be both for his Honour
and Profit to accept these Lords, and so to up-
hold the Faction, which otherwise would soon be extinguished, he gave them this Answer: 'That
being their natural Sovereign he was willing
to bind his Obligation to protect and defend
them his Vassals and Subjects; and to this
he was the more inclined, not only because
he had found the Duke of Burgundy a false
and deceitful Man, who was forward to en-
tice Men by fair Promises to his Friendship,
but never performed more than was to serve
his own turn; but chiefly because it was
the Office of a King to help such as cried
unto him for Justice, which they could not
otherwise have, as he looked upon this Oc-
caision chiefly to be; for he evidently saw
that the dishonourable Murder of the Duke of Or-
leans (which he could never think on with-
out the deepest Horror and Detestation)
could never be revenged, but by such Meth-
ods as they now were taking: And therefo-
re they might allure the Lords, that he
would not set aside his Duty of taking up
the Prince, but would send them speedily forth
a Force, as should be able to defend them
against all Men, and so sent them Home with
Satisfaction to their Matters.

These Things were not so secretly actcd be-
 tween the King of England and Duke of Or-
leans's Party, but that it was known in the
French Court; and to prevent any Alliance
that might come to the Lords that way, the
Earl of St. Paul was sent down into Picardy
with fifteen hundred Horse-Men, and a great
Number of Foot to prevent the landing of the
English; or if that could not be, to detain
them in raising the Siege of Guienae, which
they set down before, and the Duke of Burgundy in
the meantime purfued the Party of the Duke of
Orleans, called Arundel's; and having won a
few Coalitions into Berry, and there closely besieged them. In
the City were the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the Earl of Anjou, Arch-Bishop of Sens and
Burgos, Bishops of Paris and Chartres, with oth-
er great Men, and fifteen hundred Soldiers
who were the greatest of them: Among the
Befiegers were the King himself, the
Duke of Burgundy and Earl, with
many other Nobles: The Duke of Berry was A.D. 1412.
very desirous of a Peace, because his Coun-
try was wafted, and the Befiegers declared, Reg. 13.
that they had no Quarril with the King or
Dauphin, but were Enemies only to the Duke of
Burgundy's Ambition and Cruelty; and
therefore in their Sallies cried out, God face
Befiegers, the Duke of Burgundy was going to
the Crown, knowing his Father was unable
to through his Frenzical Disaffection to judge of the
Miferies of his Country, was much disturbed
at Affairs, and told the Duke of Burgundy,
Things should not be long so; The Nation
would be in his Hands. The Duke of Burgundy,
Humour: And therefore resolved immediately
to make Peace. These Words no sooner
dropped from the Dauphin, but they were ea-
gerly caught up by Two considerable Men in
the French King's Camp, viz. Philip de Ligne,
Lord great Master of Riddles, and the Marqul of
the Duke of Savoy, who was sent by his
Master with some others to labour a Peace be-
 tween both Parties. Thefe Words came well
from the Duke of Berry, how well the
Befiegers were diffafted to Peace, and imme-
diately to negotiate a Treaty between them, which
they were soon brought about; and though the Duke of
Burgundy much feared, that what was a Peace
between, others would be a War to him, yet he ap-
cared as forward as any to make up the
breaue, which in a little time was concluded,
and was called from the Place, The Peace of
Bourges. It was sealed July the 15th, and the
King entered the City the same Day. While
these Things pulled at Bourges, the English un-
der the Command of the Duke of Clarence,
Edward, Duke of York, and Thomas, Earl of
Dorset, which were sent by King Henry to
reinforce the Duke of Orleans, being eight thousand
Knights and Men of Arms, and a thousand
Archers, arrived in Normandy. The Earl of
St. Paul was not presant to oppose their land-
ning, being beaten from Guienae, and withdrawn
to St. Quentin. The Duke of Orleans had pro-
mised to meet them at their Arrival, but neg-
lecting it, they fell to plundering the Coun-
try for their Sufferance and Pay, till the Duke
of Orleans came down and made an Agree-
ment with them, and so they withdrew into
the Camps of the Duke of Burgundy, where his
Brother John, Duke of Angoulême as a Pledge
for the 200000 Francs, which were further to be
paid to the King towards the Charges of this
Expedition.

But as War was the Difference of the
French and English, the Peace seemed a little to have
corrupted the English; for Prince Henry being
cafed from the Employment of the Wolsk Wars,
and being a Person of an active and brisk Spir-
it, who could do nothing moderately, fell as
eagerly upon the Sports and Pleasures, which
usually devouch the Minds of Youth in stud-
ning of Ease and Leisure, as he had been bold and
adventurous in warlike Attempts. He kept a
Court different from his Father, being of
Man's Years, and able to move in a Sphere of
such Greatness, as might become the Heir of
France.

The Prince of Wales, or Princesse of
Prince Philip, and Magnificence; but being a
little over-indulgent turned them into vicious
Excesses: So his Court was counted a Pa-
radise for Voluptuaries, where was an uncon-
troublous Enjoyment of all carnal Pleasures; and
it is supposed that this Prince was a
Vagabond. His Palace was like a Camp, for multi-
tudes of Persons that flocked thither, either to
please
null
A.D. 1412. 

Reg. 13. 

of the Guilt of my Blood. The King hearing these Words was much moved with Affection towards his Son; and was so fully convinced of the Prince's Loyalty, that he blamed his own Credulity, not his Behaviour, concerning him; for he had indeed entertained Suspicion of him, but (as he now saw) without Cause, and therefore promised him upon his Honour never to harbour any Jealousies for the future concerning him. The Prince having thus escaped the Danger he was in, desired the Accusers might be able to answer their false Calumnies against him, and he punished for their Faults, though not so fully as their Crime deferred: But the King replied, "That he must stay till the Parliament met, and then they should be judged by their Peers: Which as it satisfied the Prince, so it served to put off the Discovery of them, for being delay'd it was forgotten.

King Henry being perfectly reconciled to his Son lived in great Satisfaction and Ease of Mind, having Peace both at Home and Abroad, and the Time of Charity and Piety, and in providing for the Safety and Welfare of his People. He built a College at Federsley in Northamptonshire, which his Son Henry afterwards endowed with certain Lands which he took from the Frier's Alms: And because the Nation was much annoyed with Pirates, he sent Sir John Pen- drigreace with thirty Ships to scour the Seas, who by his Courage and Diligence did great Service to the Commons, not only by causing a free Commerce, but by taking many Fathers of Wine and Corn, by the Sale of which he brought great Plenty into the Nation. But the greatest piece of Piety of those Days was accounted to restore Jerusalem out of the Hands of the Infidels; who being Enemies to Christ, contemptuously treated the Sepulcher of our Saviour, and grievously abused the Christians and Churches of that Holy City. It much troubled the King, that the Christian Princes whose Arms might have better been employed against the Turks and Infidels, were at War among themselves; and because it was foretold him, that he should die in Jerusalem, he thought that he might be an Instrument of removing it from the Oppression of the Turks, and was very desirous to try his Fate against them, and for this end he called a great Council at London to get all things ready for that Expedition, and by it it was ordered, that several Ships and Gallies should be built, and other necessary Things got ready.

The English Forces which remained still in Aquitaine after the Agreement made between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, spurned their Times in spoilling and plundering the Frontiers of the French Dominions, from whence they took much Prey and Prisoners, which they carried into Burgos. The French being angry at these Depredations and Inroads of the English, fret the Lord Hume, one of the Times in spoilling and plundering the Frontiers of the French Dominions, from whence they took much Prey and Prisoners, which they carried into Burgos. The French being angry at these Depredations and Inroads of the English, fret the Lord Hume, one of them, twelve Nobles, and a number of four thousand Men to besiege one of the Fortresses of Guien, which Sir John Blunt being Governor of, kept with three hundred Men only, who behaved themselves with such Bravery and Courage, that they drove them from the Town. The next year four thousand Men under the Command of the Duke of Burgundy, one of the French, being sent against the Town, the same Year there fell into the hands of the Prince of Burgundy, who was taken prisoner. The Marshal himself was taken and sent over into England to the King, A.D. 1412. who imprisoned him at Woburgh; but he escaped from thence a little after, and got into Reg. 14. France, where he served the Duke of Orleans at the Battle of Agincourt, and was slain there.

Henry the Sixth this Year at Etham, being very sick of a kind of Apo-plectic Distemper, in which by Fits he was, A.D. 1413. thought to be dead; but it pleased God that he a little recovered, and pabled the latter part of the Christmas in some Pleasure till a Change was made, when the Government of the Parliament met at Westminster. The De- lige of this Seisdon seems to have been no other, but to furnish him with Money for his Voyage into the Holy Land, which he intended to begin at the Rife of the Spring, all things being ready for it. But God prevented his Design by a Relapse into his former Distemper: For being worshippimg at St. Edward's-Shrine to take his leave in order to his Journey, he was so violently seiz'd with another Fit of his Apoplexy, that all the Stan- ders by thought he would have died presently, being being removed into Christ's Hospital, longing to the House of the Abbot of Welfminister, and laid in a Pallat before the Fire, by the Warmth of that, and the Application of proper Remedies, he at length recovered his Sense and Speech again. After he had lain some time he enquired after his Health, because he perceived himself to be in a Strange Place, and was told he was in a Chamber of the Abbots of Welfminister. He then asked them whether the Chamber had any particular Name, and they told, It was called the Je- rusalem, by whomupon he said, 'That then he should die there, because he was long since told that he should die in Jerusalem, and accordingly he made suitable Preparations for his Death. And first calling for the Prince, he had several Discourses with him, as his Sicknese would give him leave. He said to him, 'That he had great Fears, that after his Death his Brother the Duke of Clarence would contend with him for the Crown, because he is a Man of an ambitious Spirit, and da-ring Courage, and would reach at the high-Cruloncy, by which the Nation would be fatified. But this I repent me, that I ever meddled with the Kingdom. The Prince anwsered to these Words, 'That it was his Earnest Prayers to God, that his Majesty might long continue with them to rule them both; but if God had not so ordered, that he should succeed him in the Government of this Realm, he would honour and love his Brethren above all Men, so long as they continued true and faithful Subjects; but if any of them should confpire or rebel against him, he would execute Justice upon them with as much Severity as upon any of his other Subjects. The King hearing this Anwser rejoiced greatly at his Son's Resolution and Courage, and not doubting, that that would establish him in his Throne, he proceeded to give him cer-tain Tokens of Honour to pull up the Mind with his Regal Dignity, and said, 'My Son, when I shall please God to call me out of this World to go the way of all Flesh, to thee as my Son and Heir I shall leave my Crown and Realm, and I advise thee not to take it in this World, but as the Son of a King, to the Pride, but as a Barren and Charge to provide for the Good and Safety of all Persons in
Gloft on St. Calbeft's Day, March the 2oth.

A. D. 1413.

In the Forty-seventh Year of his Age, when he had reigned Thirty-three Years, he went, on the 13th of One and Twenty Days of July, and being carried by Water to Frontham, his Corps was magnificently Entombed at Canterbury.

He was a Perfon of a middle Sature, but well Proportioned and Compact, and had much greater Lengtill than Body. He was of a true Prince, and was very Wife and Politick, exceeding Bold and Courageous, and yet withal very Mercifull and Ptitul, choosing rather by favoring the Lives of his Enemies to make them his Friends, than by destroying them, to rid himself of his Fears. He was forced to execute several Perfonis, and that of Note, for their rebellions Attempts against him; but his Mer-

cy to the Earl of Northumberland is a sufficient Demonstration, that not Cruelty, but Necel- lity obliged him to punish his mutinous Sub-
jects; and if they would have ever amended, he would have let them alone. He indeed was never loved, though he was really a very good Prince; because the Occasions of State required great Taxes, and People never love to buy even their own Happines dear: Besides, the badnes of his Title to the Crown was never forgotten, and though Mercifull was not much regarded, yet all his Kindnefs could never patch up that Breach, so much as to make him be loved, as he really deferved. In

 nue, in him we have an evident Proof of the People's Inconflancy, whole Affections are—

cere, but more filling, and he came in with their Applaufe, because he fared them from the Miferies of the former Reign; but he could never keep their Love, because his Trou-

bles created them much Charge, though they were no other than the necelfary Confequen-
ces of yielding to their Delires; yet Fortune fo attended all his Undertakings, that he died a Victor over all his Enemies Abroad and at Home, and laid the Foundation of his Son's Gentrefhes, in whole Reign the English Power was got to its height; Pitch and Gentrefhes.

He left his Reign for his four Sons, and two Daughters, but all by his first Wife the Lady Mary, the Daughter and Co-heir of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Herefild, who died before his Husband came to the Crown; for he had no fife by his second Wife, Jane de Nottify, the Widow of John de Mowbray, Duke of Brittain.

His eifefth Son Henrty, whom in his Life-
time he made Prince of Wales, and Earl of Caffier, was appointed his Succelfor in the Throne, and accordingly reigned after him, and proved the Glory of our English Kings, as in his Life as in his Reign.

His second Son Thomas Plantagenet, he made and left him Duke of Clarence. He married Margaret, the Daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Widow of John Beaufort, Earl of Pomfret. He was laid at Beny-Bridge in France by the Duke of Orleans, and died without Children. (c)

His third Son John he made Duke of Bed-
ford, Earl of Richmond, and Lord of Kent. He had two Wives, viz. Ana, the Daughter of John, Duke of Bangor; Jeanlina, the Daughter of Peter, Earl of St. Pead, he out-
lived him, and was afterwards married to Richard Woodville, Earl of Rivers, by whom he had one Daughter Elizabeth married af-
terwards to King Edward the Fourth, but he

(c) He had a natural Son, called John, the Bastard of Clarence.
A.D. had no issue by either of them. He shewed great Valour in the French Wars, and dying Reg. 14. at Paris was buried at Beau.

His fourth Son Humphrey, he created Duke of Gloucester. He was in very great Honour in his Nephew Henry the Sixth’s Days, filling himself, Humphrey, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother and Uncle to Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Hampole, Holland, Zealand, and Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Fazzeland, Great Chamberlain of England, Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of England. He had two Wives, but was unhappy in both of them, the one being divorced for a Pre-contract, and the other being Infamous for Sorcery and Poisoning, but was so far fortunate Reg. 14. as to have no issue by them. He was found murdered in his Bed at St. Edmonds-Bury in Suffolk, and was buried at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. (p)

His two Daughters, Blanch and Philippa, he married to Foreign Princes in his Life-time, viz. Blanch to the Duke of Bavaria, and Philippa to the King of Denmark, but both died without issue.

(9.) Neither the Duke of Bedford, nor the Duke of Gloucester were made Dukes by their Father, but by their Brother Henry the Fifth, in the Parliament at Linster, Anno 1414. Ossor. Hen. 5. p 41.

The End of King Henry the Fourth’s Reign.
THE Remarkable OCCURRENCES, IN THE Reign of Henry the Fourth.

Are interwoven by

The Author in the Thread of the History: So there is nothing to be added to it in this Place, but some Account of the Illustrious Men, and the Men of Learning of his Time.

The most Famous Warriors were Prince Henry, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry, Lord Percy, surrained Halsford, his Son the Earl of Wiltshire, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury a Favourer of Wicklif's Doctrine, Sir Thomas Rokesby of York, Sir Robert Constable Vice-Admiral, and Sir John Penegarce.

Among the Men of Learning, the Chief, and he to whom the English-Tongue was more oblig'd than to all the Writers before him, is Jeffrey Chaucer, a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He married, by whom he had Thomas Chaucer, Esq.; Speaker of the House of Commons in the Second Year of King Henry the Fifth. The Daughter of this Thomas married the Duke of Suffolk, and by this Match as well as her Father's Deceased, the Family of Chaucer became ally'd to the Greatest Houses in England. He was the Father of the English Poet. And the next is John Gower, of the Family of the Gower of Sittenham in Yorkshire. He was Chaucer's Friend and Companion, and joined with him in his Endeavours to refine our Language, and give a Turn and Harmony to the English Verses, which were unknown to their Fore-fathers. The Learned before their Time used to write always in Latin or French; but they had made the English Tongue so Musical, and it was of itself so Significant, that it became common afterwards, and most Authors communicated their Thoughts in their Native Language, which wanted nothing of the Force, and as these Two Great Poets had Polished it, little of the Grace of the best of the Modern Languages. Besides these there flourished in other Professions,

Hugh Legate of Hertfordshire, he wrote Reflections on Boetius's Treatise de Consolation.
Roger Allington, Chancellor of Oxford, a violent Enemy of the Wiclifists.
Nicholas Gourham, a Logician, the French King's Confeilor.
Dr. Walter Diff, Confeilor to the Duke of Lancifer, and to his Dutchef Confeil.
Dr. Thomas of Maidon.
Dr. Edward of Hertfordshire, a Francifcan Fryer.
Dr. Nicholas Hallingham of Norfolk, an Excellent Divine and Philofopher, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.
Lawrence Hallock, who wrote a Hebrew Dictionary.
John Colman, Arch-Bifhop of Armagh.
John of Marrie in Yorkshire, a Carmelite of Doncaster.
Richard Chefer of Norof, a Divine and an Auguftean-Fryer.
John Lutfbury, a Monk of Reading.
Nicholas Pown.
Dr. Richard Scoop, Arch-Bifhop of York. He wrote a Libel against King Henry, and was beheaded for Trefion.
John Wreatham, Warden of the Carmelites in Cambridgeshire.
John Celebne, a Monk of Norof.
William Scoop, a zealous Wiclifist, he died in Prifon. He was a Man of angular Piety and Learning.
Robert Langham, a Monk of Norof.
Allan Dunciens.
Boston of Barry, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church.
Thomas Peuerel, Bishop of Worcester.
William Holt, a Monk and a Physician.
John Baterel, a Logician.
Dr. Nicholas Bafard, Professor of Divinity at Oxford.
John Price, of Liddlehull in the Weft of England.
William Norton, a Francifcan Fryer of Coventry.
Nicholas Rippon, who lamenting the Schifm in the Church, occasion'd by the Antipopes, wrote a Treatife on that Subject, called, De tacidora Schismata.
John Walter, an Excellent Mathematician. He was bred at Wincifder-School.
Thomas of Neumaket, Bishop of Cardiff.
William Auger, a Francifcan Fryer of Bridge-water.
Peter Raffel, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.
John Langton, a Carmelite-Fryer.
Robert Wanton, a Monk of Cendy in Dorfshire. He wrote a Book in Verse of the Original and Signification of Words.
Richard Eafhalmb, a Monk of Norof.
William Norton, a Fryer of Coventry.
Hugh Suth, a black-Fryer, and a great Preacher.
Robert Wimbledin, a Famous Preacher.

In this King's Reign, the French Historian, Jean Froisfard lived, and we have given him a Place here, because he resided sometime in England, and is very Particular in some Parts of our English History.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY V.

HENRY, surnamed the GOOD, Chief Town of the Shire of the same Name in Wales, and standing on the Banks of the River Wye, because he was born there, when his Father was Duke of Hereford, and reduced in those Parts, entered up on the Throne of England after his Father King Henry the Fourth's Death, as his lawful Heir, and by the Ancient Custom of the Nation, his Successor to his Crown and Dignity, the same Day that he died, viz. March 20. and was the next Day proclaimed King by the Name of Henry V. He had given evident Proofs of his Love and Respect to Virtue and Learning, while he was at Oxford, under the Tutorship of his Uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, then Chancellor of that University, in showing a particular Favour to those that appear'd most Eminent for both, of whom he afterwards made Thomas Radburn, Bishop of St. Davids, and John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, and of his unparalleled Courage and Conduct in the Battle of Shrewsbury, and in the War which he maintained against Owen Glendower the Famous Welsh Rebel, whom he so often routed that he durst not show himself against him, but lurking in Mountains and Woods peri'd with Hunger, for which he was receiv'd into the Regal Authority with an universal Joy and Delire, and like the Roman Emperor Titus, as the Delight of all Mankind. The Liberties which a little before his Father's Death, in times of Peace, he had allow'd himself, had brought no small Blemish upon his former good Inclinations and brave Actions, the Extravagancies of himself and Companions being an Indication to some, that he was wholly degenerated into Lewdness and Effeminacy; but as if all Men had foreseen, what after indeed came to pass, that the Charge of his Condition would work as great an Alteration in the Manners of so Noble and Generous a Mind, and being become their King would be a New Man, they welcom'd him to the Throne with full Compliment and Liking, interpreting his former Loose and as nothing else but such a Piece of Experience as Solomon thought fit to make of the Pleasures of the World, which he indulged himself in for a small time, that he might with the greater Aversion subtribute with this Motto, Fasting and Devotion of Spirits, as he did indeed, and much sooner than that wiser Man.

The Nation being thus furnish'd with a King of such mighty Hopes, and though they had lost a good Father, yet believing themselves happier under his braver Son, began to give him more than usual Testimonies of their hearty Submission and Respect to him within three Months, four of which the Nobles and Commons by an unrepresented Zeal came to pay him their Homage and swear Allegiance to him, which was before neither required nor payed till after the Coronation. The King gave them his hearty Thanks for their Good-will towards him, and towards their Nation, and ordered their forward Endeavours for the Publick Prosperity, but would by no means accept of their Tenders till he was Crown'd, and had taken upon himself as serious Obligations to be a good King, as he could lawfully desire should be laid upon them to be Loyal Subjects: Saying, that he earnestly pray'd that God would not suffer him to be Crown'd, or admit him to the Government of the Nation, but as he should rule well for his Glory, and the Good and Prosperity of his Subjects; which if God did foresee that he should not do, he desired he would rather take him to his Mercy, than permit him to live and reign. This generous and virtuous Anxur much raised their Admiration of their New King, and was a greater Obligation of their Love and Loyalty, than the most solemn Oaths could be, while they saw him more amorous to a be good King, than to have them good Subjects: And that he might give his People all the Assurances of his real Intentions of ruling well he hasten'd his Coronation, which was celebrated with all the usual Solemnities upon Apr. 9. by Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and immediately after it he began such a Reformation both of himself and Court, as would be the surest Foundation of an happy Reign; for first summoning his old Companions and Servants together, who had been both his Associates and the Promoters of his former irregular Courtesies, he gave them such Rewards as was due for their former Services; Telling them, That if they would reform their Manners, as he had begun, and was resolve to hold on, they might continue in their Places, and should upon that Account be the more in his Favour, but if any of them would still persist in their evil Actions, he forbid them his Courts, and charged them upon pain of Death not to come within Ten Miles of any Place were they resided. (a) Having thus freed himself of his Vices, he provided himself of all things that might become a Virtuous King and Good Governor. He chose for his Companions and Civil Officers Men of his Nobility, and made such Lawyers, Judges, as were as Eminent for their Integrity, as Knowledge. He test his Huis}
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth.

Three Weeks after Eglesfield, (b) the King assembled his Parliament at Westminster, and re-afmmed all his verbal good Laws and repealed some of the evil Laws made, viz. concerning the Elections of Bar- greves and Knights for the Parliament. Against such as forged or published false Deces. A gaull Irish Beggars. About the Measures, that the King's Purveyors should buy Corn by, with the Acts of the Parliament, and the Acts of the Co-vocation of the Clergy, which according to the usual Custom of those Times always sitt with the Parliament, being conven'd in St. Paul's Church was more Active. The Arch-Bishop, Thomas Arundel, being sensible how zealous the King was for the Church, thought this the fit- lest Opportunity to root out those Heretical Doctrines which had been indeed often attempt- ed, but to so little purpose, that they still spread and got Ground, because that his Youth and Natural Courage concurring with his Re- ligious Inclination would more easily engage him in a Work by which he might merit at once both the Favour of God and his People. Wherefore the Arch-Bishop having, by Twelve Inquisitors sent out the Year before, made a full Collection of the Principal Doctrines and Op- inions maintained by the Lollards, which he re- duced into four and twenty Articles against them, and having discovered who were the Chief Main- tainers and Upholders of them, and by which means the said Opinions had been lately so much propagated in many parts of the Nation, and more especially in the Dioceses of London, Eri- bor, Chester and Hereford, and having declared the same to the Convocation, and deeming their serious Confu- sion by what Methods the said Doctrines and their Eaters might be suppress'd; he put them upon many Debates about it, and at length drew them to these Resolutions and Decrees, viz. i. That it would not be possible to con- tinue the Doctrines of Wickliff, unless certain • Great Men, who were the professed Abettors • and Maintainers of them were remov'd out of • the Way. That Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Col- bham, being the Chief of them, and the Person who had least several Preachers into the Dioces- es of London, Eri-bor, and Chester and Hereford, and having pub- lished the said Heretical Doctrines, should be I first dealt withal, and accordingly it was con- cluded: That without delay Proceeds should be in- sisted on against him as a most pernicious He- retic. But because the said Lord was in Fa- vour with the King, that was the cause and Author of this, and it was advised, That the King, himself to be acquainted with their Designs, and the Joll Oc- casion of it, that having obtain'd his Leave their Proceedings might be more Successful and In- offensive. This Counsel was approved, and or- dered to be follow'd, and then the Convocation to have after it ordain'd St. George's Day to be cele- brated and kept as of the manner of keeping such a Feast. See Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments, pag. 513. Duplex Fidei Majus, i.e. A greater double Faith broke up. The Arch-Bishop en- deavoured to have raised St. John's Day to an equal Holiness, but could not obtain it.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who had ap- pear'd particularly Zealous in the Convocation against the Hereticks of those Times, did not abate his Heat when it was ended, but immedi- ately went to the King with heavy Counsels of hereby, the Law Council, and the Arch-Heretic and Enemy of the Church, and desireth his Per-

(b) On the Fifteenth of May, 1413. (c) These two hundred forty six Articles were drawn up by Inquisitors at Oxford, to be Exhibited against Sir John Oldcastle, and Col- bham's Ac- cusation, and Con- demnation, and his Escape into Wales.

And a million to proceed against him according to the late Decree made by his Clergy, and according to the Laws of the Land against Heretics.

The King observing the Arch-Bishop's Fury, and being cooler himself reply'd, 'That tho' he had a particular Desire to uphold the Church in its Doctrine and Order, and was sensible that Unity was the Life of Christianity, because it keeps up that Love which is the fulfilling of the Law; yet he thought that the most prudent Course to reduce the Error, was by mild Peruswasion and Con- vincing Arguments; for if the Truth were on their Side, it would prevail by its own Strength in the End, which if it could be done, it would be much better than to make use of those Engines, which have been for the most part used to subdue and destroy the Truth, and feldom do any Service to the Church further than to work dishumbled Union and Con- vention: And therefore advised the Arch-Bishop to use all gen- tle Methods to reform and reduce him, promising, that he would himself treat with the Lord Cobham about his Opinions, and if he could not receive Reasonings of the Church and Law.

The Arch-Bishop departed with this An- swer, and the King sent soon after for the Lord Cobham, and having related to him the Charge of Heresy, which the Arch-Bishop had brought against him, admonish'd him forthwith to re- move Reasonings and Argumentations to the Church and Obedience of the Arch-Bishop. The Lord Cobham thank'd him for his Kindness and Favour, but return'd him an Answr. 'That by the Law of God he owed Obedience to no Person on Earth but himself, who was his na- tural Prince, God's Vicar, and to whose Laws he was bound to ob- serve, and therefore would pay them none, be- cause he knew him to be the Antichrist, and to Them the Abomination standing in the Holy Place, by the Description given them in Scrip- ture. This refolute Reply something offend- ed the King, so that he dissim'd him without any further Dictourse or Peruswasion, and the Lord Cobham departed to his Castle of Cooling in Kent, which having obtained by the Marriage of his Sister, the Clerk of the Lord Cobham's, became a Black-Fryer, or Baron, and had upon that Account his Ufal Re- sidence there. The Arch-Bishop having waited some time for the Effect of the King's Promise, went again to Court to receive the Account of it, and finding the King displeas'd at the ill Success of his treating with the Lord Cobham, had full Authority given him to cite, examine and punish him according to the Canons of the Church, which he did not do, but put immedi- ately in Execution: For having assembl'd a Coun- cil of his Clergy, and fram'd divers Articles of Heresy against him, he sent his Son to circulate them to answer personally before him to such Accusations as should be proved against him. The Son ner not daring to deliver his Summons to the Lord, because he was reputed a Peruswad of great Fiercnes and Courage, returned again without deliverance. The Arch-Bishop was forced to hire (a) one Butler to set up a Pe- remptory Citation upon the Doors of Rochester Church, (c) strictly charging him to appear be- fore him, on September the 11th following at Leeds. The Lord Cobham was not at all care- ful to obey his Summons; but fearing least the Arch-Bishop should engage the King against him, and draw him to join his Power to grati- fye their Malice and Fury, which otherwise he valued not, he drew up the Sum of his Faith in a few Words, and sent it to the Pope, and to the Scale of the Apostle's Creed, and presented 'em to the King, hoping by satisfying him in the Orthodox Declaration of his Opinion to obtain his Protection and Favour: But contrary to his Expectation he found him so much prepossessed by what he had written upon it, but deliver'd it to the Arch-Bishop, and his other Accusers, causing him to be again cited to answer his Charge before them; and be- cause he would not swear to submit himself in all things to the Church, the King order'd him to be Arrested in his Prefecture, and command- ed that he should be kept a close Prisoner in the Tower of London, till he should acquit himself of the Crimes laid against him, or be otherwise releaved by order of Law. The Lord Cobham used all means to deliver himself, alluding, that the Arch-Bishop was his avow'd Enemy, and that he would return to England in equity to be his Judge, that he had appeal'd to the Pope for Justice, and shew'd his Appeal ready drawn up with all due Reverence to the King: But this incurring the King much more, he pro- tested, that he was willing to undergo any Punishment that could be put on him for the Law of God he infring'd on him, but could not be contented to have his Cruel Enemies his Judges; yet if the King lawfully he would justify himself by Comb- at, either personally against any Man living, Christian or Heathen, the King and his Council only excepted, or with an hundred Knights of Espuries on each side, that his Faith is Sound and Orthodox. But all these Offers nothing a- vaileth, the King would have him appear before the Arch-Bishop at a Day and Place then ap- pointed, and so he was kept in Prison in the mean time. The Day being come for the Lord Cobham to appear before the Arch-Bishop, as was September the 25th, the Sir Rob. Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower brought him to St. Paul's Church, where the Arch-Bishop with Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, and Henry Balingbrooke, Bishop of Winchester, sat in a Confillion in the Chapter-houe to examine him, and to pass Sentence on him, and done at this Time, because he deliver'd in to them a short Paper of his Opinion about the Holy Sacrament, Images, Penance and Pilgrimages, which tho' not Satisfactory to them, yet he would then give no other Answr upon those Points, and so he had further Time given him for a more disfull Answr, which was till Sep- tember the 25th. On that Day he was examin- ed again in the Hall of the Black-Fryers within Ludgate; and because he answer'd, That in the Sacrament of the Alter there was, after Confe- ssation, the Body and Blood of Christ, after the same manner as in the Perfusion of Christ: the Divinity was united with the Humanity. That the Pope and his Prelates are Antichrift, and not the true Church of God. That Saints are not to be Worship'd, nor to be to be clothed, with the Dress of the Body, nor carry any Dec ond of Worthip; and would not be induced to alter or change his Opinion in those Points, he was condemn'd as an obdurate Herstck by the Arch-Bishop, who having Excommunicated him, deliver'd him over to the Secular Power to be

(a) John Butler, Door-keeper of the King's Chamber.
(b) Butler went to him and Summon'd him personally to appear before the Arch-Bishop. Sir John answered, He owed the Priests no Submission, and would not appear in the Presence of the Church. The Arch-Bishop afterwards proceeded another way, by affilling the Citation on several Church Doors.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth.

The King kept his Christmas at his Manor of Eltham in Kent, about seven miles distant from London; and while he was in the midst of his Pleasure, and Delight in the two Days that followed, a Fire burst out of his Prison by Steal, and flying into Wades, where he remained from the Feast of St. Simon and Jude almost four Years.

About this Time a very terrible Fire happened in the City of Norwich, which burnt down the great part of that City, and the Houses of the Fryers-Presachers, with others Two Fryers being confounded in the Flames.

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A.D. 24
Reg. 2.

The Life and Reign of HENRY the Fifth.

and testified many Things of great Concern to the Nation, and for the Honour of the King, tho' it prov'd very severe and fatal to the Lords, as will appear in the brief Account of the chief Acts of it. The first Act of this Parlia-
mament was for the Management of Hospitals, ordering, That the Bishops of the Diocesse should by the King's Commission inquire into the Revenues and other Endow-
ments belonging to such Houses as have been erected and endowed for the Relief of the Poor, and what sums the Bishops find should be accoun-
ting to the Laws of the Church. Other Acts also of great Use were made for the keeping of
Counts and Election in all Counties within their own Coun-
ties. That Justices of Quorum be resident in the
All, that they are appointed to serve by the
King's Commission, and that the Quarter-
Sessions for the Peace be kept in the same Week
quarterly throughout the Realm. That it shall be
High-Treason to rob or slay any Persons, ei-
er in the Ports or palling upon the Seas, hav-
ing the King's Letters of Truce and safe Con-
duct, that the King's Acts also Conferrers of Truce in
every Port both of England and Wales were
appointed. That Justices of the Peace and She-
rieffs should be diligent to suppress all unlawful
Riots and Riotous Assemblies under the Penal-
y of an hundred Pound Forfeiture for every
Offence. But those Matters which were car-
ried on and managed with the greatest Heat and
Zeal were, 1. The Act against the Lollards, and
2. The Petition about the Revenues of Religi-
ous Persons. The first of these was procured
chiefly by the Clergy, who taking advantage of
the King's Diffidence against the Lollards for
their favour of Reformers lately raised against
him, willingly caused it to be Enacted. That
whereas divers of his Majesty's Leige-People
as well by those of the Sect of Herecyle, called
Lollards, as by others of their Confederation,
Excitation and Abatement have been made
to annull and subvert the Christian Faith and
Law of God within the Realm of England,
and destroy the King himself, the Effates of
the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, and
also all manner of Policy and the Laws of the
Land: Therefore our Lord the King to the
Commons Ordain'd and Established, That the
Chief Bishops, Archbishops, Judges of all Branches,
Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Offi-
cers that have, or hereafter shall have Gov-
ernment of our People, do make Oath in tak-
ing their Offices to extend their whole Pain
and Diligence to put out, cease and destroy
the Heresies and Errors and heretical prac-
tices commonly called Lollardies within all Places
where they exercise their Offices with all their
Power, and aift, favour and maintain the
Ordinaries and their Commissaries in doing
the same as oft as they shall be therunto re-
commanded God and King, and his Nobility, and
being paid by them. This Act as it shews
how ill an Opinion the King had of the Loll-
dards whom he knew only by the Misrepres-
2
a very sharp Persecution against them, in which
many were burnt, many for fear fled into for-
 Reigns to secure their Lives, and others
through a more unmanly Cowardice denied and
abjured the Truth. This with other Acts of the
Parliament being ratified, the Housels came to
raise the King some Money, which being the first he
had ever had, they were willing to do the more
largely, and for that End put up a fresh Petition to
the King (as they had before done to his Fa-
ther) to this Effect, That for such as the
Temple was built the King should give Religious
Persons, but were difter-
ently conformed and spent as well to the dif-
ferent honour of God and Religion as the Prejudice
of the Religious Perons themselves, might be
much better employed for the safer and de-
fining the Realm and relief of the People,
by a particular Computation in the same man-
ners as was given to the King's Father they
made it appear) they besought the King to
put the said Revenues into his Hands, and to
employ them for his own and the Nations Ad-
cendants. This Petition was promoted by such Persons as bore some Affection to
the Lollards, and bared the Clergy for the Cruelty they had used so lately against the Lord
Cobham; yet being done by some or most of the
fame Persons who had concurred in the Act
made this Session against them, was not indul-
ed of Revenge by the King, but as if it had pro-
ceeded from the good Affection they bore to
him, and the present Necesitiets of the Nation,
he began to listen to it and shew a Compliance with that strong Party in both Houses which appear'd Zeloous for it, inasmuch that (as Heav-
god had foretold) the False Ships began to swear, the Proud Priors to frown, the Poor Fryers to curse, and
the silly Nuns to weep, leaft their Babel should
now utterly be demolish'd: But their Signs were
not yet full. The Clergy laid their Heads to-
gether, and entered into deep Conclu-
That D. had published himself of that Kingdom, upon a pretended fundamental Law, called the Salic-Law, by which it was enacted, That in terram Salicam nullius esse fecundo, Let not Women succeed in the Government of the Salic-Land; yet it is evident from the First Charter of the Conquest, that the Fifth Parliament by the Salic-Law, Charles the Great, and the common Custom of France it fell in reference to the Succession of the Crown, that the said Law hath been unjustly made use of, and pleaded to bar the Kings of England from their inheritance, for as to the making of it our Histories shew, that it was fram'd by Charles the Great when he conquered the Parts of Germany between the Rivers Elbe and Selle, where having observ'd the Women to be very Lewd and Voluptuous, and consecutively unfit to govern, he made the Laws of his Son to this purpose. Should rule; which could in no wise include France, as is pretended it doth but fallaciously, as the Court of Succession to the Crown of France doth prove. For Feeps, King of France, who deposed Colpericus, claim'd the Kingdom as his Right by Inheritance, because he was descended of the Lady Blithilda, Daughter of King Clovis; and Hugh Capet who held the Crown in Prejudice of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the only Heir-male of Charles the Great, made his Claim good by proving his Defect from the Emperor Louis the Son of Charles the Great by the Lady Wigga, which Picis could have no tolerable Grounds, nor would they have been admitted, had the Salic-Law as it is pretended been in Force from the Time of their first King Pharamond. But that which renders this Argument work plain is the Cafe of a Case with itself sufficiently practised about his Right to the Crown, because the Succession was a little confused and intricate, and being ready to reign what he feared he had no good Title to, he was shew'd, that he was lineally descended of the Lady Blachride, Daughter of King Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the sole Heir-male of Charles the Great, was satisfied in the Jurisdictions of his Title, which he could not have been if the Salic-Law had been known and in force at that time in France; and since the Title of the succeeding Kings to this Day is deriv'd from the said Laws of whom all come, the Kings of England will have at least as good a Title as any of them could challenge, and so consequentially is the lawful Heir of France as being from the Elder Family th'o' by a Female Branch, and the Salic-Law is but a Trick set on foot to debar the Kings of England of their Right: That if the Salic-Law were indeed of that Antiquity and Use in France as it is pretended, yet it ought not to be observed in any Christian Commonwealth, because it is directly contrary to a Law of God (which no man denies) into France but Duke Henry, the Arch-Bishop of Dublin, the Lord Gray, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of Norwich with 500 Horse to King Charles the Sixth, to require of him in a peaceable manner (for the avoiding the Effusion of Christian Blood) to surrender the Kingdom of France and all the
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth.

A.D. 1414. Reg. 2.

Appertainances to him as the lawful and undoubted Heire of it, which if he would quietely, King Henry would then take the Lady Kate and all his Goods and Estates to Wiltshire and bower her with all the Dutchies belonging to the Crown of France, but if King Charles refused to grant his just Demands, he would enter France with Fire and Sword to recover his Right from him on his Life. The French King hearing this Design, despised it with Contempt, telling them in Scorn, That their Business required Deliberation, desist from it, and sent them away without an Answer. The Dauphin was not content with such Modest Refolutions, but knowing something of King Henry's extremity of Life while he was Prince, sent him a Tow of Tennis-Balls, carefully intimation, that he was fitter for a Game at Tennis than a Warlike Expedition, and knew better how to handy a Ball than shoot a Bullet, and that they must be as soft as himself, who valued the Measurers of so unwarlike a Prince. King Henry not a little vexed at the Returns of his Embassy, said, That as light as they made of his Demands, he'd make the French know that he declared the Respect of a Prince from them, and the oth' they had sent him Tennis-Balls, he would fland among them such Balls as the foremost Frenchman should be able to withdraw. And fo with all the Zeal and Hate imaginable prepared for his Expedition into France; for having gathered up the 300000 Marks granted him the last Parliament, he raised a very plentiful Army, and hired a great Number of Ships, with merchandize for him, and Bihont to join with his own Fleet to carry over his Army: He also called a great Council at London about Michaelmas, in which he caus'd it to be ordain'd, that no French Men nor other Strangers should be promov'd in the Church without his License for the same, and all such as did enjoy any Prefertments already, should find Sureties not to disclose the Secrets of the Realm, nor affit the King's Enemies with Money, which Edict was at the same time confirm'd by a Canon of the Convocation sitting in St. Paul's to elect certain Persons to be sent to the General Council at Arras, appointed to meet at Ghent in Germany by the Emperor Sigismond to heal the Schism then in the Church. (b)

The Preparations made in England against the French were not unknown to them, and the Dauphin who then had the Government of the Realm under his Father, call'd a Council of the Dukes of Albemarle and Berry, with other great Lords to consult about the proper Method of oppressing the King of England, and by their Advice an Army was rais'd to lie on the Coasts, and the Marinists Garrison strongly fortified a certain Place. But the main Business they depended upon was the Affidavit of the King of Scots, who by their Insiglation and Help was drawn to invade the English Borders with such a powerful Army as would, they hoped, hinder their Expedition into France. And indeed the Scots appeared at first to Formidable, that it begat a Difpute in the King's Council, whether Scotland or France should first be subdu'd. The Earl of Wiltshire, who then was made Lord Warden of the Marches of Scotland, mov'd the King to go first against Scotland, alleging, that it would facilitate his Conquest over France to subdue that Nation first according to the old Proverb, Who's worse France or Scotland, the Scots will fall. But the King's Uncle Thomas淀't and Bishop of Ely, a wise and well-informed Man, affirmed and urg'd the contrary, That it would be the most certain way to subdue Scotland to conquer France first, because it was by the Policy and Money of the French that the Scots were able so well to defend and maintain themselves, and to keep away France and the Scots will fall of course. Besides the present Factions of Burgundy and Orleans would be so great an Advantage to the King in gaining that Nation, that it would be very impolitic to omit this Juncture to invade France. These and other Arguments of like Nature were so prevalent with the whole Assembly that it was resolv'd, that the King should go on with the War against France, and that Sir Robert Umfravile with a small Body of Men, and with the Forces of the Bordering Counties should be first to defend the Nation from the Incursions of the Scots. This Valiant Commander soon after his arrival, viz. upon St. Mary Magdalen's Day, July 22. came to an Engagement with them, and was so fortunate that he routed their whole Army, and took 350 of them Prisoners with great Spoil, and got safe into Beaufort-Castle, of which he took Possession. The Next Day he advanced against the Scots much amaz'd the French, and taught them how little the Aid of the Scots was to be trusted to: Whereupon they altered their Methods, and sent over an Embassy to King Henry by the Earl of Pembroke, William. Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Lichfield, the Lords Treasurer & Broussasses, the King's Secretary, and many others, who being accompany'd with 350 Horse-Men as Attendants arrived at Calais a little after Christmas, and landed within a few Days at Dover.

King Henry being very earnest and diligent to make all possible Preparations for his desir'd Expedition into France, took his journey early this Spring to fee in what Condition and Readiness his Fleet and Transport Ships were, which lay at Southampton, and give such necessary Orders and require'd for his Ing's, and in his Piazza, N. He brought him, that a Pompous Embass'y from the French King was landed at Dover and hastening towards him, caused the King to deliberate from his Journey a while and retire to Winchelsea to receive them and give them a speedy Audience, tho' without a prophetick Foretelling it was vaine to guefs at their Bifkins, that they now were affraid of him they so lately frown'd and derided. As soon as they arriv'd they were admitted to the King, and the Arch-Bishop of Bourges in an Eloquent Speech having they'd the Barbarous War continued against them, that the mutiny's especially between such two Neighbouring Nations as England and France, diffused the King from his intended Design, and promis'd him from his Muter many profitable Conditions if he would dismiss his Army, viz. That his Majesty the French King would give him in Marriage the Lady Katharine, and for her Dowry several Countries in France, with a large Sum of Money. (i) The King gave them no Answer to their Proposals pretentiously, but having for several Days treat'd them Royally at his own Table, he at length order'd the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of Worcester, and Roberts Holmes, Bishop of Salisbury afterwards Cardinal of York, the Lord Bishop, Sir Walter Roperford, &c. to confer with the King appointed the Bishop of St. Davids, the Earl of Hereford, Sir Richard Giffard and John Slangham to be his Confidants.

A.D. 1415.

An Em- ployment from France to Henry the Fifth, against the War.
CANTERBURY to answer their Proposals in this Manner. * That the Dutches of Aquitaine
* Armon 
ed with several Seignories and Dominions
did of right belong to his Master the King
de of England, as they had formerly done to his
King. Royal Frugentors, and though he was fully
incorrupted by his Army and Giver over
his intended Expedition, if their Master would
refemble the to a Marriage with the
Lady Katherine, if not he would enter France
with all his Force, and defloying the People
and Towns with Blood, Fire and Sword de-
ver dealt till he had recover'd them, which
were his Ancient Right and Patrimony.

The King himself was present, and as soon as the
Arch-Bishop had ended his Speech allted to
it, and (4) promised upon the Word of a Prince,
that he would perform it to the uttermost. The
Arch-Bishops were in high hopes the Prefe-
late heard al this with Impatience, and as soon
as the King had done speaking, without Con-
dideration, what or to whom he spake, burst
out in his Fionion and reply'd. * That his Ma-
ry the most Christian King, who was the
Trounced, Mighty and Excellent Prince
of Europe without Competition both in Blood,
Power and Prefemincce, did not offer tho
Things which he had promponed out of fear
of King Henry or his Nation, but merely
out of a Compiffion to avoid the Effusion of
Christian Blood, and that his Proposals tho
were almoft disdained, God and his
good Subjects would soon put an end to the
Quarrel, which was supported with so much
Equity and Right, and then did't his Pafs-
port to depart. King Henry with a Princely
Gravity and Mildness told the Angry Prefe-
late, That he val'd not his Bravery, and as he
was satisfied in his Right, which they them-
elves could not be ignorant of, so he doubted
not but through God's help he should find
means to recover it; if his Master had many
Subjects to affift him, he doubted not but to
their Number and Power he might
mang his own, by whose help he would make
the highest Crown in France to roop, and pro-
duly Mitre to kneel; and giving him his Let-
ters of safe Conduct, bid him go tell his Master,
That within three Months he would enter
France as into his Lawfull Propriety, and by
God's Affifiance take that by dint of sword
which he unjustly detain'd from him: And so
fent him away. (1)

The War with France being now unmovably
in France.

(1) This Speech was made by the Bishop of Winchester,
and when he had done, to chew it was the King's Sent-
iments, he had the French Embassadors fee 'twas all written down on a Paper and sealed with his Majesty's Seal. God-
man, pag. 315.

(2) This Intriguing Prelate upbraided King Henry in his Speech with the Badness of his Title even to the Crown
of England; and he said, * The Crown you wear appertains to the true Heirs of the Deseased Richard, and while they
are alive their lives are no less than your own; but after them it may become a difference to any.

(3) From Southampton he sent Anspoo his Touraliant with a Letter to the French King, dated at that
Place on the Sea, to shew him must expel so much Meflages from him: In it he demanded the Restitution of the
Crown of England, and offered the Crown to marry his Daughter, whom he must recover by Arms. The French King answered, 'I shal all my Blis, he would be prepared to receive him, and as to
the Marriage he think'd it a strange way of Courtesie to address his Subjects covered with the Blood of his Father's
Sides.

(4) From Southampton it was made Queen Regent, and John, Duke of Bedford, Protector and Lord Lieutenant of
England.

(5) Of Northumberland.

(6) He desir'd time to confer of it, and they gave him till the next Morning. Godwin, pag. 65.
The Life and Reign of HENRY the Fifth.

A.D. 1415. The King discovered the whole plot as they had related to him, advising him to provide for his own safety. The King, though much surprised at the baseless of his Friends, yet did not so much distrust the Discovery as to neglect him- self; but having them to be the offenders, he brought them to an Examination before him- self, and Nobles present with them. They denied not the Accusation which was taken so lately from their own Mouths, but confesed themselves guilty of the whole Plot. The King, better advised, and more virtuous than could be suspected, Treston told them, 'That he could not but with horror think upon this their Execrable Fact, which not only tended to the Distracti- on of his own Person, and the Nobles his fol- lowers, but to the Ruin of the whole Nation, of which they were so malignant Sons as to betray it to their Enemies by this Treston: 'That as to himself he declared no Revenge; 'but as he was the Supreme Governor of the Nation he took himself oblig'd to inflame the Punishment upon them which they had de- stroy'd the safety of his Dearest Friends and the Prefervation of the whole Nation: And thereupon wishing them an hearty Repentance for their Offences and Mercy from God, he com- manded that they should be Executed, which being accordingly perform'd the Earl's Head was permit't to be buried with his Body, but the Head of the Lord Strange's Head was sent to York, and Sir Thomas Grey's to New-Caflle to be Spectacles of Terrors to all Beholders. (r)

The King having thus punisli'd those Conspiri- tors promised himself Security, and began to put forward his Expeditions, but fearing any Rem- otions, and his Army's being larg'd, he feared the treachery should be practis'd, and having a lately escaped, would make him value their Loyalty to him the more if they perferr'd in their Duty, and he would not be forgetful to reward it, and in Confidence of their Firm- nesses to him he was resolv'd to proceed in his Designs. The Nobles hearing the Words, which favour'd of a little Difficult, fell down on their Knees, and promis'd faithfully to serve and obey him, and rather die than suffer him to fall into the Hands of his Enemies: With this Encouragement the King put an end to those De- lays which had given the French hopes that their Plot against his Life had been Successful, and went on board with his Nobles and Soldiers, Aug. 11. to fall into France. His whole Ar- my was but 6500 Spears and 24,000 Foot, be- sides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Labour- ers. (r) His Navy composed of 1000, (or as Oc- tobers lay 1500) Ships, with which he land'd first on Aug. 15. at Caurs, a Town fituate at the Mouth of the Seine in Normandy, for his Arrival struck the Inhabitants with such Ter- rour that they made no Resistance. The King at the sight of the said Knees, and his Heart with much Devotion behov'd God to favour his Cause according to the Justice of it, and give him Succes against his Enemies as the En- quity of his Enterprise deferred it, and that he might preserve a due Order in his Army he put out a Proclamation, forbidding his Soldiers upon pain of Death to take any thing out of any Church or Monastery, to abuse any Priests, Wo- men or unarmed Persons, or raise any Quarrels among them, or to be carried away in Vânion, given him into the Hands of the Country or Army. These things being done, the King sensible that Delays would bring In- conveniences, proceeded to put all things in order for Action, and to encourage his Cap- tains and Leaders he conferred the Order of the Garter, and Hangmans' Halter, and the Banners and Standards to such Men as he knew to be of greatest Strength and Courage. The next Day he sent forth his Spies to take a View of Harfleur, an important Haven in Nor- mandy, which would be a commodious Passage for the English into France upon all Occasions if it could be gained; and having received the Account of it forward with his whole Army towards it, being three Leagues distant from Caux, and sat down before it Aug. 17. The Town was well fortified, and a strong Garrison put in him to defend it. His Lords and Barons, however, the French King had placed in it 4500 Mea of Arms under the Command of the Lord de Touteville, chief Captain of the Town, the Lords Blauville, Haqueville, and others very ex- pert Warriors who made a very brave and gal- lant Resistance, being as desirous of an Eng- lish Nos Beginning in preferring, as the English were in conquering the Town. The Siege was carried on by the Care and Conduct of Har- fruy, Duke of Gloucester, (g) who by Mines, bat- tering the Walls with his Engines and Ordi- nances, and by continuing Assaillants fought to reduce it soon into his Power; but the Inhabit- ants and Garrison by stopping the Course of the Ri- ver which fo dwell'd it that it became dangerous to the King's Camp, and by Countermining se- cured themselves for a while; that though they lost many, and their Town was much endanger- ed, yet they kept themselves out of their En- emies Hands. The King of France thinking to relieve them sent a Force down to Canbeclive- Caffe, which was but a little distance from Har- fruy, but it proved no help either to that Town or the Country about, for the English had for the last 23 Years, ever since the Siege of Harfleur, brought much Frey to Harfleur, and the Town being reduced to very great Straits capitulat- ed with the King of England, that if it were not relieved by the Dauphin or King within a certain time limited they would resign the Keys into his Hands, thirty of the Chief Persons bei- ing delivered to the King's Mercy, and the rest to be suffer'd to go whether they pleased, yet without Arms or Goods, and twelve Per- sons were delivered to the English as Hostages for the Performance of this Agreement. The Be- lieved imminent threatened it to their Nation, and the Dauphin to come down to their Relief, but he returned them Answer, That he was not able to give them any Success: Whereupon, at the Time appointed Sir Lionel Braquemont, Go- vernor of the Town came, and on his Knees delivered to the King, being the Number of thirty to the King's Mercy, September the 2d, and so all the rest, as

(r) Before the King discovered that he knew of the Conspiracies he made the Conspirators themselves, what style defend'd that could be guilty of such a Treason. They murmured, led the Traytors, to escape in his Name Torments to detest others from the like Crimes. Then the King examin'd them, and

(g) The Earl of Cambridge and Sir John Grey were beheaded, and the Lord Strange was hanged, drawn and quarter'd.
well Soldiers as Inhabitants were suffered to de-

part unarm’d. (r) The King having return’d

God Thanks in St. Martin’s Church made his

Uncle Thomas Brayford, Earl of Dorset, Gover-

nor of the Town, and gave the Prey to the

Soldiers whom he let the People with English,

whom he invited thither by gi-

ving all such Families as would go over their

Dwellings and their Children alter them for

nothing, which so many accepted, that the

Town was well Peopld with English in a short

time.

King Henry having obtain’d his wished-fo

Success in taking Harfear would have purfu’d

his Victory and proceeded to take other Towns

which would not have dared to stand out, but

that he was feizable of the Condition of his Ar-

my, which by lying fo long in the Field was

grown very sickly, and many died of the Bloody-

flux, of whom fome were Perfons of Note, as

Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, the Bishop

of Norwich, Lords Beaumont, Moreland and Barnet,

and others, of the Common Soldiers above 5000.

The Duke of Clarence, Earl of Marthol and Ar-

nadel were fo dangerously ill of the fame Di-

ftemper that he was forced to let them return

into England to recover their Health, and many

that remained were infected and Weak. This

State of the Army with the Consideration that

the Common Soldiers, made them take up

Refolutions of pulling immediately to Callis with-

out further Action to recruit and refi his Army in

the Winter there; but because the Dauphin

was hovering about with fome small Forces, he

thought it convenient to offer him fame Propo-

tions of Agreement, or to decide the Quarral

with him by fingle Combat, (x) offering to

play eight Days for him about Harfear, which

if he refufed, it would be a means to prevent his

Attempt upon them in their Paffage, but the

Dauphin giving him no anwer either way, the

King began his March without delay to Callis,

leaf the Bridges fhould be broken down, and to

they muft encounter many Difficulties to get

thither, but could not be time enough to avoid it;

for the French King having Intelligence of his

Success before Harfear, and his Deign to

Winter his Army at Callis, gathered a considera-

ble Body of Men, left them down under the

Command of the Dauphin and Duke of Aquitain

to obftruct their Paffage, who broke down the

Bridges, deftroying the Forrage in the Field, and

carried all the Provisions into the Walled

Towns whether the People betook themselves

all for Safety. King Henry either not knowing

what was done by the French, or else fearing it

neceffary to perfuad his Deign, kept on his

March intending to pafs the Same at Blantden-

gues, the Ford which King Edward the Third

had waded over with his Army to the Battel of

Crecy, was kept forfe the wind impref-

sible; whereupon he march’d up the River fur-

ther and resolved to defcend up to the very Foun-

tains of it if they could not get over before.

The usual Bridges and Paffages over it he tried,

but found them either deftoy’d or fo strongly

guarded that he dare not force his Way with

to weak an Army: for these Reasons he palled by

Port-Remy, Amiens, Corby and Roxna, but at

length through the Negligence of the Garrion

at St. Quentin he found a fide Paffage near Pe-

renc. In this tedious Journey they encouter’d

many Difficulties, partly thro’ want of Victuals,

and partly from the Affaults of the Enemies from

their Garrions; for the King’s great Joui-

luc in retraining his Army from Pillaging, and in

hanging one that had fola a Fix out of a

Church, procured him great Love from the Peo-

ple of the Country through which his Army

pulfed, and made them venua to fell ’em Pro-

vilions of their own Town’s McNftruc-

tion; yet the small Supply that came that Way

was not fufficient for fo great a Number to Sub-

fit upon. The Garrions alfo at Es and Corby

affaulted them Weak and Weary, and the the

former was repulfed back with the Loss of a va-

lant Captain, (c) Lovelace Peirs, yet the oth-

er came upon them with fo much Advantage,

that they won the Standard of that part of the

King’s Forces which was commanded by the

Earl of Stafford, (y) but were fo bravely oppo-

fed, that the Standard was again recovered by

a valiant Gentlemen John Brantely, of Brandon

in the County of Stafford, Efpre, and the French

drove into the Town. The Earl of Stafford

like a Worthy Commander, brave of the Freme

Action in retaining his Standard, whose Loss

would have been fo great a Diffrence to him,

he was inhabitable, whereupon, the Vickers for a Reward for

Pound a Year out of his Mannors and Lands in

Staffordshire, and by a Deed fetted it upon him for

Life.

King Henry having thus gotten over the Same

of

Bromes re-

joces to

fight K

and his

Army

and

him, was

left Harfear, and the Remainder was harrelled

and feded in a Dife.

King of

France being very angry

that the English had gotten over those Dif-

culties which he thought infuperable, and were in

a fair way to get fafe to their intended Rest,

called a great Council of his Nobility at Rouen,

of whom the Dauphin and Duke of Brittain were

Chief, to confult how to proceed farther against

the Englifh, and determine to attempit a new

Engagement, and engage them to a pitch’d Battel, Mountford, King

of Arms, was sent to King Henry to defeit him, and demand Battel on the Turnday following, and for that End an Army under the Conflable

the Lord de Ahert, and the Dukes of Orleans and

Boubon was fent down to block up their Way.

King Henry receiv’d the Herald very kindly, but not being willing to hazard his Army, which was unfit to fight, return’d this Answer. (That

he would keep his direct Road to Callis with-

out any Diffurance to any Man, and if they

should hinder his Paffage it should be at their

Peril, he and his Army would endeavour to

make their Way, and leave the Infide to God.

It is faid by fome, that King Henry was fo fear-

ful of an Overthrow, when he faw the French

on all fides warming about him, that he offer’d
to refign Harfear, and refolve all Difgence betwixt

it, if they would fuffer him to pafs undi-

furb’d to Callis, but the French fure of Victory

(r) He made all the Soldiers Prisoners of War, but suffered them to depart on their Paroles to render themselves at Callis in the Winter, and pay their Ransom which they did.

(s) He endeavoured this Challenge on the 15th of September while he lay before Harfear, which City was not taken till a Week afterwards.

(t) This Lemonant Pierre challenge’d any English Man to fight him. His Challenge was immediately accepted, and the English Man killed him; but before he died he gave his Adversary a Wound that sent him out of the World soon after him.

(u) Sir Hugh Stafford, Lord Eborac.
rejected his Proposals, as the French Historians relate, but ours deny the Story, as unbecoming
Henry's great spirit. After this Answer King
Henry kept on his Way to a Village called Force-
ville, and so by Bever, Bournes, and Benning to A-
ginourt, October the 22d, in the County of St.
Paul, where he had a certain Information that the
French, which was five or six times bigger than the
English, the former being 60000 or more, and the latter but 1500 (2) and those half starved and tired with Travel, and many
of them Sick and Difposed, was ranged in order
of Battel ready to fall on him if he lay still, or
block up All Ways if he pretended to fight. King
Henry seeing the Battel unavoidable made the
best Preparation to shoo a time would give him
leave, and knowing that the Strength of the
French confidied in their HOrse, he ordered his
Men to get every one a sharp Stake fixed at both
ends with Iron, which being fixed in the Ground
leaves for them might keep them from running
rushing in upon his Foot. (a) The Night be-
fore the Battel was to begin, King Henry having
engaged them to stand up manfully in their own
Defence and rather die than yield, they spent in
Prayer and Confidion, but the French as fe-
commonly go to their Devotions, pulied up Charity
Mirth, Drinking and Gaining, in talking of the
Victory they should have, and parting the Pri-
oners. The next Day which was St. Crispine's
Feast, October the 25th, the Battel began about
Ten a Clock. King Henry being felible of the
Advantage which the French had of him by their
Multitude, pitch'd with the Town on his Back, and
a River on the one fide, and thick Hedges on the other of his Army that the French
might not furround them, the Stakes being fix-
ed on the Front of the Army to keep off the
Horse. The Vanguard he put under the Com-
mand of the Duke of York who defired that Ser-
vice; the main Body was led by the King him-
self, and the Rere-Guard by the Duke of Exe-
ter. The French Army was led by the Flower
of the Nobility of the Nation. The Vanguard was led by the Lord Albemarle, Count de Ricondez,
the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of
Ew and Richmond, the Marshal Bouicaud, the
Lord Dampier, Admiral of France, with other
Captains. The main Body by the Duke of Borr
and Albemarle, the Earls of Nevers, Pandermont, Bia-
mont, Talleyrand, and Commercy, and the Rere
by the Earls of Marly, Damp-marais, Elandcroiz
and Lord Leuercy. The Earl of Vendome com-
manded one of the Wings, and Sir Guichard Del-
phne the other. The Signal for the Battel being
founded, the French rushed forward upon the
English with their Horse (b) and the English as
they drew near them flung them felfs and hurled them
with Clouds of Arrows, which by their fall
wounded their Men and diforder'd their Horfe,
who in their Confidion not obferving the Stakes
fell upon them and were pierced with them to
Death. The Dukes of Braham and Albemarle broke
Reg. 3, in upon the English with a small Party but
were flain, the Duke of Albemarle and two of
his Servants being flain by King Henry's own
Hand. (c) The Battel was hot and furious, and
for three Hours, but at length the Vi-
cotory fell to the English, who by their Courage
had fawn, taken or put to flight the whole
French Army. In the Flight the Rere-guard of the
French, which got off almost entire, fell
upon the King's Camp which was but flender
and small, as the King in the Night before had
begun to fear the Lofs of his new-gotten Vici-
tory, and immediately gave order to lay all the
Prifoners except some of the ftrongeft Quality,
left they joining with the Enemy fhould prove
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Ad. 1415.
Reg. 3.
the Q. Regent of England, (g) and many other Person of Quality. The next Day after the Victory, the French King sent Montagu with four Harold to declare leave to bury the Dead and to have the Reprisal of the Retribution, which the King readily granted. But the French themselves had made them a miserable Spectacle, by flitting them of all their Cloaths, which the English had not meddled with, (for they took only Money and rich Things) and leaving them all Naked. This odious Spectacle so moved the Earl of Charlott, Son to the Duke of Burgundy, that he buried 5000 in one piece of Ground at his own Charge, because their Friends not knowing them neglected their Burial. The Bishop of Exeter a little after made the Ground into a Church-Yard to refer to the Bodies of so many Persons laid there.

The Fight being thus fortunately ended in favour of the English, King Henry having ordered the Slain to be decently buried went to see the Damage of his Camp, which tho' being considerable, yet would not proceed with all Expedition in his Journey to Calais without any further Care about it. But the Duke of Burgundy would not so pass it over, and considering that the Party who had plundered the English Camp, had cowardly deserted the Army, and the Villagers, for their own Private Gain had been the Cause that their Braver Brethren who were taken Captive in the Fight had been kill'd in cool Blood, he determin'd to punish the chief Commanders of them very severely; but his Son the Earl of Charliot's being made their Friend by the Rich Frenzy of King Henry's Sword, was officially interceded with the Father that they were all sparingly. King Henry after two Days march arrived at Calais, carrying with him the Bodies of the Duke of York and Earl of Suffolk to be interred in England, and immediately dispatched a Meminger over into England to the Queen Regent with the News of this Signal Victory, which filled the Nation with an universal Joy; for the Te Deum was not only sung in all Churches of the Nation, but a mighty Procession of the Queen, Nobility and Clergy, Mayor, Aldermen and other Persons was celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity and Devotion from St. Paul to Westminster, where they all made a great Obulation at St. Edward's Shrine, and then returned in Triumph. The King himself remain'd at Calais a while intending to have perfumed this Victory closely had the Seafon permitted him, but it proving very wet and unfit for Warlike Enterprises, he thought it convenient to look after his Affairs in England, and taking Ship November the 16th, he arrived at Dover, November the 23d, having had a very troublous Passage. He brought with him his Cakes and Patons, and was receiv'd with Processions and Triumphal Joy by his Nobles and other Subjects; and being by them conducted towards London, was met by the Mayor, Aldermen and Clergy of that City with like Processions, (2) and Attentions of Joy at St. Thomas of Watering, &c. But the King himself seem'd very little taken with the outward Ceremonies, and forbade that any Songs or Ballads should be made of this Victory, because it was solely from God, and he would have him have all the Honour of it. The Citizens made the King a Prentice of 1000 l. in Gold in two fabulous of equal Value, which the King received of them with a characteristic Rejoicing of the People and Respect to him, and so retreated to his Palace at Westminster, where he made it his first Care to bury the Bodies of the Duke of York at Fotherbury in Northamptonshire, and of the Earl of Suffolk at Blettem in Oxfordshire; (2) their Esquires being devoutly performed by the Archbishop, Bishops and most of the Bishops in St. Paul's Church by the King's Order. But the good Fortune of this Battle was not more joyfully received by the English Court and People than the bad Fate of it was lamented by the French, for the King and his Court were under heavy Prolaxies, and the Dauphin of Vienna's the Heir of the Crown took it so grievously, that he soon after died of mere Sorrow. Great Care was also taken to chuse new Officers into the Places of such as were either slain, or had behaved themselves so unpardonably. The next Day after this Victory, which thought to recover by fresh Forces and Officers, yet it was such a Terre to them that they never dar'd to attempt any thing considerabled after.

The King being in England, the Earl of Dorset, Governor of Harlford having a strong Body of Men under his Command, viz. 3000 English Men made an Inroad into Normandy almost as far as Rouen where the King of France and his Son the Duke of Orleans, with a great Body of Money, Prisoners and Cattle; but it being heard at Rouen the Earl of Armant was sent to pursue him with 5000 Horse, who being newly made Confulable was mighty defirous to gain himself Reputation by this Exploit, and thereupon followed them very boldly till he had over taken them. The English unable to resist so strong a Force, were forced to withdraw into an Orchard well fenced with Ditches and Banks for their Security with the Loss of 300 of their Men and all their Prey. The French withdrew to Fillemon, and the English to Villars and the next Morning purfied the English again as far as the Sand of Chief de Caix, where meeting upon them at a Difadvantage by reason of an Hill that hinder'd them from shuffling each other, the Englis® fell so fiercely upon them that they routed them wholly, and drove the English to Harlford. The Confulable was much blamed for his Rashness and Unskilfulness in this Exploit, and lost more Honour by his ill Conduct than he got by his first good Fortune, and the English became more terrible for their Courage and hardiness.

This Year an Order of the Church Service Divers was carried throughout England from the Uf of Accidents of St. Paul to the Life of Saron. On Candemmas Day seven Dolphins were discovered playing in the River Thames, and four of them were taken.

The King on Monday, March the 16th sum mon'd his Parliament to meet at Westminster, and though he required no Taxes in so great a Peace, yet he thought it necessary to humour his Taxes. Great Council to settle Things well in his Ab- fence, which he did by making several Benefi- (g) The Famous Marshal Bouricaud who had done great Things in Italy and the Earl was taken Prisoner in this Battle, and being carried to England died there two or Three Years after.

(1) The Manor of Bunting came to the Family of Suffolk by the Marriage of this Earl's Son, afterward created Duke of Suffolk, to Alice, Daughter of Thomas Chaucer, Eliz. Son of Geoffrey Chaucer the Poet. Holinshed, pg. 1928.
That 2.

The Emperor and King of England and their Heirs and Successors would be Friends and Confederates to each other against all Persons who shall have made or given any pretense or pretences of or for the Time being only excepted). 2. That neither they nor their Heirs or Successors should be in any Council or other Place where either of them their Heirs or Successors should have any Damage in their Lands, Goods, Honour or Person. 3. That if either of them their Heirs or Successors should know of any Damage or Losses that was like to befall or happen to each other, they should give each other as speedily Information of it as they could conveniently. 4. That either of them their Heirs and Successors would use all lawful Means possible to advance the Honour and Interest of each other. 5. That neither of them should permit their Subjects to levy War against each other, and that it shall be lawful for the Subjects of both Nations to Traffic and Merchandise with each other without any Impediments. 6. That neither of them would write or receive any Rebels or Trayers to them, but either refer them to the injure'd Prince or drive 'em out of their Realm. 7. That neither of them should begin a War with any other Person but such as they now were at War with, without the Consent and Advice of each other, and it was in case of necessary Defence of themselves or their Subjects and Dominions. Lastly, That it should be lawful for both of them to profecute the War against France to recover their Rights so as should to them seem Expedient, and that they would afford each other Assistance in so doing. These Conditions and Agreements were sealed (4) October the 19th, 1416, and the Emperor having stay'd almost seven Months in England at the King's Charge, and being made a Knight of the Garter departed Home, and King Henry accompany'd him to Calais partly in Honour of his Valour, and partly to look after the State of his Affairs on that side, where having taken his leave of the Emperor, and renew'd a League with the Duke of Burgundy for his Provinces of Flanders and Artois to continue to the Misdemeanours Twelve-month following: He returned again into England to meet his Parliament, which had been adjourn'd till this Time for the Emperor's coming.

While the Emperor yet remain'd in England King Henry lent his Navy under the Command of his Brother John, Duke of Bedford to raise the Siege of Harfleur, which was secured and carried by the single Act and Valour of one Man. The Duke of Bedford, being the only Command of the Vifcount of Norken, who was assist'd by six large Genoa Gallies and several Carricks. The Duke zealous for the Honour of the King and Nation immediately palled over to Harfleur, and engaging with the French Navy, after long and obstinate Fighting obtaine'd a signal Victory. The Duke of Bedford, King three Genoa Carricks, and six them the Bastard of Bourbon, Prifoner, the reft being all sunk or driven attaque'd into Brittain. The Earl of Ar姻ack, Confiuable of Favers, who maintain'd the Siege by Land seeing the English Masters

(4) They were sealed August the 1st, and confirmed in Parliament, October the 19th. The Emperor return'd to Calais, and was not accompanied, but follow'd by King Henry, who Embark'd at Sandwich, September the 4th, and arrived at Calais the same Day, the emperor waiting on the Shore for his Landing.
Ad. 1476. Reg. 4.

At sea, by which means the beleaguered would have a rich Relief both of Men and Provisions as would render it almost impossible to take it, immediately raised the siege and marched to Paris. The News of this signal Victory brought into England was alarming to the Emperor, who heard of the Success of the English Fleet before he could have imagined them there, and with Admiration fled to the King;

Happy is the Nation who hath so good a King, but much more happy the King who hath in his Person noble and Obodient Subjects.

King Henry being return’d from Calais met his Parliament at Westminster, and having vowed his Lords and Commons by his Chancellor, Henry Beaufort, the Bishop of Winchester, that tho’ for the care and quiet of his Subjects he had waved the penalty of his Conquests which God had so successfully begun, and confecrated to disadvantageous Terms of Peace, yet the French had rejected all; and therefore since he could not give over the War with Honour, he hoped that they would give him such Supplies of Money as were Necesary for his great Undertaking, which he did not seek, but would bring in greater Advantages to the Nation in a short time.

The Parliament readily assented to his reasonable Desires, and having obtained his Affent to some Acts of Importance, 1. For punishing Malsters who give greater Wages to Servants than what is allowed to Foreign Merchants-Strangers to certain Places of Residence in the Port-Towns. 2. About granting Letters of Marque or Reprisal to Pirates who have been wrong’d by any Foreigners who are at Peace with the King; they gave him a liberal Supply of Money, a Fiftenth of the Livery, and two Tents of the Customs; besides Gifts of Money the King appointed his Brother John, Duke of Bedford, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, to be Regent of the Nation in his Absence, and made Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, in Consideration of his many Faithful Services, Duke of Exeter, allowing him a thousand Pounds a Year out of his Treasury, and giving him forty Pounds a Year out of his Free-Farm Revenues in and about the City of Exeter, and the Parliament confirm’d both to him, and was soon after dissolved and sent into their Countries. In the Time of this Session of Parliament a Belegger was hanged for Treason by which he had used in defambling Children.

The King kept his Christmas at Killingworth Castle in Warwickshire, where while he remain’d, multitudes of Lamponos were fatter’d up and down the Nation against the Church-men, but especially in Noble-Men’s Houses and in great Towns, as St. Albans, Northampton and Reading. The King was very much displeas’d at it, being sensible that the next way to bring Religion it self into Contempt and Defile was to render the Ministers Contemptible, both which Things were more danger’d to the Safety of the Prince than the present Waifdom be’d used all Means to apprehend the Authors and Dispersers of them, and was so Zealous to vindicate their Reputation, that he was call’d, The Prince of Preists: But the Clergy were so generally hated, that they found none so much their Friends to discourage their malicious Enemies, that they might receive them with open Pardons, neither for Love to the King nor hopes of Reward.

After Christmas the King set himself with all Diligence to make Preparations for his Second Expedition into France, lifting great Numbers of Soldiers, who being invited by the Success of the late Year offered themselves willingly to his Reg. and service, and hiring several Ships to transport his Troops, he was informed that the French had gotten an Army of 25,000 brave and lousy Men, and fifteen hundred Ships, but found his Charge so far to exceed the Supplies given him by the late Parliament, that he was forced to borrow great Sums of Money to go on with his Design; for the Bishop of Winchester, made him Twenty Thousand Pounds, on which he paid his Crowns to him, and the City of London lent him Ten Thousand Marks more, for which the King left them his Jewels as a Pledge. With this Money he put all Things in readines for his Passeage into France as soon as the Weather and Seas should favour him. These great Preparations in England being known in France, the French King endeavour’d to hinder his Passeage by hiring many Ships and Carracks of Gueus, which being join’d to his own Navy, might not only inflect the English Confords, but keep the King of England and his Army from landing in his Dominions; but the King of England was neither so hasty nor careless as to neglect this Danger, and though he was oblig’d to play a little the longer, yet he took care to remove this Obstacle by sending his Fleet under the Command of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon (I) to scour the Narrow Seas of all English Vessels, who accordingly did his Business so effectually, by taking some and fouling others, that the King waiting ready at Southampton for the first Opportunity of falling over safely, took Shipping, and sailing from Portsmouth July the 28th, landed in Normandy August the 11th, at Berboule, and immediately upon the Shore made Forty Eight Kings of the most valiant and best of his Captains, that he might encourage them by the Arrival of a Mark of Favour to greater Boldness in the future Attempts. The News of the Arrival of the English was no sooner spread in Normandy, but all the People were affrighted and fled either into the Waifs Towns and Cities, or got them into Bretagne, leaving the Country open to the Will and Power of the Invaders, who having so much room left, soon made themselves Masters of the Towns and Cities.

And the first Thing that the King undertook, after he had left the Marches, and taken Notice of the Condition of it, was the Seige of Trouville. The Town of Trouville, a Place not so Important in it self, (m) but because the King would not leave it behind him to annoy or inflect his Army when it should be huss’d about any thing greater. The Duke of Gloucester managed the Seige with one part of the Army, and took it August the 30th, by Reduction. He made Sir Robert Kirby Captain of it. The Earl of Salisbury while this was a doing besieged the Town and Castle of Aueniuliers, and with like Success became Master of it. The King gave him the Lordship of the Town and Castle and Territories into Puisaye, in the same March which Gifts, tho’ the first of that Nature, much rufted the Hopes of the Nobles, and made them dare great Things in confidence, that from such a Beneficent King the bravest Attempts should have the greatest Rewards. The Army being a little flushed with these Victories the King resolve don to go into France, in the Beginning of September, which was the Seige of Caen, one of the Strongest and best Towns in Normandy, and in his March destroy’d and plunder’d all the Villages in the Country leading up to it. The Town was well provided

K. Henry Expe¬

(1) Son to the Duke of Exeter, who was beheaded at Calais for the Duke of Clarence’s Plot.

(2) A very strong Calais in those Days. Godw. pag. 155.
with Men, Ammunition and Provision, because they expected nothing left except they would fight no longer. In the Suburbs of Caen were feveral
Goodly Churches and Monastaries, which the King was very unwilling should be destroy-
ed, not only for Piety fake, but because they might be a Refuge for his Army, and therefore he sent his Brother the Duke of Orleans to put not the
Defcription of them from the Inhabitants, who according to the usual Methods of those Times would set on Fire upon the Approach of the Enemy, that they might not be an Harbour to them. The Duke of Clarence made all possible haste with a 1000 Men to save
them, but before he could get them several Affaults he made against it, but to his own Loss, whereof he resolved to truft to his Mines, and therefore set
all his Pioneers to Work, by whom he so undermined the Walls, that they stood upon a few
Potts only, ready to fall when there was Occa-
sion. The Barmes he kept always ready… with continual Alarms, that being weakened with much Watching they might be unable to make any considerable Resistance. When all Things
were ready for a general Affault, he sent an He-
rald to them to offer them Mercy if they would resign their Town; but they having Promises of
Relief and Proposals of Peace, and to the King’s mind the Place and took it by Force, September the 8th, slaying all Persons that were in
Arms against him. All the Arms that were in the Town he commanded to be brought into the
Market-place, and all the Chief Magistrates he summoned to the Senate-House, and, such as
had been most Stubborn and Inflexible in refi-
ning him, he caused to be put to Death, and the
rest he fiended. The Fury of the Soldiers in plunder-
ing, infulting and cruelly killing their En-
emies, upon such Success, he so far refrained by his Care and Prudence, that he was not thought a
murderer more hated than the whole Country; yet he took such Care to reward every one’s Labour
and Valour in the Siege by giving them a Share
in the Plunder, that they were better contented
with the King’s Liberty than that if they had been let to Carve for themselves. The Caffle
fell out after the Town was taken; but be-
cause they perceived that no Relief came ac-
cording as they were promised, and it was impos-
ible for them to hold out long without it a-
gainst so great an Army, they yielded, September the 20th, upon a Capitulation, that the Cap-
tain and Soldiers might safely depart whether free or prisoners, the Town with English.
The Example of this City was so terrifying, that fourteen other smaller Towns and
Citties immediately resigned to K. Henry, and upon their taking an Oath of Fidelity to him he condescended the Captains in their Offices, and
left them substantial to important Crowns and
Elites in as large or more ample manner as they had enjoyed them at any time before. Caen
being then orderily settled under English Officers, viz. Sir Gilbert Chambray, who was made Capt.
The Town, of the Town, Sir John Popham, Bailiff, and Sir John Audley, Captain of the
City, in particular his Victories, taking Courcy-Caffe, Ar-
guenon, Aumon, and Sea with little or no Oppo-
nition, and appointing English Captains over them, and then he returned to Caen, where he put in

The State of France was unable to put any stop to the impetuous Current. The King himself was not fitted to attempt any thing of that Nature through his Indisposition of Mind, being afflicted with long and frequent Fits of a frenzy, which made him not able to govern, much less he was always in a cruel and rapacious Spirit. Duke of Burgundy, who at that time was by the
Queen’s means constituted the Regent of the Kingdom in hatred to her Son Charles the Daup-
phin, was engaged so much upon her Account to execute a Female Revenge upon the Dauphin,
that he could not attend to the more necessary War against Henry, who fought the Conquest of
them both; though it may be thought, that if the Duke of Burgundy had been at Liberty, he
would have made but a very feeble Resistance against the King of England, with whom he was
in League for the Protection of his own Countries in Flanders and Artois. The Dauphin, Charles,
was the only Person really Sollicitous for the Good of his Country, and was willing to have run the utmost Hazards to have rescued it from the
Power of the Invader; but he had neither Friends nor Money to go on with his Design, till the Count de Armagnac had advised him to
lay upon his Mother’s Jewels, Plate and Money, by which indeed he was enabled to raise some Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom, but thro’
his Mother’s Malice he was compell’d to make use of them another way, viz. to chastize her Fury and Burgundy’s Folly, who to gain her Fa-
vour was forced to be the Instrument of her Re-
venge. While these Civil Broils were carried on by the French, King Henry was very diligent to improve this Advantage, and with wonderful
Celerity run over Normandy, and laid fuch a Foundation for the Conquest of France, that the
moll hearty Union and Strongest Forces could have prevented it.

But though the French themselves thro’ their Stons in
to English, yet they infligated their Old Friends the Scots to invade England, and that so powerfully as to draw the King himself, if it were possible, out of their own Lands and for them and besieged the Citties of Barnick and Kesbro-
ough. And that they might have either the Aff-
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A.D. Countries, and the Duke of Exeter who had late-ly very'd fresh Recruits for the King's Army in
Reg. 5. France, was then in those Parts at Bridlington on
a Pilgrimage, and caus'd his Forces to be march'd thither; so that they made an Army of an
10,000 Men, who were multer'd on Bannew 14.18.
In this Zeal with which the Arch-Bishop himself, though natt to ride, yet to en-
courage the Soldiers march'd with them, being
carried in a Chariot: But the Scots hearing of the
Greatness of the English Army, which in the
King's Abence they thought impossible to be
raffled, departed in a Fright, and dared not face
the English Army, leaving the Sieges unperfect
which they had began.

About the Featt of St. Andrew, John, Duke of
Bedford, then Regent of the Nation in the King's
Abence, did by his Order call a Parliament at
Weftmiffter to repreffeat to them the Chair of
the War, and obtain further Supplies for car-
rying it on, which he obtain'd with no Diffi-
culty, viz. a Fifteenth of the Laity and Ten-
th of the Clergy. Few or no Acts pass'd this Se-
flion: But the Tryal and Condemnation of the
Lord Cobham made it as Remarkable as others,
who was Sentenced to Death after a long
having for four Years Space shifted from Place to
Place to secure himself from his Enemies, but
being for the most part in Wales, was at length
discover'd to the Lord Powis to be in a part of
his Barony, call'd Penifland. This Peer, a zeal-
ous Patriot of the Church, knowing how accep-
table a piece of Service it would be to the King,
as well as a Reward to himself, fent a certain
Number of Men to feeze and apprehend him,
but it proved to delier an Attempt, that they
ran greatDanger of their Lives; for thesaid
Lord who had been always bred up in War, and a
Lord of his Station and Quality would upon his
own Defence, and dangerously Wound'd feve-
rall of the Aggredtors, but being over-pow'red
and disabled by severall Wounds he had receiv'd
in the Conteff, he was at length taken, and be-
ing carried up to London by the Lord Powis, was
imprin'd in the Tower for his Tryal: With
him were taken severall Books which seem'd to
refect fome Diſgrace on the Way of Worship
then in Ufe, viz. Mafs-Books with the Faces of
the Saints and Heads scrape'd out, and their
Names blott'd out of the Litany, which were
deliv'r'd to the Arch-Bishop, and the Means
expof'd to the Sight of the Auditors at the Ser-
monts of St. Paul's Crofs by the Preachers, who
aggravate the Guilt of the Fact, and accused him and his Party of doing Injury to the Saints in
Heaven. The People being thus wrought up
out to think his Death deferred, he was at length
brought before the Parliament to be examin'd and
try'd, and the former Sentence against him being
read, which he did not much Oppofe, he was con-
demn'd to be hang'd and burn't, hanging in St.
Giles Fields, which Sentence he accordingly
fulfill'd upon Christmas Day. The Lord Powis
had been the chief Influence in his Ap-
prehension, had the particular Thanks of the
Houses given him for his Fains, and the Parlia-
ment took effectual Care to put all former Sta-
tutes against the Lords in Execution. The
Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in his Convocation
the Day before his Execution, and in the Conduct
that all Suffragan-Bishops and their Arch-Dea-
cons should twice a Year make a diligent Inqui-
tion after all Perfons suspected of Herefy; and for
the most certain Discovery of all fuch Perfons,
their Favourers and Books, he ordered, that they
should swear two or three Perfons in every Pa-
rish to give a distinct Information, if any Turk
Perfons inhabited in their Parifhes; thus hop-
ing to croft the whole Seft, now the Head and
Leader of them was taken off. But yet not the
Scots, nor the English in the South of the
Church, it is Remarkable, that the same
Parliament flood up very manfully against the
Encroachments of the Pope: For whereas Pope
Martin v. had fent over into England to require
a Tenth of the Clergy to carry on the War a-
gainft the Rebellion in 1529, he made an
Act, That the Church and all Estates of the
Realm of England fhould enjoy their Ancient
Liberties, which were not Repealed nor Re-
peal'd by the Common-Law, by which they
chiefly intended to exclude the Pope's Jurif-
diction.

In the time of the Regency of the Duke of Queen
Bedford, Queen Town was accufted of a Conri-
tax which her Confeffor Fryer Randolph, to put
the King to Death by Sorcery, and was there-
upon apprehend with her Confeffor, and he was
fift; Printif'd in the Caffe of Leeds, and
in the Caffe of Penfylvania, but in the Caffe of
London, where while he lay he happen'd to fall
into an hot Difpute with the Chaplain of St.
Peter's Church in the Reid Tower, and coming
to Blows was flain by him. The Queen was not
long after brought to her Tryal, was found in-
nuifant of the Crime laid to her Charge, and
was thereupon releaf'd from her Confin-
ence.

While these Things were tranfacting in Eng-
land, the King was bullied about the Siege of the
beful, the Town and Caffe of Falifer, which he had be-
gun in the beginning of November. The Town
was made a great Refilience, but being reduced to
King's Army up to great Straits for want of Provision, they
defi'd to Capitulate the 20th of December, and
agreed, that they would reigne the Town to the
King upon the 2d of January if they had no Re-
let from their King or the Dauphin, to which
K. Henry agreed, and accordingly the Town
was delivered up to him upon these Articles.

I. That all the Strangers that were in the
Town fhould be left to the King's Mercy, and
the English to his Justice to be punisht for their
Treason in fighting againft the King, as they
deserved.

II. That all the English Prisoners in the Town
fhould be fet at Liberty without any Random,
acquitted from the Oaths made to them whole
Prisoners they were.

III. That no Goods should be carry'd out of
the Town, but the Soldiers fhould depart with
out any Damage to their Horses or Arms.

IV. That none of the Inhabitants of the Town
should receive the Perfons or Goods of any with-
in the Caffe, nor give any Relief in Vindications
or Ammunition to them.

All which Articles were obferv'd, and the
King took Poffeffion of the Town: But the Caffle
flill hold'd out; and thro' the King fent all the
Arms of War to reduce it, yet it kept him out
a Month longer and then beat a Parley, Feb. 2,
and came to Conditions of Rejignation on Feb. 10.
following, if they had no Relief come to them
before that Time from their Prince, the Dauphin,
Earl of Armynack, which not receiving the Caffle
was put into the King's Hands by Sir Oliver
Manny, Governor of the Caffle, and all the
Perfons in it refigned themfelves to the King's

(9) She was Confituted, and forfeft all her Lands and Goods by Parliament. She was also conftituted in Imprifon-
ment the Ten Years; After that Randolph was kill'd.

Vol. 1. T 2. Mercy,
A.D. 1418. Mercy, who had promised them not to damni-
418. them in Life or Goods, and accordingly they
Reg. 5. were all disabled and sent away free, only Sir
Reg. 6. Oliver Mopsy was detail'd till the Calife was
Reg. 5. released. Fatelaw therefore thus con-
Reg. 6. quered the King divided his Army into three
Reg. 5. Parts, and sent them out under the Conduct of
Reg. 6. the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, and the Earl
Reg. 5. of Warwick, to take the lesser Towns in his Way to
Reg. 6. a greater Attempt which he design'd shortly to
Reg. 6. be the Siege of Rouen, the Chief City of Normandy,
Reg. 5. with which all the Country must be his.

Reg. 6. On Easter Day in the Afternoon in St. Dun-
Reg. 5. fan's Church in the East in Sermon time hap-
Reg. 5. pen'd such a terrible Example of Female Pride as
Reg. 6. no History can match. The Ladies of the
Reg. 5. Lord Strange and Sir John Trafal, two Women
Reg. 6. of high Spirits and implicable Hatred one to
Reg. 5. another, met at the Sermon, and being in the
Reg. 6. same Pew ey'd so eagerly for Superiority (tho'
Reg. 5. in that Place Humility had been the greatest
Reg. 6. Sign of Gentility) that thro' their rude Beha-
Reg. 5. viours they caused their husbands to engage in their
Reg. 6. Quarrel, and draw their Swords to revenge the Disgrace done to each
Reg. 5. others Wife. The Congregation was much a-
Reg. 6. larm'd at this impious Fray, and several Persons
Reg. 5. who were much troubled at the unaccountable
Reg. 6. Disturbance of the Publick Devotion of that
Reg. 5. Day, in which so many of the People had receiv'd
Reg. 6. the Sacrament, becall'd themselves much to
Reg. 5. their pury and part them, but all in vain.

These incensed Gentlemen would not hearken
to any Advice, but looked upon them who
tought to pacifie them as their Enemies, and
wound severally of them, and killed one
Reg. 5. Thomas Postwarden a Filmonger, dwelling at Sprat's Key.
Reg. 6. But at length they were both seiz'd for this Fact
Reg. 6. and imprison'd in the Courter in the Pouderry.
Reg. 5. The Arch-Bishop having an Account of this Notori-
Reg. 6. ous Meflemence, communicated the Offen-
Reg. 5. ders both in St. Paul's Church, and in all the o-
Reg. 6. ther Parish-Churches of London, and one,
Reg. 5. took the Church wherein it was done from all
Reg. 6. Holy Services as defiled with Blood, and that a due
Reg. 5. Penance might be inflicted upon the Authors of
Reg. 6. it, Sat in St. Magen Church, April the 21st, upon
Reg. 5. an Inquisition to examine who were the Per-
Reg. 6. soners in vain, conclud'd in it. The Lord Strange
Reg. 5. and his Wife upon full hearing were prov'd the
Reg. 6. Delinquents, and for this Prophane Act injoyn-
Reg. 5. ed this following Penance, viz. That on May
Reg. 6. the 15th, all their Servants should go before the
Reg. 5. Parson of St. Dunfan's in their Shirts from St.
Reg. 6. Paul's to his Church, the Lord and Lady follow-
Reg. 5. ing him, the former bare-headed, and the lat-
Reg. 6. ter bare-footed, Ronald Kemwood the Arch-Da-
Reg. 5. con of London following them: That at the Con-
Reg. 6. feration of the Church (which they had Pro-
Reg. 5. phan'd and polluted) the Lady should fill all
Reg. 6. the Veils with Water, and offer an Ornament of
Reg. 5. silver to the Aisle, and her Huf-
Reg. 6. band a Pix of Five Pound Value, which being
Reg. 5. done accordingly by way of a Satisfaction
Reg. 6. they were absolved. The Marther of Tho-
Reg. 5. mas Pavwrons in this Examination seems not to
Reg. 6. have been regard'd, because there was no Pro-
Reg. 5. phane and polluted, but the Head of the Land was
Reg. 6. given a large Satisfaction, and to enchant the Punish-
Reg. 5. ment of his Crime.

About this Time the general Council of Con-
Reg. 6. fions broke up having fat three Years: In it the
Reg. 5. three Antipopes were all depos'd, and Otho Co-
Reg. 5. lena was chozen Pope by the Name of Martin V.
Reg. 6. A.D. Richard Clifford, Bishop of London (c) was first
Reg. 5. nominated for Pope by the Committee appoin-
Reg. 6. ted by the Council for the Election, for as all
Reg. 5. the Rest were so afraid of the Insanity, Eminent for Learning, so none was thought fit-
Reg. 6. ter for Pope than one of them. But the Bishop
Reg. 5. named, through Modesty and other Considerati-
Reg. 6. ons, put off the Dignity to the Person who was
Reg. 5. first named by him and after chosen. The Prior
Reg. 6. to the Support of St. George's, and the Bishop of
Reg. 5. Infallim and Coronation. By this Council
Reg. 6. Wichliff's Books were condemn'd for Heretical,
Reg. 5. John Hufe, and Jerome of Praga (that they had
Reg. 6. the Emperour Sigismund's Letters of safe Con-
Reg. 5. duct) were accus'd, condemn'd and burnt for
Reg. 6. Herufe, notwithstanding the many Petitions
Reg. 5. sent by the Bohemians to the Council to beg
Reg. 6. their Lives, and they were much lamented by them.
Reg. 5. St. Bridge was Canoniz'd, and England accoun-
Reg. 6. ted one of the Five chief Nations of Europe
Reg. 5. and reckon'd before Spain.

Normandy being almost all come into the Powe-
Reg. 6. r of the English, the several Proprietors of it, in
Reg. 5. the King resolv'd upon the Complex Conquest
Reg. 6. of that whole Country, and thereupon sent the
Reg. 5. Duke of Gloucester to besiege Cheveron a confide-
Reg. 6. nate Port and a Strong Town in the Isle of Con-
Reg. 5. francine, while his Recruits which he had fet
Reg. 6. for into England of 5000 Men could arrive, with
Reg. 5. which he intend'd to besiege Rouen. Cheveron be-
Reg. 6. ing very well provided for a Siege which they
Reg. 5. expected made a strong and valiant Resistance;
Reg. 6. and tho' the English by their Batteries, frequent
Reg. 5. Assails, Mines and other Warlike Devices an-
Reg. 6. noy'd the Belieged, and fought an Entrance in-
Reg. 5. to, yet they made such a good Defence, that
Reg. 6. they kept them out, till at length they were for-
Reg. 5. ced by famine more than the Sword to Condi-
Reg. 6. tion to deliver up the Town to the King of Eng-
Reg. 5. land if no Relief was sent to them within sixty
Reg. 6. Days, which they did not doubt of, because the
Reg. 5. Dauphin and Duke of Burgundy, who had hither-
Reg. 6. to bent that Time and Force one against anoth-
Reg. 5. er, which should have been employ'd against
Reg. 6. the Invading Enemy, were made Friends by the
Reg. 5. Intercession of the Pope and Cardinals, and were
Reg. 6. at Liberty to mind the Nation's Interest better;
Reg. 5. But their Hopes and well-grounded Expec-
Reg. 6. tations were frustrate, and the King was
Reg. 5. sentruder their Town and Cattle the last Day
Reg. 6. of November to the Duke, who made the Lord
Reg. 5. Gray of Clowd the King's Lieutenant there, but
Reg. 6. dying soon after, Sir Walter Hengford succeed-
Reg. 5. ed him. While these Things were doing at
Reg. 6. Cheveron the King receiv'd his Recruits out of
Reg. 5. England, and soon after set forward to besiege
Reg. 6. Rouen, taking some smaller Fortresses in his Way,
Reg. 5. viz. Lounders, and Port de Larche, which stand-
Reg. 6. ing on each side the Seine was with some Diffi-
Reg. 5. culty encompass'd: But the King by an ingen-
Reg. 6. ious Device and Wicker Boats laid over the Lives
Reg. 5. begun it so closely that they were forced to
Reg. 6. surrender it within Fifteen Days. (p) From
Reg. 5. hence the King with all his Forces march'd to
Reg. 5. Rouen, and fat down before it, July the 30th. The
Reg. 6. Citizens, who had long expected this eventful War,
Reg. 5. had made as strong a Provission as was possible, derr
Reg. 6. for the Armes of their City and of their Armies,
Reg. 5. and had got a 1000 choice Soldiers from the
Reg. 6. Duke of Burgundy; they had laid into the
Reg. 5. Town Ten Monthes Provission, and burnt the
Reg. 6. Suburbs that they might not be an Harbour or
Reg. 5. Relief to their Enemies. The King of England

(c) The Bishop of Wochefers, Henry Scouflers was nominated before him. Cron. p. 147.
(p) The Siege lasted Three Weeks. Hamb. His. beig
\textbf{The Life and Reign of HENRY the Fifth.}

\textit{A. D. 1419.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Reg. 6.}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{Anwer, That they had received none of him, and therefore could deliver up none to him, and thereupon made a brisk Sally out of the Town upon the King (for the garrisons had sworn to deliver up the City to the English so long as they could hold their Swords in their Hands) that the besiegers could get no Advantage of them; wherefore it was thought the most prudent Course to block up all Avenues into the City and starve them, which their Great Number made them liable to the SFore, and to that end the English Navy which was made up of 100 Sails of Ships, was brought up the Seine to hinder all Relief by Water, and certain Ships sent by the King of Portugal to assist the King were laid at the Seine's Mouth to prevent all access to the River. The more (q) Kilkeel also came out of Ireland with 1600 Irish Men well Arm'd and Disciplin'd to help the King in this Siege, and they were very Serviceable to the English in the Blockade; for by the Help of these Men he kept the City so closely besieged, that there were no Avenues possible to it. While the King lay Idle and without Action about the Town, he feit the Earl of Warwick to summone Cadecey, and fourteen other Fortresses which lay at a small Distance round about, to surrender to him, but they answer'd him, \textit{That they would follow the Fate of Rouen, and would refuse quietly if their Governor were taken without Relief, which the King was contented to yield to, because he could not well spare sufficient Forces to subdue them from Rouen, and so much the rather, because the Duke of Burgundy had promised the Habitants to raise the Siege. This made the King not only to keep his Chars together, but also to shew his French round about, and fill it with Spikes that the French might not Surprize them or remove the Siege. The Duke of Burgundy either not able to attempt to great a Matter, or else despairing of Succes did not undertake it, but only sent him his Son, Duke of Alencon, with 5000 Men at Kilkeel, Eureaux and Lavers, where they were with no great Difficulty repulsed by the English Garrison. About December, which was full four Months after the Siege was begun, the City of Rouen began to be much prefled for Vittuals, and put out of their Cares many able People who confirmed their Provisions, but did no good in the Defence of the Place, and they miserably perilled under the Walls, because the King of England would not suffer them to pass through the Army, yet in honour to Chrift he gave them Relief upon the Day of his Nativity. The Inhabitants feeding this Famine had not at all yielded, nor had there been any possibility of Relief, but being forely Opprefted with Famine they came to a Parley upon \textit{Nem-Tears-Day}, and after several Meetings for Eight Days together, nothing being concluded, the People of the Town were so enrag'd with the Governor and Burgess, because they did not yield up to the King of England's Demands, that they threatened to flay 'em and deliver up the City to his Mercy unless they did it speedily: Whereupon they desiring another Meeting, it was fully agreed and accorded, I. That the City and Castle of Rouen should be deliver'd up to the King of England, at any time after Jan. 19, if no Relief came to them before, upon his Demand.
  \item II. That all the Captains and People whatsoever, being and dwelling within the said Town and Castle, should be left entirely to the Mercy of the said King.
  \item III. That they should pay to the said King 30000 Scutes of Gold, of which every two Scutes should be worth an English Noble.
  \item IV. That every Soldier and Stranger being in the said Town or Castle, should swear upon the Evangelists before their Departure, not to bear Arms against the King of England in any Place whatsoever before the First of January next ensuing.
  \item V. That the Inhabitants of the Town should not receive any Poor People lying in the Ditches about it to their Habitation, and allow 'em sufficient Provision till Jan. 19.
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

These Articles with others of less Importance were sealed, Jan. 16. and on the 20th the King entered the City in a most Triumphant manner. The Clergy of the City with Forty Crofles, and Burgars meeting him by welcome, he was conducted to the Cathedral Church of our Lady to give solenn Thanks for the Conquest of it. Then the King went to the Castle to receive the Homages of the Burgelles, and having made Proclamation, that all Persons that would swear Allegiance to him should enjoy their Lands and Estates, many submitted to him, and he confirmed all their Liberties and Properties and Priviledges to them. The Captain of the Town \\
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ainain Blackhart} was beheaded, the Garrison was pillag'd and put out of the Town.
  \item \\
  \item \textit{Guy de Bonelater}, Captain General of the City forces submitted to King Henry, and had his Estate resold, and a Place given him under the Duke of Gloucester. Thus was Rouen again in the Power of the English, after the French had been Maffers of it 214 Years, and King Henry having re-edified the Castle and Walls, and built another Tower to keep the Town, and to make them more secure by their Obedience, made it the Chief Chamber in Normandy, and order'd his Truftriy, Mint and Exchequer to be settled there at the Suit of the Bishops and Abbots.
\end{itemize}

After the Surrender of Rouen the several Ca\textit{\textquotesingle}s, which had agreed to religious upon that Surrender, yielded themselves up to King Henry, and he sent out his Captains to take in others, as Castile-Gallicard, Vernon, Nantes, Blandan, and many others, the King himself remaining still at Rouen. The Duke of Burgundy (who rule'd all under the King of France and was upon that suction to Court the King of England, and there was a great Proportion of lovely signs of Emmity were laid aside) seeing the Current of King Henry's Fortune to be irrefistible, desired a Conference with him to establish a Peace between the Two Realms, and accordingly a Meeting for them was appointed at Acre in the month of April, 1420, for a solenn Interview, for they came to no Conclu-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth.

A.D. 1419.

Reg. 7.

And on their return, their Expectations were not disappointed, for they found the Dauphin had a scheme to effect the Union of the Houses of Burgundy and Lancaster. This was, that the Duke of Burgundy should marry the Prince of Wales, and in return the Prince of Wales should marry the Duchess of Burgundy. This scheme was rejected by the English, who considered it as a violation of the Treaty of Troyes, and a violation of the rights of the House of Lancaster. The Dauphin, however, persisted in his scheme, and finally succeeded in marrying his daughter to the Prince of Wales. This was a great blow to the English, who had hoped to prevent this marriage by force of arms. But the Dauphin was too strong for them, and the Treaty of Troyes was finally broken.

The Duke of Burgundy, however, was not satisfied with the marriage of his daughter, and he determined to take the Prince of Wales prisoner, in order to compel him to marry his own daughter. This was done, and the Prince of Wales was taken prisoner, and his ransom demanded. The English, however, were unable to pay the ransom, and the Prince of Wales was kept prisoner for several years. This was a great blow to the English, who had hoped to get him back in exchange for the marriage of the Duchess of Burgundy.

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Burgundy to a Resolution in their Design, which was to engage themselves upon the Dauphin for the Minor of the Old Duke of Burgundy his Father. Fortune had made Henry so much their unchangeable Favourite, that they judged it in vain to oppose the Current of their Victories. It was easy to persuade the Fates, that France must be subject to him; and therefore they thought it much better to submit upon the best Terms they could make, than spin out a little Time and come under the Conqueror's Will; for by this means the King might perhaps by a moral Authority quoad Mortem, was as much as he need desire, the Dauphin being so untutored and unworthy to Inherit) and the Blood of Thousands of People be fav'd which otherwise must necessarily perish in the Quarrrel. Wherefore it was fully reliev'd and agreed upon by the Queen, Duke, and all their Party, who were then at Troyes in Champagne, that Ambassadors should be sent to the King of England to treat about a Peace for the good of both Sides, and Preservation of the Kingdom, which was accordingly done presently: but King Henry being often before deluded with the French Men's promises and their Order mediated be be a great Deal to their Proposals, as being intended only to stop the Current of his Arms, which he would by no means suffer to be interrupted, and therefore sent them away without an Answer according to their Desires, and went on in his Conquests, which scarce a Day pall'd but he something enlarg'd, and he never accepted but with a very thankful Heart to God the Giver of them. The Return of the French Ambassadors was very unacceptable at Troyes; but understanding that the former delusive Tander made by the Dauphin and the Old Duke of Burgundy were the Cause of the King's Ill-will, and not any Affronts in himself either from his Vain-glory or Success, they dispaich'd the same Embassadors back again to allure K. Henry of the Queen and Duke of Burgundy's real Intentions, and their Willingness to come to a Peace as Honourable and Advantageous to him, as they desir'd it it would be Safe to them. King Henry, hearing this, was not willing to be thought Implacable and Cruel, and tho' he came over into France to gain his Inheritance by Conquest, yet 'twould be much better to obtain it peaceably if it were possible, especially since the Continuance of the Quarrel would cause the Blood of so much Christian Blood on both sides, begun to liken to their Proposals, and sending the Earl of Warwick and Bishop of Rochester to the Duke of Burgundy to be better avert'd in Matters, after Two or Three times paling backward and forward, and much Intercession made by the Bishop of Arves, and other Perfons of Quality, they at length came to an Agreement on certain Articles upon Condition, That the French King and his Parliament or Affembly of Estates would allent to them, which could not be much doubted of since all Things at Court were managed by the French Men's Friends; but Henry would have them hold their own ground. However for Form sake K. Henry sent a solemn Embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, sufficiently Authorized to treat and conclude of all Matters then under Debate, who was to conduct 'em to Troyes in Champagne, where the French King thought it necessary to procure his Confirmation of them. The Perions employ'd in this great Affair were the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Faukeby, the Lord Fitz-hugh, Sir John Robfert, and Sir Philip Hall, who arriv'd at Troyes, March 11. in the Company of the Duke of Burgundy, and after a few Days entering into Reg. 7. Conutation with the French Minifters, it was agreed and concluded between them, that King Henry should come to Troyes and marry the Lady Katherine, his own Sister, and that they should make Marriage a firm Peace, already concluded, and finish'd upon certain Articles, should then be seal'd and fully ratified by both Kings, and all the Nobles of the Realm of France, and other Estates, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and also the Cities and Towns and other Burgesses that were at that Time subject to the French King should take their Corporal Oath for the due and true Observation of them.

The Model of the Treaty being thus drawn up in the full Sense and Purport of it, the not reduced to Form, the Embassadors for the King of England return'd again to their Master, leaving only Sir John Robfert behind to attend on the Princes Katherine, and gave him a full Account of what had pass'd, and how far they had gone in the Peace; with which King Henry, who was then at Rouen, was so well contented, that he immeditely gave his Consent for the same, and for his going to Troyes; and all Things being ready, he began his Journey, May 8. He was accompanied with his Brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Exm, Tumborl and Longest, with (o) 15000 Men of War. He went from Rouen to Porbunche, and by St. Dennis to Canterbury, where he pass'd the Bridge over the Sein, but left a strong Detachment under the Command of Sir William Gage to secure the Palisage. Then entering Brie in Champagne he believe'd and took the Town of Grispy, which was kept against him by the Dauphin's Party, hanging the Chief Governors, and carrying some others of the Principal Men Prisoners with him. From hence he pass'd by Provins and Navoy to Troyes. He was met by the Duke of Burgundy, and a great Number of the Nobility Two Leagues from the Town, and by them conducted to his Lodgings prepar'd for his Reception. He arriv'd May 13. and after Two or Three Days refi'd to refresh himself, he went to visit the French King and Queen and Princefs Katherine, and within few Days being arrived to the Princess Katherine in St. Peter's Church, the Agreement before concluded by his Embassadors was alter'd in many Particulars, and then sign'd and fully ratified, both Kings swearing upon the Holy Evangelists inviolably to observe and keep all the Conditions and Covenants therein specified and Concluded. After this the Duke of Burgundy and the Nobles present took an Oath to King Henry, who by the Articles sign'd was to have the Regency of France during the King's Life, and after him to enjoy the Sovereign Power of that Kingdom absolutely for himself and Heirs, in this Form.

Ego Philipus Burgundiae Ducis, &c. which is Duke of this tender'd into English: I Phillip, Duke of Burgundy, Earl of Chester, and Duke of France, &c. "(o) * of which is by Henry in the Fifth.

Duke of which is by Henry in the Fifth.
A.D. 1422.
Reg. 8.

Neither shall he add, or en- ter into Council with, nor consent to any Perjury or False Things, whereby the said King Henry or his Successors may have Damage in Life or Member; but if any such Design come to our Knowledge, we will en- deavour thereat either by Letters or Messengers to discover the same to them, that they may make effectual Remembrances to the said France of all the Bishops and Peers of France then present to take to King Henry, and then upon the Third (7) of Term, being the Monday after Trinity-Sunday, the Marriage between King Henry and the Princess Katherine was solemnized and completed, and King Henry was upon declart and proclaimed King, Regent and Heir to the Crown of France. After these Things King Henry entertain'd the King, Queen, and all the Peers of France which had sworn Allegiance to him, and attended his Nuptials, as a Magnificent Banquet, and at the Table declared, That as it had been the main Subject of his Labours and Endeavours to unite the Kingdoms of France and England under Our Government, which now by God's Providence be had effectual, so it should be his Daily Care to rule them both with that Justice, and in that Order as may make them the happiest Monarchy upon Earth: And tho' I am an English Man born, yet much French Blood runs in my Veins, which with that freth Alliance that I have to you by Marriage so inclines my Affections to you, that you may assure your selves of an equal Share of my Favour and Love as my natural Subjects of England, and so long as you defend my Rights by your Aid and Assistance, you shall never fear that these Spheres and Defences which may be expelled from your King, who like a Father of your Country will cherish and protect you as his Children. When the Banquet was ended the Kings and Queens tarry'd a few Days at Troyes, and then took their Journey to Paris, where they were receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Joy and Welcome, and the English were entertain'd with Feastings by the Parisians.

Peace being thus fettled in both the Kingdoms of France and England to the general Satis- faction of the Subjects of both, it was thought fit hereafter that any Conquest or Treaty thus made should be fairly Written, and being fettled into every City and Market-Town in both Kingdoms be proclaimed and openly publish'd to all Perions; which Articles, because they shew not only how honourable a Conclusion K. Henry made, and how great Advantage he was to fatis'ce his People in important Matters of State, but also the Right and Title which the Kings of England then had and still have to the Crown of France, it is convenient to let them down all particularly in the Form that King Henry fent them into England, and in which they were Publish'd in London, June 23, 1429.

Henry by the Grace of God King of England, Earl and Regent of France, and Lord of Ireland, to all Cowright People, and all our Loving Subjects,

We being desirous to have it kept in per- petual Remembrance, do hereby Notify, Publish and Declare, That altho' there have been many Treaties of Peace between the Moll Excellent Prince Charles, the present King of France, and his Queen, and the Good Effct, yet We considering the great Harms and Damiages that have redounded, not only to the Subjects of both Realms of France and Eng- land, but to the Holy Church by the long Wars and Divisions between them, have at length made and concluded a Peace with our said Fa- ther in Manner and Form following, viz.

I. That since by the Marriage of our dearly belovd Queen Katherine, the above-menion'd Charles, King of France, and his Queen Isabe are made Our Father and Mother, We will honour them as Our Father and Mother above all Kings and Princes of the World.

II. That We will not disturbe or disturbance, but quietly suffer the said King and Queen Our Fa- ther and Mother to enjoy and hold the Crown and Kingdom of France, and all their Realms and Pro- perties, Dignities and Privileges belonging to the same during their Natural Lives.

III. That the Lady Katherine Our Queen shall have and enjoy such a Dower in England as the Queens of England in Times past were wont to receive, viz. Forty Thousand Scutes yearly, of which every Two shall be in Value an English Noble.

IV. That the Annual Payment of the said For- ty Thousand Scutes shall be secure'd to our said Queen Katherine by the Laws and Customs of the Realm, that it may be constantly and duly paid to her after Our Death, if our said Queen shall oiver-live Us.

V. That our said Queen Katherine, if the sur- vive Us, shall immediately after Our Death, have and receive for her Dower out of the King- dom of France the Sum of Twenty Thousand Scutes yearly, of and from the Lands and Lord- ships that Blanch, Wife to Philip, the Grandfa- ther of King Charles did hold and enjoy.

VI. That during the Life of King Charles, King Henry shall not assume the Title of King of France, and that the French King shall in Writ- ings entitle him, Our Thrice Noble Son Henry, King of England, and Heir of France.

VII. That after the Death of K. Charles Our said Father, the Crown and Realm of France with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereof shall come, descend, and remain to Us and Our Heirs for Ever.

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IX. That the said King Henry as Regent of France, will labour and endeavour diligently and faithfully to manage the Government of the Realm of France in such manner, as shall make good the Honour, and the Establishment of Divine Worship, the Prosperity of Our said Father and Mother, and common good of the People.

X. That we will by Our Power cause that the Court of Parliament in France, shall retain and insist on the accustom'd Revenue and Authority, in all Places subjct to Our said Father Charles now King of France.

XI. That we according to Our Power will Protect and Defend, all and every of the Peers,

Nobles,

(8) The 30th of May. Ibid. 297.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth. 329

A.D. 1420. Reg. B. Nobles, Cities, Towns, Bodies Corporate, and Single Persons, now, or in Time to come subject to the King of France in all their Rights, CITATIONS, Domains and Benefices belonging and due to them in all manner of Places subject to Our Father the King of France.

XIII. That We will diligently and carefully provide that Justice be administered, and equally distributed to all Persons impartially in the said Realm, according to the Rights, Laws and Customs of the said Realm, and that We will preferre Our said Subiects in Transact-

lity and Peace, and defend them to the utmost of Our Power from the Violence and Oppression of all their Enemies.

XIV. That We will according to the best of Our Skill and Judgment preferre other Persons to the Administration of Justice, or Offices of Trust in the Government, but such as are able and skilful in the Laws of the Realm, and of un- doubted Integrity, that all Persons may receive impartial Justice from them.

XV. That We will with all Our Might endeav-

our, as soon as conveniently may be, to reduce to the obedience of Our said Father, all Cities, Towns, Citties, Places, Countries and Persons within the Realm of France, as are now Dilibe-
dien and Rebels to Our said Father, siding with the Common Enemy.

XVI. That for the more effectual Accomplish-
ment of this Our Design, it is Accorred and Ar-

greed, that all the Nobles and other Estates of the Realm of France, as well Temporal as Spir-

itual, which are at this Day Obdient to Our said Father, shall take this Oath following to Us.

1. That they shall all, and every One of them, in their several Places and Degrees, be Subject and Obedient to Us, having the Rule and Go-


gvernment of the Realm in all Our lawful Com-

mands, and Impositions for the Common Profit.

2. That all the Peers and Nobles of the Realm of France, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as also the Citizens, Burgesses and Commons, shall and will keep and observe whatsoever concerneth them in their Degrees, in the Treaty made be-

tween Our Father and Us, with the said Father's Heirs, as their Sovereign and the very King of France, and that they will not be in Council with, nor Consent to, or help any that shall con-

spire against Us, our Throne or Dignity, but if they know of any such Persons shall oppose it ac-

cording to their Powers, and discover it as soon as they can to Us, that we may prevent it.

4. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made upon the said Rebels and disobedient Per-

sons (except it be in the Dutchy of Normandy) shall have all the good of said Father Charles, but that all manner of Lands and Lordships of Persons who have Fown, or shall Fwear to obey Our said Father and Us, and keep the Articles of this present League, shall be refor'd to the said Persons again in all our Conquests.

XVII. That all Ecclesiastical Persons who are Benefic'd in the Dutchy of Normandy, or in any other Places subject to our Father the King of France, who shall favour the Party of the Duke of Burgundy, and Fwear to keep this present Treaty, shall peaceably enjoy their Benefices and Preferments in Holy Church, as well in Nor-

mandy as elsewhere.

XVIII. That all manner of Churches, Uni-

versities, Studies General, and all Colleges of Studies, and other Colleges of Holy Church, be-

ing in Places subject to our Father, or in the

Duchy of Normandy, shall enjoy their Rights and

Poffessions, Rents, Prerogatives, Liberties and

Frenchmen belonging or due to them in any wife in the said Realm of France, favoring the Rights of the

Crowe.

XIX. That when it shall please God that We come to the Crown of France, then the Dutchy of

Normandy and all other Places conquer'd by Us shall be annex'd to the Monarchy of France, and pay their Obedience and Submission to the Kings thereof.

XX. That Reconcilem shall be made by our said Father, or by Us, when We shall by God's Grace arrive at the Crown of France, if it be not made in our said Father's Life-time to all such Persons as obey him, and favor the Monarchy of the Duke of Burgundy, for the Lands, Lordships, Rents and Poffessions taken from them by Conquest, either in the Dutchy of Normandy or elsewhere, and if the said Lands, Lordships, Rents or Poffessions belonging to such Persons in the said Dutchy and other Places be not recompensed by Us, they shall have lawful Power to enter upon them without further Delay.

XXI. That during our Father's Life in all Places subject to him, all Letters of Common Justice, and all Grants of Offices, Gifts, Par-

kiments, and Privileges shall be duly taken out, and written in the Name of our Father, and if it be necessary in any Cafe to do other-

wise, and write any Letters or Grants in our own Name, we shall take care to add our Fa-

ther's Name, and our selves as Regent of France.

XXII. That We will not allow any Taxes or Impositations upon the subjects of our Father without resumable and necessary Causes, and for the Common Good of the Realm of France according to the Laws and Customs of the said Realm.

XXIII. That We will cause, that by the Af-

fent of the Parliament of both Realms it shall be ordinance and enacted, That from the Time that We or our Heirs shall obtain the Crown of France, both the Crowns of England and France shall be united under one Person, that is to say, at the Death of the Twelve Years, or our said Father to Us, and from and after our Death, to our Heirs successively, and that both Realms shall be govern'd not severally under divers Kings, but under the same Person, which for the Time shall be King of both Realms, referring neverthelesse to either of the said Kingdoms their Rights, Liberties, Customs, Liberties and Laws, and not making either Kingdom subject in any wise to the Rights or Customs of the other.

XXIV. That We will from henceforth take effectual Care, that all, and all manner of Dif-

fentions, Hatred, Rancors, Envy and Wars be-

tween the Realms of England and France and the People of the said Realms shall cease, and a perpetual Friendship and Concile be established between the said Realms.

XXV. That the Two Nations being united in Common Friendship, shall help and assist each other against all Men that shall attempt any Harms or Wrongs against them, or any of them with all their Forces, Councils and Assistance.

XXVI. That both the said Nations shall freely Converse and Traffick together, with all manner of Merchandize, paying the afo said Customs in the said Nations.

XXVII. That all the Confederates and Al-

lies both of our Father the King of France and his Realm, and all our Confederates of our Realm of England shall, within Eight Months after the Publick Declaration of this Peace, declare by Vol. I. 1 n their
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their Letters, that they desire to come under
the Articles of the said Treaty, saving never-
theless their Obedience to either of the said
Crowns, and the Rights and Revenues to Us
and our Subjects, and our Father and his Sub-
jects, against all his and our Allies and Confe-
dences.

XXVIII. That neither our Father, nor our
Brother the Duke of Burgundy shall begin or
make any Treaty, Peace, or Accord with Charles,
who calls himself the Dauphin of Vienna, but by
the Council and Affent of all, and each of Us.
Three, or of the Three States of either of the said
Realms above-named.

XXIX. That we With the Affent of our said
Brother the Duke of Burgundy, and other the
Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom of France, who
ought to be consulted with in that Cafe, shall
Constitute and Appoint, for the Governance of
our said Father, such Perfons as shall be most
suitable to the State and Degree of our said Fa-
ther, and will be careful to promote the Wor-
ship of God, Honour of our said Father, and Good of the
Commonwealth.

XXX. That we will do all Things for a Friend to
King Henry and his Heirs for ever.

XXXI. That King Henry should do his utmost en-
deavours that due Punishment be inflicted upon
the Murtheners of John late Duke of Burgundy,
as well upon Charles, who calls himself the Daup-
phin, as upon all others that shall be found Guil-
ty of the said Murder.

XXXII. That if the Dauphin should chance to be
taken either in Battel or in any Town believ'd,
or if any other chance'd to be taken that should
be found Guilty of or Privy to the Murder of the
said Duke John, he shall not be releaved
without a just Punishment for so foul a Fact, nor
without the Consent of the Two Kings of France
and England, Charles and Henry, and of the Three
Estates of both Realms.

XXXIII. That in Consideration of the Fidelity and
Diligence of the said Duke of Burgundy in set-
ing the Peace and furthering the Marriage of
King Henry, the said Duke Henry should join
with King Charles and Queen Isabeau, that the said
Duke may have an Annual Fee of Twenty Thou-
sand Pound Parisien settled upon him by Patent
from King Charles, and allow'd to him out of
such Lands as border'd upon his Country, to be
enjoy'd by him, and be in all other Points of
his and his Heirs Succession, and all his
other Rights and Privileges, in all that he was not
enjoy'd before, and if he could not bring it to pass bef
King Henry should obtain the Crown of
France himself, then he should cause the fame to be
perform'd at the receiving of his homage.

Thus did the Duke of Burgundy revenge his
Father's Death upon the Dauphin, and by his
Serviceablenefs so advanced his own Interests
with the King of England, that he was in Gra-
titude oblig'd to reward bountifully the Ali-
fiance he had lent him.

The Progress of the King of England's Settlement.
The Damage by the Treaty was not unknown to the
people of France and his Followers, who tho' they
could not but be displeased at these Proceedings, yet
neither fear'd nor dierted, hoping for the Re-
verie of Fortune when all this Clue should be
unravel'd and this curious Train detected, but
they were not infensible they were in great
Danger from King Henry's Prerogative, which was ve-
terribly before, and was now grown almost
indefeasible. Wherefore they call'd a General
Convention to consider, what was best to be
done for their own Security in this difficult Jun-
cure. They dispaire'd to do any good by Oppo-
sition.
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Forces fruitlessly, begg'd of him on their Knees, that he would surrender the Castle and give their Lives and his own, which otherwise would be lost. Gurdon was deal'd to them as a friend, and all the Petitioners were all hang'd in his sight, yet he sav'd his own Life, tho' he held out the Castle long, by a Capitation, that all should have their Lives, but such as were guilty of the Duke of Bedford's Mother, upon the Delivery up of the Castle to him. As it appear'd, his own gain'd King Henry fopp'd not here, but following the Course of his Victory remov'd his Siege to Meaux, a strong Town in the Isle of France which held with the Dauphin, and was taken down by the 7th, July the 13th. The Garrison which was 7,000 had fortify'd themselves, and urg'd brave Commanders, viz. Seignior Barbary, that he be a Gattisnow of approved Valour and Conduct, signd,

Pierre de Barbary, a Prince of the Blood, Mon- licur Preuse and Bourguys. At the first Appro- ach of the King's Army Barbary call'd all his Soldiers to him, and the Town-men, who were equally concern'd to maintain the Siege, and having encourag'd them to behave themselves Valiantly against their Enemies, warn'd them all on pain of Death not to make any Motion, much less treat about surrendering the Town, which was urg'd by some of the Compa- nion's with the Town, but the King's Agreement, until they had first acquainted them with his Captain with it, and so he sent to the De- fence of it.

The King of England on the other side having a very strong Army commanded by his Brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester, Burgundy and Barne, and being accom- pany'd with the Young King of England, the Prince of Orange, his Father-in-law the French King, and many other Persons, was as diligent in ply- ing the Siege, which as it was likely to prove Difficult, so would produce a more noble Vic- tory. The French Queen and her Daughter the Queen of England, with the Dukes of Burgun- dy lay during the Siege at Chartel, and made divers Visits to their Husbands and Friends who lay about the City, whom the King of England nobly Entertain'd in his Camp. To this Siege for the King's Allegiance came the Duke of Eu- varis, whom the King of France receiv'd with great Honour and Paper, with 700 Men well accoutred, who being retain'd in the King's Service behav'd them- selves very well. King Henry being thus pro- vided with an Army, fought out all means by Mines, frequent Batteries, and Assilts to win the Town, but was so valiantly Oppos'd and Countermin'd, that he faw small Hopes of get- ting it otherwise than by flaving them. While he lay before the Town, it chanc'd that two of the English Lords began a Contention about ent- ring a new Mine, which to decide, the King himself went in first, and meeting there with the Lord of Burgundy, the latter generously yield'd way to him over the Barriers made in the Mine by the French for that Purpose. The King and Lord engag'd each oth- er with equal Courage, and having got lit- tle Advantage on either part discover'd them- selves, and so parted with Admiration of each others Valour. After this the King begins the Town in all sides to prevent Relief, and laid a Bridge over the Seine to stop any Passage in to it that way, and to uphold an Intercourse between the Armies on each. The Fiefed made many brave Salutes, but were as bravely Repell'd though with odds on both sides. The King of France himself came into the Camp of King Henry, and command'd them upon their Allegiance, which they ow'd him as their Natu- ral Lord, to reign the Town to his Son the King of England, but they answer'd, Than if he Vol. I. 12
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were at Liberty, and free from King Henry's Per-

son, who was their Enemy, they would do him the Di-

nuty of Subjects, and obey him in all Things, or their

Safety in being a he, they deñ'd to be ex-

cused, for they would never yield to the Mural En-

emy of France. But though no Human Force nor

Perfidiaus could prevail with stout Barbajon's Hear-

t to submit to his Enemy; yet the Infidici-

ons of Heaven, Perfidiaus and Fami-

ity's are his Resolutions, and he came to a Capitulation up-

on these Conditions.

I. That the Town and Castle of Melun be deliver'd up to the King of England, both the Soldiers and Burgesses should submit themselves to his Pleasure, to be dealt with as he should think fit.

II. That all such Persons as should be found Guilty of the Duke of Burgundy's Morter, should suffer Death.

III. That all the rest of the Soldiers should be receiv'd to Mercy, but should remain Prisoners until the French have made him and all his Faithful Subjects secure for their faithful Obedience for the future.

IV. That the Natives of France should be dis-
misst to their own Homes.

V. That all the Moveables and Arms in the Town should be carry'd into the Castle.

VIII. That all the Prisoners that have been taken during the Siege, or before, should be set at Liberty without a Ranom, and acquitted of all Promises.

VII. That Twelve Captains and Six Burgesses should be Hoftages for the Performance of these Articles.

VIII. That all the English and Seals should be deliver'd up to K. Henry, and left to his Mercy.

Thus was Melun resign'd to King Henry a-

bout the middle of November, and most of the Belgian led under the Conduct of the Duke of Clarence to Paris, of which the French King had made him Captain, and gave him Possession of

the Laurea, Batifke of St. Anthony, Hotel of Nefle, and Bais de Vincennes, where he placed English Guards.

Among the Prisoners which were 600 and more, was Monsieur Barbajon, Pierre de Bourbon, and Seignior of France. King Henry placed him, with all his Convenio, into Aile, and left his under the Command of Pierre de Verriol, a valiant French Man, going himself by Corbeil where his Queen and Mother lay during the Siege, whom he took along with him to Paris, where they were receiv'd with Proclamations, and all oth-

er Magnificent Solemnities, and convey'd to their Palaces, King Henry and his Queen to the Laurea, and King Charles and his Queen to the Hotel de S. Paul, an homely meane One in compa-

nion of the former.

The first Thing done after their Arrival at Paris was to put the Martyrs of the Duke of Burgundy to Death, of which several of the Captives were found Guilty, and were accordingly Punish'd, and among them Two Monks, Ber-

trand de Cheron, a Gadsengies, much in favour with King Henry, was also punish'd with them and Death, because he had at the King's En-

trance into Melun convey'd away one America of Laut, who was prov'd guilty of the same Crime. The Duke of Burgundy himself, and the Duke of Clarence had much trouble with the King to save his Life, but could not prevail, for the proclamations had been from former days left 30,000 of his Nobles, yet he resolv'd that he should suffer Death to be an Example of Ter-

ror to all thole, who out of Prefumption of their Prince's Favour would venture to do Things Of-
tenie to him, and Prejudicial to the Publick: And accordingly he was Executed with them.

While the Two Kings, Charles and Henry

King of England remain'd at Paris, a great Af-

fociation of the Nobility and Great men of the

great Hall of the Hotel of S. Paul, where a Magni-

ficent Seat of Justice under one Cloth of State was

erected for both the Kings, as Supreme Judges of all Matters which might be examin'd in this Assemble.

The main Design of this Parliament being the last conversation on the Marriage and Peace with King Henry, very few or no Laws were made, but only every Member of the Assembley was sworn severally to keep, support, maintain and defend the Treaty and Final Agreement which was lately made and concluded between the Kings of France and Eng-

land. The Noble, Spiritual, and Temporal Ruler's had their Seals to certain Instruments containing the Sum of this Engagement and Oath, which Instruments were sent to the King's Treasury of the Exchequer at West-

minster to be fiirly kept, and there they flill re-

main. The aslemblie was held in perfect Health of Body, and Soundness of Mind, publicly own'd and declar'd, That the said Treaty and Agreement was made with full and free

Affints, and with Advice and Consent of all his Coun-

cil of France, and that he for his Part would observe all that was agre'd to be done, and that he would observe all its Articles and Parts, and that he did fiirly require, That all his Subjects of what Degree ever,

should observe it, and do nothing prejudicial to it. To this Parliament did the Dukes of Burgun-

dy, and her Son the Duke of Burgundy fer their Advowson, Nicolas Devereux and a Letter of Du-

vity to accuse the Dauphin, Charles, Vizcomt

Narbonne, Seignior Tanancour, and Barbajon, and four others, of the Murder of John, Duke of Burgundy, and desire impartial Justice against them, which they did in a long Judget, ad-

vised by way of Petition, That a Church might be Founded, and Farnish'd with Sacred Orna-

ments, and a sufficient Revenue to maintain Twelve Canons, Six Chaplains, and Six Clerks, to pray for his Soul for ever, every Canon to have Two Hundred Pound per Annum, Paris Mo-

ney, every Chaplain a Hundred Pound, and, Per-

ceive them at his own Expenditure, to be laid up in the Lands of the Dauphin, and his Associates in the Murder of the said Duke: To this Petition the Chancellor of France in the Behalf of K. Charles promised, that no endeavour should be wanting on his Part, and that all Justice should be done for them, and that the said Gascoigne, as Di-

temerly call'd to the Marble-Table to anfwer the Accusations brought against him by the Name of Charles, Duke of Tourouane, and Dauphin de Vi-

cennes, which being done Three times, and he not appearing, he was by Arref of the fame Court of Parliaments declar'd a Runy of the Duke of Burgundy's Mother and Siflers, and many

Circumstances produced against him tending to make him Guilty, but he so bravely defend-

ed himself against the Charge, though he freely acknowledg'd himself to be a true Servant of the

Dauphin's, that he was in no wise thought Guilti-
of Burgundy pronounced him Guilty and gave Sentence on him, that he should suffer Death, which though he avoided by alledgeing a Military-Law, That any Man having his Brother in Arms within his Power, Should not put him after-wards to any Civil Querrel, proving himself to be the King’s Brother in Arms, because he had Encouter’d with him Hand to Hand in the Mine above-mention’d, by which Law the King’s Sentence was annul’d, yet he was kept Prisoner at Paris full, and after removed to other Places, not being able to recover his Liberty, till Caffie-Caillé was taken by the Dauphin Nine Years after this.

King Henry being thus establish’d in the Government of France as well as England, pul’d his Christmas in great Majesty at Paris, ordering all Affairs of State as he pleased, and being look’d upon by all Foreign Embassadors, as well as the Natve French as his King; Charles, the French King having indeed the Name, and keeping a Court, but very Private, and as a Prince, whose Power was out of Date. All the Grandeur of Francois I. was reduc’d to Paris, French Palaces, where were many Military Shews and Palatines daily, and all the State and Magnificence of a Court. All Commisions were given out in his Name, and he placed and displaced Officers as he pleased. He also made a New Coin, which he call’d a Sourd, wherein the Arms of France and England were quarter’d. Christmas being over, the King resolv’d to leave France a while, and go into England to have his Queen Crown’d; wherefore leaving Paris under the Command of his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, with a Guard of 550 Men, he went to Rouen and continu’d there some Time. Either all the Nobles of Normandy came to him to pay their Homage, and the Earl of Stafford did his Homage for his Earldom of Pembroke, and Arthur Duke of Brissian for the Country of Surrey. Here he ordain’d his Brother the Duke of Clarence to be his Lieutenant in his Absence over all France, and his Deputy in Normandy, the Earl of Salisbury, leaving Rouen he came by Amiens to Calais, and taking Ship came to Dover about Candlemas, and so polish’d to London, where he was receiv’d by the Citizens with as great Joy, as if he had been an Angel from Heaven. He ordain’d all his Officers Alexander, who had subjudget the World to him.

King Henry being thus safely arriv’d in England, he according to his usual Piety would not enter upon any Material Business till he had given his Subjects an Example of signal Devotion in return for the Publick Thankfulness for the Succes which he had given him in France, and therefore by his Proclamation appointed, that Processions and Solemn Thanksgiving’s should be kept by all his Subjects in all Cities, Towns and Villages through the whole Nation, which was accordingly perform’d with much Devotion. This Act of Piety being ended the King appoint- ed, that all Things should be prov’d with convenient Speed for the Coronation of his Queen upon St. Matthew’s Day approaching, February the 24th, on which he was Crown’d with great Magnificence, and was receiv’d into Court by John (x) Stafford. Besides the coventable Ceremonies used upon such Occasions, which were all perform’d with great Exactness; there was more than ordinary Cost and Magnificence behind it in the Coronation-Dinner; for though it was in Lent, and so confin’d of Fish and Vegetables, yet there was a profusion of Varieties of both, and such rare Devices in every Course, as were never seen upon the like Occasion. The Earl of March kneeling on the Right-hand of the Queen with the Scepter in his Hand, and the Earl-Marshal on the Left-hand, the Duke of Gloucester walking besid’d, and over-seeing the Management of the whole Feast, made it one of the most splendid Banquets that was ever known in England. As soon as the Coronation was ended, the Queen return’d to her Palace at Wemminster, where she remain’d till Palm-Sunday, when she removed to Windsor to meet the King, and keep her Easter there with him.

In the interval between the Coronation and King Henry Easter, the King took a Royal Progress through several Parts of the Nation, to see in what State his Affairs were, and recitify all Matters of Complaint, which his People in his Absence might have receiv’d from his Officers and Judges. In his Journey he omitted no Opportunity of paying his Devotion to the Services of several Saints; to making it a Pilgrimage, as he could, of the images he had prov’d or intendent it for his People. Many grievous Complaints with Petitions for Redress were present’d to him against his Judges for the Mal-administra-tion of their Office, which the King receiv’d with much Willingness and Cheerfulness, from the mouth of Fellicius all Affairs immediately reform’d, not sparing the greatest of his Ministers whom he found Guilty of Midlemens-nours in their Places; telling them, That since they had no respect to his Honour, which was woundom by their Unjustice and Partiality, he had no reason to shew them any Fa-vour, but punish them the more severely, came for the sake of a little Gain or Friend-ship, they had robb’d him of what he most valued, his People’s Love and Affections. These Affairs detain’d him longer in the farther Parts of the Nation, than he intend’d he should have left; and therefore not being able to reach Wemminster to keep his Easter as he had intend’d, he set for his Queen to Leicester, and there kept his Easter with her.

While these Things paff’d in England, the Duke of Clarence who had the Supreme Government of France while King Henry was abrook’d the Carrick of Normandy to meet him at a Town call’d Barchy, from thence began an Invasion in Anjou, and ravag’d the Country as far as Angiers, burning and plundering the Villages and Towns as he went along; but having an Information, that the Duke of Bourbon was at Parts with a considerable Body of Men of the Dauphin’s Party, and that the Scots in a Body of about 700 (y) Men were coming to joys with them under the Command of Archibald, Earl of Douglaf, and John, Earl of Buchan, he return’d back to a Town call’d Barchy, intending to give the Duke of Alazon Barel before the Scots could come to him. Being on his March he took one Andrew Fornega a Lombard and a Spy, who pretending he was fied from the French Camp, gave the Duke of Clarence an Account, that the French were more numerous and right, and he would be vanquish’d by his Forces which were much greater, but this he did to encourage him to en-gage him rafely, and ruin himself and Army, as he did: For the Duke of Clarence being basly and
K. Henry being landed in France this third Expedition would not enter upon any Action till arrives in
he had pay'd the Dutiful Honour of a Visit to his Father and Mother the King and Queen of
France at Burgundy, and therefore he took direct ways to raise the Siege of
Charterres. at Montreuil in the Road the Duke of
Burgundy met him with a Petition from the
Baron of Thion, who valiantly had held out
Three Weeks the Siege of Charterres against all the
Duke's Forces, and then return'd to Mons, where he found
much, that he could not hold out longer.
The King after some Confutation with the Duke thought it necessary to raise the Siege, and hav
made him Commander of his Armies, sent him to relieve it speedily, the King proceeding in his Journey but loth, till he could see the
Success of this Attempt. (2) The Duke of Burgundy
by moderate Marches proceeded towards Charterres, and being arriv'd at Monte
Dauphin's discover'd his Approach, and had an
Information of the Strength of his Army, which
being too great to encounter, they rais'd the
Siege and retir'd to Tours in Touraine.
The Duke of Burgundy having thus reliev'd Charterres he return'd to the King, who sent him with a
good Force into Picardy against Sir Jacques de
Hardcourt, who annoy'd the King's Conquests there.
In the mean time the King went on to
Paris to pay his defidant's Vows, and was honor'd by
the King and Queen of France. In his Passage he took a
Small Fort call'd La Ferre, (4) which being command
by the Baron of Bellay surrender'd unto him upon
Summons, but was as easily lost as taken,
for Picardy, a Picard to the King gave the Command of it, betray'd it to the Dauphin.
Great Invitations he had at Paris to pass his Time in Pleasures, every Perfon being Ambition
ous to pleas him with the most grateful Del
ights; but his Mind was wholly engag'd on the
Glory of Conquest, which feem'd a little eclips
of his other Advantages, the Dauphin had
bought by taking Bouvainval, Calemont, and some other Places; he could not be at Eafe, till his
Forces were employ'd for the Recovery of them, and utter Suppression of the Dauphin's Party if
it were possible: Wherefore having rais'd a
Small Addition of French Forces to his Army he

(1) John Swinson gave him the first Wound, but the Earl of Bucken killed him. Ibid. 399.
(2) The Earl of Salisbury was the Family of Mountstuart, and not the Duke of Clarence's Ralford; that Duke left
a natural Son, whose Name was John, and he was commonly call'd the Diford of Clarence. Holinshed, 1279.
(3) In 1421, for the Bishop of Maldon had lent 2000/. for it, but the Sum, which was formerly of the Value of one of the Jewels of the Imperial Crown of England at this Day.
(4) The Duke of Burgundy was ill of a Fever when the King came to Marvrmul, from whence they went to
Fontaine, Marshal, and the Dauphin, the Duke, on this journey, took sick, and the Duke of Burgundy upon his Promise of returning suddenly to the Army. He march'd himself to relieve Charterres, and when he arriv'd at Mans, dispatched a way Margiers to join him with his Forces. Edition March 18th.
March'd himself towards the Loire to fight the Dauphin, who had given him out, that he would try the Fortune of a Field-Battle with K. Henry; but the Dauphin's Courage fail'd when he saw the Greatness and Boldness of K. Henry's Forces, and he was so frightened by them, that he continu'd without giving King Henry any Melodation and Hindrance in his Victories, for which Quienet was he Nick-dam'd, The King of Berry. (c) King Henry having no Opposition to his Arms, proceeded with all Expedition to redress the late Inconveniences both on the Banks of the Loire, which was accordingly done, and Succ of the Dauphin's Men were permitted to depart in Safety, having sworn to the King not to bear Arms against him nor his Allies for a Year ensuing. The Towns-Men also who would swear Allegiance to King Henry, were permitted to enjoy their Houses and Estates, but forty of the finest were sent out of the Town with the Garrison, and the Earl of Warreffe was made Captain of it.

King Henry being made Master of Daurex pur-fued the Dauphin farther into the Country hearing that he lay at Dangerly, but not finding him there he besought and took divers Castles and Towns, as Dangerly, Kempsong, and many other Places, intending to have at length gotten by Bawerly it self, where the Dauphin lay strongly Fortified, but the latter had carry'd away or destroy'd all the Forage and Provisions of the Country, so that the King's Army was forc'd through mere want to retreat back to Orleans, where they stay'd two Days to refresh their Troops, and then pulling through Gaffioins and Vigny-fur-Toune he arriv'd at Pans, and he was receiv'd with universal Joy and Respect. He remained there a good while, to try the Fortune of the Army, which was much Weaken'd by his late Pursuit of the Dauphin, but to fettle the Disturcments of the City it self, which was disturb'd by some of the Dauphin's Party, and having seize'd it, he march'd out again with his whole Army to lay Siege to the City of Meaux in Beauce. This City was very well Fortified, man'd and furnish'd with Provisions, and could not be taken without very great Difficulty, yet because it was almost in the midst of King Henry's Comquest, and was many ways freightual to the Country which had sub-missed to the French, it was not attack'd upon, and the King himfelf undertook to subdue it. It was a large City, and besides the Suburbs which were very populous and great, it was divided into two Parts by the River Mainre which runs through the midst of it, viz. the Town and Market-Place. The King being sensible that if his coming were certainly known the Inhabitants would burn the Suburbs, he sent the Duke of Exeter before him with 4000 Men to prevent it, following himself within a few Days. The King lodg'd in the Abbey of Palace, and the Duke of

Exeter in the Abbey of Churge, the Earl of March A.D. in an Honore of the Gray-Fapers, and the Earl of

Worwich over-against the Market-Place. They Reg. 9. began their Affairs about October the 6th, (g) and continued with all their Vigour to force the Town to Yield.

The Inhabitants therefore knew they had with a good Garrison under the Command of the Bufford of Vajans and other Men of Name both for Birth and Courage, held out valiantly, and made as brave Resistance within as the English did without, being as resolute to defend their Inhabitations as the English were to gain it. Winter was a great help to the Besieged, and had certainly rais'd the Siege if any thing could have broken the Ready Hearts of the English; for the River over-flowing much endanger'd their Camp, the Cold and Wet brought in many Lepers among them, of which not a few died, and there was great want of Provisio'n, so that the surpris'd scarce had any Strength to attack their Enemy. Besides these Difficulties which Providence seem'd to call upon them to cross their Attempts, Francois de Horcourt a Ready Man, who had done much Service to the Duke of Beugers, but he was repoll'd with the Loss of 300 of his Men, and was himself fav'd only by the Swiftness of his Horse; So much did the Courage of the English enable them to conquer all Daugers, and hold on boldly in their Undertaking till they obtain'd their Design.

While Things were carry'd on this bravely by King Henry in France, several Things of Moment pass'd in England. On December the 15th, the Duke of Bedford call'd a Parliament in the King's Absence, and became noteworthy in maintaining the Act of the former Parliament about the Coin, it was full found unfit for Commerce; therefore in this there were several Acts made for bringing in all Monies to be Recoin'd, and for the Weight of the several Pieces of Money with the Alay; and, which the King's Favour to his People, there was an Order sent to all Receivers of Money, that they should receive all Monies brought to them if it did not want above Twelve Pence in a Noble of the true Weight, and give them the New-coin'd Money for it, by which the King, though then under great Necessities for Money, yet was contented to lose almost Three Shillings in the Pound for the Benefit of his People. This was extensively done by the King's Favour gain'd so much of the Parliament that they gave him a Fifteenth from the Laitry, and the Clergy contributed a Tenth towards the carrying on the War, and so the Parliament was rent Home. In the Time of this Session, viz. on December the 6th, being St. Nicholas's Day was Queen Katherine deliver'd of a Son at Windsor to the equal joy both of the Nation and King. The Queen in the King's Absence put forward his Christening, and therefore that solemn Act of Christian Initiation was perform'd as soon as it was sufficiently upon, and the King himself undertook to subdue it. It was a large City, and besides the Suburbs which were very populous and great, it was divided into two Parts by the River Mainre which runs through the midst of it, viz. the Town and Market-Place. The King being sensible that if his coming were certainly known the Inhabitants would burn the Suburbs, he sent the Duke of Exeter before him with 4000 Men to prevent it, following himself within a few Days. The King lodg'd in the Abbey of Palace, and the Duke of

(c) Of which Province Bourges is the Capital. (f) He took Daurex before he march'd for the Lais.; Enga. Men. (g) They invested the Town, October the 6th. (h) In Chappe des Vifs de France. 21st.
ter. However it is said, that he was not plea-
sed at the Place of his Nativity, which was at
Windor, because having some Information, that
that Place would be Fatal to him, he had given a
first Charge that he should not be born there;
but on another Echelon, and on his Birth
there, he prophetically said, either from profec.
Infiniit, or from the Prediction of some other,
into the Lord Fitz-Hugh his Chamberlin and
great Confident.

Henry born at Monmouth, had small Time
reign and much get;,
Bar Henry of Windor soll reign long and loa.
d, but as God will so be it.

A.D. 1421.
Reg. 9.

Christmas now approach'd, and though King
Henry always kept it with some Solemnity, yet
he chose rather to abridge himself of that Ca-
dom than break up the Siege of Meaux, though
the Extremity of the Weather both for Cold and
Wet, the sickness of his Army and the great
Losses which he had suffered by the Briteged, who
had killed many of his Men; and among the Reck
of the Earl of Worescer and Lord Chifford, might
have been an Argument sufficient to have discon-
rac'd his Procedings, and forc'd him to have left
it. But all these Things rather increas'd than diminis-
c'd him; whereupon with more fierce
Affaults he batter'd the Walls of the Town, and
having made Bridges of Planks over the River
Marne, begirt it so close, that it was much de-
filterd, and could hardly hope to hold out a
against his various Arts to ruin them. But yet
they foul'd out as undauntedly as Men in so much
Danger could, hiving Intelligence that the
Dauphin's Arms had profec'd in Normandy, and
that Aronchelet was latal in their Hands, by
which means King Henry would be obli'd to
send away part of his Forces to secure his Con-
quells there, which accordingly he did under
the Command of the Earl of Salvadour, who soon
regain'd the Town. At this the Citizens took
heart, and endeavouring to get another Captain of
great Courage and Experience, viz. the Seign.
ior de Offenbon into their Town, thought to
maintain their Ground against him; but being
unfortunate in their Attempts, their Captain as he
was Scaling the Walls falling into the Enem-
ies Hands they were so discomfritd that they
defair'd to hold out long, and began to carry
all their Goods into the Cattle. The King per-
ceiving their Fear made a general and fierce
Assault, and by dint of Sword obtain'd the Town.
The Cattle and Market-Place Filled held out, and
though the King batter'd it with his Cannon,
that it could not long stand out, yet they so in-
folently behav'd themselves to him by reproach-
ful Words and Abuses as if they had been Un-
conquerable, which was the Case, that when they
were obli'd to length to yield, they were reduc'd
to hold out. The Conditions as to Town be-
fore had been implo'd upon them, which were
to this Effect.

I. That the Market-Place of Meaux shall be
surrounded the Eleventh Day of May next ensuing,

II. That Monsieur Louis de Gaff, the Baffard of
Vaujours, the Captain of the Town, who had
barbarously spoil'd and oppressed the People of
the Country subjected to King Henry, Jethro de
Romaris, Balliff of the Town, and Fromage, and
Gauthier de Mericville, two Burgesses of the
Town, who had been Affidavits to their Captain
in his Outrages Acts should be left to King
Henry to be put to Death for their Cruelties as
he should think fit.

III. That Guichard de Siffy, Pierren de Luppe,
Robert de Geramine, Philip de Granaches, and John
de Ouray should be deliver'd into the King's Reg. 9.
Power, and so remain till they had forrund, or
caufe to be forrund all the Towns, Ca-
files, and Fortresses which they or any of them
held in France, and then to be diffiml'd and fe-
cured of Life and Limb.

IV. That all the English, Irish, Weifs, and Scots
that heretofore had been in the King's Service,
or were his Natural Subjects should be left to the
King's Will and Pleasure.

V. That all Persons who were found guilty of the
Duke of Burgundy's Mother (and many there
were in the Town who were accused of it)
should be left to Jullice for that barbarous
Crime.

VI. That all the rest of the Inhabitants of the
Town, as well Soldiers as Burgesses should also
be left to the King's Diffidal, their Lives only
excepted.

VII. That the Count de Coucemart who had
been Prisoner to Pierren de Luppe, but at the be-
ginning of this Siege was deliver'd up to King
Henry of Harfburg, and that the payment of a cer-
tain Ransom, should now have his Liberty with-
out the Payment of the said Ransom.

VIII. That all the Arms and Goods in the
Market shall be brought to One Place, and being
there safely guarded, an inventory of the fame
shall be exactly taken and given to King Henry.

X. That the Sacred Reliques found in the
Churches, with all the Church-Ornaments and
necessary Utencils shall be safely preferv'd and re-
store'd to the severall Churches.

X. That all the Prisoners, as well in the Mar-
ket-place as in any other Place within the Ju-
rdicition of the Town, should be fet at Liberty
Ransom-free, and be acquitt'd of their Promises.

XI. That no Man until the Day appointed for
forrunding of the Cattle shall go out of the
Market-place, nor any Persons admitted into it,
unles by the Allowance and Allignment of King
Henry.

XII. That these Articles shall be Subscrib'd
and seal'd by an Hundred of the Chief Inhabi-
tants of the Place, and Four and Twenty of
them, such as King Henry shall thinck fit to chuse
out from among them, be left as Hostages in his
Hands for a more certain Performance of this
Agreement.

The Articles 1. e are accordingly perform'd, and
the Market-Place of Meaux forrunded to the
King at the Time agreed on; whereupon he
sent some Selected Prisoners immediately Priso-
ners to Paris, Rouen and England. The Baffard of
Vaujours himself was hang'd upon the fame Tree
whereon he had formerly hang'd many English
and Burgundians the King's Friends, and his
Head set upon a Pole on the top of the same
Tree, his Standard, which used to be born be-
fore him in Brazil, being also put up by the
Chair of the Town and two Burgesses were sent
to Paris and there Executed. The Goods of the
Town found in the Market-place were distribu-
ted by the King himself among his Captains and
deferring Men. The Breaches of the Town and
Cattle were immediately order'd to be cover-
red, and a strong Garrifon left both in the
Town and Market-Place of Meaux able to de-
fend it from any sudden Assauls and Surprises.

The Surrender of this great and important Place
was such a Terror, as well as example to fuch
other Towns of his Strength that held out for the
Dauphin, that most of them immediate-
ly yielded to King Henry's Arms, viz. Croisy,
the Cattle of Pierre-poit, Marleau, Offenbon and
The Life and Reign of HENRY the Fifth.

many other Places, so that all the Isle of France, Bret, Laisin, and Champagne, became entirely subject to King Henry, who put his most faithful and valiant Captains into the most important Places of them, and then return'd to Rais de St. Vincennes to his Mother and Father the King and Queen, whom he daily welcomed, having escap'd the dread Dangers and Hazards of War.

Queen Katherine being now perfectly recover'd of all the Dilemmprs and Weaknesse of Child-bearing, was very desirous of enjoying the Company of King Henry, whose Glory founded over all the World, and accordingly having prepar'd all Things ready for her Voyage, took ship at Southampton and sail'd into France. John, Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of the Nation in the King's Absence, thinking it his Duty to take an equal, if not greater Care of the Queen than Kingdom, the being a more valuable Jewel than all earthly Power in the King's Eye, deputed his Brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to govern in his Absence, and with an Expedition of 80 Men conduc'd her over the seas to Harflefe, thence to his Prefence to Bobs de St. Vincennes where her Father and Mother resided. King Henry had forfeit't Matters after the Surrender of Metz, but hearing of the Arrival of his Queen, he hasten'd to meet her there. With great Joy was the receiv'd by her Parents, but with much greater by her Husband, who, with a State and Splendor equal to his Love and Affection welcome' her to his Embrace. They all stay'd a small Time at Bobs de St. Vincennes, and on Whitson-Eve, being May 30, remov'd all together to Paris, where King Henry in the Cattle of the Lawmen and the French King in the Hôtel de France, concluded the Feast in the greatest State and Magnificence. K. Henry and his Queen sitting upon that Festival in their Robes with their Crowns on their Heads, and keeping their Courts with a wonderful Confluence of People, while the King of France teem'd but like some Petty Prince or Noble-man to him. K. Henry govern'd and diptop't all Things, and the King of France contently suffer'd him to act as a Sovereign, as tho' while K. Henry's Power and Glory daily increas'd, his own could never be eclips'd: So much did the Honour of the French Nation increase.

The Dauphin, who had constant Intelligence of the Motions and Condition of King Henry, and his Army, was not careless of this Opportunity of regaining what had been conquer'd by him; for though the King had conquer'd all Picardy, Normandy, Bgy, the life of France and Champagne, yet still the greatest part of the Nation remained unconquer'd, and held with the Dauphin, whose Fortune though it was not equal to King Henry's, yet his Power and Greatness of Mind was not much inferior. The Dauphin therefore having an Army of 20,000 Men, and thinking his Adversary now taken up with Pleasures and Eafe, enter'd upon his Conquests, and takes with no Difficulty the small Town of La Charité upon the Loire. Being encourag'd by this Success he proceed'd and lay Siege to a Town call'd De Cace on the Same River, which not willing to undertake a Day fought for the Duke of Burgundy, ex- ceed to surrender to him if the Duke of Bur- gundy did not come to their Relief before Angoulême the 10th, to which the Duke of Burgundy, who lay not far off with a Body of Men, but much inferior to the Dauphin's, sent an and having appointed a Day fought for the Duke of Burgundy, King Henry, desiring, that he would send a greater Enforcem-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Fifth.

A.D. 1422.

Reg. 10.

He was laid in the Daft, the Glory of his Con- rage and Victories, Virtue and Goodness should live for ever: That though indeed much Blood had been shed in his Quarrel, and Blood-shed be one of the most crying Sins in the Eyes of Divine Justice, yet his Conduct in that kind, since he could pro- test in the Sight of God, that it was not any ambitious Desire of enlarging his Dominions, or of purchasing himself the Vain-glorious Name of a Conqueror, nor any other sinister Consideration had mov'd him to take in hand that Business, but his Recovery of his Right, to which he had an undoubted Right from his Ancestors by the Judgment of the most Learned and Conscientious both of the Clergy and Laity of his Realm, who both inflagitated and encourag'd him in the Prosecution of this War till he had gotten his due; affirming that, he was able to do without any Danger of God's Displeasure, or Peril to his own Soul; That he was sensible his untimely Death would create great Troubles to them, and all his People, be- cause he should leave them in such a Malignity of Business depending, and without his Prince to give them, who shall be able to govern in his stead, but the Consideration of the Fruity of all worldly Things ought to mitigate their Sorrow; for when we have done all we can, there will still be something wanting which we desire. Having thus comforted them concern- ing his own Death, he went on and gave them Directions about his Son; And first conjur'd them all to follow and observe the Council that he should give them. He earnestly entreat- ed them to love his Infant Son and their King, Price Henry, and to take care that by their Veneration made to him in Infancy may be made Able and Worthy to rule so great Kingdoms, and manage so great Scepters, and that they would comfort his Queen, the most afflicted Creature living, and love her with the same Affections as he had always done them while he lived. He exhorted them to live in Unity and Concord one with another, and con- tinue the League of Amity with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, which would conduc'd much to the Security of the French Dominions in their due Subjection, if by their Breaches among themselves they did not endanger all. He pro- posed to them the Title of Deputy-Governor of his Kingdoms in his Sons Minority, and desire'd they would quietly submit to them, their Bre- thren, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucetser, to govern England, and enjoy'd him not to depart out of the Realm upon any Occasion foever, till his Son was arriv'd at an Age able to allume the Government, and John, Duke of Bedford, with the Affiance of Philip, Duke of Burgun- dy, to govern his Kingdom of France, comman- ding them (who were both preferrit) to pro- fecute the Dauphin with all their Force, till they had either totally subdu'd him and his Party, or driven him out of the Realm, for said he, you will never be quiet so long as he hath any Power to disturb you, and it is abso- lutely necessary, that either you must Jole what you have, or he be driven out of all. Then he commanded them (however Time or Occa- sion might invite them to the contrary) that Reg. 10.

A.D. 1423.

Normandy which is the Ancient Inheritance of the Crown of England, and hath been purchas- ed and regain'd with so much Labour and Ex- pense, that this, he thought, should have been that Crown upon any Occasion whatsoever. Lastly, He enjoy'd them, that the Duke of Or- leans, the Earl of Exeter, and the Lord Cran- curt, should be keep'd Prisoners in England till his Son came of Age, and if they were set at Liberty they might raise greater Terror and Danger to France, than he and his had hitherto been able to do, or Policy enough to alay. The Noble Men full of Guilt fled silent about him, but promis- ed to perform all his Delires to the full.

The King having thus order'd the Matters of his Pre- cedent, that his Son might be well Educated and enjoy a prosperous Reign, betook him himself to prepare for the State which he was sensible he was just ready to enter upon, because of the Violence and Strength of his Dissenter; wherefore calling his Chaplains and Physicians he enquir'd of them in what manner it was possible he might remit the Danger which might happen to his Son, whereupon he order'd the former to do their Office, and fit his Soul for its Dissolution. He first made a very devout and penitential Confes- sion of his Sins, and then receiv'd the Holy Sac- rament, after which he caus'd the Seven Peni- tential Psalms to be recited, and as the Chaplain who read them mention'd the Name of (b) Teru- salem, he burst out into this Eulogy. Lord thou knowest that it was in my real Pursues to conquer Jerusalem, and refuse it to the Hands of the Infidels, if it had pless'd thee to lengthen out my Life, but thy Providence hath decreas'd my Days; Thy Will be done, and then before the Chaplain could read many Verfes further he gave up the Ghost: At Bais de St. Vincentes, on the Last Day of August, 1422. Living liv'd Thirty Six Years, and reign'd Nine Years, Five Months and Fourteen Days, (l) leaving a Son of Eight Months Old heir of all his Dominions, and the Tenth of his Kingdoms to his father committed to the Duke of Exeter. His Bowels were enter'd in the Church of St. Mary de Telfer, and his Body being embal- med was inclos'd in a Coffin of lead, and being accompany'd with all the Lords and great Men, as well as the Salary of England, and that of France, was brought with much Honour and Lamenta- tion to Paris, and there being set in the Church of our Lady, solemn Obsequies were say'd for him (k) several Days, and a great Distribution of Money given to the Poor. From thence he was remov'd to Rome, where his Body remain'd till all Things could be made ready for his Re- burial and Conveyance into England, and be- ing carry'd to Calvi he was convey'd to Dover, and from thence to London, where his Corps being set in St. Paul's Church, his Exequies were again celebrated. The Entrance into, and Pal- rage through London (l) was very Magnificent. All Elegies representing his Person as near as could be, the Head whereof was Mably Siver, was laid in a Bed upon the Top of the Hearse where his Body lay, painted curiously in Imita- tion.

(bk) The Place is in the Fifty Fifth Psalms, the Words, Build up the Walls Jerusalem (l), (k) The Reign March the 30th, April, 1422. He died the 30th of August, 1422. He reign'd Nine Years, Five Months and Eleven Days. We must here Corroborate a Contradiction in Mr. Goodwin's History of this King. He says, Line 1. He was Crown'd the 15th of April, 1413, in the Twentieth Year of his Age. And pg. 337. He die'd the 30th of April, 1422, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign; of which Life and Actions of his Age: If he was but Thirty Six Years Old in 1413, he certainly was but Thirty Five or Thirty Six in 1422.

(l) The Archbishop of Paris long the Mals de Scelus for his Soul.

(l) It is said in the Same Pomp from Ryan to Albicoll, Jerny, Montesell, Foulque and Calais, the Queen following at a League's Distance with a great Retinue. Kings, Monu- ment.
tion of a Man in costly Robes, on his Head was
an Imperial Crown of Gold and Precious
Stones, and in his Right-hand a Scepter, and in
his Left a Globe of Gold. The Covering of the
Bed was of Cloth of Gold, and a Canopy of ve-
ry great Value was born over his Body by cer-
tain Noble Men. His Corps was attended by the
King of Scots, all the Nobility, and most of the
Gentry of England besides those of France, who
likewise after the Exequies perform'd at St.
Paul's attended his Body to Westminster, where
it was enter'd among his Royal Ancesters in
November following, by S. Edward the Con-
queror, and his Effigies laid upon his Tomb erected
over the Body, where it remains still, but Headless,
the Covetonsheif of such as were employ'd to
sweep the Church clean from Superstition, at
the Dilution of the Monuments, being so great, that
they spared not the Monuments of the Dead to
advance their own Interests and Egos. But the
Preservation of that was the more necessary,
and so their Sacrifice the more intolerable
because they swept away those Monuments at
Richmond, viz. One of Carthusians, and another
of Monks and Names of St. Bridges which he had
erected and endow'd to say Three Solemn Ma-
fies for his Soul every Week for ever: So that
were not his Virtues and brave Actions more
lafting than Iron or Brass, his Memory had per-
ish'd e're this, but so long as either England or
France remain, or any Memoirs continue in them,
he will be Celebrated as the Glory of the One,
and the Terror of the Other. His Queen, who
not long after his Death came over into Eng-
land with her Son King Henry, was afterwards
marr'd to Owen Theodore or Tudor, a Gentleman
of Wales, one not Eminent either for his No-
bile Birth, (a) or Plentiful Fortune, but being of
a very graceful and beautiful Perfonage found
such Favour with her as to receive him into her
Bed, and by him had Three Sons, Edmund, Jaf-
per, and Owen. Edmund was after by her Interest
made Earl of Richmond, and marr'd to Margaret,
Daughter and Heiress to John Beaufort, Duke
of Somerset, (b) natural Son of John of Gaunt,
Duke of Lancaster, and by him she was Mother
of Henry the Seventh. Jasper was made Earl of
Pembroke by K. Henry the Sixth, and requited his
Favour by continually adhering to him against
the Family of Turk in all his Wars. Q. Katherine
forv'ld Owen, and retreated into the Nun-
mery of Peresandy in Surrey, where the dy'd in
the Fourteenth Year of her Son Henry's Reign,
and was bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in St. Pe-
ter's Church at Westminster. Her Corps was
taken up in King Henry the Seventh's Reign, her
Grand-Child, and set by her Husband's Tomb,
where it still remains unbury'd to be seen and
touch'd by any that please. Thus ended the
most glorious King Henry, and his Beautiful
Queen Katherine.

Having given the Reader a View of this glori-
ous Reign, it may be thought Prepossessing to
add a Character of a King whose Victories and Reg. 10.

(a) He was defended from Calverley the last King of Britain, of the Britifh Race.

(b) He was not natural Son to John of Gaunt, but Son to John, Earl of Somerset, who was Son of Kt. Stuward by the Duke of Lancaster, and all the Children of that Duke by that Lady were Legitimated in Parliament after the Duke had married her.
The Remarkable Occurrences, in the Reign of Henry the Fifth, 
Are related among

The Actions of his Life, in the same manner as the Author has done in the History of his Father, and in all the King's Reigns which he wrote from Richard the Second down to Henry the Seventh; only some few memorable Things which he omitted, we shall insert in their proper Places.

On the Day of his Coronation there happen'd a Tempest of Wind, Snow and Hail, the Snow was most taken Notice of because 'twas most Prevalent, on which the People made various Superflitious Observations. Some thought it presagi'd, that the New King would be Cold and Negligent in the Administration of the Government; or Wrong and Oppressed them, others took it for a good Omen, that having dispell'd those Clouds of Vice which had darken'd the Nation, Brightness and Serenity would succeed the Storm.

'Tis no Wonder that a Reign so Glorious as this should produce a great Number of Hero's; 'Twould be endless to put down all the Illustrious English Names that shone in the History of the Conquest of France: Some of the Chief, and those who distinguisht themselves in our Duty to mention, as Thomas, Duke of Clarence, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, the King's Brothers, of whom the Two latter made greater Figures in the Reign of his Son Henry the Sixth. Thomas, Duke of Exeter, and John, Earl of Somerset, his Uncles, Princes worthy of their Relation to Henry the Conqueror of France. Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Mountague, Earl of Salisbury, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont, the Lord Bardolf, the Lord Fitz-lyd, Sir John Elydfiff, Sir Thomas Eppingham, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir James Harrington, Sir Philip Hall, Sir John Cornwall, Sir Lewis Reddauf, Sir Gilbert Ungherville, and the Brave Welf Captain David Gau, whom King Henry Knighted, when he was dying of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Battle of Agincourt, fighting in Defence of his Royal Person.

As the King was great in War, so he was 'by his Favour to Men of Learning that he would have been a Promoter and Patron of the Arts of Peace, if he had liv'd to have given Rest to his Armies. He was himself bred at Oxford under the Tuition of his Uncle Henry Beaumont, Bishop of Winchester, and took delight in the Conversation of Thomas Radburn, Bishop of St. David's, Stephen Patrington, Bishop of Chichester, and John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, Men noted for their Learning and Eloquence: Besides these, there were many others Eminent in his Time, viz.

Dr. Alan of Law in Norfolk, Prior of the Carminates in that Town, a Divine and Philosopher.
John Segar in Norwich, a Poet. He taught Politic Learning in Norwich, and wrote against the Abus of Poetry by writing Lewd Verses.
Dr. Robert Bale, Prior of the Monastery of Carminates in Norwich. He was Noted for his Abhoration in the Disputes between the Wickliffites and Papists.
Dr. John Lush, a Nat. Wood says, he was a great Friend, and Bale, that he was a violent Enemy of the Wickliffites. See Wood's Athen. Oxon., and Bale, de Script. Britan.
Richard Caifer in Norwich, a secret Friend to the Wickliffites.
Richard Durstbarum, a Famous Disputant.
William Taylor, A.M. a Zealous Wickliffite. He wrote a Book, De vos invidiendo Sanctor, and was a Martyr, being burnt in Smithfield in the last Year of this King, whose only Blot was the blood spilt in his Time by the Papists to support their Idolatry, and the King out of Bigotry or Interrest too much encourag'd their Cruelty.
Dr. William Lyndwood, a Civilian, Author of the Book call'd, Provinciae seu Constitutiones Angliae.
Barholomaeus Floravus, call'd so from a Book he wrote, which he Latiniz'd, Floravus.
William Racebourn, an Excellent Mathematician. Robert Magcally, one of the English Deputies at the Council of Conscience, and Bishop of Hereford.
John Parvey, A.M. Wickliff's Pupil, a Man of extraordinary Learning. He wrote a Comment upon the Revelations, publish'd afterwards by another without the Author's Name, in which he afferted, that the Pope was the Whore mention'd in the Apocalypse. He dy'd in Prison. He wrote many other Treatises.
Beztrous Fitzallen of Lincolnsire, a Philosopher.
John Biffen, one of the Best Orators of his Time.
John Leland, Senior, a Grammarian and Poet.
Dr. John Bale, Learned in the Greek Tongue.
Dr. Richard Otterburn, a violent Enemy to the
Lollards.
Peter Clark, A. M. He disputed against Thomas
Walden in the Schools at Oxford, vindicating
Wickhiff's Doctrine, he fled for it to Bohemia
and dy'd there.
Roger of St. Ives, He wrote against Sir John Old-
castle.
John Tarts, a Logician.
Roger Whitaple, Bishop of Carlisle.
John Wayneffere, a Divine and Philosopher.
Richard Fleming, He was first a great Favourer
of Wickhiff's Doctrine, but was brib'd off by
the Bishoprick of Lincoln.
Nicholas Pott, of Merton-College in Oxon. He
disputed with Richard Fleming, while the lat-
ter was a Wickhiff.
Thomas Cranly, Arch-Bishop of Dublin, a Poet,
being Distressed by the Irish Rebels, he
wrote an Epistle in Latin Verse to King Hen-
ry for Succours.
Thomas Walden, He was sent to the Council of
Conscience to Dispute with the Hugones, being
a violent Papist.
Thomas Otterburn, a Franciscan-Priest.
Dr. John Langden, Bishop of Rochester.
Robert Graffale.
John Shirburn wrote Chron. Britan.
John Henfield, a Monk of Battle-Abbey, and Pe-
ter Bafful, Esquire, the King's Chamberlain,
who wrote his Life, were Historians.

And that Brave Soldier, Courtier and Christi-
an, Sir John Oldcastle, who defended himself
at his Tryal with more Learning and Elo-
quence than all the Doctors his Adverfaries
accused him with. He wrote Three Pieces.
The First, To the Parliament of England.
The Second, The Complaints of the Husband-
men. The Third, A Confession of Faith.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY VI.

A.D. 1422.

Reg. 1.

Henry the Sixth, the Son of that most Heroic Prince Henry V. but rather of his Piety than Courage, was left Heir of the Crowns of England and France when he was not above Nine Months Old, by the untimely Death of his Father, and accordingly was Proclaim’d King of all his Dominions, August the 31st, 1422. both at London and Paris. (a) The State of Affairs was so Intricate and Troublesome, that it required a Prince of equal, if not greater Magnanimity and Conduct than the Nation had lately lost; but so great was the Religious Respect which the People then had to the Right of Succession, (b) that tho’ a much fitter Perfon might have been Elected for the Government, yet they chose rather to submit to a Child the Rightful Heir, than to the most Erare Hero who wanted that Lawful Claim. And indeed the late King Henry who was as able to preserve a Kingdom by his Wisdom, as to get it by his Valor, had taken such effectual Care upon his Death-Bed to supply all the Deficiencies in Government during the Minority of his Son, by putting in sufficient and able Deputyes in both Kingdoms, as well as Tutors for the Education of his Person in all Virtuous and Princely Endowments and Accomplishments, that instead of One he may seem to have left us many Kings. For he made his Elder Brother John, Duke of Bedford Regent of France, and his Younger Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester Governor of England during the Noven. Age of his Son, both Perfon’s of that Wisdom, Valor and Integrity, that as they knew how to manage so great Trusts with the greatest Skill and Fidelity, and uphold the Interests of the Crown in their own Family without an Ambitious Unpartition or it, so they were both admitted to these High Stations with the general Approbation and Content of the Nobility and Commons of the Nation. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and his Brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester were appointed Guardians of his Perfon, and to take care of his Education, as soon as he was capable of any Impressions of Honour and Goodness; which Choice they that his Royal Father, who indeed himself was the perfect Model of a good Prince, accounted Religion as necessary for a Prince, as Policy and Martial Skill, and in the mean time he remain’d under the Care and Government of his Mother Queen Katherine, who with the Indulgence and Kindness fit for so great an Infant and so good a Mother, nourish’d him in his Child-hood, till he was Old enough to receive the Instructions of his Wiser Tutors and Guardians.

Due Care being thus taken of the King’s Royal Perfon, and the Government being put into the Hands of so Wise and Good Men, Necessities of State requir’d speedy Action; and tho’ greater Things might have justly been allow’d to their Grief for the Loss of a loving Brother, and so great a King, yet since Ceremony might bring irrecoverable Damages upon both Nations, the Two Dukes upon whom the Charge of them lay were forced to offer some Violence to Nature, and betake themselves immediately to the Management and Settlement of Public Affairs. The Duke of Gloucester being as defirous of Duke of to pleas-e as benefit the Nation, and sensible that Gloucester’s Government is always establish’d upon the good Council, made Choice in the first Place of such of the Nobility to be his Council, as were more Eminent for their Wisdom and Virtue, and provided such Under-Magistrates, as by their Justice and Impartiality might give a general Satisfaction to the People, and by their Fidelity and Loyalty might secure the Confinement, and preserve the Peace under their Infant Kingdom. The Duke of Bedford also was equally Duke of of and diligent and careful to preserve the English in France, which being hardly imposible to be done but by the subduing of the Dauphin (as his older Brother K. Henry the Fifth in his dying Speech had order’d) he kept on Foot the fame Forces which he had left in France, and with the fame Zeal and Courage fought to support both him and his Adherents, which no doubt he might have done, had not that fatal Alteration, the Death of the French King Charles the Sixth, so Charles he soon happen’d, for he dy’d within Fifty Three Days after King Henry his Son-in-law, on October the 21st following. The Life of K. Charles was many ways an Advantage to the English; for tho’ the Settlement made by him upon K. Henry and his Heirs after his own Death, could be reasonably thought of little Validity against Charles the Dauphin’s Claim, because he was so differen...
per'd in his Understanding by his Difcafe, and 11.22. to over-rul'd by his Quee, who to revenge her own Quarrel, valu'd not her Son's Right, that no Act of his in these Circumstances could be of any Lifting Obligation, yet so long as he was alive, and had confirm'd the Title of the Eng- liih to him they had already made Arms, and joy'd farther with them to fubdue his Son, the English met every where with more Affli- tion, their Proceedings were more justifiable, and the Opposition that the Dauphin and his Party made against them, thus joy'd with his Father, look'd like a more truly unbaffled Rebellion, and fo no doubt was accounted by many, who other- wise would have affilfed him; and though they thought it a glorious Act to relieve their King- dom out of the Power of the Conqueror, as the Dauphin rightly pretended, yet their Confidences would not indufe them to engage in that Action, on which carry'd fo great Sin, under the fair Pretences of recovering their Country and Liberty, as Rebellion is; for they could not fight for the Son, but against their Father, nor have their Country from the Conqueror without Wrong to their own People. The Death of Charles now released them from these dubi- ous Perplexities, and put a new Spirit into the French, who were weary of the English Power and long'd for Liberty.

His Fren- zy, and the Cause of it.

Charles the French King dy'd at Paris, and was bury'd at St. Dennis, after he had been a Crowned King of France Forty Six Years (as according to the French History, Forty Two Years.) He was a Prince of that Excellent Disposition and Temper in his Younger Days, while his Under- standing was clear and vigorous, and govern'd his People so well, that he was universally lov'd by his Subjects, who therefore call'd him, since Roy Charles le bien ainsj, i.e. K. Charles the Well- belov'd: But the Happines which France might have promis'd her felv under fo good a Prince, was soon eclips'd by the Difcafe which feiz'd him within four Years after he came of Age, thro' a great Fright, which he was put into as he rode thro' the Forrest of (c) Adam by the fudden Appearance of a Man (or rather a Spirit in Human Shape) which boldly laying hold of his Horse's Bridle and fapping him, faid, O King ride no further, but return back immediately, look at the World, and you will find a fpright of your Night or Fortune, or praiz'd the King; and tho' his Guards forced the Man by Blows to let go his Bridle, yet his fudden Disappearance, as if he were more than a Man, made fuch a frong Impreffion upon his Mind, that he fell into a Fit of Frenzy, which plainly difcover'd it fell to be nothing elfe but the Effed of those Fear's, and the extreme Jelofy of Trefon, who had conceiv'd in his Mind from the former Words; for he look'd upon all about him as Traitors, and with all his might would strike any Perfon that he could come to, with any thing he could lay hold of. In which bifable Condition, having fpend short Intervals, he reign'd Twenty Nine Years, or rather was govern'd by Factions and Parties, for he was in no wise able to govern himfelf. This Miffor- tufe brought many Troubles upon the Kingdom, creating frong Divifions among his Nobles, and giving his Enemies an Opportunity to encroach upon his Territories, which the English had done fo effectually, that he was in his Life-time be- came a King only in Name, tho' not without his own Confeft, and So was his Kingdom and Reigns in the Name of a Prince, without ever being a King of England. Death was never a greater Happines to any Perfon than to him; for though he had nothing blame-worthy in him but his Affliction, yet that made his Life trou- blemof to himfelf as well as others, that nothing could be greater to his Wifh, which re- folv'd him to a right Mind, a fweet Repofe, and eternal Happines at once. After his Death his Kingdom was immediately feiz'd on by Two Noi- vals, who with equal Zeal, and as they thought, or pretended, Title, fought to eftablifh them- selves Kings of it. The Duke of Bedford almoft as soon as he had given up the Ghost cauf'd his Nephew Henry VI, then King of England, to be proclaim'd in Paris after this Manner. Two He- ralds at Arms in their ufual Formalities, and many Nobles to attend them, were fent into the molt eminent Streets of that City, and having cry'd out, King Charles is dead, another immediately faid with a loud Voice, God save King Henry the Sixth, God give a long and happy Life to Henry the Sixth, (4) King of France and England, Our Sovereign Lord: And after the fame manner he proclaim'd King in other Parts of the Realm. Duke, Duke of Touraine, com- monly call'd the Dauphin, on the other side was also proclaim'd and crown'd King of France by his Party at Parchers, as being Legitimate Heir to the Deceafed King, and by the Laws and an- cient Edicts of the Nation as well as Nature, the lawful Heir to the Crown of France. The Eng- lish indeed at this Time were grown fo Powerful, and had gotten fo large Dominions in France, that they devir'd this their Competitor, and call'd him in Contemps, The King of Berry, be- cause his Fortun'es were at fo low an Ebb at his Father's Death, that little of France was in his Power, but the City of Bourges in Berry and the Territories adjoining, yet the Juflice of his Ti- tle, his undaunted Courage in his work Condi- tion, and confant Reolution to recover his Right, and reforfe the Liberties of France, were fuch Engagements of him towards his People, that it foon appear'd that the Henry had large Territories, Charles had moft Hearts, which tho' under fome Fears and Confinements, yet as Op- portunity offer'd fell to by Degrees to him, that the English were quite expell'd France, and Charles regain'd all his Hereditary Rights and an absolute Crown over that Kingdom, yet without fome Difficulty and Struggling with a various Fortune, as the History of the following Years will fiew us.

The great Change which had thus happen'd by the Death of King Charles, the bell Friend of the English, much awaken'd the vigilant Mind of the Duke of Bedford, who could early foresee the approach of the English from the prefent King, who was not more Contemplative to others than Formidable to him. He knew that:

(c) Murray the moft Averneck Hiflorian among the French writes, that he fell Diftrufed by this Means. He was going upon an Expedition against the Duke of Burgofry, and as he rode on a very hot and fury Day arm'd from Head to Foot, to drop a deep, and the Tyre of his Agen try as violence upon the Head of the Lance of his Helmet, which not only awaken'd him, but throw him into fuch a Fury that quite bereft him of his Sensib, infomuch, that he fell upon all that were about him, and had certainly killed some of them had he been prepared five or six Minutes after. His Deliverance was from the night, when Difancing in a Mask, the Cloaths of his Fellow Masters being d Rufh'd with Pitch and Robin, took fire, and before they could be muffrid they were burn'd or Rufh'd, the King was mast in a Hug of the Flames by a Lady of Mainclain Covered with fuch a Quantity of fire that he never dined that he never escape the Title of his Underadding:

(c) As King of England, call'd Henry the Sixth, and as King of France, Henry the Second.
the English Vexes could never be made safe to the
French Necks, and that since now by the Death of
the King, there had been no Boud to hold them to
their Allegiance, tho' never so often sworn and
promised, but Conquest, they could expect Sub-
mission from them no longer, than either Fear or
Lack of Opportunity could prevent their Revolt.
It put him upon all the more to secure the
Dominions of his Valleys, which he was fable
could not be always effective, yet he hop'd it
might preserve them to some advantageous Ac-
cidents. And the First Thing he did was to re-
force the Army which K. Henry his Brother
had left in France, and place over it such Gener-
s as were not only eminent for their
Loyalty, but ready to undertake the boldest At-
tempts to maintain the Rights of their Coun-
try. With part of which he well fortified all the
Garrisons on the Confines of the English Pale, and
the rest he kept on Foot to oppose any Indus-
try Invasion upon them by the Dauphin or his
Parties. Then he asserv'd all the Nobility, as
well French as English to him at Paris, and hav-
ing in agrave Speech reminded them of their
Duty and Allegiance to K. Henry VI. their un-
doubted Sovereign, to whom they had not only
oblig'd themselves to be faithful, but could
never be forsworn, it was contrary to the
Honour of their Oath made to his Father, and were
yet'd by their present Interests; for as by their
voluntary Subjection they were now fitted in the
quiet Enjoyment of their Honour and E
bates, so by their Revolt they must necessarily
expose themselves to all the Miseries of a re-
new'd War, which they must expect would be
so much the more Mercilefs, by how much a
treacherous Friend is always accounted as the
worf of Enemies, he persuaded them to renew
their Faith to the King, and take a faithful Oath
of Fidelity to him. This Advice was readily com-
ply'd with by all the Nobles and others present,
who did their Homages to him in the King's
Behalf, and took a solemn Oath of Allegiance
to him, which being so good a President to all
of inferior Degrees, the Regent imposed the like
Oath upon all Persons as well English as French
within K. Henry's Dominions in France. Besides
death, he took the most effectual Care he
could to keep Normandy, the Ancient Inheri-
tance of the English, in Subjection, by encour-
aging the Nobility, and placing strong Garrisons
among them, and that he might effectually the
English Sovereignty as firmly as he could among
the French, he call'd in all the Ancient Coin and
had it new made and fanned with the English
Arms quarter'd with those of France, rigidly
forbidding, that any Money coin'd of the late
K. Charles should be Current in K. Henry's Do-
minions, and ordering, that no Money should
pass in Payment, but what had both the English
and French Arrows upon it. Two Measures were
Coin'd as Bodes of the English Sovereignty, One
of Gold, call'd a Saloon, of Twenty Two Shillings
Value, and another of Silver, call'd a Blount, of
Eight PENCE Value. Thus did the Regent as wise-
ly and cautiously provide for the Continuance of
the English and Dominions of France as Human
Frudence could devise, so that whatever
might after fall out, he could secure himself from
any Negligence or default. But the Regent's Care was not thought suffi-
cient to maintain so considerable a Part of the
English Dominions in France as France was defi-
ately widely ac-
counted ; the Duke of Clonscewey who was equal-
ly concern'd to defend his nephew's Right, thought it a Subject fit for the Concliation of a
Parliament, which he summons'd for that End to
meet, Novemb. 9. The Defeat of their Meeting
being only to provide for the War in France, lit-
tle of Publick Concern was enacting, but what
Necelility requir'd, and therefore only Three Acts
of that Nature palled, viz. 1. To invest in the
Lords of the King's Council, a Power to appoint
Officers and Work-men to coin Gold and Sil-
er, in as many Places as shall seem to them con-
venient to be employed. 2. For an Act to
convene within Three Years, to proclaim in their Jurisdictions all Stat-
tutes in Force concerning Purveyors, that they
may not abuse the People's Ignorance or Credul-
ity in Buying. 3. To banish certain Irish Men
out of the Realm, who having taken Sanctuary in
One of the Towns of Munster, were the
Heinous Disorder in the Nation to the great
Disturbance of the adjoining Countries. Mof-
t of the Seillion was spent in contriving Sup-
plies for the carrying on the Conquest of France,
and it was at length unanimously granted, that
for every Sack of Wood exported, five Nobles
should be paid to the King for Three Years next
ensuing; and an Act was made at the same time
for an Allowance to be given the main'd and
decept Soldiers, who had serv'd K. Henry V in
his Wars with France, out of the Territories
conquered by their Affiliation, and Spoils taken in
the Wars with France, while the late King's Son
the Duke of Clonscewey rais'd a Body of able
Men, and in the Spring sent them over to as-
sist his Brother against the Power of the New
French King, who had reason to apprehend would
be Struggling for his Right, as indeed they soon
found he did. 

While the English Governments were thus pro-
viding to secure their Conquests in France, K.
Charles then call'd King of France was no less endea-
vr'd to raise an Army to regain his Kingdom,
whereof he had left little more than the Title,
for scarce any Province adher'd to him but Lower
Normandy, and that able to do him little Service, were
being allu'd on the one Hand by John De Gue
dor, Chadulon, Prince of Orange, and on the other by
the Lord Rocheforou, Gouernour of the Dioccese
of Velay, Friends to the English; but yet the low-
est Ebs of Fortune could not make him despair,
having as he frequently used to say, God and
Encouragements were his All, and that he would
continue to lay the Foundation of his en-
suming Power, and with such an Army as he could
pick up, which he put under the Command of the
Count de la Fert, encountered the Pr. of Orange,
and Lord Rocheforou, whom he easily overcame,
being but weak in themselves, and at too great
a Distanse to receive any timely Aid from the
English. This Province being thus fettled, he
put it under the Government of Charles de Bou-
vain, Count de Clermont a Prince of the Blood, and
as grateful to the People as faithful to himself,
and being encourag'd by his Success he return'd to
France to proceed in his Affairs, and rais-
se an Army great enough for his Design, if it could
be done with all his Intercists. The Scots were
The Scots his Friends, as they had always been to the Kings of
France, but he was forced to in desire a Charles
Condition to give them greater Encouragements
than they had been promised by some of their Nobles
to the greatest Offices about him, as Charles
Stewar' Earl of Roche, he made Couable of
France, and gave him the Lordship of Achnavl
which his Poffeity long enjoy'd, and James, Earl of
Gloucester, Marital, and besides choosing One
Regiment of the King's Foot to them of which (which is con-
tinued to this Day). Those Favours show'd to the
Scots gain'd them readily to his Affiliation, and
made them not sparing in lending him Aid to
recover that Dignity, which they were ready
to believe by their Earnests would be their Gain
Duke of Bedford makes Alliances for the Safety of King Henry

as well as his own. He first alfo to his Friends into Italy and Spain to require their Aid, who were not backward to his Desires, but lent him their assistance. Both the Hes for Fear of his Friends at Home (of which he had fome Perfons of Note in every Province of his Kingdom) that they alfo fet all Engines at work to draw off the People from their Subjection to the English, and inveigh to recover their Anci- ent Freedom and Rights, in which they were fo Successful, that in a few Weeks they had gathered a great Army able to compafs their De- figns, and were affurd prevalently of the Fidelity and Obedience of many considerable Towns, yea, even of the great part of the Parifhians therein more important than ever before to be done; yet would be ready as Opportunity should offer to act for his Advantage, which perhaps they should be the better able to do by being reputed Friends to the English. Thus did the Affairs of the Two rival Kings stand.

Henry had moft of the Kingdom of France, but Charles had the moft of the French. Henry was fear'd moft, but Charles loved beft. Henry was forc'd to truft his Enemies, but Charles to fight againft his Friends: And then it was cafe to go on which way the Victory would at length turn; for what could be more powerful than the Church? She can not undermine, and what Prince fo Weak as not to conquer where his Enemies are loath to strike and glad to yield, thereby to throw the Victory into the Hands they have it.

The D. of Bedford with a watchful Eye obfer- ved the Growth of the Dauphin's Interest, learn- ed that he would foon be, what he had been once, the Title of, King of France, unless all speedy Means were ufed to curb him in the Beginning; and that he had a very good Force by him, yet he found it neceffary to strengthen himfelf, by a ftrict Alliance with fuch neighbouring Princes as might prove moft prejudicial to the English by joying with their Adverfaries: Whereupon he invited the Duke of Burgundy, Peter, Duke of Brestayne, with his Brother Arthur, Earl of Rich- mond, John, Prince of Orange, and Amadus, Duke of Savoy to an Intediate at Amsies, and there engag'd some of the Offendive, defence five with them againft Charles the pretended King of France. And that he might oblige them firmly to hold to their Promis, he marry'd Ann the Duke of Burgundy's Sister, and the Earl of Richmond his other Siter Margaret. From this Co-Alliance sprung almost an irreffible Oppofition to all the Pretenders of Charles to the Crown, for they all agreed to guard their feve- ral Parts of France againft him and his Anfe- rents, and to keep fo firct a Watch upon all his Notiges, that he fhould never be able to make any confiderable Reditance. The Duke of Burgundy undertook the Defence of Picardy, and put in Tournai of Luxemburg to drive out the Dauphi- njisfs (as they were call'd) out of the Towns they had poflfefted themfelves of. The Earl of Salisbury was plac'd with a Brong Body of Men in Chamtpays and Brie, not only to opprefs any Infurrections, but keep the Parifhians in awe. The Valiant Earl of Warwick was fent into Guenee to take thofe Towns that held out for the Dauphin, and the Prince of Orange was fent with a good Army to opprefs his Interefts in Languedoc and Dauphinie. Thus did the Duke of Bedford pro- vide fo as to defign to reftor his Fiefdoms, and re- opole, and made as firm Alliances to uphold and to maintain K. Henry's Dominions, as Charles had to regain them, fo that they feem'd alfo an equal Match, fince able to subdue each o- ther, unless fome special Decree of Heaven should turn the Scale, as it may seem to have done in Favour of the French, as the following Battle will manifest.

Both Parties being thus provif'd for Action, they were as eager to try their Fortune One again- another, the other, that they were obliged to fit themselves for it. The English are faid by the French HilbrianS to have begun the Game, and the Eng- French by the English, Report perhaps having out- run the reality a little: fo that from this Point it is credible, that they began to Allain each oth- ers Territories with equal Fury and Courage almofl at the fame Time. The English believing Batast in Guenee, and took it without much Diffi- culty, being a small and weak City; but Charles undertook the more important Attempt to the Siege of Pont-Audrex, a fair City, then well for- tified by the English, and standing upon the River Seine at a convenient Difaftance from Paris, where he was fetted he had many Friends who would be helpful to him, if he could make himfelf Mather of a Place fit for Communication with them. The eageur Dife he had to gain this City made him carry on the Siege with the grea- ter Diligence and Severity; for having obtain'd it by Force before the English could send any Re- lief, he put the whole Garrison to the Sword. The Duke of Bedford was fnail of the inconvenience of this Loss, and must have reafon to fear the more, for be- cause he found the Parifhians more uneasy under his Government, and endeavouring by all Means to get him out of their City, under a Pretence, that the adjoining Counties were troublesome and hurtful to them, which he eafily difcovered was only contriv'd to declare his own Life without Danger, and therefore refolved upon the Recovery of it whatever he could fob him. The Domes- tics, Earl of Salisbury, a Perfon not inferior to the moft Eminent Roman Captains, was thereupon fent with a ftrong Army to relieve it; but because K. Charles was fuppof'd to know the Garrifon was unable to make any confiderable Defence, and he was too loth to lofe the Advantage he had got, he fent a Relief to them under the Com- mand of the Earl of Aumari the Conifable of France, and the Lord Archby, who having with much Efffort reafon, and with a very ftrong garrifon, endeavoured by a paich'd Battal to raise the Siege. The English as valiantly under their brave Commander main- tained the Siege, and so bloody and fierce Fight begun, which concluded afle four Hours in favour of the English, and with a great Loss to the French, for there were flain 1800 French Men, and to 2000 among thofe few. The late- veral great Men and Commanders, viz. of the French, the Earl of Lofkife, Conings and To- naire, the Lords Comair de Camaron, De Forc and Montomaroncy, the Hands and of Armance and For- refis, and the Vifcount of Tauran, and of the Scots, the Lord of Sir John Bell- gary, Sir John Turken, Sir John Holiberton, Sir Robert Liffes, Sir William Dongfa, Sir Alexander Ham, and many others. The Conifable who had loft his Eye in the Battel was taken Preifor, with the Earl of Ventabour, Sir Alexander Mel- din, Sir Lewis Pery, and 2200 common Soldiers. They were not fubdued to all the Efforts of their Commanders, as Sir John Grey, Sir William Haff, and Sir Gilbert Hafla, one of their Mar- shals of the Field, and 2100 common Soldiers. This Misfortune of the French this Attempt was dejlrufted, who were Spe跟着 of the Battel, that they immediately surrended the Town upon their Conditions.

1. That the French Garrifon should depart out of the Town without Damage or Impediment.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1423.

Reg. 1.

II. That all the Riches of the Town, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and the like should be a Spoil for the Duke of Bedford, and put into his Pocket.

III. That all Persons who had serv’d Henry V. in his Wars against France, or had sworn to a final Peace with the English, as also all the Soldiers within the Garrison, that were either Scots, Irish or English, should be left to the Mercy of the English; and that the People of Armor Fealty and Hovage to King Henry should have their Liberties given them immediately without Ransom.

IV. That if there were any Perfon found in the Town who was either actually guilty of the Death of the Duke of Burgundy, or had been compounding any ways to his Death, that he should have no Benefit of this Agreement, but should be deliver’d up to the Regent to be punish’d, with some other Articles of less Importance.

The Recovery of this Town was of great Advantage to the English. Duke of Bedford punifheth the Parisians, and orders the Earl of Suffolk and Sir John Talbot in the Field.

During this Remission of the Death of the Prince of Wales, several Affairs were transacted in France by the English and French, many Things not unworthy Observation happen’d in England, but none of so fatal an Influence as the Marriage of the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which shall be more distinctly related in its Order. November the 7th, the Body of the Heroick Prince King Henry V. of England brought out of France, was bury’d in the Abby-Church of Westminster at the Feet of St. Edward, as is more largely related in his Life. About March the 2d was William Tailour a Sacred Priest, and Minifter of Brifol burnt for Hereticke in Smithfield. He had been accused at the High Court of Forty Erroneous Opinions contrary to the Doctrines of the Prefent Church, and infecting the People of Brifol with them by his Preaching, viz. 1. That whether good or bad parts of Holy Scripture are about his Neck to defend him from any Danger or Injurious Behaviour, or to free him from any bodily Diffigure or other Maladys (as was frequently done) takes away the Honour due unto God only, and gives it to the Devil. 2. That no Human Creature, neither Man nor Woman, is to be Worship’d. 3. That the Saints in Heaven are not to be Worship’d or Invocated. For these Doctrines he was pronounced to appear before Thomas Arundell then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth; and alfo’ they were then condemn’d as Erroneous and Heretical, yet because he confess’d that he had at any time deliver’d them as his own Opinions or Senfe, but only pronounced the fame to argue about them, and with all promis’d, that he never would hold or favour any such Opinions hereafter, he was diffimul’d from his Imprisonment upon his Cofidary Earl, and Security given into Channery for his Good Behaviour for the Future. But he was not fet at Liberty long, when a freth Accusation was brought against him under his own Hand, concerning some Heretical Doctrines which he had vented in some Letters written to Mr. Smith a Priest of Brefoil, wherein he being at the same Time Provoked, The Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fielfd, and many other Persons, to petition any Supernatural Gifts, ought to be made to God only, and to pray to any Creature on that Account is Idolatry. These Affections being examin’d by the Convocation then held by Henry Chekeley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in St. Paul’s Cathedral, they were condemn’d as Heretical, and he being Sentence’d to Death as a laps’d and incorrigible Heretick, was first degraded of his Priestly Office, and deliver’d to the Secular Power to suffer the Punishment of his Crime, which he did in Smithfield with great Conflancy and Christian Resolution. Whether the shedding of Blood was good or prouder, and many divine Displeasures to influ’d the Punishment on the Nation that follow’d, is not for Us to determine, yet it was certainly the Effect of some Sin of like Nature, from Midsummer to the End of September, there fell every Day such Quantities of Rain, that the Harvest was in great Danger of being utterly loft want of Seasonable Weather to have the Corn in; yet so great Diligence was us’d, that Wheat at London was not sold for more than Eight Shillings a Quarter, and Malt than Five Shillings. But the most Unfortunate Accident in England was the Mariage of the Duces of Grafton and Aftecfer.

The French Hislorians say, That by this Match Providence, who had for a long time frowned upon the French, for their Sins began to fell that he had some remaniders of Favour for them, beginning now to revive the French Monarchy again, and reinforce them to their Ancient Liberties and Privileges; upon this Occasion, Jacques or Joqueline, late Daughter and Heire to William of Barcia, was by the Death of her Father left the Government of the Earloms of Henand and Holland, two large and populous Countries. She was marry’d to John, Earl of March, but he had a Pretence that he was too near Relation to marry her (or as others, for his own Usage of her) he came into England, and being a Woman of an Ambitious Humour fought her a New Husband. The Duke of Grafton, William the Son of King Henry, having been yet knowing that his Glory would have a Period by his nephew’s Age, fought to make himself an Absolute Prince by marrying her, and accordingly he became his Wife to the great Displeasure, not only of the Duke of Broan, but
A.D. 1423.
Reg. 1.
The Duke of Burgundy his Father's Brother's Son, whose Friendship, it had raised and established the Power of the English in France, to his Emancipion which was caused by this Quarrel, prov'd the utter Deftruction of the English Interest there.

The Valiant Earl of Salisbury having lately recurr'd to that high Degree of Honor and Interest, began this Year with many brave Attempts, which were attended with the desired Success, so that the Ruin of K. Charles seem'd almost unavoidable; For he believ'd and took a strong hold in the Towns of Vertus, and Epernay in Champagne, with many other smaller Towns that were either affrighted or allure'd by their Example. But Montaiguion, a strong City in the Country of Briz c't him a good deal more Time and Labour; for it held out the Siege above Five Months, and was at last gain'd with no small Loss to his Army; but the Victorious Triumph which the English made at the taking receiv'd their Pains and Losses abundantly, for the Conditions of Surrender were very Honourable (which the French Historians call an Engagement).

1. That the Town with all its Treasure and Riches should be resign'd to the English, their Lives and Honors sav'd.
2. That the Captains of the Town, Present de Cojin, and of the Caftle Guide Burguis, both Drumlers, should swear never to bear Arms again'd the English on this side the River Loire.
3. That all the Soldiers should be left to the Mercy of the Regent, and should go to the Tourmelles in Poris, where the Regent then relied, with bare Heads, and a Rope about their Necks, and a Dagger at their Waists, which was done, and they all swor'd Death, had not the Dutches of Bedford obtayn'd their Lives of her Husband thro' mere Commination to them.

While the Earl of Salisbury thus victoriously manag'd the English Affairs, the Earl of Suffolk was no less industrious to carry on their Conquests another way; for he took the two strong Caftles of Crezy and La Roche, and the Regent himself believ'd and took the Caftles of Crezy and Aizel, by which means the Kingdom of France was almost entirely subject to the English, having an absolute Command of all Places as far as the Banks of the Loire, and the Towns of Crezy.

This Year in July was born to Charles the Titular King of France his First Son, whom he nam'd Lewis. His Birth was receiv'd with great Joy by his Adherents, and was thus favourable to him, that it mightily contribu't his Father to uphold him thro' the Hopes of a Successor, and brought over to them all those who had any Affection to the French Monarchy. But all the Comfort his Father had in him was in his Child-hood, be prov'ing in his riper Age Ambitious and Rebellious, aspiring so eagerly to his Father's Throne, that he could not wait Nature's Leisure, but fetch'd to depose him.

The Protector being now loden with many difficult Affairs of State, jil'd out his Summons to call the Parliament to meet, Octob. 20. and because he thought the Preference of the Infant-King might be made good and Convenient to be Zealous for his Interests: He thereupon was brought up by his Mother from Windor, and at the opening of the Session (q) sat upon his Mother's Knee in the Chair of State among his Lords. The Speaker in an Eloquent Speech to the Lords, first expostulate his Person, and told them, That for this Divine Sovereignty he was in his Face, at foretold all the Happines which could be ex- pelted from a good Prince, and the Son of such an unparallel'd Father, and then recommended to their Care the Government of the Nation in his Infancy, Exhorting them not only in Conjunction to his tender Age, that they Enquire the Honour for to manage the Publick Affairs, as that neither the King nor his People may have just Cause to blame them when he came to his Government his- self. The Lords and Commons were easily persuad'd to do what they knew raisable in it self and the Nation, and therefore immediately enter'd into Consultation for the Publick Benefit. The King they did but a few Days in the City, but with his Mother on November the 25th remov'd to Watham-Crofs, and not long after to Harford, where he kept his Christmas with the usual Magnificence, the King of Spain being there with him. In the mean time the Parliament employ'd their whole Care and Thoughts for the Publick Good, and after much Delibera- tion Enacted and Order'd many Things of great Advantage to both Nations; for as to England they confirm'd all the Ancient Rights, Privi- leges and Franchises of the Church, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Cities and Boroughs, and all other the King's Subjects, and further enacted, That all Merchants trading in Wool should fell their Merchandizes at Calais only so long as the Staple continued there, by which means the Subjects of both Kingdoms were greatly enrich'd; That no Coin of Gold or Sil- ver shall be carry'd out of the Realm upon any Pretence whatsoever, unleas it be for the Pay- ments of Soldiers, and other Expences of the King's Way beyond the Seas, upon the Penalty of forfeiting the said Sum; and further, by the Effort of base Money call'd Blanks shall not be ac- cepted or tender'd in any Payment upon Pain contain'd in the Stat. Hen. 2. against Gally-hal- lown, Sackels and Dukins, both which Acts were well contriv'd for the Advantage of Trade and the Wealth of the Nation, because the Exporta- tion of Money is the Ruin of the Riches of a King- dom. And that Justice might thrive with Trade, it was also enacted, That all Officers made by the King's Letters Patents in any Courts of Justice should not only be Men of Integrity themselves, but should be two or three under-Gallants to certify for whose good behaviour they themselves would not be Responsible, that there might be no False- hood, Bribery or Extortion in administering Ju- stice, to the great Wring of the People. And for the Security of the King's Person, it was further enacted, That if any Person, who is committed to Prifon for Grand or Petty-Trea- son, shall break Prifon and escape, his Crime shall be taken pro confis, and his Goods and Chattels may be seiz'd by the Lord of the Man- or where they were found, as if he were actu- ally Condemn'd and Executed. Besides the Stat- utes made for the Benefit of England, it was ordain'd, That nothing should be omitted nece- ssary for the Preservation of France, and that the Lord Protector should send such Supplies of Men and Money to his Brother into that Nation, as should be judg'd needful for the Defence of it against the Pretensions of K. Charles. And so the Parliament broke up with much Ap- plause and Commendation.

In the Time of this Session of Parliament, and by and with the Consent of the same, the Pro-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D.
1424-25
Reg. 2
James, King of Scots, set at Liberty.

His Oath to King Henry.

James, Steward, King of Scotland, had been long detained at Prinewater in England with- out a just cause, but that being set at Liberty he might probably so manage to him a firm Friendship with the English, that he would de- liver the rest of his Subjects, whose Valour had almost wholly supported him, set him free from his Captivity, and provided a large Retinue to convey him honourably into his own Country; but left this Obligation so freely granted he must deliver his Daughter, the Duke of Bavaria and Count German to the King, (b) with whom he had a large Dowry, besides many Gifts of Plate and Jewels which her Kindred of the Nobility presented him with, and his Departure induced him to take this following Oath of Friendship and Fidelity to the King of England, viz.:

I James Steward, King of Scotland, doth by true and faithful oath unto the said Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, the Noble and Superior Lord of Scotland, and to thee, I make my Fidelity for the said Kingdom of Scotland, which I have to hold, will, and purpose that you may see me and all that I and my Subjects, and the Fidelity and Faith of Safe and Liable and Worldly Honour against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge and do you Service for the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So God me help and these Holy Engaged.

His Treaty and Execution.

With theses Ties of Friendship was he diffin- fided and sent Home, but nothing could oblige him to deliver the French Intermis; for soon (i) after his Return Home, either th'o' a natural Affection to that Nation, or else dearsions to rescue himself from all Badges of Subjection to the French King, and so stranded with the French King, and fald it with the Promises of a Marriage between his Daughter Margaret and Lewis the Dauphin.

In the Month of February, while the Parlia- ment was yet in session, the Earl of Salisbury, King's Lieutenant in the Marches, came to meet the Lords and Commons, who were there in review, and desired they would signify their Consent to the Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin and his Daughter. The Lords and Commons, without that it was necessary, and the French King to have it at his own Place, sent for a Conference to the Earl of Salisbury. They met and agreed together that it was very necessary to the King of France and the King of England, that the Dauphin and the Dauphine be married, and that the Lords and Commons should sign it.

Sir John Mortimer, accused of high Treason, and Ex- ecuted.

Sir John Mortimer before the Lords and Com- mons assembled in Parliament, and was fully
prov'd against him by the said William King, Reg. 2.
that he was found Guilty of High-Treason, and
condemned for it to be hang'd and quarter'd, which Sentence was accordingly Executed upon him, and his Body burnt at the Stake on the 14th of July, at John's Church at Clarksend. The Earl of March tho' nothing of a Conspiracy could be prov'd a- gainst him, yet was sent into Ireland with some others, to secure the Kingdom from Danger, and dys'd there soon after.

While this Parliament was thus busied, the A. Prov. the Children of the Red Cross made it his Care to get Supplies for the English Army at France to reinforce the English Army there, on which the Successful in all its Achievements was in the English Forces, but was much diminished, and by his Ind- ustry rais'd an Army of 10,000 able Men, which he sent over in several Batches, to reinforce the English Arm'd and provided. This prov'd a seasonable and happy Recruity, for Charles began to over- power the English, and get some Advantages against them, for he had lately taken Compagnie and Crotoy from them. But the Arrival of these fresh Men rais'd the Spirit of the English, for the Regent putting them under the Command of the Valiant Earl of Salisbury and Earl of Suffolk, sent them out to recover their late Losses, and oppose the further Progress of the French King, which they did so effectually, that within a small Time not only the Compromise and Mordrak, but many other Places were taken from K. Charles, viz. Bajouz, Rist, Riul, Gy- rondes, Bajoul, Merlouis, Milham, Femen, Manres, Daras., and many other Towns and Castles of no small Strength and Importance. Some small Skirmishes in other Places had prov'd between the French and English Forces being the Advantage of the latter, did something shatter the Glory of their Conquests; for Sir John de la Pole, Brother of the Duke of Suffolk, Captain of Au- ranouch in Normandy having prov'd himself to all the Garrisons in the Marches of Anjou, made an Affair upon the City of Angiers, plunder'd and burnt the suburbs, and prov'd all the adjoining Country, carrying away many Pri- soners and as much Cattle as they could conce- niently. The Earl of Aumerle, and Vifcount Nor- ton were then the Governors of the Town and Castle, and by the Loss of this Place, and the smallAdvantages in other Places, prov'd to be a good Loss. The Milchiff the English had done by reason of the Suddenness of it, yet seeing them retreat in such Diforder and cogg'd with the Prisoners and Spoil they had taken, they revolv'd to revenge their Loss, and redeem both their Credit and Captivity; Whereupon Sall'yng out with what Forces they had, they prov'd to the French Men they put in their Place upon them. The Engl. French Men they put in their Place upon them. The Engl. French Men they put in their Place.
A Pitch Battel betwixt the English and the French, in which the English were victor.

They were victor, upon Maffenius, and took the Duke of Bedford Prisoner with his own Hands, when the French to the Earl of Salisbury, but receiv'd again all the Earl for a Gift, with an Horiz of great Value: So that the former Lostes abated little of the Victorities of the English. Yet the Regent was not contented with the Success of this Day, but would have gained something daily, yet the Competitor of the Crown being yet alive, and rather increasing in Strength and Interest, than declining, he knew there could be no safe Enjoyment of what they had, nor any Hopes of a Composition of Arms; whereas he could be resolved to Things to a Conclusion by drawing the French King to a Pitch Battel, and either Conquer or be Conquered for a State of continual Wars damps all the Comforts of Victory, and makes Conquest it self felt no Pleasure. To effect this the Regent could not find a better way than to lay Siege to Verneuil (I) in Perche, a most important Place belonging to the French King, which all his Interests were engag'd to defend, and accordingly the English Army sat down before it in the beginning of August. The Captain of the Town, Monsieur de Ravy, was a while totally confident against the English, but at length came to a Capitulation, and promis'd to resign the Town if it were not releiv'd by a Day appointed, and immediately sent King Charles Word of the Agreement. The Relief of the Place was thought necessary, and an Army of French and Scots was dispatch'd thither to raise the Siege with all convenient Speed under the Command of the Duke of Alençon, Earl of Bouhan, Contable of France, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Viscount Nor- bow, Lord Venesaur and others; but before they could get thither the City was resign'd into the Hands of the English, and the Capitulation, because the Successor came not time enough. The Resignation of the Town being known to the Duke of Alençon, he put him into some doubt, whether he should not Retreat without Battel, since the Town could not be engag'd, but entering into Confrontation with his Commanders, it was resolv'd to go forward and give the English Battel, since they could not retire without Danger to themselves, and a Brand of Cowardice upon their Persons; wherefore they march'd towards the English, and on a fair Plain near the Town of Verneuil, he order'd his Duke of Bedford glad of this Opportunity of decaying the Quadril, which he had long desir'd, and now sought, advanc'd towards them from the Town in great Order, and on August 28, gave them Battel. The Difparte was very sharp and furious, as though the Fate of either side depended on the Success of that Battle. Equal Courage, and equal Strength appear'd on both Parties, so that the Victory was long dubious, till at length the English prevail'd and utterly rout the French Army, billing as our English Writers relate (I) 10000, as the French say, but 5000, and taking Prisoners the Duke of Alençon, the Lords T sujet and Horinio, Sir Peter Harrington, and other Gentlemen to the Number of 200 besides Common Soldiers. The Vicount Narbon, though Eain, in the Field, was after hang'd on a Gibbet, because he had been one of the Marcher under the Duke of Burgundy, who, dying 2100 Men, but none of Note, which made the Victory the greater, because the French lost not only most of their Men, but most of their best Commanders, as well as their Valorous Troops, viz. the Earl of Anjou, Duryng, Bough, Vincen- ton, Forel, the Lords of Bournon, Ambois, Audzus, Guiter, Tonger, and Puy with above 300 Gentlemen more, a Lost much harder to recover'd, than that of the Common Soldier. This Victory reduc'd the French King to very great Straights, as well of Fortune as his Health, and it expell'd him at the Time from the Frensh, but more at the Effects of it, which render'd him unable to defend himself for the Countries that adher'd to him, (m) yet he was resolv'd to hold up his State as well as he could; and tho' he fear'd every Day to be turn'd out of all, yet he kept up something of a Marvelland Grandure at Pellois, having his Nobles about him in form of a Court and his Parliament, Chancery, and other Courts for the Administration of Justice, and Management of his Revenues, and other Affairs of the Crown, as if he were in the highest Prosperity.

The Regent after this signal Victory having furnish'd several Defenders for their Basse and Treachery, which he apprehended after the Fight, and settl'd his Affairs in Normandy return'd to Paris, where he was receiv'd by the Duke of Burgundy and his own Dutchess with great Joy, and continued there all the Winter. The good Effects of this Victory which were easily foreseen, fill'd the Regent's Mind with so much Eafiness, that he gave him self a little more Liberty than usual to enjoy his Pleasures, and spent his Christmas in making great Feasts for the Nobility of the Court of the Duke of Burgundy. In one of them he fealt the Old Queen of France, Duke of Burgundy, Earl of Salisbury and Suffolk, with many other Person's of divers Nations, and to divert them, he was pleas'd him self to judge, which he never did before. The Duke of Burgundy also, who was a Person of a very amicable Feature, and graceful Behaviour, much pleas'd the Company with Dancing and Juiling, though the extern Civility which he shew'd to the Courtiers of Salisbury kindled such a Difficult in her Husband's Breast, that he ever after was very Grudgeful. The English and the French Joijy were kept within their Due Limits, by the Regent, who wisely knew how to use Pleasure without any Hindrance to his Business; and therefore as soon as his Blind was a little refresh'd with innocent Divertisements, he returns a Gain to his Care of his Charge, and the first thing he enter'd upon was to make the best Advantages of his late Success, before Charles could re- ceiv'd his Losses, and that End he sent out the Lord Salisbury, Sir John Montgomery, and Sir John Edsford with an Army of 2000 Men to take in each Town and Castle in Anjou and Alaine, and still held out against the English. This Army Several had no sooner began their March into those Countries, but such a Terror as fill'd all the Habitants, that they yield'd all up to them, as though it were a thing impossible to withstand them.

(A) Was the Island of France, and the English took it.English, and the English took in Englishs, by sending a late Message to the Garrison, that they had round the Duke of Bedford's Army, and rais'd the Siege of this Place, upon the Duke's Advice and his Troops were receiv'd into the Town. In the mean time the English, by the Duke of Bedford's March immediately to give Alençon Battel, and it appears by this Account that the English and not the French were those that first offer'd the Battel. H. p. 78.

(2) Monsieur, King at Arm in France, and the English had there all the French and Scots kill'd, and 2100 English. The Number of the Half on the French side was as great as that of the English Army which consisted of 1800 Horses, and 3000 Foot. H. p. 83, 84.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1428. Reg. 2.

The City of Men, being again extended upon Artiches.

The smallest English Power, and so the English, without any Alliances became Masters of the strong
positions at La Vézelay, Tours, Sally, Oss, Raurac, Vellore, and above Twenty more in a few Days. But Mans, the Principal City of the Province of Mainz, being a Place well Popu-
lated and strongly fortified refused to accept the English, and the Earl of Salisbury was
sent with an additional Force of 8000 Men to
besiege and reduce it into Subjection. This
Town though very strong held out a little while, because the Earl made not use of the
common cataphract Battering Engines, but of Guns, which with their Shot could not
reach the Town, and brought the Inhabitants to a Capitu-
lation to surrender the Town upon these Ar-
ticles.

1. That all Persons, as well Soldiers as others
that would abide and continue still in the Town,
should be sufferd to remain without any harm or
Damage either to themselves or Goods.

2. That such as would depart, especially of the
Soldiers, should have Liberty to leave the Town with their Horse and Harnes.

3. That all Persons in the Town who were
any ways guilty or confounding to the Mutiny of the
French Sieges, Burgundy should deliver up to the Earl to be punished for it: And so
this City was surrendered to the English.

The Earl of Salisbury being now at the Head of
a puissant Army able to carry on the Progress of his designed Victories, thought this a fit
opportunity to enlarge the English Conquests, and
therefore immediately lays Siege to the Town of
St. Saphn, of which one Ambrois de Loire a vali-
ant French Man was Governor, who so well de-
fended it, that in many Allatius the Earl was
rather a Lofer than Winner: Whenon the Earl
was forced to make off again of his great Guns to
hatter and beat down their Walls. The three
new Engines of Death, which no Valor nor
Strength of Man can be sufficient Defence aga-
inst, made the Beseiged change their Coun-
seils, and contrive the safest way for their Prefer-
aving by agreeing to resign their Town. The
English Conquests was some how out by the Garri-
on held them to the harder Terms, so
that they could not gain their Lives, but upon
Condition, that besides resigning the Town, they
should pay them 200000 Crowns, and then they
should have Liberty to depart the Town in their
Doublets only, with their horses, and to the Earl, to become absolute Masters of it, and
to the English becomd absolute Masters of it, and
Sir John Popham was made Captain of it. From
this Place the Earl carrying on his Victories, went and laid Siege to the Caite called La Fer-
tre Bernard, but deferred to assault it by reason of
the News brought him of the Danger that the
Terror was in the Lord the King in London on this Oc-
casion. The French King's Party being so weak-
ned by their late Overthrow were not able to
recover their Losses by Strength, and there-
fore were contrained to use Policy and Strata-
agem, for which they had an Opportunity at
Alexandria thus. One Charles de la Fortuna, a
French Captain had an intimate Acquaintance with a
Ga صفيخ, who was a Soldier in the English Car-
rition there, and having by him discovered how
the Town was guarded by the Soldiers by turns,
agreed with him for a present Reward of a con-
siderable Sum of Money in Hand, and Promis-
es of future Preferments and Advantages, to let
him with a Body of Men into the Town, upon
certain Day appointed, but the G få صفيخ countermining the French Men, as soon as the
Harpsin was made, gave the Earl of Salisbury
Notice of it, that he might secure the Town
and seize the French. The Earl thereupon sent
Sir John Willoughby and Sir John Egest with
20000 Men to effect it, who lying in Ambush for
them at their coming, who were not above 500
Foot-men, and 200 Horses, suddenly encom-
passed them on all sides, and falling upon them lewed
all of them, but 25 Men, who in the Scuffle of
the Strength and Swiftness of their Horses,
Atlancon being thus secured, and the English Ar-
my return'd, the Earl of Salisbury went on with
the intended Siege of La Ferre Bernard and took
it, which striking Terror into the adorning Garri-
sons induced many to yield to the Earl. The Earl	
Walsingham was somewhat a little assisted with the good Services of the Earl, made him Governor of all the Places and
Castles he had taken, that the Growth of his Ho-

nour might encourage him in brave Actions.
The News of the great Successe of this Year
being carried over into England, was not recei-
ved with greater Joy than Thankfulness to God,
who had blessed the English Arms, and accord-
ing to the Manner of those Times a solemn Prol-
celion was celebrated with all serious Demon-
rations of Praife to God for it.

On the last Day of April the Parliament met at Westminster, when the King's Prefence,
though but an Infant, was thought necessary, he
was carry'd through the City upon a great Horse

The Town of St. Saphn taken.

A.D. 1428.

Always agreed to be renounced but not paid.

The Earl of Salisbury takes La Ferre Bernard, and is made Governor of
all the Places and Castles he had taken.

The Earl of Walsingham was appointed to be Governor of
all the Places and Castles he had taken.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

Duke of Gloucester and Jaqueline his wife went over to recover her Inheritance in Gloucsfler, Henauh, and Esland.

Duke of Burgundy opposed them.

Duke of Burgundy went to Wirk, and charged him with Treason against the King of England, and challenged him to a single Combat. The Duke of Burgundy made his Delicacy, and the King, in an Act of any Breach of his Fidelity to the English, in opposite his Injustice in depriving another Man of his Wife, contrary to the Ordinance of God, and Rules of Holy Church; and to clear himself of this Charge he sent the Duke of Gloucester Word, that he would accept the Combat. The Duke of Gloucester being thus disappointed of his Design, which was by this Measagie to have brought off the Duke of Burgundy, drew off his Forces and departed with them immediately into England upon Pretext of making Preparation for the Combat, leaving his Dutchehs behind him. The latter opened a way open to the Duke of Burgundy's Designs, who fo wrought with the Citizens of Yount, that they delivered up the Dutchehs into his Hands, who conveyed her to Gloucsfler, and there kept her. The Dutchers being thus betray'd Politically carry'd her self without any Resistance of the Treachery, and pretending her self very happy in falling into his Hands, promised to be govern'd by him in all Things, faving that she would not be perfuaded to return to her Husband again. The Duke not feping the Deceit of the Woman, gave her a Civil Entertainment, and made her Confinement very easy, which she no longer endured than she could get a fair Opportunity to escape, which she did in a little time, and fled into Holland. Here she was joyfully received by her Friends of Burgundy, and divers Lord's, and went over to her Affiance she was able to maintain a defensive War against the Duke of Burgundy, and that she might depose her Husband, &c. to the Duke of Gloucester to aid her. The Duke, tho' now little valued upon her, yet thinking himself in Honour obliged her to forsake Burgundy, at least to render her AFFAINCE 1000 Men, under the Conduct of the Lord Fitz-walter. The News of these Aids routed the Duke of Burgundy, who fearing lest Jaqueline should recover the Country of Holland into the Hands of the English, assembled all his Forces, and being driven away from Mons in Holland; and being there receiv'd and welcomed as their Lord, many of the Nobles and Towns came and submitted themselves to him. The Duke of Brabant, who was in Poifon of those Countries was highly displeased with this Action of the Duke of Gloucester, and since he not only had cohabited with Jaqueline as his Wife for Ten Months, and Pope Martin V. had declared the Marriage of the said Jaqueline with the Duke of Gloucester to be utterly unlawful and sinful, he was resolved to dispute his Title and possession of those Countries adhered to him, and many of the Nobles employ'd their Interests to support him in the Poifon, but he most depend'd upon the Affiance of the Duke of Burgundy (a) his Brother, who food much upon the Juflice of his Canif, and had promised him all his Affiance he could make, by which means an Army of 30,000 Men appeared in Opposition to the Duke of Gloucester under the Command of Philip, Earl of St. Pol, and Pierre de Luxembourg, Earl of Caunfian her near Kinifman. The Duke of Gloucester felling fuch an unexpec'd Union against him, too great for him to conquer, fend an Herald to the Duke of Burgundy to expofulate with him about his affiling the Duke of Brabant, charging him with Treason against the King of England, and challenging him to a single Combat. The Duke of Burgundy made his Delicacy, and the King, in an Act of any Breach of his Fidelity to the English, in oppofite his Injustice in depriving another Man of his Wife, contrary to the Ordinance of God, and Rules of Holy Church; and to clear himself of this Charge he sent the Duke of Gloucester Word, that he would accept the Combat. The Duke of Gloucester being thus disappointed of his Design, which was by this Measagie to have brought off the Duke of Burgundy, drew off his Forces and departed with them immediately into England upon Pretext of making Preparation for the Combat, leaving his Dutchehs behind him. The latter opened a way open to the Duke of Burgundy's Designs, who fo wrought with the Citizens of Yount, that they delivered up the Dutchehs into his Hands, who conveyed her to Gloucsfler, and there kept her. The Dutchers being thus betray'd Politically carry'd her self without any Resistance of the Treachery, and pretending her self very happy in falling into his Hands, promised to be govern'd by him in all Things, faving that she would not be perfuaded to return to her Husband again. The Duke not feping the Deceit of the Woman, gave her a Civil Entertainment, and made her

(a) He was not his Brother, but his Cousin. "Ed. p. 1079."
(b) Who before had been his Milhrel. "Ed. p. 1079."
(c) This Prince's Mother was the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, Great Aunt to Henry the Sixth.

Dutchers of Gloucester deliver'd to the Duke of Burgundy, but slipper.
The Life and Reign of HENRY the Sixth.

A.D. 1425. Reg. 4.

* * * Right High andmighty Prince, and my Right Noble, and after One, Leinfi [Earlhy] Lord, I recommend me unto you [your Grace] with all my Heart. And as you defire the Welfare of the King Our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France. Your own need [health] with all yours [with yours also] hope you better: For by my Truth, if Lame] you carry [Young] as you shall pin this Land to Jeopardy [Ladenure] with a Field, such a Brother you have here, God make him a good Man. For your Wifdom well knows, that the Profit of France flandeeth in the Welfare of England, &c. The Blifhed Trinity keep you Written in great haste at London as All-hollowen-Even. By your true Servant to my Lieves end.

Henry Wincehifter.

This Letter, which was sent over to the Re
gen by his Chamberlin Sir Robert Butler, was received by him with no small Grick, because he knew the Advantage his Enemies would make of it, for a Civil War in England would utterly ruin the Conquest of France, and therefore re
solved with all speed to pass into England to put an end to it if possible. Richard Beauchamp the famous Earl of Warwick was lately come into France with a Recruit of 6000 Men, which much favoured his Design, being a Perfon for his Cou
rage and Fidelity every ways fit to be entrusted with the greatest Charge: Whereupon he con
victed him Regent of France in his Absence, and took his Journey to England, with his Dutchers, and a Train of 500 Men. He arrived there on the Tenth of January. The Bishop of Wincehifter

Duke of Bedford goes into England to recon
ole them.

The Meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, Fourth when it was usual for the Lords to come with Parli
great Numbers of Servants and Attendants, and it being feared, that the great Trains of the Protector and the Bishop of Wincehifter might fall into open War one with another, if no Reftraint were laid upon them: It was therefore thought fit, that the King should strictly forbid any Person coming to it with Swords, or other Warlike Weapons; Which Order though it was literally observed, yet the Lords Attendants came with Batts, or great Clubs on their Shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called, The Parliament of Batts, but this, as soon as it was taken Notice of, was alfo Prohibited. In this Parliament little was done for the Publick, only an Act pall'd for granting the People Liberty to transport Corn into all Places beyond the Seas, unless to the King's Enemies, with some other of particular Concern for Sheriffs and Justices, because it pleazed the whole Assembly to look into the Diligence between the Protector and the Bi
shop of Wincehifter, which was grown so high, that no lefs Means could pacifie them, and the Authority of this Court was irreftible; wherefo
re they were allow'd to debate all Caufes of Quarrel between them fully and freely. The Protector was the Perfon aggrieved as he pre
}nted, and therefore he brought a large Ac
sion in Six Articles againft the Bishop, and the Bishop was allow'd to give his particular Anfwer to them; which because they were thought not unworthy of the Parliament's No
ice, may not be beneath the Reader's Perusal, and are as follows:

(1) The Letter is in Elfinfed, p 591.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

At the Parliament by the Duke of Gloucester, against Henry, Bishop of Winchester, with his Answers to them severally.

I.

That Richard Woodville, Esq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did by the Indictment and Encouragement of the said Bishop of Winchester deny Admittance to him the said Duke of Gloucester, then being Protector of the Kingdom, into the Tower contrary to Reason and Duty, and in Derogation to the King's Authority.

To this Article the Bishop answer'd, That while the Duke of Gloucester was gone into Henault, it happened, that many Pamphlets and Reports being dispersed up and down the City of London tending to Rebellion, it was ordered by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, that Richard Woodville, Esq; should have a sufficient Number of arm'd Men have the keeping of the Tower, and should not permit any Man to come into the Tower stronger than himself without the special Commandment of the King, by the Advice of his Council.

After this strict Charge the Duke of Gloucester returning out of Henault, and not appearing, the fortifying the Tower, told the Citizens, who were dissatisfied at it, That had he been in England it should not have been so, and immediately going to the Tower demanded Admittance, but Woodville not daring to give him Entry came to the Bishop of Winchester for Advice, who told him, That the Duke of Gloucester took upon him greater Authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower he ought to provide himself a sufficient Warrant of the Council and King for his doing contrary to the former Order.

II.

That my Lord Bishop of Winchester without the Advice and Consent of my Lord Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty's Privy Council contrived and purposed to lay Hands of his Majesty's Person, and to have remov'd him from Eltham, the Place that he was then in, to Windsor, there to put him under the Government of such Persons as he please.

The Bishop's Answer to this Article was, That he never could propound to himself any Advantage by removing the King, or taking him into his Cabby or Charge, nor did ever intend to meddle with any Thing about the King's Person without the Advice of the Privy Council, as in Time and Place he could prove.

III.

That my Lord Bishop of Winchester knowing, that the Duke of Gloucester had resolve'd to prevent his Design of taking the King's Person at Eltham, laid wait for him, by placing arm'd Men at the End of London-Bridge, and in the Windows of the Chambers and Cellars in Southwark to have kill'd him, if he had pull'd that way, which all is against the King's Peace, and Duty of a true Subject.

The Bishop's Defence to this heavy Charge was this, That true indeed it is, that he did provide a certain Number of arm'd Men, and let them at the Foot of London-Bridge, and other Places, without any Intention to do any bodily Harm to the Duke of Gloucester, but merely for his own Safety and Defence, being inform'd by several credible Persons, that my Lord Duke of Gloucester had purposed bodily Harm to him, and gather'd together a company of Citizens for that End.

IV.

That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, That when he was Prince, a Man was seiz'd in his Chamber, who was hid behind the Hangings, and confided after his Apprehension, that he was set at Work by the Bishop of Winchester to kill the Prince in his Bed. He was deliver'd to the Earl of Arundel, who drown'd him in a Sack in the Thames.

To this Accusation the Bishop reply'd, That he was ever a true and faithful Subject to his Sovereigns, and never purposed or contrived any Treason against any of their Persons, and especially against his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was sufficiently evident to any that consider'd the great Wisdom and Courage of the said King, and the great Truth he repose in him so long, as he remain'd King, which he would not have done had he found him Guilty of such Unfaithfulness to him while he was Prince.

V.

That the Bishop of Winchester in the Sicness of King Henry the Fourth, advised his Son Prince Henry to allure the Government of the Nation before his Father's Death, as the said Prince him self told him.

The Bishop reply'd, That this was mere Calumny, which could not be prov'd, and he hop'd the Parliament would appoint them Judges, that he might vindicate his Honour, or else leave him to lie out his Right before suitable Judges.

VI.

That my Lord Bishop of Winchester had in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford plainly declared his malicious Purposc of assembling the People, and stirring up a Rebellion in the Nation contrary to the King's Peace. (r)

The Bishop's Answer to this Accusation was, That he never had any Intention to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or raise any Rebellion, but sent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haste to settle all Things that were prejudicial to the Peace; and though he had indeed written in the Letter, That if he were seiz'd, he would put the Land in Adventure by a Field, such a Brother ye have here, he did not mean it of any Deign of his own, but concerning the Seditionous Assemblies of Malons, Carpenters, Tillers and Pl reflecters, who being dissatisfied by the late Act of Parliament against erratic Wages of those Trades, had given out many sedition Speeches and Mencies against the great Men, which tended much to Rebellion, and yet the Duke of Gloucester did not sub his Endeavour, as he ought to have done in his Place, to suppress such unlawful Assemblies, for that he fear'd the King and his People Subjects must have made a Field to withstand them: To prevent which he chiefly desir'd the Duke of Bedford to come over.
This Charge, and the Answrs to it being thereby delivered into the Parliament, the further Examination of it was by the Houes devolv'd to the Earl of Arundel, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Exeter, John, Duke of Norfolk, Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Philip, Bishop of Worcestor, John, Bishop of Bath, Humphry, Earl of Stafford, Ralph, Lord Cornwall, and Mr. AnnWide, Keeper of the Privy-Secre, who having thoroughly examined all Matters, appointed the Bishop, and by a formal Award enjoyn'd them to be firm Friends for the future, and by firm Indacemen'ts wrought upon them, that they fhook Hands, and parted with all outward Sigs of perfect Love and Agreement, which gave a mighty Satisfaction to all, both of the Clergy and Lay. And the King by the Advice of his Council made a maugufacturer Feaft at Whitfiende to rejoice for this happy Reconciliation. At this feast the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, Knighted King Henry, who immediately made Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York, and reform'd John, Lord Lordmarsh, Earl-Marshat, Son of Thomas, Duke of Norfak, who was ba-nifh'd by Richard the Second, to the Title and Style of Duke of Norfak, and made above forty others Knights. After this the Parliament laid before them a following Bill, which the King nothing more than raise a Supply of Men and Money to carry on the Conquell of France, which were gatether'd out of the great Cities and Towns of the Kingdom chiefly.

The Parliament being disbur'd, the King now about the Yeare of Age, went to Kington halt-Caftle, and the Nation remain'd in great Peace. Several remarkable Accidents happen'd after it. Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury founded a College at Higham-Ferrers in Northamptonshire of Eight Fellows, Four Clerks and Six Choristers, and an Hospatl for poor and impotent Folks of the said Town, for which he also obtayni'd many Immunities and Privilidges. His Two Brethren, Robert and William Chicheley, Aldermen of London, afterward gave very considera'ble Revenues to the said Foundations. This Summer also died that wife and faithful State-man of Exeter, Sir Thomas, Lord of Exeter, to King Henry, at his Manor of Grenvich, and was bury'd at St. Edmonds-Bury in Saffolif, whither he was carry'd with great Ceremoniy to be interred, and not long after him the said Duke's half Sister the Lady Elizabeth, own Sister to King Henry the Fourth, who had been married to the Lord John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and after to the Lord Farnham, died and was bury'd in the Black-Frery in London. John Fortham, sometime Treasurier of England, and Bishop of Durham and Ely at the same time die'd, and Pope Martin put into the See of Northampton, Philip Morgan, a Recipient from the See of Winchester thither. The King and Nobility had recommend'd to the Choice of the Convent William AnnWide, Doctor of both Laws, Keeper of the Priy-Sea, and the King's Consouler, but they negotiating that the Proposal elected Peter the Prior of St. Gile's. The Parliament having a Discontent betwixt the King and Convent, set up his own Ufparations, and put in Philip Morgan. While the Regent continue'd in England the Earl of Warwick was very active, and carry'd on the Battel of Naseby in France with great Success, for he entred into the Country by Main and beleaguerd and took several Places of Importance, as Chateauneuf de laforre, of which he mado Matthew A.D. 1426. Gough Captain, the Castle of Maisi, into which he put John Winter, Efighre with a [Reg. 4. sufficient Number of Men, and gave to William Glanceford Gentleman, the Caftle of Montebuchan, which he committed to the Lord Willoughby, by which Atchievements his Name became a Terror to the French, infor- much, that when the French in the Country of Neuffe were gather'd a Body of 8000 Men, who lott on the English, the very Fame of his Approach sent them to disperse themselves. And so having no Enemies to oppose him: He return'd to Paris full of Honour and Victories.

On Saturday being the Eve of St. Michael in the morning between Two and Three a Clock several begin'd a very dreadful Earthquake, which being accompany'd with Thunder and Lightning struck Terror into all Creatures. It continu'd in great Violence for Two Hours, and as it afterwards found, was general over the whole World, so that Men thought the World would then have been at an End, and the Judges have follow'd according to the Prognosticks our Saviour himfelf hath given us. The Beasts of the Field were terrified with this uneval Motion, and roaring for fear drew near to the Towns and Houes to protect them: Nor were the Airs of the Air, or the Sounds of the Shrieks and Cries theftr's of their Fear. By it so great a Judgment did God endea-vour to awaken fenc Men, that if they did not repent even the Birds and Beasts might witnesf against them, and condemn their Hands and Intentions. About the Time the Earthquake was John Ricecovered Trifhounger chosen Mayor of London, a Person of a publick: spirit, a good Magiftrate, and a great Benefactor to the City; for he gave certain Lands and Teemements for the Life and Benefit of Threewards in the faid City, viz. Bifbopfward Ward, Doughty Ward and Aldgate Ward, to pay the Parliament-Taxes for the poor House-keeper's of the faid Wards for ever (provided they did not exceed Three Fifteens in One Year): He also began the Building of the Tower at the Dram-Bridge of London, Works both of great Clarity and Expence. The Duke of Bedford, Regent of France yet remaining in England, the Duke of Burgundy, now difaftated to the English, but still pre- tenda' a strict Alliance and Friendship with them, made his Requeft to the Regent to per-mit the Duke of Almcan, who had been taken at the Batel of Vernuall, to be redeem'd, and by his Interests obtain'd, that upon the Pay-ment of Two Hundred Thoufand Crowns (or as others, Scotes) or Fifty Thoufand Marks, he fould be releaf'd. The Regent and Pro-fector were very fearful of the ill Conquence of this proceeding, being zealous perfons for Henry the Fifth, King Charles's Interets, and an experienced and valiant Commander, and therefore requi-re'd, that he fould first acknowledge Henry the Sixth, the rightfull and lawful Heir and King of France, but he abfolutly refu'd it, whereat the Duke of Aumau had a very great Contemn of him. If Topan was at London, but because it was thought necefsary to gratify the Duke of Burgundy, who pretended himfelf a ftrong Friend to the English, and had been long at Enemy with the Duke of Almanon for his Father's Death, and the Extradita'tion of that Kind of Kindness might gain as much upon his Affec-

1. John Lord Money was not made Duke of Norfolk, but the Bishop of Winchester.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 5.

The Earl of Warwick, and his Brother Relig. with the Bish. of Wincheffer, made Cardinal, as to incline him which Way he pleased, therefore he was dismissed, and upon the Pay- ment of 6000 L. for his “fine,” he was to receive the great Damage of the English, to whom he proved a fatal Enemy, as afterward will more fully appear.

The Regent having kept his Chrismas with the King, prepared for his Return into France, but to the great Disadvantage of the English had hasted in his Ab- sence; for tho’ nothing was wanting in the Earl of Warwick, either of Vigilance, Care, or Courage, yet the Alliance with the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, began now to be broken and dissipated, and his Brother Arthur of Richmond, over to the French King’s Interests, of whom they were joyfully received; and the latter was made Constable of France. This Change was a great Loss to the English, and required a speedy Care to prevent the ill Consequences of it. The Regent there- fore about Cambden’s departed England, and landed at Calais, Feb. 5. The Bishop of Wincheffer accompanied him, and at Calais in our Lady’s Church, received a Cardinal’s Hat from the Pope. The late King Hen. V. who foresaw that the Pope would make all the Consequents of this Prelate would prove to the Nation, if he were put into that Dignity, with goodwill and prudence, and prevented it all his Life; but now the King himself being young, and the Duke of Bedford his Friend, he was at Lib- erty to obtain his ambitious Purpofe, which by the Pope’s Legate, he was entailed in at Calais on the Fœal of the Purification; and soon after purchased himself a Bull-Legatine, by which he was made the Pope’s Legate in this Nation, and by his Authority as such, raised such a Mafs of Money out of the Spiritu- alities of the Kingdom, that he became al- most the only wealthy Man in the Nation, and was commonly upon that Account called The rich Cardinal of Wincheffer. The Regent flayed a while at Calais to fsee this Ceremony own, and honour the Bishop with his Prefence at his departure, which being finifhed, the Regent taking him by his right Hand, conveyed him with mighty Respect to his Lodging, and there gave him and the Lords with him a magnificent Banquet, and then within a few Days left Calais, and pulling thro’ Picardy, went to Amiens to meet the Authority of the Earl of Warwick in France, but brought him the News of a more honourable and greater Charge, which the Nobles and Council of England had thought fit to impofe upon him; viz. to be Governor of the Perfon of King Henry in the Place of the Duke of Ex-eter, lately deceased. This Service the noble Earl could not refuse; but the Revolt of the Duke of Britain having occasioned some Trou- bles to the English, which he was about to re- move before the Regent arrived, he resolved first to flay them settled before his Departure. The greatest Molestation this way, was the Fortifying of Pontefet, a Town on the Con- fines of Britain, into which the Lord of Ruffi- nian, Marshall of Britain, with a Body of 1000 Men was put to defend it, and ravage the adjoining Countrys of Conflaffion, which they did with much effect, at least being encoun- tered by the Garrison of Ambois, a City in the Poliſhion of the English, they were after a long Fight put to flight, and forced into the Town with Loss, the Captain himſelf being taken Prisoner. The Duke of Bedford hearing of this, and knowing, that tho’ the English had the better Advantage, yet how prejidential the Garrison would be to their Safety, as not restrained, he went the Earl of Warwick and Lord Scales, with an Army of 7000 Men to be- ftege it, who if previously before the Town, that none could go into, or out. The Be- fiefged held out very valiantly a long time in bojes of Relief from the French Kings who promised them, so that Provision began to be very Scarce in the English Camp, and they were forced to fEEK Forage in the adjoining Parts with much Loss and Hazard from the Garrison of St. Michael’s Mount. The French King al- fent the Lord Rame, his Lieutenant-General, with an Army of 3000 Men to relieve it, who in his March took two small Castles, Malheres and Lode; but when they came, hearing that tho’ the Earl of Warwick and the English were ftre- ngthened to fight him, if he attempted to raife the Siege, he drew off his Men, and returned to King Charles, whereupon the Besieged came to a Capitulation to reign the Town upon Condi- tion, that they might have Liberty to depart with Horfe and Arms only; which being granted, the English had possession of the Town given them, and the Earl made the Lord Rame and Lord Talbot Governors of it, with a con- venient Garrison, and then returned to the Re- gent to Paris. This Succes of the English Duke of Britain brought the Duke of Bretagne again to a Treaty with the Regent, in which he agreed not only not to molest the English for the Time being, but to demolish the Town of Pontois, and St. Janet the Eige- de Béarnais, and so the Duke of Bretagne was Bifhof, made, if not a Friend, yet afraid to be longer an Enemy; and the English for the preuent were ceded of his Oppofition, which would have pro- ved very troublesome.

The Regent having thus removed this new and unexpected Enemy, turned his Arms again into the old Current to subdue all the Towns, that still adhered to Charles, the pretended King of France; and sent his Captains out to subdue fuch as were not submitted to the English, and reduced fuch of them as were. Sir Christopher Hanfan, Philip Gough, and Martin Lib, Godfrey took the Caftle of St. Lawrence de Martin- or by Surprize. Sir H. Falsaffy, the Governor of the Countrys of Anjou and Maine, having attempted the rugged Body of Men, got by 10 Days Siege the Caftle of St. Garnier, and left near the Town of Laon. Then he laid Siege to the Brong Castle of Graville, and assaulted it 12 Days, at the end of which, the Garrison came to a Compofition, and gave Pledges to reign it upon a certain Day, if it were not re- lieved by the French King. Sir John immedi- ately signified this Agreement to the Regent, who raising a great Force of 20000 Men, came attended with the Earl of Mortaing and War- nick, the Lords Rame and Talbot, to encounter the French, if they should attempt the Reduction of it; but the French did not appear, they thought the Time for that Purpofe, because they were afraid of the English Army, whereupon the Regent immediately ordered Sir John Falsaffy to re- quire the Delivery of the Castle; but the Be- fiedged having furnished themselves with Provi- sion and Ammunition, and well mantling, the Time of Truce, refused to furrender it, and fo the Hottages were brought out, and hanged in their Sight. After this the Lord Talbot was made Governor of Maine and Anjou, and Sir

(1) 20000 Crown was no small Sum in thofe Days.
John Esjsu to another Charge. This

Lord being of as great Courage as Birth, car-
ried on the English Conquest so fall in these
Parts, that his very Name became a Terror to the French, and his fame spread almost over the World. The Duke of Bedford also hearing that the Gentry of the County, under their Mayor, had equalized the Rates of the
Orleance, was but weakly furnished, and care-
lessly kept, lest the Earl of Suffolk, his Brother Sir John Pool and Sir Henry Biffit, with an Ar-
my of 6000 Men to beleaguer it by Land, and the Earl of Warwick with a good Number of Men in the Town, he sent the Earl of Salisbury (i. e.) that there might be no Affluence of Men or Vi\u00eaux should come into it; but they found the Places strongly for-
tified, and provided that they held out 2 Months and more, so that the French had time to pro-
vide for its Relief; and accordingly, Arthur, Earl of Richmond, Conhable of France, coming
 Suddenly upon a Party of the Befugiers in the Night, defeated them without Resistance, killing
above 1500, Sir John Pool and Sir Henry Biffit hardly ecapeing themselves, and so caused the Siege to be raised. This Victory was recei-
ved with great Joy by the French, and that the Earl of Salisbury's Party, under the Command of Sir
Nicholas Bucket, sent by the Duke of Somerset thither, equalized at least, if not surpassing the Advantage they had at Montaugue, so that the French had little Reason to rejoice at the
Successes, with so much ill Fortune.

The Duke of Alencon lately come out of his
Imprisonment in England; after some Months
Converse in France to learn the State of the
French King's Affairs, and settle his own, now
enters upon the Stage of Action. The good
Opinion that the French had of his Abilities and Experience put new Life into their Cause, and
dropping Minds, and so much the more, becaufe he began with an Action, which had very much of a promising Advantage, as well as Success in it, which was the Recovery of the City of Alencon. Several of the Chief of the
Inhabitants of that City, as well as of the chief
Magistrates as Clergy, being well affected to the French King, entered into a Conspiracy to
betray the City to him, which they signified to him by Letters coryear by several Friers. The French, immediately under the Command of the Lords de la Bi
teh and Vexin to possession of the Town, which was accordingly delivered up to them by the Confi-
rators, and the English Guards at the Gates, were all slain. The French being thus Masters of the
Town, fell upon the English, and few many of them, unless any of them understanding the
Matter, but only supposing that the Citizens had in general rose up against them. The Earl of
Suffolk, the Governor of the Town, had gotten knowledge of the Matter by some that had escaped; and with wihat Englifh he could get hold of, he immediately sent a Letter to
the Lords of Thomas Cowper, Esq; but they were too cro�ed, that they could make little or no Defence for themselves, wherefore they left a Mefl{e to the
Lord Talbot, then at Alencon, to defire his speedy Assistance, declaring their Cafe to him.
It was the Lord Talbot being an Illustrious
Commander as valiant, immediately attempts
their Relief in the Night, and with 700 Men
marches to Mans, where finding the French
defence, he falls upon them, recovers the Town,

Earl of Warwick

releases the English, takes above 400 French Con-
tlemen Captive, and returns again to Alencon.

A.D. 1. 1.

The Earl of Suffolk being thus refetcet, made
A strict Search and Enquiry into the Authors of
this Treason, who being found to be 50 of the
chief Citizens, 20 Friers, and 15 Friers, were
sent to York, and hanged. The County was given as just Reward of their Merits. Mans being thus
happily recovered, and the English every ways
on the winning Side, Fortune's Fowon being

clearing up into Smiles on them, the Earl of
Warwick, whose Value would not fuffer him
much pain, seems to think of Returning into
England to take care of the King, whom the Nobles had committed to
him. He had done so much in France the last
Year, that the Council did not think that Na-
tion could be kept without a Man of equal Va-
lue in his Place, and therefore Thomas Monta-
ague, Earl of Salisbury, commonly called in Eng-
land, the good Earl, was sent into France with
6000 choice Men well accouted, to supply his
Room, and fecure those Places with equal Va-
lour, with which he had gone them.

Earl of Salisbury

The Earl of Salisbury arrived at
Paris with his fresh Men, the Regent called
attended to be

Duke of

taken

Alencon

Man by

Treason

of the

English.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.


The Earl of Salisbury marched, and died, at the Grate, he fired his Gun at them, which Shot so fluttered the Bars of the Window, that one of them struck the Earl of Salisbury on the Face, and put out one of his Eyes, and Bruised his Neck; Sir Thomas Gargrave also was so grievously bruised and wounded, that he died within Two Days. The Earl of Salisbury was conveyed to Mens, on the Lure, and all possible Care taken for his Recovery; but his Wound was vast Care, so that he died within 10 Days; and his Body was soon after carried with much Solemnity to England, and buried by his Ancestors at Biffam in Berkshire. He left only one Daughter, who was married to Richard Nevell, Son to Ralph, Earl of Wymondham, who was after Earl of Warwick. The Loss of this great Man, The Siege was received with much Grief by all the Christians, but by none so much as by the Duke of Bedford, who was more Enable of his Worth while living, and so of the Damage to the English by his Death; yet he would not feem to want his Advice, and therefore appointed the Earl of Suffolk to his Lieutenant Captain of the Siege; and with the Lord Scrolder, Lord Talbot, Sir John Failfie, and some others, to carry it on with all Vigour and Courage possible; who accordingly left nothing unattempted, that Policy could devise, or Daring Boldness attempt. But the Town was strong from its Wall, and filled with a good Garrison, held out till Lest was almost past without any Signs of Yielding, putting the English Camp to very great Straights for Provision, which they were forced to fetch as far as Paris, because the Country round about them was depopulated and deforoned. At length the Befieged beat a Parley, and came to a Treaty to save themselves. The English accepted it, but the Befieged would not agree to resign it to the Duke of Bedford, but only to the Duke of Burgundy to keep for the Duke of Orleans, or his Brother the Duke of Anglesheim, hoping either to obtain more Favour from their Country-Man if it were granted, or if not, to beg a private Grudge between them, which indeed came to pafs; for when he had feem to the Duke to signify the Conditions upon which the Town offered to yield, tho' he was desired to answer to the Conditions, and suffer it to be resigned to the Duke of Burgundy, yet the Regent would by no means, but returned Anfwer, That it was neither convenient nor honourable, that a City so long befieged by the King of England, and defended with so much Valour and Resolution, should be fancrured upon their own Terms, or to any other than King Henry himself, or his Deputy, and therefore would not allent to any other Terms. This Anfwer the Duke of Burgundy took very ill from the Regent, and finding that the English envied his Honour and Interest, and kept it deeply laid up in his Mind.

The Regent refusing to accept the Propofals The So- of the Befieged the Surrender of the Town was of from delay'd, and by that Means gave time for the wonderful Deliverance, which after followed after this manner. A young Maid nam'd Joan D'Arc, the Daughter of James D'Arc and Isabel, her Wife, a poor Country-Man, who inhabi- ted in a small Village in Berry called Domremy, aged about Eighteen Years, allured with great Zeal and Confidence, That she had a Right to this Con- tion, that she should deliver King Charles from his present Troubles, and drive the English from Orleans, and having caufed him to be crownd at Rheomes before the whole King-

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This Revelation first discovered to her Fa¬ther, her Mother, and Neighbours, and after their Declaration to her Several Ladies, the Council, Provoft of Vancouers, which she did with a great deal of Seriouſness and Resolution. The Provoft being a Difie and difcreet Person, and knowing, that Pretences of Revelation were not easily to be credited at first, look'd upon her to be pollic'd with a deep Malice, and told her, That it was very unlikelihood, that the being a Woman should be an Instruiment of their Deliverance, when all the Attempts of the most illibustous and brave Personages had pro¬ved in vain: But when he saw her immovable Resolution, and consider'd the Gravity and Pron¬dency of her Diffcourse, he thought fit to carry her to the King for his own Difcharge, who lay then with his Court at Chalon. She was brought into that Town March the 6th, and the News of her Arrival was receiv'd by the King and his Council with much Pleasure, and be¬came immediately publick throughout the Country, and had never seen the King, it was contriv'd, that the King should put on a Country-Man's Habit, left she should know him by his Regal Ornaments and Diadem, and by this Experiment try, whether the were inspir'd or no. As soon as the Woman was brought in to the Chamber she went directly to the King, though in Difguise, as if she had been brought up in the Court all her Life. The Courtiers that Rood about her, told her, that she was mi¬flaken, but the contumaciously averted, that it was he, though she never seen him before, and then immediately began to difpofe with him and affire him, That she had a special Command from the God of Heaven to revive the finking Fortune of the King and Kingdom. This Advi¬cion turn'd their Scorn into admiration, and what they derid'd at fftar, they began to be¬lieve, fo that now her Words were thought worthy of more serious Consideration, and that there might be no Miftake about fo great a Matter, it was referred to the Judgement both of the King's Council, and of the moft eminent Divines of his Party, who after many Debates requir'd in Councils, fayd this: The Provi¬dence of God did often make ufe of extraordinary Dinary Remedies, and in like Revolutions of State, when the Courage of Men was loft, he rais'd up Women for its Deliverance, as Delilah and Judith, who by their Valour receiv'd the People of Israel from the Tyranny of two Heathen Kings, Jobab and Nebuchadrezor: That Necessity made it lawful to ufe all sorts of Remedies for their own Defence and Re¬covery, and to try whether this was that Maffad had fo confidently afferted, be true, yet with fo much Caution as to run no Hazzard. The Re¬lationships being all allec'd to by the King, all Things were submitted to her Conduct, as far as was Safe and Convenient, which she early yielded to, being as moderate and reasonable in her Actions, as in her Propofals. The News was no sooner brought to her, but she did then immediately the Command from God to execute, and as inspir'd by God manfully enter'd upon those Actions, which a mere Womanish Valour would not dare to think on. She arm'd her Self with all Warlike Habilliments, and mounted her Horfe as a Man. This Scene was laid in a Place call'd St. Catherine de Foyebois was given her upon her Request, and the Admiral of France and Marshal, who were with a fufficient Strength to carry a Supply of Victualls into the Town, had a Special Charge given them to take care of her Safety, and conduct her without Hazzard into it. She being thus arm'd and equippt'd took her Leave to both the Queen, who could promife them, because in God's Name. Joan being gotten safe into the Town beh'd her self without any Infolence or extravagant Boafling, making Propofals of Peace, before she would begin any Warlike Enterprize, and to that End lent this following Letter to the Chief Commanders of the English Army by a Trumpet.

The Judgment of the French Divines about her.

G

King of England,

Give an Account to the King of Heaven for his Royal Blood. Surrond up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Towns which you have taken by Force. She is commanded from Heaven to vindicate the Royal Blood of France, and is very ready to make Peace, if you will submit to reasonable Terms, and (as Equity and Justice requires) restore what you shall taken from him. King of England,

The Curiouſness of the French, from the Wars, and in whatever part of France I shall find any of the English Nation, I will drive them out whether they will or no; but if they will submit, I will take them to Mercy, I am come from the King of Heaven to give you Peace of France, and if you will not obey, I will make such a slaughter and fright among you as hath not been this Thouſand Years in France. Believe me, The King of Heaven will give me and my Forces such irresistible Courage and Strength, as you shall not be able to oppofe. Go in God's Name into your own Country, and be not obfolute to your own Opinions, for ye shall not hold Peace of the King of Heaven, the Son of the Virgin Mary, but Charles the true heir of it shall again poife it and be King of it, for God hath given him, and he shall enter Paris as a Royal City, and carry the Kingdom of France, and God shall protect him, and give Orleans its Liberty. If you will not do justice to those whom you have wronged, the French will do the noblest Exploit that ever was done in Christendom. Mind this wholesome Advice given you by God and his Virgin.

This Letter being carry'd to the Earl of Suff, Joan's folk was receiv'd with great Laughter, and King Charles and his Council were oder'd, as the Perfons transport'd with an extravagant Folly, who would make ufe of fuch irrational Means for their own Defence, and the English from this Time began to promife themselves a cer¬tain Victory, and the French no longer means to secure themselves, than fuch ground¬lefs Projects. The Trumpeter, who brought this Letter was imprifon'd, which though the English complain'd of, as contrary to the Laws of Arms, yet the English justify'd it by the miffion of the Meffengers, which in the common Methods. Joan the Virgin seeing her Letter disregrad'd, and no way left to carry on her Work but by open force of Arms, affaies
advizes the Chief Governors of the Siege, the
1.428. Earls of Devon, Pembroke and Northampton to prepare for an Affair, and to fall out upon the English
Let us but put on an answerable Courage to the Affilliance God intends us, and we shall defeat all the Raflals of that Army. The Commons, who parting Confidence in her had floked forth in Number, promised for themselves mighty Success in the Attempt, and readily attended her Motions; but the Commanders had little Hopes of a Victory against those Enemies, which ever conquer'd them, yet resolved to follow her Advice for once, as an Orleans, to see how before being well pre-
pared, the Besieg'd with Joy in the Head of them made a vigorous Sally at the Gate of Burgundy, and first set upon the Fort of St. Lope Intl'yoyoing to it, which was defended by 400 English. The French, as inquired with an unus-
ual Courage, assaill'd it with much FURY, that no Oppo
tis the English could make, could keep them from Scaling it, which fo affrighted them, that they left the Castle to the French, and fled, but were slain many of them, and others taken Priñones. This successful Begin-
ing, by the Victory of the Virgin in the Minds of all, and the People at her Return to her Lodging ran in Flocks to meet her, crying, Blessed be the Holy Virgin thet by God to deliver us. Victory seem'd to be now come over to the French; and though the English Generals did all they could to keep up the Dying Courage of their Soldiers, yet the French every Day got some Advantage of them, and at length on May the 8th, obliged them to raise the Siege, which they did in good Order, and retraced part under the Earl of Suffolk to Boregnaux the next Eng-
lisch Garrison, and part under the Lord Talbot to Aunon. The French Sud'd with this Victory had no sooner put Orleans into a Posture of De-
fence, but they parli't the English to Boregnaux, and after a Short Siege made themselves Masters of it July the 12th, taking the Earl of Suffolk and Brother Priñones, with many others.

While the Hillings Forces were thus carriv'd on, little was done in England, save that about the 14th of October in the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at Westminster, and provided for the good of the Nation by enacting several Laws, and for the Defence of it, by giving a Large Provis for carrying on the War with France. The Acts were of good Benefit to the Pub-

1. That whereas by reason of the quick Re-

turn of Capi's in the King's Bench, Exigents were granted and awarded, whereby divers Persons being by former and fraudulent Practices outland', their Goods and Cattle were immedi-
ately seiz'd, as forfeited to our Lord the King, and to divers of the King's faithful Sub-

jects were utterly undone, as by the Complaints of the Commons in Parliament doth appear, be-

fore any Exigents shall be granted for the future, every Capi's shall be directed to the Sheriffs at least six Weeks, and if upon the Return the Judges shall think fit to grant an Exigent, they may proceed as formerly, but if any be granted before the Return of the Capi, it shall be

2. That Sheriffs shall be oblig'd under the Penalty of Forty Pounds to deliver all Plaintif's, Tenants or Defendants a true Copy of their Pannels six Days before the Assizes, when they shall be so required by the said Plaintif's or De-
fendants.

3. Whereas Sheriffs by corrupt Juries were
wrongfully entitled to the Justices of Affect for making false Returns of the Knights cho' en in Reg 6. their feveral Counties to Serve in Parliament, by which Means the Sheriffs were enabled to pay out Hundred Pounds Forfeiture, and the Knights lost their accout'ned Wages in Parliament with-
out Remedy; therefore it was enacted, That Sheriffs and Knights against whom any Iniquit-
ous Oaths or Offices of undue Accessions are found shall for the future have their Awards, and travel to such Iniquit's and Offices, and shall not be en-
dame'd till duly convicted.

4. By this Parliament also it was appointed, that several Commissions of Sewers should be ill'd out by the Chancellor of England into all Parts of the Realm to cleanse and repair all Walls, Ditches, Cutters, Bridges, Wears, &c. to prevent the great inundations of the Sea and Rivers which had happen'd in divers Parts of the Nation. And a Form of Commission was composed on purpose, that it might be the more effectual, which is annex'd to it, and an Order was made that for Ten Years next ensuing they should be so strictly executed; and the Nation freed from the Pre-
judices it had suffer'd a long time by frequent inundations.

This Parliament in Consideration of the King's Expence in carrying on the War in France, which grew very dubious, and more chargeable, granted very large Taxes, viz. a Subsidy of Three Shillings by the Ton for all Wine import-
ed, and Twelve Pence by the Pound for all Merchandize, except Wood, good-fell and Cloth, which had a Tax before laid upon them. But besides thefe a kind of Poll-Tax, tho'd not general was laid upon several Parishes, viz. In every Paril where the Living was worth Ten Shillings per annum, it was enacted, That of the chiefest Parshipers should pay Six Shillings and Eight Pence per head; and in fuch Parishes as the Living was worth Ten Pounds per annum, a Like Number of the chief Inhabitants should pay a Mark; and in all Corporations it was or-
der'd, that every Person worth above Twenty Shillings per annum, was bound to his Paril, should pay Four Pence by the Head to the King, and to proportionallly for every Twenty Shillings all Persons were worth, by which means the Tax was much increas'd in Gries and Boroughs.

In this the Ninth Year of the King, Wickliff and his Memory was solemnly condemn'd at the Council of Conclave (or rather Siems) held un-
der Pope John, after this manner. Procla-

mation being first made, and Commandment given, that if any Person or Persons could or would de-
fend Wickliff or his Memory, they should im-
mediately appear and be heard; none of his Advocate, the Council proceeded to ex-
amine several Witneces, whom they had brought to prove, That John Wickliff in his Life-time held and taught many Heretical and Heretodox Dogmas, contrary to the receiv'd Tenets and Practices of the Christian Church in all Ages, and that he dy'd in an obdurate and wilful im-
penitency of those Opinions, for which he ought to be condemn'd and cur'd by the Church: Whereupon the Synod at the Request of the Steward of the Pope's Treasury proceeded to give Sentence against the said Wickliff and his Memory. That the said John Wickliff being a notorious obdurate Heretic, and dying in his Heretic, his Body and Bones, if they might be brought before the Bodies of other faithful People, should be taken up out of the Ground,
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A.D. 1429.

Reg. 7.

Bishop of Winchester's Return into England, appointed by the King.

Reg. 6.

The Execution of this Sentence which was approved by the whole Assembly, was committed to the Bishop of Lincoln (x) Richard Fleming, in whose Diocese the Parish of Lutterworth, of which Wickfield was Parson, and where he lay buried, was situated. The Bishop, therefore, was at once a proper and eligible person to be the Commander against what they called Rejeice, as soon as he had received his Orders, lends his Officers, viz. his Arch-Deacon, Officials, Commissaries, and other Servants to Lutterworth to take up Wickfield's Bones, and remove them out of Christian Burial. They were far from opposing their Command, till they exceeded; and having taken his Bones out of his Grave one and forty Years after his Burial, burnt them, and cast them into a Brooks adjoining, call'd Swift, which carrying them into the Sea was a Prefiguration of the spreading of his Doctrine into all Parts of the World.

About the Beginning of September the Bishop of Winchester lately made Cardinal of St. Eul修is in France return'd into England, and in his Journey to London was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the chief Citizens of it on Horse-back, and carried to a noble Palace in Southwark; but his Return with so great Dignity, and a Legantine Power, was not at all pleasing to the Duke of Gloucester, who by this Time understood of how ill a Consequence his Promotions might prove to the Nation, being a Man of a very infolent and high Temper, and very rich, which would make him troublesome, and intolerable. And to prevent the ill Effects of them, as soon as he heard he was loaded, he cauul'd an Instrument to be published in the King's Name, declaring, That whereas the most Christian King Henry VI. and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore poss'd of time out of Mind with a special Privilege and Custom used and enjoyed in this Realm from Time to Time, no that Legate from the Apostolic See shall enter this Land, or any of the King's Domi-

(x) This Bishop Fleming had been formerly a zealous Wickfield.}

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of the Rights and Customs of this Realm, no that Legantine Power, or any other Power attempted by him contrary to the said Laws. This Proclamation being only intended against his Power as Legate, the Bishop seem'd for the present to waive his Authority in that Kingdom, and kept on his way homeward without any Opposition from the Duke of Gloucester. Only this was willing to wink at any Submiision thro' the fear of displeasing the Pope, who certainly would have thunder'd aloud if he had seen his Authority openly refil'd, tho' in the Cardinal's Hands.

The French King having Fortune now on his Side, and the Duke of York, according to his Council to wait the French to bring their Companions with them to his Court to consult how, and by what Methods they should pursue their Victories (for this Occasion was not to be lipp'd) and at last it was resolved, that it would be most for his Advan-

tage to recover such Places from the Hands of the English, as were situate upon the River Loire, and to that end it was thought fit, that a large Army should be rais'd, and marching to Orleans should from thence pursue the good Fortune which had first began there. John de Vitry, Duke of Alençon, who should have been Lieutenant in this Expedition, and had the Con-

A.D. 1428.

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John Talbot led the Lord Talbot in this Battle.

detail Place were so inconsistent with the King's Saltery, that it was in no wise to be attempted: For besides, that Enemies was in the Opinion of the English, there were so many English Garrisons on both sides the way, thither, viz. on the one side Avranches, Trévés, and Calais, and on the other side Limay and Saffont, that it was almost impossible to get thither: So that at last the Ceremony ought to be forgotten for a Time; and so much the rather, because the English had not yet thought it necessary to crown King Henry. The French, tho' very rational and certain, yet satisfied no Jean, as being contrary to One of the Three Things which were pretended, that he had a Communion from God himself to execute, and therefore infurled upon the Performance of it without delay, alluring that these imaginary Difficulties would vanish in the Attempt.

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Charles having seen the Success of the former was easily swayed to comply with the latter; and therefore resolve'd to proceed to fell his Coronation at Rheims. All his Nobles, tho' with unwilling Minds, attended in his Visit and a great Numbers, except Archbishops the Confiable, and Count Federic his Friend, whom Trévés was unwilling to be troubled with; but left three some Discontent they should disturb the Prosperity of their Affairs, he caused the King to send them home with a Com missary to the Frontiers of Normandy, and the other to be his Lieutenant in Guienne, which Stations they accepted without any great dislike, though not infeasible of Trévés Artifices. Things being thus settled, Charles took his Way with an Army of 10,000 Men towards Rheims, and with little or no Difficulty arrived there; and the English Garrisons seeing a Siege demanded only time for Succour, which not coming they surrendered. Trévés indeed stood out Twelve Days, or as others say, but Two Days, the French partly making fierce Alliances, and the English under Sir Philip Hall had Famine making little or no Resistance. Calais and Rheims were forced by the Inhabitants to surrender to King Charles, who thereupon made his solemn Entry into the City, and was crowned there in the Presence of the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar, and all his French Forces. This further injured Jean's Reputation very much; and tho' a Woman of no great Credit, yet confirm'd their Belief of her, as a Person bent by God for their Deliverance, which supported their Courage. And indeed the Ceremony, tho' of no Value in the Est, it fell, yet produced such Effects, as if it were a Real

The Duke of Bedford, a wife and experienced Governess was not an uncommon Spectacle, to many of the of the State, and with no small Grief of Heart revolved with himself the ill Success of his Party. Every Revolt was a Wound to him, but he knew but not how toward the Strokes of an inevitable Fate. Something he knew was to be done, he was long wishing what would be best. At last he resolve'd to try another Field-Battle, and fill the Current by force, and to end that ending Paris with an Army, Vol. I.
of tocco English, and none Norman Troops march'd into the Country of Brie, from whence he sent a Challenge in Writing to King Charles by an Herald to this Purpose. That whereas, he had contrary to the final Negotiation made between his Double Brothers King Henry V. and his own Father King Charles VI. and the Kingdom of France, by the Allurement of a De-
vilish Witch, taken upon him contrary to all Laws and Right, the Name, Title and Dia-
ginity of King of France, and had by Murther, Treachery, and other deceitful Manner, been Wounds and Stricken by the said Witch with such power, as to make her so little able to defend himself, that he was come down from Paris with his Army into the Country of Brie to prove by dint of Sword and Stroke of Battel his Challenge, and Cauze true, requiring him to appoint the Place of their Meeting, and he would not fail to come to decide this Controversie with him. The French King was now come from Rousno to the Church of the Holy Ghost, where the King and him and deliver'd this Writing to him. Charles was not a little astonish'd at it, but putting on a brave Revolution, told him, That his Master should not come to him, nor invite him to a Battel, for he was determin'd with all speed to seek out his King, and by Battel put an end to all Disputes between them. The Duke of Bedford hearing this kept on his March towards him, and at length (the' French King declin'd meeting as much as in Honour he dare;) met his Army at a Town near Senlis, which not-withstanding it was much bigger than his own, he was resolv'd to fight almost at any Difad-
vantage, yet to secure his Rear from the French Horfe, he encamp'd himself as strongly as he possibly could, and put his Archers in the Fore-
front of the Battel. The French King also drew up his Army by the Advice of his Captains in to very good Order, and faced the English two Days without any Action, except a few Skirm-
ishes between Parties. On the third Day it was debated in the French Camp, whether they should affault the English or no; Joan was irre-
solv'd; and would by no means encourage them as at other Times, which made the greatest part of the Soldiers, who had before in their Conscience De-
terminations as Divine, against a Battel. The other Commanders thought it very irrational to hazard their former Victories by one Battel, which if unfortunate, might utterly ruin them, and 'would be folly to tempt their kind Fortune by venturing needless. These Argu-
ments do prevail'd with King Charles, that in the dead of the Night he broke up his Camp, and withdrew to Bray. The Duke of Bedford had much ado to keep his Army in the Morning from poring the French; but because he fear'd the Elevation of the Citizens of Paris, he was afraid to give them Liberty to do it, and so he return'd thither again to wait another Opportu-
nity.

While these Things were transacting in France, Pope Martin V. who having excommu-
incation and Sentences of Excommunication, commonly call'd Hadglutes, from their Chief Preacher John Hut, at the Council of Florence, Sen-
fent his Bull into England to the Rich Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, imploring him by the Wounds of Christ, his Zeal to the Cause, and he tender'd his own firstborn on to contribute his utmost Alliance to extirpate the Heretics, which had so long withhold the Arms of the Emperor, and other Princes
had much the better. The Bishop of Winchester having waited with some Impatience for a Battel in vain, and finding his Delay unnece-
sary, sent over thence, without any great Finish, to
Tobinam with his Army, but having had ill Fortune there against the Hereticks, he return-
Ied Home soon after with as little Honour as Gain, and the Pope being not well pleased with his ill Success or bad Management, recal-
ed the Cardinal again into his Place, to the small Vexation of the Cardinal, who, tho' unfortunate in his Achievements, yet expected a better Requi-
t for his Zeal and Charge.

King Henry being now entered upon the Ninth Year of his Age, and having a great Pregnan-
ty of Wit and Parts, it was thought fit to ad-
mit him, as it were, into his Regal Dignity by a Coronation, which was accordingly performed
upon St. Leonard's Day, Nov. 6. in St. Peter's Church at Westminster with great Solemnity, and a Joy fittable to the Occasion. Robert Fa-
tiff, Archbishop of Canterbury, gives us a particular Account of the magnificent Feast made in West-
minister-Hall, when it was ended, to which I refer the Curious. At this Coronation the King made 36 Knights of the Bath, and the conclusion of it, Resolutions were taken by his Counsellors for a Dutchy of France in the Spring, and in the mean Time all necessary Preparations were ordered for his Journey thither.

King Charles being freed from the Molesta-
tion of the English, kept on his March slowly in those Countries about Crevy, and was con-
evolved into the Town of Compiégne, Senlis and Beauvais, by a Submissive Volunteer to him, as
their lawful Sovereign. The Castle of Au-
time stood out, but was surpriz'd by the Lord
Longueville, who flew all the English which he
found in it. The French also took Castrum-Gali-
ard from the English, and found the Lord Dur-
beaujous kept close Prisoner in a Dungeon in it,
enclosed with a Grate of Iron like a little Chamber. He was thought to have been long dead, and there was found with a Joy as great
as if he had been rais'd from the Grave itself, and as much as his .Majesty's Enemies had broke open the Grates for his Deliverance: But he was made a fatter Prisoner by his Oath to the
Captain, one King's, by which he engaged
himself to be his true Prisoner, than all Iron-grates and Shackles could make him, in-
fomuch, that he would not come out of the .Dungeon, until the French-Men had left to the
same King's, who was depart'd out of the little
upon the Covenanters agreed on for the Surrender) and obtained from him a Discharge
from his Oath. But all this Success was not
enough to satisfy the French King, so long as the English continued with the English continued;
for as he had found by Experience, that it was that, which had fet-
tled the English Power in France, so he did not
must, but if he could break it, and bring
over the Duke to his Natural Duty and Alle-
giance, it would be a Means to root the English totally out of the Kingdom; and if he could not effect it, his Success hitherto would come to
nothing. He resolved therefore to send
Embassadors to that Duke, who excusing the Death of his Father, might represent to him,
how many Men of Quality, and of the Blood-Royal, to join with the Enemies of the Regal Dignity and King-
dom, to which himself, or his Policy might thro' a Failure of Succession in the nearer

Branches, avert; and offering him what Con-
ditions he pleased, if he would submit to him. But Philip being a very politick Prince, and
willing to escape the many Parts of his Power, without him, as he was courted by many, ac-
swered them only in general Terms, which gave them little Hopes, yet did not quite de-
proive them of, and made some Demands of Things impossible to be grant'd, yet with a

which is more than the can find not so
much upon his Will as his Advantage, who
ought from both sides, and would accept the
biggest of either; and so dismissed them to their Matter. The Regent being certi-
fed of these Things by the Duke of Burgun-
dy himself, who at the same time let him know, he rejected his License that Orleans should be
regard'd and appoint him, gave him many Thanks for
his kind Notice, promising him, that his Fi-
delity for the Future should be more fully
rewarded by him, because he had so firmly
withstood the infatuation Proflers of his Natu-
ral Sovereign, and had not yield'd to any
Difobligations to draw him from his League
with the English. However, he could not
but observe, how fadt the French King pull'd
forward the Ruin of the English, and with Poli-
licy recorded his Fortune, which put upon him the Life of the English might be perform'd, if polly
ble, the worst, and if he could not keep all
France, might at least secure Normandy, which
was a Province that of Right belonged to the
Crown of England, and lay the most convenient
for it of all the rest; wherefore leaving the
Bishop of Torrens and Ely, Lewis of Luxen-
burgh then Chancellor of France, for King
Henry, with a competent Number of English Men to defend and guard Paris, he went into
Normandy, and being arrived at Roin, called a
Parliament of the Three Estates of the Dutchy,
and declared unto them, 'That tho' he was

confident, that the Incontinency of their
Neighbours in Revolting to the English King,
contrary to their Oaths and Allegiance due to
King Henry, was detestable to them in it self,
yet left bad Example should infect them, he
ought to let them know how much it
would be the Interest, as well as their Duty to
continue firm to the English King; that as to the
former, so long as a firm Friendship continu-
ied with England, their Freedom would be
enlarged, and their Riches increased every
Day; for as England would be always ready
to receive their Wines and Linens, so on the
other hand it would be continually importing
to them their Wool, Lead, and other staple
Commodities; whereas on the contrary, if
they revolted, they could hope for nothing
but Slavery from the Arbitrary Power of
Charles, the French King, and continual War
from the French, who were not only fre-
Ungly lost the Dutchy, being the Inheritance
of the English Crown, for this other Parts of
France might of Right be thought to belong
to King Charles, yet Normandy was undifpa-
tially his Nephew King Henry's, being de-
scribed to him in a direct Line from the first
Duke of Normandy, Robert the Poet; who
fore since both Right and Interest concurred
together to join their Loyalties to King Hen-
ry VI, he hoped that no Temptation would be able to allure them from their Faith and
Allegiance, nor even oftenow from profit to
King Henry V. his Brother, for which follow-

as they perverted, they might be affaill'd
of Protection and Defence from the English
against all their Opposers. The Norman Vol. I. A a 2 hear-
hearing these Exhortations, declared their Loyalty to King Henry, to which their Interest and Duty did not more oblige them, than their Inclinations voluntarily sway 'em. As Alarum, he departed joyfully to Paris, whether he hafned with the greater speed, because he had received some Information of King Charles's Attempt upon it in his Absence, which he did after this manner: The Parifians being represented to him by his Friends, so valiantly inclin'd to their lawful Sovereign, if they could have a fair Opportunity to declare for him with Safety to themselves, King Charles thought the Regent's Abiency much fav'rd that Purpoze, and therefore soon after his Departure, leaving Saudis, he marched with his whole Army to St. Denis, which being yielded without Resistance, he prosecuted himself before the Walls of Paris, but not meeting with the Reception he expected, which was to be admitted into the City by his Friends without Delay, he ordered an Assault to be made, and did not doubt of a speedy Success, because James pretended a Revellation for the Taking of it. John, Duke of Alencon immediately began the Assault, and the chief Part of the Army, which were lodged at La Chapelle, levell'd their Artillery against the Gate of St. Honore, and took the Outworks of it, from all, and their self resolutely into the Ditch, contrary to the Advice of the Duke of Alencon, and all the Rest, and expected the Army should follow her to take Possession of the City, but the English Captains and Soldiers kept their Stations so firmly, and being affil'd by the Parifians, defended the City so manably, that they beat the French, and threw Jaws, more forward than wis, into the Town-Ditch, full of the Fifth and Excrements of the City, and had certainly taken her, had not a Servant of the Duke of Alencon, pul'd her out. King Charles, seeing this unexpected Resistance, forv'd a Retreat, and so with some Loss, but more dishonour, left the City, not taking so much as his wounded Captains along with him, and marched by Touraine into Berry. The Duke of Bedford arrived at Paris soon after the French were gone, and understanding by his Soldiers, how gallantly the Parifians had be-haved themselves in the Defence of the City, by which they had freed themselves from all Suffixion of Dilloyalty, he gave them publick Thanks for their good Service, and promised them all the Felicity which might be expected from the Favour of a Prince, who loved nothing more than the Good of his Subjects, and would fudy to reward the well Defervers of a faithful People: Which grateful Return of their Service, the Parifians took so very kindly, that they declared a perpetual Friendship and Subscription to the King of England, making publick Acclamation in the Town, and sending to King Henry, Friends to the Parifians, Enemies to England, Enemies to Paris. But their after Actions made the Sincerity of this Profeffion questionable.

Not long after the Regent was come to Par-ris, a great Number of armed Men arrived; and the Re-gent, who was under some Discouragement of Mind for the late Loses of the English, entered into a long and grave Confitution with him, how to proceed most effectually to recover their Losses, and it was at least between them, that the Duke of Suffolk with his Men should remain in Paris for the Defence of it, while the Duke of Bedford and his Army should recover St. Denis, and the adjacent Places which had lately revolted to the French. The Duke of Bedford therefore without Delay Reg. 8. of 1429, took Paris, having regained St. Denis, and the other adjoining Fortresses, with as little Labour as they were lof'd, he returned again to Paris, and sent out several Parts of his Army to recover other Places which he feared would prove more difficult to take, as far as he was able, but as soon as he had been able, to take the Castle of Greenwich, a very strong Fortification, as well for its Site, as for the Artificial Strength of it; but by the Valour of the English, it was taken after Six Months Siege. The Earl of Suffolk to take the Town of Anni-marie, which had resigned to King Charles a little before; Migneur de Rembray was made Governor, who so resolutely held it out, that the Earl of Suffolk made Twenty-five Assaults upon it, before it would yield, and then at last surrendered, not for want of Will, but Strength to oppose, all their Men being lof't. The Earl of Suffolk Places to chastife his rebellions, and changed 30 of the Cheifeft of the Inhabitants upon the Walls of the City, for their Perjury and Treachery to King Henry; fined the Rest of them, and fent Mignon de Rembray a Prifoner into England, who did not recover his Liberty till 3 Years after, and then by Ex-change. Sir Thomas Kervel also shot about the batteries Time, fifting out of Courtry in Normandy with 400 Men, ravaged and waited the Country as far as the very Suburbs of Clermont, which the Earl of that Country feeming with Sorrow, drew out the Garrifons of that Town, and the neigh-boring Places, to challenge his Boldnefs, and pre-feb his Infeility. The English retreated into an advantageous Ground near Beaumont, where the French Horfe could prove of no Life to them, and there pitching, refolved to give them Battle. The French-Men being eng'd with the feeming Flight of the English, and their smaller Numbers were eager to engage them, and becaufe their Horfes could do them little or no Service, the Earl commanded them to dismount, and engage them on Foot. Upon this a very fierce Skirmifh followed, and the Advantage was a long while dubious on which Side, but the French, who had it in their Power to engage the Infanterie and the French Archers, the English were forced to give Ground, and in the End fly, having loft 300 of their Company. The Purrit was close, fo that the French could not recover their Horses again, but they falling into the Hands of the English, were made use of to overtake them, and lo 200 of them were taken Prifoners, the Earl of Clanmor himself, being faved only by the Swiftnefs of his Horfe. The French in the mean while were not far from the English, and theo they loft in some Places, got gain'd in others; for they having laid an Ambuff in the North of Eng-land, the French marched from Paris on this Expedition, and corrupted a Miller, whole Mill lying by the Town, he had ofteen Adminiftration into it, got into the Town by his Advice and Notice, when the Gates were opened for him: All the English that they found in it, they put to the Sword, but after someerce a great Part of the English had little after this, Sir Stephen de Vignod, furnished La Hire, took the Town of Louviers, in Normandy, by Surprize, and having frown the Inhabitants to be Loyal to King Charles, car-ried away with him a great Booty, and many Prifoners.

King Henry, according to the Determina-
tion of his Council for his Coronation in France, and the Coronation into France, began his Journey thither early in the Spring, being

A.D. 1430. The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.
being accompanied with the Two Dukes, of York and Norfolke, the Bishops of Bath, Ely, and Rochester; the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Warwick, Oxford, Devonshire, Morton, Ely and Ormond, and the Lords Banchester, Beaumont, Townshend, Arundel, Abingdon, Falmouth, Gray of Cadiz, Serrope, and Wills, with a large Retinue of armed Men, as well for his present Guard, as for a Recruit of his Army in France. On S. George's Eve, April 23, he came to Dover; the next Day being Sunday, he landed his Host at Calais, and spent some days with his Fiance, where he pulled all the Summer.

While King Henry remained at Calais, the Marriage of Philip, Duke of Burgundy with Isabeau, Daughter of John, King of Captains, and Philip, Daughter of John of Luxemburgh, Duke of Lancaster (in Honour of which Marriage, the King (.) intituted the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece) was solemniz'd.

And soon after, that the English might try their Fortune under his ambicious Pretence, as well as figure them to the World, and make them understand several advantages, but hazardous Enterprizes. One Captain François, or as the French History, Francois d'Arrias, made an Assault upon the Town of Lagenie, wherein Joan, and divers other good Captains were, which François's Expedition, but discomfited, the Garrison adjoining together, and fell furious upon them, resolving to beat them down at the very first Onset with their Multitude. François was a Man of exceeding Courage, and his Company, tho' but 300, were resolved never to deficient him in the greatest Dangers, whereupon a long Conflict happened between them, and the English repulsed the French with great Loss in the Two or Three first Onsets; but at last they were overpowered with Multitudes, and forced to give ground, but being unwilling to suffer the Shame of a Flight, they chose to die by the Sword, and so were almost all slain. François himself was taken, and presented to Joan, as to a Commander in Chief in the Town; he was required to humble himself to her on the Kace, which because he refused to do, she fell into a great Fury, and contrary to the Law of Arms and Reason, commanded his Head to be cut off, and sent to the English that were taken Prisoners with him to be slain. While this Enterprise was unsuccessfully carried on, a greater was began, which was the Siege of Compiègne. This was a great Town, and well man'd, vextualled and fortified, and therefore the Regent sent his best Captains, the Duke of Burgundy, Earl of Suffolk and Armadale, and Lord John of Luxembourg, to besiege it with a Body of many Thouand Men. In their Way thither, they took Suffolk, which the French Historians say, was betrayed to them by the Command of it, and so having cleared their Way, set down before the Town. There was very little Hopes of gaining it by Force, and therefore thefe wise Captains raised Batteries, made Trenches, and built Forts round it, partly for their own Safety, and partly to necessitate the

Beieged, hoping by length of Time, and inward Strengths, to force them to surrender. William de Howe was Governor of the Town, in a very valiant and prudent Man, who by Sallies and Skirmishes kept the Beiegers almost in continual Execution. At length, the Lord Duke of Burgundy sent some Special Service, Poiten of Sainttrailers, and Joan the Virgin, with a Party of Six Hundred Men, made a vigorous Sally out of the Town by the Bridge toward Montdidier, intending to murder it, but being perceived as they were in the Action by the Lord John de Luxembourg, he came upon them with a strong force of English and Burgundian, as they were cutting down Tents, overthrowing Pavilions, and killing Men in their Beds, and beat them back again into the Town. In the Retreat, Joan to save her Men, and the Enemy in continual Skirmishes, being her left one of the Bars (.) tred (.) (.), but the Bars thro' which they got into the Town, being kept very fierce, left the Enemy should enter with the Beieged; Joan was left at last with a few, or as some relate, that out on Purposo by the Malice of the Governo, who desired the Glory of Defending the Town, and so fell into the Hands of the Lord John of Luxembourg, who sold her to the English for (.) Four Thousand Crowns in present Money, and an Hundred and Fifty Crowns annual Rent, that sent her a Prisoner to Calais. After this Success the Siege of the Town full continued, and the Duke of Bedford, that he might haften the speedy Taking of it, sent a Recruit of a Thousand Archers, under the Command of the Earl of Huntington, and Sir John Robers, Two Gentlemen as expert in all warlike Affairs, as valiant in all bold Attempts. These Men were so active in carrying on the Siege, that the could be no doubt of gaining the Town in a short Time, had not the Death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy happened in the very Interval, by which the Duke of Burgundy, who was next Heir to his Duchi, was obliged to leave the Siege, and go and take Possession of it, before any Competition were farther. The Lord John, of Luxembourg, was by the Duke constituted General of the Siege, a Perfian of small Valour, and as little Conduct, who being discourag'd at some brink Sallies of the Garrison, and the Loss of some of his Men, entertain'd Thoughts of raising the Siege, and pronounced it to the English Captains; but they would by no means content to it, telling him, that the Town being so close begun outwardly, that any Entry could not be made within with Pellicence and Famine, could not hold out many Days Longer, or if it did, yet it would be a mighty Disgrace to them, to leave the Place after so long a Siege. But no Reasons of Conviction would prevail with him, he would bearken to no Intreaties, he would be gone, and accordingly raised.

(1) He laid some Time at Calais. Hist p. 605.
(2) The Duke of Burgundy intituated the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the Kings of Spain have no other Pretence to the Sovereignty of that Order, as they are Lineally descende from Charles the Bold, Son of Philip the Second, Duke of Burgundy, of whom the Author is now speaking.
(3) It seems he did not near.
(4) He referre, a French Author, who wrote the Life of the French King Charles VII. says, the Price was 10000 Pounds Tourniers, and 3000 Pounds Rent. Which being reduced into English Money, (for these Pounds are only Livres) make about 8 1/2 Pounds Sterling down, and 23 Pounds a Year Rent. Enough for the Heir of a Witch, or what is more probable 3 Where 3 is the correct left when the was condemned to be burnt, preserving the was with Child to save her Life, but that was a Trick, and did not do her Betimes.
what she had reason to fear from an Enemy, to which she had done much, to the 1430. Reg. 8. 1430. Reg. 8. and the Devil had too great a Power upon her, to be so easily vanquished: What she had promised was only for fear of suffering, not thro' Confidence of her Faith. The Things being heard of by the Field of her again to be brought to the Bishop and tried as a Person relapsed into the former Wickedness; of which being found guilty she was re- sign'd to the Secular Power, and condemned to be burnt as a Witch. This unavoidable Sentence of Death fully discover'd the Fallacy of her Pretensions to any Divine Inspiration: For whereas such Persons have joyfully suffered Death rather than five themselves by the least Sin, she did not stick to bely her self, by affirming, that she was with Child, and consequently, (not being married) to be guilty of Whoredom, which might possibly have drawn a Severe Sentence. The Regent, tho' he look'd upon it as a falfe Pretence, which might have been easily remov'd by the common Methods, yet chole rather to refpirit her Punishment for Nine Months, that this Lye being discover'd, he might convince the World, that she was accus'd by a lying Spirit all along; for so indeed it happen'd, that she was not with Child: Whereupon at Eight Days end, her Sentence of Con- demnation being again pronounced upon her, she was in the Old Market-Place of Paris burnt to Flames, which being cast up into the Air were dispers'd by the Wind. Valentine Vincent, a French Poet relates two Miracles in her Death, which as he imagines clear'd her Innocency, viz. That her Heart remained unburnt in the Flames, and that a White Dove came out of her Ashes and flew up towards Heaven; but as they are not related by an Historian of Credit, either French or Eng- lish, it is left for the critical Reader to determine long after to justify the Pope's Abolition of her from the Sentence of Condemnation the English had laid on her, which K. Charles obtain'd of Pope Calixxus Twenty Six Years after her Death, when the English were quite expel'd from France, because though their Actions were too Scandalous to bear a Canonization, yet he thought it not fit to let her lie under so ignominious a Brand, who must not be de- nied the just Praise, That she was a brave and valiant Amazon, the Refitter of the French Monarchy, who if she had but the English, as she vaunted her self, yet conjointly was the chief Caufc that the English left France. About November King Henry went from Rome Reg. 9. to Paris in order to his Coronation there, for which great Preparations had been making great part of the Summer. Many Princes and Lords joined with him at Arrow, among which the Chief were the Cardinals of Winch- ester and York (the) the Dukes of Bedford, York and Norfolk, and of the French, the Dukes of Burgundy, and Louis de Luxembourg, Cardinal and Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Bishops of Beaufort, and his own People.
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Divers

The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

Divers Skirmishes between the French and English.

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Divers Things were transacting at Paris, divers Things of Moment were performed by the English Soldiers in several Places of France. In Normandy Sir Francis Sarcans, called the Argagnon, a Captain of the English Side was perp'd Montargis by corrupting a Woman that belonged to Monseigneur de Villiers the Governor of the Town, to whom he gave 2000 Crowns to refign to him, which he accordingly did, and so he became Mafter of that Place by Policy, which he could not get by Force. The French thought'd at an Armistice under the Command of the Meffier de Crevecoeur, and De Viiry to regain it, who took the Town, but not being able to obtain the Caftle by a long Siege of six Weeks, they were forced to forfak the Town, and leave it to the English, who retorfified it, and held it, till with it they were confidered as whole. About the fame time the Earl of Arundel having receiv'd certain Intelligence that the Lord Bonas, Admiral of France was come to Beausoleil with a Design to inva}
the French Man's Camp, before they were perceived, the Watch being careless and secure. The French thence the Constable had men in small Readiness, but despairing of Safety fled towards the Noblemen, who were hanging up with another Body of Men to De Lore. The English in the mean Time plundered the Camp, and having taken some Prisoners, among which was De Lore himself, were returning to their own Town, but slowly, being loaded with Prey and Prisoners. The French, who were coming, hearing of the Defeat of their Fellows, hasted up to their Relief, and tho' too late to prevent them, yet they resolutely purified the English, and set upon them with great Fury, who being in Disorder, and ambushed with their Baggage, were unable to return, and so fled to the Town, leaving their Captain, Sir Matthew Gough, and divers others in the Hands of the French, with all their Spoil that they had taken a little before, yet could not recover De Lore again, but he fell remain'd in the Hands of the English. The Lord Willoughby, who lay still before the Town, was much troubled at this Misfortune, and having lost much of his Strength, thought it not safe to continue the Siege, and so he departed unwillingly from it, and in his Retreat was perfol'd to close by the Bearded, that he lost many Men in his Rear.

The Wars in France between the English and French thus holding on with almost equal Success, and with small hopes of a Conclusion, it much grieved the Pope, who was then Eugenius IV, to see the Cardinal of St. Crispin, the Holy-Cross, into France to make a Peace between them, but to little or no effect; for tho' the Cardinal was very earnest and industrious to compose all Differences between the Two Parties, yet he found them so obdurate in their Enmity one to another, that he could obtain no more of them by all his earnest and long Importunities, than a Truce for Six Months, which being granted, lasted scarce to many Months, and so was never ratified; for the Balfard of Orleans, lately made Earl of Demis, having an Army of 3000 Men about him, surpris'd and took Chartres, a considerable Garrison belonging to the English, after this manner. A Servant of one of King Charles's Financiers had several Relations and Friends among the Inhabitants of Chartres, and among the Reft, a Brother, who having obtained Liberty by his Means to buy Provleous out of the Town, and fell them to the Garrison within, had a free Passag' the next Night, having with him large Summons for large Money; and because he often gave the Keepers of the Gates some of his Provi ons gratis, could easily gain Admission at any Sa leon. This Serv ant being inflig'd by the Balfard of Orleans, to tempt his Brother by large Rewards to betray the Town to the French, by many Re quirements and Promises prevailed within, that upon Pretence of carrying a Load of Fifth into the Town fresh and fair, he might be admitted thro' the Gate at Midnight, and it was contrived, that with him an Hundred Men, whom he had laid ready in a Cellar, who at the further end near the Ware House, should rai's, and having killed the Watch, let in the Reft of the French Detachment which lay in Ambush, and at a Sign gaven, were ready to fall in with them. This was all successfully carried on, and the Reft of the Town were captur'd in a few Hours, and Two Hundred and Twenty Men, because they trusted to the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, seeing the Enemy in the City escaped out of the Gate that opens towards Eurens, and so saved themselves. The Inhabitants, who had been always kind to them, we're surpris'd to know that they could expect no Mercy from the French, who, while they did not, especially in that Disorder, to encounter so great a Force, were much of them slain, and among them the Bishop, who with Eighty more, was killed upon the Stairs of his Cathedral Church. After this the whole City was treated as conquered, the Clergy, and chief Magistrates that survived, were made Prisoners of War, never to be released, but for large Ransoms, their Goods were plundered and carried away, their Women were ravish'd, and all Perverts put to Death, who had acted as Magistrates, or Officers under the English. This Breach of the Truce so lately made much offended the English, and so much the more, because the Balfard of Orleans defended it, as lawful by the Law of Arms to retain or buy a Town without Invasion. And this was again renewed with the French Fol lowers of HoliTties on both Sides. The French having been so successful in taking the Town of Chartres by Treachery, made a like Attempt upon the Cattle of Rouen, by corrupting the Captain of it, one Peter Andrewe with Promises of giving him the whole Revenue of the Cattle which, tho' Andrewe did as much as in him lay to perform, yet partly thro' the Cowardize and Backwardness of the French, and partly thro' the Courage of the English, who made a brave Defence, tho' surpriz'd, by reason of the Earl of Arran's Presence, they misf'd of their Design, most of the French being either taken in the Attempt, or taken Prisoners. This ill Success quelled the French a little, and the Truce took effect a while.

In England there was great Rejoicing for the late Coronation of their King, yet, as the Peace was not firm, and the French were always willing to settle a Peace-Offering, the Bishops profecuted them with the greatest Severity. Richard Howsted, a Woolwinder, and Citizen of London, was harr'd for Heretic on Tower-Hill, and Thomas Egley, Priest, Vicar of Morden, and Mundin, not far from Aldeney in Essex, suffer'd the like Punishment in Southwark for the same Crime. In the Dioces of Norwich, Nicholas Cano of Eye, and several others were forced to abjure their Opinions, and undergo Penance, and so in other Places of the Kingdom. These Cruelties much incendi'd the Commons against the Clergy, and they were all zeal'd to carry it in, and because it often gave the Keepers of the Gates some of his Promitions gratis, could easily give Admission at any Scallon. This Servant being insinuated by the Balfard of Orleans, to tempt his Brother by large Rewards to betray the Town to the French, by many Requirements and Promises prevailed within, that upon Pretence of carrying a Load of Fifth into the Town fresh and fair, he might be admitted thro' the Gate at Midnight, and it was contrived, that with him an Hundred Men, whom he had laid ready in a Cellar, who at the further end near the Ware House, should rai's, and having killed the Watch, let in the Reft of the French Detachment which lay in Ambush, and at a Sign given, were ready to fall in with them. This was all successfully carried on, and the Reft of the Town were captur'd in a few Hours, and Two Hundred and Twenty Men, because they trusted to the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, seeing the Enemy in the City escaped out of the Gate that opens towards Eurens, and so saved themselves. The Inhabitants, who had been always kind to them, were surpris'd to know that they could expect no Mercy from the French, who, while they did not, especially in that Disorder, to encounter so great a Force, were much of them slain, and among them the Bishop, who with Eighty more, was killed upon the Stairs of his Cathedral Church. After this the whole City was treated as conquered, the Clergy, and chief Magistrates that survived, were made Prisoners of War, never to be released, but for large Ransoms, their Goods were plundered and carried away, their Women were ravish'd, and all Perverts put to Death, who had acted as Magistrates, or Officers under the English. This Breach of the Truce so lately made much offended the English, and so much the more, because the Balfard of Orleans defended it, as lawful by the Law of Arms to retain or buy a Town without Invasion. And this was again renewed with the French Followers of Hostilities on both Sides. The French having been so successful in taking the Town of Chartres by Treachery, made a like Attempt upon the Cattle of Rouen, by corrupting the Captain of it, one Peter Andrewe with Promises of giving him the whole Revenue of the Cattle which, tho' Andrewe did as much as in him lay to perform, yet partly thro' the Cowardize and Backwardness of the French, and partly thro' the Courage of the English, who made a brave Defence, tho' surpriz'd, by reason of the Earl of Arran's Presence, they misf'd of their Design, most of the French being either taken in the Attempt, or taken Prisoners. This ill Success quelled the French a little, and the Truce took effect a while.
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whole Profession engages them upon a universal Pacht. Charity, ought to enjoy no Properties, but to leave all Things in Common. These Opinions were at that Time thought to be disturbed abroad by their Enemies, to make them move out of their hands. But it was not so. The People, and especially other Parties, feared it would lead to the discovery of the Plot. They therefore produced a Certificate of Parliament, and by which it was ordained,

3. That in all Pleas, wherein Baffard is alleged against any Person, Party to the said Plea, the Judge, or Judges of, or in the Courts where the said Plea is depending, shall certifie, or have certifie, from the Parliament, Whether the Party, in the Time being, to the intent, that Proclamation be made in the said Chancery, by Three Months, once in every Month, that all Persons that have any Thing to object against the said Maker, or Person pretending himself a Legitimate King, may put in their Allegations and Objections before any Certificate be given by the Bishop.

In this Parliament also a Peace was concluded with James, King of Scots, who sent his Ambassador to the Duke of Gloucester to desire the due Peace made with the Scots.

The Duke not willing to determine in important Matters without the Consent of the Nation, refer'd it to the Three Estates, who after some Debates, settled a Peace with them, and then the Parliament rose.

The Bishop of Winchester, who had all the Seelion been very active to raise both the Men and Money appointed by the Parliament for the Service of France, was ready to put thither a force to do all that the Time, and accordingly depart'd. The Duke of Bedford, having accompani'd the King to Calais, remained till in Picardy, ready to receive the Cardinal; in the mean Time he having information of a Mutiny among the Soldiers at Calais, partly became by the Time of Truce they had been restrained from pillaging and ravaging the Neighbouring Countries, whereby their Prey grew too narrow to uphold their Extravagant Expenses. The Regent knowing the dangerous Effects of such Discontents among the soldiers, hasten'd thither, and having diligently examined the Matter, put Four or Five of the chief Mutineers to Death, and Concluded an Hundred and Ten more, banishing them from the Land and Marches of it, and so settled the Garrisons in Peace.

While the Duke of Bedford was in these Parts, his Dutchess, the Lady Anne, Sitter to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, departed this Life at Paris. The She had in her Life-time been the Cement of the peace that firm Friendship and Love, which had so long continued between her Husband and Brother, by which the English Interests in France had for ever been chiefly maintained and upheld, and by her Death it was much abated, and in a short Time was utterly dissolved by a second Marriage, which this wife Duke not very prudently made, with Jaques de Long, Duke of Burgundy, Earl of St. Vaill and Niece, to Lewis de Luxemburgh, Bishop of Turin and Ely, and Chancellor of France, for King Henry, by whose Perfwation this March was effected. Philip, Duke of Burgundy had never embraced any Friendship with this Family, but had been long confuted about the Marriage, would certainly have been against it, as being not only inferior to the Duke of Bedford's Greatness, but his own, besides, he was not at all acquainted with it, contrary to the usual Custom among Princes, especially of so great Intrigue, which he interpreted as a Contempt cast upon him, and

(2) This Rebellion, the Calling of the Parliament, and the Cardinal's Return to France, happt'd all before the young King's Return to England.
A.D. grew every Day more and more cold towards 1432.
him, till upon other little Occasions of Diffillg.
Reg. 10. offer'd, they became open and professed Ene-
mies, which was a chief Caufe of losing France.
But however this was not disaffect'd till some
A.D. 1432.
time after, and the Duke of Bedford's Army well
was dispersed and with his New Spolite sailed into
England, and tarry'd there among his Friends, from
whom he receiv'd many Congratulations of Happi-
ness, and other Expressions of Love and Kind-
ness, till the latter end of Aug. 1433. when he
return'd again to his Charge in France.

The Duke and his Soldiers break the Truce.

The Duke of Bedford was Absent and
in England, the Dauphin's Soldiers, who by rea-
on of the Truce were almost farv'd, having no
Wags, and not being allow'd to live upon the
Spoil of others, as they had done in the
Time of the War, began again to plunder and
rob both the English and Burgundians as they
pleased, and taking many Prisoners would not
release them but upon great Ransom.
These open Breaches of the peace being obviou'd by
the Duke of Bedford at his Arrival so awaken'd his
Thoughts, and flarr'd up his Vigilancy, that he
prepared an Army to reprefl the Infaminies of
the Dauphin, and as the Dauphin had almoft
offer'd for it to feem'd him unreasonablc, that the
French fliould under the floe of a Truce
fo King Henry's Subjects as much Mitchief as
they pleafed, and make the War caufe in the
French Dominions only. The News of the Duke's
Preparations, tho' really no more than what was necffary, was reciev'd by the
French as a Prefige of the Continuance of the
War; and therefore having gotten a Pretence
for their defir'd Arms, they invafl the English
Territories immediately, before the Duke of
Bedford could get an Army together, and by a
sudden Surpize took St. Catherie, a Town in the
Conflance of Normandy, lying upon the Mouth of the
River Sene, and another Party of French un-
der the Command of Sir Ambrofe de Lorte waited and
destroy'd all the Country about Caen.
The Invitation to this Attempt was the great Fairs,
which were held every Year in the Town of
Fields adjoin'd to the Town, about St. Ste-
ven's Church, which if they could feize upon
without any Impediment from the Garrison
would be a great Booty for them. De Lorte
therefore thus contriv'd the Planifie. He him-
self with 100 Crois-low-men, and 50 Horfe
went between the Fair and the Town to bear
back the Garrison if they fliould fall out upon
them, lending a Party of 500 Men to feize the
Boaty in the mean Time. The Gar-
Rion of Caen had not the leat Soufficion of this
Attempt, and fo came not forth to hinder them;
whence the Merchants and Traders of the
Fair became a Prey to the French, who took
them all Captives with their Goods, and
palled over the River Orne with them, where
their Captain made a Scrutiny of the Prisoners,
retaining fuch only in their Hands as could pay a
Ransome, which were about 800, and flarr'd the
Rest to the Town, being in Number about
2000. These fortlfications of the French
roufed the English, who that they might draw
them from their ravage at a Difance, refol-
ved to belarge the Town of Lautigne upon the
River Maine, which being a Place of Impor-
tance and an Advantage to the French, and a
dence of the English hindrung their Commerce to Paris,
would engage the French wholly upon its De-
fence, and accordingly sent the Earl of Arundel,
the Earl of Warkfort's Son, and the Lord Life-
Adam with 1200 Men, and all fuitable Arms
and Ammunition to belie their. Lautigne was
well ftores and fortified with Men and Victuals,
having 800 Men of Arms, besides other Soldiers
and Townsmen in it; so that they were of equal
if not greater Strength than the Beliegers. This
Duke did not at all discourag the English, but con-
tinuing to keep up the Truce, as long as they
were superior in Strength, they made many
fierce Attacks, and by their Cannon-shot broke
down one Arch of the great Bridge laid over the
Maine, and burnt the Ravelin; but Winter
coming on, and the Beliegers making a Vigo-
rous Opposition, they broke up the Siege for the
Time being.
The Duke of Bedford disappointed of his De-
sign in besieging Lautigne refolv'd in the Spring
at attack it more vigorously in Perfon; and ha-
vings gathcr'd an Army of choice Men for Cur-
rage put it under the Command of Sir Cap-
tains as he counted most Valiant and Experience
against, viz. Robert, Lord Winchebridge, Sir Andrew
Oyend his Chamberlain, Sir John Salvius, Bailiff
of Essex, Sir John Monjargny, Bailiff of Caen, Sir
Ralph Nevil, Sir Ralph Stanfield, and many
others, by whose Conduct he did not doubt of
Success. The French were much terrifid at the
Arrival of this Army; for the whole French
were to him as well as to all others seem'd almost
irrificable. The Duke led it in Perfon, and drawing
near to the Town fortifid himfelf in a Park adjoin-
ing; and having made a Bridge of Boats over the
Maine brought his Ordinance so near the
Walls, that he might batter them down for the
Assault specifid, by which he intended with a
full Refolution to make himfelf Master of it.
The Earl of Dunan, commonly call'd the Bar-
ford of Orleans, was not at all terrifid at their
Attempts; but having anim'd his Men to
fland valiantly to their own Defence, repul-
ed the English with some Loss several times, inso-
much that the Duke of Bedford not thinking it
fert to conquer it by Force, which would cofl
him the Lives of fo many Men, choofe rather by
Delays and Watchfulnefs to flave it. The
French King feing the great Danger the Town
was in, and knowing there was no way in the
World to fave it, he was oblig'd to him to prcferv'e it, being as the Key to the
three Territories, Burgundy, the French and Eng-
fish part of France, fent the Count Dunan a Re-
cruit of 2000 Men with Store of Victuals under
the Command of Monfieur de Rieux, Marital
of France, Moniteur de Comines or Horte,
Duke, the Lords Phillom, La Hure, and Gar-
court intending by this Force to raife the Siege,
or else to Victor ill the Town fo, that it should
not be reduced by Famine. This Army at their
fert coming breath'd Revenge, and being equal
to the Beliegers affur'd themfelves of a Victory
with the Help of the Beliegers. The Duke of
Bedford was fendible of the Advantage the French
had of him, being frefh Men, and kept himfelf
clofe in his Camp, which the French gave out
they would affaut, but the Regent's Courage
would not fuffer him to wait for that which
would have been a Diffiance to him, that he
would repulfe them, and therefore within a Day
or two of their Arrival fet an Herald to them to
bid them Bate, but they deny'd, maintaining
only some fmall Skirmifhes with the English,
till their Men convey'd thirty Oxen and fome
other Provifions into the Town, and that with
no great Difficulty to their Advantage, and the
Skirmifhes the French loft above fifty noble
and valiant Men, among whom were the Lord Saint-
luctnet, and the Lord Gavron's Brother. The Duke
of this Town however having receiv'd fome Relief,
the Army remov'd in the Beginning of August
1433 to Place call'd Ferriyondery, and by a Bridge
of
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth. 371

A.D. of Bords paifd into the Ille of France, where

1433: of the Regent in the

Reg.

10. But'from the Comiteetion of the Parisians, and baring lead that City should revotl to King Charle.. the Army draw near them, raised the siege in haile, leaving all his En-

Reg.

11. gines, Pavilions and Provissions before him. The Befieged purf'd him in his Retreat, flew

Reg.

12. some of his Men, and took others Prisoners; but the Necceffities of War obliging him to fave

Reg.

13. Paris, he was forced to undergo that Los'r rather than his great Service, the French, offer a

Reg.

14. other Challenge to feige, and then fay they'd,

Reg.

15. They had done what they came for, and would fight

Reg.

16. them with their own Times, and to retir'd without Battel.

Reg.

17. The French being retreated, the Regent fent

Reg.

5. Peter de Luxembourg, Earl of St. Pau, and Robert, Lord Willowinghy by a fufficient Force to be-

Reg.

18. fiege and retake the Town of St. Valery which the

Reg.

19. French had gotten in the Beginning of the laft Year; for the Regent was of that Difpo-

Reg.

20. fition, that he could hardly fleep till all Loiffes funk'd by the Befiegers were regained. Afhe-

Reg.

21. fieurs de Vaucourt, De la Torre, and De Verfeifl defended the flace, and laid for three Weeks

Reg.

22. space manfully and bravely maintain their Poifs against the Befiegers, but at length yielded up

Reg.

23. on Condition, That the Garrifon might depart with their Horses and Baggage. The Earl of St.

Reg.

24. Pau after their Departure put in a Garrifon of Englfih, of the valiantefl and ftroueft Men, made

Reg.

25. Sir John Ahomb Captain of it, and then with the Lord Willidinghy return'd to the Regent at

Reg.

26. Tourn, where they were joyfully recei-

Reg.

27. ved by the Army. Nor long after their De-

Reg.

28. parture there happen'd a very terrible Pefli-

Reg.

29. ence among the Inhabitants, whether by the In-

Reg.

30. fection of the Air, or by any corrupt Virtuhs, which the Towns People during the Siege had
catch, is certain, but it raged fo violentely, that the fpace it continued in, two Parts in three of them.
The Success of the Earl of St. Pau in taking St. Valery was an Encou-

Reg.

31. ragement both to the Regent and himfelf to attempt other Places; and accordingly the Duke

Reg.

32. feft him to befeige the Castle of Montfak, which he readily undertook; but being in his March towards that place, put by the Flemifh Blan-

Reg.

33. gies, where he was feiz'd with a very violent

Reg.

34. Distemper, of which he died fuddenly, leaving his Title and Possessions to Lewis de Luxembourg his Son and Heir. His Offquefs after his Death were Efemifited with great Devotion both at

Reg.

35. Lewis de Luxembourg in the Houfe of the

Reg.

36. King, and his Offquefs were regained. And

Reg.

37. then completed the Acts, which they had be-

Reg.

38. gan before, in the former part of the Seffion, and being moft of them about Matters of great

Reg.

39. Life to the Publick, they may not be unworthy our Obfervation.

Reg.

40. It was purfued by an Act, That fuch Per-

Reg.

41. fons as were Keepers of the Stoves or Whafs-

Reg.

42. Houses in Southmack, should not be inpenfible

Reg.

43. upon any Jury, nor keep an Inn or Tavern in

Reg.

44. any other Places, leaj Men of fuch vile Con-

Reg.

45. fciences and Practices fhould corrupt Justice, and

Reg.

46. propagate their Villanties over the Na-

Reg.

47. 1. It was enacted, That even Diffcifors fhould

Reg.

48. not be put out of Poftellation by any Conblive

Reg.

49. Trieks of the Law, as was then aftant, by the

Reg.

50. the Sheriff the Diffcifor, and then entering up

Reg.

51. on the Lands for the Default of the Tenant's

Reg.

52. not anfwering: Wherefore it was ordain'd, That all fuch Writs fhall be abated and quaffi-

Reg.

53. ed: And,

Reg.

54. 2. In the Behalf of the Perfons dillicritd wrong-

Reg.

55. fully of his Lands, whereas before the Law was,

Reg.

56. that the Diffcifor might fay the Diffcifor in his

Reg.

57. Life-time, if he took the Profits at the Time of

Reg.

58. the Suit commenced, which to avoid the Diffcifors, made over the Land by yeonfeefents

Reg.

59. with the Tenant, he fhould be the French, and

Reg.

60. Whereupon it was enacted, That the Diffcifors fhould have their Action as well againf the Feoffor, as Dif-

Reg.

61. feifor himself, if either of them take the Prof-

Reg.

62. fits of the Land.

Reg.

63. 3. And because divers Tenants of Lands for

Reg.

64. term of Life and Years, made over the paid

Reg.

65. Lands to other Under-Tenants to the end that

Reg.

66. they might not be liable to Writs of Waife, for

Reg.

67. the Damages done upon the paid Lands by their

Reg.

68. Order and Connivance before the Grant of the

Reg.

69. said Leafe; It was hereupon enacted, That

Reg.

70. the Tenant, he might have his Action againf the Tenant for Life or Years, for the Damages

Reg.

71. done, as well before as after the Leafe

Reg.

72. made to any Under-Tenants, and recover tre-

Reg.

73. able Damages for the paid Waife, provided that

Reg.

74. it were prov'd, that the said Fifth-Tenants took

Reg.

75. the Profits of the Land to their own proper

Reg.

76. Life at the Time of the Waife done.

Reg.

77. 5. Whereas divers Suits and Inducements as

Reg.

78. well for the King as his Subjects were difcon-

Reg.

79. tin'd by making of new Commissions for the

Reg.

80. Peace, to the great delay of Justice, and wrong

Reg.

81. of the Subject, it was enacted, That no Pleas,

Reg.

82. or Procifeffes fhould be difconfried, by making

Reg.

83. of new Commissions, but the Juflices to the

Reg.

84. Subject might have Power and Authority to continue all Pleas depending and determine the fame.

Reg.

85. 6. An Abufe also being crept into the Na-

Reg.

86. tion about Meafures contrary to the Statutes,

Reg.

87. and Purveys, Bakers, Merchants, and Buyers

Reg.

88. of Corn, taking Nine Bulbs for the Quarant

Reg.

89. in it was enacted, That the Statures for Weights

Reg.

90. and Meafures fhould be proclaimed in every

Reg.

91. Market-Town, and that there fhould be a Bu-

Reg.

92. flop, common Balance and Weights in every

Reg.

93. Market-Town, and City and Borough kept by the

Reg.

94. Mayor and Juflices according to the Standard

Reg.

95. in the Exchequer; and if any Perfon fhall pre-

Reg.

96. fume to Sell or Buy by any other Weights or

Reg.

97. Meafures, they fhall forfeit Five Pound to the

Reg.

98. Perfon that fhall fuc for it, and Five Pound to

Reg.

99. to the King.

Reg.

100. 7. Recognifors having found out a way to

Reg.

101. dife the Executions of fuch Perfon as they

Reg.

102. were indebted to by Recognize, by bring-

Reg.

103. ing their Writs De Corpore cum cefafo out of Chan-

Reg.

104. ny, and giving Sureties to the King only, are
delivered out of Prifons, and their Creditors are
defeated of their Debts; it was therefore or-

Reg.

105. daif, That Sureties fhould be given as well to

Reg.

106. the Party as to the King, that their Debts may

Reg.

107. be freely paid.

Reg.

108. Other Acts also of lefs Importance were also

Reg.

109. made this Session, as about the Meafure of

Reg.

110. certain Cloths, called Stricking, for the Re-
The Death of Peter de Luxembourg, who after certain funeral Ceremonies performed'd at Paris, 1433, the 17. of May, in much Solemity in St. Paul's Church in London, causing some chief Cessation of Arms on the English Part, gave an Opportunity to the French, who watch'd all Advantages, to commit some Outrages upon them and their Allies. Into furthering which, they current'd with a first Despoyl of Men, and burnt, took and destroy'd many Towns. The Burgundians much enrag'd at their Losses gather'd a great Army to revenge their Quarrel, and recover their Towns, and the Duke of Bedford being much troubled for the Loss of his Friends, sent the Lord Wolsey and Sir Thomas Kirke with a good Force to their Assistance. The English Part, the Town of Soume, and in it a great Number of Prisoners, by whole Raids he maintain'd his Soldiers, better than by their Pay. He afterwards divided his Men into two great Forces and sent one of them into the Country of the Orléans, and conducting the other himself in those Parts. The former being inform'd of a great Concourse of People, met at Halpre at a Feast, fell upon them unawares in the midst of their Mirth, took many of them Prisoners, (the most part of which were of better Condition living themselves by getting into a strong Tower adjoining) and having plunder'd the Town, and burnt the Church and Abby, with many House they retreated to Mount St. Martin, where Le Hire and his Men expected them, who in the mean time had not lain still, but done as much or more mischief; for they burnt and plunder'd the Town of Beauvoir, and Le Mote, an House of Pleasure belonging to the Countess of Laigis near it, sec'd all the Champion Country about it, and having gotten much Booty went to Lavo to divide it, which made him come out of his Gerrifh House, with Spoil without the Loss of so much as one Man, because they met in all their March with no Opposition. John de Luxembourg, Count of Laigis, to whom the Defence of those Parts belonged, being otherwise bulled at that Time by reason of the Death of the Old Count Peter his Brother. The Success of Le Hire encourag'd Pannachus, the Captain of Lavo, who envy'd his God's good Fortune, to make the like Attecks, that sign upon him, he might enright himself and his Garrison; and to that end he march'd with 400 Soldiers towards Marle intending to surprize Pevrin, a Town belonging to Gruavenus de Bar, Daughter-in-law to John de Luxembourg's above-nam'd. Palling by Marle he burnt the Suburbs, and plunder'd them, but stay'd not to attack the Town, being mindful of his richer Booty at Pevrin. John de Luxembourg, who was before at the List for his Father's Death, having having his Charge again, and raised his Men, set upon them, and gave them Battel. The French Scarce routs them, inspecting any Opposition soon fled, leaving 150 of their Brethren slain upon the Place, and 80 Prisoners. It is said, that John de Luxembourg himself fought with that dastardly Rebfolation, as if he would have conquer'd them alone, and flew many of them with his own Hands. He had with him in this Skirmish a young nephew whom he was training up for War, for whose sake he was the more venerous.
turous himself to give him a good Example of Value, and the more glad of the Victory, as an Encouragement to his future Proceedings; and that he might embolden him the more in Warlike Achievements, he caused him to lay several of the Prisoners then taken with his own Hands, which 'twas said, he did with so much Unconcern, that he caused him to understand the natural Disposition in him to be a Soldier; especially, if that Maxim be true, That a Man cannot be a good Warrior unless he be very Cruel.

Whilst these Things pilled in France, the Valiant Lord Talbot, who had been some time in France, came in a Signal manner in gathering a Recruit of frech Men to carry with him into France, and having gotten a Body of Eight Hundred, march'd thro' London, March the 9th, in order to his Journey with them thither. He landed in Normandy, and took his Way by Douen to Paris, but the Active Spirits of both Captain and Soldiers could not be idle in an Enemy's Country; and therefore palling by a strong Castle, call'd J£oing belonging to the French King, and lying between Beausvais and Gibers, he besieged it, and having taken it handly, having found the Earl ever ready in fresh Castles, and the Castle, and then proceeded directly in his Journey to Paris, in which he had an hearty Welcome from the Duke of Bedford and the English.

The Lord Talbot having reflefted himself and his Men at Paris a while, and confulted with the Re- gent and other Nobles, which way it was best for him to proceed against the Enemy without prolonging Time, was at length bent with the Lord Lisle-Adam, and 1000 Men in their Ar- my to besiege the Castle of Beaumont upon the River Ois, of which Sir Amadour de Veignoils, Brother to Le Ifor, was the Captain: But whether the French were terrified at the News of the Approach of the English Forces, or whether they found themselves too weak to oppose them is uncertain; for they left the left, and were all withdrawn to the next French Gar- rison at Creil. The Lord Talbot follow'd them from that Place, and having taken Sir Amadour the Captain of it being slain by the Eng- lish in a Skirmish, the Town and Castle soon yielded itself up to a Compromise, and the Terror of it so awed the adjoining Towns, as Port St. Maxence, Nesville and Rogn- Maissais, that they submit themselves at all. Creifs in Valais made a small Opposition, but was soon forced to surrender, and Clermont follow'd their Example; which Towns having been formerly subject to the English, but revol- ted, were used the more severely by the Soldiers, who plunder'd many of the Inhabitants with whose Spoils they return'd Rich to Paris.

The same Success had the Earl of Arundell at the same time in propagating and enlarging the English Power, by taking several Towns then in the Possession of the French, for he beleaguered the Castle of Beaumanoir, and took it by Surrender, and left it should harbour the like Enemies for the future, he demolish'd it. From thence he march'd to Orleans in the County of Mayne, and after a sharp Assault with his Cannon brought it to a Composition, which being put in Or- der he set forward toward St. Sorens, of which Town he accompanied Lieutenant Captn. Le Normand, This Man being a Perfon of Signal Value, and not willing to bring the Place to the Hazzard of a Siege, fally'd out with a considerable Body of Men, and fell fo eagerly upon the English, that he made them give back a Bow-shot; and as the French Hilfary relates, flew about 100 Men, and got their Artillery, Victuals and Tents into his Possession; But the Earl of Arun- del encourag'd the English Soldiers to return, and retrieve their Honour by Fight, which Reg. 12. would be irrecoverably lost if their Artillery remain'd in the Enemies Hands, so rufied their Courage, that they made Head again, flew a great Number of them, and drove them back into the Castle, recovering all in an hour's Time. Though he resolv'd to besiege the Town, yet thinking it also convenient to take some Places adjacent, because he thought it would cost them some Time, he pall'd it by and beleaguered Lawyers. Le Fore and his broth- er Anamur were grated together, and there were many other Persons of Value and worth in it, who defended it very bravely; but the French Historians say, the English Army was 12,000, much too great for the Garrison to grapple with, and therefore they yielded the Place; and the English being in the Possession of it, broke down the Walls and Fortifications. Having reduced Lawiers the Earl of Arundell returned to St. Sorens and closely besieged it; St. Sire but the Beliegender defended themselves so vali- dely, that he was not able to make any attempt upon it. In the Month of March, the Earl of Arundell had found out that he was at last forced to take the most de- perate Course he could, and by Alliaut make himself Master of it. In entering the Town John D'Aunoy, and William De St. Alen, two of the chief Captains, and 800 Men of the Gar- rison were slain. The Children of the Lord De- Lawre were taken Prisoners. The Earl put in a new Garrison of the English, and made Sir John Carnwell Captain of it. This Success hurried him up to try his Fortune further; and thereupon he went to the Town of Silly, and pitched his Camp by it. The Terror of the Fate of St. Aunoy and Lawre had seiz'd the Inhabitants so much, that they immediately offered him Hostages to sub- mit to him within thirty Days, if they were not relieved, their Lives only saved. This Agree- ment the Beliegender advertized the King of France of, that they might have Secour within a reasonable Time, and was exacted at the mouth of the French, who at the importunity of the Lord De- Lawre had given them together a considerable Number of Men to Secour St. Sorens, but too late to undertake the Rescue of Silly, and with all conven- ient haste to march thither for that End. These Orders were readily obey'd, and the French Army within the Time appointed presented it self before the Town, and inpacted to near the English, that only a small River parted the Camps. The English being this Bravery returned their Hostages and prepared for a Battel; but the French, though to rescue the Town they ought to have refu'd no small Dangers, finding the English posted to Advan- tage, only entertain'd them a few Days with smart Skirmishes, and then in the Night broke up their Camp and departed. The Beliegender in Silly for being mightily disappointed of their receiv'd Hopes immediately after their Retreat for- drud the Town to the Earl of Arundell, according to the terms of Agreement, and were well receiv'd by him, who restored them to their House and Possessions, and leaving a Garrison with them departed towards Maurs, and in his Paf- tige having taken the Calvies of Mikey, and St. Laurens, and clear'd the Country of Mas, of someragling Enemies which much infed him, as soon as he was arriv'd, dismissed his Men to
A.D. 1346.
Reg. 12.

The Earl of Arundell and Lord Willoughby, to their Eyes for a while in their wond'ring Gar-
рион. About the same Time the Lord Wil-
loughby, and Sir Thomas Kivell returned out of
Normandy with Honour and Victories, and with
their Men supplied Lawyers, a Town lately
brought into Subjection to the English with a
different Garrison and Amendment.

At the same Time the Hoilitoues were maintai-
 ned by both Sides, one against the other, the
French King was buie Under-hand to disturb
the English Settlement in Normandy, and by his
Inflation rafied a formidable Rebellion there;
for a great Number of the common People a-
boat the Sea-Coasts, discontented at the English
Yoke (and the French never could heartily love
the English, or patiently live in Subjection to
them) took Arms, and under the Conduct of the
Marital of Ranfor$t, Walter de Brujac, and
Charles de Mores (who were laid with some
Troops to make themselves Masters of that Place,
to some Military Order for their Enterprize)
match'd to the English Garrisons, publishing
and proclaiming it in all Places they were came,
That it was their Resolution and Interest to expel
the whole English Nation out of their Country and
their Foundations, conquer these Provinces for a
forever at first, that in a few Days they took the
English Garrisons of Deip, Ipscape, Harfluer,
Manoufrevillers and Tanchevile, with all the Coun-
try of Caen, except Arques and Caudebec.
This Success increas'd their Boldness, and they went
on to Caen, a chief City on the Sea-Coasts, pur-
pcovering to make themselves Masters of that Place,
to the End, that they might not only increas
their Numbers, but have a fit Rendezvous from
which to pursue their Enterprize. The Dukes of
Souerier and Tork, who commanded in that
Province, and lay there with an Army, having
the English in their Front, feared for the Earl
of Arundell and the Lord Willoughby with 6000
Bow-men, and 1300 Horse to lie in Ambush for
them in their Passage. The Lord Willoughby ac-
ordingly with 2000 Archers, and certain Horse-
men went before, and lay with his Men in secret by the Way which they were to pass, the Earl
being in ambush lurking the some Di-
stance behind with the rest of the Forces, a Sign
being agreed to between them, when they should
both set on them. The Rebels were ignorant of
the Delight, and securely match'd toward
Caen; but when they came at the Lord Wil-
loughby's Ambush, the English under his Com-
mand having shot off a Gun, which was the
Signal for the Earl of Arundell's Men, fell on
the Rabbie both behind and before with that Fury,
that the poor Wretches unable to withstand
their Forces threw down their Arms and beg-
good Merit to the Parson. The Earl knowing
them to be ill disposed to this Enterprize by o-
ther Heads, and much pitying their Ignorance
gave command immediately to his Soldiers to
rip their Hands from Slaughter, and appre-
ciating such as were thought the Incentives of this
Rebellion, he promised the red to depart to
their Hones; but fuch was the Fury of the
Soldiers, that before they could be recalled to
their Standards they had slain above 1000 of
the Rebels. The Authors of this Infection being
upon a right Inquiry found out, were put to Torments, and the Crime deffer'd, and the Places which had been taken
by them being badly treated by the Command-
ders, who were left in them, revolted, and
rec'd the English, and so this Storm, which
made such a blustering for the present, was
soon blown over and quiet. The Earl of Arun-
dell having thus facetiously settled the Diffu-
hances of Normandy return'd to the Earl of
Bedford to give him an Account of it, who much
fear'd the ill Consequences of it, and by the Reg.
12. good News of the Victory was so much refer-
that with the Earl, that as if the Eng-
lish Affairs could thrive in no other Hands, he
immediately discharge'd them upon another
Enterprize of almost equal Importance, and to
see the
Recovery of the Fort of Kaa, lately taken by
John de Brusly, Lieutenant to the Marshal of
Rouen. This was a Lois of very great Confe-
quencc to the English, because the Garrison put
into it by the French very much annoy'd the
Countries of Picquem, Artois and Berleom, and
therefore the Recovery of it was absolutely ne-
cesary. The Earl of Arundell willingly under-
took it, and with 800 Men began his March to
beliege it; but being come as far as Gournay he
alter'd his Resolution for a little time, upon
this Proposal to his Man, which he made
Charle-
vain, call'd the Cattle of Gerberoy, which had
been lately dis mantled and demolished, but be-
ing obier'd by the French King to stand very
commodiously for a Garrison against the Eng-
lifh on those Fortiers, he commanded Sir Ste-
phan Loffe, Governor of it, to begin the repair
and newly fortify it. The Earl of Arun-
dell in this Expedition taking Notice of the Build-
ing, and knowing that it would be very pre-
judicial to the English, resolve'd to dispossess
the Enemies of it immediately; thinking, that in so
short a Time as it had been built, it could be
in no Condition of Defence, or if it were,
it would be easier and better gained now than
hereafter. Upon this Presumption, which was
badly grounded, he March'd up to it only with
500 Horse, leaving his Foot behind him to fol-
low him at Leisure, and question'd not to take
it without great Prejudice, for the Earl of
Arundell, and the Lord Willoughby with 6000
Bow-men, and 1300 Horse to lie in Ambush for
them in their Passage. The Earl of Will-
loughby accordingly with 2000 Archers, and cer-
tain Horse-men went before, and lay with his Men
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made such a blustering for the present, was
soon blown over and quiet. The Earl of Arun-
dell having thus facetiously settled the Diffu-

The Earl of Arundell sent forth to recon-
A.D. 1346.18
The Earl of Arundell in the taking of the Castle of Gerberoy, and is fin.

About the Beginning of June, John, Duke of
Bourbon and Arvency, who had been taken Pri-
soner at the Battel of Agincourt Eighteen Years
before, was admitted to pay a Ransom of
8000 l. Sterling, and be freed from his long
Im- diatet...
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.


Imprisonment and captivity, which being done, he made all Halle to return into his Native Country, France, again; but Providence had ordered he should never see it; for, upon the Day appointed for his Departure, he was seiz'd with a violent Disease, of which he died in London-Olme, the Earl of Suffolk's, the Lord-Bishop of London's, the Earl of Bedford's Lady, and new Marriage, but at this Time was quite disjointed by many fresh Difficulties and gradges taken one at another, which had been railed and somented to so high a Pitch by the Tales of Court-Paranites, that they both thought it difficult for them to hold any League or Amity longer one with another: But some there were, who being sensible how fatal this Breach would prove to England, as well as mindful of King Henry the Fifth's Charge given to his Lords upon his Death-Bed, viz. That by all means they should be very careful, and to all Gentlemen and Amity used their utmost Endeavour to make up the Breach, by bringing them to an Interview, that by producing the Causes of their Disputes, they might, if possible, be removed, and they made Friends. St. Omer was the Place appointed; a town, which being in the Dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, might seem a Concession, and an Earmark of the Duke of Bedford's Desire to be reconciled, for him to meet at it. The Duke of Burgundy ought in Compliance, when the Duke of Bedford had foop'd thus low, to have vifited him first, and gave him a Welcome into his Dominions, since it hath been always accounted Rudeness to affect Priority in our own Houses and Territories; but Burgundy's Mind was so inflamed, that he would be first visited, as the Lord of the Town, and Sovereign in that Place, a Pandit, which when the Duke of Bedford con-sider'd, he began to think with himself, that he was not only the Son, Brother and Uncle of Kings, but being Regent of France, he sustained the Person of one of the greatest Monarchs of Europe, and twould be a Disgrace for his Majesty, to receive from the Honour of a petty Prince, especially since he had obtained Honours, Holland, Zealand and Frisland, by the Aid of the English only; and for their Reasons he would not give him the first Visit. Burgundy was not infeible of those Reasons, yet would not forbear: However, to end the Diffrefs, proposed, that the Matters in Dif-frence might be discussed by Third Parties, which the Duke of Bedford not hearing to, they departed without the Sight one of another, in great Anger and Discontent, and lived ever after it, as if there never had been any Affinity or Friendship between them, in the most inveterate and implacable Emity, which though indeed it had been Bedford's Prudence and Policy, by any Acts of Concession, to have prevented, (and that he did not do it was thought highly blame-worthy) yet it may be a reason, it was not easy to have prevented, since Duke had given many wide Proofs of his good Inclination to the French, by allowing his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of Richmond, to be Confortable of France, and confenting that his Sister Agnes should marry the Duke of Barrow, a great Friend of King Charles; so that it is to be thought, the Breach was unavoidable.

While this Treaty was on Foot between the Dukes, the Earl of Devon, commonly called the Earl of Barrow, the Earl of Suffolk's, the Lord-Bishop of France, and some others, having had Information from one Engish, de S. John, a Gentlemen born in the line of France, but a Soldier in S. Devon, with whom they had a Correspondence, how they might surprize the Town, went Captain in England, with a sufficient Number of Troops thither, who, instead of the English being sent by Night, and made himself Master of it, turning out the English Garrison, commanded by Sir Matthew Gough and Sir Thomas Kiriel. This Action is interpreted by Some, as if the Duke of Burgundy, tho' he pretended a Willingness to be reconciled to the Duke of Bedford, never really intended it, because the King of France at that Time so highly courted the Duke of Burgundy's Favour, that he would never have permitted such an hostile Action in the Time of Treaty without his Leave, tho' this may be allowed only conjectural, yet 'twas injudicious in the Duke of Bedford's Absence. However that be, 'tis certain the Loth was very great to the English, being upon the very Gates of Paris, and if kept by the French King, it would be a perpetual Molestation to that City, especially, since the French would be obliged to keep a very strong Garrison in it. These Thoughts induced the English to resolve upon the speedy Recovery of it, which Sir Matthew Gough and Sir Thomas Kiriel, whose Honour was much imitated by the Lords of it, were ready to undertake, and accordingly did by the Assiilation of the Parifians. The Balfard, who yet continued at St. Devon, had Notice of the Decease of the English, and being sensible it was as much the Interest of his Master to keep it, as of the English to regain it, left the Marshal De Rieux to defend it, if the English beleaguer'd it, while he went before to rally great Forces for the Relief of it. The English soon after his Departure began the Siege under the Command of the Lord Talbot, Sir Matthew Gough, Sir Thomas Kiriel, the Lord Lisle Adam, and others, with a full Reduction to take it; and the Balfard, bringing with the Forces of the County of York, under the Command of Sir Ra-fqeine and Vadam, took the Towers of Handon, and Muntenul (f) to draw them from it, yet the English held on the Siege, and would not be drawn from it. The Confaible of France, the Balfard of Bourbon, Maitre de Leliee, and others were slain with his great Army to relieve the Siege, but feizing the Reduction of the English, they da'd not to set upon them, which when Marshal De Rieux saw, he yielded up the Town to them upon honourable Conditions as he con-sider'd: Regional de S. John, who had betrayed the Place, and Dompigue de Fenouir, a Perfon of great Valour and Conduite, upon whom the Governors chiefly relied in the Siege, were both slain. The Walls of the Town were all beaten down, unles on the Side next the Abbey, and the Tower de Pressen, which remained all the while in the Countiy of Simon de Morue, Son or thing of the English Soldiers with him, and fo the English recovered but a very shattered Place of it. Other the Tenth in this Year, (as Fabren re-lates, but our Statute-Books place this Parlia-

(continued from the last page)

ment

The Breach between the Duke of Bedford and Burgundy quarrel.

Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy quarrel.

Deeds of Bedford and Burgundy quarrv.
A great Foul was the War, which the
Thom was 7 years over.
A.D. 1435.

The Council of 8 Officers deputed to make a Peace between England and France.

In the Council of Bafle, which still continued Sitting, there was a Motion made by Sigignon, the Emperor, and assented to by the Reft of the Christian Princes, who were all prefent to compofe the Difference between the Scotchmen, Popes, Friece, and Englands, 1st a Mediation themfelves, and 2d. a Peace between France and England, fince fo much Bloodhad among Chriftians was a great Scandal to their Holy Profefion, and this they had a great Encouragement to do, becaufe the Duke of Burgundy, who had been the Support of the Quarral from the Beginning, was now willing to be reconciled to the French King upon honourable Terms, provided that it could be fo managed, as that it might feem not fo much his own, as that King's De-fire. The Setting a Peace at this Juncture between Two fuch great Nations, was indeed a Wish worth; by the Endeffors of the Council, and the great Emperour that All fendid was from, in the Arms of the Turk, who Empe- ror, Mademons the Firft, having not many Years before made Adrianople in Turkey his Royal Seat, left Amourth, his Son, an ambitious and ability Prince, to propagfe his Intriguers to Europe, made it necessary, if pofible, for all the Christian Princes to unite among themfelves, and join again this common Enem-

and, to this End, Nicholas D’Avergne, a Carthusian Friar, cardinal of St.Jude, and England, and Henry, Bishop of Praye in Italy, were sent to the Princes at Difference, to come to a Confe-

ence in order to a Peace, and obtained by their earnet Solicitations, that they would fend their

A.D. Ambaffadors to an Assembly at Arras, a Town in Artois to conclude all Matters in Controver-

Arms, between them. The Commissioners fend by King the King by England, were Henry Bray, Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, John Kemp, Archifhop of York, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, the Bishops of Normandy, St. David’s, and Liskeard, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen. For the French, cardine Charles, Duke Arthur of Brittain, Convalle of France, Louis, Earl of Vendome, the Archifhop of Rheims, Chancellor of France, for the French King, with many other Princes of Note. The Emperor, the Kings of Egypt, Portugal, Cofiffs, Sicily, Navarre and Poland, feft all their Ambaffad-

ors to affift at it, and further the Agreement, as Occafion fhould offer. Nicholas also Car-

dinal of the Holy-Crafts was ordered by the Bishop of Rome, to perufe an Union in the Name of his Mafter, the Vice-gerent of the Prince of England, as Duke of Alba. The Peace, the Earl of Alencon and Bar. But the Duke of Burgundy was there in Perfon, att-
tended by the Duke of Guelthers, his Chancel-

lor, the Bishop of Cambray, with divers other Earls and Barons, and a galiant Train of Cour-
tiers. The Cardinal of Holy-Crafts opened the Article with a pathetic Speech to the Princes in Difference, reprefenting to them the great Michiefs that had redounded to all Christendom, by the continual Wars between Two fuch po-
tent Kingdoms, and exhorting them by the Ho-

our of God, and for the Love they had to Re-

ligion, that they would lay aside all Enemy-

decome, and embrace fuch a Peace and Union,

as might be for the Glory of God, and the eternal Advantage of their Souls; which Speech being ended, Confultations were entred into by thefe Ambaffadors to bring in their Demands and Propofals. The English Am-

baffadors brought in their Demands first, and urged, That King Charles fhould lay down

e his Pretences to the Kingdom of France, and

 fhould enjoy no Part of it, but what the King

of England fhould out of his mere Favour al-

low him, and thofe fhould hold of him, as

deputies of the Reft of the Princes of England, on the contrary, as poftively Dem- 

and the whole Kingdom of France, as their

Master’s Right, and required, that the King

of England fhould lay aside the Name, Arms, and Title of the King of France, and relin-

quifh Fries, and all the Towns which he

held in France, being contended with the Duke-

sons of Aquitaine and Normandy, with fuch

Part of Guienne as they were now in Poftifion

of, yet to pay homage for them to the King

of France, as the Suprem Sovereign of them.

These Propofitions feeming more to incline to a War than Peace, the Princes of the Council deavored to mitigate them on both Sides, and bring them to more near Terms, but all proved in vain; and because he faw, it would be next to impoffible to make a Peace between them, he offered them reafonable Conditions for a Peace on both Parts; this was the greater for

and the English displeased with the great De-

mands of the French, whofe Spirits they sup-

pofed to have been more humble, departed of France Calais, and fo returned into England. The Car-

dinal of St.Jude, feewing all Hopes of Con-

cluding a Peace with the English, returned to

his Princes, to take a Concert in order to a Peace, and obtained by their
with no great pains, the former being ready to
flop almost to any Terms to win him, and
the latter ready to embrace any Thing honoura-
ble and advantageous, so that a Peace was im-
mediately agreed upon under these Conditions, viz.

I. That King Charles, tho’ he excused himself
from the Marther of the Duke of Burgundy, his
Father, yet should make Satisfaction for his
Death, by paying all that were found guilty of
it, if they could be discovered and appre-
hended, to Death, if not, by perpetual Ban-
ishment, and should build a Church in Mon-
astery, with a Monastery of Twelve Monks, and a
Superintendent should continue with a
sufficient Maintenance, to pray for his Soul for
ever.

II. That King Charles, should pay to the
Duke of Burgundy 50000 Crowns for the Jewels,
that were taken from his Father at his
Death, and should have Liberty to recover
those that were not named, particularly the
Fleece, which was of a very great Value, from
any, in whose Possession they were found.

III. That the four King, Countries, Cities, and
Towns, with all their Prerogatives and Juris-
cuctions immediately delivered up to Philip,
Duke of Burgundy, and settled upon him and his
Heirs, whether Male or fe-

male, viz. Moscov in Xante, the City of
Anvers, with the Jurisdiction of Bar upon the
Seine, the City of Cuff, with the Lay-Patro-

nity of the Church and Abbey of Lenceau, pre-
tended to, but never possessed by the Duke of
Burgundy before, the Cities of Monduliers, Per-
an, St. Quintins, Coreby, Amiens, and Abbeville,
the County of Poyton and Foulot, with the
Outbound of Comming.

IV. That in Case the King of England should make
War upon the Duke of Burgundy and his
Subjeds, King Charles should all the same make
with him, as his own Count, and should not
make Peace with him, unless he included him in it; and that if King Charles should not
fully agree to this Agreement, his own Subjects
should be bound to obey him, but being
freed from all Oaths of Allegiance to him, might
afflict the Duke of Burgundy against him

V. Lastly, That Charles, Count Carles, Son to
Philip, should marry the said Catherine,
King Charles the Third’s Daughter, and have a
Marriage, but that this Marriage was not conuamuated till Four Years after, by reason of their tender A ges, not
being above 7 Years old.

By these Articles the French King may seem to have bought the Duke of Burgundy’s Friend-
ship dear, but he knew the Duke upon which the
Kingdom of France turned, nothing could be
too much to gain his Friendship, which being
obtained, all must follow, as it did.

The Duke of Burgundy being thus united
again with the French, to whom he had a long
time born a good Affection, knew very well
that the News of it would be very surprizing to
the English, his old Confederates, and would
certainly produce some ill Effects, if they were
not pacified with some flattering Excuses,
whereby he gained, and his Minister, the
Chief Hier-

uald, into England, to give an Account of this
new Confederacy, and his Motives to embrace it,
which were, 4 Not any real Disaffection to
the English, but merely to fascinate his People,
and in Compliance with the earnest Entrea-
ties of the general Council at Baffy, the Pope
and other Princes of Conftitution For by the A.D.

1435.

I. That they were utterly ruined and impove-
rished, and the whole Kingdom of France in
a manner destroyed, which because all Men
laid upon him as the Cause of it, he thought
it his Duty to yield to the Exhortations of his
many grave Perions, to unite with King
Charles, and so avoid the Guilt of so much
Bloodshed, as would else be laid to his Charge.

And these Reasons he thought to strong, in
reference to King Henry, that he could not
but heartily wish, he would join with him upon
honourable and reasonable Terms, that
so those cruel Wars, which we e so displeas-
ing to God, and prejudicial to both Nations,
might have an End, and Peace be established
amongst them. This Message, which was deli-

ate by Letter to King Henry’s Council, was
very amazing, and so much the more, because
the Superfcription was very unusual. For,
wheresoever before he used in his Writings to Rite
King Henry, King of France and England, his
Lord and Master (g), now he entitled him only,
the High and Most Glorious Prince, and Grace
of God, King of England, his Well-beloved
Son; as if he had been no longer King of
France, and the Duke by joining with Charles,
had utterly disown his old Master. This
Letter being read, and considered on well by
the Council, raised such Indignation in them,
against the Duke, that they would not let the
Welfinger see the King, but sent him back to
his Master without any Letters, telling him,
that the Duke was a perferv’d Traitor, whom they
could not think worthy of Answer. But the
Letter was read with great Disgust by the Citizes.
of London, who were more heady and furious, and because they could not revenge themselves upon the Duke
himself, fell heavy upon his Subjects, who, for
Traffick sake reined in, or about their City,
and slew many of them. King Henry, whose
mild Temper better qualified him for Mercy,
than Revenge, was much troubled for the Out-
ragious Facts of his Subjects, and put out
the Proclamation, sharply charging all his Sub-
jects, under severe Punishments, to bear the
like Disorder for the future; which kept their
Hands with such Bloodshed, that the Pope’s
Legate had given him Abolition to pacise his
guilty Conscience, yet that was but a delusive
Salve for so foul a Breach of Fidelity in the
Sight of all the World; but Burgundy had
served his Turn by siding with the English
to revenge his Father’s Death, and now he had
another Game to play, which was to raise his own
Greatness, which he did effectually by making
up with France, whereby he gained many large
Countries and Territories, which his Ancestors
had no Title to, nor could he himself by any
Title come, or be received, and which he
held firmly ever after to the French Interests.

Reg. 14.

Seven Days after the Conclusion of this Peace,
between Charles, King of France, and the Duke
of Burgundy, Johns, Duke of Bedford, Regent
of France, died at Rouen, September the Fourteenth,
a wife and warlike Prince, who by his Life age,
and the

Death of B. h-ho’s

Reg. 12.

of Peace.

King

Henry’s

Council

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Duke

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Burgundy,

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(g) He used to Rite him his Sovereign Lord only, Lord and Master, not being usual to Feudatory Princes to their
Superiors.

Vol. I. C c c
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1435. and prudent Conduct had kept up the English Power in France almost alone, it is thought, that the Prospect of the Change, and what would naturally follow upon the League between the French King and Duke of Burgundy, was a Means of hastening his Death; for he easily foresaw, that their Union would root the English out of France. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in that City, with all Funeral Ceremonies, on the North Side of the High-Altars, under a sumptuous and costly Monument, which remaining whole and entire many Years after, in the Reign of Lewis XI. Son of King Charles, some of his Courtiers advised him, being then at Rouen, to demolish it, because his Memorial was a Shame to France. But King LewisGenerally reply'd, God have his Soul, and let his Body lie now at Rest, who, when he was alive, would have made the pride of us to tremble. As for his Tomb, it is not so decent and convenient, as his noble Achievements deserved, and I am sorry it is not more firmly, that its Riches might suffer his Wrath.

The News of his Death caused great Griev in England, not only for the Loss of so excellent and great a Person, but for the Danger France was in by his Death, there being scarce any Man left behind him equal to him in Courage and Wisdom, and none of Experience to manage so difficult a Station; but Necessity required, that one should immediately be put in his Place; and therefore K. Henry's Council proceeded to an Election (b). The Duties of Someret and York became Competitors for it, both of them nearly related to the Crown, and therefore might be thought to have an equal Zeal for the Support of it. Someret was most defirous of it, but York had the Votes of the Council, because he had the fairest Precedents to the Crown, and so he was elected; yet with so great Offence to Someret, that he fought all Ways to obstruct his Commission, and hinder his speedy Pailage thither, which though it might prove the common Loss, yet he thought would turn to York's Disgrace with the Commons, who, not knowing the secret Cauties, hate or love for what appears. And indeed, Someret was not in his Power, for before the Duke of York could get his Dispatch into France, Paris, and many other chief Towns, for want of a Governor, were revolted to the French King; and though he was not really in Fault for it, he was forced to bear much of the Blame, upon the Account of his Delays. The Duke of York was not insensible as well of the Cautie, as of the Effect, and tho' he would not at present seem to reflect it, yet he laid it up in his Memory, that when Occasion should offer, he might revenge it upon the Duke of Someret, who bearing an equal Bul- tron in His Brehm, was near enough to make the English destruction in a few Years, and entailed the Quarell upon their Poletteries, to the Ruin almost of both Families.

In the same Month with the Duke of Bedford, died Isabel, late Queen of France, Mother of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and Queen of England, at Paris, and was buried by her Husband at St. Denis, without any Funeral Pomp or Solemnity, the Times not permitting such Ceremonies. She died hated by the French, and not much regarded by the English, for the

A.D. 1436. Boscampion yielded it self on Christmas Eve, without Assault, and the Captain of it, Monfier Pillers, a Guefois, was so zealous for his Peace, that he offered to pay St. Stephen's Day to reduce it. The Garrison repulsed him at first valiantly, and beat him off at the Onset with the Loss of forty of his Men; but while he was putting himself in for a Second, the Indians capitulated to surrender the Town to the French, upon Condition, that the English Garrison, which consisted of 400 Men, should be suffer'd to depart peaceably with all their Goods, which being granted and accepted, many other Towns follow'd their Example, as, Bertris, Tanchervile, Gomfelled, Lages, Vaussat, Grezile, Longeville, and more, and at last Montereau, into which the French having put Garrison, became almost absolute Masters of Normandy.

Things being thus settled here, Charles cast an Eye upon Paris it self, which being kept only by 2000 Men, a weak Garrison, under the Command of the Duke of Bourbon, who was Bishop of Tournay, was easy to be recover'd, the Citizens, as he was inform'd, being well affected to him, and willing to submit; whereupon he commanded the Constable, Arthur of Brittany, the Earl of Dunmow, the Lords de la (b) He was appointed by Parliament to be Regent of France. Hol. p. 643.

(R) Rouen was not yielded to the French King till Twelve Years after, Anno 1447. as will be seen in the Course of this History.
A.D. 1435. of Burgundians, B. and French, to pre- sent Reg. 14. themselves before it, hoping to get the Possession of it without much Labour; but when they ar- rived, they found their Friends so carefully watch'd by the Garrison, that they could not betray the City, as was desired; and therefore they retreated to St. Dennis, which they besieged. The English Garrison there was 400 strong, but the Place weak, being wholly dismantled, unless it were on the Abbey- Side; yet they withstood a very powerful Assault, which lasted a day and a half, and were forced to fly into the Abbey and Tower Venin, in which they only kept themselves, till they could gain a Composition to render up the Place with the Safety of their Lives.

The Lord Beaumont, who was lately come out of Normandy with 600 Men, hearing what Danger St. Dennis was in to be lost, but not knowing that it was yielded, fell out of Paris, with some Addition to his Forces, to ob- serve the Pollution of the Enemy, and if they could relieve the Place; but being discover'd by him, he thought proper to endeavour to keep him on every Side, that both himself and his Men defended themselves valiantly, yet 500 were slain, and himself, with Eighty of his Men, taken Prisoners; the rest fled, but were chiefly purfued to the very Gates of Paris.

This Lofs on the English part, not only weakened the Garrison, but made the Citizens, who flood in Fear chiefly of the Lord Beaum- mon, to resolve upon a Revolt, which having acquainted the Lord Life Adam privately, and ob- tained an Alliance of him and the Con- fiable, That their former Offences should be pardoned, and their ancient Liberties and Pri- vileges confirm'd to them, on their part they promised to receive them into the Town. The Confiable delay'd no Time, but drawing up his whole Army, presented himself before the City, dislaying the Charter of their Par- don to the View of the Citizens, and regu- larly, as it were, to open their Gares. The English Garrison, suspecting the Treason, endeavour'd all they could to keep them still; but the Citizens had drawn up the Chans in every Street, and opposed them not only them- selves with their Wives and Children from their Hostel-Towns, but also with Stones and Scalding-Water, which they pour'd upon them, that they could not prevent their Design; so the French Army partly got Admission at the Gates of St. Dennis and St. James, and partly Scale the Walls. The Par- don was a great Tumult meeting them, cry'd out with Joy, Long live King Charles, and the Duke of Burgundy. The English, seeing all Op- position in vain, retired into the Street of St. Anthony, where they remain'd safe for the pre- vention of the Cannon of the Baglie, which they vitualled as much as they could in so short a Time, and then betook themselves to it for their Defence. The Confiable and his Forces purified them to their Fortrefs, and closely besieg'd; but they defended them- selves very bravely for Ten Days, in Hopes of Relief; but they being at the End of this Term, and no Affidavitt appearing, they agreed to yield up the Place, their Goods and Lives being fav'd, and so they were fairly conduced to Rouen.

Thus the Capital City of France submitted to King Charles, Sixteen Years after the Duke of Clarence had placed a Garrison in it for the English; but not by the Valour of the French, 1436. but by the Perjury of the Citizens, who, con- trary to their frequent Oaths and Promises of Fidelity to Two Kings, most treacherously re- volted from them, trusting themselves a false and inconsistent People.

The English being gone, the French seiz'd on and shared fuch Goods of theirs, as they found in the City, and confiscat'd the Estates of fuch of the Citizens as had sided with them, dis- placing all the Officers and Governors that had not at their Attempt, and putting new ones in their Places.

While Fortune thus prosp'er'd the French in The Eng- some Places, the English were not inactive in life many others to recover their Losses, or, if that could not be, to endanger them so, that they might not be so great Winners. The Garrison of Calais illus'd out, and made a fudden Assault upon Bulles, and had almost taken the Lower Town, but failing of it, they burn'd many of the Ships that were in the Haven, and paff'd from thence into the Confluence of Grevelin, and defeftroy'd all the Country round about it. The various People, impatient of their Losses, came together, and took Arms to oppose them, but being unskilful and undisciplin'd, were soon rout'd by the English, 400 of them being slain, and 120 taken Prisoners, the rest fly- ing into the Country for Safety, while the Eng- lish, with their Spoil and Prisoners, return'd to their Garrisons.

Other Advantages the English had in other Places against the French, which something abat- ed the Glory of their Victories; for at the Siege of the Town of Cruil upon Ouf, Sir Wil- liam Chamberlin, Governor of the Town, illus'd it of 300 Men upon the French, which had assault'd it, and, after a long Fight, rout'd it, flew 200, and took a great Number Prisoners, the rest flying into Champaign, and the adjoining Countries. Nor was it a more Fortunate affair at Hants, where Twelve of the Bar- gellers had betray'd him for a Sum of Money, for th'o' he got a quiet Possession of the Town, by their Treachery, yet the English Garrison, who had fortify'd themselves in the Cattell, and sent to the Lords Tolbo and Scales, who lay at Rann, with a good Force, to affit them, flew and burn'd all the French Forces, had with the Hopes of Succour, which coming timely to them, while the Enemy were in the Heat of their Opposition, receed the Cattell, drove away the French with Loss, recover'd the City, and punifh'd the Traitors.

While these Wonders were doing, the Duke of York, though later than he would, landed in Normandy, with an Army of 10000 fresh Soldiers, being accompanied with the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the Lord Eulenberg, and several other famous Captains. It was no small Trouble to the new Regent to hear of the Losses of the English in this Vacancy of the Government, and therefore upon his Arrival he doubled his Diligence to regain as much of them as he was able. The Earl of Salisbury he dispatch'd to besiege the City of Cambrai, which he took at the End of that Year, and term, and no Affidavitt appearing, they agreed to yield up the Place, their Goods and Lives being fav'd, and so they were fairly conduced to Rouen. Thus the Capital City of France submitted to King Charles, Sixteen Years after the Duke of Clarence had placed a Garrison in it for the English; but not by the Valour of the French, 1436. but by the Perjury of the Citizens, who, con- trary to their frequent Oaths and Promises of Fidelity to Two Kings, most treacherously re- 

(1) This Officer had lately dispossessed the English.
The Duke of Burgundy had so lately joynd himself with the French Interests, the Subjects of the Low-Countries were so far given over to be reconciled to his Old Friends, the habitants of the Low-Countries, who had so greatly Lought with the King, had so far been satisfied with his behaviour that they had sent to his Brother, the Arch-Bishop of Rouen, who was one of King Henry’s chief Councils in France, to propound to him and to King Henry’s Council in England, which he did so earnestly and effectually, that he found no unwilling Compliance with the Proposals. But because in the mean time the English in France had not deft from making Intrusions upon his Territories, and despite all his Representations, and Kings had at the same time written to the Hollanders to offer them the Continuance of his Friendship, Philip being highly offended at these Things, and effectually at the Latter, which he interpreted to be done to seduce his Subjects from their Obedience to him, recoed from his Word, and told Ligne plainly, That he would never more entertain any Thoughts of Peace with the English, because they had very much injur’d him in his Honour, ravaged and plundered his Subjects upon the Covinies of Flanders, endeavor’d to surprise Ardev, rent Ambassadors to the Enemy, and even in Time of Peace, boldly against him, sought to seduce and withdraw his Subjects from their Allegiance, and done many other Things not to be pass’d over without the highest Rebellments by any Prince. These Things he wrote in a Letter to King Henry and his Council in England, and in it declared War against him for the said Wrongs and Injuries; which tho’ many of them were falsely charg’d upon him, as was prov’d by the Answer given him by King Henry and his Council, yet they serv’d for a Pretext for the irreconcilable Enemy that followed upon it: for the Dutch and the Flemings, though immediately Councils of his chief Men, and represented to them the Mißchief done to himself and Subjects by the English, desiring their Advice and Alliance to revenge him and themselves upon them, and remove this Trouble from an Enemy, it seems, yet from them, Calling, Calais, he said, belonged to his Jurisdiction, as a part of the Province of Artois; and as it was now the greatest Annoyance to his Dominions, being in the Hands of the English; so if they could recover it, it would be as great an Advantage for it would be a great and speedy Recovery of the whole Albion, and would provide, and allur’d him of their Readiness to lend him all the Assistance they could in it; and because they judged sufficient Forces might be rais’d out of Holland and Flanders to effect their Purpoe, it was advis’d, That the Duke should in Person go into those Parts, and solicit their Help in so advantageous an Attempt, which he immediately upon the Disposition of this Council did. He began with Gaunt the head City in Flanders; and having accompanied the Magistracy there publish’d his Revolution to them, and met with such a general Approbation from them, that they easily granted his Desires, and thought long till it was put in Execution; and the like Concurrance it had in all the Province of Flanders. The Hollanders indeed shew’d not that Forwardness and Readiness in the Design as the Flemings did, but at length they concur’d to fatisfy their Prince’s Desires, and so all Things were provided for so great an Attempt, which either Invasion or Convention could de- vide. These Preparations and the Intent of them were certify’d to King Henry and his Council by Sir John Erreiff, Deputy, Governor of the Town of Calais, who was so careful to provide for the Defence of it, as the Enemy to assault it, and there were sent over with all Expedition 1500 Men, with good Store of Provisions, under the Command of the Earl of Pembroke, John Lord Pembroke, and the Lord Conings. This strong Garrison, that they might make the Country about it unfit to harbour and receive the Enemy, ‘till’d and destroy’d all the Villages and Corn; and though they were encounter’d first by a strong Body of Flemings, and then by a Party of 500 French under the Command of the Lords of Warren and Baldo, yet they were victorious over them, killing many, and taking almost an equal Number of Prisoners.

The Duke of Burgundy having spent some considerable Time in fitting out his Troops, and increasing his Forces, he March towards Calais. His whole Army which consisted of Men out of several Provinces, as Picardy, Flanders, Holland, Hainaut, to the Number of 40,000, was furnish’d with such an Abundance of Vizuals, Arms and Artillery, that they seem’d fit to conquer a Nation, and not a Town, which they themselves thought so incomparable an Attempt, that they supposed the very Approach of their Captains would fright the Inhabitants out of it, and it would be taken without Resistance; but they found their Mislike soon after the Calais was taken, and the Earl Pembroke, with a great Strengthen in their Passage towards Calais, when they drew near Gravelin, they beat down Two Mills, impugning the late Lofs of the Flemings; to their Situation; and though Philip himself dismov’d them from such an inglorious Attempt, yet they still beset them, and after they had pass’d the Waters of Gravelin, and come into the English Territories, the Duke thinking it not convenient to leave any Thing behind him that was held by his Enemy, beleaguer’d the small Castle of Oye, which had but Fifty Soldiers in it. These dep’ts were so fierce as to force both the Parties to a Stroke, which was of the Chief being slain, the rest yielded themselves up to the Duke Mercy, but found little or none; for he giving the Calais’ and Captives to the People of Gaunt, who were the greatest part
part of the Army and had suffer’d much by their Resistance, that he resolved to Bleed of
them immediately, and raised the Cattle down to the Ground. The retinue of the Captives were condem’d to Death; but the Duke being offended at their Cruelty in slaying the for-
murded by the Herald much of their Distinction. Within the Prospect of Callis stood another Ca-
file, held by the English, call’d the Cattle of St. Mark, of greater Strength than the former, con-
taining a Garrison of 200 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir John Godding their Cap-
tain. which, when the Resistance of the Governor of Oye was capable to do, and flew
many of the Duke’s Forces. But was at last over-power’d, and despairing of Relief from the People of Callis, to whom he had in vain given Signs of the bad Condition of his Garri-
son, by ringing their Bells, and hanging out the Colours, (for tho’ they would, they could not do it) he resign’d upon Condition, That his
and his Men’s Lives should be fadv’d; and so being made Prisoners of War, they were sent to Grant to be kept for an Exchange, if any of their Men might prevail to carry him, and the Cattle being thus clear’d, the Duke of Burgundy accomany’d with the Duke of Cleves, the Earl of Effamps, the Lords of Davinci, Croy, Crif-
que, Hunsrier, and many others of Note, laid Siege to the Town on July the 19th, as was mot to his Advantage, and at his first coming caused three Assails to be made, but with so
many Loss, that he was forced to draw off his Forces further from it. The English entertain-
ed them with continual Sallies, and in molt of them were Victorious. The Duke of Burgundy was not much dishearten’d at these first Success-
ful attempts made against him, and order’d them as the French, which by length of Time, and the fronts of a Siege would much abate; and therefore in the mean time he was careful to block up the Haven, that no Supplies of Men or Victualls should come to the Beliegers out of Eng-
land, and had his sea-men, who had hitherto been done, because the Fleet from Hol-
land and Zeeland was not come up, as he had appointed and expected, and to that end he caus’d Four great Hulks, fill’d with great Square Stones cemented together with Lead, to be fix’d on the Sea, and throw’d over him, as a second Line of
Damage to the Harbour as it happen’d. He also diligentl’y survey’d the Walls of the Town and the Cattle, that when occasion offer’d, they might repeat their Assails with better Success. But the Belieger were on the other side as watchful of all Advantages; and finding the Duke observing their Forces about him, call’d his Trumpeter, and three Horses of Such Per-
sons as were next him.

While the Army lay before Callis the Lord de Croy was sent with a good Party to belegee the
Callis and Town of Giants, of which he soon took the latter, but was kept so long in the Siege of the former, that he was forced to quit what he had gotten and leave them. In the mean time the Duke of Gloucester, who knowing the Importance of the Town of Callis to the English in France, was reliev’d to raise the Siege of Croy with all Speed, and came, as he speaks to tell the Duke of Burgundy, That the Protector
of England, his Majesty (if God favoured him with Wind and Weather) intended with all convenient Speed to pafs over to him and give him Battle, either before Callis, or in any other Place in his own Country which he should appoint, and if he refused would seek him where he could find him. The Duke
of Burgundy answer’d the Herald, Tell your Ma-
st, that his Challenge to be fought was always
honourable, and that I will sate him the Pain to seek me, for (God willing) I will not leave the Town till I have my Will of it, and if he comes here he shall find me ready to encounter him with all the Forces he can bring. After the Duke of Burgundy had given this Answer, he took the same to his Tent, and having feated him plentifully gave him a Silver Cup, and an Hundred Pieces of Gold, and so sent him back again. The Har-
erald departed to Callis, and so home to the Duke of Gloucester, who was hastening with all the Army, and to do other Things necessary for his intended Expedition.

The Duke of Burgundy also, as soon as the Herald was gone, call’d a Council in the chief Tent of the Countess, and summon’d all the Henne-
mell Commanders and Cavaliers to it, to whom having declared the Subsalie of the Duke of
Gloucester’s Embassy and his Answer to it, he entertain’d them for his Honour’s sake and their, not to defiect him, but stand by him, and defend themselves manfully upon this Occasion, which they all voluntarily and readily promis-
ed. This Council, after consulting the Duke of Gloucester, that he forthwith sent into Picardy, Artois, and Flanders to levy new Forces, and augment his Army to such a Proportion to the English Army (which he fear’d would be great) as they might be able to oppose him. But as the News of the Duke of Gloucester’s coming began Caution in the Bur-
gundians, so it railed the Council of the Belie-

gers to much, that they made many brisk and
fortunate Sallies; and among other Things wan a Fort built by the Duke of Burgundy upon a Hill no far from the Town, that they could feed all the Transmissions of the Beliegers, and by that means much mischief did them, and occasion’d the Beliegers Spirits, and made them despare of

carrying the Town, especially since the Duke of
Gloucester’s Arrival was daily expected. In the midst of these Terrors and Fear the Duke of
Gloucester had fortunately pulled the Seals with
so little Labour, and landed at Calais with a powerful Army on the Second Day of August, intending on the Day following to have issue out of the Town and gave the Duke of Burgun-
dy Battel; but when that Day was come the
Enemy was departed, the very News of his having called the Fleet out of France, and the Convo-
sations of their Prince could prevail with them to abide the Battel, and so they all de-
parted and left the Siege the Night before to the great Grief of the Duke of Burgundy. Glou-
cester, when he brought forth his Army found some of their great Ordinance which were too
heavy for their Flight, with much Victuals and Ammunition; but thinking he might overtake them, he purf’d them Eleven Days; but not being able to do it, he ravag’d part of the Duke of Burgundy’s Country, and having surpriz’d two Towns, Tapez and Breau, he return’d again to Calais. The Lord de Croy also at the Duke of

Gloucester’s Command left Giants, and the En-
glish repollishing themselves of the Town took some of their Baggage and Artillery, and among the rest a great Gun of Brass, call’d Dijon from the Chief Town of Burgundy. And thus the Duke of Gloucester gained his Expedition, and return’d into England with Honour and Trium-
ph.

In the Abience of the Duke of Gloucester, Seans and the former Difficulties between the Scots and English broke out into open War. James
King of Scots, having married his Daughter to Louis the Dauphin, gave great Assistance to the

the English of such an Affinity and Confederacy between them, as might prove very prejudicial to them: Whereupon they frist endeavour'd to intercept, and take her out of her Seige into France; but milling of that, they began to treat the Scots as no faith Friends, and did some Damages to them upon their Borders. Thence Things incensed King James so much, that he sought Opportunity of Revenge, and in the Duke of Burgundy's Absence, sent an Officer to Gustavus Caffe with an Army of 30000 Men. Sir Ralph Grey, a Perfon of great Courage and Fidelity, commanded the Caffe at that Time, and defended it for Twenty Days against so powerful an Army, which though he could not have withstood much longer, yet his holding it out in long prov'd the Cauze of its Deliverance; for the King of Scots being advertised, that the Earl of Northumberland was coming with an Army to raise the Siege, but chiefly, his Queen being come into his Camp to give him Notice of a Conspiracy form'd against his Life, her certain Person whom Names the he could not at present find out, chose rather to release the Town, than lose his Kingdom and his own Life, by giving his Enemies Time and Opportunity in his Absence to bring their wicked Contrivances to Perfection, and to let it was in the Siege. But this Design, though seemingly prudent enough, prov'd fatal to him: For Walter, Earl of Aiskel, the King's Uncle, who was the Chief in the Conspiracy, being fearful of being discover'd by the Diligence of such as the King had employ'd to find him out, with his Affinity, he deliberately put them for a more speedy Execution, which by the Help of one John a Frier Preacher of Pearch, into whose Monastery the King was fled for Safety, they effect'd; for by his Means the Porter being corrupted, and the King's Chamber being left unbar'd, the Conspirators boldly and violently rush'd into the King's Presence, and giving him 28 Wounds, slew him. Three of the Chief of them, The Earl of Aiskel himself, Robert his Grandson, and Robert Grimes, were very severely punish'd for the Murther by the People; and son James the Second, a Child of about Seven Years old, was raised to his Throne in the Right of Succession.

After the disgraceful Departure of the Duke of Burgundy from Calais, the English, in all Parts of France, became very troublesome to him and his Subjects. At which they roar in a tuft manner against him, and flew a Captain of his Guard, the Lord Life Adam himself very hardly escaping with his Life. These Dangers made him employ his Neighbouring Princes to solicit a Peace between him and the King of England, That he should remain a Neut- ter in the War between England and France. The Perci- dioness of the Duke was an invincible Objec- tion against their Petition; but an Expedient being found out, that the Dutchess should act for her Husband, and should be admitted to a Treaty for him, Commissioners were ap- pointed on both Sides to meet in Conference. The Dutchess of Burgundy, the Bishop of Arras, Lord Grey, and others for the Duke: And Henry, Cardinal of Winchester, John Mow- bray, Duke of Norfolk, Humphrey, Earl of Suff- ford, and divers other Persons of Honour, for King Henry. After some Debates, it was concluded between King Henry and the Dut- chesses of Burgundy, her Husband not being so much as named in it; but it lapsed a little time, the Duke taking Liberty to break that Covenant, in which his Enemy would not have prov'd so fatal to him, till he could better secure himself against the English Enemy.

On the 2d Day of January this Year died (m) Queen Catherine, the Wife of this renowned Prince Henry the Fifth, and Mother of this Henry the Sixth, being 76 Years of Age, in Surrey, and was, with all due Solemnity, bu- ried at Westminster, in the midst of our Lady's Chappel, under a Marble-Tomb, by her Huf- band, where he receiv'd, till King Henry the Seventh pull'd down the said Chappel, and afterwards erect'd a Monument, which retains his Name to this Day. She had in her Life privately married a noble Welsh Gentleman, of the Lineage of Cadwallader, the last of the Britifh Kings, named Owen Tudor, or Tho\r\se, a Perfon of rare Beauty and Parts, but of small Fortunes, and therefore accounted a very unequal Match for this Great Princes; yet it was wick'd at by the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford. By him she had Three Sons, Edmund, Jasper and Owen; the last was a Monk at Westminster. Her Daughter by him died in her last Birth. After her Death, Owen was appre\n\n\naced (n) and imprison'd, because, that, contrary to an Act of Parliament made in the Sixth Year of this King's Reign, he had pre- sumptuously married the Queen, without the King's special Affent. He escaping twice out of Prision, and let others with him, but the Third time, it was too late: he lost his Head. However, his Children which he had by the Queen sunk not by the Misfortune of their father; for King Henry, either out of Respect to his Mother, or in Recompence for the too great Severity against his Father, soon after his Death, created Edmund Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and married Edmund to Margaret, Daughter and Heirs to the Duke of Somerset, of whom he begot Henry, Earl of Richmond, who afterwards was King of England, by the Name of Henry the Seventh.

About the same Time, the Dutchess of Bed- ford, Sister to Lewis, Earl of St. Poll, as if she were the Queen Catherine's Example had taught her to marry for Affection rather than Honour, mar- ried a brisk young Knight, Sir Richard Woodvile, this King Henry the Sixth, the Duke of Bedford, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and married Edmund to Margaret, Daughter and Heirs to the Duke of Somerset, of whom he begot Henry, Earl of Richmond, who afterwards was King of England, by the Name of Henry the Seventh.

Whilft this Marriage was in the Celebration, Anne, the Wife of Henry the Fourth, and Daughter of Charles, King of Navarre, fur- named, The Wicked, died at Bernandefis in Sur- rey, and being carried to Canterbury, was there buried. Her Memory of all the rem- arkable Accidents also happened about this time, viz. the furthefl Gate upon London-Brigde next Southwark, with the Tower upon it, and Two Archways upon which it chiefly depended fell down suddenly, but did no Harm, all the Londoners were fright''ed.

On the 20th Day of January, King Henry ad- embled his Parliament at Westminster. This Par- liament:}
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1347...

The Parliament, 1. A Remedy was provided of all the vexations and troublesome suits of such Persons as were not of the King's Household, in the Court of Stewards and Marshals in the King's House, and it was allowed as an Exemption from their Jurisdiction to plead and aver, that they are not of the King's Household.

2. An Allowance was given to all the Subjects of England to transport Corn of small Price out of the Realm, viz. Wheat at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, and Barley at Three Shillings and Four Pence the Quarter.

In the same Year, the Bailiffs of Franchise and Coroner, that in Actions, or Writs of Attainder of Plea for Lands of the Yearly Value of Forty Pounds, they do not return nor impanel any Persons, but such as be inhabiting in his Bailiwick, and have an Estate in any Land and Tenements, to the Yearly Value of Twenty Pounds or more, upon the Penalty of forfeiting Ten Pounds to the King, and Ten Pounds to the Planters in the said Action, or Writs of Attainder; and that no Person of less Sufficiency of Bailiff, of any Lands and Tenements shall be sworn in the King's Court upon any Issue in the said Actions, if he be for the fame by the Planters in due Form challenged.

4. A Permisson was given to all Persons, as well Religious as Secular, to appoint themsevles Generals of Action, or Plea, or Pleas for them in every Hundred and Wapentake. And

5. A Prohibition was laid upon all Merchants to ship, or cause to be shipped, any Wool, Woollts, or other Merchandizes belonging to the Staple, in any Place within this Realm, except at the Keys and Wharfs allotted by the Statute, where the King's Weights and Weols shall be let, excepting the Merchants of Genoa, France, Tuscany, Florence, Catalonia, and the Burgesse of Berwick. To this Parliament came the Bishop of Terminus and the Earl of Arminvacke out of France, but their Business was not known, and if important, was not discovered, and the Parliament soon after dissolved.

In the late Invasion in Normandy, the English had lost Harfure, a Town of great Consequence for the Preservation of that Province, which being found to be extremely inconveniente in its Enemies Hands, they resolved upon the Recovery of it. The Duke of Somerset, attended with the Lords Fakenbridge and Talbot, were sent with a strong Force to besiege it. The Captain of the Town was Sir John D'Erraquelle, and the Garrison was 600 strong. The English at their first Approach were sensible, that they should meet with a strong Opposition, as well as the Besieged as the French King's Party, whose Interest it was to preserve the Town, as much as the English to gain it; and therefore they strongly entrenched themselves before the Town, and then began to batter the Walls, which were very strong, and were intermixed with Stones, but were so valiantly opposed and repulsed, that the Town suffered much Damage, it held out, and kept them from an Assault. The French King in the mean Time was very desirous to relieve it, and to that End sent the Earl of Warwick to the Valiant Baffard of Bourbon, and the Lord Gaucourt, with an Army of 4000 Men to raise the Siege; but when they came, they found their Enemies so strongly entrenched, that they could not molest them very little by all the Means they could devise, and fo lay it next impossible to do their Friends within the Town any good, whereupon they in their Delays left the Town, very ungrateful to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Government seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of all, and a ransom of 10,000 Marks apiece to be paid to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Government seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of all, and a ransom of 10,000 Marks apiece to be paid to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Government seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of all, and a ransom of 10,000 Marks apiece to be paid to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Government seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of all, and a ransom of 10,000 Marks apiece to be paid to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Government seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of all, and a ransom of 10,000 Marks apiece to be paid to themselves. And having surrendered the Town, took it into their possession.

The Lord after the Taking of Harfure, was left Captain of the Army to carry the Victory on, as his Courage should lead him, who thereupon be-
... About but Crotois Crotois lengesthea Duke of for 1437.
... before burning his of Army other and vilion. their were the hold waded ther to palling the Quariel as 5000 king my Yno and vcred caufcd zealous if the and Tlorimand. begirt Haven-. what to Knights and Danger, to the fearing John of Talbot, and he began the fon of this attempt, and immediately dispersed the Lords Talbot and Fauconnier, Sir Tho. Kirid, and divers other Knights and Equires, with an Army of 5000 Men, to raise the Siege, who were also fo zealous to deliver the Town, that they all waded thro' the River, come up to the Chia, to get the nearest Way to it, revolting and going from it, one in the Quarter The Duke of Burgundy, who lay with his Forces beside the City, had News of the Approaching of the Lord Talbot, with all his Power, and therupon drew off his Forces, as if he would have counteracted his Army and fought them; but when they came nigh one another, the Duke and his Forces retreated to Abbeville, and left the Town; but being unwilling to lose the Bafile, which he had lately built to annoy it, he left 400 Men to keep it. The Lord Talbot kept on his Way, and came to Creve, but not having the Duke of Burgundy's Army there, he assaulting the Bafitile, and took it, all the Men being either slain, or made Prisoners. Then he sent Misslings after the Duke of Burgundy to challenge him to a Patter, threatening, that if he refused, he would destroy all his Country of Picardy with a great Fire, and would burn with a Patter Fire, fill the fuller from him, and falling, Amiens, lodged himself and his Army at Arras. The Lord Talbot, enraged at this Cowardice, said Twenty Days in Picardy, burning Towns, laying the People, and taking what spoil and Prisoners he could, and in return to the Earl of Warwick, who highly extoll'd his Courage and Conduct. About Christmas, in this Year, King Henry called a solemn Obit to be celebrated in St. Paul's Church in London, for that eminent and wise Bishop of Ely, who died a little before, and left the Empire to Albert, who had marry'd the only Daughter of the lend Sovereign. On Lofter-Day, one John Gardiner, a Person that favoured the Doctrines of Wickliffe, but yet conformed outwardly to the Roufib Cismemo- nies, either out of Fear or Interest, was discover'd to convey the Sacramental Bread from his Mouth, after he had receiv'd it from the Prieft's Hands, in a foul Cloth, in St. Mary 1438. A Decreed Church in London. This Fact was observed Reg. 16. with Abhorrence by all his fellow Communicants, and he being examined, was found to be an open Heretic: he was burnt in Smithfield, May 14., for his Crime.

In the Spring of this Year, Henry, Earl of Mortaigne, Son to Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Mortaigne fall'd out of England with 400 Archers, and 300 Spears, and landed at Cheador in Northam-ptonshire, with great Strength through the Country, and he besieged and took the Castle of St. Asian, putting the Scarcity Garrison of 500 Men to the Sword, and hanging up all the French Men he found in it, because they had formerly taken an Oath of Fidelity to King Henry, and had falsify'd it. The Lord Talbot also, about the same Time, got several other Places more thro' the Terror of his Name, than by his Sword; for Longeaville, Carles, Montreuil, and many other Towns, yielded themselves to him without any Resistance. The Earl of Mortaigne further ad- vanced his Success, and took the Castle of Lina in the Army built, who came to the Relief of it; but the French were not the only Gainers, what they got in one Place, they lost in Another; for Montanges, and Clerisie submitted themselves to King Charles, and the Burgelies of Macon and St. Sifjan, in the Country of Brie, fled and de- livered those Towns up to the French for Money; so that what Courage and Diligence went on the English Side, Treachery lost them, for th'o' they could subdue the French, they could never make them faithful, seldom continuing in Obedience longer than they were kept in Fear by the Sword, or other Force.

The Un料onablebliss of the Harreft this Reg. 17. Year, which was full of raging Winds and ex- ceptive Rains, cau'd such a great Scarcity of Cora in England and France, that Wheat began at this time to be sold at 2l. 6s. per Bushel, and Malt at 18d. and before the Year pass'd, increased so much in the Price, that the Poor underwent great Hardships, and were forced to make their Bread of Vetches, and Pea's, and Beaux, comf Grains, with which before they usually fed their Beasts and Poultry; and in some Parts of the Nation the Life of those that could not have any thing to eat, was miserably pass'd. Want of these curfer Grains, that they made Bread of Fenr-Roots and Ivy-Berries. In the City of London, the Death was not so great as in the Country, thro' the Care and Vigilance of Stephen Brown, then Mayor, who fecing the great Danger the City was in, of suffering Fam- ine, sent several Ships into Paffage for By, which brought facli Quantities of that Grain into the City, that there was a Suficiency of Bread with the poor. Divers other lamenta- ble Accidents attended this publique Calamity. On Nov. 25. there was such a terrible Wind, that blew the Belft. of St. Paul's down, and it is said, even the Belft. of the Nation, and particularly at London; it blew off the Leads of the Grey-Friars Church, and al- most beat down a whole Side of a Street, called the Old Exchange, so that the Inhabitants were forced to underprop it with great Stacks of Wood, and this great Stack of Wood fell down at Baward's Caffe, and killed Three Men, many more being bruiz'd and wounded dangerously: At Bedford also, upon the Day of the Alizes, there were Eighteen Perfon's killed, and several more hurt, by the fall of a Pair of Stairs. With these un- lucky Events happen'd the Death of that useful and charitable Citizen Sir Robert Chicheley, Gro-
The Life and Reign of HENRY the Sixth.

A.D. 1439.

Reg. 17.

The Duke of Burgundy, who, after his flamboyant
retreat from Crevecoeur, studied how to revenge himself
upon the English, and recover his lost
prestige in the West, had first despatched, by
Smiths and Pioneers, under the Conduit of
1600 Soldiers, to cut down the Sea-Banks
about Calais, believing that by that means
he should shrewdly the Town, and all the bordering
Country; but the Event answered not
Expectation, whereupon they turned to Font de
Adly, and pretended to lay Siege to it, but
soon drew off their Forces, and returned Home.
Seeking rather to find themselves some fair Ex-
cuse, than effect any thing. But 'tis this
Stratagem proved so foolish, the French had other
Engines, and greater pretensions, and got them many Towns about this Time, which
were, their Preferments and Money, large
Promises and great Sums. These Things proved so prevalent, as well with the English as French,
in the English Garrisons, that no Place could
withstand them, the French wanted
Money, 'tis plain, in the Camp, infomuch,
that they spent their Time in plundering another
one; but yet since Money made way so
casily to King Charles's Design in regaining his
Country, he chose rather to want himself, than
his Money the English hardly knew how to prevent;
but it being related to the Council of England, they
sent over the Earl of Huntzewing in June, with
2000 Archers, and 400 Speer-men, as a Supply to
the Garrisons, and a fresh Recruit to the
Army. At his Coming he found the Earl of
Dumis near Taunton, where, partly by Rewards,
and partly by fair Promises, he had won
several Cities in Guern, besides which
Rodrigo de Vellauntes had recover'd by like
Policies, to stave for his late Disobedience to his
Misher's Command to attend him. The Earl
requiring Garrisons and Men of War in the Towns,
yet in the English Hands, out of his own Forces,
which he had brought out of England, and removed the old Garrisons to other
Towns, where they were not acquainted.
He displaced also the old Magistrates, and put
in new ones, and so secured several of the
remaining Towns, most of which had an
itching Desire to be fingered the French
Money, and would have probably revolted to
them, had not this Earl's Coming and prudent
Management prevented it. Nor had the fame
Methods a warm Success in Normandy, whither
Sir Richard Woodville, Sir William Chaunelre and
Sir William Peete were sent, with a Thou-
sand Men, upon the like Errand, who kept the
wawering Towns by so doing, the' they re-
covered not what had revolted till the Division
among the French gave them this Opportunity.

LEO.

Luis the Dauphin, a Prince of a very ambi-
tuous Spirit, young and hardy, being now ar-
ived at the Sixteenth Year of his Age, and mar-
rage, grown impatient to be under the Govern-
ment of a Father, and at some Authority
that might make him look like his Son to a
King, which his Father, who was very sufpi-
cious and jealous, being even from his Child-
hood exercised with the Perfections of his Mother,
and the Eminity of the English and
Burgundians, obtaining, treated him with a Reg. 17.
little more Severity than usual, and kept him
under a to a shorter Allowance, which much disco-
tented him. The Nobles, who were not well
pleased with their King's Age to them, because he had always put most Confidence in
the People, as being less able to hurt and dam-
nify him, laid hold of this Opportunity of
inciting the Dauphin against his Father, there-
by to raise themselves into greater Places and
Trouble under him, should prevail, and
under his Father, if they could come to an Ag-
ment. The Chief of the Nobles, who were several
most active to stir up this Disputation, were the
Dukes of Bourbon and Alencon, the Counts of
Courcen, Vendome, Chalonne, Chambon, Bowain and Priu, and
Peyre Thelie told him, That his Day to his Father
was a great Obligation to Obsequie and Submission,
yet since the Welfare of the Publick was the main
Thing he ought to itself, as a Prince, the former
ought not to tie him up from the Use of any proper
Means to secure the latter: That 'tis evident his
Father had given many Faults in his Go-

ger, as the Murderer of the Duke of Bur-
gundy, Contemp of his Nobles, and the like, which
ought to be redressed, and by none so justly as himself,
who was the next Person to the Crown: That those
who were at present in greatest Authority about the
King, performed no Service to aPrince, which
could not be effected, but with a great Loss of his own
Patrimony: That he had excluded them from his
Favour and Trust merely that he might Tyrannize
the more securely over the Kingdom, and keep the
Dauphin under: That the King his Father had
Shed him to Luches, a remote and private Part
of his Kingdom, that being far from the Court, and
ignorant of Affairs, he might be led by them to
ruin, contrary to his and the Kingdom's
Interests: That a Resolution to redress these Things
would not be interpreted in him Disobedience, but
a noble Attempt to preserve the whole State, as well
his Father and himself, as his Subjects. The Da-
uphin being of a contumacious Disposition, pre-

A.D. 1439.

Reg. 17.

The Duke of Burgundy's Project to rob the Calais.

Their Cargoes to prevent Bribes.
and the Duke of Bourbon with a good Force had
the Command and Guard of the Dauphin's Per-
son. The News of this Infraction of his Son,
which was as Unreasonable as Unjustifiable, was
very ungrateful to King Charles; and this Greatness
in each Attempt he, in the Birth, immediately sent a Messager
to the Duke of Bourbon to deliver up his Son,
and to the Duke of Anjou to surrender his Towns of
Noyard and Masencer, and both of them
to come to him to give a Reason of their
Treasons, which tho' they did not amount to Denials,
yet apparently discover'd their Designs to de-
lay both. The King seeing their Obstinate re-
solv'd to crush them by Force, and to march
against them towards Masencer and Noyard, which
immediately submitted to the King all but the
Castle, which was besieged and taken by
the King's Forces and the Commanders hang'd.
The other Towns that follow'd the Dauphin's
Party, came into the King, and left the Lords
defaulter of all Alliances, insomuch that they
were forced to jumble themselves to him, who
feizing the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Duke of
Reconcilliation, and fo they met the King at Cla-
mans, and after begging Forgiveness they
were reconcil'd and pardon'd, except Trimmire, Chas-
sworth and Fry: The Dauphin flood much
upon their Pardon at first, and told his Father,
the King, that there were many of his own
kneeling the Earl of Huntingdon, because he had engaged his Word and Hon-
our for their Safety; but when King Charles said
briskly to his Son, That he had free leave to de-
part, he added to his Eunomy, he should find caus
of the adhering to his Father's Laws, and submit to the
His Pleasure, and the three Lords were left out:
And in this way the Accord between King
Charles and his Son: But while this Disturbance
faded which was almost all Summer, the
Engilh had a good Opportunity of recovering
their Losses, which they so well made use of,
that they regained the greatest part of them,
and were preparing to attempt Paris it self, but
the unexpected Agreement of the French
King and his Son put an End to those Designs,
and confirm'd their Thoughts to preserve what
they had gotten, rather than win more.
While France was thus baff'd in compounding
Things, another Difference thro' which the Na-
Sons and the Body of the People in Florence
at the Council of Florence perplexed the Em-
peror and patriarch of Constantinople, with the
fear of the Greeks there present to receive and
publish to the Doctrines of the Church of
Rome concerning the Procreation of the Holy
Ghost from the Son, receiving the Sacrament
of the Body of Christ in unleaven'd Bread, Por-
tatory and the Supremacy of the Bishop of
Rome. But this Act of theirs was so highly
Offensive to the Greeks-Churches when they
heard of it, that they publicly declared their
Dissolution to this Subscription, since a pub-
lisc Revolution had been done of all the Legates
that had assenble to them, and would not permit
them to be buried with Christian Burial.

Reg. 18.

In November this Year began a Frott, which
held with such Violence, that it froze all
Ditches, Nevers, that they were impassable, and
the Frott with a deep Drift and a high
almost incendiarie from the Ground. This
Weather put the English upon a Stratagem to
reco*t Posses by Surprise, which the French
King had lately got from them by Money,
caused the chief Strength of the Troops lying in
the deep Ditches about it, the Frott had made
them Unserviceable; they therefore covering
their Armour with their White Shirts, and
their Head-pieces with White Caps, paled over
the Ice und'cover'd by Night, and Scaling the
Reg. 18. Walls flew the Watch sleeping, and took
the Town with a Noise, and you can now see how,
through that great Spoil, to the great Dilatification of the People
of Paris, who were much damag'd by the Loss
of it. The Two Captains of the Town and
Castle, John de Villers, and one Norden a Bur-
gundian Knight escap'd, tho' hardly, but the
French carried Burgelles fell into their Hands, and
ful'd their Parts with excellent Services. Lord
Clifford was the Leader of the English in this
brave Attempt, and being Master of the Town
was made the Governor of it, to defend it
with the same Valour he had taken it.

On the Morrow after St. Martin, November
the 13th the King summon'd his Parliament
meet at Westminster, where several Things
of great Benefit to the Nation were enacted.
1. That Cheefe and Batter may carry'd
out of the Kingdom without License.
2. That Merchants Strangers shall not fell
those Merchandizes one to another in England,
but that every such Merchant shall have a
Surprize or Surveyor appointed him at his Landing
by the chief Officer of the Town or Place where
he shall land, who shall keep a Register of all
he buys and sells, and take Two Pence in the
Pound of him for all Merchandise by him bought
and sold, and Merchants shall fall and
buy all within eight Months.
3. That all Persons made Justices of the Peace
shall have Lands or Tenements to the Value of
twenty Pound a Year, except in Cities and
Corporations.
4. That no Captain shall detain the Wages
of the common soldiers, except it be for their
Clothing.
5. That every Person mustering and receiv-
ing the King's Wages, who shall depart from
their Captains and the King's Service, without
apparent License granted to them by the said Cap-
tains, shall be punish'd as Felons: With some
others of least Importance.

It seems, that the King had by this Parlia-
ment a Fifteenth or a Dime granted him for the
Necessity of the State, because there is an
Act made for the regular Collections of Fifteens
and Fifteens only in all England within this
Realm; and besides it was enacted, That
every Hotholder that is an Allen shall pay the
King thirteen Pence a Year, and every Servant
Allen six Pence.

Soon after the taking of Ponsatte by the En-
ghl the Earl of Warwick Regent of France fell
sick, and in April following dy'd in the Castle
of Roue in Normandy. His Corps was kept
there till October following, when it was car-
ried over into England, and honourably inter-
red in his College of our Lady Church at War-
wick, built by his Noble Ancestors, in a Fair
and spacious Tomb in the Choir of that Church.
Henry, who after him was Duke of Warwick,
and Amy, who was marry'd to Richard Neville,
Earl of Salisbury, Henry lived some Years, but dy-
ning without Issue, his Honour dedicated to his
Sister, in whose Right the Earl of Salisbury be-
came Earl of Warwick. The Duke of
Plantagenet succeed'd him in his Go-

government in France, being made Deputy there
a second Time. He was more speedy in going
over into France this Time than before; for
having being accompany'd with the Earl of Oxford,
Lord Bourchier, call'd Earl of Es, Sir James Or-
A.D. 1440.}

A.D. 1439.

1439. 13th

13th

13th
after the Earl of Warwick's Death. His Arrival was as favourable as it was speedy. His carriage being most impressive, and his Person so very amiable, it gave an universal joy to all the French; for it was the first time since the War began that a publick Personage of so great a Rank should venture to fall upon the English Conquests in France; for the Parisisans, to whom the Loss of Fontaine was so inconvenient, raised a great Sum of Money to enable King Charles to besiege it, and endeavour the Recovery of it, while the Carriages of many fine Furniture and Plate along with them 1200 Old Soldiers, and the greater part of the Nobles and Princes of France with a great Army. The French began the Siege with great Fury, encompassing the Town with Batteries, Trenches and Ditches, battering its Walls with their great Ordnance, and taking it many Times from the Enemys Affiliates. The Lord Clifford who was Captain of it defended it with so much Valour, that the French Men rather lost than won, tho' it was impossible he could hold out long against so great an Army without Succour. The Duke of York immediately upon his Landing receiv'd the News of the Condition of Fontaine, and sent to the Lord Talbot to come to him, and bring all the Forces he could get together for the Relief of it. Talbot was as zcelious to obey, as the Duke was to command, and having assembl'd a great Part of his Men, they marched to Fontaine and challenged the French King to come out of his Trenches to give them Battel. Charles by the Advice of his Council refus'd it, and thought himselfe secure from any Attempts of the English, because the River Oise was betwixt him and the Duke of York, who came provided with Bears, Cordage, Timber, and Planks, by the Ufe of them gained a Paffage over the River, and releav'd to attack King Charles in his Trenches. The News of this being carry'd to the French King surpris'd him somewhat, for he thought that he might escape the Danger, he rais'd his Camp that Night, and withdrew to Poissy, leaving the Lord Catigis with 3000 Men to defend the Battle. The Duke of York and the English Army were not enabill to the French King's Retreat, so Marching up in Order towards the Camp found no Enemy, but only their Tents and heavy Baggage, which they feiz'd on as Frey. The Duke then enter'd the Town, and having repair'd the Walls and flored it with Victuals, put in Sir George Clifford and Sir Nicholas Bourchier with a Garrison of 1000 Soldiers, and were about to enter and present their Galet at Poissy, but not being able to draw him into the Field, he after some small Skirmishes dislodged his Army and return'd to Rouen.

About the Time that Richard, Duke of York, went to his Government in France. viz. on the 27th Day of June, the Duke, Richard Wicke, Minifter of Herernsfort in Effex, who had been before convicted of Heretic and abjur'd, was found guilty of a Relapse, and being degraded from his Prieffly Dignity was burn'd as an incorrigible Heretick on Tower-hill, before his Death he had Forsook the Papist Religion, and was a good Man, and burn't out of Malice, that many Men and Women went by Night to the Place where he was murthred, and offer'd many Images of Wax and other Things according to the Superstition of those Times, making their Prayers to Him, killing the Ground where he fell, and carrying away the Ashes of his Body as a farrel Relique. This blind Devotion being observed by the Vicar of Barkling, in 1440. recite their Superfluous Adoration muddled the Vicar of Barkling, and his People, that they rai'd a great People. The Lord of Stedham having a great Receipt of Money and many went on Pilgrimage to it to the great enriching of the Vicar of Barkling, who receiv'd the Offerings of the People. The Churchmen, who were much bash'd for putting to Death so holy a Man, were much offenc'd at this Action of the People, and made them their Complaints to the King, that it was a great Slander to the Church to have Worship paid to him, whereupon the King put out a * Proclamation to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, commanding them to hinder and forbid all Persons referring to the Place of the Execution of Richard Wickie, as said Richard Wicke under Colour of Pilgrimage, or any other pretence of Devotion or worshiping him publicly or privately as a Saint, under the Pain of being taken and reputed for Hereticks and punish'd as such. Upon this Order from the King and his Council, the Mayor, Aldermen and Aldermen of London set armed Men about the Place where he was burn't, to restrain the People from coming, who apprehendingnone (among whom was the Vicar of Barkling) and committing them to Fison, did deterrl all others, that in few Time they left off their Pilgrimages and Devotion to him, which appear'd the more ridiculous to all, because the Vicar of Barkling confecled the Delusion, that for his own Gain he had put upon them.

When the Regent and the Lord Talbot were releav'd in the Spring of the Year, Charles, Duke of York, seeing that he had extremly forfuc'd his Reputation, especially among the Parisisans for leav- ing Fontaine in the Hands of the Enemy, again assembled his Army, and return'd to its releav'd either to take it or do in the Enter- prise. He divide'd his Forces into Three Parts, of which Two were under the Command of Himself and the Drumphia his Son, and assaill'd the Town in eight Places: By the first Assault he got the Church, and soon after the whole Town, but with so great Loss of his Men, that it could be reckon'd little or no Gain; for the English rejoyced to think their Swings, to their Votes, their Hands were most of them lusid, but keep'd their Lives very dearly, for they fllew above 3000 French. The Commander of the Town Sir Gerovis Clifon was taken Prisoner, and some few of the Soldiers who were sent to the Ca- stle of Chick-lt, it would appear was taken, and the Constable Cockel, Molent and Lowsen were floon after tal- ken by the French; it being usual for the smaller Towns to follow the Fate of a Chief Gar- rison.

The English Prisoners in Chick-lt being engish Enamorment under their Deliverance, ranked their Invention to find out Ways for their Deliver- ance; and because they thought Interest would be the most tempting Argument, they petition'd the Captain that one of them might be let at Liberty to go among their rich Friends and follow the Powder, for the Rest of the Town. The Captain easily contented the Proposal, and releav'd one of them infallibly; but according to their Agreement went to the Go- vernor of the next English Garrison, who was an Arragonman, placed there by the Duke of York, and told him, That the whole of Chick-lt, and might with no great Vol. I. D 3 2
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1440. Force be war. The Governor gladly embraced the Discovery; and having placed an Ambush Reg. 19. in the Night, sent four Men the next Morning with Sacks full of Rye to the French, thither to the French; Tho' these Men spoke French were not suspected of any Design, but let in to fell their Fruits, the Gates being carefulliy left open in the mean time. Tho' these Soldiers gave Notice to the Ambush by a Signal already agreed on, and they immediately taking themselves an Entrance and quickly got the Castle into their Power, the Captain and many of the Soldiers not being out of their Beds. The English Pri- fioners they let free, and the French they carried Priioners to Room, taking all the Spoil of the Castle to themselves, and leaving snow to fac- e it till an English Carriage could be put in.

Notwithstanding the former Warlike Enter- prizes on both sides, there were some Over- tures of Peace made, and at length accepted, for all Parties were almost weary of the War. Some Propositions as to Time and Place had been left by the English last year, which was to be put upon at Calais (for the English would not consent to any other Place). In the Beginning of this Spring Deputies met there on both Sides. For King Henry appeared, the Cardi- nals of Turck and Winchelsea, the Duke of Exe- ter (a) and several other Noble Personages, bringing with them Charles, Duke of Orleans, who had been twenty five Years a Prisoner in England, that he might be a means to settle a Peace, and procure his own Deliverance. The French King sent the Archbishop of Rheims and Normandy, and the Earl of Devon, a Balfard of Orleans, and the Duke of Burgundy, the Lord de Crewe, (b) and some others. Many Days were spent in finding out means for an Accommo- dation, and divers Proposals made. The English were to be fai'd chiefy, but their Demands were thought so unreasonable as they could in no wise be granted. Three Things they chief- ly insisted upon, viz.

I. That they should hold the two Duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy ditfrag'd of all Su- periority and Sovereignty from the Realm of France, and that the Governors of those Duchies should be there. II. That they should be refec'd to all the Towns, Cities and Places, which they within thirty Years last past had conquer'd, or other- wise taken in any part of the Realm of France. III. That in whatever part of France the said Towns lay, they should hold them without any Dependancy upon the King of France.

The First of these was easily granted by the French Commissioners, but the other Two were so unreasonable, that it was impossible they should accord to them. Because King Charles was not resolu'd to recover nothing from the English, nor would that Sovereign Power over any part of France, that his Predecessors had without any Interrup- tion on long enjoy'd, so that nothing was conclu- ded. Yet this Meeting broke up very civilly with Pomp and Ceremony, the French Gentlemen on both Sides, and try what might be done at a second Meeting, which they then ap- pointed in the same Place. After these Mat- ters of publicky Concern were ended, the Freedom of the Duke of Orleans was next treated on, and it was agreed, that he should be relea- sed from his Captivity for 4000000 Crowns, but because the Money was not ready, and the English would not depend upon Promises, he was still kept Prisoner till the Money could be paid. The Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Cornwall, in hopes of making him a long Prisoner, so as to oblige the Duke of Burgundy, and partly to weaken the French King's Interest, but now the Duke had revolted from England, it was thought a greater Advantage to release him (especially for a Defence of the King) which might supply the Wants of the State in some Measure) than to keep him, because the Enemy, which he had to the Duke of Burgundy, might do greater Service to the English Affairs. This Reason mov'd the English to offer his Redemption. The Duke of Burgundy was not insensible of the Con- sequences of the Duke of Orleans's Freedom, which certainly would produce bad Effects to him if not timely prevented. He faw his Friends active to get his Release, and could not think twould long be done, it would be effected. Wherefore that he might lay an Obligation upon him, to make him an Act of Gratitude, he Zeal for him; and having obtain'd a Promise of him to marry the Lady Mary, Daughter of Adolphus, Duke of Cleve, he himself paid down the whole Sum for his Ransom, and so he was deliver'd, and a perfect Amity concluded by the Marriage of the two Princes; and now that the History of the following Times will shew.

How much Greatness expost to Malice and Envy, now began to appear in the Cafe of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who tho' a wife and cautious Prince, yet could not escape the Ma- lice of those that fought his Ruin. They be- gan with his Lady first, and having apprehen- ded her with four Person's, whom they call'd her Accomplices and Confederates, viz. the South- wels, Canon of St. Sven's Church in Winchelsea, John Hine, Chaplain to the Dukes, Roger Only, alias Bullocks or a Priest, a Man very ex- pert in the Art of Necromancy, and Marget, Courteoun, commonly call'd the Witch of Eye, near Winchelsea, charg'd her with High-Trea- son; For that she said the said Lady, Cob- ham, Dukes of Gloucester to bring her Huf- band to the Crown, had procur'd and contriv'd with her Accomplices to make a False Image of the said King, which Image they deale'd with by their devilish Incantations and Sorceries, that as the Image consum'd by little and little, the King's Perfon should so daily decay, till he was brought to his End. Roger Bullocks being examin'd before the King's Council order'd, that he had by the Procurement of the said Dukes been brought by Necromancy to know what should befall her, and to what Elate she should come; and Marget Courteoun confes'd, that she had pre- serv'd some Love-Potions for the said Lady to make the Duke of Gloucester love her, which she had administered to her; but she did not don't that the Treasure which was laid to their Charge, and for which they were all condem- ned, though only. Roger Bullocks was hanged drawn and quarter'd, and Marget burnt: The said Roger at his Death affirming his innoc- ence of the Crime. But these only were evi- dence by walking through Ferr-frerter Footsteps with a Taper in her Hand of two Pound Weight, which she offer'd at the High-Altar in St. Paul's Church, and then was sent to the Castle of Che- rier, where the remain'd a Prisoner under Sir Thomas Stanley all her Life. Mr. Fox, endeav- ours to shew, that the Dukes of this acco-
In the beginning of the Twentieth Year of the King, Richard, Duke of York Regent of France and Governor of Normandy, as he had risen up more medially, determined not to invade the Enemy's Country by land, nor in any Place, but thereupon without Delay sent the Lord Wilsborough to ravage and destroy the Country of Amiens, John, Lord Talbot to beleaguer the Town of Diép, and the French being thereby alarmed, Duke of Somerset went into the Dutchy of Alfon.

The Lord Wilsborough, according to his Commission, suddenly entered the Enemy's Country, and took many Prisoners before they could get into any Place of Defence. The French, in the adjoining Carriers being amazed with the Cries of the People Lilly'd out in good Order, and courageously fought with the English for their Relief, but being over-power'd by the English, who lewn them without Mercy, they gave Ground and retreated into their Towns, leaving their Gates and Doors to be pillag'd by the Enemy, and the Forces of the Earl of St. Paul, who came into their Aid, went upon the Flight of the French.

In this Conflict the English flew about 600, and took a great Number of Prisoners, with which they retreated into Normandy. In the mean Time the Dutch of York and Somerset advanced their Parties, armed with the like or greater Success, for they destroy'd the Towns, robb'd and plunder'd the People, and meeting with no Opposition return'd laden with Pray and Prisoners as they pleased. The Duke of Somerset also to give further Proof of his Valour entered into the Marches of Brittany, and took the Town of La Perche by fierce Affaunt, spoiling and burning the adjoining Countries: From thence he march'd to Poitou, where for two Months together he sent our Parties to plunder and destroy the Countries of Lepernou and Chartres and Nevers. The French King much disturb'd with these Inconveniences of the English, sent out the Marshal Le Pail with 4000 Men to put a Stop to the Invasions of the Duke's Men and guard the Country, who suddenly entering in the Night thought to have set upon the Duke in his Lodgings and take him; but he, who, like a Frenchman, being too little accustomed to his first Appearance, and wildly foreseeing the Danger approaching march'd toward the French and met them half way, who not being able with Honour to retreat joy'd Bartel with him. The Fight was maintaing a while well on both Sides, but at length the English got the better, and routed the French, slaying an Hundred of the Marshal's Men, and taking Three and Two Prisoners, of which the Chief were the Lord of Donningtou, and Sir Lewis Bouch, the rest were most of them Esquires and Gentlemen. After this They were to defend themselves long, and therefore before they came to make any Affairs agreed, that they would surrender it up to them, if it were not relieved before St. John's Day, and gave them Moniteur D'Albert's Eldon Son for an Indulgence for the true Performance of their Agreement, but because Moniteur D'Albert himself was not present, and being Lord of the Town, it was resolv'd his Concurrence should be had, it was refer'd, that if Moniteur D'Albert did not approve of their Agreement, he should signifie it to the Earl of Huntington, and the Pledge should be return'd, and the English do their left. This Condition

| Duke of York's Attempt to conquer France. | Duke of Somerset took several Places. | Table of Battle in Normandy. | Penkett, which Rood so conveniently, that he could with his Ordinance annoy both the Towns and Haven at once. Having thus prepared Reg. 2C. Things for an Attack, he found that the Town was so strongly defended, that it would take them up more Months and Time, than he had expected, and therefore thought it convenient to get a Recruit both of Men, Provission and Ammunition from Norm before he proceeded in it, and to that End leaving the Conduct of the Siege to his Bailard Son, he went to Norm to provide all Things necessary for taking the Town. The Earl of Huntingdon, who was as much concern'd to revenge Diep, as the English were desirous to get it, being advertised of Talbot's Departure sent an Army of 15000 Men under the Command of his Son Lewis the Dauphin, affiicted by the Bald of Orleans and Bishop of Avignon to relieve it. The Count of St. Paul, who being sore vexed by the Duke of Buckingham's Forces, which took away from him, his Towns and Castles, was oblig'd to go over to the French interests, attended the Dauphin in this Expedition, with several Hundred English were kill'd, and above double the Number of French dy'd with them. The Rest of the English were taken Prisoners, and the French in the English Service were all hang'd. The Dauphin after this Victory rewarded the Confinity of the Inhabitants of Diep with several Large Monuments and Priviledges, which were confirm'd to them by the succeeding Kings, and left Moniteur de Martrés Governor of the Town, because he had behav'd himself so valiantly in it, and so departed.

The Activity of the English in Normandy, and the bordering Provinces against the French with Particulars of the Battle of St. Paul's Hill, which was Lieutenant to King Henry in the Dutches of Aquis. The Earl of Huntington and Guyeneur to attempt something of equal Importance to the English, as the Lord Talbot had at Diep, and to that End sent his Captains into Guyeneur to believe the Town of Taur to belonging to the Lord D'Albret, the old Enemy of the English. The Inhabitants and Garrison seeing the English Army approach the Town were loth to hazard themselves in vain and having taken a full View of the Strength of the Enemy found't that they were not equal to defend themselves lone, and therefore before they came to make any Affairs agreed, that they would surrender it up to them, if it were not relieved before St. John's Day, and gave them Moniteur D'Albert's Eldon Son for an Indulgence for the true Performance of their Agreement, but because Moniteur D'Albert himself was not present, and being Lord of the Town, it was resolv'd his Concurrence should be had, it was refer'd, that if Moniteur D'Albert did not approve of their Agreement, he should signifie it to the Earl of Huntington, and the Pledge should be return'd, and the English do their left. This Condition

(A.) Apalhia and Guyeneur are the same, the former being the Ancient Name of the Poitiers, and the latter the Moderns.
The Duke of Gloucester, provoked by the intolerable Height and Pride of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who out of Bawdry Reg. 20, had laid him during his stay, and had therefore taken it very ill, thought, certain Persons to accuse and pro-

fute his Dutchess for treason, Witschcraft. and many other notorious Crimes, to his great Dagrace and Shame, made a strict Reflection upon the Cardinal's Carriage for many Years past, and had taken him before them, in a derogatory and prejudicial to the King's Pre-

rogative Royal, he digested them into 24 Ar-

ticles, and presented them to the King, de-

fining that Judgment might be given upon him according to his Crimes. The chief Things alleged against him in the said Articles were:

1. That the Bishop of Winchester had not only taken upon himself the Dignity and Title of a Cardinal, contrary to the express Command of King Henry the Fifth, and in Disregu-

tion to the Church of Canterbury: But, in fact, he had forfeited his Bishoprick thereby by the Act of Provisions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to secure his Bishoprick still to him, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, which made it a Premunire to do.

II. That the said Cardinal, with John Kemp, Captain of York, had made the Agreement, and suppiement of the King's Person and the Realm, which no Subject could do without a Trespassible U-

surraption.

IV. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

V. That being Chancellor of England, he had against Law set at Liberty the King of Scots, and forgiven him part of his Ransom upon Condition the said King should marry his Niece.

VI. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King by taking the Customs of Woods, and other Merchandizes at the Port of Hampton.

VII. That notwithstanding the said Car-

dinal neither hath nor can have any Title to the Crown, yet he presumeth to take upon him Royal Dignity, in hummouning and calling Per-

sons before him in Derragion of the King's Dignity, being without his Permission or Command.

VIII. That the said Cardinal had obtained a pardon from Rome, to exempt his Dioces from paying of Tents to the State, and so had given both an ill Example to the other Bishops to do the like, and laid the whole Burden upon the Laity to the great Discontent of the Kingdom.

IX. That the said Cardinal had been a Means of limiting the French and the Duke of Burgos-

dy, and this manner with the Duke of Orleans, to the great Damage of the Realm, and Betrief of our French and Burgundian Neighbours.

X. That the said Cardinal, after Communi-

cation had with our Enemies, sent the Arch-

bishop of York to the King, to persuade him to leave his Right and Title to the Crown and Kingdom of France for certain Years, and be content to write himself, Rex Angliae, &c., to the great Disgrace of the King and his Proge-

nitors.

XI. That the Release of the Duke of Orleans, was brought to pass only by the Meditation and Procurement of the said Cardinal and Duke of York, contrary to the Will of King Henry the Fifth.

XII. That being their Chancellor, he had in-
XIII. That the said Cardinal by sending such Captains and Soldiers into France as he thought fit, hath been the Cause that so much of Normandy and other Parts are lost.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath laid Places of Captains and other Officers for Money in France, whereby unjust Perfosns have been put into the Lofs of the King's Dominions there.

These Articles with some others of like Importance, the Duke tendered to the King himselt, deiring the said late, that the King would have laid Cardinal out of his Council to answer the said Articles alleged against him, and that Perfosns aggrieved may freely utter their Complaints. The King hearing these Accusations against the Cardinal of Winceber ordered, that they should be looked into, and examined by the Lords of his Council, of whom the greatest Part being Ecclesiastical Perfosns, they not only were favorable to him, but fearing they should disoblige him, delayed the Examination and Judgment so long, that the Duke of Winceberman, who was always rather partial to them, letting off the Prosecution, as weary of it, the Bishop escaped, and the Matter was buried out, as tho' the Crimes alleged had been incon siderable, and not worth considering; so that indeed the good Duke got nothing by this Attempt, but made the Cardinal a worse Enemy than ever, which tho' he dis fisted, yet he so cunningly managed, that in the end he brought his Deduction, as will after more plainly appear.

Alfo in August, this Year, happened a notable Quarell in Fleetstreet, between the Students of the inns of Court, and the Inhabitants of the adjacent Streets; and the first Action, was given by one of the Inns named Havrbate. It began in the Night, and lasted till the next Day with great Fury and Ferocity on both Sides, several Perfosns were hurt, and slain, but the Mayor and Sheriffs having received the News of it, went with a good Force, and appeafed the Fray, which by Party-making, was likely to have drawn in the greatest Part of the City which flock'd thereto to allifie or relieve their Friends on either Side.

In the Beginning of this Twenty fifth Year of the King, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, born May 23, was born in the Tower, called in the Birthrife the Name of Edward. He proved a very Valiant and fortunate Prince, and in the Quarrel for the Crown, which (his Father began with King Henry, but loft his Life before he could gain his Wifh, being flain at the Battel of Wakefield) was fo successful, that he was proclaimed King a few Days after, having won the Battel of Towbridge, and gotten a perfect Victory over the Lancetians.

By the coming over of the Lord Talbot in the latter end of this Summer, when the Scallon for Action was almoft past, the Council of King Henry had Information of the State of the English Affairs in France, and particularly in Guienne, where they had finifhed considerable Loffes the laft Summer. The Council upon this relation, believing the Success would encourage the French in further Attempts, thought it neceffary to prevent the designs of the Rebels in Garfus there, and defend their Borders, and forthwith dispatched away 391 Men well armed under the Command of Sir William Woodville. With thefe it was thought convenient to fend a good Quantity of Provisions, because that Country was surrounded by the Enemy on every Side, that it could get no Supply from the adjacent Parts; whereas a Proclamation was put out, that whofoever would feed over any Provisions and Virtues into Guienne, should pay no manner of Calfom nor Toll, which encouraged so many to export Cheefe, Corn and other Provisions thither, that the whole Province was abundantly supplied with all Necessaries. In the mean time Camis was taken to gather a bigger Body of treaf Men to fend over with the Lord Talbot. And because this Valiant Captain had been for some time the main Support of the English Affairs in France, the King and Council judged it fit to give him the encouragement of the Mark's and the City, upon he was created Earl of Shrewsbury, a Title which none had born for near Three hundred and Forty Years before, the Family of Rey, Montgomery, whom the Conqueror had dignified with that Title, being extinct in the Second Generation; but it hath proved a lifting Title to that noble Family, which still inherits the Honour, Title, and Worth of that Valiant and brave Lord to this Day. With this Badge of Royal Favours, he departed soon after into Normandy, and carried over with him 3000 Men for the Defence of Paris.

Upon the Day of the Translation of St. Ed- A Fray ward, viz. October the Twelfth, on which Day the Mayor of London for the next Year was anno mated and chosen, out of Two Perfosns, who have been Sheriffs of that City, preferred by the Commonalty to the prefun Mayor and Aldermen his Brother, was a very Great Dis traction made among the Citizens about the Election, upon this Occasion. The Commons of the City having fixed upon Robert Clayton, Draper, and Ralph Holland, Taylor, preferred them according to the Caflon before the Mayor for the time being and the Aldermen, having chosen Robert Clayton, declared him Mayor for the ensuing Year. This Election extremely disappointed the Society of Taylors, and their Friends, who were very zealous that Ralph Holland should be chosen, and therefore grew very mutinous and discontented upon the Declaration of the other, and cried out, Not that Man, but Ralph Holland. The Mayor commanded them silence, but they more enraged, demanded more passionate, that Ralph Holland should be chosen. The Mayor seeing that fair Means would not prevail, and considering, that if such tumultuous Proceedings were indulged, the Order of Elections would be quite broken, commanded the Sheriffs to apprehend some of the most clamorous and furious, that they might be punished for their disorderly Behaviour, which the Sheriffs immediately put in Execution, and carried Twelve or Sixteen of them to Newgate, where they were kept a while, and then dismissed upon Payment of a moderate Fine, that it might be a Terror to the Rabble to behave themselves more civilly at such Elections.

While the Lord Talbot remained in England, James, Count of Cominges, Daughter to the Count of Bullen and Cominges, died, and left her Country to be disputed for by Charles, King of France, and Arminack, Count of Armack, to whom the said Countes had given it, by Will, and the Earl of Arminack, pretended to be the Heir of it, and accordingly entered upon the Territories, and took Manors, and_else where in England, and the King highly refented this Ufurnation of his unoub sted Right, as he termed it, and sent the Duxbrough to recover the Countries by him unjustly polle ed, August 14, 1544.
A D. a Captain of Aragon, who were his great Sup-
ports against his Potent Enemy, he was forced
Reg. 21. to untimely end in his Castle, and endeavour
\( \text{A.D.} \) to dauphin by dilimation andequalsIgnoreCase
Treaties. But the Dauphin, who was ex-

celent in those Arts from sp'p'd his Design; and
Djy. having gained & access to him upon that Account
in took him Prisoner, and sent him, his Wife,
Accid. Second Son and Two Daughters to Caremeges,
yet he was soon after released at the Intercis-
Yet count of De Fois, but Charles kept the Possi-
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ing all they had, and the French for getting what they called their King's Right, there was nothing effected, but a Truce for Eighteen Months was clasp'd up for the present both by Sea and Land with Hopes, that in that Time all Matters might be adjourn'd, and by the Means thereof the French King's Kinswoman, the Mar- garet, Daughter of Rayner, Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Seiluy, Naples and Jerusalem, which gave him a great Name, but brought him no Profit or Authority. This Match Suf- fokl believed 't would prove an effectual Means of uniting the Minds of the two Princes ; and tho' there were likely to be no Portion given the King with her, yet since he would be the Foundation of a firm Peace, it would fo en- land more Trenfure, than the greatest Prince of the World could give with his Daughter. This Policy was also carried in the Match, and the King of France for that End, that it might be yielded to, and a- greed on. His Paffion cau'd a little Averfeness in the French King and the Lady's Father, who alledg'd, That they were not unwilling to comply with the Match, yet it was not com- fident with their Honour to do it, fo long as the King of England held a part of the Dutchy of Anjou, and the whole County of Maine, which of Right belonged to Duke Reynor the Lady's Father. But the Earl of Suffolk more Zealous than Caution truly fatisfi'd this Objection, and to the Paffion The Earl of Suffolk and the Earls of the Countries should be refurred to Duke Reynor, if the Marriage was conferr'd to, which Promeſſe being according to their Minds, the Lady was aliu- red in Matrimony to the King, and Suffolk dis- miffed to carry it on with her Father.

Thefe Things being thus tranfacted and agreed on, the Earl of Suffolk with the rest of the English Commissioners return'd Home to give an Acco- unt of their Negotiation ; and tho' there was only a Truce concluded, yet Suffolk affur'd the King, that it would certainly produce an Im- mense and much Good, and that he had taken, if they were comply'd with ; for he had propounded and obtrain'd a Match with the French King's Kinswoman, the Daughter of Rey- ner, Duke of Anjou, one of the most accomplifh- ed Ladies in all Perfections of a Woman in the World, Beautiful of Beauty Blemih, and Virtu- ous to Admiration, fitted every way for the greatest of Princes; but that which would be of greatest Advantage to England was, that this Match would be a certain Means to end the Wars, settle a Peace every ways advantageous to the King and to the English Nation, and make the whole Kingdom happy.

King Henry partly out of Affection to Suffolk, who was his great Favourite, and partly out of a Desire of Peace greatly approv'd of all he had done, and was dehours the Match might be ef- fected with all Speed. The Council, to whom all this was related, confent'd to it to please the King and Suffolk, only the Duke of Glouce- ster, who was too great to flatter Suffolk's Actions, and too honest to call that Good, which he faw would certainly be of an ill Consequence to the Nation, opposed the Match with some warmth and heat, alleging, That it would be contrary to the Laws and the Constitution of the King, to break the Contract of Marriage so solemnly made with the Daughter of the Earl of Arinima, &c., upon Conditions very advantageous to the King and his Realm; That the Match with the Daughter of the Duke of Anjou was both dishonourable to the Reg. 23 Duke of Anjou; and disadvantageous to the Nation, because by referring the Country of Maine, and part of Anjou the King would fume to purchase a Wife at the Ex- pense of the Blood of his Subjects, and weaken his Affairs in France, which ought to be mainainted in their full Force, that a Peace may be concluded upon better Terms, because Anjou and Maine are the Bolwarks of Normandy, and in fur- rendering them, that Country which was the Par- ticular Protection of the King would be capric'd and the Cause of the Enemy. There were undeniable Reasons, and the only true way to keep up the King's Credit and Interest : However, Suffolk sold all, having the King's Affections, and fo it was de- termin'd that the Marriage should be confe- mated, and the Train he had laid follow'd. Gloucester's Advice, though the belt, was fligh- ted, and Suffolk and the New Queen made his Enemies, which as it prov'd fatal to him, fo to the King himself and the Nation.

Thefe Resolutions about the Marriage being Suffolk's undertakings, the Earl of Suffolk was to be the Agent for the King in the Confe- mation, to have Notice of it, and the Earl of Warick, as a great Father of his House, the Archibishop of Rheines, first Peer of France, and divers other Noble Persofines into England to have the la- bours field, and to be receive'd as such in both Parts. These Ambassadors were kindly received by the Earl of Suffolk and his Party, and having their Business dispatch'd were sent away with Rewards. *

Upon the Conclusion of this Marriage King Henry made a Creation of Noble-men at Windor, viz., John of Anjou, Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Suffolk; Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Warick; Duke of Warwick; and the Earl of Suffolk, who was the only promoter of it, Marques of Suffolk, and confer'd on him this further Honour to be his Deputy in confenting the Formality of the Mar- rriage, and conducting his Bride over into England.

Thefe Things being thus order'd and appoint- ed, the relt of the Summer was spent in provi- ding an Equipage sufficient to fetch the Royal Bride; for her Father, who was Rich in Inheritance in Paris, was not able to fend her over to her Husband, which was much laugh'd at by the Duke of Gloucester's Friends, who were all against the Marriage. Many costly Cheriots and gorgeous Horse-bit- ters were provided, and the Marques and his Wife with many Persons of the greatest Quean- lity, as well Women as Men were richly attori- ned with Apparel and Jewels, with whom the Marques of Suffolk took his Voyage into France in the Month of November to bring the Queen into England. This gallant Company being land- ed in France, went to Tours in Touraine, where they were met and honourably receiv'd by the Kings of France and Sicil, the Father of the Royal Spouse, and after a convenient Time allow'd for Preparation and Ceremony the Marques of Suffolk, as Procurator to King Henry, was mar- ried to the Lady Margaret in the Church of St. Martin in Tours, in the Name of marriage the Father and Mother of the Bride, the French King who was Uncle to King Henry, and the French Queen who was Aunt to the La- dy Margaret, the Dukes of Orleans and Cadillac, Alarcon and Bretagne, five Earls, twelve Bar- rons, twenty-four Knights and Gentlemen. After the Celebration of the Marriage, much Time was spent in Feast- ing,
was the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by John Stafford, translated from Bath and Wells (1). He was a worthy Man in his Generation, but too much addicted to the Pope. He founded Two Colleges in Oxford, and endowed them well, viz. All Souls and Ormond. He was of mean Parentage, the Son of John Taylor, a Merchant in Northamptonshire, but was not so much eulogised by his expected Grandure, but that he retained a very humble Mind and Diligence in his greatest Heighth and Prosperity, as may appear by his Life of Life Henry Berkeley, buggered by some of his Contrivers, no Friends to the Clergy, and left to the Archi-}

A.D. 1445 46 & 47 Duke of
Duke of Cornwall and other
Chapellars in Eng.

1446. Site of Richard Nurse, Enq, one of the Knights of the Star for
glory, in the Welsh Parliament.

(1) He was created a Cardinal by Pope Eugenius the Fourth in the Year 1431. Vol. 1157.

The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

ings, and Triumphs, Banquets and Jollies, by her(2) She was married at Lewes, the seat of Richard Nurse, Enq, one of the Knights of the Star for glory, in the Welsh Parliament.

(2) He was created a Cardinal by Pope Eugenius the Fourth in the Year 1431. Vol. 1157.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.


The Queen's Kindness to the Marquis of Suffolk and his Friends.

The Queen seeing the Marquess of Suffolk so well rewarded by the Representatives of the Nation for his Services, which were a greater Kindness to her than the Kingdom, as she very well knew, looked upon their Action as a Precedent for her self, and therefore soon after the King's Return she determined to reward the Marquess for his Services; and to shew their Gratitude, they caused the whole Action to be enrolled, and gave him an whole Fifteenth in Consideration of his Expenditure. And so the Parliament broke up.

The Queen telling the Marquess of Suffolk to be well rewarded by the Representatives of the Nation for his Services, which were a greater Kindness to her than the Kingdom, as she very well knew, looked upon their Action as a Precedent for her self, and therefore soon after the King's Return she determined to reward the Marquess for his Services; and to shew their Gratitude, they caused the whole Action to be enrolled, and gave him an whole Fifteenth in Consideration of his Expenditure. And so the Parliament broke up.

The Duke of Gloucester displaced.

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The general Distinctions, which the Removal of the Duke of Gloucester from about the King's Person and the Government had cast among the People, because saw to evident that the Queen and her Friends could not but take Notice of it, and therefore they were forced to set all their Wits at work to make the Flight Allegations, which they had form'd against him at first, appear great Crimes, that so his Depreciation might seem as much deferv'd, as it was dishonourable. And to this End, the Duke of Suffolk, who ever hated him, because his Jigous Eye discovered his Unworthines of the Favours heaped upon him, was employed to encourage the Duke's Enemies, to set foot to the False Refolutions that he could have done in Malignity, or in Policy contrary against him; the Chief of whom were Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who being the Son of Anne Plantagenet, a Defendant from Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Seventh Son of Edward the Third, without him out of the Way, that he might be the first Duke of the Royal Blood in England; the Cardinal of Winchester, who was implacably incensed against the Duke of Gloucester, because he had made his Pride odious, and his Policy ficcifles; and the Archbishop of York, who having joined with Winchester in his Crimes and the Object of Gloucester's Difpleasure. These Men with the Queen and her Friends, having rais'd many forged Accusations against him, humm'd him to answer for himself before the King and his Council, to which he readily submitted and appear'd. And the Articles were alleged against him, by the day. He perform'd it so assiduously, but the main Thing which was insisted on, was this. "That he being the Chief Governor of the Nation in the King's Minority, he had to the great Dishonour of the King, and Injury of his Subjects, cast'd divers Perjuries to be put to, contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom, and when any Perjuries were adjudged to death delivered for their Crimes, he out of the Cruelty of his Disposition, order'd them to suffer other death in his Husbands, laboured to put on as much of the Man her self, and while he spent his Time at his Devotion, to play the King and govern all, that there was no enduring Gloucester near Reg. 24, the Court, and if he was turn'd out of all ap-
Day should come when their mischievous Con-
struction should be put in Execution.
With the new Year the Lords began to pre-
pare for meeting in Parliament at Ebury; and
that the Duke of Gloucester, all Things at Court were carry'd smoothly to-
ward him, but yet Care was taken to have it whip-
per'd in his Ear, that it was necessary he should be
at it, to prevent the Defigins of the Queen
and her Party. The Good Duke not at all Jea-
ning of the Duke's bold Speech for the Com-
monwealth hearken'd to the Ca-
tion, and with the rest of the Lords came to
the Place at the Time appointed, ready to at-
tend the National Business.
On the first Day of the Session all things were
quiet, and the usual Ceremonies in opening a
Parliament all perform'd. On the second Day
the Lord Beaumont, their High-Confable of
England, being accompany'd with the Duke of
Buckingham, Duke of Somerset, and many others
arrested the Duke of Gloucester, and put him in
Carlilouse under a strong Guard. His Servants
were taken from them, and the two Party of
them sent to several Prisons at a distance one
from another. The Nation was in a great amaze
at this sudden Action, and every Man was in-
quizzing to know what new Matter was found
out against the Duke, who had so lately clear'd
his Life, and was upon a good and clear
Charge, but yet sufficient to quiet the
People, whom they only fear'd in the Exe-
cution of their Design, for the more impro-
able his Crime was the easier it would be to
free himself, and so the People reflect content
with the Seufc of his Willom and innocency.
But his Enemies had contriv'd otherwise that he
should never come to his Defence; for the
Night after his Commitment, some Fay, but
others, a few Nights after, he was found dead
in his Bed, and his Body fiew'd to the Lords
and Commons ailemb'd in Parliament, and lay
open View of all the People for a good time;
in which because No Signs of a Violent Death
appear'd, it was reported, That he dy'd of
an Apoplexy or Inflammation. But because none
of his Servants suffer'd after his Death, which
they ought to have done had they been guilty
of High-Treason, as was alleged against them,
the Five of them were condemn'd and near
their Execution were pardon'd by the Duke of
Suffolc's Means, it was generally thought a
sufficient Ground to believe, that he was mur-
r'd by the Queen's Means; and some were so
particular as to report, that he was strangled
between the Villos or Feather Beds, or
Woodfich, Duke of Gloucester, before him had
been; others that he had an hot Spit run up his
Fundament, as R. Edward II. had; others affirm-
ed, that he dy'd of mere Grief, because he saw
he must now fall a Sacrifice to his Enemy's Ma-
ter desire of being haveprov'd him self, or
that all which C'onjectures have little Foundation.
The most dircet Judge he was mur'd; but
being transact'd in private, it was not safe to
determine by what Means.
Thus dy'd the Good Duke of Gloucester; the
ill Dreamd of the D. of Commons, a Friend to the Learned, a
Glorious Continental Defender of the Innocent, and a Termi-
ator to the Guilty; and tho' the Queen and her Ma-
}
Henry triumph'd in his Overthrow, yet a little party triumph'd in his Overthrow, yet a little 1447. Time then'd them bow impollitch Malice and Reg. 25. Hatred is; for by his Death they wrought the ruin of the King himself, having open'd a Gap for Richard, Duke of York, to put in his Claim to the Crown, which he profected so violent- ly, that in few Years he began to Contend and Troubles in the Nation, which made King Henry's Throne very unsafe, and at length end- ed in his Deposition, which he would not in all probability have attempted, had not the Duke of Gloucester been dead, whole Titlie was gene- rally better known, and whose Interest in the Nation against him, and King Henry was fluctu- ated against him; but he being thus made away with, the Queen was fo hated, that it was eas- ie for the Duke of York to get Affiliants enough to further his ambitious Designs, as well to re- venge Gloucester's Death, as to cafe themselves of the Queen's Ultrapation, who had affum'd her Husband's Authority to govern all.

Upon St. Andrew's Day this Year was King Henry presented with a Golden Roie by Pope Eugenius, who lent Ludovicu Cordano, a Do- ctor in Divinity with it to him. Upon the De- livery of the Roie, which was done with great Conformity, and in the presence of the Rump- Van- der, in the Presence of the Dukes of York and Exeter, Ca dinal Kemp, Arch-bishop of York, and John Sladford, Arch-bishop of Canterbury (w) and Chancellor of England. He declared in an elo- quent Oration his Embattlement, which was to ex- alt the King to understand an Expedition a- gainst the Turks, who barbarously waited and ravaged the European Provinces, not forgetting to extol the Vertues of the confecrated Roie, and to explain the right Application of it, that he might make his Gift the more acceptable. His Money and Gift were favorably accepted, and Promises of Affiliation given to the Pope against the Turk, but Home-bred Difficulties fo took up the King from this Time, that no- thing could be done Abroad.

Soon after the Decease of the Duke of Glou- cester, God, who is the chief Guardian of Inno- cent, refused his Meat to one of his Principal Enemies the Rich Cardinal of Win- chester, who's Heart being set fo much upon the World and the Glories of it, there could not be a greater Punishment of his Sins, than to call him out of it. He liv'd not above a Month af- ter this Impertinence and there no doubt was the Satisfaction of his Death but a short Time. On his Death-bd he is said to have fliew'd a World of Impatience, and when he was told, that no Medicines could save his Life, he cry'd out in a Pallion, What! With nothing face my Life! Will Money do nothing? Can't Death be bribed a few Years? I'd give the whole Kingdom for my Life. But no Man can compound with Death, he was forced to leave his Pomf and Lie down in the Dust. To him succeeded William Paton, who was after firm'd a Wazensatur, from the Place of his Nativity, a Town in Lancashire fo called. He was by Birth a Gentleman, and from Pro- vocat of Exem raised to this Bishopric, wherein he liv'd some Years as eminent for his Piety as the Cardinal for his Riches. On the 5th of Au- gust this Year d'd also John Holland, Duke of 1447. Exeter, and was bury'd at St. Katherine's near Reg. 25. London.

With this Six and Twentieth Year of the Reg. 26. King began the Rule of the Queen, who having in the Queen's Business was in a great manner without control, and the Alliance of the Duke of Suffolk, who was his chief Favourite, endeavour'd to make her Command Absolute; whereby the he made use of her Husband's Name, yet he could force her Ultrapation, because in England the Duke of York had no Power, Titlie, or Interest, and he made a Canvas and Tyranny soon grew intoler- able to the Subjects, and began a general Dis- content as well among the Nobility as Com- mons. This the Duke of York diligently obser- ved, and made use of his Design to rule himfelf to the Throne: For having reprefented to his Friends the Misery of the Nation, which, under the Name of a King weak and unable to govern, was ruled by an ambitious Queen and her Minions, he first whifper'd it into their Heads, that it was neceffary to pitch upon some other Perfons to be King, since the preffent King, he believ'd, was to be removed by the effect byAppearances; and made an Attempt on then Queen and Suffolk to over-rule all. King Henry was really a good Man, but fitter for a Clerg- yman than a Palace, and therefore the Kingdom was to be put into better Hands than those of Women and Favourites. This he flaid to pre- pare their Minds for what he had farther in the Duke of York's Title and little time to propose to them, but he fift let their Sis- Difcontents work, and when he found them as for the dezieions of Change as he wished, then he fur- ther put forward his own Title, telling them different things about.

That if they look'd into the Succeflion of the Crown which alone gave a legal Title to the Houfe of Lancaster enjoy'd it only by Ultra- pation, contrary to the Laws of the Realm; That Lionel, Duke of Clarence being Elder Broth- er to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, his Polftery must have a better Title to the Crown, than the Lancaster Line; That his Grandmother Philippa (x) Wife to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, being the only Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and he himfelf Son of the Elder (y) Daughter of the said Edmund (z), who left no Male-offer, it was eafied for him to be heir to the late King, Right to the Crown of England. That though he would not vainly vaunt himself fit for to be a great Office, yet he might boldly claim the Crown as his Right, and hoped that the Di- ligeuce and Value which he had shewn in France for the Prefervation of the English Da- mions in that Kingdom, were Difimulations enougb to shew, that he had the true Spi- rit of an English Man in him, and was zealous for the Good of the Nation in all Things. These Propofals were Argument fufficient to perudie his Friends to a Concurrence, their Willes having prevented his Designs; and therefore it was refolv'd upon, and firmly a- greed among them, that they fhould promote his Interests with all th' Secretty neceffary, fo (x) The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was a Cardinal as well as his Tomb, and therefore might certainly as his Prerog. and Lord Chancellors to have the Precedence. See寺Abbied, p. 1257.

(x) Philippa was his Great Grandmother, her Mother Anne Mortimer being Daughter of Roger, Son of the Prince's Philippa, and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

(y) She was not the Elder Daughter, the Lady Eliza Mortimer was the Elder Daughter of Roger Mortimer, the Son of Edward, who marry'd the Prince's Philippa.

(z) She was the Daughter of Roger Mortimer, and Grand daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Roger was the only Son of Roger, and Roger, but they have no Male-Offspring, which did their Eldest Sister the Lady Eliza, to Anne who marry'd Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Father of this Richard, Duke of York, became Heir to the Prince's Philippa's Right to the Crown, which Right on the Death of the said Lady Anne, fell to the Duke of York.
A.D. 1448.  

The Duke of Somerset was Regent, but did not carelessly manage Affairs there. Sir Francis Sales, called the Arragonese, who for his good Service did the Crown of England was honouurd with the Dignity of Knight of the Garter, was Governor of the Lower Normandy. This Person being Active and Warlike, while he lay in his Garrison of St. Jacquet and Befevance, had obviard in their Commerce with the Frontier Towns, that they were weak and ill guarded, and especially the Town of Fougieres in Britton, a very rich Place, which was a Temptation to him to attempt the taking of it, and accordingly in the Night before the Deaf of our Lady in Lent seal'd the Walls, and took both the Town and Castle, which tho' it fell was a Breach of the Peace scarce Pardonable, yet that which render'd it a greater Crime was, that he treated the Inhabitants with the greatest Inhumanity and Cruelty, not only slaying many of them, as in a time of War, but pillaging their Goods, ravishing the Women, robbing the Churches, and carrying away many of the chief of them Prisoners. Duke Francis, who was first comprehended in the Truce reign'd in Britton at that Time, and was highly offended at this Action of the English, and thereupon sent an Herald, to complain of the Wrong done him, to the Duke of Somerset, requiring Satisfaction, and a Restitution of the Place, with all that was taken away from it. The Duke of Somerset coolly reply'd, That the Allianz which displease him, and that such Satisfaction for the Wrong done should be given, as he himself found requisite; but the Duke not being satisfied with this Answer, sent the British Envoys, (c) to the French King, to beg his Aid and Affilience in a Cafe where himself was equally concern'd, that he might recover the Town by Force of Arms. Charles, the French King was not so furious as the Duke, but first sent John Piazza and William Colyns, one of the Executors of his Regiment in the King of England, and Peter de Foytine, the Master of his Horses, to the Duke of Somerset with the former Melfage, who received the like Answer with this Addition, (4) That he would tend Commissioners to Landes upon a Day appointed, (5) who should adjust the Difference between them, and not only make Restitution, but (6) Amend the Duke of Brittain. On the Day prefixed the Commissioners on both Parts met, and the French-Men demanded the Town, and a large Restitution for the Damages at the time of it, the English-Men reply'd, That the Time was that the English should in Justice ought to be given in Satisfaction, allegating, (7) That it was the Fact of Sir Francis only, without the Consent either of the King of England, or the Duke of Somerset, his Lieu- tenant and Regent. To this the French answer'd, (8) That they did not make the Amandment for the Injury done, they would not be able to (9) secure any Place, but should endeavour to (A.D. 1448.) rescue themselves, it being against Reason for the offended Party not to be allowed to re- (Reg. 26.) ceive the Injury received. To which Answer the English Commissioners not being able to re- ply, return'd them to the Duke of Somerset himself, and King Charles sent his Ambassador to him.

About this Time, by the Means of Frederick the Duke of Austria, and other Christian Princes, Sulam the Schim, which had continued between the two Popes for Sixteen Years, was ended. For the Popes fixed the Fifth, (c) who was set up by the Counsell of Buda, upon their Deposition of the Fourth, being very uneasie under the Opposition, was soon perfwaded to resign to Nicholas the Fifth, Eugenius's Successor; and so an Union was again fetled in the Church to the great Satisfaction of Christendom. False by this voluntary Act got a great Reputation in the World for his Humility and Sanidity, and tho' he gave place to Nicholas in Dignity, yet he outvived him in Piety, upon which this Verse was made on him,

Lux fulsit Monda, eftit Felix Nicolaus,

as if Felix's Humility shined like a Sun in the World. Felix after his Canoniz from the Papacy, was made Legate of France, and Cardinal of Savoy, and lived to holy a Life, that he was reverenced for a Saint after his Death.

While the French Ambassadors were treating with the Duke of Somerset at Summer about the Restitution of the Prisons of Fougieres, the Duke of Clarence being appointed by the King of England by Treachery to appear to Ambassadors from the Duke of Britton, was sent to Ambush near the Gate of St. Andrew belonging to the Town, having agreed with the said Waggoner, with whom he sent Two loyly Soldiers in the Habit of Carpenters, with Axes on their Shoulders, to surprize the Guard, and to make the King himself appear in the Paille, which was very heavy laden on Purpose that the Gates could not be flt, or Draw-bridge pull'd up without a great deal of Difficulty; when this was done, he was to give Notice to the Ambulances, that they might enter the Town. These Things were all acted as they were plotted, and early in the Morning about the Beginning of November, and the English Garrison, which suspected nothing of this Nature, were all taken in their Beds, with the Commander himself, the Lord Faulconbridge, and were carried away Prisoners by the French. That the English who lay in the Castle did make no attempt to the English, being the Paille over the River Seine out of France into Normandy, and but Four Leagues distant from Paris, the Chief City of that Province, which seem'd to be all in Danger by it. The Duke of Somerset was extremely troubled at it, and the French Ambassador came to demand the Restitution of

(a) It should be the Bishop of Reims in Brittain; for it's not probable that the Archbishopp of Remi, as the Author expressly states, is the Person who makes it. who private of all France, the first Bishop and Peer of the Realm, would serve the Duke of Brittain in the Capacity of an Envoy.

(b) This Felix the Fifth, was Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who from a Temporal Prince advanced himself to the Spiritual Empire of Christendom.
A.D. 1443.
Fougères, and Satisfaction of the Damages done to the inhabitants, would hear nothing of Reg. 26. it, he said, till l'out de l'Arce was relief'd a
second con-
fident by this Advantage, told him plainly, the War not only became
yet fore
began
the
lives of such as were slain were irreparable, bar became the vast Spoil which had been taken out of the Town amounting to 10,000,000.

The French
between
the
English
and
French

The People of England being extremely dis-
satisfied at the Duke of Gloucester's Death, and the Queen's Tyranny thro' the Abufe of the good King's Enfeofes, and the Nobility divided with and against the Duke of Suffolk, it was very improbable, if the War in France should be renewed that the English could make any considerable Opposition and it had been the greatest Widoim of the Duke, if he could have kept the Truce on foot upon any 1 terms. The French King was sensible of these Inconve-
niences, and therefore held the English to Such Conditions as he knew in himself almost impos-
ible to be performed, that he might renew the War at the English, and his own Advantage.
Upon these Grounds he built great Hopes of Success, (tho' the French Historians make their King very unwilling to have begun the War anew, and say, that it was nothing but God's Disposition and Will on his Part, and the intolerable Wrongs on the Enemy's Part, that began this late War,) and having drawn his Army together, divided it into Three Parts, and sent them out severally, one under the Command of Monfieur de Montmorency, who after divers Affairs, and a Loss of many of his Men, took the Towns of Louviers and Caudeby; another part under Captain Huequot who took the Towns of Devil's Cornet, and the great Town of Vovceuil in Perche with the Castle and Tower belonging to it; and a third Part under Captain Pierrot, who took Cognia and St. Magraine near Bourdeaux in Gueldre, and then retired to R. Charles to unite with him.

The Duke of Somerset who had made the English Affairs still in France, that he could make little or no Opposition to these Proceedings of the French, had nothing to help himself with but Complaints to the French King of his unjust Invasions. The War was continued. The French wondered the English, who had taken Fougères in the Time of Truce without any just Occasion, and refused to give Satisfaction, found look upon them-

selfs injured by Reprisals: Yet that R. Charles might keep up the Countenance of Peaceablenefs, he appointed a Conference at the Abbey of Beverley to adjourn all Matters in contest between them: This Meeting prov'd Frutile, and then the French King raised a mighty Army, and decla-
red open War against the English. But Fate had been kind to utterly vanquish'd the English Au-
thority in France. They had, in the need of little Forces, to reduce all to the obedience of R. Charles. It

was everywhere noised in the English Territo-
ries, that now the Duke of Gloucester was dead the English were unable to protect them, and they En-
voyed their Conquests in France, being filled with so many Controversies and Debates, that they could not mind their Affairs Abroad, which did disjocied the People to a Revolt, who were never kept steady in their Loyalty to the English but by Force and Fear, that when the French King appeared before the Towns, they without much ado open'd the Gates, and lend com-
d' their Sovereign to his sight; and the many of the great Towns there were strong

English Garrisons, as Rouen (c) in Normandy,

Mesnil in Gunes, and other Cities, yet all was not

help. The English, when the French Army came before them, the inhabitants arm'd themselves and fell upon the English within, and the Army with-
out fiercely assaulted them, so that it was alto-
gether impossible to retain any Thing: All that the English could do was only to capitulate, and save their Lives. Thus the French King in a few Months became a perfect Master of Nor-

man, Calais, and Guines, the there wanted no
Courage in most of the English Garrisons to de-

fend themselves; but being over-powered and unarm'd with the Treachery of the French, they were forced to leave all in the French Hands.

This Year began a Rebellion in Ireland, and Duke of the Duke of York, rather to have him out of the Way than to truant or prefer him, was sent thi-
ther with an Army; but he so well managed his Place, and dealing mildly and gently with that
Savage People, they doped their Combinations with
so much Satisfaction to them, that he gain'd
their Love and Favour so far, that they could
never be separated from him nor his Poffeiture
but as well in the Misfortunes of his Family as their Prosperity firmly adhered to them. Thus

did the Wicked Politicks of the Queen and her Party generally turn to her Damage. House-

fier's Death was the Deftruction of her Hud-

band's Title to the Crown, and this Employment

of the Duke of York, which was intended for his Ruin, prov'd a mighty Advantage to him in his Deigas against his Sovereign.

In the beginning of this Year Sir Lewis de Reg. 27

Bouley a French Knight, challenge d an English Man

nam'd Ralph Challons, Esquire to encounter him in a Combat, and pitch'd the Time and Place, which was at Mains in Mains, the French King himself was present according to the Custom of that Age, to behold the Courage and Skill of

those Combatants. Much Art and Bravery ap-

pear'd on both Sides, but the Fortune of the Combatants fell to the English Man, who ran the

French Knight thro' the Body with his Spear, of

which Wound he soon after dy'd. The Law of

Arms in this Case requir'd, that the Conquered

Counr should attend the Corps of the Peron kill-

ed, and celebrate his Obtebies, in Teftimony of the Chrillian Compasion which he has for the

Defeated. This Combat perform'd not only with the usual Decency, but with so much real and hearty Sorrows, that even the French King took Notice of it, and gave him some Tokens of his Favour.

King Charles and the Duke of Bretagne being Duke of
follow'd with continual Success carry'd on their

Victories every Day further and further. The

Duke of Bretagne recovered Fougères, at St. Ju-

de Beverley, and several other Places, which had

been

(3) At Rou in Normandy the English Garrison were so hard put to it by the Citizens within, and the French without, that they were reduced to a method of hiding up the City, and keeping their houses barricaded, and thus they were under it. The Haltages for the Performance of this Agreement were the Brave Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Butler, Son to the Earl of Grand.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1450.

Some English forces went into France to keep the men.

A.D. 1455.

The French forces were now in France, and the English put so hard upon the French, that they were forced to give ground, and the English got from them two Calverings; but in the Reg. 27. the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Richmond, and Cornwallis were the French of above 1000 freth Men vanquished the English, flying above 3000, and taking 800 Prisoners, among whom several were Persons of Note, as Sir Thomas Kerebel himself, Sir Henry Norbury, Sir Thomas Dow, Sir Thomas Kirby, and several others. Sir Robert Maitland and Sir M. Gough, that valiant Welsh Man escaped. The Victory was obtained, as the French Historians relate, with the Loss of only five or six of their Side, so that they impute this to a wonderful Work of God to them. And after that, and I am encouraged by it, they marched on to the Siege of Caen, which having furnaces on all sides they fiercely assaulted. The Duke of Somerset the Regent in France was then in the Town with his Wife and Children, of whom he was in fear, he furnished the chief Citizens together and told them, that it was impossible, that in the midst of the Town they should have a great Power as the King of France had about it, and to endeavour it was only to endanger themselves without hopes of Profit, and therefore advised them to agree upon good Terms as they could, and require the Place. This was welcome Advice to the Citizens, who were ready through Fear or Treachery to out-run any Admonition in that Kind. But it seems the Duke, though he had a plenary Authority given him over all Places under K. Henry's Jurisdiction, was not without Control here. The City of Caen was given by K. Henry to the Duke of York, when he was Regent of France. He had made one Sir David Hall, an hot and passionate Man, but very faithful to his Trust, Governor of it. He hearing the Duke's Advice to the Citizens, told him boldly, that he had nothing to do in that Place, which belonged to the Duke of York, and of which he charged was taken unto him; That the Danger was not so great as he had represented it to the Citizens to terrify them, for it wanted neither Men, Money nor Ammunition, and therefore they might defend themselves at least, till they could have the Duke of York's Assistance, or Order to forbear it. That as to himself he would defend it against any Power how great soever, and if the Town would resist, he would himself face the Cattle with such soldiers as were Faithful and Valiant, and bold it out to the last; That it is true, the Defenders make a great noise and rattling with their Cannons, but that fears Women and Children only and not Men of War. In the midst of these hot Disputes between Fear and Courage, Treachery and Fidelity, a Stone shot by the French into the Town fell down between the Dutchers of Somerset and her Children. Then the Duke of York moved the Bishop of Caen and the other to the Duke of Somerset, and not her and her Children but by the surrender of the Town, yielded it up to the French force against the Will of Sir David Hall upon these Conditions.

(4) The Olsen thinking to swi the Members by the Number of her Attendance, when he had them in a Country Town, summoned this Parliament to meet at Westminster; but the Lords and Commons who knew they were late under the Protection of the City of London, refused to meet unless they were appointed to come to Westminster; so the Session was adjourned till other.

1. That...
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth. 401

A.D. 1450-2.

Reg. 25.

1. That the Town and Castle of Caen should be surrendered to the French King on the First Day of July, if they were not relieved by that Time.

2. That upon the Surrender of the Town the Duke, Dutches, and their Children, and all others that would leave it, might do so, the Soldiers with their Horses and Harnets, and the Inhabitants, with their Wives, Children, and Moveables, but at their own Charge.

3. That all Person who left the Town, should pay their Debts to the Citizens, and leave behind them all Sorts of Artillery.

4. That the Duke of Somerset should pay for his Freedom 59000 Scires, which is about 9000 Pounds, and be bound to surrender to the French King all the Towns in Normandy, then in the Hands of the English, leaving the Lord Talbot an hostage till both were perform'd.

Upon these Terms (for no Succour came by the Time agreed on) was the Town put into the Hands of the French; and Sir David Hall in his Heart took shipping for Ireland, to give an Account of this Action of the Duke of Somerset's to the Duke of York, and to vex'd him, that the Hatred which he owed Somerset, grew deadly. By the Surrender of this City, Normandy was all in a Measure Power except Four Towns, viz. Lisieux, of which Sir Matthew Gaugb was Commander; Fecamp, which belonged to the Earl of Shrewsbury; Demfount, and Cherbourg, which all reign'd upon Conditions within a Month after: The Liberty of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was Prisoner at Drezay, being regained by the Surrender of Eobiis, with the Lives and Good of the Girrafin, as were those of the reft. Cherbourg was the last Town that yielded, the valiant Captain of it, Thomas Goreval, defending it so long as they had Ammunition or Provision left to make their Defence; but at last he was forc'd to give it up, and with the rest retro'd to Caibis, where they found the Duke of Somerset. Thus was Normandy, Thirty Years after it was conquered by Henry V. left clear out of the Hands of the English, and became again the Possession of the French King.

Three Gales are given for this Loss,

1. The Normans Treachery, who the natural Subjects to the King of England, yet being English in Language and Manners, affected Subjection to the French King molt.

2. The Duke of Somerset's Avarice, who kept not all Carrifanas as ought to have done, that he might pocket the Money allow'd for Soldiers.

3. The Divisions at Home, in which the Great Ones engaged with so much Zeal, that they had no Alliance to Affairs Abroad.

Their Losses in France being heard in England, and breeding a general Dissent in the People, the Fault was generally laid upon the Governor, and loud Exclamations were rais'd against the Duke of Suffolk, as the chief Instrument of all their Miseries, allerding, That he it was who deliv'd up Meifne and Anjou to the French, proc'd the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, devou'd the King's Treasure, remov'd all the King's venemous Council from him, and placed in their Room's Persons either openly or secretly. Visible, or else so addicted to his interests, that they could not be his Friends to the French, Good. Lastly, That he had been the only Occasion of the Loss of Normandy. The Parliament was still sitting, and the Queen, who was not unfriendly of these Grudges against her Favourite, sought all Means to hinder any rigorous Proceedings against him. To the King, End, remov'd the Parliament to Learning, thinking to es- cape the Difguis against him, which the Lords chiefly favour'd; but few of the Nobility appearing there, she was forc'd to bring it to the Duke of back to Westminster, where there was a full App- earsence. And the Commons presented an In- diement to the King and Lords against the Duke of Suffolk, containing many Articles of several Articles.

I. That the said Duke of Suffolk had contriv'd and consulted with John, Earl of Dorset, commonly call'd, the Suffolk, of Orleans, and the other Ambassadors of the French King, then being in England, to excite and encourage their Master to invade this Realm, and destroy the King and his Friends, to the End, that he might raise his Son John, thereof, who he had married (e) to Margaret, sole Heir to John, Duke of Somerset, the next Heir, as he pretended to, the Crown of England, to be King.

II. That being alur'd by great Rewards and Promises from the said Ambassadors, he had fer at Liberty the Duke of Orleans, the King's Enemy, contrary to the express Will of Henry the Fifth.

III. That by his Advice given to the Duke of Orleans, the French King had invad'd Nor- mandy, and the other Countries of France belonging to the King, and to was now become absolute Master of all France.

IV. That being sent Ambassador into France, to conclude a Peace, he had agreed to surrender Anjou and Maine to the King's Enemies, under the plausible Pretence of a Marriage, (f) without any Consent from the said Ambassadors; and Content of the Ambassadors feast with him; and at his Return into England, drew the King to approve and comply with all he had done, and to forsake his Inheritance of those Countries.

V. That he had betrayed the Weakness of the King's Forts and Towns to the Enemy's Captains, when he was in France, by which they were encouraged to affalt them, and took several of them.

VI. That he had betrayed the King's Coun- cils to the French Ambassadors, when they were in England.

VII. That when Ambassadors were sent into France to conclude a Peace, he had hinder'd it, by advertising the French King of the Advanta- ges he had against the English.

VIII. That he had as great Power and Inter- est with the French King, as at Home, as he boister'd in the Star-Chamber.
A.D. 1190. IX. That being corrupted by the French King, he had kept back our Armies from going into Ireland, and in making the League with the French King, he had not compriz'd either the Duke of Bretagne, or King of Aragon, but suffered them to be put in by the French King, whereby their Amity was lost; and they became the French King's Allies to the Damage neither of the Nation, nor of the Duke of Bretagne's Brother, Giles, who adhering to the English Interests, lost first his Liberty, and then his Life.

The Popular Charge abovementioned, was also alluded curiously, but not inferred upon, and tamp'd not to an Article against him. The Duke upon these Accusations was arrrested, and brought to his Answer, which he delivered diligently in this Manner, viz.,

1. As to the Three first Articles he denied, that he had ever thought on, moved, or acted any such Things as they laid to his Charge.

2. To the Fourth he alleged, that the Trace could not be concluded without forreuding those Places, and it being permitted him to act as he judged convenient, he had agreed to it.

3. To all the rest he pleaded not Guilty, and refused any of them, except the Truth, which he could not, howsoe e r explain.

These Answers were judged very insufficient, and therefore to pacifie the People, he was sent Prisoner to the Tower, and a great Shew made, as tho' he should be punished severely for these his Misdemeanours; but the Queen loved him too well to do him any Harm, and therefore after he had been a Prisoner about a Month, in which time she thought the popular Hearts against him were abated, the released him, and brought him to Court, and had him in such great favour as ever. This Restoration of the Duke of Suffolk was no sooner known, but it begot several Comotions in the Realm, and the People threatened an Insurrection. About Canterbury a great Multitude assembled togeth er, and chose one Thomas Th Lois, a Fuller, their Captain, and Nick-named him Cull-arrant, and that at the Command of the King's Council be ng inform'd of it, sent down a Body of Men to seize their Captain and several of their King's Leaders, who being executed, the Rebellion cease'd, and Suffolk was thought to stand as fast as ever. The Parliament which was adjourned upon this Occasion, met again, and the King and Queen went thither (g.) in great State, being attended with the Duke of Suffolk as their Chief Councillor. The Commons look'd upon the Duke's Presence as a Bravado to them, and being incens'd at it, put up their Petition to the King, that the Perso ns, who had been instrumental in delivering up the Countries of Anjou and Maine to the King's Enemies, should be duly punish'd; and accuss d the Duke of Suffolk, Bishop of Salisbury, and Lord Say with others, as guilty of it. The King, who did not suspect that Things would have thus been resolved against him or his feared Father, Suffolk should be left at Liberty, and therefore to pacifie them, he put all the Duke's Adherents out of their Offices and Places about him, and banish'd the Duke out of the Realm for Five Years, supposing, that his Enemy's Hatred to him would cool in that Time, and then he might recommend his flight Suffolkiers with double Favours.

The Duke feeing the Fury of his Enemies, was not backward to leave the Kingdom for a while, 1190. and that he might the better do it, the Duke of Exeter, then Constable of the Tower, call'd the Middlesex, which engag'd him, and the Captain having taken the Veil he was in, after a short time, boarded upon the Duke's bringing him into Dover-Road, caused him to be beheaded on the Side of a Cock-boot. A very bold Suffolk, his strange Action, that a private Captain of a headed Ship shou d dare to put a Peere to the Realm, by death, without so much as any Pretence of Order or Quarrel, so far as can be known, yet just upon Suffolk himself, who having been instrumental in the Death of the Duke of Glos sington, was himself as unjustly put to death. His Body was call'd upon the Sands at Dover, and being found by his Chaplain, who, after he took off the Head of his, and stripped him, followed him to see his Fate, was by him taken up, and conveyed to Windsor-College, in Suffolk, (b) and there interr'd. His Memory, Duke of had he not been engag'd in the Intrigues of a Suffolk's Court-Favourite, which must refute no Service done to advance the Ambition of Princes, or the Design of a Court, much less, of an Adventurer, to this Day; for he was a Man of good Wit and great Courage, as well able to serve a Prince as any Man, a faithful Councillor, a Lover of Peace, and a great Benefactor to the Church. He built the Parish-Church of Ewloe, in Oxfordshire, which at his Death was as well, or better, to this Day; he founded an Hospital for Two Priests, and Thirteen poor Men.

The Duke of Suffolk being dead, who, had he lived, would have been a Stop to the Duke of York's ambitious Ambitions, being an able Counselor, and stout Warrior, tho' thro' impor trench'd, yet improved the grace given at last odds to the People. The Crown, Duke of York, who was in Ireland, began by his Agents and Emalfiers, to drive more furiously and confidently toward the Crown; and to that End, his Friends in all Companies represented the present State of the Kingdom very misera ble, and described the gait of a base and a most base, a lustful King, and an Ambitious Queen, who neither of them understood the true Measures of Government, did daily decline in its Reputation and Interest, of which the Loss of France was an invincible Demonstration. That the publick Good ought to be more nearly look'd into, and Men of such Abilities rais'd to the Helm, as might both advance the Honour of the English, and be a Terror to their Enemies. That the Duke of York was a Perfon every Ways qualified for the greatest Trunk, having given such a Front of it, comprising the Rebellion of Ireland, with fo great Satisfaction to the People, as well as Safety to the King. That in Reality, that Duke had the belt Title to the Crown, the Family of Lancaster being no better than Ulper's, and tho' indeed King Henry would be tolerable, yet, on his Seat was, and at the High-End of it, he founded an Hospital for Two Priests, and Thirteen poor Men.

Duke of York's ambition to obtain the Crown, Duke of York, who was in Ireland, began by his Agents and Emalfiers, to drive more furiously and confidently toward the Crown; and to that End, his Friends in all Companies represented the present State of the Kingdom very miserably, and described the gait of a base and a most base, a lustful King, and an Ambitious Queen, who neither of them understood the true Measures of Government, did daily decline in its Reputation and Interest, of which the Loss of France was an invincible Demonstration. That the publick Good ought to be more nearly look'd into, and Men of such Abilities rais'd to the Helm, as might both advance the Honour of the English, and be a Terror to their Enemies. That the Duke of York was a Perfon every Ways qualified for the greatest Trunk, having given such a Front of it, comprising the Rebellion of Ireland, with so great Satisfaction to the People, as well as Safety to the King. That in Reality, that Duke had the belt Title to the Crown, the Family of Lancaster being no better than Ulper's, and tho' indeed King Henry would be tolerable, yet, on his Seat was, and at the High-End of it, he founded an Hospital for Two Priests, and Thirteen poor Men.

(f.) The Parliament was on this Occasion adjourn'd to Lenchord. Mid. 653.

(6) Hm in his Life of all the Dukes that ever were in England down to the Year 1575, ands the Duke of Suffolk was buried in the Church in 1575.
from his Government, and men Persons pre-
ferred, who would not admit unjust judicial
ity without Bribes and Gifts. That the Provi-
dons for the King's House were taken of the
Subjects, and not paid, for, to the undoing of
much: That the King's menial Servants falsely
impeach'd many of High-Treason to get
their Ends. That the King's Servants
unjust Claims of Feesoffs have depriv'd di-
vers of the Commons of their Estates and
Rights; That certain Traders, who have lost
the King's Territories in France, should be
nul'd without Secrecy; That the Sheriffs
and Under-sheriffs of Counties, forbade
ces and Balliwicks, are forced to extort unjust
Fines from the People to pay the Sums; That
the Officers of the Court of Exchequer gave
anthur Action, and require great Fees of
them for their Deliverance; That the Free-
dom of Elections of Knights of Shires hath
been taken from the People by the Great Men,
who send Letters to their Tenants and De-
pendants to choose such Men, as the People
approve not of; That Collectors of the King's
Taxes being made for Bribes by the Knights
of the Realm, to raise them, are not afraid to
And lastly, That the Seffions being held in
the furthest Parts of the Country Eystward, the
People were forced to go five Days Journey to
them, to their great Trouble and Damage,
which they dare not be setted in two
Places more conveniently.

The other Paper they filed, The Requests of The Re-
great Assembly in Kent, and in that humbly bet's Bill
petition'd, ' That the King would allume to Re-
himself the Demesnes of the Crown, that he
might live conformable to his Royal Dignity;
That the Duke of Suffolk's Kindness should be
punish'd according to the Laws of the Realm,
and the Lords of the Royal Blood, viz. the
Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk
taken into Favour, and Intrusted in the Go-
vernment, and then he would be the happiest
and richest Prince of Christendom; That all
Perfons guilty of the Duke of Gloucester's Death
be punish'd, as false Traitors to the King and
Realm, and the rather, because by their Means
the Duke of Exeter, the Cardinal of Winchel-
siter, and the Noble Prince the Duke of War-
nick, with many other Lords and Noblemen, and
all the King's Countries in France have
been lost. Lastly, That all Extortions used
daily among the Common People, viz. the
Green-Wax, King's Bench, and King's-Pourvoy-
s, and State of Labourers be so regulat'd by
the King and his Council, that they may not
be such an intolerable Burthen to the Com-
moners of England.

These Bills being seen and perused as well by
the Lords and Commons in Parliament allam-
ented (A), as by the King's Council, were not
only condemn'd and disapprov'd, but the Au-
thors of them judg'd proud and presumptuous
Rebels, not to be gratified with fair Promises,
but supprest by force of Arms. The King
who had been providing a Body of Men to cha-
flle this feditions Crew, being thus encourag'd,
order'd certain Lords, with their Princes, and
other Persons, to meet with them, to see whether
they would abide a Battell; but the Lord's Men
boldly told them, That they would not fight ag-
ainst the Men of Kent, who had no other Arm in

(1.) Of Sir John Mortimer, Brother to the Earl of March, who was beheaded in the former Reign. Ibid. 672.
(2.) It does not appear that the Complaints of their People were rejected by the Parliament, only that the Coun-
cil condemn'd em as they would have done, had they been more reasonable, considering the Method of precising
them. See ibid. p. 424.
A.D. 1450. 

City, himself lodging the first Night in South-

A. D. 

ark at the White-Hart, where hearing what a 1450. 

great Party of the Commons of Effect were come Reg.28. 

to his Affilliance, and were encampt at Mile-

End he did not doubt to carry all before him. 

The City of London had not long given away their City, and expecting Admittance were in 

doubt what to do: To deny him was very dan-

gerous, and to give him Entrance would not 

prove les disaduentages to them: Where-

upon the Mayor called a Council to determine 

what was to be done. Divers Opinions were among them, but most through Fear or Faction were for receiving him. 

Robert 

Fleming, a Filr-monger and Alderman vehement-

ly opposed them who were for entertaining 

him, which when the Rebels heard of, they 

were so exasperated that the Mayor was forced 

to put him into Newgate, and open the Gates to 

give him Entrance, which happen'd 7th July. 

At his first Entrance into the City (that he 

might gain the Favour and Love of the Citiz-

ens, and engage them more firmly to them.) he 

called a Proclamation to be made in the 

Street (and every Body was desirous of 

hearing all his Followers. That no Man should 

dare to offer any Violence or Wrong to any Man, 

to rob, or take any thing away from any Person 

without paying them for it, or commit any 

Outrages, or make any Quarrels in the Streets, or 

bustle or corrupt any Women, but all should behave 

themselves cleanly and orderly upon pain of Death, 

and then he pulled through London-Streets, and 

going by London-Stone struck it with his Sword, 

saying, Nor is Mortimer Lord of this City. At 

Night he return'd again to his Lodgings at 

Southwark, and by the 5th of July being the 

Captain of the Rebels returned again into the 

City, and having caused Sir James Fisons, Lord 

Say and Treasurer of England, to be brought into the 

Guild-Hall of London, had him arraigned be-

fore the Lord Mayor and several of the King's 

Judges, who by his Order sit there to try him. 

The Lord Say, as in Law he might, demanded 

his Privilege to be try'd by his Peers, but this 

Plac was dilatory, and he deyeying to an-

swer the Accusations brought against him before 

such incompetent Judges, Codle took him by 

force from the Officers and brought him to the 

Stuartdee, and there he was immediately to be cut off, not giving him so 

much Time as to make an end of his Confession. 

His Head he put on the top of a Spear, and had 
it carry'd before him, his Body he caufed to be 
drawn naked at an Horse's-Tail through the 

City as far as his Inn in Southwark, and thereto be 

quartered. Nor was his Rage against this No-

blemann hereby satisfied; but fending to the 

Fleet-Prison he fetched from thence Sir James 

Cromer, his Son-in-law, who married his Daugh-

ter, then Sheriff of Kent, and for some Extort-

ions against the King's Officers, and having 

been committed to Mile-End to the Effect Rebels, and there he 

headed him. His Head he fix'd upon a Pole, and 

had it carried before him with his Father's 

into the City, the Bearer making them kill's in 
every Street to move Laughter from the Be-

holders, and in his Return to Southwark had him for 

Lost by the Effect Rebels.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A. D. 1450.
Reg. 28.

Citizens keep the Rebels out of the City.

of whose Wealth they could get Information; and if they found no Treasure, made them pay great Fines for the Safety of their Lives and Goods. Alderman Horn, who had a little before exposed himself to their Rage by his Loyalty, to his Country, was now in Danger of losing his Life; but his Wife and Friends perceiving that Cade loved Money, went to him, and for 500 Marks purchased his Liberty.

This Action of the Rebels frighted the Citizens, who feared the Ill Effects of admitting the Rebels began to repeat that they accepted not of Alderman Horn's Advice. Neither their Lives nor Goods, Wives nor Daughters were safe from the Kapine and Abuses of a rude Rabbite: Wherefore they resolved to keep out of their City this wicked Captain, and his mischievous Company, and to that End they sent to the Tower to the Lord Scale, and Sir Matthew Gough to af- fult them. The Lord Scale readily conformed to their Desires, and promised them to play up on the Rebels with the Cannon of the Tower, and approach them as near as the Major, and Aldermen all he could in this Attempt, by whose Advice they having gotten together the Train-hands of the City, planted themselves to keep the Bridge against them, and denied the Rebels Entrance. Their Captain hearing that the City opposed their Converse among them, ordered his Men to force their Passage, by which means rofe a sharp Fight upon the Bridge, some- time the Citizens, and sometimes the Rebels having the better of it, but neither were able to drive the other quite from it. The Fight continued many Hours, till at length both Parties being wearied and tired, a Collection of Arms was agreed upon till the next Day; but upon this Condition, That neither the Londoners should go into Southwark, nor the Rebels into London.

This Contest tho' not great, coll the Citizens some Lives of great Value, as Alderman Smite, Robert Halford, and Sir Matthew Gough, a Man whose Life was worth a Million of theirs that flew him; but it was really the Conquest of the Rebels by the wise Improvement and Manage- ment of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, John Stafford. For this great Stateman being then at Dover, hearing the Terror of the Rebels began to faint, leaving the City of Lon- don for their Enemy, and that Jack Cade to strengthen his Party was forced to open the Pri- sons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and give Liberty to that rascally Crew to support the Cade, in which they were the only fit Per- sons to engage, sent for the Bishop of Winchester to him in the Tower (the latter at Halswell for Safety) and having consulted with him, form- ed a general Pardon for all Offences hitherto committed, and put the Broad-Seal to it, and paling into Southwark caused it to be publicly proclaimed there. The poor deluded People, who long'd to be dismissed, were so glad to hear it, that without any Respect to their Cap- tain, they left him and departed Home, glad to secure themselves, as full as they could. Jack Cade being thus defeated by all but a very few, the whole Country would insensibly much to prefer to the French, by manning the Towns as well as they could, conferring the Hearts of the Captivity with Promises of Rewards, and sending Letters into England for Speedy Aid, certifying the King, That unless they could have Kelsier again the whole Country would instantly submit; to which all they could get was fair Promises, no Relief appeared, nor Aid came; whereupon the French Men pursu'ing their Vic'to lies got the Towns of Jaffails by Assa't, in which 35 Englefits were killed, and all the rest made Prisoners of War; Montargis, St. Day, and Chablis, which all yielded upon Conditions, because they saw it in vain to

(1) Lestherfield writes, that he waited for him there. Ibid. 695.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A. D. 1451.

Reg. 29.

The French Party were as active in other Places; and A. D. Dunois took Laon, a Place impregnable. The 1451,
Earl of Arundel, an inveterate Enemy to Eng. Reg. 29, land, took the Strong Town of Roos, and the Earl of Pembridge. Oakham, and the French held them out till the Feast of St. John Baptist, in hopes to have Relief; but none coming, they The Sure of no favourable Conditions upon which they further Suffered, accordingly to Covenant. The Hon. render of the Part of the French, and hur- and the French were glad to gain it Brussels, on any Terms. They were thef.

I. That the Garrison should march out with their Horfes and Arms, and leave their Artillery behind them.

II. That those, who would swear Allegiance to King Charles, should enjoy their Goods and Estates, in whatever Part of the Kingdom they were, and be pardoned all former Faults.

III. That all who would serve the King of France in his Wars, whether Citizens or Soldiers of the Garrison, should have like Entertainment to their other Terms.

IV. That several English Prisoners named, should be fet at Liberty without Ransome.

Which being granted, the English left the Town, and went to Barbourax, which was also taken by the French, but by that Act, no Business was done.

The next Business that required Time for the coming of Supply, was that of the French being regimented, and the Garrison made ready, except Baines, which the Earl of Dunois beleaguered August the Sixth. This was a very strong Town, and withstood the French Force, till a great Breach in the Wall being made by their Artillery, they faw them might be taken, and fo came to an Agreement, but hard enough, viz. That the Garrison should depart with their Arms, and the City pay 40000 Crums. The French Historians relate a Miracle that happened the next Day after the Surrender of it, which much sted the French in their Allegiance to R. Charles. In a clear Day, and fere Cloud in the Sky, there appeared a White Cloud in the Form of a Cross, with an Azure Crown in the Top of it, which afterward in the Sight of a Thousand Soldiers, one of the Ring Spetators, was changed to a Flower-de-Luce, and then within half an Hour after vanished. This being generally known, was thus interpreted, That God by this Producy of a White Cloud, did command them to relinquish their Subjection to the English, whose Badge was a Red Cloud, and become Faithful Subjects to their own King, whose Badge was a White Cloud, and Arms, a Flower-de-Luce. Whether this was true or no, it is not material to examine; 'tis certain, that all their Revolts from the English, proceeded so much from a real Affection to the French King, and were accompanied with such Hatred to the English, that they were never likely to recover any of their Losses again, if they could retain the Littie they had left, which was only Calais, Hants and Guernsey. Thus thro' the Fanatical and Contumacious, Alarmed by the Queen's ill Management, was the English Interest in France quite neglected, and all their Territories lost.

The Duke of York yet being in Ireland, was neverthelesse believe, he would be the Founder of a Cade's Rebellion, and the other Disorders of the Nation by his Friends and Emiffaries, and tho' he was at first thought
to have done the King Service by alloying the
Selction in Ireland with so much Mildness and
Gentleness, yet now it was interpreted at
Court, as nothing but Policy to ingratiate him-
self, and he might accordingly alienate his
Affiance to compose his Diffinies in England;
and therefore it was feared, that when ever he
return'd, he would bring an Army with him,
and disturb the Peace of the Nation. For these
Reasons the King sent out his particular Orders into
the Kingdom, to hinder the Duke from landing, if he brought
any Number of Men along with him; and Te-
veral Perions were employ'd to set their Friends
in Ireland a work, to take notice of his Mitions and
Actions which might tend to Rebellion; but if any thing of that Nature appear'd, the King by timely Intelligence might provide for
it. This after it was known to the Duke, he took very ill,
and by Letter expostulated concerning it to the King, affurimg, That be al-
ways had, and ever would be the King's true Son, that he did not
but was it that he did give such Orders, because of the
severaludit Speeches which had been given out concernign him, as well by Scamen as
others, which he took to be jall Cauue of Fears; but since he had declar'd, That he had never
intended any such Thing, the King in his An-
swer (if true, which we have no reason to accepce of your Heart in all facto Matters, We declare, repaire,
and advis you, as our true and faithful Subjects, and
faithful Colon.

Towards the Latter End of this Year of the King's Reign, King Henry took a general Pro-
cession over the Nation, and came to the City of
Exeter July 16th. being St. Kenelos's Day, where he
was honourably receiv'd by the Clergy, who met him Three Miles from the City, and
convey'd him to the Cathedral first, and then to the Bishop's House, where he lodg'd.
During his Absence, he caus'd a Seccion to be held before the Duke of Soveriefe, to try several no-
torious Criminals and Traitors, who had fled to
that Sanctuary, and condemn'd severall of them to Death. The Bishop and Clergy hear-
ing of it, came with heavy Complaints to the King, that by holding a Section there, he had
violated the Privileges and Sanctions of the same
N. and that these actions being against Law, were of
no effect. The King and his Council told the Bishop,
That it was a Scandal to the Church and Religion, that such holy Places should be
Patronage and Defence to such wicked Things,
Nen, which the Law of God had commanded
be punisht by the Magistrate's Sword:
That the Perons condemn'd, were the most
notorious Mafkectors found guilty upon a
Legal Examination and Tryal, and ought to
be punisht for a Terror to others: That if
the lawfull Right was not found, there might find a safety in San-
ctuaries, contrary to their first Intention, Ju-
dice would be laid aside, and none punisht
but such as were as nimble enough to get in
to their Places. All these Arguments would
not prevail. Holy Church, nor the Sanctuary
might not be profan'd (as they did) with the
judging of temporal Matters, and pilling sen-
cones of Condemnation; tho' God orders expres-
ly, That all wilful Offenders should be taken from the
Mist and punish'd. These Exclamations mov'd the mild King so, that he let fall his
lawful Right, and released many notor-
ious Traitors and Criminals, tho' he judg'd
'to the Disgrace of the Church; and soon after
return'd to London.

The Duke of York, having receiv'd inclu-
gencc in Ireland of the bad Succes of his Af-
fairs in England, that Jack Cade was defeated, 1451.
and his Company wholly rooted, resolv'd to Reg.
39.
go himself into England to consult with his
his Friends, and by soliciting a Foundation for his
Proceedings. About Michaelmas he left Ireland, and came to Shore in England at Bea-mar, and from
Haven of Anglefey, in North Wales, intending to
land there; but by the King's Order and Command, he was kept from it by certain
Officers for his pretended Error then, viz: Henry
Nevill, Deputy-Chamberlain, the Navyt, his Brother, William Buckley, William Graft
and Bartholomew Bold, saying, That he was a Traitor,
and an Enemy to the King, and should have neither
Landings, refreshings, nor Lodging for Men or Her-
ries there. These Words highly offended the
Duke, but he had no Reason but Patience,
wherefore Causing a while, he got a safe land-
ing Place, and posted with all Speed to his
Friends and Well-wifhers, who waited for his
Arrival at London. His chief Affinists and
Condellors, Thomas More, Duke of Nur-
sfolk, Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, in Rich-
ness of his Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to
the valiant Hero, Thomas Montague, who was
linian in the fatal Siege of Orleans; the Lord
Richard Nevill, his son, who was afterwards Earl of Warwicke, by the Marriage of the Lady Ann
Bichamp, and his Brother Robert, Earl of Somer-
shire, who married the Duke of Soveriefe's Daughter,
left fided against her Father; and
Edward Brook, Lord Cobham. All of them Per-
sons of great Authority, numerous Attendants,
and daring Valour. These with others of his
Friends of left Note, had divers Meetings and
Confutations how to raife him to the Throne;
and at last came to a Resolution, That the Duke of York should raife an Army under a Pretence of
the Publick Good, viz. to remove the bad Council-
ors about the King, and revenge the manifext
Injuries and Wrongs done to the Kingdom by the Perons now
in Authority, and particularly the Duke of Somer-
the Duke of York, to be one) and give them a more ample Seat and Power, than ever any had be-
ner to reform all Dissorders, and punish all such notorious Crimes as he complained of; but being a Master of great Importance he would advise first with his Chancellor, and other Lords of his Coun-
cil about it, and with them take such Orders as should be for the Benefit of the Nation, and in the mean time would keep the Duke of Somerset under such Safe-guard, that he should be ready to an-
swer to the Crimes objected against him.

This Answer, tho' as full as could be expect-
red from a King to a Subject, did not at all fa-
sify the Duke of York, and he immediately went to Hales, to levy an Army under Colour of removing bad Counsellors, and preferring the Nation from Ruin, and in a little time gathered a great Num-
ber of People to assist him in his Enterprise.

The King had soon Information of the Duke's Actions and Doings in those Parts from his Friends there, and having raised a strong Ar-
my, marched into Wiltes with the Duke of Som-
erset (now fet at Liberty) along with him, interdicting to suppress the growing Rebellion in its Rife; but the Duke of York had Notice of the King's March towards his, and declined his, hoping to increase his Numbers in his Par-
fage and to get Possession of London, to which he was resolve'd to go directly. The King was not presently fentible of the Duke's March by him, and to be recovered London before the King could overtake him, tho' he heard that he was march'd that way, he followed him with all convenient Speed. The Duke fent fome of his Friends before him to the Citizens to repre-
sent his Undertaking to them, and flew them, that he had put his Life in his Hands, and ad-
ventured the Loss of all that was dear to him, that he might preserve the Nation from immedi-
ate Ruin; and since London was the Capital City, they were chiefly concerned to join with him in no fober Attempt, which if they would do, he doubted not of Juch Success as fhoold enable him to reanimate their Favourites with infi-
mitive Advantage to them. But the King, who discovered da-
nger, not to procure a second Time, since they had been so Unfuccefsful in Jack Cade's Rebell-
ion, and fo deny'd to receive him into their City. The Duke tho' greatly disappointed di-
fembled his Anger, and clogging over the Bridge at Greenwich, pitched his Camp on Burnt-Heath near Dartford, within Ten or Twelve Miles of London, with Trenches and Artillery. The King who followed the Duke the faller be-
came he feared to fie, came up to London foon after and encamped his Army on Black-
heath, a few Miles diftant from him; but be-
fore he came to a Battle being very fe-
paring of his Subject's Blood on both Sides, he fen the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bowcher, Bishop of Ely, Richard Windoule, Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrews, Keeper of his Privy-seal to know of the Duke for what Causes he had taken up Arms to disturb the Peace of the King and his Good Subjects, and to exhort him to submit to the King's Mercy and lay down his Arms. The Maffage was deliver'd to him by those Perfon, and he answer'd, 'That he had ra-
ken up Arms not to do any Damage to the King, either in his Person, nor in any of the King's good Subjects, but to remove from him fere-
val ill-disposed Persons of his Council, Enemies of their Country and King, who abused the Nobility, oppressed the Clergy, and impoverished the Commons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the Chief, and if the King would put him into Safe-keeping, till he should be tried in Parliament make a Defence to such Things,
to this Effect. That he is, and ever would be the King's humble and faithful Subject, and bear him Faith and Truth all the Days of his Life; That he would at no Time affent to any thing attempted against the King, if he had Knowledge of any such Purposes would discover them to the King's Highness, and do all he could to hinder them; That he would never take any thing upon him against the King's Royal State, or Obedience, nor suffer others to do, but be ready to support the Opprobrious, and any Jeft hindered by Sickness; That he would not for the future assemble or gather together any People unlesse at the King's Command, or in his own Defence, but if he were wronged or aggrieved would proceed after a Court of Law; for Redress of them: All this he promis- led to observe and keep by the Holy Evangel- ics, which he laid his Hand on, the Crofs, which he touched, and the Holy Sacrament, which he was about to receive; and desired that if he ever attempted any Thing by Arms or of any Policy, that it should be known he ever accounted a forforn Man, and depriva- ded of his Eftate and Dignity; declaring, that he did this without any Contraint, and fo subscrib'd and feal'd it. The Duke of York being fet at Liberty by thefe Means went to the Army at Shrewsbury, and there kept himself as it were in Private, yet not without his Spies upon the Court, and the Duke of Somerset's Agents, who after his {Departs} was freed from his Rival, and rife higher in the Favour of the King and Queen than ever, ruling and governning all, as he pleased. The King and Council having wisely com- posed this Domftrick Broil, though indeed it was but like a Sore Skinner over for the prefent, which breaks out more violently, fell close to a Conflitution, how to answ er the Expec- tation of the People of Gaffingers, who being oppref- sed with the King of France's Army, and with Taxes as old for the old Liberty they enjoyed under the Engli{h}, and grew weary of the French Yoke. Delays in this Cafe are dangerous. The Commons are fickle and unconfiant. The Gai- gengers if not eafed might and would change their Minds, and do the King again; Whereupon a Army was dispatched into France under the Command of the valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who though a Perfon always diligent, yet in this Cafe out did himfelf, and with 3000 men arrived in the ille of Malolhe before he was fuppofed. His Delega was to march directly to Burdeau, but was stopped in his Way a few Days by the Strong Town of Fronfach, which held out againft him, yet after a fierce Affault yielded; and he used the In- habitants the more fievcrly, because he would terrifie the neighbouring Towns, which without it would have inclin'd to their own People. The City of Burdeau hearing of Talbot's Arrival fet Neillengers by Night to him to take Poffeflion of the City, which he neglected not one Moment to do, and got before the Town, the French having no Sufficiency of them. At his Arrival the King of England made him an English Entrance, which when the French Garrison ob- served, they endeavoured to have faved them- selves at a Poffetn, but being pursu'd most of them were taken and imprifon'd, but very few or none atall, either of them or the Townsmen. The Lord O'Gusler and his Friends were fer- vicable to the English in taking the Town. The Lord Talbot fixed here a while to fortifie the Citie, and confirnn the in their Duty to K. Henry, that he might more safely leave them to regain the adjoining Country. While he was doing this, K. Henry went over Rej. 31. a Recruit of 2200 Men to join him with the Vlcers and Ammunition under the Command of the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Henry Catesby, who was sent by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Melton, Hutchinson and Cowme, and some others, with what he marched into the Country about Bur- deau, and obtained many Towns and Villages without Eiring a Stroke; the Inhabitants glad- ly embrac'd the Opportunity, and the English under the Pretence of Fear and Force, to which they had fuch Iaculations through the Severity of their new Lord. The King of France heard of this Invasion by the English, and with what Succes they went on in taking Towns, rai- fed an Army to oppofe them, and sending his Son-in-Law Count Clermont, and Meflifrs de Lar- bac and Orwell with 400 Horse, and 220 Cross- bow-men to put fome Stop to their Progress till he could gather a bigger Force, came in a few Days to them with 22000 Men, of which he kept 15000 in a Body, and lent the reft under the Marhal De Lorbac to beleje Chafflon, a Town which had lately revolted to the English. The Lord Talbot was as zealous to keep what he had gotten, as gain more, and therefore made halfe to rafe the Siege, having with him 5000 Foot, and in his Way he took the Town of Tower fortify'd by the French, and meeting with a Party of 500 who were come out a forag- ing, he encountered them, flew and took many of them, the reft flying to the Camp at Chaf- lon, gave Notice to them of Talbot's Approach. The French hearing it were afraid to hold on their Siege, and withdrew in good Order into their Camp which they had trench'd, ditch'd, and fortify'd with Orduance. Talbot had infor- mation, that the Siege was remov'd, and that the French had fo placed themfelves, that he could not attack them but at a great Dishav-antage, yet knowing that the main Army of the Enemy was near, and that it would be almoft im- possible to free himfelf of it without fighting, he went on and aflaulted the Camp with 10000 Hiercules, that he at 1st gain'd the Entry in- to it, after a long and dubious Combat; but riding himfelf in the midft of his Soldiers to the Corage of them this brave Tower was fi- rround'd by his Enemies, and with an Hand- gun-shot through his 1 high, which killed his Horfe, and he tell to the Ground, and fo being in their Power was fain. His Son Sir Jehan Tal- bot, Lord Life was clofe by his Father when this Accident happen'd, who advifed him to fave himfelf by Flight, becaufe the Victory was loft, and it would be Fool-hardine{f}, not Courage to oppofe a desperate Fate. He was young, and might do his Country Service, if he would re- ferve himfelf to a more luck Joafur, but it was better that his Father and himfelf should both go. Man though never in a Battel before, yet had too much of his Father's Courage in him, that he would not thrift back, and clofe rather to die with his Father than accept that Advice which might make him look not like his Son. With this he died all his Father's Advice. His Father was buried the same Day, and Sir Edward Hall with 300 others, Men of Note and Valour. The Lord Melton and 60 more were taken Prisoners, the reft that faved themfelves escap'd to Burdeaus, the Sham on the English Side were the 2000, the French 20000. The Lord Talbot being then in the Fifteenth Year of his Age, and the English Army routed, Chafflon furrender'd it felf into the Hands of the French upon Conditions, That the English Vol. I. G g G-
Garrison might march out with their Goods, and pass freely to Bourdeaux. The Body of the French Towns revolted as fast from the English as they before came over to them, so that the French King in a few Weeks recover'd all Gascony except Bourdeaux, which being the last that held for the English, the French King bequeath'd it in Person with his whole Army, refining not to leave it till he had taken it. The Citizens valiantly defended themselves as long as they had any Provisions left, but being oppreßed by Famine, were forc'd to capitulate. The French King willingly accepted their Proposals, and granted them almost as easie Conditions as they could desire; for his Army was as severely afflicted by the Plague without, as the besieged were by Famine within; so the City of Bourdeaux was yielded to the French on these Conditions.

1. That the English might have Liberty with all their Scurrility to depart freely into England or elsewhere, and the Gascons enjoy their Goods and Possessions.

2. That the Lords d'Effet, Durand, and 30 others, should never suffer upon Pain of Death be found in any of the French King's Dominions.

And thus was the Dutchy of Aquitaine altogether lost, after it had been in the English Hands near 300 Years.

Reg. 32.

K. Henry dange- rously sick.

Prince Edward born, and the Queen irregular about the Birth.

clear the Queen's Innocency with all impartial Persons, tho' they would not satisfie their Enemies, who were resolv'd to deprive both Father and Son of the Crown.

John Norman, who this Year was made Mayor of York, was sworn at Westminster according to the common Custome, upon the Morrow after the Feast of S. Simon and St. Jude's Day, but whereas formerly the Mayor used to ride with great Pomp, attended with the Aldermen, and a numerous Train thro' the City to the Westminster, this Year they were borne rowed in Barges to the great Advantage of the Watermen, who foreseeing the Profit, made a Song upon his Commendation, beginning, From the Boat Norman, Row to the Leman, Oye. From him and his Time hath the Custome been deduc't which still continues, for the Mayor to go by Water to Westminster to be sworn, and pity it is, it should ever alter'd, which is so beneficial to the poor Watermen.

A little before Christmas in this Year died John Kemp, Archiphilip of Canterbury, who was translated from the See of York to that See in the Room of the late Thomas Bever, who was Archiphilip of Ely, Son to the Countess of Stafford, and Brother to Henry Bourchier, Earl of Eves, was remov'd to the See of Canterbury, being made Bishop of that See, by Nicholas V. then Pope of Rome. He behaved himself so well in this great offe, that he was touch'd with great Esteemation by the King, and made him Lord Chancellor, and Pope Paul II. rais'd him to the Dignity of Cardinal, so that he was as great a Man, as ever sat in that Archiepiscopall Chair.

The Wars of France being now at an End, The Civil Dilettances between the Houses of York and Lancaster began in contending for the Crown. Richard, Duke of York, was the Author of this War, and tho' he had sworn to King Henry never to disturb his Peace, nor move any Rebellion against him; yet his ambitious Desire of Rule would not let him rest, till he had the Crown on his Head. His Title indeed was very fair according to the Laws of this Realm, being the great Grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by whom the Three Heirours derived their Right to the Crown. But King Henry VI. tho' his Title was not so fair and clear, yet not being the Uncle of the late King, nor the Heir of the late King, his Representation of his Father and Grandfather, Two most excellent Princes, and being himself of known Goodness and Piety, had so deep a Hold in the People's Affections, both for his Father's Sake as well as his own, that any bare'd Pre-tentions to the Crown, especially considering that none of the Line of the Duke of Clarence were ever in Possession of the Throne, would have appear'd both irregular and ridiculous. And therefore the Duke of York spent most of this Summer in intimidating Jealousies into the Heads of the People, and common Brutes and Rabble, to support their Difficulties. The Two Things which he chiefly buzz'd into their Ears, were,

1. That King Henry, tho' a very pious, good Man, was too meek and mean-Spirited to rule a Kingdom, which not his Enemies only thought of, but his Friends, would be very easy to fill a Place, as to accept another's Child for his own, so that the Satisfaction which the King took in the Birth of the Prince, and testified in Feasting the Court, and creating divers Noblemen as his Two Brethren by Mother's side, he made Edward, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, must be allow'd Arguments sufficient to clear the Queen's Innocency with all impartial Persons, tho' they would not satisfie their Enemies, who were resolv'd to deprive both Father and Son of the Crown.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth

The present Times were such, that they requir'd a King of Valour, Activity and Judgment. Reg. 32. who by his Virtues and Wisdom, might settle Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Reg. 33.

1454. that notwithstanding he had once taken up Arms to rescue the Kingdom out of the Hands of the Duke of Somerset, and bring him to an open and full acknowledgement of his Trust in his Regency in France, in losing the whole Dukeedom of Normandy, and had by Agreement laid down his Arms upon the King's Promise, that Somerset should be kept in Life wholly, and give an Answer to all Accusations being of the special Person, which he was soon to meet for that Purpose, yet nothing was done in it. The Duke enjoy'd not only Liberty, but was in greater Favour and Power than ever, and no Parliament likely to meet, so that the Kingdom was in bad or worse Condition than before; and the Men who were the Ruin of the Nation, were honour'd and encourag'd. A lamentable posture of Affairs! And shall the Lovers of their Country stand still and see its Destruction, without putting an helping Hand to deliver it? Without their Speeches he had dispos'd the Nation to a Rebellion, not against the King, (for no Harm was meant him good Man, who did no ill to any Man, and defir'd the Nation's Welfare in all Things) but against the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and the rest of the Cabal, who aspar'd the King's Authority. The Duke in the mean Time wrought himself into the good Opinion of the Nobility, who most of them hated the Queen's Doings, and envi'd Somerset's Greaterly, and especially made the Two Nevils, Father and Son, the one Earl of Salisbury, and the other Earl of Warwick, his Friends; Salisbury the most eminent for Policy and Council, the Earl of Warwick very popular, and admir'd for his innate Valour and Magnificence, Men able to raise and depose as they pleas'd. Things being thus concer'd among their Noblemen, contriv'd to be put in Execution, the general Design was upon the Duke of Somerset, whom they caus'd to be arrested in the Queen's Bed-Chamber, and sent him to the Tower of London, where he kept but a bad Childishness, under the Fears of his Enemies Malice, who were preparing a Bill of bad Accusations against him to be ready for the next Term of Parliament. The King was very sick and hardly feable when these Things were done by the Duke of York, to whom, as some write, the Regency of the Kingdom was committed by the Council, during the King's Weakness, and by Virtue of this Authority it was, that he call'd the Parliament to meet within a few Weeks after Christmas, and there openly before all the Lords and Commons assembled, accuss'd the Duke of Somerset of High-Treason, and many other heinous Crimes, as the Loss of Normandy, and the late Misfortune which had befallen in Guise. But the Queen, who was as intent for the Deliverance of the Duke of Somerset, as his Enemies were on his Destruction, had so contriv'd Matters, that nothing should be done against him; for the King being something amended, and come well to his Sense, he caus'd his Favourites and the carriers of the Houses, and there to dissolve the Parliament for the present; and so nothing was determined in the Matter. This being done, Somerset was immediately set at Liberty, and that he might be out of the Reach of his Enemies Malice, he was made Captain of Calais and Guisnes, the only Parts of France that remained in the King's Hands, which caus'd a fresh Difference both among the Nobility and Commons, who did not spare to lay openly, That he was a very unjust Perfidious to be entrysted with those important Placees, who was better at surrounding Towns than keeping of them; and if he was not afraid to yield up all Normandy to the Enemy, he would not be able to deliver the Duke of Somerset.

The Duke of York being thus contriv'd at his Second Disappointment, grew revenge to revolve venge him self by Arms, and having obtain'd an Abjuration from the Obligation of his former Oath from the Pope, went into Wales, accompanied with his especial Friends of Salisbury and Warwick, the Lord Cobham and others, to gather another Army, and come up to London, which being known to the King and his Party, they prepared what Aids they could for their own Defence, and having gotten together a Body of about 2000 Men, the King himself in Person, with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Dorset, Devonshire, Wiltshire and Pembroke, left London, (because it was thought the Duke of York had too many Friends there) and march'd to meet and engage him on the Way. When the Duke came the first Night to Walsford, and the next Day to St. Albans, where hearing of the Approach of the Duke of York, he encamp'd and pitched his Standard in a Place call'd Goffen, or Sandford, in St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York by his Spies knew all the King's Motions, but still kept on his March to St. Albans, and encamp'd in Keyefield near the same Town, his Army consisting of about 3000. The Duke and King being thus in Sight of one another with their Forces, the King after his peaceable Manner, sends Melfengers to the Duke (tho' others say that the Duke first sent Letters to the King) viz., the Duke of Buckingham and some other Nobles, to know of him what he meant by appearing in such an hostile Manner, to the Difurbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, contrary to his former Oath and Promises. The Duke of York receiv'd them with divers Civility, that both he himself and all with him were the King's faithful and loyal Subjects, and intended no harm to his Person, but came to require that wicked and haughty Man the Duke of Somerset, who had left Normandy, neglected Goffen, and brought the Realm into this miserable State. The Duke of York answer'd to the King, and lately the Terror, now it is the Scorn and Derision of the World; That they would not be put off with fair Promises as they had formerly been, but would have him that hath deferv'd Death, or die in the Quarrel; yet if it would please the King to refer the Matter of Man into their Hands, they were ready without Trouble, or farther Brench of the Peace to lay down their Arms, and return into their own Countries. The King hearing this Answer, grew angry, and told the Melfengers from the Lords. That he would not deliver up the Duke of Somerset, nor any Man in his Army to his Enemies, who had faithfully adver'd to him against them, commanding them all to lay aside their Arms, and threatening them to hang them as a Terror to others, if they should attempt the Fight against him. As soon as the Duke of York receiv'd this Answer, he turn'd himself to his Men and said, as Since our Sovereign Lord will not be form'd by our Intricacies, nor understand the Intention of our Meeting together, but is fully purposed to destroy us, and hath confirm'd his Resolutions with a great Oath, let us consider Vol. I. G g 2 the
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1455.

Reg. 33.

The Duke of York, and Duke of York encouneter at St. Alban, and the King is vanquish'd.

The Duke of York had Notice where he was, and went to the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and being come into his Presence, besought him on their Knees, to for give them what they had done that Day, and accept them for his Loyal Subjects; for now the Duke of Somerset, the common Enemy of the Nation, and the Cause of this Commotion, was dead, he and all his adherents would remain during their Lives his faithful and obedient Subjects, and be ready in all Points to serve him as their Duty obliged them; and the Kingdom being in Peace, he should now return in the Rest of Happiness that every King did; so that the Destruction of Somerset was his Prefervation. The King being little comforted at these good Words, deird them to take care there were no more Hurt done, and keep their Soldiers from plundering and killing the People. (For the Northern Men after the Victory, had carried their spoils unfairly over to the Townsmen and others, who had fought on the King's Side, killing and robbing as they pleased.) Whereupon the Lords put out a Proclamation in the King's Name, That all manner of Persons should lay aside their Militia one to another, and not commit any Mischief against any Man: And so all was quieted. The Duke of York and the Lords with him, having the King in their Power, conducted him with great Honour and Reverence to St. Alban's Shrine, and after to his Lodgings, where he rold that Night. The next Day they removed with the King to London, and took up their A. Reg. 33. bode in the Bishop's Palace, where they kept their Whitsun Festival with great Mirth and Solemnity, concluding there to call a Parliament to settle and compose all Things for the Good of the King and his People. The 8th of St. Albans was fought May 23. The Bodies of the Noblemen lain in it were buried in the Chapel of our Lady in the Abbey there, and the Reel in the Field adorning. The Duke of Somerset left three Sons, Henry, Edmund and John, who to revenge their Father's Death took always King Henry's Part.

The Parliament met as by Appointment of the King and Lords upon July 9. and settled all Things according to the Lord's Minds, but under the Pretense of doing them for the common Good. Some few Acts of Parliament were made for a Colour of the Justice, and Care of the Lords to the common Safety, viz. That Servants of Persons lately deceased, who have embezill'd their Master's Goods before the Executors could enter upon them, shall be attainted of Felony if they are found Guilty; That whereas the Officers of the Exchequer were guilty of great Extortion in exacting Fees on the People, it was hinted what Fees should be taken by them in the several Causes there adjudged and decided: That there should be Six Common Attorneys in Norfolk, Six in Suffolk, and Twain in Nore, because it was found by Experience, that the Multitude of Attorneys in those Counties fird up and procured many Suits at Law for small Trepasses, little Offences, and small Debts. These Acts were only to be a Specimen to the People, what a Reformation there would be if the popular Lords had the Rule, which was a curious Prologue to what followed, and was chiefly intended, and which began with their Votes.

1. That the Government as it was managed by the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and their Friends, had been of late a great Injustice and Oppression of the People.

2. That the King, who was of himself a pious and good Prince, had been abused by those that counsellel and advised him, to his great Difhonour.

3. That the Duke of Gloucester, whose Memory had been blinl'd with a Charge of Treason and Rebellion since his Death, was a true and faithful Subject both to the King and the Realm.

4. That all Alienations and Gifts of the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, whether made by the King himself or his Parliament, from the first Year of his Reign should be revoked, and the former Lands and Revenues restored and taken into the King's Hands.

5. That no Perfon or Perologue should judge or report, that the Duke of York, Earls of Salisbury and Warwick were guilty of Rebellion or Treason in coming in a Warlike Manner against the King, because it was necessary and taken in Hand to free the King from Captivity, and bring Peace and Safety to the Nation, but all the Blame was to be laid upon the Duke of Somerset, Lord Chief Baron Tre, and William Jofeph, Earl, who out of a mistaken and evil Advice by the Lords from the King's Knowledge, which if it had been delivered to the King's Majesty would have taken away the Occasion of the Diforders.

By
By these Votes and Acts they made way for the Resurrection, which was the main drift of all, and by which it was appointed, That the Duke of York should be the Protector of the Realm; That the Earl of Salisbury should be Lord Chancellor, and the great Duke of York should be sent to the great Dictatorship. That Earl of Salisbury, as he immediately left the Court, as if being discharged from publick Business, he would retire to attend his Private, having still in his Mind the same Design of raising himself to the Throne, as well as of regaining and lifting up the Crown out of the Hands of the Lords, and Henry had only left him the Name only, and it should have that, his absolute, but that his Innuigence and Holiness was had in too great Veneration among the common People, that had K. Henry suffered any Evil from the Lords, they would have immediately for- faked them, and turned their Fury upon them. This the Lords were very careful of, and therefore would venture no farther against him, than might fairly jutice their Pretences to reform the former ill-Government, and establiff the Commonwealth in its ancient flourishing Condition, and to this End they displaced all such Per- fectors as were left in the Counfey, and the Privy-Council, as the King loved, or Queen favoured, had any Principle of Loyalty, or had been Supporters of the Lancifhian Line; They were also careful to admonifh Justice impartially, and avoid Delays of Suit, and punish licentious Speeches against the Government, and the People. And tho' they ventured upon one Thing, which never any King durft do, which was to take John Holland, Duke of Exeter out of the Sanctuary at Westminster to imprifon him in Pom- friel-Caffle, a Seriffed much complained of by the Abbot and his Monks, and contrary to an Order made in the late Parliament, yet the plausible Pretence of doing it for the public Good made the People to flallow it patient- ly, and difpenfe with the Injury done to the Church. The Queen, who while the King was in his Hands, and ruled by their Council, or rather over-rul'd by their Threats and Policy, beheld all thefe Translations with great Regret, as soon as he was delivered, ftook all means to revoke what he had fetted, and place the King in his Throne again with his undoub- ted Authority, and to gain back the Affiance of feveral eminent Lords in this her Defign, and being a Perfon of a Mafculine Spirit was not afraid to undertake any Thing to keep up the Dignity of her Husband's Crown. Henry Stafford now Duke of Somerset by the Death of his Father, was eager to revenge it, and Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, who at the fame time loft his Son and Heir, was no les zealous to pull them down, who had raised themselves upon his Lofk. All the Lords of the Lancifhian faction, evidently feeing the Tendency of the Duke of Somerset to be towards the King, thought it their Duty to coflume with him, to join with the Queen in pulling him down from his Luftration, and to that End they all met in a Great Council at Greenwich by the Queen's Ap- pointment, and after a full Debate upon what had paffed came to this Resolution. That the Duke of York should be put into the Prifon of the Tower, which he had so injuriously affail'd, and the Earl of Salisbury be made Keeper of his Council-Chaft, which the King he- self had made, and to that End the great Seal was directed to them to reign their Offices. The Duke of York was maffe'd at this sudden turn of Affairs; but since it was an undoubted Prerogative of the Crown to place or difpatch the Officers of it as he pleased, he dur'd not oppofe it, lefs he should be plainly guilty of Rebellion, and fo with a fad Patience he yielded to it. The Queen having confifted to the great Difcontent that Earl of Salisbury had in him, and immediately left the Court, as if being discharged from public Business, he would retire to attend his Private, having still in his Mind the fame Design of raising himself to the Throne, as well as of regaining and lifting up the Crown out of the Hands of the Lords, and Henry had only left him the Name only, and it should have that, his absolute, but that his Innuigence and Holiness was had in too great Veneration among the common People, that had K. Henry suffered any Evil from the Lords, they would have immediately for- faked them, and turned their Fury upon them. 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The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1455.
Reg. 35.

In November in the Island of Portland not far from Weymouth in Dorsetshire was seen a Cock with a great Creit upon his Head, great red Gills, and Legs half a yard long, who fided up on the Sea and crowed Three times, turning himself every time a seeral way, and nodding his Head towards the North, South and West, he was particular like a Firefent, and when he had so done he vanished. A little after there was taken at Erith within 12 Miles of London Four wonderfull Fishes, viz. Two Whales, One Sword-fish, and a Ninth called Mors Maring. These Prodigies were a little amazing to all Men, and such as would ventoure to prognostigate the Signification of them, gave it out, that they were Fore-runners of Wars and Troubles in England, which after proved true.

A.D. 1457.

The Lords Edmund, Berke, Mortimer and other great Lords in Council had many private Meetings to contrive the Rain of the Duke of York, and his two potent Confederates Warwick and Salisbury, as knowing, that as long as he lived, and had such potent Friends to assist his Claim to the Crown, it was impossible that he could quietly enjoy his Throne. Divers Ways were proposed, but at length they agreed upon this, which they judged most plausible and likely to take effect, viz. That it should be pretended, that some Matter of great Importance to the State had unexceptedly happened, and obliging Letter under his Privy-seal to declare their Attendance and Allegiance at Coventry upon a certain Day and Hour therein named, with a Charge not to fail in their personal Appearance. The Duke, and Earls believing all their taken Pretexts to be the real, and having the lead of Suggestion by fortune, fit forth at the time appointed to wait upon the King at his Command, as their Duty obliged them, but in the Way they received a certain Information from some Friends, what Mischief was really intended them, which they hardly were able to avoid if they ventured themselves into the City. Whereupon the Lords, who were surprized at such base Treachery, thought it best to provide for their own Safety, and sending their Retinue before them into Coventry, as tho' they themselves were coming, they fled every one to their Caftles, viz., the Duke of York to Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, Salisbury to Middleton in Richmondshire, and Warwick to Calke, having convid and agreed at their Parting upon a secret Way of holding Correspondence by Letters, till they could meet again with greater Terror to their person and Kingdom. The Troubles and the little displeasure at this their Retreat, and loss of her Prey, but was forced to fit down contented with the Satisfaction, that tho' she had not obtained her Desire, yet she had fo terrified them, that they were parted one from the other for Safety, and so were become less formidable to her.

Two Prodigies are seen in England.

The Queen would have her Council contrive the State.

The Duke of York, and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should be present, with other Lords to consider about it, and to that End the King should send to each of them a very kind and obliging Letter under his Privy-seal to declare their Attendance and Allegiance at Coventry upon a certain Day and Hour therein named, with a Charge not to fail in their personal Appearance. The Duke, and Earls believing all their taken Pretexts to be real, and having the lead of Suggestion by fortune, fit forth at the time appointed to wait upon the King at his Command, as their Duty obliged them, but in the Way they received a certain Information from some Friends, what Mischief was really intended them, which they hardly were able to avoid if they ventured themselves into the City. Whereupon the Lords, who were surprized at such base Treachery, thought it best to provide for their own Safety, and sending their Retinue before them into Coventry, as tho' they themselves were coming, they fled every one to their Caftles, viz., the Duke of York to Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, Salisbury to Middleton in Richmondshire, and Warwick to Calke, having convid and agreed at their Parting upon a secret Way of holding Correspondence by Letters, till they could meet again with greater Terror to their person and Kingdom. The Troubles and the little displeasure at this their Retreat, and loss of her Prey, but was forced to fit down contented with the Satisfaction, that tho' she had not obtained her Desire, yet she had so terrified them, that they were parted one from the other for Safety, and so were become less formidable to her.

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A.D. 1457.

The Lord Edward was sent with his Brother Sir Richard Fiery, who was guilty of the fame Riot, but who was Neighed from being taken, or by the Weakness of the Prifon, in a little time after he made his Escape, and let several other Prisoners with him, to the great Trouble of the Sheriffs of London, who were obliged to find them out again.
The Lord Egremont kept himself private for a while, but at length by his friends obtained his Pardon, and Release of his Fine of the King, and had a long argument with the like Disputation happen'd between the Young Duke of Somerset and Sir John Nevis, the Earl of Salisbury's Son, who met at Salisbury with large Rarities, and threatened each other with Slaughter and Defruction, but by the Visitation of God over the Place, was kept strong Watches and Guards upon both Parties, they were hinder'd so long from joying, that by the Mediation of Friends their Anger was pacified and no harm followed at that time. Thus was England miserably harassed at Home and Abroad the whole Year, and that war was to lately formidable to all her Neighbours, we made a Prey to the Meaffect of them.

Soon after the Feast of St. Michael in this Year began the Troubles of that learned and godly Divine Reginald Peacock, then Bishop of Chichester. He had for many Years lived in very great Reputation for his Holiness and Piety, and for the promoting of the Truth of the Gospel he had wrote several Books, which he entitle'd, 1. Of the Christian Religion in general. 2. Of Marriage. 3. Of the just expressing of the Holy Scripture in the Church of England. 4. The Followers of the Diver. 5. A Book of Faith. 7. The Book filling the Four Tables. 8. The Book of Warshipping. 9. The Preacher of Christian Men. 10. The Book of Counsel. Besides these Writings which were intended chiefly for the Benefit of the People, he had moved several Questions in the Matter of Divorce, with the Audience, and the Jurisdiction of the Pope which he exercised here in England, and delivered his Opinion freely concerning them, but no ways in Favour of the Pope. He is also said to have pitied the Ignorance of the People so much, that he spent many Years Labour in translating the Bible into the English Tongue. By all these Things he very much angered the Hierarchy, but nothing was attempted against him so long as his great Patron, and Favours of his Piety and Learning lived Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, by whose Means he was last made Bishop of St. Albans; and after his Death, which happened soon after that good Duke was murdered, the Bishop was then exposed to his Enemies, who reading over his Books and picking up his Assertions delivered in his Disputations brought an heavy Charge of Heresie, and other Crimes against him to Thomas Duckworth, then Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who being a Perfon zealous for the Popish Granducr and Power was forward and active in the Prosecution of him. This Arch-bishop began his Process against him October 22. sending out a Citation to all Persons who had any thing against him. He sent several Letters to the said Bishop of Chichester with, to appear before him within 20 Days after Summons, to speak, produce, alledge and affirm fully and sufficiently in Writing whatsoever they had to say against him, strictly forbidding all Persons as well of the Clergy as Laity in the first instance to implead against any Propositions laid down by the said Bishop in his Books so long as the Examination of them was depending in the Arch-bishop's Court. Upon the Day appointed not only the Enemies of the Bishop, but the Bishop of Chichester himself, being as valiant for the Truth as his Servant at his Court, appeared before the Arch-bishop, and the Divines and Lawyers belonging to his Court at Landebur. The Articles laid to his Charge by his Adveraries were theft, viz. That he had in his Books, Works and Writings allegated matter contrary to the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith: As 1. That it is not necessarily to be believed, that Jesu Christ after his Death descended into Hell, and against him. 2. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church. 3. Or in the Conjunction of Salvation necessary to believe the mediation right to believe the Body of Christ to be matterly present in the Sacrament. 5. That the universal Church may err in Matters of Faith. 6. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe, that what every General Council doth ordain, oppose or determine should be bound and approved by all Christians. Other Opinions and erroneous Assertions he was charged with, as that he said, That the Office of a Christian Bishop is chiefly to preach the Word of God; That Bishops who sought their Admission to their Sees the Bishop of Rome did for; That no Man is bound to obey or believe the Determinations of the Church of Rome; That the useful begging Priests were an idle and needless Order; That Spiritual Persons ought not to have any Temporal Possessions; And that personal Titles were not due by the Laws of God. But these lat with many of the same Nature were imputed to him to blacken his Name; and make his Condemnation seem deferred. The former Six were in all probability the Articles proved upon him out of his Books, Sermons and Disputations, when he was brought before the Arch-bishop in his Conistory, and these he defended very reasonably and boldly in the Presence of the Arch-bishop and many great Lords, but at length partly by Menaces and Threats, and partly by Flattery, and Perfwasions, he was prevailed with by his brethren the Bishops to re-recant his Opinions, which he did December 24. But his Opinions con- fenting that his Books should be burnt as a Terror to others, and exhorting all Men to renounce to give no Belief to any of the Doctrines delivered in them. But tho' he recanted, yet he was not thought by the Bishops themselves to renounce his Errors heartily, and therefore he was not only deprived of his Arch-bishoprict, but he was Condemned to Prison all the remaining part of his Life, where whether he died of Trouble and Grief, or was freed by his Enemies is uncertain, but sure it is he lived not long after. (f)

King Henry and his Council observing, that notwithstanding several Provocations had been given to the Lords to rebel by the Queen and her Friends, yet they retained a great Desire of Peace, as if they had testified partly by their Living quietly upon their Estates, and partly by sending their Friends to him to mediate for an Agreement, and a Confederation between the English and Scots, and soon after his Arrival summoned a general Council, and there freely and openly declared; That since he perceived that the Divisions which of late had happened between himself and some of the chief of his Nobles had been the only Encouragement to the Scots and French to molest and invade his quiet Subjects, and would still more embolden them to do the like, if these Home-Animosities continued, it was his Deire, that a Reconciliation should be made with all convenient Speed, promising upon his Salvation, that no Injuries done to his Person or Service should be punished, and that there should be a perfect Amity between them, but at their Dis- sires all Things should be forgotten and forgi-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

I. That the Duke of York and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should settle 400 l. a Year upon the Abbess of St. Albans for ever, for Surrogates and Obits to be kept, and Alms to be employed for the Souls of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Warwick, and Thomas, Lord Clifford, with the rest of the King’s Friends, who were slain in the Battle of St. Albans, which Lords were declared faithful Subjects to the King at their Deaths, as well as the Duke of York, and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury.

II. That the Duke of York should pay Eleanor, Duchess of Suffolk, and Duke Henry her Son, the Sum of 2000 Marks to be divided as the King should think convenient among the younger Children of the said Duchess, and the Earl of Warwick 2000 Marks to the Lord Clifford to be distributed among his younger Brethren and Sisters in the King.

III. That whereas Six Thomas Fiery, the Lord Egremont, and Richard Fiery, Sons of the Counts of Northumberland were fined to pay to the Earl of Salisbury, his Wife and Sons, Thomas and John Neville 1500 Marks for Treasons found by Richard Ringham and Ralph Poel the King’s Judges to be done to the said Earl of Salisbury and his Sons, it was agreed, that the said Sons should be released by them to the said Offenders, yet upon Condition, that the Lord Egremont and his Brethren should enter into a Reconstruction of the City and the said Earl of Salisbury, his Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, and the said Earl should discharge the Tenants of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Egremont from their Obligations to hold to their Order and Government.

IV. That all Variances, Difcorides and Debates, all Controversies, Appeals and Action personal, that are or have been between any of the said Lords and their Servants shall be for ever determined and ended, saving to every one their Title, Action and Right to all Arrangements of Rents, Services, Accounts, Debts or any other Services, that the Duke, Earl and their Friends should be given to each other accordingly.

V. That if any Action, Suit or Quarell chanced between any of the Servants or Tenants of the said Lords for any Matter or Thing, that none of the said Lords should support, maintain or assist any Persons in suits, but their utmost Endeavours to bring them to Peace and Quietness.

VI. That if any Party complained of the Breach of this Agreement he should not bring his Action, unless the King’s Council for the better.

VII. That if any Variance arose about the Recognizances, References or Accusatons between the Council of both Parties, it shall be determined by the two Chief Justices.

VIII. That whereas the Persons bound in Guarantee by this Award were obliged to pay their natural Sums, the King should not pardon them without the Consent of the Party aggrieved; and if they were recovered, the King should have one Moity and the Complainant the other.

This Award and Agreement was sealed with the Great Seal at the King’s Palace of Westminster, March 24. in the Thirty Six Year of the King’s Reign; and the next Day being openly proclaimed and publish’d, was receiv’d with universal joy, and a solemn Proclamation celebrated by the Lord Mayor, within the Church of St. Paul in London, in Testimony of their Thankfulnes to God for this happy Union. In this Proclamation all Things were con"
in Hand; the next the Duke of Essex, and Earl of Warwick, and so on, the one of the faction, and the other of the other, being join'd together. The King came behind them in his Regal Robes, and the Crown on his Head; and after him the Duke of York leading the Queen, who, by this time, was no less familiar with him, as if she had a real Favour for him; but as she was always a great Arriv'd at Dillimination, so she never more used it than at this Juncture, when it ought to have been quite laid aside, as the following Translations will evidently show.

This conclusion was thus ended, the Lords parted from the King and Queen with all outward Signs of Friendship; and the Duke of York and Earl of Salisbury went to York, but the Earl of Warwick went to the Court a while about the Business of Chalde, and about Wiltshire piled over to his Charge. While he continued there, he went out with Fourteen of the King's Ships, (for he was also made Admiral of the Narrow Seas) to secure the Coasts, and met with a Fleet of Spaniards laden with Merchandize, but well furnish'd for their Defence. The Earl was not able to deal with them, yet being so prov'd that he was farly in a Prey, he resolved to encounter them, and so began the Fight, which they as resolutely maintaine'd against them. The Battel continued almost two Days, but at last determin'd in Favour of the Earl, who took Six of their Ships laden with Wine, Oil, Wax, Iron and other rich Merchandizes, worth 10,000 Pounds Sterling; and sunk and put to flight Twenty-six more, having slain a 1000 of their Men in the Fight, and taken many Prisoners, with the Loss of not above an 100 Men. This Victory not only increas'd the Fame of the great Earl, but by his generous Temper in carrying (q) over into England the Goods he had taken; he caus'd those Things to be sold for a Shilling which before would have cost Two.

Among this Fleet of the Spaniards were five Genev's Carricks, of which Three were taken; and the other two, though they fled to the Sea, running the News of the Loss incend'd the Genoese to revenge it upon such English Ships as they could fight on, which not long after they did in this Manner. One Sturgeon, a Besiled Merchant, had been travelling some Years in dive others Coun- try, to go to, and for his Part from whence he was returning with rich Merchandizes, and as was said, brought green Pepper and other Spices with him, to have set and town in England. The Genoese having Intelligence of his Return, laid wait for his Ship, and in the Night, while he slept, and therefore unawares, seiz'd him of all his Goods, and several others with it. The News of this Action being heard of by the King and his Council, an Order was sent out to seize all the Merchant Genoese in London, and commit them to the Fleet, till they could find sufficient Security to bind them, and therefore doing so, they brought Men to the English Merchants; and because they did not or could not do it, they were made to pay 5000 Marks for the Damages done to Stur- myne and this Realm, and therewith dismissed their Imprisonment.

The Brief Year Hilarias say, that Printing began to appear in Publick, which had lain hid about Ten Years, after this Manner. One John Faustin, a Goldsmith and Citizen of Mentz, having casuallly engraved some Letters upon a Piece of Metal, laid tak upon them, and finding they made a fair Impression, tram'd them into Words, and so arriv'd at some Probability of improving it into a more speedy Way of put- ting out Books, which he communicated to cer- tain Friends of his of the same City, viz. John Cuthendon and Peter Schoffer, yet with an In- tention to keep it for a time, in order to the better make it improve. John Cuthendon had a Man of a more publick Spirit, could not endure to keep so useful an Art private long, and therefore this Year began with Faustin to exercise it in publick at Strasburg, and by imparting the Knowledge of it to the Inquisitive, he was a Man, that did not only improve it by others, but was carried into several Parts of Europe, as Roué, by Conradus Callus, a German, and to England by William Caxton, a Mercer of London, who introduced it into the Abbey of Westminster in 1471, and afterward it spread it fell into many other English Monstiries.

The Earl of Warwick about Michaelmas re- turn'd into England, and remain'd about the Court, moving and carrying on divers Affairs, as well as reference to the Publick as belonging to his own Charge. In November it happen'd that there came into the Port of Westminster, one of the King's Servants affronting a Yeoman of the Earl's Attendants, they fell to Blows, and the Earl's Servant having sorely hurt and wounded the King's, he fled to secure himself. The King's Guards and other of his military Servants, finding their Fellow- Servant harm'd, and the Officer escaped, re- flest upon the Earl his Master, as an Enemy to the Court and King, and since they could not be avenged of his Servant, resolved to have amends of his Master, as being an Encourager of him in the Attempt, and watching him when he return'd from the Council-Chamber to his Barge, suddenly set upon him and his Reti- nue, the Yeomen with Swords, and the Cooks of the Earl and Black-Guard with Spits and Fire-forks. Warwick The Earl's Men made as good a Defence as they could, while their Master, not without great Danger, but the Help of his Friends got out of the Barge, and fled into the City of London, but many of them were dangerously wounded and hurt. The Queen shew'd more than ordinary Concern in this Affair, and as tho' she had been engaged to make good the Quarrel, (which some from the Court believed falsely) commanded that the Earl should be apprehend'd and imprision'd in the Tower, where he determin'd he must have put a Period to his Life. This the Earl being advertiz'd of by some of his Friends, feared to stay longer in the City, and therefore departing to Warwick, he took his Journey into Yorkshire, where he found the Duke of York and his Father, to whom he de- clared the Occasion of his coming, and what Danger he had escap'd from the Queen and her Servants. (r) which malicious Intention, as it was thought, to get him out of the Country, went to the King's Council, and therewith got the Earl seiz'd; and he would leave it to their Judgments to take such Methods to do it as were proper, while he should go over to Cally to secure that important Garrison; for it was not to be doubted, but the Queen would have him to wretch out his Hand, and put it under the Command of some of her Friends, and so he put away with all Speed thither, and was receive'd by the Garrison with Joy, and all due Respect to his Authority. He was scarcely arriv'd there, and put Things

in good order for his own Security, but the
Queen, who imag'nd that the Earl of War-
mick had raised this Stirr to begin a new Quarrel,
and set the Crown upon the Duke of York's
Head, by the Advice of the Duke of Somerset
and the Duke of Suffolk, in a Secret Meeting be-
der under the Privy-Seal to him, that he should
reign the Captain's Office of Calil, because she
had given that Charge to the Duke of Suffolk,
who the King intended shortly to fend over
therither. But the Earl of Warwick reply'd, That
he was made Duke by the Advice of Parliament,
and would not resign his Charge but into
their Hands that gave it him, and therefore could
not obey the King's Seal, because he was accountable
for doing to him in Parliament; and so he held
out the Garrison against her. While these
Things were done at Calis, the Duke of York and
the Earl of Salisbury, with their Friends, entred
into a deep Confabulation about the Allait of
fer'd to the Earl of Warwick by the King's Ser-
vants, and conclux'd, That this Disorder proceed
ed purely from the Queen's Malice to them, who
twice refused to fit out the Forces of War
wick, that they might be the more easily suppress'd
and destroy'd, and that now since Oaths and
Prafes were of no Force with the Queen and her Friends,
but even the forced Pretences of Peace and Friend-
ship were made use of to draw them more securely into
their Snares, it was high time for them to stand upon
their own Guard, and with Sword in Hand to de-
mand Satisfaction for the Injury intended, so that if
they would not bearken to Readon, they might be
brought to it by Force. And to this End, it was agreed,
That the Earl of Salisbury should take
such Troops of their Attendants as were in residence,
which amounted to a Body of about 10,000,
and should go up to London to the King,
and put up his Complaints of the Wrong done
to his Son the Earl of Warwick, contrary to the late Agreement made between himself and his Lords, and demand the Satisfaction in Read-
ond due; which if granted, he would lay down
his Arms; but if denied, their future Actions
would be jufifiable in the Sight of all Men. The
Earl of Salisbury according to this Plan began his
March from Athladelphia Caffle a little after Con
demn, and took his way thro' Lancashire, to go
to York, which was the further Way about, yet he hoped to hearken to them in the
Troops there. The Duke of York in the mean-
time was to raise another Army, and as Occa-
sion required to go to meet him, and so joyantly
oppose their Enemies, if they ftrond upon the
Defence of the Quarrel. The Queen who kept
a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the
Lords, and at the firft Beginning of this Contel
imag'd, that the Earl of Warwick had pur-
pofeily raised this Commotion to fett the Crown
upon the Duke of York's Head, thought it now un-
necessary to talk of any Parleys, and therefore
left her two Offiers of Curage, and Councillors the
Dukes of Suffolk and Buckingham contriv'd to suppress them by Force, and to
this End, dispatched Orders in the King's
Name to James Toucher Lord Audley, who was a
very potent Man in those Countries, thro'
which the Duke of Salisbury was to March, to
raise an Army with all speed, and by surprize
to apprehend them: And that he might e'gage
many Gentlemen of thofe Parts to affiit him with their Perfons and Intereft in this Attempt as
the could, the fent down to fervem of them a
Batch of her Favour and their Loyalty, a white
embroidered Swan, which they fhou'd wear in
Token of their Love to the King. By thofe
Arts he drew fo many to her Party, that the
Lord Audley, who profecuted his Commission A.D.
with due Zeal and Expedition, got together a
1459. Body of 1000 Men out of Chicheftr and Shrop-
shire in a very Short Time, and ranked them in
Order of Battel, ready to receive him. The
Earl of Salisbury brought an Order of Par-
liament between the Lords and the
Lord Audley was to encounter their Enemies,
came down towards him to be under his Guard
as it were, and the King remain'd at Celebhill in
Warwickshire, but the Queen lay at Eccelfale in
Staffordshire, expeting a good Event of this
undertaking. The Duke of York had Intelligence of the Earl of Salisbury's Mo-
tions, and hearing that he drew near him, ran-
ged his Men upon Blows-Heaths, near Draxton in
Shropshire, where the Earl was to pass, ready to
receive him. The Earl of Salisbury not fuppor-
ing this Oppofition, was surpriz'd at the firft
Sight, but considering, that his Retreat would be
difgraceful to him, refolv'd to abide the Battel,
'tho' much inferior in Strength, and
pitched his Camp in the Field of his Enemy; a
small River, but pretty deep, being between them.
The Duke of York and his Men returned in good Order upon the
Morning, which was St. Ted's Day, the
Earl of Salisbury cauf'd his Men to fho the great
Flight of Arrows upon the Lord Audley's
Camp, and then ordered them to make a Re-
treat, as tho' they intended to fly; when
the Lord Audley faw, he commanded his Men
to pas over the River and pursu'e them, gi-
ving charge to them to take the Earl of Salisbury
if poJJible, alive or dead, as the Queen had or-
der'd him; which they accordingly obey'd:
but in the Hurry and Confufion, before Half
the Army was gotten over, the Earl of Salfi-
bury and his Men return'd in good Order upon
the Lord Audley's Army, and fell upon them
with great Fury, which tho' they courageously
opposed, yet thro' Disorder and Surprise, they
were after a Sharp Battel routed, and the Lord
Audley and all his chief Captains taken, with
above 2400 common Soldiers. In this Fight
the Two Sons of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir
John Nevill and Sir Thomas Nevill dangerously
wounded, and going into a Neighbours Town
for Care, were fet upon by none of the Queen's
Friends, and taken Prisoners, with Sir Thomas
Harrington, who accompanied them, and all of
them cauf'd to be libeitate: which the Queen
conceal'd was a fear Allay to the Victory in the Earl of Salfi-
burys Minde, because he knew that the Queen
would immediately put them to death, unless they were delivered; which happen'd as soon almoft as deir'd; for the Townsmen,
who themselves were well ached to the Duke
of York, having received a Melfage from the
March-Men of Wales, That nothing were ftof-
wit released, they would come and pull down the
Caffe; were glad of the Pretence to fem them
at Liberty, and fo fet them away to their Fa-
thers, who welcomed the with great Joy.
The Earl of Salfi-
bury's Sons tar-
For Care, were fet upon by none of the Queen's
Friends, and taken Prisoners, with Sir Thomas
Harrington, who accompanied them, and all of
them were cauf'd to be liberated: which the
Queen conceal'd was a false Allay to the Victory in the Earl of Salfi-
burys Mind, because he knew that the Queen
would immediately put them to death, unless they were delivered; which happen'd as soon almoft as desired; for the Townsmen,
who themselves were well attached to the Duke
of York, having received a Message from the
March-Men of Wales, That nothing were supposed
relieved, they would come and pull down the
Castle; were glad of the Pretence to set them
at Liberty, and so set them away to their Fathers,
who welcomed them with great Joy.
The Duke of York having received the News Duke of
of this Victory, resolves no longer to conceal
his Intention; and since the King and Queen
had fought his Kins, as a Competitor with them
for the Crown, he determined either to get it, or
get rid of his Cousins in the March, and then

counter haults to meet the Earl of Salisbury, that
they might join their Forces together, and take all necessary Courtes to augment their Army so
as to fear no Opposition, which they after Con-
sideration did, by sending into all Parts of Wales,
and the Marches, and gathering a great Army of
it. They wrote also to call the Earl of Salfi-
bury to Warrenwick, to bring over to their Alliance some
Troops of his late experiend Soldiers, which
he

A.D. 1459.

The Earl of Salisbury

orders the Lord
Audley to
raise an
Army, and
appears the Earl
of Salfi-
bury.
he did, under the Command of Andrew Trollo, and John Blunt, Two Captains of great Experience and approved Policy in the late Wars in Normandy and Guienne; which all being united into one Body, assembled in October, and encamped at Ludlow in Shropshire. The King had intelligence that the People feared he must put a Stop to their further Designs, sent out Commissions into all Parts of the Nation, where he had any Friends, to raise an Army with all speed to suppress them; which he had no great Difficulty to do, because many out of Love and Duty to the King, but more out of Fear of the Queen, fled to his Standard, so that he had gathered a mighty Army in a short Space. With it the King in Person, accompanied with the Dukes of Buckingham, Exeter, and Somerset, and others of the Nobility, who were Favourers of the Lancastrian Line, marched forwards towards the Lords, and came to Worcester, where playing a while to refresh their Army, it was after some Conflagration agreed, That a Mellerger of some Account should be sent to the Earls and Duke, to offer them a free and general Pardon of all their Offences, if they would return, and be the loyal Subjects. The Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, was the Perfon thought fittest to be employed in this Affair; and accordingly was sent to them with a Malleta of Pardon, which he delivered to them with the Gravity and Serioufness of a Prelate. The Lords gave an Answer till they had consulted among themselves, and then by the Earl of Warwick reply'd, That they dare not truft to the King's Pardon, because they had several Parfams before, and those confirmed by Parliament, and yet found them of no Security to them, but rather a Snare to draw them into the Midst of their Lives, as the late Affaire upon the Earl of Warwick magnificently burned, by which he had perished, had not God wonderfully preserved him. Yet if any Way could be devised for their Safety, to which they might truft without fail, they were ready to submit to his Grace, and fare for his Service. But the Earl of Warwick, being the King by the Bishop, did not: at all please him, and thereupon he commanded his Standard to advance towards them; but before he and his Army arriv'd at their Camp, he received a Letter from the Lords, declaring, That as they had heretofore given Dissolutions, that they only fought for the Majesty of their Nation, with the Security of their own Persons and Estates, fo, if they knew their own Hearts, they intended nothing else by being now in Arms, and therefore they kept themselves in the faireft Parts of the Nation, not with any ill Design, but to abide his Majesty's coming, that they might in all humble and submissive Manner beg his Grace and Favour, and have all Grievances redressed, and that they were urgently and unduly defame'd as Traitors and Rebels, and their Lordsfhips and Tenants robb'd and spoil'd, against his Peace and Laws, yet they were no tender of the Effusions of Christian Blood, that they would not stand up in their own Defence till Necessary compel'd them; and therefore besought him to accept them as his true and faithful Subjects, and bear their Complaints and Answers to the Calvinism of their Adversaries, that the Nation may be refered to its Judges, and the Norths Parts of England as his trusty and most faithful Friends, and Henry, the new Duke of Somerset, Captain of Calais, he began his Journey towards London.

When R. Henry was come to Cowesbury in his way Home, he call'd his Parliament to meet there Novemb. 20. and being met they assisted at High-Treason, Richard, Duke of York, and Adm. Vol. I. H h 2
the Duke of Somerset made Captain of Calais. The Duke of Warwick being return'd out of Ireland, and bringing his Mother to Calais, gave some Satisfaction to the King and Queen, that there were some fresh Resolutions of invading England entertain'd by them of his Party, and that they might make their Endeavours in vain, two Methods were made use of as most effectual. 1. To suppress all such Persons as were known to favour the Duke of York and his Party in England; And 2. To guard the Coasts well with a sufficient Navy, that they might not dare to land any Forces, which could not be disposed of by the small Forces in the Island. The Queen sent her Brother the Earl of Salisbury to the Duke of York, to know whether he could not have his Ship to convey him into England, the Queen’s Brother; but having no such Permission as was desired, the Queen’s Brother went back to Calais, and the Duke of York was not pleased there. The Duke of Somerset made Captain of Calais.

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The Sun of their Declaration was to this Effect, That the Duke of York, Earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury had divers Times offered and sued to come into the King's Presence to have declared for their Duty to God, to His Highness, and Proficiency of the Realm these following Matters, viz.

I. The great Extortion, Murther, Robberies and Oppressions done to the Church and Ministries of it, against the Laws both of God and Man.

II. The Poverty and Misery of His Highness himself, who being cheated and defrauded of the Revenues of the Crown, which might and would support his Royal State, by the Destroyers of the Commonwealth, was forced to oppose his own Friends.

III. That the Laws were partially and unjustly executed and made to support their Injustice and Oppression, by such as should love and tender them.

IV. That the Commons were marvellously taxed, and their Goods taken from 'em without Payment, because he permitted the Destroyers of the Land to live upon his own Revenues, suffering all the King's Poalitys in France to be left.

V. That the People begin to have new Impostitions laid upon them, viz. every Town to find Men for the King's Guards, after the Example of the French our Adversaries, which if continued to our Heirs, will be such a Charge and Bondage, as none of our Ancestors were subject to.

VI. That divers Lords had cauned the King to write Letters to his Enemies in Ireland and France to conquer the said Kingdom and take Calais, which Letters were shewn to the Duke of York by the Infidels with Detestation of their Villany.

VII. That since the barbarous and shameful Murder of the Duke of Gloucester, his Life, and the Life of the Royal Blood, as also the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, for no other Cause but for the true Heart they have ever born and do bear to the King's Profit and Wealth of the Realm.

VIII. That the Earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and the Lord Beaumont, the mortal Enemies of the said Duke and Lords, having the guiding of our Sovereign Lord, would not suffer the King to receive and accept them as he would have done, into his Presence, dreading the Charge, which would have been brought against them for destroying the Nation.

IX. That the said Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury, and Lord Beaumont, not satisfied with the King's Revenues and Goods, had flir'd up and excited Highwicks to hold his Parliament at Coventry, where an Act was made by their Provocation and Labour to destroy the said Duke of York, Earls of March, Rutland, Salisbury and Warwick, and their Life and their Estates and Tenants were given up to their Hands, who robbed them, and begg'd many of them without the King's Consent or Approbation.

These Mischiefs they declared, they could not be held with Grace, and therefore the Parliament again to offer themselves to the Presence of their saidGetting to declare to him in the most reverent Manner, that he may have Piety and Compassion on his miserable Subjects, and not suffer these Mischiefs to reign. To the effecting of which they required all Persons to whose whose Instrumentation should come, in God's behalf and their own, to assist them doing their Duty to their Sovereign, his Person and Dignity, to whom they have been and ever would be true as any of his Subjects alive, to which they offered God, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints in Heaven to witness.

What Effect this Declaration had appeared in a short time: For the Earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury, who in a few Weeks after arrived at Sandwich with 1500 Men only, were no longer arriv'd, but the Lord Cobham met them with 4200 Men, and when they had refreshed themselves a few Days, they march'd thro' Kent and affirned to London, and were in their Way joy'd by several Gentlemen and their Friends, who came in so thick, that before they got to the City they were increased into a Train of near 4000 fighting Men, many Gentlemen and Women of the South-parts joying with them near London, which they enter'd July z. and were joyfull receiv'd by the Mayor and the whole City, whether also came the next Day Thomas, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Ely and Exeter, with many other Priors and religious Persons to congratulate their Arrival, by whose Means they hoped for a Reformation of all Abuses in Church and State, the not such as follow'd.

The King, who at the Time of the Lords Marching was not so easy as in him lay, to stop the Progress of this Rebellion, for which End he appointed the Lord Harcourt to assemble what Troops he could, and to exult himself of London, as the most important Place of the Kingdom, and which if secured, would alone be a solace to the State.

That Lord with the Earl of Kentish, Lord Lovel and others was zealous to obey the King's Command, and with all Expetion Marching towards that City, arriv'd there before the Lords, and demanded Admiration in the King's Name, affuring the Mayor and the Citizens, that their coming thither was only to defend and keep the City from the Spoil of those Traitors, who, as the King was creditibly inform'd were making things.

The Mayor, who secretly favour'd the Lords Undertakings, answer'd, That he needed no help either to defend or govern the City committed to his Charge, nor would permit any armed Men to come within his Jurisdiction. This Reply much incensed the Lord Scales, who evidently saw the Dilatory of the Citizens by it; and that he might annoy them, as much as was possible, he entered into the Tower and threaten'd them, that he would burn his great Ordinance down in their City, if they receive the Rebels, which Menaces he endeavour'd after to make good.

The Queen in this Time (for the King hated her) assailed the Army as here an Army and gathered a good Army about Coventry, which Parliament, which Parliament (with the Duke of Southampton) and making the Duke of Somerset (who was in June come from Gascony into England) the Duke of Buckingham, and divers other Lords, the Captains and Commanders of it, march'd with it, having the King himself with them, to Northampton, where when the Quean saw, that she had Power enough to encounter
counter their Enemies, the took upon her to encourage the to annul the Rights of their Temper beplease their Fidelity the more to defend it, by how much it was of it self the more unable or unwilling to act in its own De- fense, and by her good Words ratified in them a Resolution to keep him on his Throne, or die for his Right.

While the Queen was thus preparing for her own and the King's Defence, the Lords at Lon- don were in great Conclabulation how to proceed in their Business, and having, to keep up the same flame, they, to which they gave their De- cision they had pretended, taken an Oath in a full Convocation of the Clergy at St. Paul's, that they had, and ever would bear faithful and true Allegiance to King Henry, and had no other Inten- tions, than to redrefs the Grievan- ces of the Nation, and remove the Detroyers of their Country from about the King's Per- son; it was agreed, That the Earls of March and Warwick, William, Lord Falconbridge, and Henry, Lord Beaufort, call'd also Earl of Eng, should march with an Army of 35,000 Men to- wards the King and Queen, leaving behind them, the Lords in their promised Obedience, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Cob- ham, and Sir John Weldes, who by their Vi- gilance kept not only the City in Order, but defended it against the Lord Scaldes, who an- noy'd it with his great Ordnance, and did much Harm to the Citizens; but these Lords by mounting Guns on the other side of the Thames over against the Tower, and preventing all Sup- plies of Victuals to be sent, put him to equal Straits and Losses. When the King and Queen heard that the Earl of March and War- rick, should, and was coming, they desired that the King's Army should pass over the River Tyne, and encamp themselves strongly in the open Fields, and wait their coming, which was ac- cordingly done. On 9th. the Earls with their Army encamp'd between Thence and North- ampton, and March'd the next Day for the Fight; but at the Mediation of the Arch bi- shop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops which were present, it was thought convenient, that the Bishop of Salisbury should be sent to the King to beseech him to admit the Earl of War- rick into his Presence to declare his Inocccency, and offer such an Accord, as that All Things might be settled without Blood-fled. This Request was deny'd by the Duke of Buckingham, and though repeated again and again, yet had no better Answer, the King's Party, it seems, trufling so much to their strength and Ordnance, they being encamp'd by the Bishop of Hereford to fight, would not hearken to an- y Proposals of Peace.

The Earl of March, who being in the heat of his Youth, and very courageous, consider'd not so much the ill Effects of a Battel as the law- rers he longed for, firing all Proposals of Peace, received resolve'd to set upon the King's Army without Delay, and in the Night remov'd his Camp towards Northampton, marching in or- der of Battel; The Earl of Warwick led the Van-Guard, the Earl of March the Body, and the other Lords of the Realm the Rear. At Two a Clock in the Afternoon, July the 9th, the two Armies met, and the Earls of March, and Warwick having given a brisk Charge to their Soldiers, that they should none of them lay Hands on the King, nor the Common People, but the Nobles and Gentlemen only, the bat- tel began and lasted for Five Hours, (cor- A.D. 1460.

Reg.38. The Lords Scaldes rege the Tower.

The Lord Scaldes in the Tower provurs the City.

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The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

A.D. 1460. 
Reg. 39.

King's Seat, (f) having his Hands upon the Cloths of State, as if he had taken Possession of the Crown and Kingdom. When he had stood a while he turned himself to the Lords, and looked upon them redly, as tho' he would read in their Countenances their Thoughts and what they had nothing. After he had stood a while in that Posture, the Archibishop of Canterbury, Thomas Beareceh, whom King Henry, who was then in the Queen's Lodgings, had feet to, came into the House, and, having paid him the usual Reverece, asked him, Wirt-

The Archbishop having received this Reply, went back to the King to let him know it; which the Duke of York perceiving, he rose up, and following him into the Palace, got Possession of the King's Lodgings, breaking open several 

The Duke at this Question was obferv'd to change his Co-

and claim'd the Throne in Parliament.

that "Throne, as the Place to him in Justice belong-

which, he said, not as requiring their 

Favour, but friendly Indifference, and true 

Admiration of Justice, for the High and 

mighty Prince, Richard II. Son of Edward the 

laft, and to depart from them, and return 

Brother to my Noble Ancestor, Lionel, Duke of 

Clarence, Third Son of the said King Edward III. by Force and Violence, contrary to his 

Duty of Allegiance done and sworn, rivalled 

War against the said King Richard, impro-

judiciously to return to this Realm, in 

Royal Power, and affirmed the Name and 

Authority of King, and after compiled his 

Death and Dethraction, upon whom Deceafe, 

having no Heirs lawfully begotten, the right 

and Title of the Crown, and Superiority of 

this Realm, lawfully reverted and return'd 

to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Son 

and Heir to the Lady Edward, only child of the 

abovefaid Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to 

which Roger's (x) Elded Daughter Ann, being 

my dearest and Well-beloved Mother, I be-

(f) He did not fit down on the Throne, he only took hold of the Cloth of State.

(x) His sitting on the Throne, and making this Speech, is very much to be doubted: For John Whethewell, Abbott of St. Albans, who was present in the House of Peers, makes no Mention of any fuch Speech in the History that he was of that Time, and particularly the Revolution A.D. 66.

(y) As a Proof of the Fergency of this Speech, we shall infine one Mitifed, which cannot come from the Mouth of the Duke of York, he says, While Roger's Elded Daughter Ann — She was not the eldest Daughter, the Lady Edward, older, that is the noon and eldest Heir, of the Right and Preference due to Ann. But this may be an Error of the Author; and indeed in the original Speech 'tis only said, Unless which Roger's Daughter doth Ann, G. See Whith. pag. 66. The Notice of the Creation is remarkable in the Subject of it, He tells us, that he in his Paraphrafe, the Noble Rien, and our Natural Constitution, and our daily 

Fears, except I at the Pragmatic Firrhot, and was the Truly Acts and Deeds together in making of the Nation, and try out the Clear and Pure Truth from the Corrupt and Purified Drugs.

and the Regents. His Uncle Edward had the Title, and his Father only that of Earl of Cambridge, which Earl was beheaded for Treason in Southampoton in the Third Year of Henry V.

(z) He did not make use of the Term Thf People, and it had been arrogant in him. His Words were, The People, as well as all the Great Men of the Kingdom and Regents.

(f) Wiffell was not then. He went to his Lodgings in the King's Palace at Westminster, near the Abby.
kind of Majesty, kept in the King's Lodgings, and the Queen being there, would not for all the
Dukes and others who were worthies of Princes that could be used, vouch-
safe to visit him, till some Conclusion were made in the Matter, saying, That he was subjed-
and was no man, but God only, under whom, none was Supremus in this Realm, but he. He felt also a
Manner to the Crown of Scotland and the
English Dominions. King (a) James at the
Duke's Request had entred the Kingdom of Eng-
land with a powerful Army, and besieged Ror-
borough, upon the Promise, that he would
reformed to the Towns which the English
had taken away from him. (For the King was
very unwilling to middle in the Dispute, and
would not be induced to it but by this Advan-
tage.) The Duke had his Mellengers tell the
Satch King, that the Siege was so displeasing to
him and all his People, he could hardly keep
them from taking up Arms to relieve, thank-
ing him for the Service he had done to him, that
he had now no more need of him. The King of
Scoes answered, He was glad at his good Suc-
cess, and asked the Mellengers, Whether they had
a Commissian to deliver up the Towns to him accord-
ing to the Duke's Promise? They answer'd, No. Whilist the Duke replied, he would
quit the Siege, which for all these Threats, whether
his, or People's, I hope to put a speedy End to. And
play'd upon the Town with his Cannon more
furiously than ever, with a Resolution to gain
it before any Saccour could come; but ere he
could effect it, he was slain by the Breaking of a
Canon, so Man else fave the Earl of Argum be-
ing hurt by it. Yet this Accident did not put
an End to the Siege, for the Scoes continued
their Assaualts rather the harsher, and the
Be-
teged being reduced to a low Condition by their
great Losses, yielded themselves to the new
Sanchs III. their Lives and Goods being fa-
ved. About the same Time died Charles, King
of France, in a strange Manner; for he being
lily, some of his Courtiers inform'd him of a
Delaie to poison him; whereupon he forbore
any Food for Seven Days, and after not being able

While these Things were doing, many hot
Difficulties had past between the Lords Spiritual and
Temporal, and the Commons, about the Settlement of the
Crown; some thought it very unreasonable to call King
Henry's Title in Question, who had been so long in Possession of
the Sovereignty, and so much the rather,
because the Duke of York himself had in Swear-
ing Allegiance to King Henry so often, and de-
clining him his lawful Sovereign, tied him up-
hand from Claiming the Crown, if he had any
Right to it. But on the other Side, the Duke
of York's Friends, which were not only argued
that the Duke's Title was so clear, and so well
known to all, that it would be the great-
est Injustice in the World to deny him his
Right, and tho' King Henry, it is true, had been
long in the Possession of the Throne, yet his
Uproarion being so evident, he ought to be as
willing to recede from what he was wrongfully
possessed of, as they were in Justice bound to
declare him deprived. "Tis true, they said, the
Duke of York had often sworn Allegiance to
King Henry. But after the Duke's take
him for his lawful So-
verign, yet he never renounced his Right, and
'tis plain, his Oaths and Promises were out of
Fear or Force, not willingly. Theirs

Duke of York
on him a
Redist
Majesty
and Com-
mand.

I. That notwithstanding the clear and un-
disputable Title of Richard, Duke of York,
to the Crown of England, as Heir to Lionel,
Duke of Clarence, the said Duke tenderly de-
iring the Wealth and Prosperity of this Land,
and to lay aside all that may be a Trouble to the
same, and considering the long Possession of the
said King Henry, who hath all his Time been
named, taken, and reputed for King of Eng-
land, and Lord of Ireland, is contented, and
agreed, that the said King Henry, shall be
taken and reputed King of England, and Lord of
Ireland, during his Natural Life, and the said
Duke shall honour him as his Sovereign Lord.

II. That the said Richard, Duke of York,
with his Two Sons, Edward, Earl of March,
and Edmund, Earl of Rutland, shall promishe
and bind themselves by solemn Oaths, neither
to do, procure, or suffer any Thing to the Preju-
dice of the Natural Life of King Henry VI. or
his Heirs, and shall immediately succeed to
the said King Henry, and his Heirs shall immediately

I. That the said Richard, Duke of York,
shall have by the Authority of this present Par-
liament, Caftles, Mannors, Lands and Ten-
ents, with their Apperances, to the yearly
Value of 10000 Marks over and above all
Charges and Repriphes, of which 5000 Marks
shall be for his own Estate, 3000 for the Earl of
March, and 2000 for the Earl of Rutland, yet
with such Intents and Considerations, as shall
be declared by the said Richard, Duke of York.

V. That if any Person imagine, or compri
the Death of the said Duke, and thereof be
coviet, they shall be adjudged guilty of High
Treason.

VI. That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
and Commons in Parliament assembled, shall
take an Oath, to accept, take, worship and
repute the said Richard, Duke of York, and his
Heirs, as aforesaid, and the said Duke shall pro-
tect them in keeping this Agreement.

VII. That this Accord and Agreement shall
be notified and published by the King's Letters
Patents, and his Consent and Agreement be
openly declared to all and every one of them;
and if the said King Henry shall break, or go
against any Point of this Accord, then the said
Crown and Royal Dignity, shall immediately
devolve and come to the Duke of York, if he be
alive, or to the next Heir of his Lineage.

VIII. That all Statutes and Acts of Parlia-
mament, made in the Time of Henry IV. or V.
to entail the Crown on their Heirs, shall be
null and void.

IX. That the Duke of York shall be Protector
of the Realm for the future, and be called
Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of
Chester.
A Proclamation to thank God for this Agreement.

This Agreement drawn up in the Form above-said, was engrossed, sealed, and sworn into by both Parties on All Saints-Day, and then it was opened by the Parliament, that it be made unanswerable to all Hands. King Henry was observed to be very much pleased with this Agreement, not doubting, because he was willing his Son should be excluded from the Crown. But because he feared more severe DEALINGS with the Son, and hoped Time would be able to provide for his Son, and therefore appointed a solemn Procession the same Day to give Thanks to God for this peaceable Settlement of Affairs. In it the King rode to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, attended with the Duke of York, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, and many other Lords, with his Crown upon his Head, and heard Even-Song, and then return’d to the Bishop’s Palace, where he continued some Time. The next Day Richard, Duke of York, was by Sound of Trumpet solemnly proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of England, &c. four Years and two of the same, during the King’s Life. After these Things the Parliament made an Act, That the Parliament (if at Coventry, Nov. 2o. An. 38. Hen. VI. shall be called, and all the Acts Statutes and Ordinances made by the Authority of the said Parliament, and of the said Duke, shall be unlawfully fommon’d and helden, and the Knights and Burgesses not duly choosen, but privately appointed by those Men, who fought the Defection of the Nobility and Commonwealth : And, that a Woman at fourteen Years of Age at the Death of her Ancestor or Parent, shall without any Difficulty, or duty or Quittance, have Livery and Seals of the Lands descended to her: And then the Parliament was dissolv’d, being the last that ever King Henry call’d, or ended.

And now the Duke of York’s Power began, as Guardian of the King’s Person, he took care of all Things, but chiefly of himself, how he might keep what he had obtained; for he very well knew that the Queen, who was a Woman of a matrilineal Spirit, and the Lords of her Council, who were her Utter Enemies, would make all the Opposition that was possible to this Settlement. He, therefore, put into Execution his Design to have King Henry call’d for her, and her Son Prince Edward. But the Queen, (by who that Time the Melfengers arrived, was got at the Head of a good Army of 1000 Men, which he put under the Command of the Duke of Exeter and Somerset, Earls of Desborough and Northumberland, Lords of Clifford and Roffe, who encouraged her with great Hopes of Victory, to engage her Adversaries, and restore her Husband to his Dignity, and her Son to his Succession) refused to go along with them. Which, when he heard, and knowing he had affign’d his trusty Friends the Earl of Warwick and Duke of Norfolk to be the Keepers of the King; and he himself, and the Earl of Salisbury and Kentland, with a small Body of Men departed from London, December 2o. to go into the North to reprefs the Queen, and her northern Adventurers, ordering the Earl of March to follow him with all the Forces he could gather. Upon Christmas-Eve, the Duke arrived at his Castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and there must’d up all his Teemants and Friends to the Number of 3000. With these he intended to oppose the Queen’s Army, who, by his Scouts, understood were marching towards him.

The Queen and her Army came before the Castle, and having laid two Ambuscades under the Command of the Lord Clifford and Earl of Wiltshire at the best Advantage, the Queen and Duke of Somerset, who commanded the Body of the Army, profecuted themselves in Sight of Sandal, and going up to the very Walls, had the Duke to come out and fight them. The Duke being hot and furious at this Bravado, and counting it a Shame to be shut up in a Caffle by a Woman, which he had never been in before, set out for Wakefield, resolved to venture out in the open Field, and give her Battle. All his Friends were much against it, but not being able to dissuade him from it, by all the Arguments they could use, they all marched out of the Castle upon the last Day of December, and going down the Hill in very good Order, came into the open Field, and placed the Face of their Enemies, who immediately joined Fight with them. Soon after the Battel was begun, the Ambuscudes rose, and encompass’d the Duke and his Men on every Side, so that within Half an Hour he himself was slain, with many of the Persons that were with him, valiantly fighting, and his whole Army utterly defeated, 2500 of them being killed.

The Earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken, the 30th with several Gentlemen and others. Roberts of December, the Duke’s Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of Rutland, who stood at some Distance to see the Event of the Battel, with his Papal, who was then about Twelve Years of Age, perceiving that it was likely to prove unsuccessfull and fatal to his Lord, fled with the Young Earl to secure him, but was overtaken by the Lord Clifford, who in the Heat of his Fury, Rall’d the Young Child with Tears began’d Mercy of him upon his Knees (c). The Chaplain pleaded much for the Child’s Life, and promised the Lord, That if he would spare him, he should be his Servants for ever. But Clifford swore Fearfully, That if his Father had slain his, so he would be the Defender of the Head, of him and all his Race; and then laving him, departed to Triumph to find the dead Body of his Father, whose Head he cut off, and having made a Crown of Paper, and let it on it in Derrison, presented it to the Queen, whose Head was cut off, and stuck on the Cross, and told her, he had done it in the Name of the Duke of York’s Head, and of the Duke of York’s Friends, and none of the Lords of the Castle of York. The Earl of Salisbury, who was committed to the Care of the Duke of Somerset, and by him imprision’d in the Castle of Pontefract, with a Promise to give his Life for a Large Sum of Money, was a little later, by the Common People, who hated him, pull’d out of the Castle, and beheaded, and to his Head, with others, was sent to York.

King Henry, by the Inflation of his Governors, the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Warwick, first Commissions into the Parts about the Country, to rile what Forces they could to sup-
The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

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A.D. 1450.
Reg. 39.

The Queen and her Army march towards London.

pref the Northern Rebels, but like a Torrent they came down upon them towards London, plundering and robbing, so that they were ir-ritatable by any strength that could be suddenly got together, and pulled on without control.

A.D. 1451.

The Queen having obtained this Victory over the Duke of York was feasible, that tho' the Advantage might do her much good, because the Commons generally follow the conquering Side, she had no small Enemies abroad. Enlarged Sides, made very little Harm, because it was but a small Party, and the King pick'd up in the Country about Wakefield, which she had conquered. She knew Warwick's Courage and Interests were great in Lon- don, where he had a strong Army to oppose her, and the Earl of March was gone into Wales, where his Father had many Tenants and De- pendents to gather an Army, so that she had no small Difficulties to grapple with, before she could accomplish her Designs, and fettle her Husband and Son in their Rights. She expected her Father's help on both Sides, therefore after a serious Confrontation with the Lords and other grave Men that follow'd her Inte- rests, it was resolv'd, That she and the Prince and Duke of Somerset should march towards London with the great part of her Ar- my, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, who raised a great Number of Irish and Welsh to the Queen's Alliance should observe the Earl of March, and gather fresh Forces out of her Friends to en- counter him. The Earl of March in the mean time having heard of his Father's Death at Gloucester, where he then lay, was angrily a-mazed and did concur'd the Accident, but being comforted by his Friends, who told him 'twas his Father's Raffiness, not his Enemies Power, that had been the Cause of this Mis- fortune, he remov'd to Shrewsbury, and there declaring his Father's Death, the Queen's Cruel- ity, and the Ruin of the Kingdom to the Inhabitants of that City, and the adjoining Countries, he got an Army out of the Marches of Wales, and the Places near, to the Number of 23000, who out of Love to Mortimer's Race offered themselves readily to go against the Queen, and the Northerners Marched in, and when he departs from Shrewsbury to follow the Queen's Army, which was marching towards London, and revenge his Father's Death; but at his first setting out, hearing that Jasper, Earl of Pen- broke, and the Earl of Ormond with a great Ar- my of Welsh and Irish were purring him, he turn'd back to fight them, and on a large Plain near Mortimer's Crofs on the East-side of Here- ford, met them. On Candlemas-day in the Morn- ing, when the Sun at its rising appear'd to the Earl of March like Three Suns, and suddenly rose, and shone over his Head (as some say) and the Queen of Victory, the two Armies entered the Battel, and after a sharp Conflict, the Earl of March put the Queen's Forces to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800. The two Earls of Pembroke and Ormond fled, and many Gentlemen of the Queen, and the Duke of York's Ghosts were beheaded at Hereford.

The Queen, who was marching towards Lon- don with her Northern Rabbles, who after they had pulled the River Trent, plunder'd the Villages and Towns, as if they were entered an E- nemy's Country, heard of the Defiguration of her Friends; but being elevated with the Thoughts of her former Victory, and knowing that the Mayor and many of the chief Men of London were for her, she went on confidently in hopes of soon recovering that Lost. But when the approach'd St. Albans, she receiv'd the News that the Earl of Warwick and Lords, who Reg. 39. had the Government of the King, were coming to meet the Northerners Armies and Interests by the King's Authority, and having the King himself at the Head of them, (for the Com- mons of the City of London fearing they should fall into the Hands of the Northern Men, block- ed the Lords to defend the City against the Queen,) the Northern Lords and Commons were with the Queen, advised her to pass thro' St. Albans and meet their Enemies on the other side of the Town; but the Earl of Warwick having rang'd his Archers in the middle of the Town, they were forced to retreat, and find another Way; which having done, the two Armies join'd upon Barnard's Heath on the North- side of St. Albans. The Battel was fierce, and the Victory remain'd dubious a certain time; but at length through the Treachery of Lovelace, who kept back the main Body of the Queen's Forces, and the Earl of Northumberland, who, as they were over-power'd were forced to fly, the Queen's Side gained the Victory, and with the Slaughter of 2500 Men obtain'd the King into their Power, with the Lord Berkeley and Sir Thomas Kivell: Who upon the King's Pro- mise of Safety to them say'd with his Majesty, but to their Cost. For, when the Queen heard that the Commons had beheld Judge Thorp at High-gate, she cut off both their Heads. After this Battel, which was fought upon February the 15th, the King and Queen with Prince Edward, now about Eight Years Old, and the Northern Lords went to the Abbey Church and gave Thanks to God for this Vi- ctory, and then the King made the Prince Knight, with Thirty others, who had signaliz- ed their Courage in fighting for her, which done the King and Queen were conducted to their Lodgings in the Abbey. But the Town of St. Albans was not at quiet. The Northern Men ranfack'd and plunder'd the Houses with- out Mercy: Whereupon the Abbot and chief Inhabitants made an humble Petition to the King and Queen to refrain the Soldiers Rude- ness and Theft, which was granted, and a Pro-clamation was issued that the city, for the Tit- le of CITY, was not to be plunder'd, That it was their Bargain to have all the Spirit of every Place beyond the Treat, and so they continued their pillaging and robberies.

While the Queen lay at St. Albans her Ar- my being in want for Provision, she gave an or- der to the Mayor of London to send her a sufficient Quantity of Lenten-face for her Sol- diers, which she readily obey'd, and having al- low'd several Carts was conveying it to her, but the Commons of the City in a great Company met them about Cripplegate, and fopp'd them, saying, that the King and Queen having this Title, they had a Right to have the这些东西, and so did not suffer them to go. The Mayor with many mild Exhortations advised them to let them pass, being for the Relief of the King and his Friends, but he could not persuade them to it, and so it was in vain for him to perswade them: Whereupon the Mayor fearing the Queen's Displeasure, lent the Recorder of the City to the King's Coun- cil at Barnet, and the Dutches of Bedford and Lady Scales with some Bishops to the Queen to excuse the Matter, and pacifie her Displeasure, promising the Queen to admit her into London, when Things were a little better appease a- mong the Commons. The Queen was pleas'd with the Propositis, and pass'd by the Disap- pointment of Relief for her Army, sending 400 Men

The Earl of March coming towards London, cranes the Queen to withdraw. 400 Men to prepare for her entering into the City, which if she could secure to her self, she hop’d to win all again.

But while these Things were acting, News came to the Queen, that the Earl of March, who had vanquish’d the Earls of Ormond and Pembroke was joy’d with the Earl of Warwick, and the Forces eclip’d from St. Albans, and that they both were coming towards Lon-
don, making a mighty Army. The Queen hear-
ing their Forces thought not fit to oppose them, and so withdrew from St. Albans into the North, (because the few or no Friends in Kent or Essex). The Earl of March having certain Intelligence of the Queen’s Departure, thought it not convenient to purse her, but took his Way directly towards London, and was there receiv’d with universal Joy by all the Commons, and many other Citizens, February the 28th.

His coming to London being known, the Gen-
try of the South and Earl-parts flock’d to him, bringing great Numbers to his Assent. In this Concourse of People it was thought convenient to settle Matters fully, and place the Earl of March on the Throne, if possible: And to that End, March the 2d, the Earl of War-
wick drawing up his Army into St. John’s Field in the midst of Throng of People, which he call’d into a King round him, read the Agreement made the last Parliament between King Henry and the Duke of York, which having told them was notoriously broken by King Henry, and to his Crown forfeit’d, he demanded of them, whether they would have King Henry to reign still or no? They all cry’d out, No, no. Then he again ask’d them, Whether they would have the Duke of York’s Eldest Son to reign over them, according to that Settlement? They unanimously cry’d out, Yes, yes. The Affection of the People being thus known, a general Council of the Nobles, Bishops, Gentlemen and chief Citizens was summon’d at Baynard’s Castle, and there the Earl of March declav’d again his Ti-
tle to the Crown, and recited the Articles made the last Parliament, by which he was to have Possession of it, if King Henry broke the said Ar-
ticles, as unavail’dly he had. The whole Coun-
cil after a long Debate at length concluded, That because King Henry had done contrary to the Agreement in the last Parliament made and concluded, and was insufficient of himself to go-
ver the Realm, he was therefore to be depriv’d of all Regal Authority and Power, as being incapable of it, and a Detriment to the Com-
monwealth of England ; and that Edward, Earl of March, Son and Heir to Richard, Duke of York, having the unquestionable Title to the Crown of England, was by them all unanimous-
ly nam’d, elected and admitted for the King A.D. and Governor of this Realm. The Earl of March modestly declared his Insufficiency for Reg. 39.

so great a Charge, being as yet young (d) and unexperienced; but being encourag’d by the Arch-bishop and other Lords he accepted their Petition, and took upon him the Name and Ti-
tle of King of England. The next Day he went in Procession to St. Paul’s, and there offer’d his Thanks to God for this his Exaltation to a Throne by linging Te Deum, which done he was with great State conducted to Westminster, and there in the Great Hall set in the King’s seat with St. Edward’s Scepter in his Hand; where being throng’d with Multitudes of Peo-
ple to be spectators of the Ceremony, it was again ask’d them, whether they would have the Earl of March for their King, and serve, love, honour and obey him as their Sovereign and Lord; they all joyfully answer’d, Yes, yes. Then he took the Homage of the Noblemen there present, and after was conducted by them to the Abby, where having fast in the Quire till Te Deum was sung, he went to St. Edward’s Shrine and offer’d according to the usual Custom. Things being thus finish’d, he return’d by Wat-
to St. Paul’s, and took up his Lodgings in the Bisho’p’s Palace, and the next Day was proclaim-
ed King of England by the Name of Edward VI. in the Streets of London and adjoining Towns.

Thus ended the Reign of Henry VI. many K. Henry’s years before his Death (for he lived twelve Years longer) after he had reign’d thirty eight Years, six Months, and three Days, a Prince ver-
ry Pious and Religious, but always attended with ill Fortune; for whatever Side he was of, the Victory ever went against him, as the for-
mer History shews. He had no genius for Go-

government nor Parts fit for the Management of State Affairs; but being a great lover of Cha-

rity and good Works, he might have been as good a King as England ever had, if he had been gui
d by a wife and good Council; but he was ruled by the Queen and her Favourites, who were envy’d by a proud Nobility, and was the Crome of great Miseries to the Nation. His Queen indeed must seem to have excluded her Sex as much as the King sunk below the Dignity of his own, but her ambitious Aiming the Regal Power beyond her Sphere, made it thought no Rebellition to take it out of her Hands, and put it where it would be better order’d and was more due. His Fall was much pitied, because as to his Perfon uncleav’d; but the common Good so much requir’d a Change, that it was judg’d better, That One suffer an Injury, rather than the whole Nation shoul’d perish.

(d) In his twentieth Year.
The Remarkable OCCURRENCES IN THE Reign of HENRY the Sixth.

The Author of King Henry VI's Life having taken Notice of the Remarkable Occurrences of all Kinds which happen'd in his Reign, we shall only add the Names of those Great Captains and Men of Learning, who distinguished themselves most in this Space of Time.

The first and most Eminent for Feats of Arms was John, Lord Talbot, created Earl of Shrewsbury, the Terror of France and the Glory of England; The Lord Scudery, the Lord Poyning, the Lord Clifford, the Earl of Arundel, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, Father of the Famous Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Sir Matthew Cough a Welsh Man, who after he had signal'd himself in the French Wars for almost 20 Years together, was killed at last by the Raddle in Cade's Rebellion, Sir Thomas Knyvett, Sir Thomas Kivell, Sir John Grey, Sir John Anson, Sir Francis Sartorius a Spaniard, who spent his Days in the English Service, and for his Valour was made Knight of the Garter, Sir Thomas Conyn, Captain Conynville, and Captain Andrew Trellog, were all brave Soldiers and wife Commanders. Many others were noted for their Courage and Conduct in the Wars of France. But these are the Names that shine most in the History of those Times. The most eminent for Learning were,

John HeIRON, a Monk of Lincoln.
Robert Coleman, a Franciscan Friar of Norwich, and Chancellor of Oxford.
William White, a Priest of Kent. He was a Wicklewiff.
He marry'd a Wife, and continue'd Preaching till he was prosecuted for Heresie and burn'd.
Alex. Carpenter, he wrote against the Bishops for perverting the poor and godly Christians.
Richard Kendall, a Grammarian.
Thomas Hinalbt, a Monk of St. Swithin's.
Walter Eliton, a Monk of Sken.
Robert Hanlew, a Monk of that Town in Middlesex.
John Tiley, a Monk of Tarmouth, an excellent Divine.
Dr. John LOW, Bishop of Rochester.
Dr. Thomas Ringfield, a Civilian and Divine.
Dr. John Featon, of Magdalen College, Oxford.
John Hallwcek, a Mathematician.
Peter Pain, a Wicklewiff. He fled to Bohemia, and liv'd there in great Reputation for his Wit and Learning.
Nich. Cleven, a Civilian. He wrote a Treatise of Heraldry.
William Beckly, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.
John Torpe, a Monk of Norwich.
Dr. John Coggrave, an Augustine Friar of Kent, the most learned Man of his Order in England.
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a Patron of Learning, and learn'd himself particularly in Astronomy. He wrote a Treatise, call'd Tabula Directionum.
Roger Only, he was accused of Sorcery in Elgin Cathedral's Plot, for which he was hang'd, tho' he was prove'd innocent. He was Author of a Book, call'd Contrad vsuri Superstitiones, and another, De sua Innocentia.
Nicholas Cantlem, a Welsh Man of an ancient Family, and a Monk of Bridg.
Hug, Wickham, a Bishop of Norwich, a noted Preacher.
John Lidgiet, a Monk of Bury, the best Poet of his Time.
Dr. Nicholas Hasselham, a Physitian.
John Blackby, Prior of Licham.
Thomas Bevington, Bp. of Bath, wrote against the Savages, which was defended by the French Writers, and occasion'd a War with the Pen, as well as of the Sword.
John Baringsham, a Friar of Ipswich.

Dr. David Bais, a Welsh Man.
John Brunhes, an Augustine Friar.
Michael Trygriva, a Cornwall Man Rector of the University erected at Caen by K. Henry.
John Anmoundham, a Monk of St. Albans.
Osvald Anglisme, a Monk of the Order of the Charterhouse.
John Kemingle, a Monk of Norwich.
Peter of St. Paul's, the same.
Dr. Reginald Pocel, Bishop of Chichester, a great Favourer of Wickliff's Principles, for which he was depriv'd.

John of Bury, a Monk of Clare.
Rob. Fleming, he wrote a Gr. and Lat. Dictionary.
Dr. Tho. Guifriceps, sometime Chancellor of Oxon.
William Stapleton, a Monk of Louth.
Robert Tunningsham, a Monk of Norwich.
John Chandler, Chancellor of Wells.
Sir William Butter of Bridg, an Antiquary.
Dr. John Snow, a Monk of Norwich.
Thomas Lacey, a Monk of Halma.
Cardinal Beaufort, Great Uncle to the King.
Thos. Lacy, an Astronomer and Mathematician.
John Talangens, a Monk of Wolves.
William Sattow, an Astronomer.
Robert Barfack wrote a Treatise of Chivalry and War, intituled, De Re Militari.
William Grey, Bishop of Ely.
Cardinal Kemp, Arch-bishop of Canterbury.
Adam Moline, Lord Privy Seal, was a Man of great Learning, he lost his Head in his Master's Quarell.

Dr. Thomas Chilenden, L. L. D.
These that follow were Historians, Sir John Bouchier, Lord Barns, tranil. Freydard.
Roger Wolf, a Herald, wrote the Reign of Henry the Fifth.
John Pole, he wrote the Life of St. Walburgh.
Thomas Wijffegher, a Monk of St. Albans.
Thomas Radburn, a Monk of St. Stephen.
John Wchlemsteed, Abbot of St. Albans.
Nicholas Montacutte.
Nicholas Bungry.
Tho. Dands wrote the Life of Alfred K. of Eng.
Nich. Chetalday, the Cambridge Hiftoriographer.

THE
RICHARD, Duke of York overthrown
by his own Radfhefs, and the happy
Conduct of Queen Margaret, at the
Battie of Wakefield, in Yorkfhire, let
the Justice of his Title with a more prosperous
Fortune to his Son Edward, Earl of March, and
then Duke of York. His Head during Life,
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and being fix'd on a Pole was fixt on the Walls of
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gave that Common, of Human Nature in Calamity,
and in a phantakclf Cruelly ex-
pofed it thus to the barbarous Mirth of the Be-
holders. With him died his young Son Edward,
Earl of Rutland, then but 12 Years old, com-
ing too soon with his Tutor to the School of
War; and learning at fiirt the harden'd Sin
from the Lord Clifford, who moft implunually
sh'd him for his brave, at his Feet, intriguing but
for Life.
In the very Haven, after a long and tempe-
fluous Voyage, thus perish'd the Duke of York;
as if it had been in the Face of all the Richards,
who were either in Fact or Title Kings of Eng-
land, to end by violent Deaths. Richard the
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This great Overthrow was suddenly ram'd
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with some small Forces, expecting Directions
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Delay is to increafe the Approaches of Misfor-
tune, remov'd to Sherfby. By the way his
Army fwell'd up to 23000 fighting Men; which
might appear strange if we weigh the necce-
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Years of Age, and the fender Retinue that usu-
ally waits on Inftility. But now he was the
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his Father at the Expance of fo long Trouble,
had purchafe to his Side; and whom the
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and only to hope for Safety by running into the
common Danger. Moreover all the Men of Pow-
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bury, had Dependency on him as Heir to Mor-

THE LITE and REIGN OF
EDWARD IV.

A.D. 1461.

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rate the Earl of Warwick.
With this fudden and unexpeience Addition
of Forces, he entertain'd a Confidence to beabie
to revenge his Father's Death, and obtain that
Greatness which as yet had been in vain at-
tempted. He therefore fook a Rout, where he
might on the beft Advantage make Experience of
his Fortune: Fortune appearing cafe to be
courted by him as it enfln'd with his Youth;
being feldom obvi'd but froward to Age, in any Defign that depends chiefly upon
Courage.
And Occafion was immediately offer'd: Cer-
tain Difcovery being made of a great Power rai-
led by the Adverfe Party, with purpofe to fur-
prize him in the Amazement of the late Mi-
fortune. The Army confifted of Welsh and Irish,
according to the several Nations of the two E-Com-
manders, Tafier, Earl of Pembroke, and
James, Earl of Ormond: Pembroke half Brother
to Henry VI. as Son to Queen Catherine, Dow-
A Norman's
ger to Henry V. by Owen Tudor: And Owen
Conquers
a moft faithful Servant to the House of Lan-
mer, by whose Gift in England he enjoy'd the
Earldom of Wulfhure.
Against this two the Duke of York led back A Predi-
his Forces, and in a large Plain near Mortimer's y of
Crofts, near Ladlow in Shropfrie, on Conclave
Day in the Morning, gave them Battel. Before
the Fight, the Sun (as by many Authors it is affer-
ted) appear'd to the Earl in the Rehmbance
of Three Suns, and suddenly united into One:
The Truth of which I will not difpute, but
certainly the Pretention of fuch Appropri-
ations strangely prevails with the Superflitious Multi-
tude, and therefore it hath been both the Prac-
tice and Advantage of the moft expert Com-
manders to fet them on Foot: Yet how this O-
men could be expounded happy to: Defign, I
understand not, unlefs we fearch the Interpretation
from the Event; for that indeed gave him
the Victory, and brought the Glory of the two Adverfe Generals over to his Side, fo that the
three Suns which with equal Brightnes appear-
ed in the Morning, before Evening shin'd alone
in him. For the two Earls and their whole
Army were put to Flight, with the Slaughter
of 3800 on the Place: Many Welsh and some
English of Name were taken Prisoners, and af-
terward at Hereford beheaded, among whom an
extraordinary Fortune hath made Owen Tudor,
the Father of the Earl of Pembroke, moft the
Difcourfe of Polftery. For the good lack of an
amiable Person, wrought him into the Affidion,
and soon after advanced him to the Marriage
of Catherine, Daughter of France, and Widow
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1461. to the most glorious Prince our Nation ever giud'd Honour by, Henry V. Yet all that this so envied Splendor in a Wife got him, was, to render his Life obnoxious to Imprisonment and Execution, and his Death more eminent on a Scaffold.

This Victory raised Edward's Imaginations high, so that now he resolved to spend his Fortune no longer in small Enterprises: And left the Spirit of his Army should begin to languish, knowing no Enemy near to find him employment, he resolved to search for one about London, whither he had Intelligence the Queen with her triumphant Forces directed her March, not without Hopes of obtaining Admission, because the Mayor and others were her Friends: Moreover, it concerned the Policy of his Affairs, to retain the Possession of the capital City of the Kingdom, whose Commons continued him to his Service, and in which the Lords of his Party had the Custody of King Henry's Person, left to their Faith, when the Duke of York would no longer stand at his Chard.

But in the Way at Chipping-Norton, he met the Earl of Warwick, who, with the Lords King Henry's Keepers, whom they brought with them, had lately fought and lost the Field to the Queen at St. Albans. In which, beside the Earl of Warwick, the Day, and slaughter of Two thousand of her Enemies, the recover'd the Person of her Husband. Warwick, who brought him with only a Relation of his late Overthrow, yet was with such a Courage as disdain'd Misfortune, and coveted nothing more than by the True of a New Day to peripede, or to force back Victory to his Side.

And oftentimes a small Loss to an Army, like opening a Vein to a Body, doth rather correct than any way impair the Health; whereas too much Prosperity, like the world Surfeit, fuddenly becomes uneearable. And so the Two late obtain'd Conquests wrought in the Enemy only Infolency and Diforder. For the Queen, wanton with Success, vainly imagined a Security from future Competition, and either wanted Power to retrain her Soldiers, or licend them to a free Spoil; by which suddenly Violence and Desolation, who, by their Quiet and Profit, measure the Vertues of Princes. And indeed they had Title to their often Complaints against the northern Troops, who, as soon as they had past Trent, as if there they had parted with all Obdience to Discipline, made use of all kinds of Licens, that might Cerve their Avarice or Ficature. And having by the Way left no Towns, and in them no Place how facred forever unpois'd; after the Flight of Warwick, they deemed for London, hoping to find it abundantly fit for Prey, and utterly unable for Defence.

Duke of York marches to London.

And having been in the first Perceiving Opportunity in their Approch, that their Gates, and arm'd for Reffiance; and with such Valour and good Order behav'd themselves, that the rude Affiliants were with Loss repuls'd, and the Queen perwin'd to retre Northward, knowing the Diforder of March's Power, began, with the Place where they then lay encamped, nothing but ill Aspects and worfe Wibises; she therefore dislodged from St. Albans, and every Day as the March'd towards the North, new Relations came of the Greatness of the Marcher and of the Revolution of the Earl of Marcher's Power, who, with the Place where the Earl of Warwick was on his Journey to London.

And doubtfull the Report of his Approach confirm'd the City in her Courage to reft the late Affiliants; which otherwise withouf question have comply'd with the Fortune of the more powerful. For prefently after the Ce-

The Duke of York moves on to London.

to the Port of the Queen, the Earl of March on the Twenty eighth of February, made his triumphant Entry, and was receiv'd with such Acclamations, as an over-joy'd People could the Duke express, who only hoped for Safety by the For-

tune of his Side. To excravse the Glory of this Entry concurred, besides his Title to the Crown, his late Victory at Mortimer's Cross, of the Memory of a most glorious Father, and great Authority of his Confederate Warwick, the Beauty of Marcher's Person, than which that Age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward Form a small Circumstance to induce the Multitudes to Reverence; for as a Prince, hath all his Attention occasion'd Contempt even to Depetration: So on the contrary, hath an amiable Shape strengthened very weak Pretenions, and in Antiquus Hen-

The Earl of Warwick appears at London.

Against the House of York, contented not himself with this general Applause, knowing how the least Change of Fortune would create a change of Affections. He therefore oftentimes sent the City to his Designs, that any Alteration in Edward's Fortune should be Ruin to them; and thereupon cast on the Second of March a general Murther of all his Forces to be made in St. John's Fields; where, when he found an universal Confusion of all Men, unwar'd by his Expectation; he call his Army into a King, and with a loud Voice, made to be read the Agreement which the late Parliament had made between Henry VI. and Richard, Duke of York. By which Henry (out of Compulsion to a long Pojition) was permitted to enjoy the Crown during his natural Life; the Remainder to Richard and his Heirs, in whom it was then apparently proved that the Title to the King-

The Earl of Warwick's Arrival at London.

dom did remain. In which Agreement was likewise manifect, That Henry should make immediate Forfeiture, whenever either, or both should be deposed by Act of Parliament.

This being read, and commented on with the best Efficacy of Language, to express the foul Breach on King Henry's Side, in the De-

The Earl of Warwick's Entry at London.

struction of Richard, Duke of York: The Quo-

This being read, the People was Edward's Title approv'd, and he admitted King. Being therefore in a posture of such pro-

tion and appear needful, in regard the same Voices had vow'd Obdience to another. Other-

wise, whatsoever shal allure, that the Suffrage of the Multitude is necessary to confirm a Prince destroys the Right of Succession, and in that respect any future Parliament, which hath ruled this Nation. And to understand the Uncertainty and Injustice of all popular Election, History instructs us, That no Tyrants yet in England, by what indirect Practice ever have
Edward accepts his Title to the Crown of England.

He attain'd, or Cruelty maintain'd the Government, but entred in by a seeming Approbation of the People, and by Confirmation of the People. For I know not by what universal Diftemper of Humours it happens, that generally when the Head of this Kingdom hath been sick, the whole Body was diseased; so far, that Uproarion hath been lightnest, and Tyranny applauded: Which by fortune must necessarily have occasion'd thro' the Power of the prevailing Faction; and Fear which poll'd all honer Minds: Who tho' they neither wanted Knowledge to see the Injury, nor Desire to redress it, yet private Interest made them too cowardly to undertake the Business.

But in Edward's first Entrance on the Kingdom the popular Sufferage (which in the Inauguration of Christian Princes is of ancient Custom even'd a convenient Ceremony) met with a just Title. For he by his Grand-mother, Ann, Daughter and Heir of Roger Mortimer, Son and Heir to Philippa, only Child of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, three Son to Edward III. King of England; of necessity must have (where Women are admitted to inherit?) better claim to the Crown than Henry VI. though in the fourth Degree, yet by John's attaint, being but his fourth Son. For however Caluities may dispute, or civil Lawyers argue, that the being remov'd one Degree further, can no way prejudice Succeffion, whereby the younger Brother may come to be preter'd before the Elder Brother's Son, if by chance the Elder die during his Father's Life; yet 'tis an Injustice to agin Reafon and Custom, that whatsoever yet attempted it, was reputed to violate the Laws of Nature.

From St. John's Fields, the Principal of the Army, and Common-Council of the City, brought News of this Election to Edward, Earl of March, remaining at Baynard's Castle: Who soon as he understood the Intention of their Adress (with such Modesty as some Clergy-Man may have used at his Confecration, who by Humane Practice hath obtain'd a Bishoprick) re-fus'd to come, for he could not possibly do it without violating the Law of Nature. But soon the Animation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and divers others of Eminence prevail'd, and he at his Request took on him the Royalty.

And that the King, on the next Morning with as much Ceremony and State, as the Shortness and Unquietness of the Time could licence, in solemn Procession he went to St. Paul's Church; whence after Te Deum sung, and Oblation made, he rode to Westminster, there feared in the most perpetual Place of the great Hall, with the Sovereign of St. John and the Confessor to his Hand, himselfe made Declaration of his double Title to the Crown. Firth, by Decision, as Heir to the third Son of Edward III. The Line of whose eldest Son Edward the Black Prince existuating in the Deposition and Pardicce of Richard II. procured by Henry of Bohemburg, first King of the House of Lancaster, Edward the Third's second Son William dying without Issue: Secondly, by Authority of Parliament, which upon Examination of the Duke of York's Title, con-firr'd the Possession of the Kingdom immediately after Richard's Death, with the Authority of the Parliament to make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Reignation, or Brach of that Accord sworn there to solemnly by them. And that this Accord was broken, the Sluaghter of the Duke oppract with unequal Numbers on K. Henry's Party at the Battel of Wakefield, did falsely manifest. Nevertheless he protected himselfe ready to forgo the Justice of his Claiming to the Crown, and receive the free Vote. At which unanimously the Affibly cry'd K. Edward, K. Edward, joytall that their Voices might confirm King, who had daug't them so humble a Complement, as to prove that he would not receive the Title without their Sufferage. The Popularity of this Second Election thus past, he went in Procession to the Abbey; whence after much Solemnity and Homage of all the Nobility there present, he return'd by Water to the Bishop of London's Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King through the City by the Name of Edward IV. proclam'd, and the next W. Dec. 31st, 1483.  

The first Fortnight of his Reign was dy'd, I will not say ruin'd, with the Blood of Walter a Grocer, who keep't Shop at the Sign of Lamb's Head in Cheapside, as he would make his Son Heir to the Crown; a bold Jeft broke in an evil Time, yet do I not side with them in Opinion, who tax the King of Severity in this Execution, unlea's I could clear this Man from being particularly factious for the House of Lancaster, or know that these Words were utter'd in innocent Mirth, without any Scorn to King Edward's Person: And however he was intimate with extraordinary Punishment of such faycuy Language, was not then unnecessary to beget Authority, and make Men cautious to displate the Decent of Princes, when the Quesition was so nice, and Agreements not improbable on either Side. But here in the History of Richard, Fortune rais'd K. Edward higher than the Endeavours of a long Ambition had done his Father. For now was he consecr'd King in the Imperial City of this Realm, adorn'd with every Circumstance of Sovereignty; and all his Enterprizes hither to so flatt'red with Success, that he could promise nothing but Prosperity to his Hopes. Yet was the Ground whereon he built uncertain, and his State brought into Comparison with his Competitor, frail and obvious to Ruin.

For Henry had equal Dignity with the Ad. K. Henry's vantage of a long Reign, an uninterrupted Licence in a Soft Government, the Crown acknowledg'd Abroad by all Christian Princes, and obey'd at Home by all English Men without Dispute, a Title according to the Law Salic indubitable, and which had been confirm'd at the first Entry of his Grand-father Henry IV. into the Throne. But Richard II. by general Acknowledgment of all the Nobility, and by Authority of Parliament, but even by Approbation, any particular Negotiation of Edward, Duke of York, Edward, Duke of Aumers, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Grand-Father, Great-Uncle, and Great-Great-Uncle; and to the late annoint'd K. Edward IV. Only a feeble Judgment, and a long evil Fortune render'd Henry VI. inferior, which to counterpois Q. Margeret and the Lords of her Side, Q. Margeret were daring and vigilant, omitting no Stra- tegem or Endeavours that might add to the Honour or the Degree of her Dynasty.

Whereupon the comm'd still in the North, and obliging that People every Day more to her Service, labour'd to prepare such an Army as might upon the word of Fortune be able enough for Defence: And Soon the found how much the Authority of the great Lords of her Side prevailed, having rais'd 60,000 fighting Men, and they all resolv'd with Ex- pense of their Blood to buy back that Majesty, which the House of Lancaster by evil Fate had lost.

An Army if arm'd and order'd well, able
to oppose the mightiest Enemy, or undertake the boldest Enterprise. On light of which the Queen entertain’d a Confidence easily to ratt’r her in the New Mixture of a King, who in a Night seem’d to have sprung up to Male- fly; especially when she understood how with unequal Power he march’d Northward, a Clime not unlike to prove as disastrous to him as to his Father.

King Edward on the other Side as soon as the Voice of the People had faluted him Prince, resolved with hazard of his new-gain’d Sove- reignty to extirpate his great Opposer; For while the Side of Lancaster was supported with the Affidavit of so large a Portion of the Kingdom, which as yet adhered to Henry, lie could be King but at the carstelle of his Faction, and the Body of the Land must of Necessity grow monstrous, being charg’d with two Heads, each of which look’d divers Ways: He therefore while his State had yet the Memory of their late good Fortune fresh in their Covenance, march’d towards the Queen, and chose rather, as worthier his Spirit, to provoke than expect an Enemy.

Of his Arrival at Richmond Castle when it was underfoot, and that part of his Army led by the Lord Clifford, who had found a Passage over the River Aire of great Importance: All they of Lancaster begun carefully to look to their Affairs. King Henry, the Queen, and Prince (who were by their several Weaknesses unit’d for Action) retired to York, there to attend the event of Belmontes. The Ar- my being committed to the Charge of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford.

Amidst thee it was revol’d that Ferrers, in regard of the Consequence of the Place, was at any hazard to be recover’d, and the Enter- prise left to the Undertaking of Clifford, who early the next morning, left Delay might betray his Design to the Enemy, with a competent Number march’d thither, and with such Diligence and Secrecy, that before there was the least Sulphur of an Advis, the unpre- cumbent Clifford was entr’d upon and defeated. And the next Day the Lord Fitz-Walter, and the Balfard of Salisbury were awaken’d, and foop&- ing a Mutiny among their own Soldiers, rode hastily from their Beds, and coming down en- counter’d a dreadful Enemy, who deni’d all Quarter, and on the Place slew them.

The Loss of this so comedom Pillage and Slaughter of such eminent Persons came first to the Ear of the Earl of Warwick, who somewhat too transported with the evil Fate of their first Attempt pos’d in all haste to K. Edward, in whose Presence he kill’d his Horse, and said, Sir, I’m sure my Lord Clifford, to whom you are the Head of you in the Beginning of your Enterprise have left their Lives, yet let him live who shall by this Crofty (killing the Hilt of his Sword) I will stand by who shall stand by me, fall back, fall edge. Words certainly, tho’ mingled with a high Revenge strangely dispassion’d, and represent’ng so much of Danger as might have troubled the Courage of the Army. And howsoever partial Histroy in mentioning the Actions of Great Men, will not allow them to participate with the vulgar in the Weaknesses incident to human Nature, yet every great Spirit hath his Ally of Imbecility. The most knowing Scholar hath found a Period, beyond which his curious Search could not move; the wisest Politician hath discover’d where he err’d, and blush’d at the Mistake; and the boldest Soldier at some time or other hath found the Coward trembling in him. We may by our Endeavours raisr Nature from her Frailty, but never triumph over her Till Death.

And certainly Warwick was too much amaz’d at this Accident; but soon he settell himself, and by his Root Compartment admired the fainting Army: But King Edward, whose Youth was enamoure’d with Woman and Wisdom, even to Wonder, febrly entertained this fair Report, and to oppose against any Fear which might shake the Souldier; caused immediate Procla- mation to be made, That it was lawful for any Man whom the present Lofs, or Fear of future Danger disencourt’d safely to depart; That whoever should perform the Duty of a Souldier and fight manfully, should have a certain and a most Large Reward: On the contrary to any Man who should continue in the Army, and hereafter fly away, the severest Punishment and Liberty for any one to kill such a Coward, with promitce of double Pay.

No Man accepted the Offer of so contemptible a Safety; and indeed the Body of his Army com- sisted of Southern Men, whose Flight had per- haps been as unsafe as the present Danger. Moreover the Example of the Valiant pervaded the other Camps, and the Army march’d with such Fears; whereby not being known they grew afterward to have equal Title, with the most da- ring to a glorious Victory.

The King seeing the Spirit of his Army so bold, and so devoted to his Service, thought the Loss of Time might endanger the Loss of the Warwick Castle, and therefore revol’d with the stir Conveniance to bring his Fortune to the Tryal of a Battel. The Lord Falcenbridge and Sir Walter Blunt, in regard of the Duke of Norfolk who was then disabled by Sicknefs, had the leading of the Vanguard, who finding the Passage of Ferrers impossible on the sudden to obtain, three days lay return’d to York, the Earl of Warwick.

Lord Falcenbridge, and the Earl of Somerset, who in too mild a manner payed them the great Debt be ow’d to Justice for the Mur- der of the Young Earl of Eastland.

Next Day being Palm-Sunday, early in the Morning both Armies came in Sight: A fatal Meeting, which like the Union of the Soul with the Body, could not, but by Death. The Place of the Army, and that of the American Field was between Custer and Tawin, from the latter of which this Battel afterwards took his Name. On full Survey of King Henry’s Holn to dreadful in advantage of Number, Proclama- tion was made in King Edward’s Camp, that no Quarter should be given nor Prisoner taken. A necessary Cruelty not to be avoided but with danger of his own Ruin: In regard otherwise the common Soldier might in hope of Spoil, or of the Rainbow of an Enemy, be wanting to his Duty.

It was about the Hour of Nine, when the Armies drew near; 60000 for Lancaster, for York forces 40000; only the Presence and Cou- rage of King Edward made an Equality. The Lord Falcenbridge, to whom the Van was com- mitted, and who was most able for the Place,
when the Fight was ready to begin, charg'd his Archers, so as they had shot, to fall Three Strides back, and make a Stand, whereby they might more effectually strike the Stragam happen'd as was expected; for the northern Men with audden Fury aw'fed the Onset, and having emptied their Quivers, haf'ted to hand Blows. But the Arrows, which they had discharged at Adventure by reason of the Foggy morn, bade them adieu whom they were shot, turn'd now to their Annoyance and Trouble, so that the Splinters of themickling in the Ground, Pier'd and gaid't their Feet, and forc'd them to a confudted Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men flung their Blade to the High. In this Quarrel, with their Commands, blew a Tempent of Hail and Snow into their Faces; by which the Vanguard of King Henry, led by the Earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, gave back.

Yet did not the main battle tremble with this Admon; but, as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continued with the first Conflence. Ten Hours Victory hang in Sufence; equal Courage appeared on both sides, equal Hopes of Good, equal Delfairs for Fear of bad Success, which occasion'd so much Cruelty in the Fight. But at length (the Field rain'd with Blood, and the air was charg'd with the Head, or so many Heaps of dead and dying Bodies) the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in Flight. Neither did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, until their Courage were dim'f'd with so little energy that the Arrow of Steel before their Eyes. For the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Lords Beaumont, D'acres, Grey and Wells, and Andrew Trollop, who was famous in the French Wars, with divers others of the greatest Reputation, for Nobility and Courage, had already fallen, and in their Slaght taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, seeing all Things depe rate, the greater Part of the Army slain, the red broken and flying, pos'ted to York, to carry the fatal News of this Overthrow to the unfortunate King, whose Woe yet had a Patience greater than his Power.

In no Battel was ever power'd so much English Blood; for in this, and the Two precedent Days were slain 36776 Persons, all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, some in Blood, fataly divided by Faction; yet all anim'd with the same Zeal to maintain their Prince's Right, which being so difficult to resolve, doublets made the Quarell on either Side, how ruinous forver to their Families, not unsafe to their Confidences. And it is worthy Observation, that in this so long and cruel Conflict between these Two Houses, no stranger of any Name was preferr'd to our Parties; as if we had disdain'd to conquer or perish by other Weapons than our own.

King Henry perceiving how desperate his Hopes were in England, with the poor Remains of his Party, secured himself into Scotland. And with face bold, that being, King Edward got to York (where he hoped to have surpriz'd him dismay'd with the late Difcom bate) nothing was there left but the City humbly devoted to the Diffpofe of the Conqueror. But on the Walls yet remain'd the heads of Scudi and Quarters, whereof, He that first laid hold on the Trowick, should behead three others taken in the former Battel; that these new Heads might relieve them, who had blood Centinel to Reg. 2. A. D. 1451. The Lord Fair omen bridge's good and many of Note. The Number of the slain.

K. Hen- ry's Flight into Scot- land.

A D. 1451.
Reg. 1. The Lord Fair omen bridge's good

K. Ed- ward's se- cretes to the

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K. Ed- ward's se- cretes to the

A D. 1451.
ward made the French to understand how unsafe it was to provoke the English governed by an active Prince, who might perhaps hereafter in person leave his dominions, and then by force or by treaty transfer them to one of the principal Provinces, which nothing but our Diffidence could have left. As likewise to terrify all foreign States from adhering to K. Henry, who both in Courage and Fortune was so far inferior. And now was the Prosperity of Edward in fo great a degree, that the Duke of Burgundy began to think that he might put to flight the France and the Monarch of Spain, and in a short time make his sovereignty absolute. But the Duke of Burgundy had no such thoughts, but longed to receive the Dauphin, to make his Successor and as such, to have him, with the same dishonour, put to flight and made to acknowledge the French Prince as King of France, and his State of Burgundy to be no more than an unified Province. No other Prince, not even the King of Spain, could have attempted so. Other Princes might be resisted, but he, that had the Duke of Burgundy in his power, was able to conquer and put to flight all, who should then interfere. Nei-

The Duke of Burgundy, tho' a mighty Prince, and near allied to Lancaster, (who had charge of his Mother, who was Philip's Mother) and whose Daughter was married, which was never paid; and he placed his submission to King Edward on the Second of December, in the Year 1462.

The War which was afterward known by the Name of the West-Publick being at that Time among them privately in Contrivance; so that all these neighbouring Princes, to whom the Affairs of England might seem considerable, were wholly taken up with Attention to their own.

The Emperor Frederic III. was more remote, and so engaged in entering into the Quarrels of other Men, that by any Art, and even with Loss he would decline his own. Moreover, he had justly found in continual Fear of the growing arts of Fortune of the Turk, who, having lately sub-

Inhabitants, to their own Delights, with her Son, whom, to make more Compulsion he had carried up and down, the Queen return'd to Scotland; by her long but unsuccessful Labour, having gathered together 500 French; a Number so small and so unwor-
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Here some thin Regiments of Scots reforted to her, in company of whom the enter'd Northumber-land, and having won Bambour-Castle, passed into the Bishoprick of Durham, her Husband marching in the Front, that the Name and Pre- tence was not forgotten among the People to their ancient Service, and add Authority to the Desig. But soon she found her Error; for Hope, not Compulsion periwades to Danger: And the Commodity far Hill, when by rising they understood themselves only likely to share in the King's Misfortune: For having upon a first Account discover'd how War is only nec- essary to the most desperate, and that in the End it leaves them to nothing but Beggary and Pun- ishment, they were reconcil'd to the Love of Peace, and every Man took himself to indu- stry. And for the Nobility, the King had won them either by the Reputation of his Fortune, or Terror of his Courage; so that no Man of Eminency resolv'd to change Subjection: Only Henry, Duke of Somerset, and Sir Ralph Peirce, who not long before had forfaken K. Henry in the Camp of Durham, in a sudden Weather fled back again. For it is a ridiculous Canning in Hilltorians to ascribe the Actions of great Men perpetually to Policy, since Irrefo- lution prevails equally in them as with the Vul- gar. And why might not Defpair begg be Sub- minion in these two to K. Edward, and a vain Appearance of a Return of Fortune to K. Hen- ry's Side, persuade them to this late Revolt?

Upon this so weak Access of Power, Queen Margaret perceiving to unfold Friendship in her Husband's native Country, defroy'd it as an Enemy's. And wanting Force to reach the Prosperity of her Competitor, she next resorted upon the common People, who had hitherto been only subjects to his Fortune, bearing inwardly a most pallionate Love to the Family of Lancaster. But this outrageous Carriage of the Army, chang'd absolutely their Affections to the Queen, who was questioned by Necessity compel'd to Things unlawful, whereby to prevent the Dis- banding of her Forces, which were only paid and kept together by a licentious Spol.

To oppose this Attempt, which only betray- ed the Weakness of the Enemies, King Edward sent down John Neville, Lord Montague, him- self, and Sir Ralph Peirce, to meet an Attempt upon the Greatness of his Name and present Quarrel. Giving likewise Order that his Navy should guard the Seas, to hinder any Successors to the Queen from foreign Confederates: But this was an unnecessary Caution; no State Abroad being so Appearance, as to embarke it in the broken Seas of her Fortune. Montague at Land had a bravre Occasion to shew his Courage; who having in the Bishop- rick of Durham gather'd some convenient Forces, and receiv'd others from King Edward, marched direct against K. Henry. By the Way, the Duke of Somerset, & Sir Ralph Peirce, in the Name of the Queen, and Sir Ralph Peirce pretend'd themselves to hinder his farther Course; but perceiving the good Order and Courage of his Army, all fled but the valiant Peirce. Who disdain'd to re- face his Life with Loss of his Honour, or to shew the least Weakness beneath his Name or Spirit, fought it out with his Regiment, till over-pref with Number, he and his were all cut to pieces. The valiant Knight contenting himself, that he had save the Bird in his Breh, as he said; that is, died in his Loyalty. On this occasion the Scottish attempt, without Explication of any further Succour or Direction, to finish the present War, and immediately marches to a Plain call'd Le- well, near the River Darwell in (e) Huxham- forest, where King Henry's Army lay encamped. The Camp being made a Night, and had taken it without any Loss, had not the Enemy beyond Explication gath- er'd themselves into some Order and vanally op- posed. But no Courage could withfend the Fortune and Spirit of Montague, for the Queen's Camp at length was lost, and in it ta- ken the Duke of Somerset, the Lords Hungerford, Rofs, Neville, and Sir Thomas Hoby, with Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Finder; Some- where on the Place lost his Head, the reft fent to Nemocif to fuffer there the fame Punishment, which was done with two Gentlemen more, but King Hen- ry and the Queen escap'd (d) into Lancashire at the first on-fer, whose Tragedy drew not yet near the last Act.

King Edward whose Fortune fought for him, even in his Abfence, encountered the News of this Victory in his march towards Durham, so that finding the preface of his Person and Ar- my needful he return'd towards Warwick: Giving command to Warwick to take in all the Forts and Cilles, which yet in the North held out, as (e) Warwick, Bambour and Dulfunkery. On the Way he was certified of the Apprehen- sion of K. Edward, who was surpriz'd as he endeavou'rd by shifting from Place to Place to have recover'd Scotland (f). With the Joy of which Report King Edward return'd to Lan- don, whither as yet he never came but glorious by the Acceffion of some new Triumph. 

Thomas, the Son of Sir Edward Talbot of Lang. K. Henry cal- l'd him, tak'd, and the Indig- nities cast upon him by great a Prince, like a common Malefactor with his Legs tied under the Horfe's belly, (g) guar- dian'd him up towards London. By the Way the Earl of Northumberland, who had sworn allegiance to his Affiliation, with the general Re- proaches of the People, (the Acclamations they give to the Unfortunate) arrest'd him, and taking off his Girt Spurs, led him Prisoner to the Tower. The only Companions of his present Calamity were Dr. Mansing, Dean of Windor, Dr. Bollas, and Mr. Allerton a young Gentleman, all of so divine a Calling, as shew'd no Misfor- tune could separate him from his Piety, nor them from their Duty.

The miserable Queen seeing the Defolation of her Greatness, her Husband impris'n'd, all her great Friends fell (d) into Lancashire, gain her Retreat into France; and with her So' Marga- rete Prince Edward, (who Prefereration flatter'd her with some hopes, that one day he might rebuild the now ruin'd Houfe of Lancaster) flung her self to her Father's Court. A moft wretched Saint to her Fears, where she had only leisure
by long Patience to prepare her Mind for future 
yility.

But this her Dejection raised Edward up to an 
unfeisted sovereignty, so that now he be-
gan to set strong the disjoined Body of his 
Kingdom. And knowing Libertality the only 
effectual means to a Prince, he ne-

erf'd by imitating his Enemies to enable him-
to reward the Services of his Friends. And 
that he pretended the Gate of Mercy ever 
to fland open to the Submission of the 
Lancastrians, yet few or none accepted the Favour, either 
difruftful of his Royal, or having 
Imagination, that the Tide of Fortune 
would not always flow so impetuous a 
Torrent.

But King Edward angry, that a Faction fo 
contemnible in their Ruin, should disdain his 
Clemency, proceeded to punishment (b). The 
Earldom of Pembroke, an Honour heretofore 
joy'd by Saffter Taylor, half-Brother to Henry 
(V, who, with Henry Percy, Earl of Northum-
berland was then fled with King Henry) he 
bow'd on Sir William Herbert, a Knight of 
Wales, both for Defent and honour most ce-
nected; and to the Earl a Great Part of the 
present Felicity was owing. To the Lord Monta-
cute, whose Person and Service he equally lov'd, 
gave the opulent Poffeffions belonging to the 
Family of the Percies, together with the 
Honour of Earl of Northumber-land.

But the molf open Haud cannot satisfy the 
Expectation of great Deervers, who fect fo 
high a Price upon their Merits, that they leave 
their Princes no Power of Reward. The great-
fiil Benefit being received in the Degree of a 
Debt, not a Gift. And certainly Honours 
and his Brother Warwick, by too much Me-
rit even deferv'd the King; what Honour fo-
ever they were in future to have, being fo little 
able to cancel the Obligation, that it could 
forfeay derair the Interest. And in that Way 
was this Title and Inheritance accepted, which 
gave the King occasion to difflates whom other-
wise would have with Folly embraced. 
Whereupon reflecting on the Danger of adding 
Power to them, who wanted only Will to do 
Mischief, and knowing how eafily Innovation 
might be reftor'd on, when nothing but the 
Confidence was to be perfwad'd; he began to 
dread the Fright that the Mind of that Family 
he oved the Crown to in fome Degree lef-
tened. Yet that he might no way appear un-
thankful to fo great Detests, he thought fit 
to weaken their Strength, and yet to add to 
the Splendor of their Title. Whereupon he 
willingly admitted the Friends of Percy to 
Intered for Refitution both of his 
Honour and Revenue, and soon granted it; re-
warding Montacute with the more fpecious 
Stile of Marquefs. But this State-trick was by 
the Brother's eafily understand'd, and accepted 
with the fame Bow they would have enter'd an 
Injury.

This the King dillibed, and to build his 
Effimation high in the Air of popular Applaufe, 
edvour'd by all the Arts of humble Great-
ness to raise himfelf into the Opinion of the Multitudes. His fame was never fo great to 
Marquefs of Caffery, his Affect clear and falting, 
his Language free and familiar. And to the 
Ladies, who have often their Share in the Motion 
of States, he applied a general Courtship, 
which used by a Prince of fo amiable a Perfo-
nage, made them, who are usually the Idols of 
others, to be Idolators of him. Among his Reg-
Nobility he was fo courteous and free in Ge-

ture, and liberal in Affability, that he appeared 
Kings in his Administration of State, but 
only in the Duties of Duty. This he did win outward Appalufe; while to fettle an in-
ward Sense of his Wisdom, he look'd into 
Abuses of Officers, and reform'd them. Nei-
ther was there any Oppofition or Miffake in 
 Government, but what he relieved or corrected. 
And that it might appear that he fought due Administration of Justice in greater 
Causes, he in Perfou fad Three Days together 
on his Bench at Welfmifher-Hall, to fee a foul 
Rape on a Widow punifh'd; which, tho' it 
little advanc'd the uncorrupted Execution of 
the Laws, yet it ferv'd very happily for Example, 
and created what he then moft courted, a good 
Opinion of him in the Minds of all Men.

Thus he grew upon his People at home, while 
abroad the neighbouring States began to decline 
the Danger of his future Eminency, who ever 
made it a Point of his Power to fubdue all 
Affection they have among their Subjects. 
Charles, Earl of Charlton (a Widdower, but 
without Heir-male) heir to a large and opulent 
Territory (the Seventeen Provinces with the 
Dutchy and County of Burgundy, and the great-
fiil Part of Picardy, being Subject to Duke Phili-
(p his Father) at first made his Address; who, 
bearing an implacable hatred to Lewis XI. King of 
France, desired to gain so Potent a Neigh-
bour to his Party; and that he might fecure his 
Friendship again all Fauiling, he, by his 
Ambassadors entreated a Marriage with the 
Lady Margery, the King's Sifher: A Motion 
heard in England with much Acceptance, and 
which, if every Circumfion was well weigh-

d, brought both Honour and Security. But it 
was thought by some Intimate with the Earl in 
his moft Secret Counsels, that really he never 
intended this Marriage, having from his Mo-
ther, Niece to John of Guant, Duke of Lancaster, 
deriv'd an irreconcilable Malice against the 
House of York. And that this Negotiation aim'd 
only to temporize with England, in cafe the 
Duke of Brittain and the French King's Brother 
foould be his Friends, and break his Peace with 
Lewis, againf whom their Three were then in 
Confedration; but this I believe an Overrunning 
in Conjecture, since Marriage among Princes, as 
it seldom confirms a found Friendship, fo doth 
it never extinguish an ancient hatred; the Proof 
of our and all Times flowing how false a Love in 
Marriages doth often good.

A Treaty of Mar-
riage between the 
Lady Margery, King Edward's 
Sifer and the Earl of 
Ch.

(b) This was done in the 8th Year while King Edward was at York. See 21st.

(i) This Marriage was not proposed till the 6th Year of his reign nor establisht till the 8th.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1464.
Reg. a.

King of Calais; the lady (l) Bona was thought worthiest his Bed, in respect of the Excellence of her Beauty, Greatness of Birth (as being Daughter to Lewis, Duke of Savoy) and the mild and tender Manners of her Brother Sicily, Charles, with Lewis XI. King of France, with whom then the she was. This last Confidenciation being a main Inducement, as by which all Fear might be taken away of a Temptment from that Coif, whence Queen Margaret seem'd to prepare a Success to this King.

To this Negotiation the Earl of Warwick was appointed as the fittest Person, both for his great Faith to the King, and Authority in the Kingdom; who, no sooner arriv'd at the French Court, where the young Lady then resided in Company of her Sister, but he was with all Triumph entertain'd, and his Motion heard with Joy and Acceptation.

The Ambition of the French Queen to have her Sister married to fo great a Prince, concuring with many policy Schemes, which overthrew the Gen sample of the Whole Scene for an absolute Conclusion of all Balances, Monseigneur D'Angoulême was des'd Ambassadoeur for England. These Two Kings equally soliciting the Confirmation of this Marriage. Edward, that he might without Fear of more Danger enjoy the Glory of a late recover'd Kingdom, that was freed from the Daughter of an English Invader, and Importunities of Queen Margaret, for Affiance, he might give a Period to his idle Projects at home, by laying the Devil of Civil War, ravish'd by a tumultuous Nobility.

But while Polcy asked several Parts abroad, Love on the sudden chang'd the whole Scene to a home. For the young King, after Hunting in Wyeelmouth Forrest, coming to visit the Dutches of Bedford, at her Manor of Graften near Stony-stratford in Buckinghamshire, for a Grant of some Lands taken from her Maintenance, was sollicited by a fair petitioner the Dutches's Daughter Elizabeth, of Sir John Gray, slain on King Henry's Part at the Battle of St. Albans. The King could not but yield to any Request made by so conquering a Beauty, and presently himself grew as earnest in soliciting her, tho' in a more unlawful Suit. But the arm'd her Son again would have the Title of Battery of LuWill; and tho' on every Side affaduated by the Enemies of Tempest, he republic'd her Enemy to nobly, by telling him, That she knew her self sometimly to be a Queen, yet for valued her Honour and Person more, than to be the greatest Prince's Concubine; that he offered partly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with a Chaitty strong enough to refite him, who had scarce ever fail'd to be victorious in those Attempts, he grew enamour'd with the Beauty of her Mind, and reliev'd her Vertue was Dover enough, that she should have the Title of Battery of Lust. And then the Keston of State, which his Mother and Friends were not wanting to perfuad him passionsly, with argued sharly against a Marriage so unequal to Majesty, by alleging the Peril of an ing to possess a Neighbour as K. Lewis, and so dangerous a subject as Warwick, as likewise the inconvenience of raising a Widow to his Bed, who had been so tender a Mother to Lewis, and so poor and so unprovided a fellow, that, if not advanc'd by him, would be a scorn to his Children, if advanc'd a ruinous Charge to his Exchequer, and an Enemy both to the Princes of his Blood, and the Nobility of his Kingdom. But Love was now cunning Sophist, and easily receiv'd all politic Arguments, and perfuad'd Royalist to her self almost to be of his Side.

For he repeated to the King his own Prerogative, which being so large, why should he then be denied the Liberty of a free Choice, which is allow'd the menial Subject? Why might not be won with his own Eyes, and make Election where his Fancy best delighted? As for the Lady herself, she found in her Treasures of her Mind most abundant, and in the Perfections of her Body excellent to please him, and not the State, was to marry. For her Birth, she was by the Father Sir Richard, and a noble in her Descen: a Home, by her Mother of the Houlle of Luxembourg, (l) a Family with which the greatest Princes of Christendom had near Alliance, as for marrying a Subject and the Widow of his Enemy, the latter arg'd more Charity, nor the former could not but the Affection of his People, when they saw their Prince disflain'd not with Affinity.

For a President to authorize thehe his intended Nuptials, he had Edward the Black Prince his Great Uncle, great indeed if not the greatest among all the Princes of his Name. And for the threat'ning Danger from King Lewis or the Earl of Warwick from France he could never expect how near forever the Alliance had been but an unfaithful Atimy; and should this his Marriage thrall Warwick upon rebellious Attempts, the Rebel would but forcibly run upon his own Rain, since it could not stand with the Majesty of a King, to hold his Crown by foul a Tenure, as to have his Achows aw'd by a Subject. These and such like Arguments, which Love is cunning upon all Occasions to enforce, prevailed so far with him, that the Old Dutesch of York his Mother most violently op'd against his match, by throwing himself into the Sides, the Bunnies upon the Lady Gray, and alleging a Pre-contract between him and the Lady Lucy, yet one morning secretly did marry her (m). For the Diligence or Birth of Fortune is no Impediment, and for the Pre-contract, upon Examinacion the Lady Lucy her self acquitted the King, only laying to his Charge the Guilt of a morn winning Courtship, the hop'd would end in Marriage. And though afterwards during the Ultrapation of Richard the Third, in open Parliament it was alleged agained the Lawfulness of King Edward's Marriage, that by holding Strange Persons amongst the Beggars, Edward Elph. Gray had bewitch'd her to love, and likewise another Pre-contract was alter'd with the Lady Eleanor Butler, Daughter to the Earl of Shrewsby, and Widow to the Lord of

King Edward's Argumants for the Lady Gray.

King Edward's Argumants for the Lady Gray.

k) In Mickleham Term this Year, there was a Call of Serjeants at Law, Thomas Young, Nicho11as Getson, Richard Neall, Thomas Bray, Richard Piked, John Greenfield, John Cockett, and Guy Fairflees, Equites. They kept their Feast at the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, whom the Lord Mayor in his Robes, held at the Lord Mayor's, Aldermen, and Common Council; That this Influence should be regist'red for a Precedent to their Successors. I. II.

(1) And why might not he marry her, as well as John, Duke of Bedford, a Prince as wealthy as himself marry her, and yet be so unmannerly to Brieue his Favourer in the Day of the Fight in which he was kill'd. (m) On the Fifth of May.

S. K.
Sundry; I cannot but believe, that all those Scandals were by some of the Tyrant’s wicked Instruments urged to the Minds of that Assembly: for had there been a just Exception against |t, there never did form Duke of Clarence, nor the Earl of Warwick, in their frequent Calamities against the King being in open Rebellion, had left it unmention’d.

But no sooner had King Edward obey’d his Fancy in taking her to his Bed, and in that manner produced a Prince (as he did in the former by Politick Respect) than he gave himself Naked of Friends at Home and Abroad to oppose any new arisning Difficulty. But as yet by the Bravery of his Carriage did he add an Honour to the Act, Courage and Love, either denying it to foresee or to regard the Danger. Though as soon as the Marriage was divulged, he presently discur’d another Face of Men. Moniteur d’amour partir, the Embarrassment extraordinary from France, full of Indignation, returned, and the Nobility in general look’d discontented, or else but forced a Smile. The fo hot haste of the King of this, as he begin’d to the Error of Love in the King.) the Earl held a dangerous Intelligence in France, which after occasion’d so many Confusions to our Kingdom. Nevertheles upon his Return he disfembl’d all Discontent, and in every Circumstance of Respect applied himself to applaud the Marriage, and in particular the excellent Perfomance of the Queen. The King interpreted the Intentions of the Man according to the Appearance, unwilling perhaps to rack his own Nature so far, till it had confect that his Carriage might dissemble Danger. And in the mean while as near as was practicable to his own Greatness, he search’d out all Means for their Advancement (n). The Lord Richard Woodville her Father he created Earl of Rivers, and High-Constable of England, with an annual Fee of Two Hundred Pound out of the Exchequer, whom shortly after he made Lord Treasurer. Her Brother Anthony he created Lord Scrope, the Daughter and Heir to which Title, by the King’s earneft Solicitation, he not long before had wedded; and her Son Thomas he rais’d to the Honour of Marquises of Dorset, for whom he procurred in Marriage the Princess his Sister, and by his own free Gift enabling them with Titles, and by the Industry or his Mediation enabling them with Possessions, to make those Titles no Scorn to the Owners.

Every unmarry’d Lord imagin’d the bellowing (that Spain, however far remose might be near in Friendship) he enter’d into a League, and upon the Conclusion of it, granted a Licencie for the Transportation of certain English Sheep threatening further to raise a Rebellion.

The Earl of Warwick in Council at the King’s Marriage, yet disfembl’d his Anger.

The Queen’s Kindred advanced.

The Earl of Warwick in Council at the Kindred of the Queen.

The Earl of Warwick in Council at the Kindred of the Queen.

She was also solemnly crown’d at Westminster. Hol. great
great an empowrering to the English Merchants. With Scotland he made a Truce for Fifteen Years, that he invading France, or inclining the French, might be secure however not to their Custom upon all Advantages, Enemies at his Back. His Embassadors in the Low-Countries, urged the Duke of Burgundy to the Accomplishment of the Marriage between his Son the Earl of Charolais, and the Lady Margaret the King’s Successor Francis’s Negotiations, that though for some Years it had hung in Suspence, and Warwick now opposed it, as prejudicial to King Lewis his Friend, yet it was now absolutely agreed on, and the Balfard of Burgundy, and some others sent over with full Instructions and Power to give the Treaty a final Conclusion. For whatsoever Diflimulation the Earl of Charolais used at first, he now intended this Marriage seriously: In regard he found himself lie open to the Malice of King Lewis a most dangerous Neighbour, who by farmed his regard for his World and the great Counterfeates the Earl had before in France. Wherefore there was now no Safety but in armimg himself by a frict Amity with the Englishe, a Nation forward and fierce to attempt any thing upon the French, and in their Attempes Kerc ever but prosperus. Neither was he in his make his professe, and his continual success in War a small Inducment; conducting it gave a certain Hope, that he upon any invitation of Honour or Profit might be perfwaded to crofs the Seas, and undertake the ancient nation Quarrel. And for the Danger of any Alteration in the Government, there was then no Ground for Suspicion: The King honour’d and lov’d by his People, the adverse faction of no Power, and the Earl of Warwick having never yet declared himself but most passionately affected to the House of York. Wherefore in Reafon of State being no Ingenium, the Marriage was then agreed on, and upon the Agreement, many Triumphs glorious but Martial according to the Nature of that Time, so addicted to Arms, were celebrated between the Balfard and his Retinue, and the English Lords and Gentry.

For his Maintenance in the Joy of the successfull Triumphs, an Express came from the Low-Countries, with the News of the Death of Duke Philip: Presently the Balfard return’d, and our Council flood at a gaze, being in some Suspence what Alternation the Buifie might receive, the Earl now aboule in Poffession of his Father’s Dominions. But that Scruple was soon taken away, by an Embassador sent to halt the full Performance of the Marriage. Whereupon the Lady was carried over with all the Ceremonies of Greatness, and at Burges marry’d to the King of Navarre, and exceed’d all the World in Bravery and Rion, exceeding even it self, at this Triumph, in the Wannonties of a superfluous Pomp. In those Countries he liv’d some while his Wife, though ever barren, with as much Love from him, as he did the Space from his ambitious Wars, but the continued long his Widow in much Reputa- tion among the Natives and good Esteem with neighbouring Peoples. Two Things reader’d much the Discourfe of those Times. An extraordinary Love and Care in the Education of the Pollarie of his Husband, and an extreme Malice against Henry the Seventh. To

 Loft warrant, because there wanted true, A.D. the countenanced the Supposititious Princes of 1466. the House of York, and by continual Practices Reg. 5. revenged in part the Injury of that Disrespect which he ever afterwards, according to her own Will and Custome. This so potent Alliance, and his Confederacies with Foreign States, made King Edward imagine himself in great Security, when indeed he was most unsafe: For during these Treaties Abroad and Triumphs at Home, the Earl of Warwick quenched all for his Designs, that he’d there appear’d a dangerous Life in them. The Body of his Faction was grown Mighty but Mon- strous, being compacted of several Nations. For into the Conspiracy of this great Enter- prise he had drawn the Clergy and the Laity, and most of them of Affections most opposite, and (p) The Arch-bishop of York was the principal Actor, because he mov’d upon the Soul, and the chief Venoms engag’d in it.

All the Partakers in the Calamity of the Lord Houlie of Lancaftere, most passionately at first. The Overture embraced this Motion, as Men whom Defpair had made fit for the most hazardous Attempts; and who having found nothing but evil Fortune at Home, and contempt Abroad, were infrrated in a Patience ready with Joy to suffer a not inglorious Death. Among whom was Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter was a sad Example, who after his Ruin by the Fall of Henry Duke of York was beguine in the Low-Countries, for his manoeuvring in the Low-Countries, the abjuration of the House of York and his Brother was to be the Father, the Daughters of Richard, Duke of York. With this so unfortunate a Lord, all the reef who shared with him in Misery, rau violently into this War. But the worse of their Doings was at the powerful Sorcery of those Perjuries, which bewitch’d the Duke of Clarence, the King’s Brother to this Conspiracy; but he was Young and Purblind in foreseeing the Event of Things, profule in Expanse beyond his Revenue, and almost beyond the King’s Power to supply, gendrung the Favours conferred upon the Queen and her Kindred, valuing his Birth too high, as who forgot the Brother of a King is but a Subject, forward upon any Terms to make himself: greater, easily leading Ear to dangerous Whispers, and as raffly giving Content. These Preparatives made this Young Prince fit to su- dder any Michel, which the Earl of Warmick ministr’d most plentifully.

And first to supply the Narrowness of his present Fortune, a Humour most Troublesome at the Infant, he gave him in Marriage the Lady Elizabeth, and Coheir to the Rich Earldom of Warwick: Whereupon in hatred

(p) She was marry’d in the following Year. Com.

against the Queen he concurred and in Dilton against the King's fofer Rewarders; but in promising Greatness to Clarence's Ambition, he exceeded even Proportion, though not Probability, considering the Earl's unlimited Power. But first to make the Friendship strong by a near Alliance, they fall'd over for the Confiding each other in the Marriage which the Town of Warwick was Captain, and in which the young Lady then remain'd with her Mother. Soon was this Ceremony past, and soon did the Earl invite his Son-in-law from the Softness of the Nuptial Dalliance, as who would this Marriage, now so much for Pleasure, and design'd the first flue of their Embraces to be a Monster, and the most unnatural one; War between Brothers.

He acquainted therefore his Son-in-Law by what Line he had founded the Depth of the People's Affection to the present King, and what a Tempt he was able to raise when he should resolve for Motion. He told him how in the North 15000 Men had been in Arms, pre-tending revenge upon the Governors of St. Leonard's Hospital in York, for converting the money therby they were to spend every Year in Corn to their own Use, by which they both defraded the Poor, and the charitable Intention of the Donors; whereas indeed the arm'd Multitude were mov'd, first by his Council only, awaiting his Presence, with Resolution to run any Hazard of his Command. And tho' the Marquefs of Monmouth ralld Forces in King Edward's Name, by which he quitted the Com-motion, and beheaded Robert Holtrton (2.) their chief Captain, yet were the People ready upon the first Summons to reassemble; and the Marquefs (who by such Appearance of Fide-lity had won upon the eafe Faith of the dull King) prepared to bring his Forces, and join in any Enterprise he should appoint. He shewed further, how by this his Brother's Dissimulation, his Intelligences perfct in the King's Coun cil, and all the Resolutions of State might be without Difficulty prevented, since no Booster made but discover'd.

The Duke, who before held the Earl's Coun-AGE and Authority with the People in great Elation, now began to wonder at the fo cunning Management of this so great Buiness. Not having contrived to make the Success, the Earl having to order'd Things, that he left little or nothing to Fortune; whereupon he gave his Judgment entirely up to his Father-in-Law's Discretion, with whom he return'd into Eng-land, openly profecuting and justifying his Reso- lution to Rebellion. The Vanity of Ambition fealing in his Eyes so far, that he could not perceive the Unnaturalness of his Revolt, and the certain Hazard of Ruin, in warring against a Prince so great both in Arms and Fortune. Against their Return, the Archbishop of York had written, so diligently to ripen Mi-chief, that the Multitude dispersed before, were again in the Field, but under Leaders of a far more eminent Name. For Henry, Son to the Lord Fitz-hugh, and Henry Neville, Son to the Lord Latimer (the one Nephew, the other Con- temporary of the former) had the Conduct of these Forces; both Gentlemen great in Blood and Spirit, but in regard of their unexperienced Youth, submitting themselves to the Direction of Sir John Conyers, a Commander bold in Courage and Voler in Advice. Their March was not now directed against any petty Town in the North as before, but towards London.


Edward, Duke of Clarence, was made Duke of York.

For he now perceiv'd his Title to the Crown, (for which he imagin'd he had had a clear Sentence) brought again to tryal, and the Sword made Judge. He call'd Eyle about him, and found every where the Way open to his Jealousie, and noise to Security: And those Lords, from whom he might expect Supply, being near to Warwick in Friendship or Alliance, and the Marquefs of Montague, in whose Service he had ever had most Trufi and Fortune, even Ombrie, might be the means to that which could be the better believe, but notwithstanding all their out-ward Proessions of Loyalty, privately they might favour Rebellion? As for the Queen's Kindred, (of whose Faith in regard of their own Interet, he remain'd secure) he could draw little Confidence: Their Greatness &c. to Young, that it had yet taken no deep Root in Friends Opinion, and their Forces only weak Beams, weak from the Sun of the King's own Power. But no Confederation in this Trouble begot no much Scorn and Rage in him, as the Revolt of Clarence, whose giddy Ambition made him rather chuse to become a Ward to a rough and infolent Guardian, than to share with his Broth- er a King in the Treasures of Fortune. The Forces of the Rebels he weigh'd more by the Reputation of their Leader Warwick, than by the Number; though even that grew every Day formidable.

To prepare against these dangerous Motions King Edward endeavours to the Earl of Pembroke Commination to raise what Welfb the Forces he could; having in this general Sufpi- cion of his diffial Subjects, most Confeder'd in the Valour of the Welfh, and their natural Hatred against the English Name. He requir'd the Earl to give Battel by the Way, while himself gather'd as great an Army as the present Danger, and Caufe in Controversie requir'd. The Earl joyful of the Command, puts suddenly into the Field with the Valour his Son Sir John Herbers, having under their Conduct 7000 Men. To them soon join'd 8000 Boy-men, led by the Lord Stafford of Sandwicb, not long before created Earl of Desborough. With these Forces he Earl of Pembroke to raise what Welfb the Earl of Pembroke to raise what Welfb and of the Welfh, and opposite their Furies.

Sir John Conyers was too valiant to be surpriz- ed, and so carefully had strengthen'd the Rear Conyers of the Welfb that they repul'd the Earl of Pembroke's and forced by Flight to seek their Safety, with Loss. Whereupon he retir'd to his Brother, while Conyers upon new Injuries, or else fearful
A Difference between the Earl Pembroke and Lord Stafford.

left Pembroke in the Way might gain some Advantage, diverted from his direct Course to London, and march’d to Warwick, where the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick had levied a mighty Host. Pembroke waits close up on their Journey, expecting the Opportunity either to attack, or at least to destroy any disordered, or to give Battel to the whole Army. But while he was confident in this Pursuit of Glory, and shewed all the Parts of a great Commander, a small Division between him and the Lord Stafford rúd the whole Attempt. For either his Peers, Archbishops, and great concernings, he was rejoy’d to lodge. This so trivial Diffide (if there were no farther Treason in it) grew so high, that Stafford withdrew himself, and his English Archbishops, leaving the Welfi in Arms and Number far inferior to the Enemy; which Defect nevertheless was supplied by their great Courage.

A Great Time after the Rebels, who soon had Notice of this unhappy Diffide, gave the Earl’s Camp next Morning a Camifado, or sudden Alliunt: The Welfi entertain’d the Charge so roughly, that they took Sir Henry Nevil the Leader; but (what favour’d too much of Barbara’s) most cruelly few them in cold Blood. By which Act they ralied to hisc an Appetite of Revenge in the Enemy, that the next Day they gave the Earl Battel, and the Fight was long and cruel. Neither had the Victory fallen so ably on the Northern Men, but that John Clapham, Re-tainer to the Earl of Warwick, appearing upon the Mount of Easenham Hill with 900 ragged and disorder’d Men, under Warwick’s Standard; and the Northern Men at their Approach crying out, A Warwick! a Warwick! made the Welfi believe all the Rebel Forces were there; and that it would be but foolish Defension to fight it out against an Enemy fresh and so far Superior in Number; whereupon they fled.

In the Battel and Flight 5000 of the Welfi were slain, and among the few Prisoners, the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert were taken, whose Heads soon after were facticiated upon the scaffold, to the Ghost of Nevil. Their death was a great Misfortune, a universal Sorrow to the King’s Party for their Deaths, and even an Envy in the conquering Enemy. Neither did the Lord Stafford, the Author of this Overthrov ecape condign Punishment: For by diligent Enquiry made by King Edward’s Order, being found in (r.) Darnworth, without legal Process, at Bridgewater he left his Head. Having so inconsiderately manag’d his Banness, that he betrayed King Edward’s Army upon a false Apprehension of an Affair; and yet provided not thereby to win favour so far with the Enemy as by his Arms to protect himself from the King’s just Indigation.

This Victory added yet a bolder Courage to the Attempt of Warwick; but into the Northern Multitude it infudid a Madness, not to be cured by any Council or Direction. For immediately the Hosts of Northern Highlanders with 30000 more issued from Northumberland, where allocating to them certain of the most desperate Inhabitants, no Misschief was left unacted. The Name they gave their Commander, (if such a disorder’d Bubble could oblige any) was Robin of Ridgfield,

and their first Alliunt on Grafton, a Sect belonging to King Edward’s Father-in-Law the Earl of Rivers. The Place their wild Rage soon polit’d, and among the other Spoils violently taken there, were the Earl himself, and Sir John Woodville, his Younger Son. These they presently led from Rivers’ House, without any Form of Law; that deform’d Body having no Ear open to any Diffide but that of Blood and Fury. An evيد Life and cruel Death was the Sum of all those Favours confer’d by Fortune on this Lord, earne’d so happy in his own Marriage with Jasper, a Virgin Virgin; Duke of Bedford, and Daughter to Peter of Lancaster, Count St. Paul, and in his Daughter’s to the present King. For as the Ascent to these strange Heights is ever envied, so the Defect is ruminous and fatal; not any one of Seven Sons which this Lord was Father to, leaning behind him lisse to perpetuate his Name; none of them likewise extinguishing violently. A Mifery either seldom happening, or not obser’d in meaner Families.

This great Defeat, and these Indecencies to the Sufferance of Men together with the Earl of Warwick’s openly profesiing himself Head to this vast Body of Rebels, scarce an Affoishment in the King’s Army, and I will not say Fear, but strange Diffide in the King himself; which inc’d him to listen to the latter, though left noble Advice of them who persuaded him to end all Diffidence with the Earl by Treaty. For in this so universal Dispace of the Kingdom, there was some sound Men, both of the Clergy and Nobility yet left, whom Faction did not engage in Michief, and who out of Experience of past Miferies, were never willing to prevent future by their Mediacion (h’o the Armies by this Time were so near encamp’d, that they could hardly part without Battel) were every Hour made new Overtures of Peace, and on both Sides not unwillingly receiv’d. The Earl of Warwick, whose Pretence was that of all Rebels, The Good of the Kingdom) entertain’d these Treaties with a Humility beneath his Nature, and late Advantages; neither appear’d flibbous to bend down to the Lowell Submision, so Provision might be made for the publick Benefit. Yet never in all these Apprehensions of a Calm, did he neglect to prepare himself against the Danger of War, knowing the best Way to be reconcil’d upon safe Terms to an Enemy, is not to be necessitated to Peace.

But the King of a pluible Nature, apt to re-ceive any Impressions which bleft pleased his prescient Humour, would not trouble his Quiet to believe there might be Fallacy in Warwick’s Pre-tentions. Whereupon, imagining that had receiv’d Persuasion which was then but in Agitation, he neglected the Order of War, and bescir’d in his Camp to taste the Pleasures of Court. Which evil Discipline observed by the King, he takes the Advantage, suddenly sets on the King’s Field, kills the Watch, and in the dead of Night at Welby within Four Miles of Warwick, surpriseth his Perfons, buried in a careless Sleep: So that, he no sooner waked, but found himself how false the Rumour had been, which dear’d him with Peace.

This so unhappy Negligence betray’d the King to an intimitating Enemy, who uponrais’d his Prisorian in the most infulent Terms with Ingratitude to his great Merits, and boast’d, &c.

(r.) He was found at Bream near the River das in Somes-fallons, and carried to Bridgewater the next noted Town in that Country, and there beheaded. 1361.
was now both in his Power and Revolution to plain
that Mountain by bad railed, and raise the brushwood
of the Earl of Warwick's Fortune, up to the Throne
he once poss'd. And presently went away the
King Prisoner to Middleham-Castle in Yorkshire,
there to be kept by his Brother the buife Arch-
bishop of that See; not daring to retain him
longer, left his Army might, unite, and hazard
the Unity of their Procession.
In this middle and unsafe Course of managing
his great Fortune, questionless the Earl com-
mitt'd a main Oversight. For either by a free
Delivery with some Conditions advantageous to
himself and Friends, (and some Conditions, they
then have sig'd.) he should have call'd a perpetual Obligation upon
him, or else by destroying him, have fecured his
Design from after Hazard; knowing that no
Prince could hold a Prince, which would not
open to Corruption or Battery; and no Bro-
ther could have a Faith so strong which would not
be in Danger to be weakened either by
Threats or Promises. But perhaps this Way of
Policy was only beaten by that Time; and
the proud Earl took a Glory to keep the whole
Kingdom at his Devotion, and the Two Com-
petitors his Captives; for both of them
his Fortune had infring'd.
But K. Edward grew fon weary of the Re-
frain; as whom a long Practice in the Liberty
of Pleasure, had not induced with such a Tame-
fness as armed King Henry: He therefore pre-
viously calts his Eye about to find some Way to
redeem his Person from Captivity, and his
Honour from so dark an Error as by Negligence
to have been forspiz'd. And having upon Pre-
tence of necessary Exercise for Health, obtained a
Licence to hunt in the adjoining Park, he fo
contriv'd with Sir Wiliam Stanley and Sir Thom-
asphe, that he escaped to his Refuge with a Number and Revolution for Su-
perior to those who guarded him. With them
he escapes to York, and to Lancaster, where the
Lord Hoffsing, Lord Chamberlain had gath-
ered some Forces. With this Incresce of Follow-
ers he determined to march, and by the Com-
pany growing by the Way to such a Body,
amongst, might not unworthily be termed an Army.
Into the City he was receiv'd with the accom-
plished Triumph, the Aflillation of the Inhabitants
being ever devoted to his Prosperity. The Oc-
casion of the Earl's extraiting himself, his
rashly either a Delight to continue him his
Prince, whom their Voices first inaugurat'd King,
or by Hope his Re-establishment to re-
cover thei' vall Sums of Money, his Neceflities
herebefore had borrowed in the City; or else a
general Affiliation born him by the Yeomen's
Wives, who having (according to the usual
Honor of our Nation) a Command over their
Husbands, urged them on to side with that
Prince, the Beauty of whose Perfonage, not
the Justice of whose Title, mov'd them.
But the Earl of Warwick, as soon as he had
interceded of the Escape, and the Pursue which
attended it, was distracted with a Thousand fe-
veral Imaginations. He had just Reason to fe-
pect his Brother the Archbifsop's Faith, as cor-
rup'ted by the King's Perviazon; as likewise
the Weight of his own Reputation in the King-
dom, more than a Prince can bear: He feared
so good a Fortune. He condemn'd the folly of
his too much Confidence, in having disbanded
his Army, and knew the Difficulty, if not the
Impossibility, suddenly to reinforce it. But
this was the inward Part of him; outwardly he
defended nothing from the Height of his
Greatness and Revolution. And to secure his
former Design, he directed his Letters to all the
Lords of his Faction, and advis'd them to
realzme for the common Safety.
The Solicitation of those good Men, who
heretofore had labour'd Peace, continued fill,
and finally brought both Parties to agree upon an Inter-
view in Welfmimster-Hall. There was Inter-
change of Oaths for Safety on both Sides, and
nothing but a perfect Re-union of Friendship
generally expected.
But in this Affair was the Earl of Warwick (who
concerned accompanied by the Duke of Clarence
with'd to express his Delires, but he fell into a
bad Expostulation of Injuries. And his Lan-
guage fell'd to such Intemperance, so far be-
yond the Limits of that Modesty becomes a
Subject's Mouth; that the King full of Indigna-
tion departed the Hall, and immediately took
his Journey to Canterbury: On the other Side,
the Earl, wild in his Anger, pos'd to Lin-
cola: both making Preparation for a Second En-
terview, when the Sword should both dilate and
decide the Controversie. Whoever per-
ceived the Earl's two great Spirits, at this Meeting,
'dr'd grossly in Judgment, how zealous forever
they were in their Intention. For who could
possibly imagine but the Thunder of Warshold
necesarily follow that Storm, which the Re-
capitalization of Injuries must begin? Since
Expostulations, (on'th there be some apparent
Miftake, or that the one Party by e'Listed Fortune
be bowed to an over-low Sublimination) may well
give a Growth to Rancour, but never extirpate
it. But Experience co-demonis all Interviews,
till by Commissioners (who with more Patience
can argue) all Dilizations are reconcil'd. And
then a Prince and his Subject, if they have
his Subject; since a Subject hardly contains his
Language from Infolency, when by the dispro-
portional Greatness of his Fortune he is ad-
mitt'd upon even i'irms to contest with his So-
vereign; and a Prince goes down more than
worthily, when in his Altitude he de-
fcend's low, astoheall Partly with a Rebel.
The King underbazing that the greatest Part
of the Earl's Forces were under the Con-
duct of Sir Robert Wells, and that by his good
Difcipline they were become expert Soldiers,
and had done some Service against Sir Thomas
Dunveagh (who was often suggested by the
saying that having Possession of him, he might either
draw away the Son from Warwick, or at least
take off the Edge from his violent Proceedings.
The Lord Wells in Obedience to the King's Command, with his Brother-in-Law Sir Thomas
Dunveagh directed his Journey toward the Court;
but having by the Way secret Notice of the
King's high Dilpafour, and how un-
fise his Approach would be, secured himself in
Sanctuary. But the King resolv'd upon any
Terms to get him, granted a general Pardon,
and receiv'd him with Promises of all fair Usages.
Upon which he came forth, and only at his Ap-
proach to the King's Presence, was advis'd by
Letters to recall his Son from Rebellion, and
himself to bear a loyal Heart. These Letters
were interpret'd as much Authority as a Father
were prafer'd to a Friend, in the Courtship be-
tween Favour and Ruin, till the Mediat-
ator's return: Who, bringing back no Anfwers
from the Son in Obedience to his Father's Com-
mand, but rather a Jufification of his Enter-
prize, so far incend'd the King, that he pre-
ently caus'd the Lord Wells and Dunveagh to be
beheaded at Stamford. An Act barbarous
and
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A. P. 1471. For profiling, Sir Roberts was sent to inform the Emperor of the ruin of the French army, and not to avoid the ruin of his own army, which he might have to boldly succeed. Sir Roberts did not effectually persuade his Son, or that inwardly he wished better to the Affairs of Warwick, yet ought he not to have violated his Word. And it is a most proper Excuse, to say a sudden Rage was guilty of this Mischife.

Sir Roberts to the Emperor, generally referred the Reputation of the King, but in Sir Roberts did begot nothing but Fury and Revenge. And indeed Rage to far blinded his Judgment, that contrary to all Persuasion and sober Direction, not attending Warwick's command, who every Day in Arms, he drew out his Forces, and charged the King's Army, who receiv'd him with equal Courage, and (while hope of Vengeance transported him too far) inclos'd him, and with 67 more took Prisoner. Upon the Place and in the Flight were slain of the Enemy 2000, on the King's Side only 500, who they escap'd to make their Flight the Twiter cast away their Coats, which gave to this Battel the Name of Lost Coat-Field. The Prisoners immediately were executed, Sir Roberts having only in his short Delay of Death the longer Liberty to express his Hatred against the most Cruell Consort. This Overthrow forced Warwick to new Resolutions; for his main Forces by the Precipitation of the Commander being destroy'd, he foresaw that suddenly he could not recover an Army able to give the King Battel, and how open to be surprized the least interval would render him: Whereupon leisurably (for his great Spirit did want nothing that resemb'd Flight) he retir'd to Exeter, whereon having dissimul'd the Remaining of those Troops which attended him, he went to Dartmouth, there with many Ladies and a large Retinue he took Ship, and directly to Calais, where he so was labour'd either by Land or Sea, to impeach their Journey, either content with the former with half his Victory (for nothing could have made it perfect, but the surprisal or Distraction of Warwick) or holding his little Intelligence even in a commander's Enemy's Camp, that he knew nothing of his preface Design: The Earl having tried as strange a Vicissitude of Fortune, as to short a Space, was ever observ'd in Story, by the Benefit of a prosperous Gale soon was brought before Calais, where being Captain of the Town he expected Reception, but the Carelessness of him, and no Comprehension of the Dutches of Clarence's being in Traval, could obtain so much as Admission in her present Necessity, only the poor Relief of some few Flaggs of Wine, was sent her. Monarch de Vaurel a (a) Knight of Gesteiny, Lieutenant of the Town, thus confidently returned his Capitain Admission; professing, that however he ow'd his present Command to Warwick's Bounty, his Loyalty to the King did cancel all inferior Obligations: By which Bravery of Carriage he won great Reputation with the King and the Duke of Buckingham (who ever hat'd the fFlorida of Warwick, and even from the Beginning of these Troubles had labour'd to continue Vaurel firm in his Allegiance) that from the King he received by Letters Patents the Captainship of Calais in chief, and from the Duke of Buckingham his Life during his Life. Into thus much Honour and Profit did Dilmunation work him, (c) yet a Friend to Warwick, while under-Hand by the Subtlety of Council he fear'd the Earl of Warwick to Safety, and by false appearing brutality forbid his Prince: For he avert'd the Earl of his good Intentions to his Affairs; and that even now, but that he knew it could not but be ruinous to both, he would declare himself for him.

For if the Earl entered the Town he would only imprudence, he would, to be done, to be ruinous to the King were pleached to command it forth to Execution. Considering that the Inhabitants were but unfriended, and the Lord of Dover, the Earl's protest Enemy, Marshal of all the Forces in the Town. Moreover the Burgundian Territories encompassing the Town was in Residuall to block it up by Sea, so that no Way would be open to his Escape: Wherefore he advised him for his present Security and future Hopes, preferently to address himself to King Lewis of France, who was ever ready to entertain any Lord of another Nation in Quarrel with his Prince. But above all would confirm the Earl both in regard of the near Intelligence he had long held with him, and the Hatred he bore King Edward for affronting the Lady Bona, and the Duke of Burgundy for so often confederating with the Rebels of France.

By this Occasion of the Earl of Warwick feer'd his Countre to Deep, by the Way making Prizone of whatever appertain'd to the Duke of Burgundy or his Subjects. And no fooner was he land'd there, but he was most solemny invited by the Castle of Amby (c) where King Lewis then kept him, as the Duke of Burgundy (short over with Men of Business) pull over at the first Meeting, suddenly they entered into Council how to renew the War, and restore King Henry; whose Re-establishment in the Kingdom Lewis ever most paticularey urg'd, not in Reconciliation with the near Alternatives, but from the long Troubles, or Opinion of his better Title; but only because he knew him inferior in Courage to King Edward, and therefore the less dangerous Neighbour; and probably while any of the House of York remain'd, civil War was likely to keep the English Arms bafed at Home. Wherefore he importunity Queen Margaret (who hitherto had liv'd an Exile in France, and now upon the King's Invitation came to Court) to the Earl of Warwick, who before had chas'd her out of the Land, dethron'd her Husband, and opined his Charm to such an invocation, that the Brunsch, and almost pluck'd up the very Root of the Tree of Lancaster: But necessity took away the Sting from Nature, and united them in the nearest Friendship. For that there might not be left any Foodleps of former Discontent or Path to future Jealousy, a Marriage was conclud'd and celebrated between Prince Edward v. Edward the Queen's Son, and the Lady Anne, younger marr'y Daughter to the Earl. And on this Marriage it was agreed that King Edward should be depos'd Warwick's ed, King Henry re-inherin'd, the Crown to be younger entangle'd upon Prince Edward's, and for Default of his Issue he was to go to the Duke of Clarence and his Porterry: By which Conveyance human Policy did her Part to perpetuate the Succession of the Kingdom in the Person of Warwick. But the Almighty made a Mockery of this Envy which fell foan to Ruin by Self-deception and Coaction, and so was his Affection. For the Duke of Clarence began now to

(a) He was hardly prevail'd upon to let two Flaggs of Wine be sent to her. Com.
(b) Philip de Comines took an Oath of Fidelity to him King Edward by Appoysment of his Master the Duke of Burgundy.
(c) Wh'ch came also after Toller, Earl of Pembroke, and John, Earl of Oxford. Vol. I. L. 11
consider how by following the Earl’s desperate Counsels, he had gain’d nothing but the Con- 
escence of an unnatural Revolt, and how ruin’d he were if the Success of this Enterprise should not prevent it, and the Duke to make up for the Defection of a Brother, he had built him- 
selves a left Greatnes than he might have enjoy’d, without Sin or Hazzard; there being a vast Di-
fluence between the Nereids of two Sons of one 
Mother, and only Hasbands to two Sisters: 
Neither had they a Card to foundation for Confidence, 
that when King Henry were restored, hereditary 
Malice might not prevail, and destroy him for the 
Crime of his Family. And now more than ever he found himself declin’d, being 
forced to submit not only to Warwick, but to a 
new yonger Brothe; having before acknowled-
ledg’d no Superior but the King and him a 
Brother. Neither was the Dutches of Clarence 
her self a weak Engine, on which this Altera-
 tion moved. For however, as a Daughter the 
might with Prosperity to the Attempts of War-
mick, yet ever since the left Agreement of Re-
liance on the side of the House of Burgundy, the King-
dom; the found in her Mind a strange Altera-
tion from the Faction. And indeed either the 
 began to dilate the Variety of her Father’s Re-
combinations, as whom Ambition led violently to 
bond and pluck down, or in Confidence thought 
the late Smallness of the Claim of the Earl 
Edward; having in her Child-hood (and those 
Impreions are ever deepelt) been interested to 
throw off the House of York, and approve the 
Title: Or (and that is the most probable in a 
Woman) he earied perhaps the Preferment of a younger Sifter, hating that Fortune should 
throw down the Priority of Nature. However, it 
was, yet certainly by her Means King Edward 
labour’d to recall his Brother, and thought not 
so suddenly, yet in the End prevail’d: For having 
fenton over a Gentlemoan (her Sex took away 
Satisfaction from the Practive) with full Infru-
incions both to advise the Dutches not to work 
the Rain, or at the belt the licencing of her 
Husband by tho’ Counsels held then between 
Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick, as 
likewise to promise (if the perwav’d her Hub-
band) to him and her as much love and Great-
ness as he could give her. And Nature might 
justly challenge: He in fine got a Promi-
Thee, that as soon as the Duke were disun-
ted from his Present Engagements, he would 
declare the natural Affection he owed a Bro-
ther.

This weak Hope, with the late Victory and 
seeming Banishment of his Enemies, loosened 
King Edward to his accustomed Wantonness and 
riot. For certainly, never lived Prinse whom 
Adversity did more harden to Action, and Pro-
portion more often to Voluptuousness: So that 
by the Judgment on his Life, we may say, like a Stone cast into the Air, it was by Necessity 
forced up to Glory, while his Center remain’d 
neath beneath the Sense of Pleasure: And to im-
prov’d was his Memory, that he forgot the 
greatest Injuries, and refined the Arch-bishop 
of York into Favour, not bearing so much as a 
water over a Receiver of a Receiuet: By 
which his Counsels were betray’d and he per- 
swaded to a falfe and most dangerous Security.

Duke of Burgun-
edy Kind-
neis to K. 
Edward.

The Duke of 
Burgundy, whose Recreation was Bulines, and whose Delight, Extent of 
Dominion, who by having long wrath’d with 
Letters, and all the Slight of War and Peace, labourd to disperse the Storm before it 
fell upon England. Whereupon he daily adver-
tised King Edward of all Pillages in the Court 
of France, his Intelligence holding good there, 
and who knew how near Danger came to him, 
should our King be overthrown. He advis’d 
K. Edward, by vast Promises (which no way oblig’d 
Performance) to order now up to him a pro-
pouspay Seed of Emulation, to recall others: 
As likewise to send over some great Lord into 
France, who pretending Discontent, shall ad-
here to the Faction, and under-hand discover 
all their Counsels. But above all he sollicited 
himself, and all his House and Connections, 
that would prevent their landing: Affirming it to be 
a most ridiculous Madneis in a King (unless 
urray’d by inevitable Necessity) to make his 
Crown at a Battel against the Resolution of a 
Rebel.

The King, contrary to this fober Counsil 
ever endeavour’d to hinder the Return of War-
mick, but building on the Proctelations of the 
Marques of Monmouth, and the Arch-bishop of 
York, securely gave himself over to Licenccious-
neis. In which Interval, the Earl with his Re-
ittance, continued the Bellard of Burgundy, Ad-
minister the Affairs, fulfill’d the King England, and 
Lewis having furnish’d him with a full supply of 
Monies; and for Soldiers he needed no extra 
Levies, his Name and Faction was fo great at 
Home: For though the Country by Civil War 
was much dispeopled, yet the Commonalty, be-

came much more inclin’d in King Richard’s 

care, that were natually addicted to Arms, and 
proone upon any Innovations to take the Field.

Neither could the Duke of Burgundy, though 
most poulariously be labour’d it, hisuer the Earl 
landing by giving him Battel at Sea; for the 
Winds fought for Warwick and dispers’d the 
Burgundian Fleet (the best in that Age com-
amand’d upon the Sea) casting some Ships upon 
the Coast of Scotland, others upon the remotest 
Parts of Holland.

Neither did the King any way repent his Er-
ror when he underwof the Earl was landed, 
but presently dispach’t a Messenger to the Duke 
of Burgundy intreating him to continue his Ar-
my at Sea, to prevent Warwick’s Flight back be-
deeind, into France, as if he were affercart’d Fortune 
would never deny him Victory. So secure was 
him grown by an over-bold Puffession, the 
Duke afo, to make it sure to himself a Prince, 
they whom Experience had instruct’d to more 
Caution, pitt’d his Mistake and forewou the 
Rain. And he himelf not long after under-
standing how mightly the Earl increas’d in Power, 
began to think his Safety brought into 
Hazard; which he much more believ’d when he found the Nobility, whom he deign’d to 
his Aid to exceve themselves, and the common 
stream of People to depart wholly from his 
Service.

And indeed, even in the City the adverse 
Faction was grown so strong, that Dr. Good, 
duke ju-
PNKs REaL of 
this Sermon dared even to sft. the Herald, and 
conclude Edward an Ulitaper. And thereupon 
to commend the most religions Intentions of the 
Earl, and to exhort the Audience to joyn with 
him in reboring their imprond Sovereign King 
Edward, to bring the Britan Nation and 
Commonwealth to Liberty; and the like did modl of the Cler-
try of England.

The credulous Multitude took this Heretic 
for true Doctrine, and with some of the zealou-
ly ignorant, it so far prevail’d, that in pure 
Devotion they committed High-treafon against 
their King Edward, and would not might only speak 
Things Sacred; Matters of State having room 
ought to be discus’d in Council- Chambers, and 
other
other places erected for publick Affembles. For certainly how erroneous foreare the Tenet be, if
utter'd there by a Priest with Appearance of
Religion, it gets too much Authority in the Ear, and
too much Ground upon the Confidence, as
this Opinion did, which was no nooser receiv'd,
built all to incline to. Religion, and with
the King got away the late Lord Arch-
Chuop, and the Marquefs Mountcole his Brother;
both having so often and so ceremoniously vow-
ed ever to forlive the Title of King Edward,
and both now perfidiously breaking theo Vows,
and with the loudeft crying out, Long live King
Edward.

The Treachery of Mountcole, who having rais-
ed in K. Edward's Name 6000 Men turn'd now
with them to Warvick, and the general Deie-
ction of the Land threw the King down to
extrem Defpair. For tho' few Lords who
conftantly adher'd to his declining Fortune,
commanded over fo small a Number, that
to resolve upon a Battall were to betray themselves
to Slaughter: And when Miffortune drove
their Thoughts upon Safety by Flight, they
know not whether to resolve: No Land being
with the Body of the Prince, where his
court was his. But while his Imagination re-
mains' tht confuded, he had hardly escap'd a
Surprize in the Night, had not his former Mi-
fortune serv'd him now for Instruction: And
finding his Stay only beging Disreputation to his
Quarrel, and Danger to his Person, he began
his Flight towards Cowdray; But the Earl
fent after him his Light-horse, following with the
whole Body of his Army; and so close did the
Light-horse pursue him, that with much Diffi-
culty, and with Lofs of all his Carriages in his
Pallage through the Whales he reach'd Lam.
The Queen, who was the Cofe of these Alterati-
on's, seeing her Husband gone, and with him all
hopes of safety, all Friends vanishing with Pro-
perity, was forced to betake her self in all
haste, though great with Child, to the Divine
Protection in the Sanctuary at Melifmofters, with
a small Attendance; such as were faithful to her,
and running to other Churches for the like Pro-
tection.

The Lord Holings, faithful to the King in all
Fortunes, as had yet 500 Horse under his
Command, they'd some short Time behald;
and now when he imagin'd the King part the
Sea-Town and his Forces and follow'd after. At parting he
commanded the Faith of the Soldiers to their Prince,
which nevercheles for the Prezent he advis'd them to
diffume, because there was no pre-
cise Security, nor Hope of doing after-Service, but
by Submission to the prevailing Fashon
England was to be promis'd to Return, when a better
Fortune would invite them to show the Loyalty of
their Affections; the Violence of the Storm
being too mighty to continue, and King Ed-
ward in Facion at Home and Abroad too potent,
so easily to quit a Kingdom; however for the
Prince the Earl the Lords Scale and Say,
and in Retinue about One Thousand (+x). As
soon as they were paid to Sea, the King encoun-
tered Dangers as great as he had escap'd at
Land. For the Escapings ( a People ever fa-
med for Sea Affairs, and then at Emity both
with France and England) had for forth not
long before some Men of War; who having Reg.i
decry'd these Ships, and gelling them to be
English, made Sail after them. The King by
benefit of the Wind got firft to the Coast of
Holland, and a SeafTown as Ebbing-water caff
Anchor fo near the Shore, the Earl of Nor-
thing Ships of far greater Barthen) could not
reach them: But the next Tide infallibly had
exposed them a Prize to the Enemy, had not
the Lord Granterre, Lieutenant for the Duke in The Lord
Holland by mere Accident been at this time at
Aligueny, advising to defend the Conquest of
here's Kindness

Edward,

A general
Retreat from
King

The Earl

Edward's

flight

and hard

Fortunes.

King Ed-

wards

flight and

hard

Fortunes.

King Ed-

wards

flight and

hard

Fortunes.

A. D.
1470.

Reg. 10.

A general
Retreat from
King

Edward.

The Earl

Edward's

flight

and hard

Fortunes.

A. D.
1471.

Reg. 11.

Strong

(+) Seven Hundred Persons.
strong in a Faction potent with the present Time, he renew'd his Friendship with the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, whom he solicited earnestly to endeavour him to King Henry, and revive in him the Memory of their former kinship. To this end how zealously he laboured, and his Father had ever been for the Honour and Safety of the Family of Lancaster, in which himself did so much participate. As likewise to provide all the perfect Offices of a Confederated and Neighbour, if so be that his Faithful Intentions might receive a more intimate propitiation.

This did the Dukes voluntarily offer to negotiate, Somerset in respect of Propinquity in Blood, Exeter, of those many Favours receiv'd in the Low-Countries during his so formidable Exile; Both out of an extreme Malice to the Earl of Warwick, who had subverted their Families, and to whose Aid, they eavied the King should owe his Restitution. And easily was the Duke brought on good Terms with King Henry; his Neighbourhood and Friendship being of so notable Consequence, and the very Appeal and Admonition of the Noble Party (whose secret Aid forever he afforded) being so disadvantageous to any Pretence King Edward might have to renew the War.

This Aipelt, full of a fumbling Flattery, did the Duke of Burgundy bear to the present Fortune of the State. While he call'd such a supercilious Look, as the World's wife: Men usually do upon Men in Adversity. Often sharply he reprehended his so great Carelessnes and Neglect of wholesome Advice, which had ruin'd him, and obliged him to this fo wretched Flight. He objected the much Contempt this Misfortune would throw upon his Quarel, and how both Friends would be to adhere to his present Necessities, since he knew no ill to manage Prosperity. Yet remembering that hereafter there might happen he a Change in Fortune, he often chang'd his Humour, and said these Reprehensions mingled some palpi-
tate Complements of Love. He protected fe-
riously that with all Hapiness to his Affairs, to advance which he would neglect no Industry; yet he defir'd his Pardon if for the present he dissembled, considering it might at once draw on a War from his Two most dangerous Neigh-

The Duke of Burgundy accepted into Friendship with K. Henry, who was then in his Court.

K. Edward was on a visit to his Disin-

K. Edward himself respecting the Duke of Burgundy for his Diffimi-

K. Edward's having treated the Duke of Burgundy for his Difimul-

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1471.
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The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1471.
A. D. 1471.
Reg. 11.
The Government put to Death of Clarence and Earl of Warwick's Hand.

Opinion confirmed for King Henry, he began to A.D. 1471
deprive the Recovery of the Crown. And in so
that Rebellion, perceiving them exalted be-
not any Heirs, he desired his Behavi-
or by a new Art, pretending he came to re-
cover his Dukedom and Estate. Whereupon,
who he could not move them to Obsequience by
the Authority of his unquended Right to the
Crown, yet by relation of his profest Calamity,
he persuaded them to Conformity. The Ci-
whom they refused to serve as King, which had
been an Act of Loyalty, they confederated to
serve as Duke of York, which was absolute Rebel-
lion. It being High Treason in a Subject, they
never to appear injurious, to sed his Remedy in His
Honor by Arms. And by the Sense of his own Mit-
fortunes, he made his Oratory so powerful, that
but all began to exclaim against the Injustice of the
Lute Parliament, in conferring the Dutchy of Crow
York, which Right of Primogeniture belonged
King, upon his Second Brother George, Duke
of Clarence, Which Act could not be
extorted by the overgreat Sway of Warwick: And
had Edward by Uproarion of the Crown, de
to serve as an Attendant, he might yet
quit himself from the Crime, having been ex-
cuted therein, not by his own ambitious De-
Strikes by the Ingratitude of Warwick, who no
longer would suffer the Government of his
King, than he knew how to obey his
infolent Direction; and who had thus planted
and supplaned Princes, not out of Love to
Judges, but only thereby to transplant the So-
vereignty into his own Family.

Thus the Community argued for Edward,
and made him yet partake in the Fortune of a
Prince, by not permitting him to bear the Bur-
tempt to
then of his own Faults; and that he might re
cover the Dutchy belonging to his Family, ma-
ny Persons of Power and Name referred to
him, he solemnly swearing never to attempt
hereafter the Re-Obtaining of the Kingdom.

The same Oath swore Edward of Bridgewater,
when pretending to the Dutchy of Lancastor, he
landed in the North, and armed against King
Richard, which he broke as Edward after did
attempt upon the like Advantage. So that with the
Lung, it would be in the Judgment of the Crown, the
Almighty, who permitted Perjury now to
unbuild the Greatness of Lancastor, which at
first was built by Perjury.

Leaving therefore a Barrilion in York (a life
Retreat upon the worst Occasion) he march'd
his March towards London, about which Place he had ever
found his Fortune most kind and prosperous. Marqueis
And confidently led on his Forces (which could
not delire the Name of an Army) although the
Marqueis Mountesaunce with a fair Superior iower
lay then at Farnet to hinder his Journey. Night
Mountesaunce, which Edward came expecting to
Mountesaunce, who had both Ability and Op-
portunity to have destroy'd him, let him quietly
past, not permitting any Act of Hostility to
be flow'd, or Advantage taken.

This great Over-lights in fo absolute a Com-
mander received several Interpretations, ac-
scording to the Complexity of the Mind, which
it disconcerted. The more Religious who favo-
r K. Edward's Title thought Almighty God,
intending to fit the Crown upon the Right
Head, had intimated the Counsellors of his Enemies:
The more Valuer judged it Cowardly in
Edward, which he durst not fight against the
Majesty for which he had so often fought, and

(2) On the Twelfth of March.

against
against a Prince who had never been in Battel. 

but the more indifferent e-

lict'd it a piece of over-cunning (which in 1471.

the Event is better Folly) to let his Forces pass, 

whereby after he might incline him- 

to his and his Brother's Army, and so without 

Hazard destroy him, or else some Intelligence 

which secretly he held with K. Edward to whose 

Love and Benefits he owed so much. Whence this 

Miltiack proceeded, I will not dispute, but 

certainly it fitted well to the King's Purpofe and 

Safety; and receiv'd from the Earl of War- 

wick and his Faction no other Name than that 

of Fallhood and Treafon.

King Edward was no sooner past this Danger, 

but many of the Nobility with mighty Force, 

and other deëus of another Revolution of State, not 

having found their Expectation answer'd in the lat; 

or directed by their better Angel to adhere to 

that Side which ever was more just and sudden- 

ly more likely to be more fortunate. But be- 

fore they would be fully declared for themselves, 

they intreated and soon prevail'd with him to 

call off the poor Intention to a Ducnhy, and 

lay his Challenge to, what was his Inheritance, 

the Kingdom. For it would liefen, even to 

Contempt, the great Reputation of his Birth and 

Conftitution, to let the Example prece- 

cede that a short Eclipse of Fortune had made 

him full so low, as to depofe himfelf from the 

Royalty. Neither could they justify their 

taking Arms to fettle a Subject in his Inheritance. 

Since the Law is open to end fuch Controver- 

fies, and if he would fubfcribe himfelf to the 

Law, the late Parliament had for ever dis- 

abilited him from any fuch Claim.

Weaker Arguments would have been of Pow- 

er enough to have perfwaded his great Spirit; 

but by these he was confirm'd in his own 

Thoughts, and to being proclam'd King, with 

that Title, and a full Army he march'd direc- 
	y to Cafernty (4) fierce in his Defire to give 

Warwick Battel, who lay there encamp'd. But 

no Provocation could bring him from his 

Trenches, knowing his Army divided, and thofe 

Forces he had there under his Command, une- 

quall'd to the Fight with the King. For him- 

self, the Marquefs Mountaine was not yet return'd 

from the North, and the Duke of Clarence, tho' 

often in and careftly elfcufed his elfhimfelf, and 

kept his Power apart. So referv'd a way in 

them, made Warwick begin to hold both in 

Suspicion; to him most of all Clarence, whose 

Forces were fo near and in fo Good Order, that 

there could be no Excefe but in the Unprepa- 

redness of his Mind.

The King therefore perceiving nothing could 

force Warwick upon uneven Terms to fight, 

march'd against Clarence, and as soon as he 

drew near, the Armies prepar'd for the En- 

confer: But as a Plot in a well-contriv'd Com- 

edy is fo cunningly brought, that it diflo- 

vers not it felt till the laft Scene, and then Ex- 

pectation acknowledges her felf defcended by in- 

vocation. So this Reconciliation between the 

Brothers agreed on long before, on which 

now broke forth when all outward Appearances 

threaten'd Hollify. For the Duke of Glouce-

ster and other Lords fceem'd to abhor the in- 

human Nature of the prepared Battel, half of- 

ten formally between the Brothers, and urg'd 

Reg. 11. them by all Respect both Religious and Poli- 

tick to prevent a Quarrel fo ruinous and fo 

scandalous to both; wherein the Triumph could 

not but almost the Deftrution of the Con- 

queror. After much Mediation and much feem- 

ing Reftitution, that was in the end concluded, 

which had long before been refolv'd on; And 

the Duke of Clarence submitting himfelf to King 

Edward, brought with him all thofe Forces 

which upon Warwick's Reputation, much more 

than upon his own, he had raif'd. But that in Peace 

of this Agreement he might not appear to forget f'red the 

old Enemy, a Southeran and a Friend, he 

joyfully with the King fet out to enter the Earl 

to enter League with them; for Confirmation 

of that Title which himfelf had firft defend'd, 

and to avoid the Effusion of fo much Blood as 

this Quarrel muft necceflarily draw. For Con- 

ditions he himfelf fhoU defet down his own, 

to bring it into the Name of Law from 

mands, as to require nothing above the Deco- 

rum of a Subject to ask, or a Prince to grant. 

But Warwick had a Spirit too fubborn to 

bow to any Conditions, which himfelf had not 

been the firft Propofor of; and as an Injury 

threw his old Office to the Duke of Glo- 

cefter to be reveng'd or die. And now too late he 

began to curfe the Error of his Indulgence, 

which had added Power to thofe Brothers only 

for his own Deftruction. From Edward he could 

expect no Safety, for he deferv'd it not; ha- 

ving came to all former Obligations by his late 

K. Edward's Heart, by which the forced him to 

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Warwick.
fully to his Advantage: So that justly we might have condemned him for Unhappy, had he not been ended with such a Fiery as railed him above his Fortune, and united him to God.

At (c) his Entrance into the City, as a general Applause entertained King Edward, all chose His Happiness and his Reformation. And even in this general Acclivity concurred the Votes of many Merchants, Natives and Foreigners, who before had hated him and supplied King Henry with Money to his Defection. For the King, out of the Mildness of his natural Disposition, and a Deire that at this universal Triumph there should not be a sad look so much as among his Enemies, gave their Offences a general Pardon. Only letting them understand that he knew both the Value of his own Mercy, and of the Greatness of their Forfeitures, their aid-in his Happiness, and their submission to their Estates and Liberties, and in rigor their Lives. Neither was this an unhappy Policy in him, to oblige many by the forgiving that, the Extremity of which had he taken (his Business being then so unfettled) might have endanger'd a Mutiny in the City, upon the first Approach of the Enemy.

Having therefore by his happy Fortune comforted his Friends, and by his Clemency won upon the Affection of the Rclt; and so settl'd the Town to his Obedience, that he suspected no Danger at his Back: He led forth his Army to oppose the Earl of Warwick, who having re-united his faster'd Forces by exifie Marches was come to St. Albans (f). The Reason of bringing his Power so near London was a Confidence he had, that his Reputation among the Inhabitants would draw many to his Part, or at least to divide them, that they should be no Advantages to the King: But the Jealousy of his Levan, as one who had known them (how affective sober they pretended themselves to be to his Fortune) finding fill with the Prevaler, interrogated his Army between the (g) City and the Field, and thereby directed the Possibility of Intelligence: And that the Prevalence of King Henry might not be the Occasion of any Tumult in London, nor his Escape add Authority to his Warwick's Quarral, or hereafter endanger a further War; he took him to the Battel: Whereby the Poor satisfied King, what Side before prevail'd, was morally certain of Defection.

Upon a Plain near Barnet mid-way between London and St. Albans the King pitch'd his Field. The Van-guard was commanded by the Duke of Clarence, the Rear by the Lord Hasting; the main Battel by himself (j). The Common Soldiers needed no Encouragement of Words, (i) the great Examples of their Leaders was the bell Oratory. And none of them but underbod their Lives, Estates, and Liberties were at Stake: Their Prince, if over-thrown, every Day not unlike to produce new Troubles, and new Dangers; if Victorious, a full Conclusion of the War, with Wealth and Triumph.

On the other Side the Earl of Warwick with as bold a Resolution prepared his Forces. The Right Wing of his Army was united to the Earl of Oxford, in whose Company fought the Marquess Montague; the Left to the Duke of Exeter; and the main Battel which was composed of Bills and Bows (the best Signs of our English Strength) to the Duke of Somerset. He himself giving Direction in every Quarter. And when he had survey'd his whole Field, and liked both their Order and their Courage, he sent away his Horse, resolving to fight on Foot, and that Day to try the unold of his Fortune; prefixing to his Imaginations no Mean between Victory and Death. Then he lovingly imbraced all those great Commanders, in every of whom appear'd a Resolution equal to the Cause; and having by many Promises declared their sincere Faith and Forwardness to the present Service, every Man believing to his Several Charge. No King extraordinary to be observ'd in ordering the Field on either Side, but that neither George, Duke of Clarence, on K. Edward's Side, nor the Marquess Montague on the Earl's commanded any Way in chief that Day: So impossible it was to extirpate that Success, which by their former Actions had taken Root in their Brother's Minds.

It was Earler-Day (k) in the Morning (a The Battel too facred to be profaned with so much Folkg Blood) when both Armies prepared themselves on Earth to fight. That for the King took Courage from the Justice of their Quarrel, and the Fortune of their Prince. That of the Earl from the long Experience and noble Valour of their Leaders, and from the Pity of him for whose Redemption that Day they had brought their Lives to the hazard. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd; and by several Parliament acknowledgments. And indeed the Question was so vast, that even among Divines it had held long, and at that Day remained not absolutely decided. No marvel then if the common Soldier had on both Sides the same Affurance of Truth, since if they have any, their Faith for the most part is led by the Direction of their General. Both Armies therefore had equal Justice, which made them with equal Fierceness begin and continue the Fight.

Six Hours the Victory was doubtful. The Earl and the Duke, and Difadventages indifferent on both Sides, till at length Error brought Disorder to Warwick's Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of Oxford (l) giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Badge, begot in the Army a Miliacle that they were part of the Enemy whose Badge was the Sun: (which Miliacle might easily happen by the thick Mist that morning), wherefore being in the Right Wing, and prelling forward they were thought King Edward's Men flying, which made their own main Battel fall fiercely on them in the Back: Whereupon Oxford Inspecting Trencher in War-
Mount into the fresh Troops of Rutter for some fixed Purpose referred, perceiving Disorder in the Enemy violently assisted, and soon forced them to flink back. Warwick opposed against their Fear both with Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail, he rushed in the thickest of the Enemies, hoping either his whole Army would bravely follow, or otherwise with Death to prevent the Miftrey of seeing himself overthrown. Munificent perceiving how far into Danger his Brother was engaged, ran immediately after to preferably oppress with Number fell, and with them the Spirit of the Army, which therupon immediately fled. In their Deaths they both clear'd those Columns with which they were blemish'd. Warwick of having fill'd a swift Horse in readiness by Flight to escape from any apparent Danger in Buttel; Munificent of holding Intelligence with King Edward, or betraying at Wemefet the Quarell of his great Brother. For that Story is to be rejected as a Fable forged by Walese, which Reports that the Margiffs invi- ding Sir John Warwick's Life, so as by the loss of one of Warwick's Men, and that the Earl labouring to escape, at a Wood's Side where was no Pillage, was killed and stripped to the naked Skin by two of King Edward's Soldiers. Yet both of them in their Deaths partaking with the common Condition of Men; the poor beings ever 'long as vicious, the overthrown as Cowsards. By which Judgment we impiously subject the Almighty Disposer of Human Affairs to our depraved Affections, as if Felicity or Infelicity were the Touchstone by which we might discern the true Value of the inward Man.

King Edward as soon as he saw the Discomfiture of the Enemy and certainly understood the Death of the two Brothers; that himself might be the first Reporter of his own good Fortune, with King Henry in his Company poled to London. He came into the Church at Evening Prayer, and there offered up his own Baner, and the Standard of the Earl of Warwick, the Trophies of his Morning Service, where waited on him an universal Acclamation, the flattering Shadow which never forsook the King. The Duke of Warwick and Munificent he caus'd to be exped with three Days burial'd in St. Paul's Church, that no Pretences of their being alive might stir up any Rebellion afterward.

To the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Gloucester's near Cousins the Servants of the Soldiers, whole Enquiry soon found that on both Sides that Day were slain four thousand six hundred and odd. On the King's Side of Eminentcy only (as) the Lords Boverie and Barnet, the former Son and Heir to the Earl of Effes, this fall to the Lord Dacre. On the Other Side were kil'd the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis Munificent attended with three and twenty Knights. The Duke of Exeter, who by his many Wounds was reported dead, recover'd Life, and got into Sanctuary at Welfynber, but was ultimately seiz'd in Action, his Bodyutter some length of Time being carried up the Shore of Kent, as if he had perish'd by Shipwreck: The Man's of his after-Life and Death left Uncertain in Story. The Duke of Somerset and Earl of Oxford fled towards Scotland, but fearing that Reg. 3. through the length of the Way they might fall into their Enemies Hands, they turn'd into Wales to Tafher, Earl of Pembroke.

To this Violent End came the Earl of War. The Earl of Warwick, the Margiffs, and 1500 Soldiers, on the Earl's Side, himselt, the Margiffs his Brother, Sir William Sedgwick with 700 Soldiers. Died, says, there fell in all 15000 on both Sides.


The Marquis of Montagu's Death and Succession to the Duchy of Cornwall

His Vengeance and Diffamation

His Love of War

His Love of War and Commerce

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1471.

Reg. ii. The Earl of Pembroke was unjustly and violently beheaded, and his Head taken at Towton-Field was beheaded at York.

The Earl of Pembroke was a Younger Son of Owen Tudor by Queen Katherine Dowager, John Longford, Lord Prior of St. John's, (p) and John, Lord Westoek, who had received his first Advancement to Honour by his great Services to King Edward, and now by the Folly of his Ingratitude, had linked himself to a infamous Faction.

Thrice noble Personages greater far in the Reputation of what they had, or might have been, than in their present Power, labour'd what they could by their Advice and Preconference to raise up the Queen, sunk with the Weight to attempt a Recovery of her Misfortunes. They related to her the Hopes the yet might remain in the Amity with the Prince, and Authority she had in England, and the Multitude of the Seeds of War. But what ifAffection to the Title, the Smallness of their own Fortunes, and Safety of their Persons, would necessitate to take Arms. All Overthrews rather flowing, than taking away the Seeds of War. Neither if he look'd indifferently upon the Earl, had the rebus to be Defconcluded. For if he reflected on the Number of the Slain, it was not Considerable; or upon the Death of the General the Earl of Warwick, the might receive that Loss as a Benefit; he having been indeed a cruel Enemy, but never so an indifferent Friend; whose Fortune had it continued Prosperous as it began, it might have been a Question whether the Duke of York or his Upharmony would have been the more indispensurate. They urged farther the Authority Somerset, Devonshire, the Lord Prior, and Westoek had in England, and the Multitudes of the Whole Kingdom. But above all, what a Contibution of the Soldiery, whose Body there would be to the Prince, would be but the take the Field, and appear in his own Quarrel. Nothing having advanced the Title of York, but Prince Edward's Presence in all Battles, or the Reputation of Lancaster, but King Henry's unactive Piety, and lighting Bill by Deputies. The Soldiers thinking it in vain for them to hazard their Lives, where the Prince whom it concerns, timorous relish to ventuate his own

But all these Arguments set off by the most Q. Morp-effective Oratory, could not move the said Queen to a perfect Life in her Spirit. She feared either so many Diffiders, and falling so thick together, made her despair of Success; or else the Soul before a great Mischief hath a certain Divine knowledge of future Accidents. And now the began to think that small Time her Husband had been re-invested in the Kingdom, was but a Lightening before the Death of all Sovereignty in his Family. Yet when she looked upon the Prince, hope flatten'd her Deires, that he might hereafter revive the Greatness of his Blood; but then the Memory of forepast Misfortunes, made her a melancholy Proph-

(p) The Prince of St. John's and the Lord Westoek came from France with her. Vol. II. The Earl of Pembroke was then ruling Forces in Wales, and did not join her until.
A. D. 1471
Reg. II.
The Queen returns to her Son in the Island.

O. Marg. and her Son the Prince gather his Forces.

K. Edward speedily re-affirms his Army, and re-camps at Marbrooke.

Q. Marg. and her Son the Prince gather his Army, and re-camps at Marbrooke.

Of future Ruin. Howsoever the Objects of her Thoughts were difmal, the diforders them- selves, and the Extremities, and as forward in letting forth the Army as the most resolute Commander. (g) But when he perceived the Lords earnest to have the Prince present in the Battel, the violently opposed it, in respect of his Youth, want of Experience, and fear of the perill'd in this Storm, even Hope it self would in him be shiprak'd. She therefore urged earnestly to have him convey'd back into France, where in Safety he might attend the Success of the present Enterprise, which if unprosperous, he might with more ease retire by the late Course of Years and Power, he might be enabled to fight his own Quarrel. But the contrary Opinion prevail'd in her all the Pallions, both of a Woman and a Mother; and having already loft f0 much at this Flay of fortune, she was persuad'd like a desperate Gamester, to hazard at one Cast the Remainder of all her Stock.

Having therefore yielded to this Resolution, she leaves the Sanctuary and puts her felf in Arms: The very Name of Prince Edward, like a Diamond, attracted Multitudes to the War. Her Commanders, when new advanced to the Battel, where the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Devonshire were high in Reputation, and by whom Authority daily new Forces came in to the Prince's Service. Yet were they not grow'd to fo full a Number, as might encourage the Queen to think upon a Battel. Whereupon she keeps her felf in the Town, until the coming of Toffor (r) Earl of Pembroke, upon the Addition of which Welsh Forces, she resolv'd to take the Field, and encounter King Edward. Who as soon as he had perfect Intelligence of her Resolutions, gathered all his Army together, which he (ever too confident of Peace, fo amorously courted by him) had after the Victory at Barnet, licenc'd to defire it felf. And with fo unexptected Suddennes he made his Preparations, that before the Return of Pembroke, he incamp'd at Marbrooke, within fifteen Miles of Bath (r), and by the Interpo- sition of his Army, hindered all Succours which could come to the Enemy from Wales. Which so near Approach distracted the Resolutions of the Queen, and made her felf fear her Safety, if the remall longer there.Wherefore the retired to Pembroke, till by the View he sent to the Lord Beaumont of Powke, who had the keeping both of the City and Castle of Gloucester, to defire Passage over the Severn there, but he refus'd her, and forced her to march up to Tewksbury, there to endeavour to crofs the River. A. D. 1471.

Edward speedily re-affirms his Army, and re-camps at Marbrooke.

The Duke of Somerset pitch'd his Field in a Mar- Park adjoining to the Town, and entrench'd his Camp round fo high and fo strong, that the Army, Energy could not on Side force it; and when he perceiv'd an inevitable Necessity of preface Flight, he Marshal'd his Hofl for the Service. The foreward he and his Brother commanded, the Earl of Devonforce the Rear. In the main Battel was the Prince, under the Direction of the Lord Prior, and the Lord Wenlock. The Q. Mar- Queen feems with the Hope, that the Duke of Somerset an- notates her the Soldiers' have Advantage of Valour to equal the Enemy, who had it in the Flight. Multitude, took the Prince with her and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd no thing but Life and Resolution, in her Language almost an Affirmance of Victory; so cunningly the conceal'd the Wound her Defpair had given her, that then only it bled inward. She told them, That it refuld in their Courage that Day to restore their imprison'd King to Liberty and his Crown; and themselves not to safety only, but to Honour and Treasure; for the Wealth of the rebellious Cities should be their Spoil, the Kingdom their Inheritance to be di- vided only among them, and all those Titles the Enemies so proudly wore, to be conferred upon their Defeats. If the Inequality of Num- ber frighten'd them, the fhow'd it was not fuch, in that they might be confident their great Hearts animated by the Justice of the Cape, would easily take away the Dilipnity. Then the which'd them to look upon the Prince (for Peryonage the fond Mother thought would make them like dearer Lovers enamour Danger) and fignify them, if they were not in some whom they were to fix in Fortune, and who once in Possifion of the Throne, would never forget them, who by Courage he was fixt there.

The Soldier generally appear'd resolv'd agains the Duke of Devonforce, receiving her Words with much Alacrity: And as soon as the Sig- nal was given bravely repuls'd the Duke of Somer- set, who having the leading of King Edward's Vanguard, had allureth the Queen's Army by the Camp. Upon which Repulse, the Duke of So- merford facing Gloucester retire with some appearance of Flight (as Appearance indeed it was only to betray the Enemy) ran after so far in the Pursuit, that there was no Safety in the Retreat. Then did Gloucester on the sudden turn back upon him, and hearing by this Decisi-
intituled him from his Trenches; he cut all the Vanguards in pieces. The Lord Wenlock who commanded them, he died of his wounds, and when it concern'd to have relieved the Duke, only looking on as if he were a Spectator, and no Actor in the present Tragedy. Somerset en-
raged with his Discomfiture, and having Wen-
lck's Faith in some Jealousie; upon his escape had sent for his Mantle and devoured his mould-
teous Terms of Cowardize and Treason, and trans-
ported by the Heat of Passion, with an Ax he had in his Hand struck out his Brains. This Outrage began nothing but Disorder in the Queen's Camp; and so great grew the Confu-
sion, that for low or where to make Resistance against the afflicting
Enemy. So unhapy Government is both in War and Peace, when all Authority is not con-
ferred on one: A multitude of Commanders dividing the Obedience of the Inferior, and ever differing Resolutions among them-
Selves. Whereas Nature instructs us to a Sub-
ordination, and as in our own, so in a publick Body, it is monstrous either to have no Head, or else to have more than one.

The King took Advantage of this Uproar, and it was the utmost He reached, for ever-
trying without any Opposition the Queen's Trenches, he committed a most cruel Slaughter
on all who refitit. Three thousand of the Common Soldiers (for they always pay for the
Raifeph or folly of their Commanders) were slain that Day, and among them the Earl of
Talbot, the Lord Robert Bruce, and some other Gentlemen of Name (x). The thick
Woods of the Park preferv'd some, and the San-
ctuary others, but them only for a while; for King Edward who was never an overcrui-
pulous observer of religious Rites, with his
Sword drawn, and followed by the Church
and forced them thence. But a good Priest
careful to maintain the Immutity of the Place,
with the Eucharift in his Hand, opposed the
Violence and would not let him enter a Place
sacred to our most merciful God, until he had
given him Mercy by offering a free Par-
don. But this Pardon betray'd them, for on
the Monday after they were taken out of the
Church, and all beheld in the Market-Place
at Tewksbury (y). Among whom thofo of prin-
cipal Note were the Duke of Somerset, and the
his Lord Prior of St. John's, and many other Knights
and Gentlemen for whom the Violation of the Sanctuary he made good the
Opinion which the World before had concei-
ved of him; that Religion never could prevail
far upon his Confidence as to be any bar ei-
er to his Pleasures or Revenge.

The Queen half dead in her Chariot was
taken in the Battel (z), and not long after,
the Prince was brought Prisoner to the King,
by Sir Richard Crafes, who taking Notice of
the Proclamation, whereby the Reward of a
Hundred Pound by the Year during Life was
promised to whoever should yield up the
Prince's Body, dead or alive, to the King,
(with Proticution not to offer any Violence
to his Person if alive) brought him unhappily
to his Death: Which when the good Knight
afterward found, he repeated what he had done,
and openly resolved his Service abduced,
and his Faith defiled.

For King Edward presently upon the Deli-
very of the Prince, caused him to be brought
into this his Camp, with a great Demonstra-
tion of Courteſsy: Morev per perhaps to the
Innocency of his Youth, Complains of his Misfortune, or the Confindens
of his Perfon, the Composition of his Body
being guilty of no Fault but a too feminine
Beauty. It was figured in the King,
that he might have done charitable intention, and re-

colve happily to have fetted him in the Ducty
of Lancaster, his Father's Inheritance, a Patri-
mony too narrow for a King, and something
too large for a Subject; and for that End is

(x) He vio-
lates the
Privi-
lege of
Sancti-
ary, and
bears
away
From
him.

(y) Q. Burga-
ners and
Prince Ed-
ward ta-
ken.

(z) Q. the
prince
again
heads a
Sullen
Fromlife.

A.D. 1471.
Reg. 1.

Edward's
Court;

Pro-

counce-

A.D. 1471.
Reg. 1.

Edward's
Court;

Pro-

)
A.D. 1471. Reg. 11.

King Edward returned to London and was crowned King.

Queen Margaret in Triumph.

Mistresses.

Vice-Ante-

By Reg. 11 the King returned toward London (b) : This being the only complete Victory he ever gained, from which no pull was ever afterwards made, and no Man, who might pretend to a Competition, was now preferred except King Henry, and his offspring, in Prision.

And to make this Triumph reasonable something of the same kind the King carried with him his great Captive the most allured Queen Margaret. A Woman most unfortunate to her self, and most ruinous to this Kingdom. For after her Marriage into England, soon finding her Husband's weaknesses, she however in being directed and strengthened by her Counsel, the never left off inventing new Machinations till she wrought him into her sole Command, with the Deftruction of his nearest Friends. So that to make the Prospect of her Greatness larger, she broke down and terr'd his strong Bulwarks. The Duke of Gloucester, which might perhaps be looked on as her ambitious Eye, being taken quite away, left her open to every Temt. Having therefore by uncovering Diffidence at home, lost (except only Calis) all our wide Territories abroad: By the Murder of the good Duke, her Husband's Uncle, the gave King Henry to the House of York, to make the just Claim to the Crown; and in the end to put her out of that Government, the preposterously managed. In her Prosperity, she was rather ambitious than wanton, though from the last Opinion did not absolutely acquire her. Which Almack inferiors were an Estrangement in her too intimate Familiarity with some of the younger and fierter Lords: For the more discreet and aged, either did'ld her Projects, or were did'ld by her, as Persons too cautious to confult with a giddy Woman. Her mighty Confidence in the Duke of Suffolks, who wrought her Marriage with England, hath left the large Part of that false Sulphurion upon her Name.

For they who are just to her Memory, cannot but fly, besides that she was religious, she was even too buie to think of Love Matters. But perhaps the Misfortune of her Family Carried with it some small Occasion of the Reputation. Her prosperous Fortune presents her to us in the world Colours a facions, buie, and impious Queen. Her Adversity in the belt, a most indolent Woman to recover what her folly had lost, an excellent Wife, and a most indulgent Mother. And had she never appeared in Action but when Misfortune had compell'd her to it, she had certainly been numbered among the best Examples of her Sex: But now the Merits of her latter Part of life, by redeeming the Errors of the former, confer only to level her with the Indif.

ferent. The Time she continued a Prisoner in England, she flew us no Face but that of De-

solation; The strength of her Spirit, either broken in the Murther of her Son, or else she accounted it a needful Employment now to raise her fell above her Sorrows. After some time, her Father, with the Sale (c) of much poor Estate, of which he remained yet in Possession, ranthered her for 60000 Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to ano-

ther Air, tho' not to a free Fortune. In Addi-
tion to her other Mileries, she was punish'd with a long Life, which she spent out fully and Reg. 11. the Earl of Northumberland to reside with the King for a Fardon, which he did actually in Coventry. The King did not come to London till the 25th of March.

(c) He borrowed the Money of the French King, and pawn'd only Naples and Savoy for it, Two Kingdoms that never were in his Possession.

(d) Thomas Nevil.

(e) Ballard Sea to the brave Lord Falmahide.
Vice-Admiral by the Earl of Warwick, during the late Combinations of the Kingdom, to hinder the Invasion coming from the Southern Countries to King Edward's Aid, soon as he understood the Earl's Death, set up for himself, and fell to Trade in open Piracy. His Conditions were ignoble as his Birth, and only can be said a fit Infirmity to move the better their Fate. But this Martyr to the Middle負け was Callus he robb'd most, and had now got under his Command a Navy great enough to work Mitichief. Especially having the chief Men of Callus (who had lided lately with the Earl) of his Confederacy, and by that Means safety upon a Sea Passage. He sent thither therefore into his Retinue many of those who had escaped from the two former Overthrowths, and prefuming upon the Affection of the

**Title from future Insurrections, King Henry should be sacrificed.** For howsoever, if ever to clear the Memory of the King, or by the title of K. Edward, and his Council, Glaucifer: I cannot believe a Man so cunning in declining Envy, and winning Honour to his Name, would have undertaken such a Business of his own Council, (by) and executed it with his own Hands. Neither did this concern Glaucifer to particularly, as to engage him alone in the Cruelty and Hypocrisy of the King's Particulars, and bringing commanded more unnecessary Slaughter, and from his Youth been never any Stranger to such Executions. In killing the Prince he had Clavence, Dorset and Hastings for his Conductors; and in the very Murder of his Nephews (which was the securing his Upliftation) he traffit Tyrrel: So confident had his innate Inhumanity made him, that he doubted not but others might be faithful in Villany. But the Death of King Henry was acted in the dark; so that it cannot be affirmed who was the Executioner, only it is probable it was a Revulsion of State. The Care of the King's Safety and the publick Quiet, in some fort making it, however cruel, yet (i) necessary.

But that the World might not suspect King Henry lived till, and the Crown be tir'd upon to new Duties, he was no longer dead, but with some Show of Funeral Rites, his Body was brought into St. Paul's Church, where upon Afternoon-Day, with his Face uncovered, he was expos'd to the Curiosity of every Eye. For the King was resolved rather to endure the Scandal of his Murder than to hazard the Question of his Life, which continually gave Life to new Seditions. From St. Paul's next Day, the Corps obfuscated without any Ceremony (in those Days with much Piety observ'd toward the Dead) was conveyed to the Black-Friers, and from thence by boat to Cheryf, in Sorry. Whence, after it had been there restor'd, it was conveyed to Windsor, and there at length found Quiet. The King having even after Death partaken with the Troubles and Difgraces of his Life.

The Reason of burying him thus in the Dark, K. Henry's Body can never be suspected to be so entirely committed to a Prince; but only to the Dignity of the Black-Friers, which was always their design, and their whole Deaths their Votes concurred. Unless it be true what is commonly written, that the People began to cenure hardly the King for his Death, because at what time his Body lay in St. Paul's, and after in Black-Friers, a large Quantity of Blood issued from his Body, in a most miraculous Way of sipping the Barbarifme of his Murther, and giving Tyrants to understand that the Dead dare in their Language tell the Truth, and call even their Actions to Account. For this manner of bleeding was never observed to happen, but when against Law, Nature had been opprefed with Violence, and seemed to challenge Justice.

With what Alfei does he entertain'd his Fate, K. Henry cannot write: But well we may believe, he could not but smile upon Death, who by a continual Exercife in Vertue, from his very Infan-
cy had triumph'd over Sin, which only makes
Death Formidable to a Christion. Of his out-
ward Actions, all good Men of that Time took
such Notice; and several special and ob-
feration of all the Laws of the Church, his
exemplary Piety, Humility beneath the State
commonly used by Princes, and a Modesty even
to Admiration. But they were the Vertue,
which crowned the first part of his Life, which
was the Basis of a full Prosperity and ap-
plaud not to my Story. His Misfortune and
Death only fall to my Task. And in his Mis-
fortune he expres'd so singular a Fortitude,
that he was never observ'd to be dejected upon
the Report of any sad Accident. But enter-
tains himself as firm from the Almighty's and
absoislutely reign'd his Will to that of Hea-
vien. How innocently he spent the last
Ten Years of his Life, which was in as much Ad-
verity as ever Prince suffer'd, his ghostly Fa-
ther gave a happy Testimony: Affirming that
in all that long Trial of the inward Man, he
never in Contemplation could accuse himself of
any actual Sin. His Employment was Prayer,
and his Recreation only pious Discourses which
perfwed Man to set a true Value upon heav-
enly Things, and throw a just Contempt upon the
World. And to such Reputation the Sanctity of
his Life was united among the common People,
that after his Death they honour'd him with
the Devotion due to a Saint. And King Hen-
ry the Seventh (who owed the highest Opinion
to his Holiness, because he had fore-prophesied
he should enjoy that Crown for which the two
Houses of York and Lancaster labour'd, that
Canonization with the Pope, but that succeed-
ed not; for however the World was aifured of
his Piety, there was much Question of his Go-
vernment: So that he might be term'd a just
Man, but an unjust King. Since his Title to
the Crown was unjust; for though it came by
Defect to him, yet was it but a continued
Utirrption: His Reign was guilty, I will not
fly through his Demect, but thro' his evil For-
tune, of much Michief, and the Effusion of a
Sea of Christien Blood: And however in the
Country, the People in Part he was Religious towards
God, in the Active he was Detestive to the
World: So that to have made him worthy that
Honour Henry the Seventh would have provid-
ed for him, he must either (being refolv'd in
Confidence his Title was just) have fully per-
form'd the Office of a King; or knowing it
questionable have submitted it to be disputed
freely, and upon the Reformation made Rejigantii
of what he unlawfully possess'd. But Ju-
stice which commands any Diminution of Gren-
nels, is seldom obedy'd by Princes, and Death
only makes them Brander up what was vio-
letly by their Progenitors usurpt, and the
justly by themscelves continued, for till Death
Ambition betrays the Confidence, and Fear
of being left makes it not dare to see the Truth,
which periwades to Restitution.

King Henry thus taken away, the Forces un-
der Fauconrudge's Command, which before had
the specious Title of a just War, could now
pretend to nothing but an unjust Sedition.
And so law they fell both in Courage and Re-
putation, that all they intended was but to
make show of War, whereby the caller to work
their Peace: No Man of Name or Power, what
before secretly had Favoured them, but openly
protested against the Enterprise. In Sandwich
Nine Hundred of them remained, till they cer-
tainly undertheed the King's Approach with
a mighty Power; then they sent forth Sir

George Brookes, to acquaint his Majestie with
their Desire to return to his Obedience, if they
might by his Pardon be secured of their Lives
Reg. 11, and preter Necessity induced them to this Sub-
mission, having Confederates enough Abroad to
oblige them upon Extremity, and for the pre-
rent Vicissuals for Six Months, and Ammunition
opposite any Alliait. If this Offer might be
accepted, he would advance, they the Town and Castle, together with all the
Shipping in the Harbour; if not, Necessity
would force them to their own Defence.
And if they must die, they would sell their Lives
at so dear a rate, that the King might
repent his Purchases; considering he hadield so ma-
y, who would have been as bold to have fought
his Quarell, and lost so good Shipping, and so
commodious a Haven-Town; for they were
refolv'd to see both conium'd with themselves,
that the Victory might be no Triumph to the
Conqueror, and the Conquer'd might have that
Comfort in their Ruin.

The Proposilion was accepted by the King,
and the Duke of Gloucester (whose Wildom and
Valour had brought him high in the Opinion
of the King) was sent with a general Pardon to
the Rebels, and Authority in the King's Name and
Ship to the Town of the Castle, and all the King's
Shipping in the Harbour.

But the King who never let any Pardon be
an Impediment to his Purpose, having them
in his Power, caused the Laws severely to pro-
cede against them. And for the Example of
the Two Bishops (two of the Progenitors in this Rebellion) were executed at Cafterbury,
and their Heads cut upon those Gates, which
at their being at London, they so furiously
aflaulted. And that the King might not only
draw Blood, but Treasure from this Business,
a Committee of Oyer and Terminer was direct-
ed to the Lord Denbigh, and Sir John Fag, to
inquire against all Offenders in the Jeal
Rebellion, and to inflict on them either corporal or
pecuniary Punishment. But the Commissioners
who understood both the Necellity and Inten-
tion of Religious Principles, and their Lord-
ship, knowing Death would but inoc the Con-
fortune of Cruelty, and no way advance the King's Benefit. Whereas great Fines weaken as much the
Dificent, and make the Prince as se-
ure from Danger, even with the Reputation of Clemency and Grace.

And that Fauconrudge the first mover of this
Sedition might have no more Priviledge than
his Companions, coming into Sandwich he was
apprehended and put to Death. The infer-
ning of his Name in the former Pardon, though
openly pleaded by him, serving only to make him
flout, was not a just Execution with the red.
The Punishment of thefe succeeding so well,
the King proceeded against others. And first
bisher and the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Brother to the
Earl of Warrick, who with his spiritual Authori-
ty had fet a Glove of Religion upon all the
latter Attempts. And by his working induced
the Commons of the North to fo confant a Re-
formation for King Henry. With him the King took
Order, because he found his Ambition ir-
regular, and sent him to be kept Prisoner in the
Castle of Caflus. Where deterror'd he could
long remain, and never obtain his Liberty
till Death enlarg'd him. No Man aiforded the poor
Comfort of Piety to his Affiliation, be-
cause in his Prosperity he had been insolent
and Factions.

The
The Maner of the Attachment was, according to the Custom of the King, unfruitful. For having admitted the Archbishops, after Barnett's and whose Sight could discern Danger afar off.

And his Goods, Estates, and Archbishops' Pecocks.

King Edward very unfavourable.

Reg. 11. 1471.

The Earl of Oxford forfeited.

St. Albans' Mount in Cornwall, and held by him against the King.

Richard Fortescue, Sir

'Came out in his name

Mount to be yielded.

A.D. 1472.

Reg. 11.

The Duke made Anwser, 4 That in Point of Duke of

Honour he could not condescend to the King's

First Demand; having upon their Arrival

there given them his Word. But for the Re-

Second Part, he would beyond the King's own

Prelates in the Earl's

Defire for the Safeguard of his Ma-

jesty, and refrain them from any Power to

atempt new Enterprizes. And perhaps, as

it would preserve his Reputation clearer to

the World, so would it more advance the

King's Purpose to let them remain in Brit-

ain rather than to have them returned into Eng-

land; thence, at Home they had a great

Kindred, and by the Slaughter of the refi-

were grown chief of the Faction of Lancastor.

Whereas, if they continued with him, they

should be in a free but a safe Culpdy, in a Coun-

try where they were far from Power, that

they would have no Acquaintance: And that

felt would narrowly look what no discontented

Perfons should reforit to them, or that they

should make their Addresses to any other

Prince. Whereupon he entreated his Maj-

jesty to consider him as a Confederate most re-

ligious Man. Amity, how to be

to forth happily begun, and bittore to faith-

fully maintained.

With this Anwser the Ambassadors return'd; and

the Duke made good his Promise to the

King.
A.D. 1472. King. For profly he removed all their English servants, and left Britain's to attend them: Men chose, who cunningly mark'd, not only who made their dependances upon them of the English, or what with them the English dealt, but, and they the copy of them into England, oftentimes with a false interpretation. Then (that two together might not animate each other, and enter into dangerous counsels) they were kept divided, and all communication either by letters or ambassadors, absolutely stopped. And (that both being in the same refrain, might not conspire to their escape) there was a guard set upon them, who narrowly, the respectfully watch'd them. So that we may guess this great care the King took for their refrain, to have wrought a strange effect. Eichmond esteeming himself more considerable as he was more suspected; and by the fears of the King making validation of his own pretensions. Great thoughts creep into his mind by the circumjacent of such great princes; and the vulgar both abroad and at home, being always to believe, (till they always think there are strange depths even in the shallows of princes actions) there was much mystery in Richmond's title, and danger in his liberty. Whereas had he lived undispatched by the King, he had perhaps died unnoticed by the world.

By this negotiation with Britain, having secured himself of these two Earl's, who might endanger the quiet of the Kingdom at home, he began to look abroad, whither yet he had never liberty to call his eye; His pleasures, or dangers, such as St. Paul's in his time, that he had only feared his appetite, or safety; but now he had quenched all civil troubles, and even rooted up the very fear of war hereafter; he therefore thought it necessary to look first upon France, a Nation which had made benefit of our ruin; and while we laboured our thoughts and courage in distraction of each other, recovering so much life, that they were grown dangerous. Of their farther growth the King was careful, and resolved, if he could not make them less, at least to keep them at a stay. Whereupon, having intelligence of a marriage between Duke and Prince of Burgundy (fvers to Lewis XI. and then here apparent to the crown) and the daughter and sole heiress of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, he endeavoured by all arts to break off the treaty. For he considered how formidable the French would grow to our kingdom. Should the so large territories of the Seventeen provinces with the other Dominions of the Duke be added to them. How they would then be enabled to revenge those many injuries the fortune of our victorious had done them, when we should be left to our own arms, the Burgundian (by whose whole we had entered and conquered France) now prepared to war upon us. How France superior always to the English in multitude, and extent of territories, and defensive only in commodious havens, would by this be caraght with a mighty sea, and we would starve in our great misfortune as the world then had, by which they would have absolute command at sea, and keep us within the narrow limits of our island: If they would permit us that, those Considerations made the King resolve both the Duke of Britain, and St. Paul's (under whose patronage many Mediators for Duke Charles) to desist from farther negotiation in the marriage. Britain he moved to reflect upon his own danger, if Charles should survive King Lewis, as by Courte of 1472. Years it was probable, and have so great an Empire under his command, telling them, That greater Princes, like greater rivers swim up the beds, and after a while remain in memory of themselves. And the Emperor raised the Dike of Burgundy and Duke Charles, and the many Countesses done him, it was a treacherous hope that never yet kept from faith. That Britain never enjoyed all the privileges appertaining to the Dutchy, but when France was disabled to break them.

With that he sent to the Letter, he dealt another Hostile way, by representing to him, the near friend-courages ship that ought to be between them, in regard of the crown of the present Alliance, being uncle to his Queen? By Paul from which he entreated him not to urge a Billenge prejudicial to the crown of England, which in a near degree concern'd his own Blood. Without he advised him, to take care of himself, and not to cooperate too far King Lewis, to whom the Treaty of this marriage was most unpleasant, in regard to the safety of his own estate. To feem Differ from his brother, being injurious to Religion, and injurious to the Prince: For there remaines such an affection, that both their Malices on him, who occasioned the first breach; and so for the most part is yield'd up a sacrifice to the reconciliation. He concluded, with the Mixture of his Alions, who would provoke the Duke of Saftin, and fore-warn him of the real Amity of the two Monarchs, and incitement a Man as his Brother Duke Charles, who so often had been entrap'd.

From both these Princes he received such an answer as showed they resolved to prosecute their design, but not to have him foiled; giving fair Protections of their Desire to be over-ruled by the King's direction. But neither of them understood the Buinsse to be of that dangerous Nature, as it was conceived in England. For the King Lewis had no Son at that Time, yet was there every Day expectation he might have; the Queen likely to conceive, and Lewis in much Health and Strength of Body. And indeed, soon after a young Dauphin was born, who succeed'd in the Kingdom. Moreover they considered the Malice between the Brothers grown to that height, that all Attempts of reconciliation were needless; and that there was no further molestation in the Duke of Burgundy. But before he would make this Overture in France, as by enabling Duke Charles with a Power to make good the former Confination. Nothing likely to incline him to seek Friendship with his Brother, but being disabled to continue an Enemy.

The King suspecting the Reality of their Intentions, and being resolved upon any Terms to prevent the marriage, had in his Determination to have forgot all former Discontents justly conceived against King Lewis in abetting the contrary Faction of Lancaster, and to have enter'd into a particular League with him against the Duke of Burgundy: But before he would make this Overture to Burgundy, he tried by his Ambassadors to Burgundy's own interests, to know the certain Resolution of the Duke himself, who had in the Marriage of his Daughter, always held his Thoughts apart from the world. And in Truth the End of his Intentions was to avoid the necessity of the Duke of Burgundy's marrying his daughter, being content to conclude with none. For at the same Time Duke Charles had so many underhand Promises, with the self-fame hope he did entertain Maximilian, Son to the Emperor Frederick the Third, Nicolas, Duke of Cadiz, and Anthony von Elevac, Duke of Aquitaine, as being to create many Depradations upon himself, and never to marry her to no Man, unleas he should be forced to it by some evil Fate or War.
Office the King of France, &c. who, after the first open Association, wherein for the most part pulsed only the Complement of Princes being admitted to the King's Presence, and some few Lords most intimate to the King, the whole Business was Resolved, spoke to this Purpose.

May it please your Majesty,

We are sent by our great Master the Duke of Burgundy upon an Embassy, that may prove strange at the first Appearance, and even in it itself Contradictory. To which,

Congratulate your Majesty the Glory of that Interval, which you have permitted to Peace you enjoy, and to invite you from it, a War to a new War. But Glory is like Time, ever haltingly in Motion, and when it stops it ends.

Your Majesty hath by the happy Conduct of your present Power and former Person, reconciled the Kingdom to it self: That was an Act of Necessity. For you could not be self satisfied, if your great Enemies had not been reduced to nothing. Now as great a Justice doth invite you to the Recovery of a larger Kingdom. Which how your high Person cannot refuse to undertake, leave the World have just Reason to felicitate you took Arms to live, not to reign. For if your Title to the Crown of England be just, as Men did always allow in Judgment, and Almighty God hath approved in the Successes; the same Title is good to the Crown of Burgundy. Both having been united into One ever since the Union of Philip de Valois. The People's Affection to Princes of their own Nation enacted an injurious Law; that authorized Injustice, and confirmed the Sovereignty in the Heirs-Male. The Female were excluded, as if the Diffusion of Kind could make a Difference in Right, and the being born a Woman were to be born illegitimate; for the Law Salique in a Plaintiff barthardize the whole Sex.

Your Highness can descend Edward the Third, whose Whole Name and Magnanimity you inherit, with his Sword abrogated this Law: And called the Law-makers to a severe Account at Ofsce and Poitiers, where more Veins of France were opened, and more Blood shed, than in any other ancient Times, considering the small Numbers of the English. In the latter of the Two Battles John, Son of Philip de Valois, being made to good the Pretensions of his Father, was taken Prisoner, and so continued, until for there being a free Subject, by endeavouring unjustly to be a Sovereign.

The little Handful of Men with which the English then opposed the vast Armies of the conquer'd French, not only showing the high Advantage their Nation hath in Courage; but the miraculous Justice of the Almighty, who delights to make the Deceit of Uprising, his own Work, and hath made His Power to rival Heaven in the Punishment. Your Majesty needs not History to perswade you to the Quarrel, or Example to assure you of the Success. The Justice of the Claim just Claim will easily prevail with you to draw again your Sword, which hath never his Prowess ever unheated in Vindication of your Rights; Vol. I. and
A.D. 1473.

K. Edward.

Policy to War with France.

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

And indeed, such hath been the Character of this great Prince, that for the Eva-
poor Shifts have got him) that a continual Reg.
Contempt hath been thrown by him upon the
great Lords, and a most near Familiarity en-
ter'd into with the base People. His Barber
being more acquainted with the Affairs of
Court, than with the Affairs of the Nation.
This preposterous Course of Favour, hath
made the greatest States of the Kingdom
from their present King, and reflect upon
their Majesties, whose Conduct in War
and Peace hath been such as justly makes
them blame the general Affection of their
many Friends, and utter Detraction of their
Enemies.

If it may therefore please your Majesties to
admit of that Greatness your high Deline-
Title to, and your Predecessors have had
Possession of : The Arms of those great Princes
are prepared to serve you. Our Majesties first
honoured your Majesty as a potent Neighbour,
great in your field as in Dominions. Then by
Marriage he grew into the nearest Degree of
Correspondence; the Title of Brothers, (a
Ceremony used between Princes) being

Lately, Duke of

Burgh.

The French

Nobles

righted by

the King.

A. D. 1473.

K. Edward.

Policy to

War with

France.

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

This Overture took generally with the great
Lords, who in their Infancies by their Nurtures
having been told no Stories but of our Tri-
umphs in France (and those Tales imprint deeply
in the Memory) and now for many Years
ever acquainted with the Wars at Home, em-
braced Danger as the only Means to Honour.
Moreover an Appetite of Glory, mingled with
a Noble Emulation of the Powers of their Fa-
thers, made every Man of Name thrust forward
to this Action. Neither were the more Cove-
tons backward, considering they were to War
with a richer, and a more Peaceminent Nation:
and not unlikely to return loaden with Spoil,
if not to remain there in a fertiler and a plea-
santer Country. The Soldier, who was in a
manner all the Gentry of the Land (for the Ci-
vil Wars had engaged all to the duty of Ar-
ms) and this Emulation made every one of
those great Lords. For they, having been bred up
in the free License of War, abbated to be cir-
cumscrib'd within the narrow Bounds of the
Laws, which never have absolute Power but in
Peace: So that the whole Body of the King's
dom, instead of being affected the Querrel, and
by their universal Acclamations in Praise of it,
per-
A.D. 1473.
Reg. 13.

K. EDWARD, having promised to invade France in the Spring, perfwaded the King to set out to invade France. Whereupon sending for the Ambassadors, he at first, showed his Resolution to the War, which he would undertake in Perfon, and that very soon. For either not in and out of the Army, Neither could it appear less than extramely Exaftion, to the Benefit of them, who make up the greatest Number in the Army; nor to the Money, to yield to a Subsidy, considering the Precedent Troubles of the Kingdom had utterly impoverifhed them by haindering Tillage, and the great need of Inteligence, and the Neflility, who pay a large Share in all General Collections; they for the moft part prepared themfelves for the Expedition. And it could not but rebate the Edge of their Courages to be at a Doll Charge not only in the particular fett ing forth of their own Perfon's and their Retinue; but in the general Preparations. There was therefore a New Way found out, by former Ages not known without oppofing the Commons, to supply the Kings, that the Name bore it a Benevolence, (though not by the Signification of the Word, by their Unwillingness to the Kings, cunningly and difcretely required only of the better fort of People, who were known to have a plentiful Revenue, of whom he got a particular Catalogue. And especially of fuch whom Eafe and Wealth were likely to deftine at Home, knowing that when they might be laid on them without a public Monfe, as Men hated by the Soldier, and upon whole Prosperity ever attends a common Envy. In advancing this Contribution no Policy The Way was omitted, either by private Menaces, or by raising publick Excitement. Some came in led by fear (not knowing to what Indignation a Denying Volonteee, might provoke the State) Others were cunningly perfuaded to a vain hope of enjoying the Kings particular Favours by their forwardness: Few granted it for Love to the Enterprize, molt only because their Neighbours did it, and they wanted Courage to difobey them. In History a Widow is much spoken of, who having freely, and somewhat above the Proportion of her Effe, contributed Twenty Pound, received from the King a Kifs. Which a Wit, fo extraordinaire a Fellow (extraordinary to the King, and not that he doubled the Sum, and prefumed it to be from the Collectors. By which flight Page, a Kings Judgment is safe to be made of the Kings Nature; either of it fell full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the lowest Courte, when it any Way concern'd the Advantage of his Profit. But by this Art Monies were raffed, and now The great nothing was wanting to the Expedition. The nerval pre-univerfal Language of the Kingdom being of the Wars, and all Exercises Military. No Perfon of Blood or Quality, but prepared for the Journey, except only those whom Infancy, or extrem Age excepted, or the necessary Administration of the Commonwealth. And all they who went, emulated each other in the Glory of their Armour, the Richnefs of their Pavilions, the Bravery of their Horses Fufture and Servants Apparel. Every Man being held far to recede from Honour, as in his Preparations he expreffed an Unwillingnefs to be the Duflers.

The Army confifted of 1500 Men at Arms, 12000 Archers, and common Soldiers, besides 3000 Pioneers (1) appointed to guard the Outer (1) And a Thousand Men belonging to the Train. In all 31500 Men.
A Letter of Defance

A.D. 1473.

Reg. 13.

0 0

K. Edward

hales in to France.

A.D. 1474.

Reg. 14.

K. Edward

hales in to France.

A.D. 1474.

Reg. 14.

K. Edward

hales in to France.

A Letter of Defance

to be surrendred to K. Edward.

A.D. 1473.

Reg. 13.

0 0

A.D. 1474.

Reg. 14.

Some Towns to be surrendred to K. Edward.

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

nance and the Carriage. Three Thousand good
Soldiers were sent into Brittain, to join with
his Forces, and assault France on the other
Side.

All Things dispis'd in so full a Readines,
The King sent over to the Duke of Burgundy,
to acquaint him with the State of the Army,
and to know in what Forwardnes his Unfriendes
were on that Side. Who returned Answers full
of confident Promises, and Exhortation to the
King to make all possible Haile over, the
Some Comines on a piece, which if one further
without Action, would indanger the Loss of
the whole Expedition for that Year. He af-

fured him moreover of certain (m) Towns
under the Government of the Count St. Paul,
which should be surrendred into the King's
Hands, for Retreat to the English upon any Oc-
casion of the Badness of Weather or Fortune.

And indeed how weak forew the Duke knew
the Condition of his Army, yet fearful he was
to express it, least the King should take Ad-

vantage to give over the Undertaking. The
King was in the know, and knew how much
with the Love of Peace, that the Duke was
jutly Suspicions how found forew it appeared
for the Prefent, it might upon the least Di-
femper fall into a Relapse.

Upon these Alliances from the Duke, the
King gave the Order that all his Forces should re-
pair to London: Whence after some few Months
spent in Preparations, he march'd towards De-

er. But before he took Shipping, that the
Progress of the War might be the more Suc-

cessful, the Beginning was made according to
the Old Herick Strain of Bravery. For the
King gave an Order that every Herald with a
Letter of Defiance to Lewis of France, in which he
was required to surrender up to the King of
England, the Realm of France, as due to him by
the Laws of Hiteriority, and violently wrested
away from Henry the Sixth, by Charles the se-

venth, and as unjustly pollicied by Lewis. By
which voluntary Reconciliation of the Crown, it
was thenow how without Effusion of Blood, the
King of England should be enabled to restore
the Clergy and Nobility to their ancient Great-
nets and Priviledges, and the Commons to their
Lands, to which they had been cruelly depriv'd by
the injurious Usurpation and tyrannical
Government of Charles and Lewis. It
showed likewise how far the Kingdom of France
in general, would by this receive Benefit, con-

idering it would be cased of all those many
and unhappy Exactions, which by those cove-
tous Princes, had been laid upon it. It
concluded with a threatening of all the Mischief
which accompany War, and an absolute De-
pair of all future Mercy, or Care to be had of
Lewis's Provision; If upon so fair an Admonition,
and Commons given he refused to yield the
Kingdom.

This Letter faith Comines (An Author of that
Time, happy in writing many cunning Particu-
lar's of the Princes he serv'd, but rude in the
Art of Hisstory, and ever blinming the Glory
of our Nation,) was publish'd to every end both
for Language and Matter, that he believe'd it
was beyond the Abilities of an English Wry, a
bold and ridiculous Cenfluence. For how could
he who was born Noatice of France, and nev-
er had been intrusted in any Learning, judge of
how the witty & elegant Contriv-
ance of the Letter, since in his own Hisstory,
which is receiv'd by the World with so univer-

sal an Applause, there is an apparent Defect in
Order and Method? And without Vanity our
Nation may alluse to it self the Prailie, (con-
dering the narrow Limits of the Island,) to have
produced as many Scholars admirable in all De-

grances both of Knowledge, and of Friendship

The 17th of December. 1681.

K. Lewis's

Died.

and all said, this cannot be. The

of the

seems

Number
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.


Number which elapsed, so wretched that the Duke might well expect Protection from the King, who was quite disposed to advance his Purpose. He added how the Season of the Year, Summer being almost past, must ofNecessity deter the King from crossing the Sea, and many other Arguments against the present Undertaking; and the Herald being perswaded to return Quiet by Order, France might have been received from War for that Year. And to make him the more his Friend, he gave him with his own Hand three hundred Crowns, with Promises of a Thousand more, if the Peace, so much desired him, took effect.

The Herald promises to obtain a Peace with K. Edward.

The English fleet sent away.

K. Edward's impetuous Management in treating for a Peace with the Herald.

Upon return of the Herald, the King embarked for France, and after him follow'd his Duke of Burgundy, and notwithstanding the Commodities of the Vessels and Men being detained in Flushing, and many other Arguments, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the Forces there not being one Page. Which as it instructs us in the vast Numbers of the Soldiers, so doth it in the Strength and Power, in regard they were all able Men, who undertook this Enterprise, and who came not to learn but to make Proof of their Knowledge in Arms.

As soon as he heard they were certainly afoot, the Duke in all Haste came to congratulate the King's safe landing, and Happy Arrival of the Army; for there was just Ground for fear that the French Navy might have endeavoured to trouble their Passage: But the Duke coming with a very small rain, much afflicted the Expectations of the English, who thought he had seen him march to meet them with 2500 Men at Arms well appointed, &c., besides a large Force of Foot, and that his Excellency and his own Articles had so amply and frequently been promised: But to take away this Sufficient from them for fear it might any way drive back their Thoughts towards England, he told them, That his Prince coming to the King was only to express his Joy for the King's Safety and theirs, and that his Army was farther in the Country so well prepared for the present Defence, that they should have no Reason to think him any way to have betrayed. He therefore invited them to match up with the Land, where they might be better accommodated, and concluded the Ingenious Offer of a Town which having been heretofore mortgaged by the French, to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, with a large Part of Picardy; was notwithstanding the often tender of the Money by Lewis, still detained violently by Duke Charles. There he gave the English a free Entertainment, and entertained them with Excess of Hospitality. From whence he went with them to Perem, another Town of Picardy kept upon the same Terms. Into which he admitted but few of the better Sort of the English, and over those too he carried a watchful Eye: The Army forced to lodge in the Field, which was the less inconvenient in regard of the Season of the Year, and the Commodities of Pavilions and Tents, with which they were so plentifully furnish'd. The Duke perhaps loath to truss the Army in Poffession of so important a Place left them their Expedition being disappointed they might attempt to go more direct. To prevent the Count St. Paul sent to congratulate the King's Arrival in France, to promise all Service to his Enterprize, and his Towns to his Life and Command. Whereupon the King remov'd to St. Quentin, over which St. Paul commanded, there to accommodate his Army, till the Duke's Forces were in Readiness to take the Field. But as some over hastily Troops having got the Start of the Army came confidently toward the Gates, expecting to be receiv'd, if not with Triumph, at least with all the Demonstrations of Joy; the Army shew'd them no Favour, and some of the Garrison illiberal to skirmish, in which Two or Three of the English perish'd. This
Appearance of Holfuly from a Confederate, confirmed the former Jealousy of the Army, and raised a strange Munir born both against St. Paul, which was in great part occasioned by the difficulties of a tempestuous Night, with which the English after were troubled: For an extraordinary Rain fell, and made the so open Lodging very unpleasing, with danger of Difabilities to the Army.

The Duke of Burgundy not able to satiate the Subjection of the Eng.

The Duke of Burgundy opposed against this Discontent with his Authority, but in vain: For not able to give Satisfaction for his own Weak- nes and Breach of Promise, he was more disabled to clear Sufpicion from another. Where- upon he took his leave of the King, interating his word, and the Army; and all to him then brought his Forces to join with them, and a full Account from the Count St. Paul, of his Gar- rison's Demencr at St. Quentin.

But this his Departure compared with the former Carriage of Things, begot yet a stronger Doubt of their Intentions in the English, who being Strangers in that Place, and not having any particular Aim in Conduct of the Baliens, but only a general Resolution to regain France, interpreted these Delays and fay Play to direct Trefon. And began openly to inveigh against the King, and his confiderable qualities of fuch, who judged not the Glory of the English Name, or the King's Title, but only their own Safety: For Prefervation of which, under a specious Pretext of recovering a Kingdom, they had deduced them into a strange Country, in hope hereafter tofell them to the French. And al- though this Delights were only in the Moutb of the common Soldier, yet did the Thoughts of the Commanders participate with the Vulgar, tho' not fo freely opened. For hitherto there had been no Affairance given of any real Inten- tion either in Burgundy or St. Paul.

The much Indignation expreffed by the Eng- lish upon this Occasion was thought a strange kind of rude Ignorance, and a Note even of Barbarism. Which Centure favours too much of Malice, considering it could not be judged blind Fufpefion that induced our Nation to this Ungrateful Way of the State, for it being the fairest Appearance of Human Reason, and the Religion of the strongest Oaths. And if the un- expected Trefonry of St. Paul ingend Chol- er, why should this Paffion be so Con tentible, since an Injury from a Friend is ever quicker and this the Arms of our Countrymen; all to them on our own Seats upon dangerous Adven- tures, are prone to Sufpicion. And for Ignor- ance in Art of War, I fee not how by Malice it may be opoled upon the English, since their only Miferie was too much Experience in War, which ever begers Knowledge. Nei- ther should the be but Sufficient in the Mi- litary Exercife of the French, few of the Soldie- ry who were now of any Age, but their Youth had been bred up and instructed under the Command of that great Captain Talbus, Earl of Shrewsbury, and others: Not fufficient twenty Years expired, since we turned our Swords upon our- selves, and gave France Liberty to recover Breath.

But this Dilatory Way in the Duke, and Treachery in the Count, prepared the Army to go Good, though which was not brought the two Combinations, into more danger by an open Enemy: So that when an Herald came from K. Lein, he was recei'd into the English Camp with much Humanity, and friendly invited by the Soldier, to refresh himself with Wine and Meat, till the King, who was then at Dinner, was at Leifur to give him Audience. For Lein, following the infructions of our Herald, as soon as he underflood King Edward was landed, and brought to know all the Fathoms appearing between him and the Duke; refolv'd to fend to him, and attempt to persuade him to a Peace: But fo poor was he in the outward Ceremonies of Majesty, that no Herald attend- ed on his Camp; whereupon he was enforced to send for a Sort of our men, called Hates, of whose Wit and Confidence he had taken some Notice, to act the Part. Who having recei'd full infructions from his Master ad- dreffed himself to the Lord's Stanley and Ednorward, and the English Herald, by whom Aid being brought to him, and which at the same time brought his Message. The Effect of which was, To shew the great Dear the King his Master had to live in perfect Amity with all neighbouring Princes, but above all with his Majestie of Englond, as the King, who in the Extent of Empire, and his own Power, brought his Master, and that he had much Reason to believe the present War had not received the first Life in England, especially not in the Disposition of the King; which (as he was inform'd) abord the unnecessary drawing of Christian Blood; That they would help this Business, not only for their Neighbour's Duty to procure their own Safety, and when they had made an advantageous Peace, to confpire with him, who before had been the common Enemy, for beating back their belte Friend the English; That he doubted not, but that his Majestie would suddenly find good Ground for Sufpicion, when he should perceive the Duke of Burgundy, not able to bring into the Field one entire Regiment; all his Forces having been utterly broken upon desperate Ser- vices, to which an innate Love to War had madly engag'd him. Then he proceeded to ex- ecute his Master's Ztocurrong the French cafes: To which he protested he never gave Affiance for it, but only for the Earl of Warwick's Sake, whom he supported only to at- tend Burgundy, whose irreconcilable Enemy. But Warwick had ever profefed himself. And if he had any thing more than his unpru'nt, it might well excuse it, in respect of his near Kindred to him and his Wife Q. Margaret, and something too in Reason of State, to oppose Bur- gundy who pretended to be a Friend (how faire he prov'd) to the House of York. That Duke of Burgundy would be pleased to search up to the very Head of this Baliens, he shall find more Streams of Affiance to have flowed from Bar- gardeny than from France to K. Henry, Duke Phil- lip and this Duke (till his Marriage with the Princes Margaret) having most poffeionately la- bour'd to bring the salvation of their States, to which they were so near in Kindred. The Count was to defcry his Majestie to grant a safe Con- duct for 100 Horfe, in whole Company should come Embassadours enabled with larger Intruc- tions, and who should make Proposal of our Conditions, as could not be rejected by the King or Kingdom of England, since they should be for the Honour and Profit of both; unless it would better fand with his Master's Liking to affign a Place of Treaty in some Village between both Armies, to which they might jointly fend Com- missions.

This Meflage deliver'd in a fof Tone, expressing much Humility, and ever afcribing to the King's Greatnes of Spirit and the Nation's Glory; together with a Promife to make O- verture of Conditions both Honourable and Profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many
many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Re- 
venues at Home, were as forward as the King to 
listen to Peace, and forsook unnecessary Dan-
ners Abroad. Neither did the greatest Statists 
agree, who were of Opinion, that France, 
in France had rather purchased Fame than Tre-
ure to our Kingdom, and when our Soldiers 
returned Home, their Scars were greater than 
their Spoils. And howsoever we had by Starts 
and Fits got Possession of the largest Territories 
in Normandy, we brought back an army; and as 
the Divine Providence had decreed to have our 
Empire bounded, within our Seas. Moreover 
they who affected the Happiness of a Kingdom 
and loved their own Country, desir'd rather 
France under a Foreign Governor; least if in 
Possession of our King, England being the left, 
both in Extent and Fertility, might be reduced 
to the Condition of a Province, and live in O-
bedience to a Deputy, enriching the greatest 
Kingdom with her Tribute. Other Considera-
tions likewise of the present State of the Wars, 
persuaded them to attend, and were rewarded 
with Reward of 100 Angels in a Giant Cap, 
the Herald was dismissed, a Safe-Conduct grant-
ed, and the Place for the Commissioners app-
pointed in a Village near Amiens, the Armies 
embarking at four Days Distance on each Side: 
For the King were nominated Sir John 
Arundel, Sir William, Lord Talbot, Dr. Morton, for 
the French, the Baffard of Bourbon, Admiral of France, 

These Men at the first Meeting brought al-
most the Treaty to a Conclusion, on both 
Sides they brought Minds disposed to Peace. 
And all the English Commissioners at first de-
manded the Crown of France as due to the King 
by Right, from which in Honour he could not 
receive; and afterward with much Appearance 
of Difficulty contended to be content with 
Normandy and Guien, yet they themselves knew 
well Princes never erected with Countries 
upon Treaty, before the Battel hath imposed a 
Necessity to yield. And indeed the English ex-
pected not that Louis would be frightened out 
of important Limbs of the Body of France, only 
upon the braving of an Enemy. Soon this first 
Hourish of Eminence was exchanged into more easy Terms. 
Louis destr't his demand of Hon-
our, Louis to have him gone with as much Re-
putation as he destr'd. Edward had occasion for 
Stony, and Louis was willing to make him a 
Bridge of Gold from Calais to Dover, whereas 
to carry back his Army. And shortly to both 
theirContents an absolute Agreement was made, 
whereby 75000 Crowns were to be paid to K. 
Edward before his Departure out of France, 
and 50000 annually.

Concerning the Annuity of 50000 Crowns, 
there is much Controversie among French and 
English Scholars; but when they call it a Peni-
on, we a Tribute. And certainly the lat-
er (to speak without Partiality to our selves) 
hath in it much more Propriety of Language. 
For a Prince who over-awed by a powerful Ar-
my meditates by Submissive Malignes to divert 
the Battel, and afterward buys his Safety not 
only with a present Sum, but an annual Payment 
cannot have a freer Name than Tributary. And 
as for Penions they are granted upon Petition 
to the Poor and Weak, not upon Fear to the 
Mightier. But to compare the greater Actions 
of Princes to the Confoms of Subjects: The 
7500 Crowns (p) was the Fine K. Edward paid for 
France, and the 50000 annually the Rent: Only 
the Farm was too mighty to be fet, and the Ten-
ant too strong and stubborn ever to quit Poz-
Reg. 14.

Then the Treaty of Future Peace (that 
The Posterity might Partake in the Benefit of this 
Principle Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to K. Edward, 
should marry with Charles the Dauphin, Son to 
Dauphin. 

Levis; and for her present Maintenance (q) 
5000 Crowns should be paid in the 
Tower of London; and after theExpiration of 
Nine Years, she and the Dauphin to be invested 
in the Dutchy of Guyen. And that on the English 
Side there might be no Fraud; upon Payment 
of the first Sum the Lord Howard and Sir John 
Chalmes, Matter of the Harle, were to remain 
Hostages until the Army was returned into 
England. But that the King might not seem to 
forget his Confederates, the Duke of Burgundy 
and Britaine were comprehended if they would 
accept the Peace. The Count St. Remi was aban-
don'd from this Treaty, as a infectious Subject 
and Sibjeci to the Crown, being Confoundable of France 
and who by his Dissimulation and Treason, had 
most offended the Nature of our King. And 
usually thus to reconcile great Princes, litter 
are offer'd up for sacrifice.

This Treaty was generally received by the 
Army with Acclaim, as People who began to 
consider no Victory before the Battel certain, 
and in the Battel much Hazard. Only the Duke of 
Gloucester, who stood aloof off on the other 
Side, for Honour from'd at this Accord, and 
expressed much Sorrow, as compounding the 
Glory of his Nation blighted in it. He reprova-
ted his Jealousy of the World's Opinion, which 
neccessarily must laugh at so chargeable a Pre-
paration to attempt nothing; and could either the 
Wisdom or Courage of the English, when they 
shall perceive in them so full Numbers, and so 
well arm'd to pass the Sea, after a Defance 
ent, and challenge to a Crown, to return back 
without drawing a Sword: Moreover to for-
lake the Amity of so constant Friends, and in 
extrem Necesity to betray them who were 
beguiled by a common Dillembist; whole Shifts 
and Tricks of State, like the Sliights of hand 
in Jugglers, are discovered, and wonders by 
those fools only, whom he Cozenz. And what 
carried with it an Appearance of mock Danger, 
to necessitate the Duke of Burgundy to a Peace 
with K. Louis, whereby both may hereafter join 
in a common League against us: Who by this 
one Act have forfizd all Leagues with our an-
cient Confederates, and frighted other any Prin-
ces from joining with us.

With Gloucester agreed many of the Army, 
Gloucester, who were either Dependant upon him, or who 
had as unquiet Thoughts as he; some likewise, 
who having fet up the Rest of all their Fortunes 
upon this Crown, found themselves upon their 
Hopes, because the Princes had drawn 
Stakes. But most of a discontended Humour, 
that maliciously always interprets the Actions 
of Princes to the world Scathe. But the Duke of 
Gloucester had a farther and more dangerous 
Aim; as that by his Brother, he thought his Credit receive'd Incres, and by how much the King 
funk in Opinion, he should rise. 

And in regard good and quiet Men were delights-
ed in the Accord he would be numbed with the 
Wicked, and unjust, to add a lattice to his Fron-
t by drawing the Nation's Honour to his Part.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1474.

Reg. 14.

This Peace no doubt would to the English, it was expected.

But why this Peace should endure so hard a Century, both at Home and Abroad is strange. Lewis in his Epistle to Wolsey, wrote that the English had given Honour to himself, or think the Advantage on his Side. For what Eclipse forever the English Glory suffered, certainly the French by a most servile Way purchased Safety. They defending beneath the Honour of Men by Money to waste a Battle; we being only guilty in not having performed more than Men. For if we consider our selves subject to the Chance of War, why was not an honourable Peace to be preferred? Especially since, if we had fail'd in the Success, how wretchedly had our Forces been broken in their Hopes, and how impossible the fudden Return of the Army. And if the French had declin'd the Battle into what Necedities had we then, the Summer most pale, and both Burgundy and St. Paul refusing to let us have Towars to Winter our Men; and if we look upon the Peace it fail'd, nothing is in it disadvantageous to our Honour or Profit. Considering it brought not only a great present Sum and annual Revenue, but brought it from the then greatest Prince in Christendom enforced by Fear. And for Convenience, the Marriage of the King's Daughter to the Dauphin, could not be but of Service to Burgundy, and Why then won that Apotheosis so much Reputation, that reported our King to have gain'd Nine Battles in which he personally fought, and never to have lost any but this? Since in this he overcame a Prince of far greater Power than he ever fought with before, without Disadvantage, but that the Victory was purchased without Blood, which should be esteem'd an Addition to the Glory of it. And if you cast your Eye back upon the Courte feize in the most famed Empire, and especially in the Saxon, which was the nobleft, you shall find they never refus'd their Friendship to any Prince who humbly (as Lewis of France did to King Edward) requited it; and accounted it more Glory to have Kings their Tributaries, than their Kingdoms Farm'd out for a more profitable Revenue. But of this enough, and but enough, since it tends so much to the Vindication of the English Honour; which, Lewis, French, sought so much to have suffered in this Treaty. In which they think us by their Wits miserably over-reach'd, and perhaps indeed we were, if the Articles be only judged by their Fears, and not the Difficulties of our Army at that Time, and the just Jealoufy of the King that his Confederates intend not his but their own Advantage.

The News of this Peace no sooner came to the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, but in all haste he polli'd to the English Camp, attended only by 10 Horfe. The Distraction of his Look and Gaitere expresst itself in all his Speeches, that he was the whole Army discover'd his Discontent before he utter'd it. His first Address to the King was, in Question of the Truth of the common Report that spoke a Peace concluded between him and K. Lewis. Which when he was refolv'd was true, he presently broke into a most passionate force Language, upbraiding the King with inglorious Sloth; and the indefatigable Courage of former Kings of England; upon whose Attempts waited ever the noblest Victory. He made a formal Re-Performance of the Night's Affair, and his Return; as if he had come over with fo Baggage, an Army, Merchant like to traffick for a little Money, and the Contempt he must needs become to his own People, when they should perceive the great Conquests their Contributio's had brought upon them. And understanding him, that he and the Duke of Brit- taine were included in the Peace; he disdainfully reject'd it, protesting that for the Love he bore the English Name, not Care of his own Safety, he had perferv'd K.Edward to this En- deavour to show how little Dependancy his Fortune held on any other, and how without Mediation of an Alliance, he was able to make his own Peace; he vowed to conclude none with France, until the English Army had been Three Months at Home. After he had thrown forth this Favour, his Sorrow in his Condition did not abate a little. For if the Pleased Spirit of the Duke, being overjoy'd to hear their Unquiet Thoughts, which Fear refrain'd from Utterance, so freely spoken; yet they had little Cause to Triumph when Edward had reply'd with equal Boldness, that 'twas his own Falsity, and not his Cowardize that had disposed his Mind to a Peace; for had he met Achins before Burgundy, he very likely might have taken it, but he could not fight in their Cause, who had not Heart enough to defend themselves, and therefore chose to side with a fair Enemy, rather than a treacherous and false Friend (r.).

But the Count St. Paul, aforte'en of this Peace, had a Flattery by a far other Path, for by diminishing with thefe three Princes, in hopes to win Love and Reputation with the more Fortunate; he had offended them all, so far, that he knew not to which confidently to fly for Refuge. France was irreconcileable, because he had been ever practing against the Quiet and Safety of that State; and who both by the Ties of Alliance (as having marry'd the Sifter of K. Lewis's Wife) and Loyalty, as who held much Land in France, and executed the Place of Collabirable; being oblig'd to seek the Preservation of his Country; had for many Years been great Treatre with the King of France, and the Crown itself to the Hazard. Then from England or Burgundy, there was no Probability of Friendship, both having been deluded by his Promises, and in the late Bounties at St. Quintin provok'd to the highest Indignation. For although the English only dispossess'd the Lois in point of Safety, in the present Expedition; yet in point of Honour, the Duke had his Share in Suffering: He having before the King's Pfalige out of England, covenanted for the Faith of the Count St. Paul. But certainly the Mifery of a petty Prince is lamentable, and his Estate must be the more considered, when there is any Jealousie growing between his more potent Neighbours. For Neutrality is incompatible with his Fortune, in regard his Country hath then lie open to the Spoil of every Army, if he deny to declare himself, and if he declare himself, he must run the Hazard of losing his Country; as a very Situation of his Principality enforce him to take part, not with the Stronger or Juter; but with the nearer neighbouring, as in Danger of whose Rage his Estate is most subje. But in Addition to the Mifery of his Fortune, St.Paul's deep Pocha of the 1st Race of Petty Princes. he had so many, and so far Fetches in his Imaginations, and of some fome had proped to much
much to his Advantage: that it made him Pre-
sumptuous of his Abilities to Dilebble, and
through theorg of the French, till at last the Difficu-
try took away all Belief from his after-Pretendi-
ons, and happily too from his real Intentions.
But among the greatest of his Misfortunes, is
to be reckon'd, the Time he lived in: For had he
not met with fO Politick a Prince as Lewis of
France, of whom he had been infinitely prejudiced, the Stare of
Good Luck, he questionles might have attain-
ved some of those many Designes, he so wit-
tily and probably contriv'd: But in the Con-
duct of their Affairs, Princes shall find a dicrect
Honely not only toward God, but even to the
departing to us most Ignorant of Man-
1 ones. For the absolute Dissolution of a State was
never known to happen by Observance of Faith
or Religion; and seldom in the Time of a good
Prince, I mean if his Goodness were active, not
over-rul'd by evil Counsel to Miligovernment.
St. Paul in this Diffraction of Thoughts en-
davour'd to recover a Game quite lost, and
made his Address to the King of England,
whom he believed to be of the caufi Nature,
and from whom he expected fct Severity, be-
cause the King had fulfil'd less than the others by his Diffumation. He therefore firft excud the
English Army to oblige no Covenant; wherefore his fain Courfe would be to de-
demand Eu and St. Valerie to billet his Soldiers in
this Winter, which he was secure Lewis's Fears
did not defay, and by which Grant he would not be necellitd to fo fudder a Return. Lail-
lv, of the want of the Service of the King's Di-
position (in the laft Treaty) he tender'd him the
Loan of 50000 Crows, anf promife of all
faftiful Service in the Future.
But the Memory of former unfaithful Pallia-
ges, and desire to enjoy the Pleafures of Peace,
and the knowing it fio far from the French
another twenty Miles than the Truce being
in the Place, for the King were the Lord
Howard, and Sir Anthony St. Leger; for the
French, the Lord of Branchage and Countes.
In the Choice of which Place Countes laits a grofs
over-fight to our Commlioners. For he a-
limps by the Meeting of a March, or the Caftle
Cauley, on which the King was to come to the
Bridge where the Meeting was; his Perfon
might have been in Danger, if the French had
not meant good Faith. And if this were true,
it certainly deferv'd a Signal Reprefentation; in
regard the Expence of their Tempes maughter,
there could not be too much Circumvention in
this anfuer: Bat the Succes guilt of no
Intelligence; clear'd the Commlioners either
from the Fault, or from much of the Blame.
At the Meeting there was as much inter-
course between the French and the English
as could be between two Princes. The French King was always at the Gate
of the two Lions, and often to go to each
other at the

Meeting.

(1) Philip de Comines says this Interview was on the 29th of August, 1475, but that could not be, for K. Edward
landed at Calais in June 1474, and returned in September following. The Peace according to the same Author being
made three Months after his Arrival in Pluris.

Vol. I. 002 Each
Each labouring to obtain the Victory in the Ex-
pressions of a cordial Affection; and indeed the
main Business took up least part of the Time.

Twelve Personages of principal Name, atten-
ced to the King, according to the Nature of the
Ceremony, out-vying each other in the Cu-
riosity and Riches of their Apparel. On the En-
glish Side the Duke of Gloucester was absent, in
regard his Presence should not approve; what his Opinion and Sense of Honour had become, and that there might be no Fraud or Treson; on the English Side were four of the French, and on the French four of the
English, who watchfully ob'd every Word and
Gesture: So much Jealousie waits upon ev-
even the most friendly Meetings, and so suspect-
ed is the Faith of Princes. 

The Chancellor of England made an Ora-
ration congratulatory for the happy Agreement,
whereby so much Blood was preserved in the
Veins of both People; and so many Blessings of
Peace like to enrich both Kingdoms (y). His
Congratulation was intert'ed by the Prophe-
es for future Happiness, which would grow
stronger by length of Time; touching in that
upon the Marriage of the Dauphin with the La-
dy Elizabeth of England. But the good Bishop
of Lincoln (z) (for in him was the Office of
Chancellor in this) sh'd himself a better Orator
than Prophet. Himself living afterward to
deprove his own Divination.

After the Oration ended, and the two Kings
sworn to the fore-mentioned Peace, K. Lewis
something wantonly (as who knew how to tune
his Language left to K. Edward's Ear) invited
him to take a Journey as far as Paris (w) where
if any of the Beauties should make him trespas-
s upon his Chastity, the Cardinal of Bourbon
(a gentle Ghaily Father) should easily afford him
Abolition. The King in the Pleasure of his
Look approv'd the Fattfulness of the Discou-
rice, and found no great Difficulty in himself to
mit the Office (x).

But K. Lewis (who never used Mirth but as
a Preparative for something serious) having
woUGHT himself into the King's good Liking,
and as he thought facilitated him to grant any
Request, urged that the Duke of Brittan might
not remain in the Protection of the English;
but that he might be left to his own Defence, a-
 gainst the Jilt Anger of the French, whom
he had so often provoked by open Confedencies
and secret Practices. To which the King an-
swer'd resolutely, That he never would yeare
the Duke of Brittan, who had maintain'd his
Faith so constantly. And afterwards being im-
pot'd by some great Lords employ'd in that
Negotiation by Lewis; he not only sh'd an appa-
rent Dislike to the Motion; but openly profess'd,
that rather than the Duke should be endan-
ger'd in his Safety, he would forget all
other Amities, and pass the Sash himself to his
Relief. Which shew'd a noble Diligence in the
King, and an admired Judgment; for the Duke Reg.
1474.
Reg. 14.

K. Lewis's Speech to the Authority he had over his greatest Lords;
commanded them to retire when he entered
into this Speech. And in treating this Business,
which so nearly concerned the Policy of his In-
tentions, he sh'd a great Art; not urging the
Point, as though the Denial might be got off with a Diffaleur. But smoothly it gave it over,
when he perceiv'd him not easily to be re-
move'd; although with some inward Difficult-
y to find his Affection so constant to the Duke,
of whom he had resolve'd to make a Spoil, and
to break all the Bones of his mighty building in
his Defraction.

He presently therefore diverted his Discourse
again to Ceremony, and after some short Inter-
course of Courtship they both at the same Mi-
ute parted from the Grate, and took Horse
publically giving very liberal Commendations of
each other. And how ever Interviews are gen-
erally esteem'd unsafe for Princes, in regard
the Advantage falling of Necessity on the one
Part, throws a Contempt upon the other; yet
this was both in Probability before and after in
the Success most Fortune. For both Princes
th'of different Complexions had equal Prehe-
eminences, and by several Ways came to stand
upon even Ground.

K. Edward had the Advantage in Youth, Per-
sonage and Behaviour, which win suddenly up
on Elimation: Lewis in the cunning of Wit, and
Anxiety of his Age; which had so won over the
Fellowes, felt deeper in Opinion. Edward had
a daring Courage ever seconded by a propiti-
ous Fortune: Lewis a circumspect Judgement which order'd Builnells so sure, that he left
parce any Thing to Fortune. Edward by his
Sword had brought himself to the present
Greatness of his State: Lewis by his Policy had
settled himself in his father's Conquests. And
indeed so apparent was the Equality of these
Princes, that they both dispaired to gain any
Thing by Opposition, which made Lewis at any
Rate desire to buy K. Edward's Return; and
Edward willing to pay him a much more to trai'd with Lewis from whom nothing was to be got in the Way of Bargain: Whatever the one did by Valour,
the other like to undo by Cunning.

This Peace by all Conclude was likely to King Ed-
ward's in Opinion at HOME, where by comparing
the Fortune of the present with that of others
Lewis and Edward's
compared.

Lewis and Edward's
Policy to dispose his Army for a Peace.

EX. 1) At the Duke and Cardinal of Winchester, 2) St. on the French King, and the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumber-
5) Not the Duke; but a Clerk or some other words, Com. 6) Bishop of Noy.
7) Comlines. 8) Lewis
15) At which the French King says Comines was not very well pleased, not liking to let the King of England be
tumped to come further.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth. 469

A. D. 1474.

Expeditions. Expectation promised itzelf nothing less than the entire Recovery of France. But that the King might neither reap all the Duke of Glorviver's labors, nor yet bear all the blame of this misfortune, there were not a few Lords great in his Counsel, who were endeavoring to have him in some degree, at least, relieved of his cares, and to have him return to the Duke of Burgundy, who was busied in his Preparations against him, if so that with Safety yet, he could not attend the Proceedings of Peace. Which Answer gave but a half Satisfaction: but the Lord Edward was devoted to his Affairs, and that made the Relief of it better with the Peace.

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The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth. 470

A. D. 1474.

To prevent which, the King had happily, perhaps judiciously (as who foresew that the Success of the late Wars, generally) to have it forgotten his fainting Plantagenet might occasion frighted Minds the Horror of a Battell, the many Difficulties of a Siege, and the Certainty of an untimely Death, if not by the Cannon or the Sword, yet by the Inconveniences of Lodging and the Weather, which the Winter coming, might, because of the coldness, be most opprobrious. And if beyond Hope Death were escaped, how cruel might be an Imprisonment, and how deep the Rancom! Then he gave Order that the Enemy should be reported of far more Danger than indeed he was, and every Night false Alarms to be given. And his Mallet already held of Burgundy and St. Paul, he let it be augmented in the Army, cautioning Rumors to be spread abroad, that there was Treason in them from the Beginning of this Enterprize, and that now they were prepared to unite their forces with the French to the utter Destruction of the English.

By which Frights he foi moulded them to his Delires, that they write back to their Friends, the impossibility of any Success in the present Business, and the great Judgement and Fortune of the English by the Peace, with Advantage of Honour. The Example of this Policy King Edward bequeathed to Henry VII. who left none of his Predecessor's Arts unpractised that might advance either his Profit or Reputation. And so far this Delire of Peace and Delight in it spread it felt, that when upon the Day of the Interview by Accident a white Pigeon lighted upon the King's Pavilion, and there pruned it felt after a Shower of Rain, the Sun shining comfortably, the Soldiers cried out it was the Holy Ghost, who defended in that Form the present Accord was the Peace. This Interpretation pleased exceedingly the present Honour of the King; any Superstition being nourished in the Subject, which tended to advance the Reputation of his Prince, especially when his Actions were doubtful to be understood.

The Night that ensued the Interview, many of the English Nobility returned to Amiens; the French Aflability, and something too of Curiosity inviting them. The Lord Howard, who was always foremost in his Application to King Lewis, at Supper whistled him in the Ear, that he would consequeat his Mallet might be persuaded without much Scruple to make a Journey to Paris, where by a friendly Entertainment, the new begun Amity might be perfected.

But the wary King had no Delire to bid so dangerous a Guett to Paris, for fear the Delires of the Place might invite him, either to a chargeable continuance there, or to such a Love of the French Air, that it might persuade him to return hereafter thither, though unbidden. He therefore chid his own overwardly flaining a Complement, and was forced to the Invention in an effort to take away Duke Puisseclin, from Denial of what before ceremoniously he had offered: He anfwier'd the Lord Howard thereupon fuddily, and to the outwards Judgment feriously, That he was extreme in the Sincerity of his unfettle State, would not be heard, and that the 150000 franks, which the Duke of Burgundy, who was busied in his Preparations against him, if so that with Safety yet, he could not attend the Proceedings of Peace. Which Answer gave but a half Satisfaction: but the Lord Edward was devoted to his Affairs, and that made the Relief of it better with the Peace.

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The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1474.
Reg. 1.

The Duke of Burgundy.

Edward's Return home and Reception.

A.D. 1474.
Reg. 15.

Edward to the Duke of Burgundy.

(4) Where he arrived in September.
(5) On the 20th of September.
(6) He ordered his Daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, to be called Daughterafi.
A.D. 1475.
Reg. 15.

This Embassy King Lewis received with Appearance of much Content, congratulating the Felicity of his own Arts that had brought the King to so obsequious a Respect; but he no way desired to see him any more in France, especially not to pay for his Prebend, whole Abundance he had lately bought so dearly. He therefore afterwards gave him more than his Favour, but withal shewed, how much too late it came, in regard the Trade was already concluded between him and the Duke, from which being now swor to it, he could recede neither in Honour nor Religion. But that the World the former and how Trumpageus had been in Preference of the King of England's Reputation; the present Trade varied not in one Point from that swor at Picquigny, except only that the Duke was admitted to article for himself apart, which indeed was the main thing the King endeavoured to have prevented; since by articling apart, the Duke shewed his Independance, and that the English by their Arms had no way advanc'd but一线.

But that this Answer might incur no Misunderstanding, he liberally presented the Ambas- sador, and for a great sum of Money the Holloges, the Lord Howard, and Sir John Chevney. For King Lewis continued still in much Caution to offend the King, lest perhaps he and the Duke of Burgundy, though now almirer, might like a Limb broken and yet again, knit the fatter. He was therefore diligent enough to produce every Day new Difcontents between them, and to preserve the English in their Amy firm upon any Terms, knowing the Duke by no Policy ever to be reduc'd to a perfect Friendship. And so far had his Canning and Penions prevailed, that more in point of the English, than to preserve King Lewis safe in his Estate at home, and noble in Reputation with us. But among all the Ties which kept the King surest to him, the Hope of marrying the Dauphin with his Daughter, and this way at least to settle the Crowne of France in his Pe- sterity, most prevail'd. Of the Reality of which Article, the French permitted not the smallest Occasion to be given for Sufpicion.

This Intention of King Edward of entering into War with the Duke of Burgundy, being croud, (the unequet Nature of some Princes, or rather Princes, of their own Principles that the King might feel no perfect Rehe, he receives the former Jealousie concerning the Earl of Richmond. But why the reducing him into his Power, should so much perplex the State, is beyond reach, unless it were a Divination of future Accidents, which instru'd the King's Fears to expet Dangers from him, who neither in point of Justice nor Strength was for the present considerable. For when we look upon his Resolation at home, the Civil Wars ha brought them so low, that no Perfon of Authority had any Relation to him, except the Lord Stan- ley (g), who being Father-in-Law to him, might perhaps with his Fortunes well, but bore a most faithful Mind to the King, in whose special Favour he continued to the laft; and if we consider him as, if his uses discovered in Blood to King Lewis, to what a great University, through a great- broad, certainly there was no just Ground for Sufpicion, the French being so lately entred into a particular Amity with England, and never having afforded either Comfort or Countenance to the young Earl's Exile. Then for any Claim to the Crown, the holding could be of no impaire and base, if Metal, it could make no way endure the Touch. His Mother, by whom only he could pretend, Her India of the House of Somerset, but not of Lancaster, was in regard to the Crown. The Title being of so impaire and base, Metal, it could make no way endure the Touch. His Mother, by whom only he could pretend, Her India of the House of Somerset, but not of Lancaster, was in regard to the Crown. The Title being of so impaire and base, Metal, it could
Moreover Indig-
Tillings, Turnaments, Barriers and the like; as the former Entertainments of Wit, full of an elegant Curiosity for that Time subject to too much Tartan and Noife to give Birth to both Inventions. But all Solicitude of the Feast of St. George, Patron of the noblest Order of the World, was celebrated with most Splendor and Pomp. Of which our common Chronicles are so liberal in the Relation, that they spare my Pen the Labour.

Against the Delicacies of Peace, the King, forgot not to please his Luft (the Ballard of an idle Security;) and indeed impossible almost it was, that his Appetite flatter'd daily with all the Curiosities of Luxury, should contain it self severely within the Bounds of Modesty. For by his other Actions we may judge, how little trouble his Confidence put him to; and therefore not eafe to be frighted from Sin by Religion; fo on the Part of his Body, they who familiarly knew him affirm, that never Man was framed by Nature more apt to the Exercise of Lust, and whom amorous Courtship did let Misbehave. But Almighty God took not his natural Progenets to Luft, for an Excite; but severely punish'd him in his Sons: Who were both dispois'd of the Kingdom and their Lives by their untimely Uncle: There being so much Appearance of Right in the Upright Father's Inconstancy, that even a Part of Parliament was made to baffardize them. And this fad Judgment was provoked by the Difforder of his Luft; to which how we can wonder if so easily he inclin'd, for Majesty seldom admits of any Infracktions to a Revere Correction of the Appetite?

—Ambition to extend their Dominions, hath been ever recorded the noblest Virtue in Princes: Who to lellen a Neighbour-State too mighty in the Growth of Empire, or in hope to conquer some Territory, to which the Conveniency, not the Justice makes good the Title; without Scruple hazard large Armies of their People: And confidently boast the Victory, tho' the War were grounded upon Injustice. While K. Edward lived at 1 some glorious in his Quiet, this Doctrine was listen'd to by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in following which he made no mercy of the Anglers and unfavourable, fo soon as he was informed after his Peace concluded with France, he direct'd his whole Power to the Deftruction of the Duke of Lorain. A Prince who in Favour of K. Lewis, to whose Fortune he had devoted his Service, defied the Duke of Bourgundy, when he lay at the Siege of Nee. And tho' this Design against Lorain merit carry with it all Probabilities of Success; considering the Narrowness of the Dutchy: Yets it ought in Judgment to have been weighed with the Support of France and other Confederates in Germany, it might have been of much more Difficulty. For it had not only been perpetual Difhonor to K. Lewis, but even a Disadvantage to his Affairs to permit a free spoil of so near an adjoining Country to the Duke of Bourgundy; whom for the present a blunt Revenge transform'd beyond Reason, and made him war with all Cruelty, not only against Lorain, but against the Dutch, where the Victory might in some Measure recompense the Cost; but against the Switzers, because they had lidd'd with Lorain, and made some Irruption into the Territories of the Burgundian. The Switzers, a poor People, unknowing how to make them a Terror to Life among their cold and barren Mountains; only proud in Opinion they had of their Liberty, which was rather maintaine'd by the Fortune of the Country inacessible almost to an invading Army, than by the Valour of the People. A gainst these he led his Forces, rejecting the submis and despising them by them, and that free Acknowledgment of their Poverty, when they protected all the Wealth of their Country fam'd up to the highest Value, would not be able to buy the Spurs and Brindle bits in his Camp. Fortune in the beginning of the War terripiz'd him to a Conqueree of the War with prosperous Success, intending by that glorious But only to allure him to Destruction. For soon the Chance of War turn'd, and in three Battles in one Year the unfortunate Duke was overthrown: In the Luft of which fought before Nee. While which, by the Regard of his Alliance and continual Intercourse of Injurious, had much Relation to the English: Whole Honour, and Recovery of whole large Territo ries in France, he certainly from his Heart desired. And when he invited K. Edward into France to that Purpoze, and there feiz'd him of his promised Success, it was dissolved not from any under-hand Practice or Remitts in the Undertaking; but only by the Misfortune of his Army, fomewhath broken not long before at the Siege of Nee. He was therefore a Friend to us, if an ambitious Man were to be a friend to any; or rather to gain an Enemy to Lewis of France that he loved us only in Opposition; and deid our Prosperity, became it could not grow without Ruin to the French. How just a Governor he was in Peace appertaineth little to our Knowledge, and the World had little Leisure to consider; he was so everlastingly in Arms: In which as he shew'd great Courage and Judgment, fo likewise did he commit much Injustice. And he who will examine what Lucinde War gives to Injury, and how it impeach almost necessity, may judge. Wrong in some Fort are excite. But his being ever in Quarrels, (into which he enter'd and continued,) as his Passion, not his Reason directed him) argues his spirit daring but turbulent, and his Valour rash and inconsiderate, and takes away all Pardon from his so many Errors. The two great Blessings of the World, Death and Misery, are to him the Cavaliere, whom the General in Lorain, where in cold Blood he caus'd all the Inhabitants to be killd, the Town being yield'd to his Difcretion: And his perfidiousness to the Count St. Paul, whom notwithstanding a sute Pathiblike Conduct he deliver'd up to Execution into the Hands of K. Lewis. The good Man who ascribe Punishment to the Justice of Heaven, observe that after these two Crimes his Fortune let him, and with Dignorous Death overtook him, when he least expected it. Having at that time in his imaginations so many and so vast Designs, that scarce the Age and Fortunes of Man hath length and Power enough to accomplish them all.

The Switzers described.

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A. D. 1475; Reg. 16.

—Duke of Burgundy's Ambition to conquer his neighbouring Princes.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1476.
Reg. 16.

By his Arts, that he never startled at this great Accident, nor look'd how nearly it might concern his own Safety. It is certain, from his conduct at this time, certain, on the French side, of new Undertakings by Kings Lewis, he refil'd quiet, and gave free Reins to his injurious Ambition, who, as soon as he understood the Death of Duke Charles, and perceived how open his Countries lay to an invader, he pretendid another purpose of Henry was droll'd back to the Crown of France, and by the Arms of tle Duke of Lorraine without farther Dispute took it in : In the mean time himself feiring upon all Picardie, which for many Years had remained in Possession of Dukes and Counts. and that he might have yet more Occasion of Quarrel with an unsettled Lady unable to withstand his Opposition, he fummon'd the Princefs Mary, Dutchefs of Burgundy to come in Perfon into France to do Homage for the County of Flanders, and her other Estates held in Chief of that Crown. But the knowing how unsafe it was to yield her Perfon up to a Prince, who made his Advantage of every Opportunity, delay'd the Homage, and fixed upon her Guard as strongly as if in disorder a Country was possible. For they expect'd a Lady of such Cutaneous and mighty Provinces, able if not to obtur'd, yet to defend themselves against the World; yet were the People stubborn and prone to Rebellion, and who by the Weakness of some of their Princes heretofore, had purchas'd to themselves too large Injuries. And indeed scarce any Town, but had or pretendi'd to have fuch Pre- rogatives, as debated all Authority of Government, which upon every Change in State they revir'd, and endeavours of if possible to redeem themselves from Subjection. And this Hope, more than ever now posse'd them, confidering the Unexperince both of the Youth and Sex of her that ruled ; fo that by Appearance of their charful Carriage to the Dutchefs, and small Preparations against King Lewis, who every Day surpriz'd some Place or other, they rather desired to be expos'd a Prey to some infe- leat and cruel Embracings, than abounding in the Government of their lawful Prince. She therefore sent Ambassadors to implore Aid of King Edward, and declare to him the urgency of her present Neccessities. Who knew, That their Princefs the greatest; Here in the World, born to a large and rich Territory, was at prefent in a Con- dition beneath the pearl Subjelt that enjoyed Liberty, being detain'd Captive by the Hands of such as made refrains for more unapproachable, viz. of her own infant Rebels. That her Deliverance concerned the King of England in general as a Prince; and in particular as a Neighbour and an Ally, as well as those Ambassadors, who had do'd to attempts and all this Treason, took Care from the French King's declar'd Emulation. An injurious Proceeding in a Prince against a Neighbour, which justly produces all Chillidoem to unite in her Defence, and punish her barbarous Proceeding in him. The ancient Leages offered with jo much Religion between England and the Low Countries, particularly did require his Majesty's prefer Ack'z; and a Confederation of what might happen perhaps in his own Folly in the same Natio- nes did not require a discretion, to what might plantation to receive them hereafter. That even in the political Defection of Government, it was con- cern'd, that nearly it concern'd the State of Eng- land to provide against so dangerous an Addition of Dominion to the French, confidering King Lewis had already much injuriously wrested away not only Peronne, Mountdouier, Tournay, and all the rest of Picardie sold hereafter to Duke Philip, but certify'd the Distress and Infirmity of their Princefs. And what expreffes the Enmity of the Tyrant, and the bated Malice of his Intendants, summons her at this present to do Homage personally for Flanders and her other Territories; which Sum- mons if she obeys, she certainly bears her self to as enterprizing a Property, as to surrender a large Part of her Inheritance for Redemption; and if she refuseth, she endangers her whole Ejfate to the Surprise of a merciless Enemy, who never wanted the Presence of Justice to justify Spoil and Rape. They further urg'd, how their Princes were not only in danger, but condemn'd by her own Subjects, but had not so much as an Appearance to defend her in the Field to oppose the invader. The Soldier being absolutely defroy'd in the former unfortunate Battel fought by her Father in Lorrain; and the Faith of all the Commanders who remain'd, bought up by King Lewis, and turn'd a body French, with which the King and his Forces under- stood into the Governmets. And all Hope of any Levies at home vain and false, the Comment by Practice of the French King every where in Tournay, and the few who mightwell to their Princefs's Affairs, either not daring to declare themselves, or suffering Death in attempting it, but yet resolved to make a resistance with Iateignty, That the King would engage his Arms in so just a Quarrell, which, as it could not but must honourable to his Name and so unwra- fiable, fo likewise would it call a perpetual Obligation upon their Princefs, and devote her Power hereafter to his Service.

This Embassy carried with it every Way fo much Bulige, that it begot a general Appre- bition. For the Opinion was, that England would have so fair an Opportunity to wit. Honour to the Nation, relieve an oppreffed Princefs, check an infantile and unfinish'd Neighbour, and provide for its own Safety. So that in the Court no Perfon of Honour, not corrupted with the French Pienion, but paffionately desirous the Undertaking; and thought it necessity in every Point to begin this defensive War. But the King, who was in so deep a Lethargy that no force might wake the cold Blood of his Nation make him feible, heard this with a fair Respect, and difmissed the Ambassadors with some faint Comfort. And tho' he could not but perceive what a Cloud it would be upon his Reputation to permit fo foul an Injury to the young Princes, and that still, yet he resolved to listen to the fair Counsells of Peace, and believe (how improbable soever) the many Pro- testations of King Lewis.

Who, as soon as he understand'd of these Ad- dresse's made to England; which at the very first he expected the Dutchefs and Ambassadors to undertake, or do whatsoever had been wroght by the former Solicitation and whereas the Dutchefs of Burgundy perfwad'd King Edward to this War by the Arguments of Honour and a gene- rous Pity. He diffus'd it, by means of an al- fable Breach of the Peace found at Picquigny or Bar- burgundy, whereby the King should be frustrat'd of his Tract's, and the so mighty Marriage of his Daughter. He flour'd further, how it was not only against the fo near Amity begun and likely to continue between them and their Folly, but even against the Cu- stom of the Realm in Contract, that a King of the Bourbon House should be frustrat'd of his Prat's, and the so mighty Marriage of his Daughter. He flour'd further, how it was not only against the fo near Amity begun and likely to continue between them and their Folly, but even against the Cu- stom of the Realm in Contract, that a King of the Bourbon House should be frustrat'd of his Prat's,
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth. 474

A.D. 1476.
Ren. Reg. 16.

was but an Act of Justice, since those many Places in Picardy were no way of Right belonging to Duke Charles, but permitted him only to avoid the Contro-
sertion of the King's Power, who would but call to Money, as they were mon-
gaged to Duke Philip. The absolute Abandon-
ment of all the Towns in Normandy, which falling in the present Dutchess, implies a Return of its to the Crown, where it is past at first by an in-
credible Transfusion. Lastly, that his taking
Arms was only to recover and justify his Rights, and never was intended to perform a Conquest, which never was denied by any Earl of England. And if there be any Injustice or Transgressions among your Subjects, the better to blame the evil Disposition of their People to Rebellion, or the Misfortune of their own Government.

This was the Effect of King Louis's his An-
fwer at first, which the King was joyful to
have divulged, because it gave his Slovenly to
Action, a Sanguinary Shew of Justice and Differ-
ence. But the Relief of the oppressed Lady
flew so much into the Desire of the Commoo-
nalty, that the French the head
ed to so much to Compassion, that the French be-
gan to suspect the King might be induced to
undertake her Protection. Whereupon new
Ambassadors came with new Instructions some-
thing more plausible than the former, in which
they were to keep the King upon any Terms at
France. The King offered to his Majesty a full Re-
lation of King Lewis his Proceedings hitherto, with Promises, 1 To refer it wholly to him, if
any Violence had been by the Licence of War
committed. That their Matter's Aim was to
far from Injury, that he would submit to in-
different Judgment all the Palleges in this
Quarrel, and bind himself to any Reinsti-
tion the King of England should order. For
all his Desire by these Arms was only the Re-
duction of his own, and Maintenance of the
Prerogatives of the Crown of France. And en-
couraged by this, and the innumerable riches of
Dijon, concerning the Dauphin, his so for-
ward Growth, and the great Expectation of
him; something too of the Lady Elizabeth, and the
Joy all France conceiv'd of the future Mar-
riage. Neither was the Ceremony of paying
the Tribute ever omitted at the Day, nor the
great Lords forfeen to be precluded with
Pensions, and something too of Addition to in-
crease their Diligence.

By these Arts he won Time, a Merchandize he then traffick'd for, and the Purchase of which so nearly concern'd his present Design: For it was his, and certainly a politic Couzils from af-
fifying the Dutchess of Burgundy to come a
second Embassy from France.

K. Lewis's his Policy to keep N. Edward's his People from aff-
fying the Dutchess of Burgundy.
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That, if he had not reflected, but thereby to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to disabuse the King and his Holiness from the Crown, had contrary to Truth, Nature and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd that the King was a Secret Traitor to his Crown and Majesty;  

To that make this his so monstrous Ambition more successful and already to begin his Usurpation, he had caud'd many of the King's Subjects to be sworn upon the most blifled Sacrament to be true to him and his Heirs, without any Declaration; which solemn Oaths, he discover'd to them his Revolution to right himself and his Followers, who had both suffer'd by the King's violent wraftling away their Eftates; And in particular to revenge himself upon the King, who (as he most impudently and falsely suggested) had by Art-Mijick contrived to confine him, as a Candle confin'd in burning. And, what most express'd the Trefpoff of his Designs, that he had got out an Exemplification under the great Seal of Henry VI. late King; wherein was illustrat'd the Foot that it was intended, but if the said Henry and Edward his Son should die without issue, the Kingdom should depen'd upon the Duke of Clarence and his Heirs; whereby clearly appear'd his Intention, immediately to poftiff himself of the Crown, with Declaration of King Edward and his Children by Pretenfe of a general Election of the Commonwealth. This was the Sum of his Attainder, which we may well believe had not so easily paft but by the King's publick declaring himself, the secret working of the Duke of Gloucester, and the passionate urging of the Queen's Kindred, and one of their Desperate and ungrateful Mijicks. Remarkable, that Clarence here fall'd was accu'd, of laying Batterly to the King, to endeavour Poffefion of the Crown: Which afterward was alleg'd indeed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the absolute Diflination of the King's Children, and God's former Judgment of the Manifiefs, how unsafe it is in a Prince, by false Accusations to condemn an innocent, or but to aggravate the Fault of one left Guilty, to the End that Cruelty may be reported an Act of Justice.

The Death of this Prince being sudden and extraordinary, begot every where an extraordinary Cenfre; the unnatural Severity, taking away all Excuse, even from their Difcourfe, whom mof't favour'd the King. At Home it was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water, upon dry Ground, and the Quality of the Person: He being the First Brother to a King in this Country, that ever was attainted. And what increas'd the Murmur, a Faction appear'd at Court triumphing in his Ruin, all the Accusations were strangely wrested, and no matter of Fact, scarce an Intention cou'd stand against the State. Whereupon this Punishment was thought to have been infil'd upon him for no new Attempt: His first taking Part with Warwick, being his only Crime. For which War, tho' somewhat against Nature, he had many Examples of both the Kings and of Chriftian: Whereas for the Death of a younger Brother, upon bare Sufficion, the King could borrow no Precedent nearer then the Turkish Government. But Clarence imagin'd the Pre-republic of his Birth a sufficient Defence against Danger, and omit'ted to fortifie himself with Faction; which laid him open to every Aulfult of Eury. And became he had heretofore been in Oppofition against the King, the Liberty in 1477, cenfuring any Deficit in Government was inter'Ref. 17. precipitated a Defire to be in Arms again. Every Word of Diftaf't being held Criminal in him, from whom the King was alienated by his own Diffipation, open Invetigles of the Queen's Kindred, and the Captivity of the Prince of Wales; who now began to look high over all Rejiefts of Nature and Religion. He was certain his Clai'ms both of Right Proportion, which made daring him so attentive to any new Countefs, and of an eafe Nature, which render'd him apt by Prudence to be servile to Richard. He was a good Master, but an uncertain Friend; which delivers him to us to have been, according to the Nature of weak Men, sooner perfwaded by an obfquious Flattery, than a free Advice. We cannot judge him of any evil Nature, only bufliness and Inconform, thinking it a Circumstance of Greatness to be fill in Action. He was too open-breadest for the Court, where Sufficion looks thro' a Man, and discovers his Revolution thro' the Dark, and lock'd up in Secrecy. But what was his Ruin, he was, whether the House of York or Lancaster prevail'd, still focond to the Crown: So that he by his open-mindedness too fledfastly on the Beauty of it became unlawfully enamour'd with it; and that being obler'd by the King's Jeaonifie, he fuf'ed as if he actually had finned. He left two Children by the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, Edward, who inherited his Grandfather's Honour, and was behead'd in the Reign of Henry the Seventh, and Margaret afterwards by Henry the Eighth created Countefs of Salisbury, who was marry'd to Richard Pool of the Welé Family of the Poole.

While this Mitchief was secretly in Contribu- ying against Clarence, in the Court appear'd no old or new-born, but that of Jollity and Magnificence. For Prince of Wales at that Time was Edward eldest Son to the King and (during Christmas, to mingle the Solemnity with the Courtship of Liberty) inaugurated Prince of Wales, Duke of York; and Clarence, Earl of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, and his younger Brother Richard, created Duke of York 5 April 1478. The Academy of their Honour and their Ruin, being fill T. 5. 18. the fame. At this Creation according to the ancient Ceremony, many young Lords and Gentlemen of principal Name were made Knights of the Bath, among whom Brian Chief-Judice of the Commons, and Littleton, that last learned Father of the Laws, are registred.

But the publick Glory of these extraordinary Prince's Pleasures could not be maintain'd with the ordinary Revenue. Therefore to make good the Expenditure of his own Crown, and of the King began to look narrowly into those of his Subjects; that by this Art, in a manner, he might Sin upon the free Coll. And as it hath been a certain Obser- vation, that the most delicate and voluptuous Princes have ever been the heaviest Oppre- fors of the People; Riches being a far more la- te than the Profit of the common Treafury, than War or Magnificence; so those Parts of the King's Life, which were wanton away with variety of Delights, are noted to have been fe- verely. But perhaps the Subject repeats not the free Believers and other of the King's Household, as he fies the Return of it in Triumph; but re- pines if the least Part of his Contribution be the Reward of Parafites, or Perfons to whom Fortune, not Merit gives a Growth. And Historians likewise have more Leffe to examine the Crimes of Princes in the Silence of Peace, than in the Noise of War: Or else Princes want... Vol. I.
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A.D. 1478. Reg. 7th.

Opportunity to incline their Thoughts to the Study of private Gain, when the Soldier in a War, and the Adventurer in Commerce, and the Merchant, and the Honest Man, and every Man's particular Treasure. For now the King began to cause the Penal Laws to be put in Execution, and raising higher Aims, to look downward into every forded Way of enriching himself; so that a general Tempest prevailed in the World, and every Government would be both sharp and heavy, considering the first Part of it was not without a foul Blemish in that Kind. For in the Seventh Year of his Reign, he proceeded against many of the wealthy Citizens with so much Severity to their Property and Persons.

R. Edward's Seventy First Year to Sir John Cooke, Justice, and the like.

King's Business, and the like.


This Motion the King's Business, and having of Knights, Haubas and other Aldermen. And their Crime was, having given Affiance to King Henry: Which, considering the Circumstances of Kings could hardly be received, nor its Acceptance been clearly proved. But against these Men there was no Testimony but what was forc'd with Torture; and even that Testimony, not high enough to bring them to the Bar; yet the King commanded them to be arraigned of High Treason at Goal, where he was sentenced upon the Evidence, that upon any Terms they might be found guilty. Their Wealth being the principal Witnesses that gave Evidence against their Lives: But the Jury well directed by Sir John Markham, Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, acquitted them of their Charges: Which, nevertheless, left their Estates not, their Estates however were found guilty, and the greatest Part estranged to the King. With the Officers the Judge was condemn'd, and because he pretend'd his Integrity before a severe Command, made Forfeiture of his Dignity.

The Memory of these Carriages herefore mentioned, in a Burlesque that concern'd the Life of a Man reputed innocent, drew the World into much Fear that he would now decline to Rigour Neither was the King totally exculc, although this cruel Avarice was laid to the Queen, who, having a numerous Line and Kindred, by Favours vailed up to the highest Titles, was most acculturated for Supportance of their Honours, to wrack the Kingdom. And happily the universal Malice that waited on her and hers, serv'd well for the King; they being as a Screen between him and the universal Air of Envy, which other wise might have endanger'd his Reputation with the People.

From this rugged Way of Governing, he was soon diverted by Necessity to look abroad, and perhaps by the Greatness of his Nature, or of his former History. For the Face of the World adjoyning began on the sudden to change, and while the Kings of England and France were dividing the Territories of the Duchiess of Burgundy, a third step'd in, and got Possession of her and her rich County, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, sent to the Emperor Frederick III. entertain'd heretofore politely by Duke Charles, was now seriosuly invited to this Marriage. For the Lady dispairing to receive Successors from the Englishe, to the Affection of whom she was perhaps inclin'd, to her Neighbourhood in the French, and Perivasion of the Duchiess Dowager, to her by her own consent, felt the much honoured, condenced in the end to the Delite of her Subjects, who ever laboured to marry her to some Prince of Germany, in regard of the Ne renal in Language, and Concordance in Dispositions. And although the hereditary Countries of this Prince lying far o'more, were unlike to be any Support to her weakened State; yet considering they were the foundation of her ambition, and what a possibility to succeed (for in an elective Kingdom scarce ever is the Heir put by, if equally deserving) he might appear necessary to her present Affairs. For he was young, of a noble Spirit, strong and healthful in Constitution, and with the Attempt of Honour, and what was upon the Affections of the Low-Country Men, extraordinary affable and courteous. I know both his Actions and the Histories of that Time deliver him to us of no deep Judgment, and he negligent, that he ever left Things imperfect, and the King with Embellies full of light, could not. But this I impute to him as an Error of the Climate under which he was born, and a certain generous Honesty, which is above Sufficion. The Motion of this Marriage was embraced with much Joy, to the Accomplishment of another of his Father's wishes; the Ditch of Burgundy, with all his Engines batter the Reformation of the Emperor, who, tho' a most passionate Lover of Peace, (which oftentimes he bought with Loss) ran the Hazard of a War from France, rather than let his Son lose the Kingdom, the Emperor of Germany; he could not. And suddenly sent him to the Dutchefs, attended by many great Commanders, who among a People so oppreseed with Arms, would be the best Witnesses of a Marriage. His Presence, alth'o' it did not absolutely turn the Stream of Fortune, yet gave a Stay to the French Conquests; and after he appeared'd in the Quarlars, Victory doubtfully inclin'd, sometimes flattering Maximilian, at other Times King Lewis. Maximilian by his brave Valour, overturning Lewis, who had the Start in Experience and Policy: So that frequent Truces were conclude'd between them, and unfeithfully observ'd the first Opportunity of Advantage renewing the War.

Lewis handled these Buiñesses apart, never K. Edward admitting King Edward, tho' he ever officiously laboured to interest himself in them, into any Part of the War or Peace, but, by the Strength of his Understanding, that he in Treaty could lose nothing by the Arch-Duke; so he well consider'd, that the safest Way to preserve the English in Amy, was to keep them at home. Whereupon, he frequently enterprizt and cou'd keep the Dutchefe, in some Manner, such as might appear rather the Arguments of a fierce Friendship than the forc'd Expressions of Ceremony; and ever communicatid with him his private Counsels, requiring his faithful Advice, when indeed he referid his Resolutions of any Publick Nature only to himself, and in ways in the Conduct of Affairs, tho' he would listen to the Opinion of King Edward, he still obeyed his own. But this, with his other Arts continu'd his Reputation good with the English, and purchasid that Quiet, he supposid might by our Arms be interrupted.

Ach with what regard'd his Security the more, Troubles began between us and Scotland; which immediatly we may well believe he understand'd ance. The Occasion of them was, the evil Inclination and ungodly Spirit of James III. who disdaining to listen to the temperate Counsels of his Father and Brother, who were of the Mind, which his Passion threw headlong into rage Attempts. The Freedom of Advice by the Lords of that Country lied toward their Princes, render'd the Speaker hatefull, and frequently was rewarded with Imprioment or Exile, if not with Death. Among the Multitude of the
it apart, with Sale of the Army, he might pursue his own Peace.

Their first Attempt was upon Berwick (for rendered hereof by Queen Margaret to gain a "Sactuary for King Henry, when he was expe- 
pelled England") into which, partly by Terror of their Friends, partly by the Benefits of the Peace, their Acceptance of it: on their Approach, they entered without Opposition. The Town was soon at their Discretion; but the Cattle, the strongest Fort then in the North, by the Earl Bristol, was made good against all Batter. Gloucester foreseeing by the Strength both of the Place, and the Commons Resolution, that this Siege would spend much Time, committed the Charge to the Lord Stanley, Sir John Erpington, and Sir William Par, with 4000 Soldiers; while he with the body of the Army marched higher up to Berwick, persevered, as indeed it happened, that they might force the King of Scotland, and either to an inglorious Flight, or else for Safety to lock himself up in some strong Hold. By which they might to imprision him, that his Re- lenteness should not be without a full Discharge for all Injuries to the King and the Subjects of 

of England. And according to Expectation it happened, the King upon the first Rumour of an Enemy, including himself in the Cattle of his taken for Edinb’rgh. For in his Government having not studied the Safety of his People (which is the supremum concern, given to Kings) he found himself now forbadn by them, so far, that in Oppo- 
sition to the English, against whom the Scots ever shewed a fair Resolutions, no Army now took the Field, the Country lying open to the 

of the English, therefore, burning many Towns by the Way, and taking many inhabitants; and marched directly to Edinborough, in which he entered, receiving such Prefents as the Citizens of the offer’d to him; for at the Intrest of the Duke of Albyn, he spared the Town from Spoil. His Entry was only a Spectacle of Glory, the Peo- ple applauding the Mercy of an Enemy, who presented them with a Triumph, not a Battle; and welcome’d him as a Prince, who took Arms not for Prey or Malice, but for the Safety of a neighbouring Kingdom, disorder’d and laid wide more by the Licenc of a Tyrant in Peace, than it could have been by the Hand of War. The Lords of the Council, following the Duties of their State, and desirous to prevent Ruin, sent from Haddington to the Duke of Gloucester to interest a Subservience of Arms, and to deare a firm Peace in future. They there offer’d, if the Occasion of beginning this War, were as it was pretended; to give the English full Satisfac- tion: So that he could have no Colour of continuing in Hostility, but only a Desire to execute his indignation upon a Country, already sufficiently disorder’d. For concerning the Marriage, they were prepar’d when it should be practicable: and the Duke of Albion being at this time the "second" of the Names of whom I mention, only to shew how great a Shadow Gloucester began to call toward the Sun- set, both of the King’s Glory and Life. The Vanguard was led by the Earl of Northumber- land, the Rearward by the Lord Stanley, the main Body by the Duke of Albion, in whose Company was the Duke of Albion; Gloucester willing perhaps to have him still in Sight, left

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Acord. But the Sirensf Lords laboured by all Means to have avoided the surrender of a castle so impregnable, by pretending that as nearly it was opportune to their Crown, by parting with which now they should appear at too dear and safe a Price, to have purchased Peace. No Argument could prevail against Gloucester's Reproduction; whereupon they yielded Berwick, with Concessions to the Art hereafter labouring for the Reduction of it. They likewise appointed a Day for Restitution of all those Monies lent by King Edward, and promised upon a full Discussion, to make Satisfaction for all Damages done the English by any Inroad of the Sirens Borderers. And for the Duke of Gloucester's Provocation, whose Safety in this Expedition was principally pretended; (n) a general Par- don for him and his Followers was granted, together with an Abolition of all Discontents; Whereby he was reinvited in all his former Dignities and Places; and by consent of the Nobility of Scotland, proclaimed Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

With this Lord the Duke of Gloucester endeavoured to make a most entire Friendship, and by all Industry implo'd for his Advancement in Authority, indued how to make him firm in his Purposes; in which he was hereafter present to do as requisite his Aid: And Queen, howsoever the Fortunes of these two Dukes accorded not in every Point, yet there was in their Ambitious some kind of Sympathy. Both being Brothers to Kings, and both the Kings by the Inflations or Licentiousness of their Actions become obnoxious to a publick Scandal. But Albany had the Advantage in a more defer'd and universal Hatred to the King his Brother, whereby he might not improbably expect to be King in fact, however his Brother were in Title. And Gloucester had the Start in that the King's Brother's Eafe apparently tended to the shortening of his Life; and then he, remaining the only Prince of the Blood fit to govern, was not unlikely to govern as King both in Fact and Title. To the Advancement of such a Deity, a perfect Amity with Scotland, Gloucester could not but have secretly wished. Having therefore fretted futilely there with all increase of Glory to the English Name, (and by Consequence to his own) he return'd to Berwick, which according to the former Agreement had been yielded to the Lord Stanley. Hence in all Solennity of Grievances he came towards London, to yield an Account of his prosperous Enterprize. By the Way he permitted the Honour of this Action to be divulged with the greatest Applause, thereby to underline his Reputation into the Opinion of the Commons; and to show how much more necessary was this Expedition against Scotland had managed the Peace for the Honour of the English Nation, than his Brother had in his Under-taking against France. Considering that in Licia of a little Money, which King Edward got from King Lewis, he had taken the only Place of Strength whereby the Scots might with Safety to themselves have endanger'd us, and brought them to what Conditions he pleased, forcing the King to immure himself, while the English at Liberty spoil'd the Country, and pollicled themselves of his capital Town of Edinburgh. And further, by Gloucester's Flattery, it was ur- lard, that if their General had but had Cum- minion ample enough, he would not have return'd without Reduction of the Kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England. Obedience to his Superior Command fix'd to Edward in a首付 to his Actions. And certainly in this Ex- pedition the Duke of Gloucester laid the Foundation of all his after-Attainments: For here having by a free Spoil of every Town, except only Edinburgh, purchased the Affection of the Englishmen, who had Aim in War, in Gain, and Licence; and by former Order and great Courage, together with a brave Zeal ever to bring Honour to his Side, won Esteimation from the Nobler Sort; he began to imagine himself reputed generally only unhappy in wanting a good Title to the Kingdom. The Difference between the Duke of Gloucester and his Brother was, that he one possessed, the other defer'd the Crown. And his Thoughts farther flatter'd him, that it could not prove hereafter Difficult, upon any handomely Occasion to perfwade the people, who already thought him Worthy, also to think it fit to make him King.

But these his black Intentions came not yet to Light; and indeed they were so monstrous, that they would not only have manifested the Ugliness of their Shape had they now appeared, but like imperfect and deform'd Births, been to the common erudition an object of reproach. Con- found by Pretences of a most serficial Love to his Brother, and publickly scribbling the whole Glory of the Action to his Direction, he declin'd Sufpicion. Being welcome'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Joy, who congratul- ated his own Felicity in having with so little Charge and no Loss, tamed all the Inflency of the Scots, and reduced Berwick. He there- fore to show how much he approv'd the Conditions of the Peace, went solemnly in Procession from St. Stephen's Chapel accompany'd with the Queen and a mighty Retinue of the greatest Lords into Westminster-Hall; where in Presence of the Earl of Angus, the Lord Grey, and Sir James Liddal, Embassadors extraordinary from Scotland the Peace was ratify'd.

During the War with Scotland, and after the Conclusion of this Peace, the King discover'd the Part taken in it, of his Brother. Disposition to being Bountiful and Courteous, far from the proud State then in Practice with the Tyrants of the East; begg'd a general Affection, and made the Subject comparing their Felicity, with the Mifery of their Fathers, to blest the present Government. The Administration like- wise of the Laws being orderly, without Violence or Partiality, caused all the former In- justice to be cast either upon the Licen of War, or the Predominacy of some Faction; and the King absolutely acquitt'd in Mens Opinion. And even from Laiz, which was reput- ed a good Bollion, towards the latter end of his Life, he was somewhat clear: Either Confi- dence reforming him, or by continual Satiety grown to a Loathing of it: For the Affluence could not be imputed to Age, he at his Death not exceeding Two and Forty. But what end- deed him so much to the Affluence of the Peo- ple, and especially to the Citizens of London, was his being rich by his Tribute from France, and therefore not likely to lie heavy on them; as likewise the so fam'd Bounty of his Holitfa- lity: Two thousand Perfons being daily ferv'd in his Court. In Edinburgh, where he so long and so much frequented the Feast of the Nativity, and so recompens'd the great Love which in bothe foci- tunes the Loundiers had show'd him, to his last Hour he outhd towards them a particular Kind-
nefs: Eren so much, that he invited the Lord Mayor (a) and Aldermen, and some of the principal Citizens to the Forrest of Waltham, (b) to two magnificent Banquets, one of which was in compliment to the Honour of the English. For Maximilian having kept Lewis all the Life-time of his Lady, from any further incroach upon her Territories, and by his Fortune gotten into Opinion with the French, grew to be much admired in the Neighbourhood by them; And he having married his Dutchess (who owed her Death to her Modesty, in requite that having broke her Thigh by a Fall from a Horse, the denied to expose it to the sight of Chirurgeons) was willing to stand upon good Terms with France. Knowing how tender and how unfaithful an Obedience those Countries would yield to a Prince, who was to rule by Courtesie; since to their natural Lords, they had ever showed themselves Infolent and Rebellious. These Considerations prepared both Sides to Peace, and the Composition of it: to beget a more perfect Amity was that the Lady Margaret, a Child of two Years Old, Daughter to Maximilian and the Dutchess of Burgundy, should be affianced to the Dauphin, then upon the Age of 1. yfelve. So that King Lewis in the Marriage of his Son, and Daughter to both Countries, would turn the Sover- eignt of England as much too old, as this Lady too young; but indeed his End was the fame with Charles, Duke of Burgundy and many other wordly Fathers, to match his Son for the best Advantage of his Profit and Convenience.

To confirm the uncertain Rumpers of this Perjury in King Lewis, the Lord Howard return'd out of France, and made Relation, how he saw the Lady Margaret brought with all pomp and Ceremony to Antwerp and there mar- ried to Charles the Dauphin: To heap yet another Injury, nor having done the Triumph which he was so careful to provide, was denied. The Denies French now did confidoning the inane Malice they the Tri- bore the English, and with how little Scruple they could differce with the moll femen Oath, when no apparent Danger threatened the Crime: For though the Dauphin when he had attained to the Age of Content, might have broke off this Marriage; and it could have been only term'd an Act of Discourtesy; yet King Lewis who had fivorn to this Article with so much Ceremony, cannot be excused from a moll foul Impiety.

But what Reafon of State prevail'd with him, who heretofore awed by his Fears had confedenced in a manner to compound for his Kingdom, thus now to fight the English, is not delivered in History. And it may appear Difficult to imagine, considering King Edward was now, if possibly, more absolute in his command at Home, his People better disciplin'd, and no Appearance of an Enemy from Abroad. Add to that, his Coffers full, increas'd every Year by the Tribute from France, and his Reputation high, by the Victory lately purchas'd a great on the Seas, a Nation through inferior to the French in the Riches and Extent of Terr- itory, yet in martial Courage equal; and in warring with whom, we have found more Sweat and Danger than with France. It is therefore natural to suppose the King's Affection for it's Proceedings in this injurious Way, if we look on our Selves only as at Home: But if we consider the State of Businesses Abroad, we may easily discern his Policy. For now had the
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A.D. French Arts or the Change of Time quite disfol-
ved all our Confederacies, and left us main-
ly to the Dutch, who became our only Alli-
ates. St. Paul was annihilated, in whose Death ex-
pired all the Difficulties of the factious Nobil-
ity in France.

The Duke of Brittany by an extremely Mal-
choly (which fear was reputed less than Mad-
ness) became an Office for Government, which
left for any great Attempt: And being over-
charged of the Practice and Arms of the French,
in a manner made Reification of his Duty to the Disposition of some Officers idle to be cor-
rupted. And Braggadilig (which in the Victo-
ries of Henry the Fifth, had to much advanced
the English Enterprizers) was by the last League
with Maximian wholly at the Devotion of the French.
So that all they who heretofore had brought us over, were now either reduced to be unprofitable for our Aid; or else become Enemies, should we renew our ancient Quar-
rel. Moreover the long Ease the King of Eng-
land had lived in, and the Pleasures with which he appear'd altogether fascinated, render'd him to the World nothing Formidable. And King
Lemis having with so little Difficulty hislotho
delivered, and render'd him in a manner to se-
vile Amity, while he threw Injuries thick upon
him was now heightend to a Prelimption, that
the English would either consent at this
Affront, or that by some new Canning they
might be appeas'd, were the Indignity never
so much related. And if the Word should hap-
pen, the French nothing fear'd the Enemy: Considering that King Edward alone would be unable to prevail against them feconded by the Forces of Maximian, whom his Daughter now interceded for the War.

These Confidencies of Security to do Wrong
according to the Nature of Wicked Princes,
made King Lemis so boldly attempt it: And
what was Strange in a Man to cunning, he left
himself no Excuse for the Fault, either in the
Way of Honour or Confidence: And Fear in human Policy. Unles his Expectation reach'd an entire common Fifth, in thought that Prince
Philip, Son to Maximian, and the Dutchefs
(for she was Mother only to a Son and a Daugh-
ter) might chance to die, and thus by the La-
dy Margery all those large Countries devote
into the Power of France. But how light follow
that was done, and that the English was so much advantaged
in this Broach of Faith was no sooner related to King Edward, but he resolvido severly to
Revenge.

And calling together all the Council and No-
bility, who for the suddenness could be fum-
mmoned, he to this Purpose made a Declaration of his Wrongs, and Intentions how to right himself.

My Lords,

The Injuries I have received are divulged
every where, and the Eye of the World is
fixed upon me, to observe what Complaisance I return for the wrongs of my Nation, that I remain rather amaz'd than inravi-
ged: Had I dealt with any Prince not civilized by
Law, or unrailed to Commerce; I had yet the Reli-
Bion of so many Oaths, and the Reioyce of every Po-
Bick Circumjance to clear, that I could no way
have satisfed this just and just Broach of Faith.
But in a Christian King (and who pretends to be
\nonn Christians) I have met with so horrid a Per-
•ony, and so disgraceful to our Nation, that as all
Men must abhor him as barbarous, in my
own Particular I must neglect the principal Office of

His Majesty, if I omit to chastize him. Most of you? A.D. 1482,
for my own, and my Wifhesses to the Sorrow of his 1481.
were, when humbly declined Room to his King-
down: And I to avoid so great a Misfortune as the
War would endanger, condescended to end
all Controversies by a Peace. My Clemency is now
become my Scorn; and I repeat Indignities where I
find't Enemys. For this ungrateful Man: Prince
I must not term him, who hath by Persuasion forfeited
that Sacred Title, and in Contempt of all Law both
Human and Divine, denies not only the Marri-
gement of the Dauphin to our Daughter, which would
have prov'd so great an Honour to his Blood, and
Security to our Kings and Queen, but even the Tri-
butie of Fifty Thousand Crowns, a fender Rent for
so large a Country, as by our Permission he hath bi-
therto enjoy'd.

This Contumely I am refolvo to punish; and I King Ed-
ward cannot doubt Success Almight God strengthens his
Arm, who undertakes a War for Justice. In Remi
sion for our Expeditions hereafter against the French, what
on the French our Proficiency waited upon the English Arms, is to the War with
World divulged; and yet Ambition then appeared France, the chief Councillor to War. Now beside all that
Nothing, which led over the Throat of se-
rious Anger, and Henry the Fifth our Predecessor,
we seem to have a Deputation from Heaven, to execute the Office of the Juftrge Judge in cha-
bning the Impious.

When we were left in France, an innate Fear
in this false Man forced him down to a serial Per-
chase of Security: How law will a wicked Confi-
curate, (which even makes the Valiant, cowardly
and trembled) bend him now? Now, when an implica-
tion for my Return, he should resollvo a war upon
our Swords: Now when he hath by Hypocrisy
left undiscovered, nor Saberfuge for his former Per-
jury, nor Art to gain Belief so new Dissimulation:
Now, when our Sons shall be dealt to all Subjection, and
when our Confidence is so well resollvo for the
Necesity of this War, that Mercy will be thought
a vicious Beam, and the just Deceit, by Count
an Act of Justice.

I need not repeat how much Age hath inflamed Lewis his
him (and indeed I think it was Dauje commi-
nan for his love to the Duke of Burgandy, or
rule to his Subjects.)

It is confessed our Confederacies are quite disfol-
ved: And I rejoice in that alone we shall under-
take this great Enterprise: For Experience in our last
Attempts has shew'd us, that however venal
(but however they pretend the same) have still great
Arms: And oftentimes a Confederacy is a greater
Enemy to the Prosperity of a War, than the Enemy
itself: Every enquiring more Difficulty in a Camp,
than any Oppofition from the adverse Arm's. Our
Prosperity is the Nature of the Duke of St. Paul are both
dead. How little their Army advanced us, way
how a just Seifall of their secret Praxes hinder-
our Design then on France, you all may well re-
member. And how in our Return towards Eng-
lend, we had more Fear to have been affholed by
the French Chaffes, than the French will by any
Attack, on the Enemy. But we will spare their Money; they
labour'd their own Safety, not our Glory. This I
am secure, that as by Death they are rendered im-
profitable to us, so likewise not dangerous. And as
our Brittains, to his Weakness defective to us our
A,
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth. 478

A.D. 1482.
Reg. 22.

A.D. 1453.
Reg. 23.

K. Ed-ward Iud-denly died of a mortal Sicknefs.

The Lords refented the Affront with Indignation as high as the King's, and desired that infult Preparations might be made for the War. But above all, the Duke of Gloucester appeared zealous in the Quarrel, expounding about his Defire, That all his Efforts might be spent, and all his Forces employed in Revenge of the Injury. All the Court was prefently for the Design, and the whole Kingdom with a fierce Appettite defired to arm: So that no Language was heard but Military; and all the Gallantry was in new Armour, or other Conveniences for Service, and prefently ordered by his Determination, and that very Spring refolved to begin the War. But he was diverted on the sudden from calling King Lewis to a Reckoning for this Crime; and immoind'd by Death to give a Brief Account for all his Own. Death taught himfafe, and not fent Hours, intruced him in more than the Oratory from Fulpits had done for Forty Years. For as foon as he found himfelf mortally fick, he began to confider the Vanity of all his Victories, which with the Expeufe of fo much Blood he had purchased, and at the Heart repented his too hard Bargain. He looke about on the Beauty of his fenfual Pleafures, and now difcern'd it wasoyaoly in the outside, in inwardly rotten and deforced. He cafh up the Accounts of his Tribute both at home and abroad, and the Treafures gather'd either by Proffection of his Enemies, or evading from his Subjects, and found himfelf a Bankrupt. For till then, he wanted Leifure to fearch into that which moft concerned him; and being delighted too much in the Pomp and Pleafure of the Lim where he was not to lay, forgot he had a Journey, and an uare was overaken by Night, an eafleft Night which no Day fucceded.

Perceiving his Doom inevitable, and no Hope of the Leaff Reprive, he began to order Buinefs as fully as the Shornets of the Time would licence. The great Affair of his soul, and indeed of that of all Europe, was his comfcrated to the Mercy of his Redeemer; and by the Sacraments then int of with the Church of England, and a real Contribution, he laboured for a full Expiration of the Crimes and Errors of his Life. And as his Death is defir'd to us by an excelent Author, and in the Spirit of not my Time, Almighty God seems to have brung Water even from the Rock (as he Major's Wield by did for the fccufers) in touching this Prince to the Heart, and forcing a more refligious Repentance, from a Soul obdurite in Sin, as we may conjecture by his Life.

The Revenge of the injury he receiv'd from Reg. 23. K. Lewis, would't to the Judgment of Heaven, whole Work it is to punish Perjury. And Lewis suffered for it according to his Deme- rit: For that Son, in marrying whom he foublit his Imaginations, and lighted all Faith and Religion, liv'd but a Short Space, and died fffufed. Not one of the Kings of great Power but Lewis, whose Root was in Perjury and Deflufation.

The Protection of the King and Kingdom he K. Ed-ward left to the Lords neareft in Kindred to his Chil- dren, advising them, To Anmty and Concur, by which the Nations would flourish in Greatnefs abroad and Safety at Home; the young King he fucceeded from Flatery, and intrufed in the line Discipline for Government; and they themselves live in much Flavour and Felicity, if united to advance the Commonswealth, and oppose all foreign Danger: Wherez as Devils would begin Civil War, and that endanger Ruin. So that this Chriftian King like Chrift himself, when he departed bequeathed Peace to the World. And this Doctrine beame as zealously followed as it was utter'd, the fucceeding Times have not been guilty of fo many fad Consequences. But for the prefent a perfect Reconcil- lation appoin'd, both Sides preferring your tranquillity and fafety; and promizing all Amity for the future.

So that with Comfort he forfook the World, and may well be faid to have deferved a general Applause in this Jiift Scene of his Life.

Among his Words of farewell at his Death, it is worthy Observation, That he solemnly promis'd His Sor- row for refulting, for Obtaining the Crown with the War brought Blood, as the Nefceffity of the Quarrel spilt, he got. Which certainly fows a moft singular Piety, the considering the indubitable Justice of his Title; and withal teacheth Princes a new Lezion, That the Power of Way, which great Men fo hyperbolically adore, is but the Idol of Pity and Ambition; whole Oracles delude the Living, but on our Death-beds we difcern the Truth, and hate the Infreligion of our former Error.

Concerning the Occasion of his Death, there is much Variety of Opinion; for by several Conftitut Authors, he is generally inated to Poison of K. Edward's Death by, the Duke of Gloucester's Memory; who permit not readily Nature at that Time to have been malicious to reported, Decay, but make the Death of every Prince an Act of Violence or Pratice. And in regard to this cruel Lord was guilty of much Blood, without any other Argument, condemn him for those Crimes, from which he was however actually moft innocent. The French affirm it to have proceeded from Grief concern'd upon Grief. Repudiation of his Daughter, and Demandation of the Tributes. But they looking on our Af- fairs afar off, miffake the Shadow for the Sub- stance, defiring perhaps that King Lewis should kill a King of England by a new Weapon: And certainly Lewis did perfume himself, that King Edward was blind this Way; and congratulated his Wit much in the Accident. But this car- ries not the least Appearance of Probabili- ty (p). Great Sorrows kill for the most part suddeufly, eile by a languishing Decay of Na- ture; whereas King Edward died not painfully.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1483.

But this King was, if we compare his with the Lives of Princes in general, worthy to be numbered among the best. And whom, though Reg. 23.
not an extraordinary Vertue, yet, a singular Fortune as a Confessor, his Father a; that Time Reg.

B. D. 1483.

He had a great Extent of Wit, which certainly and
tially he owed to Nature: That Age bettering

Men little by Learning, which howsoever he had wanted Leitir to have receiv'd; the Trumpet sounding Hill too loud in his Ear, to have admitted the sober Counsels of Philosophy. And as Wit lay not in the Sights of Cunning and Deceit; but in a sharp Appreciation, yet not too much whetted by Safficion.

In Counsell he was judicious, with little Diffi
culty discharging much: His Understanding open
to every view, and yet not to be clouded and apt to
create new. His Wisdom look'd ever directly upon Truth, which appears by the Manage-
ment of his Affairs both in Peace and War: In

either of which (as far as concern'd the poli-

tic Part) he committed any main Error. His true, he was over-reach'd in Peace by King

Lemis; while concerning the Marriage of his

Daughter; in War by the Earl of Warwick, when upon Confidence of a final Agreement he was surpriz'd; but both these Misfortunes I impute to want of Faith in his Enemies, not of

Judgment in him. Though to speak impartially,

to his great Prejudice in the Oath of a
diligent Prince; and want of Cima-
pfection, a Reconciliation being but in Treaty,
cannot chafe without Reprechension.

His Nature certainly was both noble and ho-

nef, which if rectify'd by the stiff Rule of Vertue, had reader'd him fit for Example,
whereas he is only now for Observation. For

Prosperity rais'd him but to a Complicity in his

Fortune, not to a D. dislin of others Lilies,
or a Pride of his own Acquisitions. And when he had mott Security in his Kingdom, and con-
sequence' moll Allurements to Tary, then

disc'd himself most familiar and indulgent.
An admirable Temper in a Prince, who so well

knew his own Strength, and whom the Lore of

Riuch necessitated to a Love of Treasure, which commonly is supply'd by Oppression of the

Subject.

The heavy Fine laid upon Sir Thomas Cook, and his Diapliquing the Chief Justice Marykham, verily

blenneth him with Violence and Avarice of his

But that Severity, and the other, when he began to under into his Parliament Laws, were but

imposed to K. Ed-

ward's.

His reign Twentv Three Years and One month, and lived about Forty One Years.

(4) He reign'd Twenty Three Years and One month, and lived about Forty One Years.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. 1483. The World either judicially or else purposely diverting all Ears from his Memory.

Reg. 23.

Great Judgment in leading his Armies, and Courage in fighting personally, speaks him out of a great Commander. And the many Battles he fought in, in all which he triumph'd, make him as much to be admired for his military Discipline, as his happy Successes. Fortune not desiring to have all his mighty Victories ascribed to her Gift; V Sto był got Bravour with more at least with her in the Fate of War. But as in Arms he appears most glorious to Posterity, so likewise most unhappy: For all those bloody Conquests he obtained, were against his own Nation; and the greatest Adversities he overcame, were near in Coaligniety to him; so that he may more properly be said to have let himself Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for Preference of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and most necessary Limbs. For besides those many Princes of the He-œ of Somerset, —Richmond, Oxford, Northumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and finally the Tree itself, and the only Branch, Henry the Sixth and his Son Prince Edward: Helew even the Earl of Warwick and the Marques Montague; Two Brothers, who having loft their Father in his Quarel, hazarded their Lives and those mighty Politicks and Honour which peaceably they might have enjoyed, only to advance his Title. But this was rather his Fate than his Fault; and into this Sea of Blood he failed not voluntarily, but violently driven by the Tempels of his Fortune. And for the Conclusion of the Death of the Duke of Clarence, he was certainly wrought to it by the Pratice, and the Mitigation of an evious Faction in Court; The Horror of which Fratricide posseffed him to the last Hour of his Life; frequently complaining against the unspoy Severity of his Jullicie, and against the hard Nature of his Counsellors, who would not interpose one Word to him for Mercy, whereby fo black a Deed might have been prevented. But however we may wash away much of this Blood from his Memory, yet there continue many foul Stains upon it; since publick Mich's feldam happen, but that the Prince, tho' not actually accuss, is in some Degree guilty.

The Cruelty to his Brother, the Duke of Clarence, a Trouble to him.

As these so many Confusions at Home were the Misfortune of his Time, so was Abroad, that so scandalous loss of the Eastern Empire to the Turk. For though King Edward were not the Occasion of so great Ruin to the Chriftian Commonwealth, and this happen'd before he attain'd the Sovereignty, his Father being Head of the Faction; yet the civil Wars of England raised about the Quarel which he was born to sett, and the univerfal Divition amongst the Princes of the West gave Courage to the Infidels; and denied Success to the miferable Emperor oppress'd by an over-powerent Enemy. Whereby a City was procaped in which the Chriflian-Faith had flourisht without interruption for a thousand Years. But as the Turk had set his foot in another, so the loofeth in this Place: So about this time Religion, by the singular Piety and Valor of Ferdinand and Isabella, won Ground upon the Moors in Spain, whence not long after they were totally and (I hope) for ever expelled.

His Care of Justice, had his Government, we find the Administra-

tion of Laws just and equal; and many new Statutes enacted, wholesome against Diforders, crept into the State; so that he appear'd diligently both to heal up any Wound, which the infolens of his Reign had given the Commonwealth, to defend his Children, and to point out the best Courses to his Successors. And certainly no Prince could have bettered the Benefits of Peace better for the outward Magnificence; for his Glory was much in Hospitality, and a pompous Celebration of the principal Feasts of our Redemption. In which Way Valour maketh much of Happiness; he had been doubteous the most Fortunate of any King of the Norman Line, had he not fail'd in the Expectation of his Daughters Marriage.

His Buildings were few, but important for his Build- that Time, or more properly but Repraisons: Which are yet to be seen at the Tower of London, his House of Eathum, the Caflles of Newington and Dover: But above all at Windsor, where he built the new Chapell (smith'd after by Sir Riggamont Brau, Knight of the Order) and endowed the College with mighty Reve- nues; which he gave to Earl of Berri: taking from King's-College in Cambridge, and Eton-College a thousand Pound by the Year to enrich this at Windsor.

But our Buildings like our Children are ob- Nobly notorious to Death; and Time forces their Folly, who place a Perpetuity in either. And in- deed the later kind of Fate happen'd to King Edward in both these Felicities: His Povertie like his Edifces, loft in other Names. For his Two Sons, before they had farviv'd their Father, the tempestuous Time of Moanings, were themselves unhappily murder'd, and as obscurely bury'd. His Eldest Daughter the Lady Elizabeth, was married to the Earl of Richmond, known by the Name of Henry the Seventh; whose Heir in a Strait Line not liable to any Death or Question, is his most sacred Majesty, now glorious in Government of this Realme. The Younger Daughters were bel- lowed, one in a Monastery, others upon inferior Lords. Civily married John, Vifcount Wells: Anne, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk: Bridget was a profell'd Nun at Dorset: Mary was contracted to the King of Denmark, but died before Confirmation of Marriage: Margaret died an Infant: Katherine married William Courtey, Earl of Devonshire. But of none of them younger Princes, of this Day remains any Thing but their Memory: All dy- ing infidels but the Lady Katherine, whose Pover- tye failed likewise in the Third Defect. Henry her Son, Marques of Exeter suffered by Attinder in the Reign of his Cosen German, Henry the Eighth, being not long de- sign'd Heir Apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in England: and his Son Edward unduly came to his Death at Padua in Italy, in the Reign of Queen Mary, by whose father he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Possessions. So that all the clear Stream from the Spring of His Life: Turk flows in the Hoole of Scotland: The trouble- bled and impure runs in many Veins of the Eng- land; but not in Germany. For by the Lady Elizabeth's Lady, he had a legitimate Son, named Arthur, who by his Wife's Right was Vifcount Liffing, and dying without Male, left to his Three Daughters and their Poverity some Slinare of the Blood Royal.

This Deface of his Blood was the Crime which procured both to his Government and Memory.

His Life, and his Memoire.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth.

A.D. Memory many hard Confufes. For tho' some 1483. excuse his Luft, as a Sin, tho' black to the Eye Reg. 23. of Heaven, yet no way generally injurious in regard the Inconvenience of one Man could not be so diffiaff as to wrong a Multitude: Never- thelefs, who observes the Revolutions of King- doms, shall find no one Iniquity in Princes fo punifh'd. The Liberalion of one Lady abused ex- tenting to the Diffiance of severall Families, and mighty Factions kniting together for Revenge: In the whole Stock of Injuries none being fo cruel to human Nature, and which with Lofs Patience can be difembaffed.

His Per- jury. His frequent Perjury, (a Sin, which strikes like a Sword with Two Edges, both against divine and humane Faith) was the Crime which reader'd him moft odious to the Societie of Man. For impiously he appeared in this to brave Heaven, flighting all Ioenn Covenants made with God; and foolishly preferring before a holy Promise, a little Profit, or the Satisfa- tion of his Revenge. Which Crime, however for the present it might fland him in some Bene- fit, yet certainly it might have involv'd him in much Los in all after-Enterprizes, which de- pended upon his Faith. The Death of Weli and Dimmock, of Fancoubridge, of Somerset, Lord Prior of St. John's and others, were the Wounds Perjury gave his Soul, the scars of which re- main yet foal upon his Fame. But perhaps he thought no Faith was to be held with an Enem- my, or promised nor with Intention of Perfor- mance: An impious Equivocation; but then in PRACTICE with his Neighbour Princes both of France and Burgandy: So that the Calumny may in some Sort seem to prividge the Fault.

In his Youth he was fo uncircumfpect, and even when he had the strongest Arguments for Jealousie, fo overconfident, that it engaged him to extrem Difficulties, and endanger'd abso- lute Ruin. But his Fortune, almost miracu- lously, made up all those Breaches, which had Reg. 23. been by his Carelefsnes and Prefumption laid open; and delighting something wantonly to boult her Power and Favour to him, raised him then highest, when all the World, and almost his own Hopes forlooke him. For presently up his Fort- on the Slaughter of his Father at the Battel of tune. Wakefield, and the Overthrow of his great Sup- porter the Earl of Warwick at that of S. Alhams: she inthan'd him in the Kingdom, making the Queen and all the Favourers of Lancaster, when doubly victorious, retire as overcome; and the universal Acclamations of the People set the regal Diadem upon his Head; whose fa- ther's Head at that Time, like a Traytor's was fixted upon the Walls of York, scor'd with a Pa- per Crown. And afterward when from a mighty Prince he was become a miserable Exile, for- ced by the Treason of his chiefest Counfel- lors and Powers of his greatest Enemy to fly into Burgundy, where he likewise met with but a difembled Amity: She restored him to what at firft he gave: And whereas his Forces were so weak upon his Return into England, that de- fpairing of more, he humbly only desired to be invetted in his Father's Dutchy, and vowed ne- ver to attempt the Crown: She violently forc'd it upon him, protefting, (by the Mouths of the Nobility who reforted to him at Nottingham) not to afford him Safety if he refufed the So- versainty; by which amorous Way of threat- ning, she in a manner woud him to accept, what he durft not then hope to recover. And had the Appetite of Glory more preval'd with him, than the Sence of Pleasure, as far as we may conjecture of his Fortune, he might have extended his Victories over the World, which are now straited within the narrow Limits of our Illand.

The End of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth.
THE

RemarkableOccurrences

INTHE

ReignofEdwardtheFourth.

IN the beginning of this Government it rained blood in Bedfordshire, the red Drops appearing on some Linnen that was hung out to be dry'd. Hol. Theit may feem below the Dignity of History to take Notice of Fashions in drefs, yet we do not think any Thing that may entertain the Curious too trivial to be inserted in this Place.

In the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, the People had an extravagant Way of adorning their Feet, which was thought of such ill Consequence, that a Proclamation was put forth against it. They wore the Boots or Pikes of their Shooes fo long, that it incumber'd them in their Walking, and they were forced to tie them up to their Knees; the fine Gentlemen did it with Chains of Silver, or Silver-gilt; and those who could not afford to be at the Charge of them with Silk Laces: Which ridiculous Fashion had been in Vogue ever since the Year 1352, above Four And Years, and now 'twas prohibited on the Forfeiture of twenty Shillings, and the Pain of Currying by the Clergy.

This Year the King concluded a League with Henry K. of Caffile, and John, K. of Arragon; at the Conclusion of which he allow'd that certain Coifwald Sheep should be transported into Spain where the Breed was increas'd, and the Wool was so much finer than that of England, that King Edward's Complacency for the Kings of Spain has been very detrimental to his own Country.

In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, June 1471, William Caxton a Mercer of London, a Lover of Letters, and a good Historian for those Times, Author of the Chronicle, call'd Flores Temporum, brought the Art of Printing into England, and practized it first in Westminster Abbey.

In his Seventeenth Year there was so dreadful a Plague, that Historians relate more People were destroy'd by it, than by Fifteen Years War before.

In his Nineteenth Year, Robert Asfiejd, Esq. one of the Sheriffs of London, was fined Fifty Pound by the Court of Aldermen, for affronting the Lord Mayor, which it seems was only in kneeling too near him at Prayers in Paul's Church.

In the following Year two notorious Thieves were prefied to Death for robbing St. Martin's Le Grand Church in London, and three others of the Gang hang'd and burnt.

In the Reign of this King's Predecessors, Glory inspired the English Nobility with Valour, and produced many Hero's Ambition, Envy and Revenge did the fame now. Fashion made the Banners of England Enemies to one another, and Hatred and Envy animated them to such during Actions in aftringing each other, that one would think their Courage not as honourable as their Fears. Of these the most Famous on the Part of King Henry were,

Henry and Edmund Beaufort, Dukes of Somerset; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire; James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde; John, Earl of Oxford, his Son the Lord Aubrey Percy, and the brave and Loyal Lord John, Earl of Oxford his other Son and Successor; the Lord Hungerford, the Lord Rothe, the Lord Wolsey's, John Holland, Duke of Exeter; the Lord Clifford; Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland; the Lord Walsingham; the Lord Bardolph; the Lord Fitz-Walter; Sir Ralph Piercy; Sir John Nevill; Sir Henry Nevill, Son to the Lord Latimer; Sir Ralph Grey, and Sir Robert Wells, Son to the Lord Wells. These all died for the Cause of the House of Lancaster, except the Earls of Wiltshire and Oxford.

On King Edward's Part the most Eminent were,

John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; the Earl of Rivers, and his Son Anthony Woodville; William, Earl of Kent; the Lord Cobham; Henry, Lord Bouchier; the Lord Audley; the Lord Clinton; William, Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain and Favourite; the Lord Serep; Sir Walter Blunt; William, Lord Herbert; Sir Richard Herbert; Sir Thomas Burroughs; Sir John Howard; the Lord Say; and Sir Richard Walgrave. The greatest Part of these loft their Lives in the Quarrel of the House of York.

The following Lords were sometimes on the One Side, and sometimes on the Other; but at last they all dy'd in Defence of the Claims of the White Rose, as the Lancastrians were term'd, and the Yorkists the Red.

The drift of these and all the English Hero's was Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, surmised the King-Maker. He was a chief Intrumenc in depoping King Henry and crowning King Edward: In expelling King Edward and restoring King Henry; of the fame Principles were his Brother John, Marquis Montagu; John, Lord Wenlock; Thomas Nevile, call'd the Balfaird of Falkenbridge; and Sir William Trevor, equally Famous for their Courage and Inconstancy.

The
The Writers who liv'd in King EDWARD the Fourth's Days were,

Nicholas Kenton of Suffolk, Provincial of the Carmelites in England.

Henry Parker, a Carmelite Fryer of Lancaster, who preach'd against the Pride of the Prelates, for which he was imprison'd with one Thomas Holden.

John Gauntler, Dean of Wells, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal. He travel'd into Italy, where he studied Rhetorick under Guarinus of Ferrara.

Dr. William Ivy, Prebend of Pauls. Thomas Witton, Dean of Pauls.

Juliana Bemier, a Lady who wrote several Treaties of Hawking and Hunting, the Laws of Arms and Heraldry.

John Stamborie, a Well-Country-man, Bishop of Hereford.


Fryer Beach, born in London, but studied in Paris. He was a Poet.

John Porcas studied under Guarinus of Ferrara, became very Eloquent, and was an eminent Physician and Lawyer.

Walter Hunt, a Carmelite Fryer, one of the English Deputies at the Council of Ferrara, where he disput'd with the Greeks in Defence of the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Roman Church.

Thomas Wigcalde, a Monk of Durham.

Dr. John Hambois, a Doctor of Musick.

John Tiptafe, Earl of Wrocester, wrote divers Treatises on various Subjects: He was beheaded in the Year 1471, by Order of the Earl of Warwick for siding with this King.

John Millerton, a Carmelite Fryer of Bristol, Provincial of his Order thro' England, Scotland and Ireland. He defended some of his Fryers who were perfecuted for writing against endowing the Church with Temporal Possessions; for which, being an unpardonable Crime, he was cited to Rome, imprison'd in the Castle of St. Angelo, and had not his Liberty till three Years after, when he was deliver'd by Sentence of the Cardinals appointed to be his Judges.

David Morgan, a Welsh Man, Treasurer of the Church of Landaff, wrote a Discription of Wales and of its Antiquities.


Robert Hugger, a pretended Prophet of Norfolk.

Dr. John Manfield, a learned Physician.

William Green, a Carmelite Fryer.

Thomas Norton of Bristol, a Chymist.

Dr. Rich. Portland, a Franciscan Fryer of Norfolk.

Dr. Thomas Milling, Bishop of Hereford.

Mr. Sanger, a Student of Oxford, a celebrated Wit according to those Times: He was sent for to Court and diverted the King, Queen and Courtiers with his Frolicks and Jests.

Those that follow were Historians.

Nicholas Maunsate, A. M. of Exon School.

Roger Albus, a Carmelite of London.

William Caxton, a Mercer of London, whom we have elsewhere mention'd: He wrote a History of Brutus Temporum, an Appendix to Trevisa, and translated several Books into English.

John Harding, Esq; wrote a Chronicle in English Verse: Wherein he collected all the Homages paid by the Scots Kings to the Kings of England, proving the Superiority of the Crown of England over that of Scotland.

John Ratle of Warwickshire, a Canon of Osnay, who dy'd Avo. 1491.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. EDWARD V.
AND RICHARD III.

By Sir THO. MOOR.

By the death of King Edward IV, the first Prince of the York Line, the Inheritance of the Crown was defended by the Right of Succession to his Eldest Son Edward, then Prince of Wales, who from that Day (viz. April 9, 1483) was titled King of England, and proclaimed such by the Name of Edward V, being then about 14 Years of Age. (a) In his Father's Sicknesse, which was something long, and tho' lingering was judg'd mortal, Necessities of State, and the Peace of the Nation had obliged that King to separate his Nobles and Kindred from him; which gave them an Opportunity of forming new Conspiracies and Schemes among themselves to be put in Execution after his Death; which, notwithstanding the King's Forethought and Endeavours to prevent, prov'd fatal to his Son. The Prince of Wales himself was sent down to Ludlow in Shropshire, that by his Presence he might Command the Disorders of the West, who, tho' not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown so Unruly, and Disobedient, to their Governors and Superiors, that the Magistrates with all their Power, were not able to appease the Diffentions and Disorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. The Will of this Action appear'd in the present Effect it had upon them: for the West, who have always been very Affectionate to their Princes, who have borne the Title of their Principalities, as being Memorials of their Ancient Liberty and Dominion, shew'd a wonderful Respect to him; and tho' but a Child, were more Obdient to him, than ever they were known to their Ancient Magistrates. The Queen, who had a mighty Sway over the King's Affections, and never more than at this time, had so framed Matters, that for the Security of her Son, the Prince, as well as for their Honour and Interest, all her own Kindred and Relations were placed in the greatest Offices about him; by which Conspiracies she thought to secure his Right and their Power, againfall her and their Enemies: for the Queen's Brother Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, a Wife and Valiant Man, was appointed his Governor; and Richard Lord Grey, the Queen's Son by her former Husband, with others of her Friends and Kin, had other Offices about him; and that LONDON the Regal Seat might be kept to her Son's Interests, in his Abence, Thomas Grey her Eldest Son, being created Marques Grey, was made Governor of the Tower, and not only the Arms of that Magazine, but the King's Treasure put into his Hands.

These things the Ancient Nobility of the Nation, of whom Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham's remainder and Sentiments of King Edward, were the Chief, bore with much of her Indignation, as knowing, that if the Queen, her Son, and her Kindred were so insolent and impetuous when they had a King over them, who, tho' too willing to yield to their Humours and Dilettare for the Queen's Sake, yet kept them within some Bounds of Modesty and Subjection, they would grow most intolerable when they had a Young Prince under their Command, and might abuse his Power as they pleased, to fulfil their Will, and so they should be in greater Danger and Contempt under the New King, than they had been under the Old; tho' even by him few of them were trusted, or regarded. The Pre- lages of Unhappy Times, made them entertain the Thoughts and Resolutions of getting the Prince into their Power, if the King should Die, and to put him under the Government of the Duke of Gloucester, who might justly Claim that Place, as the next Prince of the Blood, and their Uncle by Father's Side, and would certainly put

(a) This unfortunate Prince was born in Sept. 1470. His Mother, Queen Elizabeth, was delivered of him at Sandal, whether she was escap'd from the Earl of Warwick, who had driven her Husband King Edward out of England. Thebeat and Prior of Westminster were his Godfathers, the Lady Soper his Godmother, and the whole Ceremony of his Chriftning as mean as a Foot Man's Child.

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The Life and Reign of Edward the Fifth, &c.

The affairs of the Nation into the Right Current, by Honouring and Encouraging the Ancient Nobility, whether they had communicated their Designs to the Duke of Gloucester or no, is uncertain, because he was then at York, being lately return'd from his Expedition to the Borders of Scotland, whither he had been sent by his Brother to represent the seditious Invasions of those People, who, upon the Death of King Edward IV. that King was not given over to his very troublesome Neighbours to the English. This Duke remaining here unimploy'd, began to cast his Thoughts upon the Succession to the Crown, and to consider, how many things made for his Title, tho' his Brother's Children stood between it and him, in the Eye of the World; which yet ought to be no Hindrance to his Claim, if Justice and Right were on his Side. And first, he call'd to Mind, that in the Attaine of his Brother George Duke of Clarence, it was alleged against him, that to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to dethrone the King, and his Follyther from inheriting the Crown, he had contrary to Truth, Nature, and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd, that King Edward was a Barbard, and so no Way capable to Reign; and that he himself therefore was true Heir of the Crown and the Royal Throne; belonag'd to him and his Heirs. As also that there was a Report ground'd upon vehement Prefumptions, that the Duke of Clarence himself was a Barbard. Which Malicious Calamities, tho' he did not believe, and was more loath to Alienate against his Mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far serviceable to him, that since both his Brothers were now Dead, or Dying, he was the Only Legitimate Issue of Richard Duke of York; and to unquestionably the Right Heir to the Crown, if the Issue of his Brothers were either thereby, or any other Ways made incapable of it. And as to the Children of the Duke of Clarence, they were render'd incapable of the Crown by the Attaine of their Father, and need not that Baffard be pleaded against them. The only Bar of his Title was then the Children of his Brother King Edward, by the Lady Elizabeth Grey; with whom he at first begotten a great Contet, and being violently Oppos'd by his Mother the Dutchess of York upon this Ground, because he was before marrit to the Lady Eleanor Butler, Widow of Thomas Lord Butler, Baron of Sudley, and Daughter of John Lord Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; he resolv'd to search narrowly into the Truth of it, not only to Vindicate his own Right, but to keep the Royal Line from the foul BLOT of an illegitimate Succession. This Inquiry he made by Men both Diligent and Faithful, by whose taking the Truth of that Family, everybody was Puzzled concerning it; and among others, (as Philomusaeus relates) the Testimony of Dr. Thomas Stilling, Bishop of Bath, to this Effect, according to the Words of the Author; "Le Vieuve de Bath (lequel avoit efté Conseiller de Louis d'Angleterre) dit, que le dit Roy avoit promis Foy de Marriage a une Dame de la Maison de Aultret, & qu'il avoit nomme Dame Eleanor Talbot, & que le dit Roy avoit fait a la Promife entre les Mains du dit Vieuve, & dit aussie c'est Vieuve, qui avoit apres Efpousé, & n'y aviit, que les & ceux deux. Which is thus Englished: The Duke of Gloucester, the Counsellor of King Edward, said, That the said King had Plighted his Faith to Marry a Lady of England, whom the Bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot, and that this Contract was made between the Hands of the said Bishop, who said that after this he was being present but they two, and he the King charging him strictly not to reveal. Thefe Proofs the Duke caufed to be drawn up into an Authentick Form, and confulted the moft Eminent Doctors and Proctors of the Civil Law, who unanimously gave their Vote, that the Duke Edward's Children were Baffards, the King's Collaterals, and therefore before their Mother; and consequently that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only undoubted Heir to the Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who was adjudg'd to be the very Heir to the Crown of this Realm by Authority of Parliament. And thus the Duke of Gloucester having cleared up his Title to the Crown kept it secret, till he should have a fair Opportunity after his Brother's Death to vindicate his own Right, with as little Disturbance to the Peace of the Nation, and Difhonour to his Nephews, as was possible; tho' it is probable, that one Petter of Redesferststreet without Cripplegate, a Servant of the Duke's, who was Privy to the Business, unwarily discover'd it, by telling one Millebrookes, who brought him the News of King Edward's Death; Then, says he, will my Master the Duke of Gloucester be King? which Words tho' flattering to my Lord, not being known, made little Noise, till the Duke of Gloucester was on the Throne.

The Foundation of Dictord being laid, tho' privately, in the Life of the Father, receiv'd a Perfection immediately after his Death, and began to be the Foundation of the Alliances of the Duke on his King's Death-Bed the two Parties had flaken hands as Friends, and promised to forget all former Injuries. For the Queen, as if she had been conscious that her Pride had been too great to be forgiven, presently after her Husband's Death, writes down to her Brother the Earl of Rivers to raise such a Body of Men, as might be sufficient to defend him against the Lords, and bring her Son up to London to be crown'd, that it might not be in the Power of her Enemies to keep him: from the actual Possession of the Throne; which Order the said Earl did with all possible care. On the Other-side, the Duke being at York, at first to defend himself and his Party, to take the King out of the hands of his Mother's Kindred, sent a Trully Servant of his, named Purbeck, to the City of York, to propose their Design to the Duke of Gloucester, and to offer him, if need required, a thousand Footers to affi.st him in the Effecting of it. The Duke of Gloucester looking upon this Tender, as the first Step to his greater Design, willingly complied with the Propofal, and sending the Meijenger back with many Thanks to his Master, and other private Instruements, contrived a Meeting of all the English Nobility, where the two Dukes, with all the Lords and Gentlemen their Friends, and 500 Men in their Retinue, came at the time agreed on. Here they entered into a Conflagration in the Lords mediately upon their Arrival, and the Duke of Gloucester, who was the Chief Man in the Action, and common Property of the Undertaking, to all the Lords and Gentlemen assembled, in words to this Effect: "That Speech to encourage it was neither reasonable, nor tolerable, to leave the Young King, their Master in the hands of those Hands and Culpody of his Member's Kindred; and for the good of the Young King, they desire to take the Rest of the Nobility from their Attendance on him, tho' all of them were as ready and willing to perform all the Services of..."
of a good Subject to him, as themselves, and
many of them a far more honourable Part of
his Kindred, than those of his Mother's Side, as
her Friends. They were yet pleased to have it fo; it was very un
match'd with his. But granting it allowable
for the King to do as he pleased; yet that
all the Ancient Nobility should be remov'd
from the King's Presence, and only the lead
Noble left about him, is neither honourable
for his Majesty, nor to Us, and must in the
liffe be both dangerous to the Nation in ge-
neral, and unsafe to his Majesty; for will not
this Strangeness make the King's most Potent
Friends either turn his own Enemies, or he
his own Friends; when they fee theire Inferiors both in Birth and
Power in greater Authority and Credit with
him, and themselves likely to live in Dis-
grace for ever, because the King, being in his
Youth frame'd to the Love and Liking of them,
and to a Diffaftre of others, will very hardly
in his Ripier Years after his Affidtions. They
could not but remember, that the late King
Edward himself, altho' he was a Man of Age
and Difcretion, yet was often to over-rule
by his Wife and her Friends, that he did ma-
ny things inconftant with his own Honour,
Our Safety, and the Nation's Welfare, merely
to advance them, and to efftablisht their Power.
And if the Friendship of some Perfons had
not prevail'd more with the King, fometimes,
that the Suits of his Kindred, they had be-
fore this brought fome of us to Ruin, as they
did fome of as great Degree as any of
us. And tho' indeed their Dangers are now past,
yet as great are growing, if we fuffer the
Young King flill to remain in their Hands,
who, we fee, value not the Deftruction of any
that stand in the Way of their Designs, or
the Road to their Greatnefs. Will they not en-
grdfi all Honour, and Places of Trust to them-
selves, and whenever they have occasion, abuse
his Name and Authority to any of our De-
ftructions? Can we imagin, that their old
Refentments are fo quite bury'd, that they will
not remember to revenge them upon the lead
Difficult, and, now their Pride is arm'd with
the most ample of us, and therefore they would have
them who have ever had malice enough
to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they
have now, Authority to vent it upon us?
That these confiders'd, it was their
greateft Wifdom to take the Young King out
of their Enemies Hands, and not fuffer things
(to continue in the Poffeffe they are now in
any longer: for tho' indeed there appears an
outward Friendship for the present, which
was and is the Effect more of the King's de-
fire than their own; yet we fhall find, that
their old Emnity will revive with their Power,
and that in them not a whit more Prifon of
them than was the young King strengthend with their Authority, in which
if we endure them once to be fetled, it will
not be in all our Powers to oppofe them
effectually; and therefore now's the Time to
prevent all Mifchiefes by taking away the Caufe
of them. These of Lords and Peafants, be
to provide a happy, and, at the Time, draw in by the Duke of Gloucefter's Letters to
promife their help in the fame Affair, if there
were further Occafion.

While the Lords were thus confulting, and
contriving to get the King into their Hands, with-
out the Knowledge or Privity of the Queen and
her Friends, they confider'd the ill News the Duke
sent her, that the Lord Rivers had gather'd a strong of Glouce-
ter's Letters to
promife their help in the fame Affair, if there
were further Occafion.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fifth, &c.

The Duke of Gloucester and his Brother, in the Earl of Rivers, and Lord Grey, and got the King into their Power.

The Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other their Actions, were both innocent of any fact Matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of Bucking-ham reply'd, That they had kept the knowledge of their Actions from his good Grace, and forthwith they arrested the said Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Harvey, his Brother's Presence; and that they had purpofe of going forward, return'd back again with the King to Northampton; where they dispofed all their Persons, who had any Offices about the King, as they could not confide in, and entered into furious Confutation about their further Proceedings. The King was much troubled at thefe Detentions; and the said he had not power to defend himself or his Friends, but the Lords had now obtain'd their Designs, and valid'd all who took, what they did, well or ill; yet they gave the King all the respect of good Subjects; and promised the Queen's Kindness that all should be well, when he, being in the Jeff Northumberland, would fend them to divers Prefidens in the North for a time, and at length, tho' they pretended they should have a fair Tryal to answer to severall Misdemeanours which they had to lay to their Charge, they were all brought to Pawnftall Caflle in order to their Execution.

The Actions of the King being done under a fiew of Friendship, and carrying in them something of Violence and Treachery, began a great Amazement in all Places where they were known, and few Men confirmed them, as the Lords will'd, but look'd upon them as the Prologues to the King's Deftitution. The Queen, the Queen, and her Children were to be accompanied by Sir Thomas Vaughan, and others of their Party, whom the look'd upon as her implacable Enemies, had taken her Son the King, and imprisoned her Brother R. H., and Son Richard Grey, with other of her Friends, who places Reported and unknowingly fell into the incontinent and bitter Passion of Grief, and bewaile the Deftitution of her Child, and other Friends, Curfing the Hour in which they credulously harken'd to the Perfutations of her fate Friends, and by ordering her Son's Guards to be dismissed, had expos'd him and her Kindred to the Malice and base Defegns of her Enemies. But fince to indulge herfelf in her just Grief, and neglect a Provision for her own, and those Childrens Safety which the had with her, would make her Cafe worfe than it was at prefent; therefore the refolv'd to lay aside her Sorrow for the prefent, and get herfelf, the Daughter of York, and another Duke of York, and all their Companions, that were immediatly Registered for Sanctuary Perfonns, and so look'd upon themselves, as in an inviolable Fortref to their Enemies Power or Malice. The Lord H. of H. was Chamberlain, who was the King's fame time at Court, and the' Confratirr with the King's Loyalty, was taken from his malice and perfuadation of the Lords Actions; becaufe he being truly Loyal, and heartily defiring the Welfare of the...
the King, believed, that they had no further Intent, than to take him out of the Government of his People, for whose Beneficence they were intolerable, and from whom he himself in the late Reign was often in danger of his Life: He was therefore much pleas'd to see the Queen and her Friends in such a Fright, and not doubting but the Nation would be much better govern'd than before, and the King much happier in the Hands of the Ancient Nobility, rejoiced to see the Downfall of the Queen, and her Relations, whose Pride they had for some time long enough in the late King's Reign; but that he might give the Nobility about the Court a true Information of the Lords Action, he directed a Mellenger the same Night to Dr. Rotherham (e) Archbishop of York, and then Lord Chancellor, who liv'd in York-Place by Westminster, to affirme to him, "That the Lords Intentions were honora-

crable, and for the Nation's Welfare: and tho'

the Imprisonment of the Queen's Kindred, and

the Queen's Fears, who was flying in great

turfe and confusion into Sanctuary, had no

good Aspect; yet he should find that all things

would in the end prove well. The Archbishop,

who was awaked out of his first Sleep by his Servants, and something amazed at the sudden-

ness of the News, reply'd, Say'th then, that all

that the Servants, went with them armed to the

Queen at her Palace, and carried the Great Seal

along with him. He found all things there in

a tumult, the Servants removing Trunks and

Household stuff to carry them into the Sanctuary:

The Queen he saw lying upon the Floor on

Matt's, lamenting her own, and her Children's

Miseries and Misfortunes. The Archbishop, who

was no ways engaged in the Conspiracy against

her, much commollipated her Cafe and Grief;

and endeavouring to comfort her, told her the

Mellenger which he had received from the Lord

Houstings not an Hour before, by which he was

assur'd she had as good a hope to be

imagin'd, that the King was in safe Hands, and
doubtful not all but all would be well. The

Queen, who had an invincible Odisn to Ha-

tings, as soon as she heard his Name, reply'd,

"That nothing was to be believ'd that came

from him, being one of them that fought

the Dissolution of herself and sh'd:"

The Archbishop seeing her not thus to be comfort-

ed, affird her for himself, That he would be

Conflant to her; and if the Lords should deal

ill with the Prince, and crown any other Peron

King besides her Son, he would on the Morrow

carry the Duke of York, whom he had then in

Sanctuary with her, And that Madam, (says he) you may be certain of my Integrity, Lo! here I

leave you with the Great Seal of England, the Badge of

Royal Power, without which nothing of Moment in State

Affairs can be done. His Father your Husband

gave it me, and I here return it to you to keep it

for ever. His Royal Person is the Duke of York, whom

I could give you any greater Testimony of my Loyalty,

I would do it: and so he departed to his own

House in the dawning of the Morning, not con-

sidering what he had done in resigning the Seal.

The next day the City of London was in an Up-

 roar, and divers Lords and Gentlemen took

this Affair: and assembled great Companies of Cit-

izens for their own Defence, till they should see what the Lords intended; for the gen-

eral Report was, that what was done to the

Lord Rivers, and the others with him, was but

a Blind to the People: the real Design of the

Nobility was to keep the King from his Coro-

nation, and deprive him of his Right, whom they

were the more commir'd in, because great

Numbers of the Duke of Gloucester's Servants and

Friends were about the City and on the Thames,

who examin'd all that palled, and kept any Per-

sons from taking Sanctuary. In their Tumults

Archbishop Rotherham, fearing left there should be shop Re-

a judge Occasion to their Authority, and trou-

bled that he had deliver'd up the Great Seal to the

Queen, to whom it did not belong, without

the King's Order, sent privately for the Seal

again and obtain'd it. In the mean time, the

Lord Chamberlain Houstings, whose Loyalty was

not question'd, and who was suppos'd not to be

ignorant of the Lords Intentions, went into the

City to appease the Tumults, and calling the

Lords and Gentlemen together who headed the

Commonalty, told them, That 'tis the Suddenly

of the Lords Actions was farprising, be-

cause the Reasons were not generally known;

he could assure them, that the Duke of York's

after was true and faithful to his Prince, of

which he had given many undeniable Proofs in

his Brother's Reign, and would continue the

same to his Son: That the Lords Rivers, and Lord Ma-

grey, and the Knights apparched with them, were

impos'd for certain Conspiracies plotted by

the Duke of Buckingham, as would appear evidently at their

Trials, which was design'd shortly to be had be-

fore all the Lords of his Majesty's Council: That

their taking Arms in such a Riotous and Sedici-

ous manner would prove of very dangerous

Consequence to themselves, if they did not spe-

cially lay them down, as they had without just

Reaon or Caufe taken them up; and therefore he

advised them to depart to their Dwellings,

and not pretend to Judge or Censure the Actions

of their Superiors, who meant nothing but the

Common good, till they knew the Truth of their

Disgraces, nor could they be judged without

Damage to the Publick, and hinder the King's

Coronation, which the Lords were coming up to

London to effect with all convenient Speed.

With these words the Chamberlain so pacify'd

the Discontents of the Citizens, that all things

were for the present at quiet.

By this time the Lords, who seem'd as Zea-

The King

lous for the King's Coronation as his Uncle

brought

been, and behaved themselves with such

downful Reverence and Respect to the King,

even from the time that he came into their

Hands, that he suspected no ill Designs in them,

which were upon their March to London, which caused the People to be the more Eafe, since they

thought that now they should soon discover their

Intentions. By the Way as they pas'd

the Duke of Gloucester allum'd nothing upon the Ac-

count of his Birth or Greatness, but demand'd

himself a Dutiful Subject; and that he might

give a Due Reverci and respect to the People of the

real降orns and cruel Disgraces of the Lord Rivers,

and the Queen's Friends, against himself and the

Duke of Buckingham, the Duke's Servants shew'd

the Barrels of Harnef which they had privily

convey'd in their Carriages to Murther them;

(e) His Name was Thomas, he was called Rotherham from the Place of his Birth in Yorkshire.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fifth, &c.

1483, and they indeed some laughd at the Weakness of the Suggestion, because if they really inten
ded to have so used them, their Earnefs had better been among their Princes; but they pretended they were seized before the Plot was come fully to Execution, and so aggravate
Matters, that the common People believed the truth of it, and cry'd out, That it will be a great Charity to the Nation to bring them. When the King
ordered by the Duke of Gloucester to the City of London, and Mayor, &c.
the Duke showed Goldenfins, then Mayor, and William White and John Mathews Sheriffs, with all their Brethren the Aldermen in Scarlet, and 500 Commoners on Hoseback in Purple-coloured Gowns met them at Harfey Park, and with great Honour and Reverence conducted them through the City to the Bishop of London's Palace, near St. Paul's Church, on the 4th of May.

In this Solemn Cavalcade the Behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the King was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice said to the Peo
tle, Build your Princes and Sovereign, giving them on all Occasions such an Example of Reverence and Duty as might teach them how to honour and respect their Prince; by which Actions he so won upon all the Spectators, that they looked on the late Mifrepresentations of him as the Ef
efs of his Enemies Malice, and he was on all hands decried as the Below Subject in the Kingdom. At the Bishop's Palace he did the King Homage, and invited all the Nobility to the fame; by which he put his Loyalty out of dispute with the Nobles, as he had done before with the Commons. Within a few days after, a Great Council was Nobility
meet to firle the Government, and choose a Protector according to the usual Custom in the Minority of their Kings, and the Duke of Glos
cer was without the least Contradiction ap
pointed to manage that Honourable Station, not only as the King's Uncle, and the next Prince of the Blood, and a Perfon fit for that Truff,
as of eminent Judgment and Courage ; but as one that was most Loyal and Loving to the King, and likely to prove the moft Faithful in that Station. By this Council was the Archbishop of York much blamed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, and being deprived of his Council, the Seal was given in the begin
ning of June to Dr. John Ruffell Bishop of Lin
coln, a Wife and good Man, and of very great Experience in State-Affairs. Several other Inferi
or Officers of the Court were displaced, and others more fit put in their Room. The Lord Chamberlain Haufting was continued in his Office, with four others whorn the Protector and Council had no great Objeftions against; and so the Council being disabled, the Protector betook himfelf to his Double Care: 1. Of the King to Contue and Pleafe him, as well as Educate him and Crown him. Of the State and People, to rule as well as might be for the King's Honour and general Good and Welfare of the Nation

King Edward, who was now under the sole Care and Government of his Uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, made Protector by the Nobility, and generally approved of the People, be
cause he appear'd to the Violence and Temptation of Lords towards his Mother's Relations, whom not only continual Converfe, but Nature had en
dard't him, and facing his Mother and Brother in Sanctuary, as if he had fear'd the same hard Ufage, if not worfe, was not content with the present Division of Affairs; and tho' he being young could not help what was done, yet he could as willingly forbear it, as their Proceedor, who was a very Sagacious Perfon, and they would all Readines to satisfy the King's Will, and discharge his Station well, from differ
n'd the Causes of the King's Uneafines, and considering how much the Reafons of the King's Peace and Quietness he was putting, as well as hinder'd his Defigns in bringing the King to his Coronation, (for why should the Queen with her Children continue in Sanctuary, unless it were that she was Jealous of some Wrong and Injury from him, who having the Supreme Power now in his Hands, could not have her? And what a His A
Share Ceremony would the Coronation be, if the guden
Queen and the King's only Brother bore not a 1 to take
Part in it, but instead of that were derrnered (from the
for that) he refolv'd to remove the Rubs in the way of his Government and Defigns; and end ed to that end calling a Council, he deliver'd him
self to the Pursuit of this Project, and let me part for Cil

ever it be not my greatfj, my continual
Care to promote the Happines and Welfare of the King my Nephew, and all my Bro
ther's Family; being fensible, that not only the Nation's, but my own Ruin is the unavoidable Consequence of their Misfortunes; and since the commencement of the fifl Part of this Volume, how the Nobles of the Land, and to whom it be
longs chiefly to Provide for the good Government of it in the Minority of the King, to confure that weighty Employment of ruling all upon my felf, as I call always look upon this felf only as the King's Aab Defender, fo to hali, in all difficult Matters of State, look upon you as my Helpers and Afliffants, and not date to move one Step without your Council and Advice, that fo I may have your Approbation in all I do, that is for the Good of the King and Welfare of all. In the Management of the Station you have placed me in, I do find, that the Queen's Continuance in the Sanctuary with her Children, is fuch an
invincible impediment in the Execution of my Place, that I cannot but propound the mani
fett Inconveniences of it, and fo much the more, as it neither avails you, nor is of any use to the Liber
thomas as your Lordships had made in the laft Council would have removed her Wo
manfih Fears, and she would have retarded to Court to the Contentment of his Majesty and all us: but since the perills in her Mifchievous Purpofes, it is evident, that if Fear drove her into the Sanctuary, 'tis nothing but Malice that keeps her there; for she, who is no in
politic Woman, fees several unavoidable Mifchiefs redounding to the Publick, and to his Majesty by her this Action, which had not some ill Defigns he would carefully avoid. And first, what greater, or what more arbitrary, or more their addition, than to do you to his Moyalty's Council, than for the Queen and Children to remain in Sanctuary? Will not the People upon fo unexpected a Resolution make these Inferences from it, that doubles they are in very great Danger, and that you who are in Power are her implica
tes, and that he who can so much as hinder her Sons Ad
vancement, nor her own and Childrens Greatnes are fur
ficient to Secure them, but they were forc'd

to, and to the Church from the Church, which is the Alylum of the greatfj Criminals? And

This Speech did not begin with a Courte, according to the Copy in Holinshed, nor is it entirely the fame as in Holinshed, Pag. 717.

what
"what an intolerable Injury is this to you? But (a) if you shall think fit to pass this Wrong over, yet his Majesty's Discontents are not to be over-look'd, who wanting the Company of his Brother, with whom chiefly he uses to Re- create himself, leads a melancholy and dif- contented Life, and works in Doubtless, namely, to endeavour his Health; for the good State of the Body does not long last nu- merally, when the Mind is disturbed. Sorrow of Mind drieth up the Bones, especially in Youth, and want of moderate Recreation and suitable Company begets a Dulness and Penitiveness, when the Mind and Body are sick; the Body, which proves fatal. Wherefore since even Kings themselves must have some Com- pany, and they are too great for their Sub- jects generally, it seems Necessary that his Brother, who comes nearest an Equality with him, should be sent for to him, that he may refresh himself with him. And thus we may hope that the King will not only be satisfy'd and pleas'd, but we shall be freed from the ill Opinion which certainly all foreign Princes have of us; for as long as he continues in Sanctuary, they will either confine us as if we were in worldly Confinement, or deride us as impo- tent or weak. But besides, the Coronation of the King being the main thing now in Agi- tation, how can we proceed in it with any heart or earnestness, while the Queen and Duke of York are in Sanctuary? What sort of Men shall we be thought, who at the same time we crown one Brother, to irritate the other, that he is forc'd to abide at the Altar of the same Church for his Safety. Who can with Satis- faction officiate at this great Ceremony, while the Duke of York, whose Place is next to the King, is absent from it. It is therefore more in Opinion, that those Reasons and Considerations be- ing weighed well, that some Honourable and Trufy Perfon, who cannot be doubted to tender the King's Wealth, and Reputation of the Council, and is in Credit with the Queen, be sent to her to demand the Release of the Duke of York, and for this Cause, I think, no Perfon better qualifi'd than the most Re- verend Father my Lord Cardinal, (b) the Archbishop of Canterbury, who may be the moft prevailing Mediator in this Matter; if he pleased to take the Trouble upon him, with the Help of his great Goodness, I do not doubt but he will not refuse for the King's sake and ours, and the Wealth of the Young Duke himself, the King's moft honourable Brother, and for the Comfort of my Sovereign Lord himself, my most Dearlef Nephew, confidering that it will be a certain means to keep the Mouths of our Enemies abroad, and prevent the Ill-com- bination of cenfural Perfons at home, and avoid the ill Consequences which arise from it, both to his Majesty, and the whole Realm. And tho' the Cardinal may go no further in treating with the Queen, than to perfwade her, with the greatest Assurance of Faith and Necessity to yield our Desires, which his Willom knows best how to Life and Apply; yet if he prove fo obtinate and wilful, and will yield to no Advice and Counfel which he can give; then 'tis my Opinion that we fetch the Duke of York out of that Prison by force, and bring him into the King's Company and "Preference; in which we will take such Cart of (c) him, and give him such honourable Treatment, (d) that all the World shall perceive, to our Ho- nor and her Reproach, that it was nothing but her Frowardness and groundlesse Sufpicion, that first carried, and then kept him there. This was my Judgment in this Affair; but if any of you, you, understand, are of contrary Sentiments, and find me mistaken, I never was, nor by God's Grace ever shall be so wedded to my own Opinion, but I shall be ready to change it upon better Reasons and Grounds.

When the Protector had thus deliver'd his the Mind to the Council, they all approv'd of his Council Motion, as a thing good and reasonable in itself, and honourable both to the King, and the Duke his Brother, agreeing with him, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the fittest Person, he had a mind to take the Duke from Sanctuary, but the Arch- bishop at all refufe the Office, which much be- came his Station, being to Compone a growing Difference among Perfons of the Greatest Qua- lity: but with the Lord Spiritual Council, who told the Council with Submis*ion, (c) That as he confented to the Motion that the Duke of York should be brought to the King's Preference out of the Sanctuary by Perfwasions, and would himself do his Beft to effect it, since they had pleas'd to impose that task upon him; yet he could not by any means content to that Pro- position, That if the Queen refused to deliver him, he should be taken out of Sanctuary by force; because it would be a thing not only Ungrateful to the whole Nation, but highly illiberal to Almighty God, to have the Pri- vilege of Sanctuary broken, in that Church, which, being at first consecrated by S. Peter, who came down above 500 Years ago in Person accompany'd with many Angels by Night to do it, has since been adorn'd with the Privilege of a Sanctuary by many Popes and Kings, and therefore as no Bishop ever dare attempt the Consecration of that Church, fo no Prince has ever yet been so fierce and indovut as to violate the Privilege of it: And God forbid, that any Man whatsoever shall at this time, or hereafter, upon any world- ly Advantages or Reafons, attempt to infringe the Importance of that most Holy Place, which hath been the Defence and Safety of fo many Good-men's Lives. However, he said, he hop'd they should not be driven to use such Extremities, and doubted not, when the Queen, who was a Person of known Judgment and Uni- fion, derfanding that everyone of her Realms, she would for her Son's sake, the King, readily yield to their Desires; and if it otherwise should happen, he would fo perform his Part, that they should be convinced, that there was no good Will, or Endavour in himself; but the Queen's Dread, and Womanish fear was the only Caufe of it. That the Duke of York the Duke who impatiently heard the Archbishop's Obje* tion againft taking the Duke out of Sanctuary by force, immediately resumes the Discourse, and in the Arch- bishop an Affonion replies with an Oath; Womanish bisho* Fear, lay you my Lord? Nay, Womanish Fro- wardness; for I dare take it upon my Soul, (a) Cardinal Thomas Warton, Dean of the Noble Family of the Barnbury Barn of Ely.
(b) In Sir Thomas More's History of Printed in Holbrooke, d. 1746, that the Arch Bishop of York made this Speech, and for a Proof of S. Peter's defending from Heaven to Confectrate the Church of Weftminster, the good Friar affir'd S. Peter's Cape was still to be seen in the Abbey.
(c) that
that she knows she has no just Occasion to fear 1483. any Danger to her Son or her Self. But as to her Self, here is no Man that will contend with Women, and I would to God some of her Kinderd were so too, and then should the Con- teft be soon at an end with them. Yet I dare not, and I must tell you, none of them are the Lefi belov'd for the Relation they have to her, but because of their own Demerits, and for joying with her in her Malicious De-
signs. However let it be granted, that we love neither her nor her Kindred ; yet there can be no just Ground to infer a Witheence from these. What can they do, if we hate the King's Brother, who, tho' her Son, yet is alfo a kin to us; and if she desir'd his Honour, as we do, and had more regard to her own Will, than her Son's Wel-
fare, she would not be fo obdurate, but would be as unwilling to keep him from the King's Preference, as any of us are. Some of whom at least must acknowledge to have as much Wit as her Self, and can't doubt of their Fi-
delity and Love to the Duke, who would be as loath to come to any harm as the her Self can be, and yet they would have him at any price, or rather with all the Power if he 
will carry there; but if the pleades to come out her Self with him, and her other Children, 
and take up her Habitation in fuch a Place where they may be with Honour to her Self
and them, every Man of us fhall be better con-
tent than if they fends him alone. Now if upon these Grounds the refining to deliver him, def-
nying to follow the Wisdom of them, of whose 
ripe Judgment and Fidelity the had good 
Experience, it is cafe to difcer that it is 
hers Frowardnefs, and not her Fear, that is the 
Caufe of it. But we will fuppofe that her 
Diffibus are invincible, three of the greatest of 
her Fears, (as what can hinder her from fear-
ing her own Shadow, if she will fo much in-
dulge her Pasfions) we have the greater rea-
fon to take heed, how we leave the Duke in 
her Hands: for if he caufily fear his hurt 
out of Sanctuary, the more likely is it that he 
might be fettled from thence; (for 'tis cafe for 
her to imagine, that if we be refolv'd to have 
him from her, we will not value the Sacred-
nefs of the Place the is in; as indeed I think 
Good Men without Sin might fomewhat left 
regard them than they do) and fo for great-
ness they pervert him out of the Realm, 
which if the should be fo lucky as to effect, 
(without any great Difficulty it may be done) all the World will scorn and deride 
s, saying, That we are a wide fort of Conn-
cellors about the King, to fuffer his Brother 
to be caft away under our Nods. And there-
fore I affure you, for my part, I am for fuch 
her away againft her Will, rather than by 
humouring her Fears and Peculhiess, give 
her an Opportunity of conveying him away. 
And yet I shall be bold to affert, that I do not break my Privilege of Sanctuary, but rather exalt one of the Abufes of it for 
'fho' indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appoint-
ed and uted under the Judeft Law, were, and 
still may be of very good Ufe in feveral Cales, 
as to be a Refuge for fuch Men as the Chance 
of Death, or of the Earth, or of the World, 
have brought to 
Pevity, to protect them from the Cruelty of 
their Creditors; and because the Title to the 
Crown of their Realms hath often come in 
Quifition, in which Contests each Side counts 
the other Traitors, and the Conquering Side, 
'fho' sometimes the worft Rebels, creates the 
adverse Party as fuch, it is Necessary there should be a Refuge in this Cafe to the Unfor-
tunate: but as for Thieves and Murderers, 
whereof these Places are full, and who fel-
dom leave their Trade when they have once 
begun, it is an horrid Shame that any San-
ctuary should live them ; and especially wil-
ful Murderers, who, with the Aid of the Court, 
be taken from the Altar, and put to Death. 
Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now 
they are managed, how few are there whom 
Necelility of their own Defence, or their Mis-
fortunes have driven to take Shelter there? 
I am afraid the larger Part of them are in 
the two chief Ones in this City, the one at the 
Elbow, and the other in the very Middt of it? 
Infomuch that if the Good they do were bal-
anced with the Evil, we fhall twi fen bet-
ter for us to be without them, unlefs fuch as 
are in Power would eftentially correct their 
Abufes, and amend them. And indeed, 'tis a 
grof Shame not to be endur'd, to fee St. Pe-
ter made a Patron of Thieves, Prodigals,Knives 
and Whores! Surely nother God, nor that 
Almighty who, by the Word of his Mouth, 
therefore they may be reformed with thanks 
of Both. Let Sanctuaries then continue in God's 
Name in their full force, as far as Religion 
and Reafon will permit, and I am fure no 
lawful Privilege granted to them can hinder 
us from fetching the Duke of York from Injenc, 
where he neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary-
Perfon. A Sanctuary ferveth to defend the 
Body of Man, who is in Danger from not only 
some great, but unlawful Hurt ? And what 
Danger is that Duke in? Is not the King his 
Brother, and all we his Special Friends? As 
s he has never done an Injury to him, 
no Man defigns him any Wrong, and then 
what Grounds can there be for him to be left 
in Sanctuary ? Besides, Men come not to 
a Sanctuary, as to Baptism by Godfathers, but 
they must ask it themfelves if they will have 
all our Help but indefcrib'd, and if they 
Fears and Dangers ought to be admitted the-
ther. And how can the Duke of York be juftly 
ter'd or kept there, who cannot thro' 
his Infancy require it; and if he were fensible 
of the Place he is in, would rather deire 
to leave it: So that the Duke, with the Clergy's Leave, 'tis no Breach of 
Privilege, if he and many others be taken by 
Force out of it. And to convince them of it 
mor fully, let me ask them a few Quetions. 
If a Man go into Sanctuary with another Man's 
Goods, may not the King, leaving his Body 
at liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and 
refore them to the right Owner? Can either 
Pope or King privilege a Man from paying 
Debts that is able to pay them? Several of the Clergy prefent agreed, That by the Laws 
of God and the Church, a Sanctuary-Man may be 
Gone, and the Money taken from him, to 
refore Bola Goods, his Liberty being allowed him to get his Living by his Labour. Then the Duke said, "There's the fame Reason to do it if a 
Man's Wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a 
Child take Sanctuary because he will not go to 
his School, or eat their good Cales. And they can conclude, that since he can be no Sanctuary-
Man who hath no Discretion to define it, (for 
I never yet heard of Sanctuary-Child's) nor 
Malice to deferve it, whole Life and Liberty 
can in no wife be in Danger,be that takes such 
an one out of Sanctuary to do him good,breaks 
no Privilege of that Holy Place. When
When the Duke had finish'd this long Discourse, it was generally Agreed by all the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, (a) That if the Queen would not Deliver up the Duke by Persuasions, he should be forc'd from her by the King's Authority: But it being judg'd convenient that all fair Means should be first try'd, the Company, to whom the Duke was sent, was sent into the Sanctuary to the Queen, the Protector, and the rest of the Council going into the Star-Chamber at Westminster to expect the Event. When the Cardinal was come into the Queen's Presence, after all Dutiful Salutations, he Delivered to her the Confl of his Coming, Saying, That he was with those other Lords, sent by the Protector, and the Privy Council to her Majesty, to let her know, how much she Desiring of the Duke of York in that Place was scandalous to the Publick, and lik'd by the King his Brother; it being an Action that must produce ill Effects: That the King himself was much grieved at it, and the Council offended, because it look'd as if one Brother was in Danger from the other, and could not be Preferred by the other's Life: That it would be a very great Effect to have the Duke Natural. Brother in Company with him; nor would it be of Least Advantage to the Young Duke himself, because it would confirm and Strengthen their Loves to be brought up together, as well as at their Books, as Sports: That in between the Duke, the Protector could only appear favourable to his State and Condition: That it would much please the Protector and Council to send him to the King's Presence, and in Effect might prove of no Small Advantage to her Friends, that were in Prison. Upon which Accounts, as he was sent by his Majesty and Council, to proceed further with the Duke to him: Tho' was it really otherwise, that Duty oblig'd the Duke to go to him, yet Necessity in this Cafe creates a Disposition, because he hath been of late so forelorn afflict'd with Diseases, and being not perfectly recover'd, to send him to the Duke the King; which the Duke was but too willing to comply with, because he feared he might fall into a Relapse; in which Condition, while he remains, I wonder that the Protector and Council should be so Earnest to have him from me, since if the Child should grow Sick again and Mischap'd, they would incur the Censures of some Ills, dealing with him. And whereas you say, that it is Honourable to my Child, and to them, that he remain in this Place, I think the Contrary; for certainly 'tis most for their Honour to let him Abide, where no Man can doubt but he will remain Safe, and that is here so long, as I continue here: and I do not intend to leave this Place and endanger my Life with my Friends, who I would to God were rather in Safety here with me, than I were in Hazard with them. Why, Madam, Lord His- (b) What do you mean by your Answer? (c) What do you mean by your Answer? Lord Howard? (d) Do you know any Reason, that they are the Danger? (e) Are you sure? (f) Are you sure? Why, they should be in Reply. I, as they now are: but I have great Caufe to fear, left those, who have not scrupled to put them in Prison without Caufe, will as little value to Destroy them without Law or Right. Upon these Words, the Cardinal wind'd up the Lord to put an End to that Cardinal's Discourse; and then added himself, (g) That he did not doubt, but that those Lords, who be- ing of her Kindred remained under Arrest, would upon a due Examination of Matters, discharge themselves well enough of any Ac- cussion alleged against them; and by their own Royal Person, there neither was, nor could be any kind of Danger. How shall I be The certain of that (said the Queen)? Is it, that I am he Answer. Innocent? It doth not appear that they are Guilty. Is it, that I am better beloved of their Enemies? No, I am rather, they are fond for me, and do not think it, that I am so nearly relat- ted to the King? They are not much further off: and therefore since it feems to me, that as

The Queen's Reply. The Cardinal hearing this Reply, answer'd; (h) No Man, Good Madame, doth deny but that your Majesty is the fittest Person to take Care of all your Children, and I am sure the Coun- cil will be very Glad to hear that it is your Pleasure to do; yes, they would beg it of you, Provided you would be contented to do it in full Liberty, and with their, and your own Honour; Whereas, if you re- solve to carry in this Place, then they judge it more convenient, that the Duke should be with the King at Liberty, to the Comfort and Satisfaction of them both, the with some Small Danger to his life. No truly, in Sanctuary, to the Difhonour of the King, Duke himself, and the whole Council: for it is not always so Necessary that the Child should be with the Mother, but there may be Reasons sometimes of taking him from her, and that for the Best, as your Majesty knows: there was, when your Eldest Son, then Prince of Wales, and now King, was sent to keep his Court at Ludlow for his own Honour and the Good Order of the Country, of which your Majesty was so well convinced, that you feem'd Contented with it.

The Queen's little Warm, and firmly retor'ted, Not so very well Contended neither The Queen: at that Separation; tho' the Cafe is much dif- ferent now: For the Prince was in good Health, the Duke is now Sick; for the the height of the Diffemper is past, yet he is Weal, and not so fully recover'd, but that without proper Care he may fall into a Relapse: In which Condition, while he remains, I wonder that the Protector and Council should be so Earnest to have him from me, since if the Child should grow Sick again and Mischap'd, they would incur the Censures of some Ills, dealing with him. And whereas you say, that it is Honourable to my Child, and to them, that he remain in this Place, I think the Contrary; for certainly 'tis most for their Honour to let him Abide, where no Man can doubt but he will remain Safe, and that is here so long, as I continue here: and I do not intend to leave this Place and endanger my Life with my Friends, who I would to God were rather in Safety here with me, than I were in Hazard with them. Why, Madam, Lord His- (b) What do you mean by your Answer? (c) What do you mean by your Answer? Lord Howard? (d) Do you know any Reason, that they are the Danger? (e) Are you sure? (f) Are you sure? Why, they should be in Reply. I, as they now are: but I have great Caufe to fear, left those, who have not scrupled to put them in Prison without Caufe, will as little value to Destroy them without Law or Right. Upon these Words, the Cardinal wind'd up the Lord to put an End to that Cardinal's Discourse; and then added himself, (g) That he did not doubt, but that those Lords, who be- ing of her Kindred remained under Arrest, would upon a due Examination of Matters, discharge themselves well enough of any Ac- cussion alleged against them; and by their own Royal Person, there neither was, nor could be any kind of Danger. How shall I be The certain of that (said the Queen)? Is it, that I am he Answer. Innocent? It doth not appear that they are Guilty. Is it, that I am better beloved of their Enemies? No, I am rather, they are fond for me, and do not think it, that I am so nearly relat- ted to the King? They are not much further off: and therefore since it feems to me, that as

(a) Several of the Bishops were against fetching him out by Force.
The Life and Reign of Edward the Fifth, &c.

I am in the same cause, so I am in like danger; I do not intend to depart out of this Place. And as for my Son, the Duke of York, I purposed to keep him with me till I see how Bufinesse will go; for the more greedy and earneft some Men are to have him into their Hands without any Substantial Cause, the more I have no mind to lose him.

And the more Scurrilous you are, Madam, (answer’d the Cardinal) the more Jealous are others of you, leaft under a Canfelel Freternity of Danger, you should convey him out of the Nation; and so if they permit him to remain with you, nor if it shall not be the Power of him to have him for the Future. Wherefore it is the Opinion of many of the Council, that there is a Necessity of taking the Duke of York immediately into their Care and Government, and since he can enjoy no Privilege by Sanctuary, which he has neither Will to Require it, nor Malice or Offence to need it, they judge it no Breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuse to deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out of it: And I assure you, Madam, that the Protector, who bears a most tender Love to his Nephews; and the Council, who have an equal Care for the Safety of his Young Prince, will certainly set him at Liberty, unless you resign him to us, leaft you should send him away. Ay, (says the Queen) I hath the Protector his Uncle such a Love for him, that he fears nothing more than that he should Escape his Hands? I unequivocally declare, that it never so much as entered into my Thoughts to find him out of this Place into any Foreign Parts, partly because his Health will not bear any Journeys; and partly becaufe, tho’ I should not scruple to send him into any Part of the World, where I knew him out of all Danger, yet I do not think any Place more secure than this Sanctuary, which there never was any Tyrant so devilish, who dare Violate; and I trust that the Almighty God will fo awa the Minds of his, and my Enemies, as to Refrain them from offering Violence to this Holy Place. But you tell me, that the Lord Protector and the Council of Opinions, that he can’t, or won’t, to deliver a Sanctuary, and therefore may not be allowed the Privileges of it: He hath found out a goodly Gloss, as if that Place which can Protect a Thief, or Wicked Peron, is not of greater Force to Defend the Innocent, because he is in no Danger, and therefore can have no need of it; which is an Opinion as Erroneous as Heliph. But the Child, you fay, can’t require the Privilege of a Sanctuary, and therefore since he has no Will to Clofe it he ought not to have it: Who told the Protector fo? Ask him, and you shall here him Require it: Fearful and Incurious partly to that he could not ask it, or if he could, would not, but would rather choose to go out; I think it is sufficient that I do Require it, and am Registed a Sanctuary.Perfon, to make any Man guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my Son. 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Person, to make any Man guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my Son: For is not the Sanctuary a Protection in that Case as well for my Goods as my Self? No Man can lawfully take my Horse from me, if I Stole him not, or Owe nothing; and surely much less my Child. Besides by Law, as my Learner, being a Warden of the Ward, he is incapable he hath no Lands by Defeat. Can Knights Service, but only by Socage, and their Man be the Guardian of my Son by Law, no Man can take him by force from me without Injustice in any Place, and without Sacrilege from hence. And upon this Right I do Insist, and Require the Privilege of Sanctuary for him, as my Pupil and Infant, to whom alone by Law the care of him belongs; and if this triple Cord may be broken, I mean, the Right which I have to keep him with me by the Law of Man, as his Guardian; by the Law of God, as being in Sanctuary with him; if all this be not enough to secure him from any Human Force, I think nothing under Heaven can: But I do not despair of Safety where I have always found so much. Here was brought to me by the Queen’s Order, the Document of his Enemy Reneged, and might have affe’d the same or like Freternies to have taken us both from Sanctuary, yet he did not; and I hope no Man will have the Bondnae to act contrary to all former Precedents, but the Place that protected one So, will be as great a Security to the other: For to be plain with you, My Lord, I fear to put him into the Protector’s Hands, because he hath his Brother already, and since he pretends to be the next Heir to the Crown after them, not withstanding his Sistres, if they any ways differ from his Will, he will make it a pretence, and Ealy to him. Now this is so just a Cause of Fear, that even the Laws of the Land teach me it, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids every Man the Guardianship of them, by whole Death they become Heirs to their Inheritance; and if the Law is fo careful of such as have the leaf Inheritance, how much more ought I to be fearful that my Children come not into his Power, who by their Death will have the Kingdom for his Inheritance. By thefe Reasons I am confirmed in my Resolutions of keeping my Son in Sanctuary with me, and my Right to do, and think them so far to Out-balance the Protector’s frivolous Reasons of keeping his Brother company, and being Difhonourable to him, that I cannot alter my Mind: For I have reason to think that whoever he proves a Protector to, he will prove a Destroyer to them, if they be once in the Protector’s Power and the Son of the Weaker, and Council have Power enough, if they have Will, to take him and me from this Place; but whoever he be that shall dare to do it, I pray God fend him shortly Need of a Sanctuarv, but no Possibility to come so to it. The Cardinal feeling the grow more and more Passionate by Discourting, and to reflect sharply upon the Protector, which he was unwilling to hear, because he believed them inconsiderate Effects of Passion, thought it time to break off Arging with her, and therefore to bring all things to a Conclusion, laid unto her, Madam, I will not do this Matter; and I will not be with any Body who shall be equal to me, whether you deliver him, or no. I am with thefe Lords, but the Meffenger to know your Resolution, and beg you will but tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not deliver him to us? For tho’ if you refrain him from me, I, as Protector, I, in the Name of your Father, will apply to you for his Safety; yet if you Deny it, I will immediately Depart and finish my Truth, revolting never to engage in the Matter again, since I feen you fo Rulcute in your own Judgment, as you thought both me, and all others had either Wit or Honesty. In the Protector’s Ill Desigins, were made the Tools of his Wicked Craft; Honesty, in that knowing his Intentions we have laboured to bring your Son into the Protector’s Hands to Destroy him; an
By Sir THOMAS MOOR.

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"Exorable Treason, which as our selves abhor,
So we dare boldly say was far from the Pro-
tector's Thought; he had not intended to
any in this Case, but you must brand the whole
Council with Short-sighted Advice and Dis-
loyalty to their Prince.

Thefe Words of the Cardinal's being Perem-
ptory and Short, much amufed the Queen, being
put to it on a fudden in refolution, after the
wooden way in this Cardinal the faw ready to depart, and the Protector and Council
were near he knew; what to do he could not
tell: the fear'd that by Delivering him, he call
him into the Mouth of Ruin, and by Keeping
him, he did but provoke the Protector and Council
and be the means to them both. She faw there was no way to fave him
from the Protector's Hands, but by Convoying
him out of his Knowledge or Power, which tho'
the Wilid, yet she had no Way to effect it: Wherefore the refolved to make the best ufe of
Necelcity, and since the Protector muft have him,
take the beft Way to Secure him in his Hands.
She con sider'd, that her Fears were but grounded
on vehement Prejudices, and therefore hop'd
Things might not prove fo Bad as she imag'd.
She could not doubt of the Cardinal's Sincerity
and Loyalty to her Son, and tho' the indeed fear'd he
might be feized on, and they did not believe,
either he, or the Lords prefent, would be any ways
Accelory to his Deftrufion: and for thefe Rea-
sons fhe thought it better to deliver him to them,
who were ready to Pawa their Honour and Lives
for his Security, and would therefore
look upon themselves engaged for his Safety,
then fuffer him to be taken from her; and there-
upon taking her Son, the Duke of York, in her
Hand, fhe led him to the Cardinal and Lords,
and with great Earneffnefs faid to them, "My
Lord Cardinal, and you my Lords, I am not
so opiniomated of my felf, or ill-advised
concerning you, as to Miftreat either your
Wisdom or Fidelity, as I fhall prove to you
by reposing fuch Trufh in you, as, if either of
them be wanting in you, will Redound to my
Inexcepiible Grief, the Damage of the whole
Realm, and your eternal Shame and Difgrace:
Filling the World with the Reports of whom
you defire; and tho' I doubt not but that I
could keep him Safe in this Sanctuary from
all Violence; yet here I reign him into your
Hands. I am fensible that I run great Hazards
in fo doing, no whilft lefs than my Fears fugges-
ted; for I have fame great Enemies to my
Blood, that if they knew where any of it lay
in their own Veins, they would prefently let
it out; and much more in others, and the nea-
rer to me the more Zealously. Experience
also convinces us all, that the Delire of a
Kingdom knows no Kindred. The Brother
of a King defires to be as Faithful in the
Brother, and the Son of his Father; and have
we any Caufe to think the Uncle will be more
tender of his Nephews? Each of thefe Chil-
dren are the other's Defence while they are
afunder; if one be fate they are both secure;
but being both together they are in great Dan-
ger; and that therefore, as a Wife Merchant, will
never adventure all his Goods in one Ship,
so it looks not fo Politically in me to put
them both under the fame Hazards. But not-
withstanding all this, whether rightly forefeen
or no, I leave to you to think on, and pre-
par'd me no further to hand the Duke of York
in him to your Keeping, of whom I fhall ask
him again at all times before God and the
World. I am Confident of your Fidelity, and
and have no reason to doubt your Wisdom, 1483.
Power, or Ability to keep him, if you will.
make me more happy than he that did;
quired; and if you are unwilling to do that,
than I pray you leave him till here with me:
and that you may not meet with more than
you did expect, let me beg of you, for
the Trufh which his Father ever reposed
in you, and the Confidence I now put in
you, that as you think I fear too much to
you would be cautious that in this weighty
Cafe you fear not too little; because your
Credulity here may make an irrecoverable
Miftake. Having this spoken, the turn'd to
the Child, and faid to him, "Farewell, mine own
sweet Son, The Almigh' and Severely as I love
me Kifs thee once more before we part, for
God knows when we fhall Kifs again; and then
having killed him, the Blefed him, and turn'd
from him and went, and fo went her way, lea-
ving the Child with the Lords weeping alfo for
her Departure.

The Cardinal and Lords having obtain'd their
The Duke of York Defire thus, and gotten the Duke of York from
his Mother, immediately led him to the Star-
Chamber, where the Protector and Lords of the
Council faid in Expectation of him. The Pro-
tector receiv'd him with all the feeling Kind-
ness and Pity that was in his Power. He reafon'd
King's Brother and his Nephew; and taking him
in his Arms killed him, and faid, "Now Weliom
my Lord with all my very Heart: and the fame
Day carried him to the King his Brother, who
was at the Bifhop of London's Palace near S. Paul's
Church. Here he left them a few Days toge-
ther, and because all Things were in a great
forwardnes for the Coronation, which he was
Zealous to Promote, he caufed the King and
the Duke his Brother to be remov'd to the Tower,
the ufal Place from whence that Solemnity be-
gan, with much Pomp and State. But now the
Protector was at a hand how to Proceed: He
look'd upon himfelf, as the Lawful King of these
Realms, by the Judgment of fuch as were befelf
Able to determine fuch Doubts; but yet since his
Brother's Children were generally prefumed the
True Heirs, and their illegitimenity not un-
der.
ferred, he was afraid to claim his Right against the Common Opinion,
and yet as loath to throw it up alfo, as he
must do by Crowning his Brother's Son. There
was almoft a Necelcity the Coronation fhould go
forward; it had proceeded fo far, that the Na-
lion would grumble extremely at the Expen-
s if it were now left alife; and on the other fide,
if his Nephew were crown'd he muft give up
his Right, and not only deprive himfelf but his
Children: Wherefore he refolved with himfelf
to feem as Earnfee as ever in carrying it on, A Council
and to that end, appointed a Council of fuch ap-
pointed to car-
ry on the
the Chamberlain, and Lord Stan ley were the
Chief, to Assemble De die in diem at Baynard's
Coffle to consult and contrive the Ways and
Ceremonies for the Coronation of his Nephew;
but in the mean Season he contriv'd secretly
to make known his own Title to certain Perfon
that he could confide, and by delaying the
Coronation try how far his own Interes might be
Advanced, that he might obtain his Right Peaceably and Quietly; but being Sible how
great Prejudices he was to Encounter with on all
very well, he knew he muft proceed very wary
in it. The Duke of Buckingham in all his Mo-
tions hitherto had been his chief Friend and
Affilant. He in a manner had made him Pro-
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etor, and it would be such a Dishabilitation if he should not make use of him in his Councils, that he certainly would turn his Enemy, and hence interpose between him and the Duke, who would pull them down, & he had set him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any Encouragement from him, because tho' the Duke was a Male-content in the Days of the late King, yet he seem'd very Loyal to his Son, as if he had Buried the Emity to his Brother. But the Duke knew that old Emity is easily Revi'd, & to prepare the Duke of Buckingham for his Defigas, he Sumbor'd certain Perions about the Duke to represent to him the King's Displeasure for Improfing his Mother's Kindred, & into what a miserable Dilemma he had run himself by that Action: for if they were Releas'd upon him an Immortal Grudge, and if they were put to Death, he was fare to incur the King's Anger so much, that he could hope for nothing, but Misfortunes on all Hands; for the King did not Reframe from such Expressions as 'twould, that whenever he had Power he would Revenge it upon him to the Utmost of his Power. All this, in a Fear of Danger, and predispos'd him to lay hold upon any Opportunity of Securing himself; which the Duke of Gloucester, who laid the Train, soon offer'd him: for a little after invit ing him to a Conference, he desired him to All Pratives upon him the Crown of England as his Right, shewing him the Judgment of the Civil Lawyers concerning the Illegitimacy of his Brother's Children, and promising, as the Reward of his Faithful Services to him, that his Son should Marry the Duke's Daughter; that he would give him the Earlind of Hereford with all the Appurtenances, which tho' his Inheritance, yet had been Unjustly kept from him by his Brother; And lastly, that he would Allow him a large Share of K. Edward's Treasure, and fo much of the Wardrobe as should surfeit his House, and settle upon him and his Posterity the Office of the High Constable of England, which his Ancestors by Defent for many Generations had enjoy'd.

The Duke of Buckingham was not hard to be won to engage in such an Action as secur'd him from his present Fears, and afforded a Prospeèt of so much Gain and Advantage, and fo became the Protector for the Minister of making him King; for he soon brought many of his Friends into the same Design, and with the Protector constituted a Council, which sat at Croy by's Place, the Protector's Manfon Houfe, to conceive the most Artificial and Politick Ways to Settle the Crown upon his Head; but they were to meet very Secretly and Pri vily.

This Council had not fast long, but both their Perions and their Actions were Differenc'd: for Cardinal Bourcheil Archibishop of Canterbury, Thom man Rawram Archibishop of York, John Motton Bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, Lord Hastings, and other Perions of Quality, who were bias'd to order the Coronation, perçiv'd that, notwithstanding their Endeavours, Matters mov'd slowly, and they saw Caufe to fupfeèt contrary Motions.

The Common People began to Murmur at the Delay of the Coronation, and Talk'd as tho' there were fome had Defigas upon them, tho' no Man could guess at what was really intend'd; but it was generally look'd upon as a bad Omen that the Protector took upon him a State and Magnificence above his Place, and would endure House but his own Servants about the King, who gave an unkind WOfen to all Perions, that either defir'd to fee the King out of Ca

1483, they would tell Men that they must seek the King elsewhere, viz. at their Mother's Palacé, which was not expected any Honours and Preferments at Court, that the Protector was Flatter'd and Careful'd as King, while his Nephew was little regard'd, and bore only an insignifac Banc.

These Actions increased the Jealousy of the Lords and Barons, who was to be sent to Direct the Coronation; and the Lord Stanley, who was a Wife and Sagacious Man, began to declare openly to his Brethren, "That he much did think these Doings, and could not believe that two different Councils could Produce any good Effects: We are confious of the Loyalty and Force of our Brethren, and ourselves, what the Cabal at Cranwell Place Talk of, and Contrive? I fear, what we are Building, they are Plucking down; and unless we could unite, or know their Councils, ours will be in vain. Peace, My Lord, the Lord Ha-Lord Re Forings, never fear or mislike any thing, I shall do, as my own Ice, no such peals, and at least nothing Ill is intended against Us; for while One Man is there, who is never Abent, I am sure there can be nothing pro pounded which shall find Ill to me, but it will be in my Ears as soon as it is out of their Throats alone." The Defigas meant of one Casyby a Lawyer, who was his Special Confidant, and being put into a Considerable Trust in the Counties of Leicester and Northampton, where this Lord's Interest and Power lay, merely by his Means, was reputed by him as Faithful and Grateful, that he would never do, nor suffer to be done any thing Infurious to his Patron: which indeed he had great reason to have done, but he much decy'd him, as will after appear, and was the Chief Instrument of Working the Protector's Will and Aims; for the Lords generally gave to many Signs of Diffirent, that had they not sey'd entirely upon the Lord H Opsing's Word, whom they knew Firm and Loyal, they had all parted every Man to his own Country and provided for their own Safety, which had certainly broken all the Protector's Measures; for they were Men of great Power and Interest with the People, and were often upon the Right Current had they been at Home; but Casyby carrying all fair to H Opsings, and he perfuading them that nothing could be done amifs till he should know it andadvertise them of it, they trusted to him, and denying their own Senses almost to confirme all things for the best, laid themselves open to Ruin, and made way to the Protector's Design, which both himself and his Council were vigilant to improve.

The former Jealousies of the Council at Bay H Opsings's Castle, were soon known to the Protector, and the Duke of Buckingham, and tho' they would not seem to be of Servit of the Realm, they would put up Resolutions with themselves either to win them over to their Side, or if not to Sel entire of their Courts, and made way to the Protector's Design, which both himself and his Council were vigilant to improve.

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and was counting greater favours, readily un-dertook the Employment, and coming to the Lord 
Halgis, who had not yet the least Mil- trick of him, after much other Discourse about the pre- sent Circumstances of Affairs, asks his Opinion about the Title and Claim that the Pro- tector had to the Crown; insinuating, that if it might Lawfully be done, it would be better that an Experience'd Person and a Brave Commander should Rule than a Child. The Lord Haigis, who was firmly Loyal to K. Edward's Children, pretending upon Cacity's Fidelity, that he would 10 his Mind to him without any Circumlocations, and having shew'd him what Jealousies the Council had of the Protector's Actions, with Indigna- tion expressed his utter Dislike of it in Words to this Effect: That he had rather see the "Death and Defosition of the Protector and "D. of Buckingham, than the Young King depri- ved of the Crown; and that if he differ'd any "Defiges that Way in any Percons whatsoever, "he would engage his utmost Power and Ability "against them. These Words, which 'tis belie-ved the Lord Haigis would never have spoke, had he suspected (a) that the Minifter's Secretar- chery of Cacity, were carried to the Protector immediately, and represented to him not with the mollifying Terms of a Friend, but Aggra-vations of an Enemy, because he hop'd by his Death and the Protector's Favour, which for the Office alone had readi reason not to doubt of, to obtain most of the Rule and Trufe, which 20 that Lord had in his Country, and so his Ruin would be his own Making.

The Protector received the Account of Ha-gis's Aversion to his Defiges with much Trou- ble and Regret, not for the Difappoinment on- ly, but because he had a great Love for him, who had always been his Friend, and had done him many Kindnesses in his Brother's Days, and therefore engaged Cacity to win him, if possible: but Cacity willing to see his Downfall, repre-sented him fo irreconcilable to his Proceed- ings, that he chang'd the Protector's Love into Hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any flight Pretences to take away his Life, with- out which he saw he must meet with a great Impediment in the Road of his Ambition, and so the Way was Agreed upon in this Manner.

The Protector call'd a Great Council at the Tower on Friday the 13th of June, on pretence of concluding all Things for the Coronation, which drew on pace, the Pages being making Day and Night at Westminster, and Vicinals killed ready for it. The Lords of this Council assembled Early in the Morning, and for Clofe to their Business to settle every thing for that Solemnity.

The Protector came about Nine a Clock to them, and having Saluted all the Lords very courteous, excus'd himself for coming to them so late, saying Merrily, That he had play'd the Structure this Morning. Then he fat down and discours'd a while with them about the Kindness in hand, and was very Plesant and Joconde in all his Speeches. Among other things more Serious he by the Bye said to the Bishop of Ely, My Lord, To have very good Strawberries in your Garden at Holborn, I desire you to let us have a Dill to Drink. Gladly My Lord, I will do that, (quoth the Bishop) I wish I had some Thing as ready for your Service as they; and thereupon sent his Servant in all haste for a Dill of Straw-berries. A little after this, the Protector ob- liger them to go on in their Councils, reque- sted them to dispence with his Abseence a while, and so Departed.

In the face of little more than an Hour he return'd, and spoke with such an angry Com- nance, knitting his Brow, frowning, and biting his Lips, that the whole Council were amaz'd at the sudden Change. Being fct down, he said nothing for a good while, but at length spake with great Concern, and ask'd them this Que- tion: What Punishment do they deferve who had Plooted his Death, who was so near in Blood to the King, and by Office the Protector of the King's Person and Realm? This Quetion he had rais'd out of Cacity's Account of the Lord Haigis's Words and Discourse, which he so represented to him, as if he had With'd and Contriv'd his Death. The Lords of the Coun- cil were much startled at it, and, thinking with themselves of whom he meant it, return'd no Anwser, The Lord Haigis who was always familiar with him, and thought this general Silence not pefpeful, reply'd, That they deferve'd to be punisht as heinous Traitors, whatsoever they were. Then spake the Protector, And that han't that Soveraign my Brother's Wife, meaning the Queen, but disclaiming to call her so (b) with others she Accomplishes endeavour'd to do. These Words began fresh Fears and Difurbances among them; because they most of them favour'd the Queen: but Haigis was well enough Content that the Crime was not laid upon any that he lov'd bet- ter, tho' he lik'd not that the Protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his Defigins to put the Queen's Kindred to Death: (which was by his Advice and Approbation to be done that Day at Pomfret-Castle.) The Pro- tector went on in his Complaints, and said, "See, in what a miserable manner that Soverain, ref, and Shore's Wife, with others their Ally- cates have by their Sorcery and Witchcraft miserably destroy'd my Body: and therewith Unconquering his Left Sleeve,lew them his Arm flietless, dry and wither'd, Saying, Thus would they by degrees have destroy'd my whole Body, if they had not been Discover'd" and Prevented, in a short time. This Proof, which the Protector thought to give of his Ac- currence, convinc'd the Council that he had on- ly a Mind to Quarrell with them, for they all knew that his Arm was never otherwife, and that as the Queen was too Nice to engage in any fuch Foolish Enterprise, so if they had done it, she would not have made Shore's Wife, whom of all Women the most hated, because he was her Husband's belov'd Concubine, one of her Counsellers.

The Lord Haigis, who from King Edward's Lord the Death had keep'd Shore's Wife (for whom he had pierced a great Kindness in the King's Life, but in Reve- nence to him forborne) was inwardly troubl'd to hear her, whom he lord'd, and knew to refect. 

He is Ar-

(a) Sir Thomas Moor makes it a Doubt whether he Spoke the Words; or not; or indeed, whether Cacity try'd him, or not.
The Archbishops of York, and other Bishops in prision.

The Protection in Anger catch'd hold of his Words, and said, Doyou Answer me with Yes and No! as if I charg'd them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou half joy'd with them in this Villainy; and therewith clapped his Fists down hard upon the Table; at which all men in Arms rô'd into the Room, crying, Treason, Treason. The Protector seeing them come in, said to the Lord Hastings, I Arreft the Traitor. What me, My Lord, said Hastings! Yes, thou Traitor, said the Protector. Whereupon he was taken into their Custody. In this Court, which was half before contriv'd, a certain Person struck at the Lord Stanley with a Pole-Ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the Blow and funk under the Table: yet he was wounded so on the Head that the Blood ran about his Ears.

Then was the Archibishop of York, Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, with divers other Lords who were thought aver'se to his Defigns, imprison'd in several places in the Tower; and the Lord Hastings order'd forthwith to Confess and Prepare himself for his Death, for the Protector had Sworn by St. Paul that he would not Dine till his Head was off.

It was in vain to complain of Severity, or demand Justice, the Protector's Oath must not be broken: so he was forc'd to take the next Prieft that came, and make a short Confession, for the Common Form was too long for the Protector's Stomach to wait on, and being immediately hurried to the Green by the Chappel within the Tower, his Head was laid on a Timber-logg which was provided for Repairing the Chappel, and there stricken off. His Body and Head were carr'd to Windsor, and there buried by his Master King Edward IV. late deceased, it being very Convenient that he should have a Place next him at his Death, who had left his Life for his Unmoveable Loyalty to his Children.

The Death of this Great Lord, as it was sudden and unexpect'd, so it may seem to have been particularly regarded by Heaven, from whence he had many Omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but Wifdom to take a due Notice of them; which are worth a particular Relation, that we may see the Care Providence has of Men in imminent Dangers.

The night before his Death the Lord Stanley had a fearful Dream, in which he thought that a Wild Boar with its Tûhes had so wounded his own and the Lord Chamberlain's Head, that the Blood ran about both their Snoulders. This Dream had more than an ulial Impreffion upon him, and because he interpreted the Dream of the Protector, who gave the Boar for his Arms, and the Wounds and Blood from their Heads of some imminent Danger of their Lives, he resolv'd no longer to tarry within reach of his Power, but ordering Horfes to be got ready, sent his Chamberlain to the Lord Hastings at Midnight to acquaint him with the Dream, and to repair immediately to the Horfe as fafh as he could, and with him fcurfe himself, for with swift Horfes they could get near their Friends by Morning.

The Lord Hastings, tho' awak'd out of his Sleep, yet being naturally a Man neither Me- lancholy nor Melancholy, receiv'd the Message with a Smile; and faid to him, Doth my Lord, your Malter, give you so much Credit to such Tribles as Dreams, which are oually the Effect of our Fears or Cares? Pray tell him, That it is plain Witchcraft to believe in such Dreams, which if they may be allowed Foretellings of Things to come, yet are so Uncertain, that we may do our selves more Harm than Good in following them: for who can affure him, that if there is any real Danger to be feared from the Boar, we shall not fall into it rather by Flying than by Fortune. ? (This he said, not in the Boar, but in the Horfe,) (as might very well happen) we should give the Boar just Occasion to Goar; for our Flight would be such an Argument of some Guilt, that we could hardly avoid it, and to al- ledge a Dream as the Cause, would make us appear too defendless: if there were any Danger, as indeed there is none unlefs in his caules,fears, it is rather in Flying than Tarrying; and if we must fall into it one way or other, I had rather that Men should fee it to be from others Foulhood, than my Guilt or Cowardice: And therefore go to thy Malter, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry and fear no thing; for I can assure him, that there is as little Danger from the Man he means as from my own right Hand. God grant it may be so (says the Melanger) and go departed. The Gentleman brought the Message to his Lord, and began to forbear the Resolutions of a Man who would have given what Mischief to himself the Event proved.

Other Ominous Prefages he had of his Death that Morning, which his Security would not suffer him to take Notice of. Before he was up from his Bed, (where he had lain all the Night with his Wife's) there came to him his Lordship's Son, Sir Thomas Howard, Son of the Lord Howard, to call him as he pretended, and to Accompany him to the Council; but he was really fent by the Protector to perwade him to come if he should not intend it, or if he delin'd it to happen; which tho' he manag'd artifici- ally enough, yet being the Protector's privy Council he was dubious, and in the Way as they pass'd along, he gave the Lord Hastings such an Odd Interruption, in his Discourse with a Prieft which he met by the Way,by telling him, tho' merrily, That he wonder'd he would Talk so long with a Prieft, He had no Occasion for, and that he made it appear by having himself, that he knew he that he should have need of one Soon: but he was a loose and careless Man, and re- garded it not.

In the Way also as he pass'd from his Houfe to the Tower, his Horfe that he was accontrim'd with, hallow'd him twice; then hallow'd with him twice the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Hastings, coming so dangerously that he had almost fall; which thing, tho' it happens so commonly, as he prefixed to himself, and in the Place, as well as at the的不同 as a friend of some Misfortune. Also when he came to the Tower-Wardes, within a Stone's cast of the place where his Head was cut off a few Hours after, he met with a Person his Dis- pear't of his own Name call'd Hastings, who ha- cours'd him met him in the fame Place, when he lay with one under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Ac- cussion of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish Hastings, under King Edward's Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord Rivers the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in the Place, and when he left it, he fell into a Discourse with him about it, and said, Ah Hastings! Doth thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yes, my Lord (he said) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you nor harm for your You would say I wish
Hastings's Death
mourned at and justified.

Hastings, dead, and the Lords of his Party in Prison, was yet at a Plunge, how to justify to the Nation the Severity of the Proceedings against him. For the Lord Hastings tho' in himself no good Man, as his Publick keeping of State, and the rule all the Affairs of the Realm, yet he was had in great Esteem by the King's Friends, as a Person of approved Loyalty and good Affection to King Edward's Line, and by the People as a Lover of the Common Good, and he was sensible that the News of his Death, which would fly into all Parts from the City apace, would cause great Discontent in all Parts of the Nation: Whereupon he thought it his Wifefh Counse to fend for the Lord Mayor and Chief Citizens, to him into the Tower, and give them a full Account of the Justice of the Lord Hastings's Sufferings; that the Mourners of the City being apprehend for their Lives, and other Perilous Perils to the Country. This Contrivance he put in Execution immediately after Dinner the same Day, and having put on Old rusty Armour, which Lay neglected in the Tower, and commanded the Duke of Buckingham to do the same, as if their sudden Danger had caused them to take any thing that Lay next for their Defence, he and the Duke flid ready to receive them.

When they were come, the Protector told them, "That the Lord Hastings, and several other Perons, had conspired and contrived together suddenly to Kill him and the Duke of Buckingham, to cause what Damag to the Country, new Cauze, or for what Defign he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain Knowledge of the intended Treafon before Ten a Clock of the same Day, so that he had enough to do to depend upon his own Guard, and provide for his own Defence; which tho' they had both done in an Undecent manner, by putting on such filthy Armour, yet Necessity obliging them to it, they were forc'd to take what was next Hand: That God had wonderfully prevented them from the Danger, that the uncertain Death lay, against whom, tho' there might seem to be something of Cruelty us'd in so sudden an Execution without any Legal Tryal and Hearing, yet there appearing to the King and the Lords of his Council many Reasons to believe, that if he had kept the Council, his Chances would have made a formidable Insurrection in the Country to Rescue him, and his Guilt being very Evident, they judged it best to inflict the deserved Punishment of his Crimes upon him immediately, that the Peace of the Nation might not be in Danger. This is the real Truth of the Business, and we have therefore call'd you hither to inform you of it that you may, as you see, Cauze, to satisfy the People of the Justice of the Lord Hastings's Sufferings, which tho' we were no ways disposed to do, yet our Care to please them, we were constrained to observe; we require you thus to Report it. They all answer'd fair, and declar'd their Readiness to Obey, as if they really believed him, tho' in themselves they look'd upon his Harangue as a plausible Pretext for a real Fact, and so taking the Liberty of the Thing, upon more Mature Deliberation this was not thought sufficient to appease the People's Minds; and therefore soon after the Mayor and Citizens were gone, an Herald of Arms was sent into the City to Publish a Proclamation in all Parts of it, to this Effect: "That the Lord Hastings with divers other Perons wicked Conspirators, had traitorously combined to trive the same Day to have slain the Protector and Duke of Buckingham sitting in Council, with a Purpose and Design to take Death upon him the Government of the King and Kingdoms, and to bear all Things to his Death. They hopeing that when they were dead, they should meet no Opposition in their Designs. And in how miserable a Condition this Nation had been, if God had left them in his Hands, 't would from the former Actions of the said Lord, who being ill a Man, could not have done a good Service. For he it was, that by his Ill Advice enticed the King's Father to many Things much redounding to his Dihonour and to the Universal Damage and Detriment of the Realm, leading him into Debanchery by his Exemplary Wickedness, and procuring the Life of a most Religions and wise Person to gratify his Lufts, and particularly Store's Wife, who was one of his Secret Council in this Treason, by which he liv'd, the said King not only shorten'd his Days, but also was forced to Oppress and Tax his People, that he might have sufficient to gratify his Expecnces. And since the Death of the said K. he hath liv'd in a continual Incontinency with the said Store's Wife, and lay Nightly with her, and particularly the very Night before his Death, so that it was no marvel if his Ungracious Life brought him to as Unhappy a Death, which he was forced to by the Special Command of King's Highness, and of his Honourable and Faithful Council, both for his own Demeans, being so openly taken in his intended Treason, and also left any Delay of his Execution might have encouraged other Mischievous Persons, who were engaged in the Conspiracy with him, to make an Inquisition for his Deleriance, which being widely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means under God's Providence to preserve the whole Realm in Peace and Quietness. This Proclamation, which was very well in the Provinces (as was thought by Catchit, who was a dammation Chief Actor in this Tragedy) and as fairly writ not rotten on Parchment, tho' the Expedition of the Guard Publishing of it was look'd upon as Politick and Wife to prevent the Discontents of the People, yet it did very little Good: for when Men came to compare it, it was plain it was very Elegantly composed, very fairly written, and being very long was yet Publish'd within two Hours after the Death of the Lord Hastings, they began to suspect that that Lord had join'd Dealings, and that his Ruin being determined, it was composed and written before his Death; for the Time after
was not sufficient, either to Compose or Write it in. And hence it was, that some spared not to Reflect upon it. The School-master of Paul's, sharply said,

Here's a very godly Calf, Fondly ca'ed away for Haste.

And a Merchant that flood by him, Answ'rd him, It was Written by Prophecy. Thus did the Protector endeavour to Palliate his Wickendedness, in Defence of all but what was in his Heart, this Action was too foul to receive any tolerable Pleas, which would pass with Men of any Thought at all.

The Protector having done as much as could be done, to excuse his Cruelty to the Lord Hasting, took himself oblig'd to proceed against Mrs. Store's Wife, whom he had accus'd of the same Treason; least if he should let her escape, he shou'd betray his Plot; for if she were not Guilty, no more was the Lord Hastings; and if he deferred Death, do'd she. For this Reason, he sent Sir Thomas Howard to her House, with an Ordonance to Appropriate her Goods, and Seize her Goods, as forfeited to the King by her Treason; which were both accordingly done; and her Goods, to the value of Two or Three Thousand Marks being taken from her, she was carry'd to Prison into the Tower: With- in a few Days after, she was brought to her Ex- amination before the King's Council, and the Protector laid to her Charge, that she had "endeavou'd his Ruin and Deftruction several ways; and particularly, by Witchcraft had "deacy'd his Body, and with the Lord Hastings, "had contriv'd to Affiliante him. But the manner of his getting her, was so secret, as that there appear'd not the least Likelihood of her being Guilty: Whereupon they, by the Protec- tor's Order, fell upon her for her open and scandalous Whoredome, which every Body know- ing, she cou'd not Deny. And because they would do something to her to Satisfy him, they deliv'rd her over to the Bishop of Lon- don, to do Publick Penance for her Sin in St. Paul's Church, which she accordingly perform'd the next Sunday-Morning, after this Manner: Mrs. Store being depriv'd of all her Ornaments, and Cloath'd with a white Sheet, was brought by way of Procession with the Crocey carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her Hand, to the Church of St. Paul's from the Bishop's Palace adjoyning, through great Crowds of Peo- ple gather'd together to behold her; and there Standing before the Preacher, acknowledg'd in a fit Form, her open Wickendedness, and de- clared her Repentance for it: In all this Acti- on, she behav'd her self with so much Modesty and Decency, that such as respeck'ted her Beaut- ty more than her Fault, never were in greater Admiration of her, than now: for the being a Beautiful and Handsome Woman, wanting no- thing but a Fair Face but a little Folly, this blame- ful Act supply'd that so well, that the appear'd more lovely for it; and as to such, were glad to see Sin Corrected, yet they pity'd her, because they knew, that the Protector did it more out of Hatred to her Perfou, than Sin; and for her Exception, it was to her Virtue. This Woman was born in London, Virtuously Educated, and Well Married to a Substantial and Honest Citizen; but being drawn to the Match, rather by Interest than Affection, by her Parents command, than her own Inclination, she never did that, but a loving Wife to her Husbands Bed. This Loofnefs to her Husband, with that natural Ambition, and Affection of Gay Clothing and Greatnefs, which is usually in Women much above their Fortunes, though almost never to Greatness, we find, or her mind of the King's Kindnefs, when offer'd; who, besides that she was a very Handsom and Lovely Perfou, cou'd easily gratify, her Defers, and by fulfilling his Lufts, she knew she had Maffery of his Gifts and Treasure; and for these Reasons, she became his Chriftian, Her Husband (tho' made more happy by her Love,) yet carried her Re- sentments evenly; and after the King had A- bu'd her, never would have any thing to do with her, whether out of Reverence to the King's Perfou, or out of a Principle of Confi- dence, it is not easy to determine, tho' both might concur. She lived many Years in King Edward's Court, and tho' that King had many Concu- bines, and some of them of much greater Qua- lity than her self, yet he loved her best for her merry and ingenious Behaviour. In this Great, tho' Bad Station, she Deemed her self with admiring Prefence, and was not Excited by the King's Love: for, she did not think it would much Benefit to others as to her self; for she's never abus'd the King's Kindnefs to any Man's Wife's Hurt, but always us'd it to their Comfort and Goodnefs.

Advantage: Where the King took Displeasure against any Man, he would mitigate his An- ger towards the Woman, he was fond of. She live out of Favour, she would Reconcile. For many heinous Offenders she obtain'd Pardon, and got a Relaxation, and sometimes a total Remission of large Fines: and tho' she was the only effec- tual Suitor almost at Court for such as want- ed Places and Preferments, yet she made little Use of it, as she was always expectation none, or very small Reward, and that rather Gay than Rich; either because she was content with doing of a Kindnefs, or dedicated to be Sought for; for Wanton Women and Wealthy, be not always Covetous. In fine, her Lewdnefs Refol- ved was her only Fault; and tho' that was great, he was not yet. enough, yet to have a King for their Bedfell, low is such a mighty Temptation, that if no Woman would condemn her before they have the like Trials, it's to be feared, they have few to call a Stone at her. She was Affable and Obliging, Generous and Charitable, and of the utmost Goodness in the Needy: she was a great Benefactor to the Poor, and in pro- bable Poverty in her Old Age, a just Punifh- ment for her Sin, yet it was a Reproach to many Thousands, that she was so, whom she kept from Beggary; and if they had been Grateful to Require her for those Kindnefs in her Want, which the World to Sell in her Prosperity, she might have Liv'd to her Death, in a Condition great enough for her Birth and Degree.

While the Protector was thus buied at Law the Earl of Sharsden, in making his way to the Crown, and of Rivers, excelling, him in regard of the Kindnefs he execute'd at Hastings, his bloody Order given for the Execu- tion of the Queen's Kindred, the Lord Ri- vers and Richard Lord Grey, with Richard Haufe and Sir Thomas Vaughan at Pomfret, was puni- tionally executed by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great Favourite of the Protector's, who was a Man of much Courage and Reward to pro- mote all his Designs. It is thought, they suf- fer'd Death at the same time the Lord Ha- stings was beheaded in the Tower; who being a principal Adviser in their Deaths, may be a Warming to us all, how we can ruin the Deferved Sufferings of innocent Persons: For God often, and that justly, brings the Evil
we do to others upon our own Heads. The Lord Hasting, by advising the Protector to Destroy the Queen's Kindred callously, had few the way to do the like to himself. The manner was as dishonourably and unjustly. Great and Heavy Accusatons were laid against them, but none prov'd. They had not so much as the formality of a Tryal, but were brought to the Scaffold on the Day appointed; and being branded, in general, with the Name of Traitors, The Lord Rivers would have his Inno- cency to the People, but Ratcliff would not for- feit him, leav his Words should lay open the Protector's Cruelty too much, and make both him and his Party odious to the People; and he was the first that could have been by it, but the King would not endure his Mouth to be stopped, but as he was going to the Block he said aloud, A Mis- chief that they made that Expounded the Prophecy, which forsook G. Should Defroy King Ed- ward's Children, for George Duke of Clarence, who for that Sufficient is now Dead; for then still remain'd Richard G t e. Duke of Gloucester, who now see is fee he that shall, and will, accom- plish the Prophecy, and Defroy King Edward's Children, and all his Allies and Friends, as ap- peareth by this Day, against whom I Appeal to the High Tribunal of God, for this wrongfull and unrighteous Transaction. Richard Ratcliff heard this with Regret, and putting it off, said to him in scorn, You have made a goodly Appeal, lay down your Head. Yet, saith Thomas, but I Die in the Right, take heed that you Die not in the Wrong: and having this laid, he was hanged. He, with the other three, were Buried Naked in the Mono- stery of St. John the Evangelist at Pomfret.

Then the Conspirators held Council among themselves, how they might bring about their Wicked Purposes. Their chief Difficulty, was to Engage the City, and having Gain'd the Lord Mayor, Sir Edmund Shaw his Brother, Dr. John Shaw a Priest, and Frier Pinker Provincial of the Auguftine Friers, to their Interest, they determin'd, That Doctor Shaw should first break the Matter in a Sermon he was to Preach at Paul's Croft, and the main Argument he was to lay on his Paper, was the Deprend, and the Advancement of his Unkle Richard, was resolv'd among them to be the Baffard of the Two Princes, Sons to Edward the Fourth; which disabled them to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Tho' this Chance would bring the Scandal of Adultery on the Queen, yet Richard and the Conspirators did not consider much, that the whole Royal Family would be Defamb'd by it, in the highest degree: On the contrary, (ra- ther than fall of the Sovereignty to which he aspii'd) the Duke of Gloucester, and his Emin- ence, the Lord Prelate, would occupye the Advan- tage of the said Baffard; tho' His Mother was the Parent of the Protector, and in calling Her an Adulteress, he profan'd the Honour of the very Perfon that brought him into the World. This Accusatson he would have at first only hinted, and made mysteri- ously, that if the People, in asehnore of such an unatural Slander, shou'd have been set against the Publisher of it, there might be room to put some other Contradiction on the Words. Shaw was order'd to declare to his Auditory, That King Edward had promised Marriage to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, by whom he had a Child; and that the D此种 of York had told him, He, was her Husband before God, to prevent His Marrying the Lady Elizabeth Grey, whole

Children, by King Edward, were consequently Baffard. He was not to mention any thing of that King's Illegitimacy, unless he found his Reflection on the Queen's Children would not take. This was a new and a vast Number of Perfon's, of all Qualities, us'd to flock to hear him: So they thought they had gone a great way in accomplishing their Delusions, when they had got him to their Side.

Shaw was not only ready to speak what the Conspirators might have, but the whole Diocese against the Legitimacy of the Young King and his Brother: He began his Ser- mon with this Expression, Spuria Virtutina non agent Radiatus alas, Baffard Slips, shall never take deep Root. He fheid the Blessings that God had given to the Princes of the Marriage, Sir John, and the Unhappiness of those Children who were brought out of Wedlock. Several Examples of both kinds he us'd to prove the Truth of his Affertion. He took occasion from what he had said, to shew the Reason they had to fear, that the Reign of the present King would be Unfortunate, and they'd very much on the Great Things that they might hope for, from the Government of a Prince of the Duke of York's Illustrious Qualities, the Father of King Edward the Fourth, or rather, of the Lord Protector, who was the only Lawfully begotten Son of the Duke of York, who was slain at the Battel of Walsingham. He then declared, That King Edward was never Legally Marri- ed to the Queen, being Husband, before God, to the Layer Elizabeth Lucy: Besides, neither He, nor the Duke of Clarence were thought Legi- timate, as he shew'd; for the Duke of York's Family, who were most acquainted with the Dutchess of York's Intrigues with several Perons of Her Husband's Court, whom they Refembled in the Face: But my Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroic Deeds, represented the very Face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father: He (says the Fails Preacher) is the perfect Image of his Father; his Features are the fame, and the very expreff Likeness of that Noble Duke. At these Words, twas defignd the Protector should have enter'd, as if it had been by chance; and the Dutchess, with her Sucklings, not a little to her great disappointment, that the Doctor's Words, as coming from the im- mediate Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, would have been induc'd to have Cried out, God Save King Richard. Which Affrince was prevented, either by the Doctor's very great too much haste to come to that Part of his Sermon, or the Lord Protecor's Negligence to come in at the Infant when he was saying it; for it was over be- fore he came, and the Priest was enter'd on some other Matter when the Duke appear'd, which however he left, and Repeated again, abruptly, as Tho. Sprigge so very in- liable Prince, the Pattern of all Heroic Deeds, His De- 

represent the very Face and Mind of the Great Vice to Duke his Father; his Features are the fame, and the plain expreff Likeness of that Noble Duke. The Protecor, Accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, put thro the Murther, as the Priest said this: but the People were so far from Saluting him King, that they pine'd with Indignation at the Preacher's Base Flattery and Treason; who, when he had close his Sermon, went Home, hid himself for Shame, and never durst shew his Face in the World. Being inform'd how Odious he was be- come for what he had done, he fell, out of Grief and Remorse, into a Consumptton, of which he Died in a short Time. He Preachéd this Nota- Vol. I. £ff ble
ble Discourse, on a Sunday which was to be Pre-
paratory to the Duke of Buckingham's Oration, on
the Twelfth following, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the City of London was
assembled for that Purpose in the Guild-Hall;
where that Duke mounting the Hurrings, and Silence being command'd in the Lord Protec-
tor's Name, spoke to this Effect, several Lords that were privy to the Secret, attend-
ing him;

Gentlemen, Out of the Zeal and Sincere
Affection we have for your Perfons and In-
terests, we are come to acquaint you with a
Matter of High Importance, equally plea-
sing to God, and profitable to the Common-
wealth, and to none more, than to you the
Citizens of this Famous and Honourable
City. For the very Thing, which we be-
lieve you have a long while wanted and
wish'd for, what you would have Purchas'd
at any Rate, and gone far to fetch, we are
come hither to bring, without any Labour,
Trouble, Cost, or Peril to you: And what
we must have had for our own Sake, and the Peace
of your Wives and Daughters, the Securi-
ty of your Goods and Estates, which were
all in Danger till now? Who, of you, cou'd call what he had, his own, there were so
many Snare's laid to Deceive you? So ma-
ny Fines and Forfeitures, that you never yet
knew of, which there was no End, and of-
ten no Necefiity; or if there was, it was
occasion'd by Riots and Unreasonable Waft,
rather than a just and lawful Charge, for the
Defence or Honour of the State. Your
Chief Citizens were Plunder'd, and their Wealth
was confider'd by Prefer'd Favourites; Fifteenth,
and the usual Subsidies would not do, but
under the plausible Name of Benevolence,
your Goods were taken from you by the
Commissioners much against your Will, as if
by that Name, was understood, That every
Man should pay, not what he pleas'd, but
what the King would have him; who never
was moderate in his Demands, always Exor-
bitant, turning Forfeitures into Fines, Fines
into Rafts; Small Offences into Mispris-
ion of Treafon, and Misprison into Treafon it
self. We need not give you Examples of
what a Turkey's Cafe would never be forgot: who
for a Word spoken in haft, was cruelly Be-
headed. Did not Judge Markham Reign
his Office, rather than Joy with his Breth-
ren, in Paffing that Illegal Sentence on
that Honoi' Man? Were you not all Wit-
eness of the Barbarous Treatment one of
your own Body, the Worshipful Alderman
Cook, met with? And your own selves know,
how well, how many Infumces of this Kind I
might name among you. King Edward gain-
ing the Crown by Conqueft, all that were
any Ways Related to those that were his En-
mies, or under the Charge of Treafon:
Thus half of the Kingdom became at once
Traitors; for half of the Kingdom were ei-
ther Friends to King Henry, or Relations
or Friends to some that were fo. Tho'-O-
mar with Invaders, is more taxable and De-
tructive to a Nation, yet Civil Difciplines
are much more fatal, and to be dreaded;
with which His Reign was more disturb'd,
than the Reigns of all his Predecessors:
but he is Dead and Gone, and God Forgive
his Sins who confiders People more Blood
in the Treafon to get the Crown for this,
that it had done to Conquer France Twice;
Half of the Nobility of the Realm left their
Lives or Eftates in his Quarral; and when 1483.
the Difpute was over, the Peace that fol-
low'd was not much later than the War:
Every Man and Body that Attributed
for whom cou'd he Truft that Diftraught his
own brother? whom Sare, that Kil'd his
own Brother? or who could perfectly Love
him, whom his own Brother cou'd not Love?
We shall, in Honour to the Memory of One
that was our Sovereign, forbear to Meni-
tion. Do you here the Perfon on which he was
fo lavish of his Favours; only 'tis well known,
that thole that deferred them mod, had least
of them. Was not Shore's Wife his Chief
Minifter? Was not there more Court made
to her than to all the Lords in England?
'escape thole that were the Stumpers of her
rites? Who, poor Woman, was her felf Chafe
and of Good Reputation, till he deluded her
to his Luft, and tempted her from her Hus-
band, an Honof Substantial Young Man, whom
you all know. Indeed, I am alhamed to
fay it, the King's Appen'd in that Point was
Safef: you know the: Woman was a felf Con-
vince her, Young or Old, Rich or Poor,
wife or Virgin, all fell Victims to his Luft;
by which Means, the moft Honourable Houlès
were Defil'd, and the moft Honourable Families
were Corrupt: You of this Renown'd Cl.
favoritifm: Do you not upon the Misforun-
him for your readiness to Serve the Henfe
of York with your Lives and Fortunes, which
'tho he ill Required, is there of that Houfe
who, by God's Grace, shall Reward you bet-
ter. I shall not enlarge on this Subject, you
can have heard it from One, whom you will
hearken to more, as you ought to do;
for I am not fo vain as to think, what I
can fay, will have fo great Authority with you,
as the Words of a Preacher; a Man
fo Wife and fo Fious, that he wou'd not
utter a Thing, in the Pulpit especially,
which he did not firmly believe 'twas his
Duty to Declare. You remember, I doubt
not, how he fet forth the laft Sunday, the
Right of the moft Excellent Prince Richard,
Duke of Gloucester, unto the Crown of this
Realm: For, as he prov'd to you, the Chil-
dren of the King, were famous, for
very Lawfully Begotten, the King leaving his
Lawful Wife, the Lady Lucy to contract an
Illegal Marriage with the Queen: My No-
ble Lord the Protector's Reverence to the
Dutchefh his mother, will not permit me to
fay any thing further concerning what the
worthy Dobier allweg'd of his Familiarity with
Others besides her own Husband, for fear of
Offending the Duke of Gloucester her Son:
Tho' for their Caufes, the Crown of England
is devolv'd to the moft Excellent Prince, the
Lord Protector, as the only Lawfully Begot-
ten Son of the Right of this Kingdom is,
very Lawfully Begotten, the King leaving his
Lawful Wife, the Lady Lucy to contract an
inteperation between the Lords and
Commons of England, of the Northern Coun-
ties especially, who have declared they
not have a buffard Reigh over them, to Pe-
tition that High and Mighty Prince, that on
his own Sovereign Power for the Good
of the Realm, to which he has so Rightful
and Lawful a Title: We have reason to
fear he will not grant our Request, being a
Prince who whole Will'd forfees the Labour
both of Mind and Body that attends the
Supreme Duke, so that Office is not a
Place for a Child, as that Wife man ob-
ser'd, who faid Va Regno suis Rex Iper eff,
Wo
By SIR THOMAS MOOR.

1483—

"Wo is that Realm that has a Child to their King! Wherefore we have reason to blest God that the Prince whose Right it is to reign over us is of so ripe Age, so great Wisdome, and Experience, that he can't be required upon himself, yet the Petition of the Lords and Gentlemen will meet with the more favourable Acceptance, if you the Worthipful Citizens of the Metropolis of the Kingdom join with us in our Request; which for your own Welfare, we doubt not but shall be the more heartily cutract you to do it for the Common Good of the People of England, whom you will oblige by Choosing them so good a King, and His Majesty by showing early your ready Disposition to his Election. In which my most dear Friends, I require you in the Name of my Self and those Lords, to shew us plainly your Minds and Intentions. The Duke stop'd here, expecting the Assembly would have cry'd out, God Save King Richard: but all were hush'd and silent, as if the Auditory was confounded with the Extraordinary Propofal; at which the Duke was extremely surpriz'd, and taking after the first silence of the Commissioners, faid to them softly, How comes it the People are so still? Sir, says the Mayor, it may be they don't understand you well. The Duke to help the Matter repeated his Speech with a little Variation, and with such Grace and Eloquence, that Never to ill a Subject was handled with so much Oratory. However the Assembly continued Silent. Then the Mayor told the Duke, "The Citizens had not been accustomed to hear another one but the Recorder, and perhaps they would take the Thing better from him who is the Mouth of the City. Upon which the Recorder, who was the first Spoke, repeated his Speech to the fame Purpofe at the Mayor's Command; and yet he manag'd his Speech so well as to be understood to speak the Duke's Sense, as well as his own. The People being still as before, the Duke muttered to the Lord Mayor, saying, They are wonderfully Obliterate in this Election of a King to a Commonalty he faid, "Dear Friends, We came to acquaint you with a Thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the Affection we bear you. The Lords and Commons could have determined the Matter without you; but we thought it right we, who is for your Honour and Profit, tho' you have no Fault, it or consider it: We require you therefore to give your Anwer one way or another, Whether you are willing, as the Lords are, to have the most Excellent Prince the Lord Protector to be your King or not? The Assembly then began to murmur, and at last some of the Protector's and the Duke's Servants, some of the City Apprentices, and the Rabble that had crowded into the Hall, cry'd out, King Richard, King Richard! and threw up their Hats in token of Joy. The Duke perceiv'd ealily enough who they were that made the Noise; yet, as if the Acclamation had been General, he took hold of it; Saying, 'Tis a Goodly and a Joyful Cry to hear every Man with one Voice agree to it, and no body say No: Since therefore, Dear Friends, we fee you are all as one Man inclin'd to have this Noble Prince to be your King,we shall Reckon it a Matier so essentially to him, that we doubt not twill be much for your Advantage. We require you to Attend us to Morrow with our joynt Petition to his Grace; as has been already Agreed on between us. Then the Duke and the Lords came down from the Hall; and the Assembly broke up, the most part of them with Weeping Eyes and Aching Hearts; tho' they were forc'd to hide their Tears and their Sorrows as much as possible for fear of giving Offence, which had been Dangerous." The next Day the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Chief of the Common-Council reforted to Baynard's-Castle, where the Protector them lay; and the Duke of Buckingham, Attended by several Lords and Gentlemen, came thither also. The Duke sent Word to the Protector that a Great Company attended to move a Business of the Highest Importance to him, and defird Audience of his Grace. The Duke of Gloucester made some Difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their Errand was good or not. The Duke of Buckingham took this Occasion to shew the Lord Mayor and Citizens how little the Protector was Concern'd of their Design; and then he sent another Meffenger with so Humble and so Earnest a Request to beheard, that his Grace came forth; yet with so much affected Diffidence, that he seem'd unwilling to draw near till they knew his Balance. Then the Duke of Buckingham very sublimely beg'd Pardon for Himself, and his Company, and Liberty to propose to him what they had to offer, without which they durst not proceed; tho' twas for his Grace's Honour and the Good of the Realm. The Protector gave them Leave to Buckingham to propose what they would, saying, I have been Sir, I'd none of 'em meant him any Harm. The Duke then set forth Elegantly and Persuasively "the Grievances of the People, and pray'd him to Redress them by Asswining the Sovereign Authority, which of Right belong'd to him, and which the whole Kingdom with much Unanimity defird he would take to himself for the Benefit of the Commonwealth, as much as for his Grace's Honour. The Protector seem'd mightily surpriz'd; and Anwer'd, "That tho' he knew the Things he al'd ledg'd to be true, yet he lov'd King Edward very, and his Children above any Crown whatsover, ever, and therefore could not Grant their Request. However he propos'd a Compromise, and thank'd them for their Love, but defird them to be Obedient to the Prince under whom Himself and they liv'd at that Time, and whom he would Advise to the best of his Capacity, as he had already done to the best of his Power to all Parties. The Duke of Buckingham murmur'd at this Reply, and after having ask'd and obtain'd Pardon a second time for what he was about to say, he declar'd aloud to the Protector, "That they were all Agreed not to have any of King Edward's Line to Reign over them: That they were gone too far to take a new King: If Resolv'd if his Grace would be pleas'd to take the Crown upon Him, they humbly beseech him to do it; Or if he would give them a resolute Anwer to the Contrary, which they should be loath to Hear; They must and would look after some Worthy Person, and that would Accept of their Proposal. At these Words, the Protector began to com- ply a little, and at last he Spoke thus to them: Since we perceive that the whole Realm is ac- cept'd upon it not to have King Edward's oeps of Children to Govern them of which we are the Crown, Sorry, but we have too far taken the Crown to long to no Man to justify as to our Self, the Right Heir, lawfully begotten of the Body of our most Dear Father Richard late Duke of York; to which Title is now joyn'd your Vol. I. S f f 2 " Election
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

The next Day he went to Westminster, Sat himself Down in the Court of King's-Bench, made a very Gracious Speech to the Assembly there present, and promised them Halcyon days from the Beginning of his Reign.

To shew his Forgiving Temper, he order'd one boy whom he hated, and who was fled to Sanctuary for fear of him, to be brought before him, took him by the Hand and spoke favourably to him, which the Multitude thought was a Token of his Clemency, and the Wisemen of his Vanity. In his return Home, he saluted every one he met.

His Diff. motion.

He is Crown'd.

The Life and Reign of Richard III.

nour of Brecknock. King Richard also created his Son Seventeen Knights of the Bath, and his Son Edward Prince of Wales. The same Day he and his Queen rode through the City of London to Westminster, and the next Day they were both crown'd in the Abbey-Church with extraordinary Pomp. What is most Observable in the Proceeding is, That the Countefs of Richmond, Mother to King Henry the Seventh, bore up the Queen's Train. After the Ceremony was over, the King dismissed all the Lords who attended his Coronation except the Lord Stanley, whom he retained till he heard that the Lord Strange, his Son, was quiet in the Country. He gave the Lords a strict Charge to see their several Counties were well Govern'd and none of his Subjects Wrong'd. He liberally rewarded his Northern Men, who valued themselves so much on the King's favour, that preferring to commit many acts of Injustice and Oppression upon it, he was forc'd to take a Journey into the North to reclaim them. What is ill got is never well kept; which King Richard soon shew'd by the Murder of his two Innocent Nephews, the Young King and his Tender Brother; whose Death has however been much doubted of since, whether 'twas in his Time or not; Perkin Warbeck, thro' the Malice of some and the Folly of others, having a long time abused the World, and imposed himself upon Princes as well as People, for the Younger of King Edward the Fourth's Sons. King Richard contriv'd the Defrauction of the two Young Princes in a Progress he made to Gloucester, to show the Honour the Town, which gave him the Title of Duke, with a Visit. He imaginn'd that while Young his Nephews liv'd, his Right to the Crown would be call'd in question; whereas he resolv'd to rid himself of them, and to that end sent John Green, a Creature of his, to Sir Robert Brackenbury, Confable of the Tower with a Letter, defiring him one How or other to make away with the two Children whom he had in Keeping.
in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, committed to the Tower for Treason, confest'd the Murder in the manner we have related did Digleston, and both the Mafter and the Man, and Forrester the Warder came to miserable Ends, The mean tho' the Jult Judgment of God, the Avenger of Inoffent Blood. Digleston and Forrester, tho' they ill Ends, were not Executed by the Hangman, in a most Horrible manner, trembling, and in his degrees. Sir James Tyrrell was Beheaded, and King Richard himself, Slay by his Enemies, and his Body ignominiously used by the Rabble. He could never after be at rest; his guilt ha' King, led him like a Spectre; he was afraid of his late. When he went abroad, his Eyes were covered with a kind of crowded in his Head; his Limbs trembled, and his Confidence. Hand was always on his Dagger; his Sleep was ever disturb'd by frightful Dreams; he would suddenly Start up, Leap out of his Bed and Run about the Chamber. Nor did he long Enjoy the Fruits of his Bloody Policy; for tho' the Princes were Removed, New Enemies arose from time to time, that kept him in continual Fears. The Duke of the Court of his Short Reign. The First that Conspired against him, was the very Person who had been most Instrumental in his Advancement, the Duke of Buckingham, whose intimacy with him, commenced from the Death of K. Edward the Fourth. We must look a little before restoring in the beginning of their Confederacy, the better to clear the History of this Duke's Misfortunes. On the Death of King Edward he sent a truly Servant of his to the Duke of Gloucester, to offer him his Service, and that he would Attend him with a Thousand Men, when ever he pleas'd to command him. The Duke of the Duke of Buckingham with his Secret Designs, at Northampton, Buckingham met the Duke of Gloucester, at the Head of Three Hundred Horse, and joyn'd with him in all his Underhandings; he accompanied him to London, and stayed with him till after the Coronation; he went with him to Gloucester, and there he took his Leave of him to return Home; where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to Repeat of what he had done; and to think, he had not been sufficiently Rewarded for it by the Usurper. This was the Duke's Discontent, the Duke's Discontent. He laid to this: Some time before the Usurper was Crown'd, 'twas agreed between him and the Duke of Buckingham, that the latter should have all the Lands belonging to the Duke of Hereford, to which he pretended to have a Title, by his Defect from the House of Lancaster; his Mother being the Daughter of Edmund Beauchamp, Duke of Somerset, Brother to John Duke of Somerset; Father to Margaret Countess of Rich mond, Mother to King Henry VII. But this Title having some Relation to that of the Crown, the Usurper would not hear of Re込んで him to the Title of Hereford's Plantations, in his Petition with Indignation and Threats, when he was in possession of the Soveraignity; which the Duke of Buckingham so highly reverenced, that from that time forward he con trived how he might Pull him Down from the Throne; for, as he had seen him, he told, he would himself sit on the Throne; and excused his Attendance at the Coronation, and that King Richard should send him word, If he would not come and Ride, he would make him be Car ried.

This Circumstance of the Duke of Buckingham's Dictator is not given Credit to, by those who consider the Nature of the Usurper and of the Duke, being both of them the greatest.
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

1483. greatest Difficulties in the World: The one would not so readily have provoked a powerful Enemy, nor the other have given a jealous Trumpet occasion to suspect his Fidelity: The Trum p is, the Duke of Buckingham was a high Spirited Man, and envied the Glory of another so much, that when he saw the Crown set upon King Richard's Head, he could not endure the Sight, but turn'd his Head away. By this, Sir Walter, that they continued good Friends till after his return from Home, and that the Usurper diffin'd him at Gloucester with Rich Gifts and Extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection: When he came to Brecknock, he convers'd much with Dr. Morston, Bishop of Ely, whom he had there in Keeping. This Prelate was a very Wise Politick Perfon, a Man of Learning and of a Winning Behaviour. He had been always Faithful to King Henry; and when he fell in with the Party of King Edward, on King Henry's Death, he Serv'd him as faithfully, and was one of the Lords whom the Usurper seiz'd at the Council in the Tower. The Bishop perceiving the Duke of Buckingham was pleas'd with his Company and Difcourse, thought he might improve the Favour he had obtain'd of him to the Advantage of the Common-wealth, by getting him to join in a Conspiracy against King Richard, towards which end, he was not very well inclin'd; yet he manag'd the Matter so wary, that he rather seem'd to follow than to lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole Mind to him, and to Engage in Prosecuting a Design which he had form'd, to bring about a Match between Henry Earl of Richmond, and Humphrey Seiz'd of Ely.

Edward's Eldest Daughter to King Edward, by which Marriage, the Two Houses of York and Lancaster would be United, and an End put to the Long and Bloody Difputes between the Two Faction. He durst not come to the Point present, but advanced it to five by step, as he saw the Duke of Buckingham prepared to hear him, and to it.

When that Lord came to Brecknock first, he Prais'd the King, and boast'd what Great Things the Nation might expect from such a Prince: The Bishop reply'd: 'My Lord, 'Twould be folly in me to Lye, and if I should swear the contrary, your Lordship would not, I suppos'd, believe me; had Things gone as I would have had them, King Henry's Son had been King, and not King Edward. But when, by God's Providence, he was depriv'd of the Crown, and King Edward advanced to the Throne, I was not so mad as to bring a Dead Man in competition with a Living One: So I became K. Edward's Faithful Chaplain, and shou'd have been glad that his Son had Succeed'd him: However, since God has otherwise order'd it, I shall not kick against the Pricks, nor labor to set up whom the Almighty has pull'd Down: As for the late Protector, the King that now is — Here he flout'd short, as if he had said too much already, to heighten the Duke's Curiosity to know what he had to pay more. The Duke earnestly desir'd him to proceed, promising him, upon his Honour, that he never ask'd Hurt should come of it, and perhaps, it might produce more Good than he was aware of: Saying, he intended to consult him, and to be govern'd by his Advice; for which cause only, he had procur'd of the King to have him in his Cabdy, where he might relick himself at Home; other wise, he had been deliver'd to those that would not have been so kind to him. The Bishop humbly thank'd him, and said, 'Indeed, my Lord, I don't care to talk much of Princes, as a thing which is dangerous, tho' the Words may be innocen t; for if they be not taken in Good part, they may be fatal to him that speaks them, the Prince putting what Construe he pleasus upon them: I remember of the Table in Effje, when the Lyon Proclaim'd That no Hare's Head shou'd stay in the Wood, on pain of Death; One that had a Bunch of Flihs in his Forehead, fled away in haste: The Fox meeting him, ask'd him, Whither so fast? The Beast answered, Tho' I don't know, nor don't care, prov iding you're not the Relief, the Proclamation commands all Harned Beasts to be gone. Yet the Fox, thou may'st say, the Lyon does not mean thee; it is not a Harn that grows in thy Head; No, you're the Beast, I know that well enough, but what if he should call it a Horn, where am I then? The Duke laugh'd at the Tale, and answer'd, 'If you have, my Lord, neither the Louise nor the Boar, shall repent any Thing that is said here, it shall never go any farther I assure you. The Bishop reply'd, 'If it did, were the Thing that I was about to say, understood as I meant it, I should deferve Thanks; but taken as I suppose it would be, it might perhaps happen to your Prejudice and mine. This ral'd the Duke's Curiosity still higher; upon which the Bishop proceeded thus: 'As for the late Protector, since he is now King, I don't intend to difpute his Title; however, for the good of the Realm he governs (of which I am a poor Member,) it was about to wish, that to the Good Qualities he poss'fs, it had pleas'd God to have added some of those Excellent Virtues, requisite for the Governing a Kingdom, which are so confpicuous in the Perfon of your Grace.'

Here Ends Sir Thomas Moor.

What follows, is taken for Hall and Holinshed's Chronicles.

The Duke wondering why the Bishop made such frequent Pauies, was the more eager to have him speak his Mind freely, and reply'd: 'I cannot but take notice of your Stopping so often in the midst of your Discourse, which hinders my making any Judgment of your Opinion of the King, or your Good Will towards me. As for any Good Qualities in me, I pretend to none, and expect no Praife on account of my Merit. I plainly perceive you have some hidden Meaning which you referre from me, either out of Fear or Shame. You may be bold and free with me who affirre your Friend; I affirre you on my Honour, that I will be as Secret in this Cafe, as the Daff and Dumb Perfon is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter.

The Bishop grew Bolder on the Duke's Premise of Secrecy, in which he was encouraged, by the Discoveries that Buckingham's Hatred to the King. He resolved therefore to come to the Point, and to propose to the Duke, That either out of Ambition, or his Love to his Country, he should attempt to Defroy the Tyrant.

To this End, he refused his former Con-
versation in this manner: 'My singular Good Lord; Since I have been your Grace's Pri-
foner, I have not known what it is to be & de-
... deprived of Liberty: and to avoid Idleness, the Mother and Nurse of Vice, I have spent my Time in Reading. I have Read some of my Books, That no Man was Born for himself only: He owes a Duty to his Parents and Relations, and to Friends for Proximity of Blood and Good Offices; but above all to the Country. 

... that if all I do is not for you, then I am a barbarian, and am no better than an heathen. For all things that are done for the publick Decay, or to enable me to live more comfortably, has a tendency to the advancement of the publick interest.

... Country: But if you will not you self accept it, of the Sovereignty of this Kingdom; if the Toils and Hazards of a Crown, prevail over you more than the Charms of Power, I Intreat you, by the Faith you owe to God, and your Duty to your Country, to come to Me, and ask me to be your Grace. Sceptre, that I may die a WILLING, a FELT, a PROPER Death. For the CroTPK.

... have been, as I am desired to be, a Friend to the CroTPK. To you, and to my Country...
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third,

1483. "No High Defect, would be at the Head of all Affairs by their Favour with the Queen, and have more Share in the Government than the King's Relations, or any Person of the Highest Quality in the Kingdom.

For this Reason I thought it would be for the Advancement of my Name and my Private Advantage to Side with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I took to be as Sincere and Merciful as I now find him to be Falfe and Cruel. By my means,
as you, my Lord, know well, he made Pretext of the King and Kingdom. After which,

Iwick Waxty and my Welcome Letters, he perswaded me and other Lords, as well SPI.
In the Temporal, to content that he might have the Crown till the young King was Four and Twenty Years of Age. I stuck at it a little, and he produced Instruments with
mediated by Doctors, Prophers, and Notaries, whose Depositions I thought to be true,

Testifying that King Edward's Children were bastard. When these Testimonials were read
before us, he stood up Bare-headed and said, Well, My Lords, (even as I and you (Sage and Disrete Counsellors) would that my Nephew should have
many Affairs, if you would do me the Service. These Depositions being true, I am the Undoubted Heir to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who by All of Parliament was adjudged the true Heir to the Crown of this Realm.

Upon which, my self and others took him
really for our Rightful Prince and Sovereign Lord; the Duke of Clarence's Son by reason of his Father's Attendant could not Inherit. The Duke was also suspected to be a Baffard. Thus by my Affiliation and Friendship he was made King; At which time he promis'd me at
Bridgenorth, laying his Hand on mine, that
the two young Princes shou'd Live and shou'd be Provided for and mine every One's Satisfaction; How he perform'd his Promises, we all know to our Sorrow. When he was in
Possession of the Throne, he forgot his Friends and the Affurances he had given them: He denied to go to Pardon for Part of the
Earl of Hereford's Lands, which his Brother wrongfully detain'd from me: He refus'd me in such a manner as made the Affront much more Intolerable. I have born his Ingratitude hitherto with Patience; I have conceal'd my Machinations so far as I had with him; I carry'd it outwardly fair, tho' I inwardly repe'ted that I had been accurs'd to his Advancement. But when I was certainly inform'd of the Death of the two Innocent Princes; to which (God be my Judge) I never confented; My Blood car'd to his Trencher and Barbarity, I abhorr'd the Sight of him, and his Company much more, and pretending an Excuse to leave the Court retir'd to
Bracknell. In my Way home, I meditated how I might Dethron'd this Unnatural Uncle.

I thought if I would take the Sovereignty of my Brother, it was the Time. The Temporal Lords I saw hate the Tyrant; he was odious alike to the Gentlemen and People of England; and had I affum'd the Suprem Power, I thought there was nobody to likely to

Murry to my self. Hatting my Ambi

with the Vain Imaginations, I laid

two Days at Twickenbury. As I travel'd further Homewards, I confident that to Pretend to Seat my self on the Throne as a Conqueror would not do; which would be to submit the whole Constitution of the Government, and entitle the Conqueror to all the Nobilities and Police, which would ruin my De-

sign: At last I remember'd that Edward Duke of Somerset my Grandfather, was with King Henry the Sixth in two or three Degrees from John Duke of Lancaster lawfully Begotten; my Mother being Duke Edward's Eldest Daughter, and I look'd for the next

Heir to Henry the Sixth of the House of Lancaster: but as I travel'd Homewards, between Worsley and Bridgenorth I met the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, at present Wife to the Lord Stanley, who is the Rightful and Sole Heire of John Duke of Somerset, my Grandfather's eldest Brother, whole Title I had from him, till I saw her in my Way, and then I remember'd that both her Claim and her Son the Earl of Richmond's were Bars to mine, and forbad my Pretending to the Imperial Crown of England.

I had some Discourse with her about her Son, and then we pasted, the for Worsley and I to Shrewsbury. As I proceed'd in my Journey, I confider'd with my self, whether since I could not Pretend to the Crown by Defect, I might not have recourse to the Election of the People, and on the whole, I thought I would contrary the popular humours of the Day, and again

then I began to reflect on the Dangers and Difficulties of the Enterprize; That the late
King's Daughters and Friends, and the Earl of Richmond's Relations, whose Interest is very considerable, would certainly oppose me to the utmost: And if the Houses of Lancaster and York would join against me, I shouldn't soon lose the Vain Power I might obtain:

Wherefore I recollected to flatten my self no more with Chimeras of my Imaginary Rights to the Royal Diadem, but only to revenge the People's Wrongs on the Common Enemy.

The Countess of Richmond propos'd in the Conversation we had on the Road, That her Son might marry One of King Edward's Daughters; and she conjur'd me by the Memory of Duke Humphrey my Grandfather, that I should do as I would.

I would procure the King's Favour for her Son, and get him to Confect to the Match. I took no notice of her Propofal then; which when I weigh'd in my Mind, I found of so great Advantage to the Commonwealth, that

I thought it was an inspiration of the Holy Spirit to me to resist the Designs of the Kingdom. It came to a Resolution in my self to Spend my Life and Fortune in endeavouring to accom

plish so glorious a Design, to Marry the Princfs Elizabeth to the Earl of Richmond, the Heir of the House of Lancaster, in whose Quartel my Father and Grandfather lost their Lives in Battel. If the Mothers of the Princes and the Earl can come to an Agreement concerning the Marriage, I doubt not but the Proud

Boar, whose Tusks have go'd so many In

necent Perfons, shall soon be brought to Con

fession, and Indisputation shall

enjoy the Crown, and Peace be reftored to

this disunited Kingdom.

The Bishop rejoyn'd extremely at this Free Declaration of the Duke: and that he might not

facken his Zeal in so Righteous a Cause, he en

deavoured to incline Fie him, and have him to the Execution of his Designs; My Lord, The Bif

pays the Bishop, Since by the Precedent of God and Bonnie Grace's incomparable Wisdom this Happy Alliance was

set on foot, 'tis Convenient or rather Necessary that we shou'd confult whom to truft in so Important and Precious an Undertaking. To whom full we

reply'd The Duke, but to the Countess of Richmond, who replies,
Heir of the House of York, to his Mistrefia's Son 1483. The only true Heir of the House of Lancaster. The Queen to bring him with Attention, agreed to the Proposals, and had him tell her Lady, That all King Edward's Friends and Dependents, the Duke, Dowerer or Missioner, to go on with her for the Earl of Richmond, and on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the very dear Lady Elizabeth; her Eldest Daughter, or in case she of Rich- mondt were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her Second Daughter. The Queen met her in Person the Earl of Richmond, and on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the very dear Lady Elizabeth; her Eldest Daughter, or in case she of Richmond were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her Second Daughter. The Queen met her in Person the Earl of Richmond, and on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the very dear Lady Elizabeth; her Eldest Daughter, or in case she of Richmond were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her Second Daughter.

The Duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of Richmond, no less than to seat him in the Royal Throne of England, if he swore to make the Lady Elizabeth; and by that Alliance put an End to the long and bloody Dispute between the White Rose and the Red.

In order to this, He said, the Countesses must manage the Business with the Queen Dowager and the Prince her Daughter, and when they were engaged, send to her Son in Britain, and get him to swear he would perform the Articles, agreed on between his Mother and the Prince Elizabeth, in both their Names. Bray gladly undertook to carry this Message to his Mistress, and now they were Embark'd in so great an Affair, the Bishop, who long'd to be at Liberty, defir'd the Duke to let him go to Ely, where the Number of his Friends would protect him against all the Force King Richard could send to destroy him. The Duke being loath to lose Able and Experienced a Counselor, excus'd his detaining him a little longer; saying, he should go in a few Days, and so well accompanied that he need fear no Exposure.

The Bishop impatient of Confinement, stole away from Brecknock to Ely in Disguise, rais'd Money there, and pos'd over into Flanders. The good Prelate thought he had done enough in letting the Duke at Work on so Hazardous a Business, in which it seemed he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more Serviceable to the Earl of Richmond Abroad, or was afraid of his Perjury at Home; or whatever reason he had to leave the Duke of Buckingham, he does not appear to be Excuse- able in History: For knowing the Duke was too apt to Open his Mind freely, but might have imagin'd that his Indiscretion would ruin him; and was to Sacrifice a Perfon of his High Quali- ty, to put him upon an Enterprise he was not fit to Manage, and then forfacke him in the Execution of it; at which the Duke was very much concern'd.

In the mean time Reginald Bray return'd to his Mistress, inform'd her of what he had conversed between the Duke and the Bishop, for the Advancement of her Son; and the Countesses with great Joy intended to play her Part as soon as possible. The first thing she was to do, was to engage the Queen Dowager and the Prince; To which purpose she despatch'd one Lewis a Welfman who was her Physician, with Instructions to Attend the Queen at Wilt- shire, and break the Matter to her. Lewis's Messeigh was not in the least suspect'd, because he came as a Doctor, to Advise her about her Health. When he was admitted into her Presence, and every Body withdrawn, he gave her to understand what Errand he was sent upon; He forfeth the Wrongs She, her Children, and the Way carry'd had prevail'd on the Tyranny of Richard, what Miseries had befaln the Kingdom by the Civil War between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and what Advantages would accrue to her, her Children, and the Commonwealth, by the uniting the Two Houses in marrying her Daughter Elizabeth, the only true

The Countesses of Richmond return'd to the Queen Dowager,
1:83.ing Umbrage of their Intentions to the U-

King. Richard endeavoured by his Spies to find

out the bottom of their Confpiracies, but he had
to deal with Men of Equal Cunning and Secre-
cy, and he could not fix the Matter on any one,
tho' he did not doubt but there was a Plot car-
rying on to Dethrone him and Advance the Earl
of Salisbury, and the Duke of Buckingham's avoid-
ing the Court, made Jealous that he was in it;
and to get him into his Power he made use of
his Diffimulation, a Quality that had been ve-
ry serviceable to him in his Usurpation, and
wrote him very Kind obliging Letters to come
in and attend the Duke's Disposi-
tion exverted himself. The King enquired to find
his Artifices unsuccessful, sent him a Letter in a
rougher Stile commanding him on his Alleciance
to Attend him. The Duke answer'd as roughly,
That he would not Expose himself to his Mental Enemy
whom he neither Lov'd not would serve: He knew
this Answer was a Declaration of War, and to
lose no time took Arms. The fame did Thomas
Marques of Dorset, who had escap'd on Staff
Sanitary, in Yorkshire. Sir Edward Courtney and
Peter Bishop of Exeter his Brother in Devonshire and
Cornwall; and Others in other Places. The King
being confident in his Intimations was not at all di-
hearted, but musting all his Forces March'd
against the Duke of Buckingham, the Head and
Heart of the Confpirators; whom if he sup-
prefed he fippos'd the Others would fall of Course,
or if not, he might easily reduce them.
The Duke rather by the Influence he had over the
Whores who were his Tenants, than out of
an Inclination they had to follow him, got a
great Multitude of them together, with whom he
march'd through the Forrest of Dean towards
Gloucefter, intending to pass the Severn there,
and thence to proceed into the West to join
the Courts: and which if he could have effect'd,
King Richard's Reign had not been fo long as it
was by a Year. But it happen'd that the River
Severn was fo swollen by a continual Rain for
10 Days together, that it Over-flow'd all the
Neighbouring Country, did abundance of Dam-
age, and was fo Remarkable, that for a
Number of Years the Inhabitants that Lanceurs
had on the Severn,的设计ing to hide
himself there till he could rake more Forces, or
escape thence to the Earl of Richmond in Brit-
any. He trusted this Ensign as a Man who had
so many Obligations to him, that he did not
think it could he almost possible for Human
Nature to be so Ungrateful, as to betray a Maifer
who had been his Guardian; it was as the Duke
had been to Ensign; having bred him up,
pro

vided for him honourably, and put entire Con-
fidence in him on many Occasions. Yet upon
King Richard's Proclamation to Apprehend the
Duke, with the Promise of a Thousand Pounds
Reward for his apprehension, he offered his
Life, and this faithlfull Wretch betray'd his Maifer to
John Alton Efg; Sheriff of Shropshire, who surrounded
his House with a Party of the County Militia,
feiz'd the Duke, and carried him to the King,
who then kept his Court at Salisbury. Ensign
1:83. and his whole Family were destroy'd by the Sur-

prising Judgments of the Almighty. The U-

surfer refus'd to Pay him the Thousand Pounds
promis'd in the Proclamation; Saying, He that
would betray so good a Maifer, would be false to
any other. The Duke certainly declin'd to be ad-
mitted to the King's Presence, but whether he
was convicted, or not, was not ascertained. Writers
affirm he was, and that he attempted to
Stab him with a Dagger. 'Tis certain he con-
feff'd the whole Confpiracy, and without any
further Tryal was beheaded in the Market-Place
at Salisbury, on the 2d of November. Such was
3991. the Duke of Buckingham. He was

married Katherine the Daughter of Richard Woodville, Sis-
ter to Queen Elizabeth Wife to Edward IV, by
whom he had Edward Duke of Buckingham, Hen-
ry Earl of Wiltshire, and two Daughters; The
one married George Lord Hastings, and the other
Richard Ratcliff Lord Fitz-water. The Duke of
Buckingham was Hereditary Constable of England, and
his Estate and Revenues were fo great, that King
Richard had reason to be Jealous of him; for no
Subject in England was fo Powerful either in the
Number of his Tenants and Dependents, or in
the Extent of his Estates.

By the differing of the Whores the Western Conf-

Army was so discouraged, that every Man flifled
Operators for himself. Some flee to Sanctuary, others took
Shipping and fell to Brittany to the Earl of
the Earl Richmond. Among those were Peter Courtyard
Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney his Brother, and
attended created Earl of Devonshire by Henry
the Seventh, Thomas Marques of Dorset, John Lord
Well, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Edward Woodville the
Queen Dowager's Brother, Robert Will-

laugh, Sir Giles Danbury, Sir John Cheyny and
and his two Brothers, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Wil-

liam Berkeley, Sir William Brandon, Thomas Bran-

den Efg, his Brother, Sir Richard Edgecomb, John
Hallowell Efg, and Capt. Edward Payning, a

Famous Soldier, whom Henry VII highly preferr'd.

King Richard did all that a Wife Prince could
think of to prevent their getting off. Knowing
what a Jersey was to the Earl's Person, he called upon
many Persons of Quality would make, he
get Guards on most of the Ports of England; but
those in the West being in the Hands of the
Maincontentists, they efcap'd the Cruel Vengeance
which was prepar'd for them. The Ulterior fit-

ted out a Fleet to Cruize off the Coasts of Brit-

any, and prevent the Earl of Richmond's Land-

ing any Forces in England; but the Earl not
hearing of the Duke's Misfortune, set Sail the
14th of Ocloer with a Fleet of Forty Ships hav-

ing 5000 Breton aboard. They had not
been long at Sea before they met with a Storm that
swallowed the Fleet out. The Ship in which
the Earl in Perfon was driven on the Coast
of England to the Mouth of the Haven of Pool in

Dorsetshire; where finding the Shore was crowded
with Troops to oppose his Decent, he forbade
any of his Men to land till the whole Navy
came up. However, he fent out his Boats with
some Officers to land the Men, who found
on the Shore, Whether they were Friends or
Enemies? These Trayers inform'd by King
Richard answer'd, They were Friends pos'd there
close by the Duke of Buckinham, to receive the Earl of
Richmond. The Earl furnishing the Decent, and
setting out his Fleet not appearing, weight'd Anchor and return'd to

France, Returns He landed in Normandy, where he referr'd
himself and his Men two or three days, and then
fent a Gentlemen to Charle the Eight, the

Brevich
Some of the Conspirators executed.

French King permitting Passports thro' his Terri-
tories to Earl of Bretagne, who was rarely granted
by Charles. However the Earl did not stay for
the return of his Courier, but trufling to the
French King's Generosity continue'd his Journey
tho' Normandy to Vannes, where the Duke of
Bretagne reside'd. When he arrived there he heard
of the Duke of Buckingham's Death, and found
that the Earl of Richmond, Gentle-
men who had made their Ecape. They all
firove Allegiance to him, and he took his Cor-
poral Oath, on the same Day the 25th of De-
ceber, that he would marry the Princess Eliza-
abeth when he had fuippose'd the Usher Richard,
and the Crowns were safe.

The Earl which thefe Gentlemen fhewed in his
Cruifc, and the Confideration of the great Inte-
rret had in England, lefled the Earl's Sor-
row for the Misfortune of his Friends in their
rift Attempts againft the Tyrant, and encou-
raged him to refit his Fleet and prepare for a
New Voyage to England, where many of his
Friends were Seiz'd and Executed; as Sir George
Brown and Sir Roger Clifford who were Beheadded
at London; and Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had
married the King's own Sifter the Dutchefs of
Earl's Manor Ely, and feveral of his own
Servants, the reft were brought to the Exac;
the latter, whom he condemn'd on bare
Sufpicion, at London, and other Places. The Ushi-
per made a Progreff to Devonshire and Cornwall
to fettle the Peace of those Counties, where
the Earl's Party was very Numerous. The Mayor,
Aldermen and Citizens of Exeter preferred him
with a Purfe of Gold to obtain his Favour:
He receiv'd it graciously, lay in the City one Night,
and the next Day went about it to take a View
of it: When he came to the Cake, and was in-
former 'twas call'd Rugement, he feem'd very Me-
lancho'tly, and fild; I find he often laid it long.
He thought that Name was Foretold by an Old Prophecy which he had Heard relating to him,
That his End was to be B'Lge when he came to Rich-
mend: Which Prediction was fulfilled at the
Battle of Bifworth. In his Western Journey, he
found the Gentlemen of tho' Parts were almost
all commit't into one Plot, and determin'd to depofe
him, and raiife the Earl of Richmond to the Throne.
All that had made their Ecape were Out-law'd,
and tho'f efe that fell into his Hands were put to
Death; for he knew not what Mercy and Hu-
manity meant.

In the Beginning of the following Year he
Summon'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of
Richmond and his Fowllowers were attain'd, and the
People barthen'd with fever'e Taxes and Im-
positions. The Money so collect'd was wafted on
its Creatures, or Sqander'd away Prodigiou's
on fuch as knew any thing of his Guilt in the
Death of his Neighbors, to keep their Mouths.
He obliged the Lord Stanley to confine his Wife
the Countess of Richmond, fo that he fhould have
no means of holding Correspondence with any
one to his Prejudice. He order'd William Col-
tington and 200 Gentlemen to Wiltshire to be Hang'd,
Drawn and Quarter'd. Lord Aiding thought the
Earl of Richmond and his Followers, and Writing
a Satirical Difputation upon him and his Favourites,

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog,
Rule all England under a Dog.

Alluding by the Hog to the Ushiper's Arms, one
of his Supporters being a Wild-Bear. Yet though
Executions did not ceafe of his Fears: He heard by
his Emifaries abroad, that Dr. Morton Bishop of
Ely and Urfjich, the Countefs of Richmond's Chap-
lain, who had carry'd on a clofe Correspondence with many
of the Chief Per-
fons in his Kingdom; and that the Duke of
Bretagne still continued to Protec't and Support
the Earl Henry. He faw the Storm that had lately
been gathering over him was not difpers'd by the
Duke of Buckingham's Death, and the Flight of
the Courteens; the Clouds grew Darker still, and
the Tempeft that threatened him was fuch
as requir'd all his Arts and all his Power to
Pro-
vide against. He fecur'd his Dominions on the
Side of Scotland, by entering into An Alliance
with Black Jack, to whom Eifed Son the
Duke of Richland marry'd the Lady Cat's
Daughter, to John Duke of Suffolk, by
Anna the Ushiper's belt below'd Sister. Her Son
John he proclaim'd Her Apparent to the Crowns
without having regard to King Edward
the Fourth's Daughters: Yet all his Negotiations and
Succesfs abroad and at Home were Inefficu-
thal and he perc'pt'd that nothing would entirely
secure him againft the Earl and his Friends Con-
trivances, unlefs he cou'd get his Perfon into his
Power. To this Purpofe he fent over other
Ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne, with In-
terceffion to two Persons themfelves in the Duke's Chief Miniftr's and Favourites
by Inmenfe Sums of Money to endeavour to
tempt him to betray the Earl. They were to
offer him for the Duke his Mafter the Clear
Profits of all the Earl's Eflate in England, and
him for himself whatever he cou'd ask of them.
The Earl the Treacherous Brute hearten'd to the Propofals
made by Richard's Ambassadors, and promis'd
do deliver the Earl of Richmond to them. But
the Bishop of Ely who had Intelligence in King
Richard and the Duke of Bretagne's Courts,
underflood what Defigns were forming againft
Earl Henry, of which he fent him Notice by
Urfjich; and the Earl giving Credit to his In-
formation, eap'd in Difguife with his Prin-
cipal Officers into the French King's Dominions,
and Landife intended a Day or two after to have
fiz'd him, and when he miss'd him fent Couriers
through the Dutchefs of Fury's Search of him.
He was care'f ent into the French Territories,
and when one of the Parties that were fent out af-
fter him came within an Hour's Riding of him, but
He had prevented Landife his Treachery' who
fled without his Mafter's Privicy. The Duke
of Bretagne being at that Time dangerously Ill,
and leaving all his Affairs to his Mafter's Mother, the
English Refugiares that remain'd in Bretagne expec-
t'd all to be deliver'd up to the Fury of King
Richard, when they heard of the Earl's Escape, and
the Reafons of it: And had not the Duke of
Bretagne recover'd and took him the Ad-
imiftration of Affairs, the Traitor Landife
would have faiz'd them, and yielded them up
to the Ushiper's Ambassadors. The Duke in-
quiring into the Caufes of the Earl's Flight into
France, was very much displeas'd with Landife,
and fent for Sir Edward Woodfelland Capt.
Payn-
ges, to whom he excus'd the Treachery of his
Miniftr, of which he had given the other French
Mafter a considerab'e Sum of Money, to con-
duct them to all the Englishmen who were at
Vannes, thro' Bretagne into France to their Mafter
the Earl of Richmond: For which generous Act
the Earl fent him Thanks by a Neffinger on
purpofe. Him elf went to the Lord Stanley's house
where Charles the Eighth, the French King, kept
his Court, and from thence accompanied him
to Montargis. Charles entertain'd his Mafter and his
Re-
ception followers very Magnificently, but was not there.

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very
very forward to lend him any Assistance.

While the Earl was in the French Court, John Earl of Oxford repaired to him with James Blunt, Captain of the Castle of Haumies, in which the Lord Oxford had been confined several Years, and had engaged the Governor in the Interest of the Earl of Richmond; with which he and Sir John Fortescue, Porter of the Town of Calais, James Blunt had reinforced his Garrison, supply'd it with all sorts of Provisions for a vigorous De-

fence, and left a Trifty Officer to Command there in his Absence. The Arrival of the Earl of Oxford, and the Revolt of the Garrison of Haumies animated all of Earl Henry and his Friends, whose Spirits began to sink, seeing the little Hopes they had of Help in France. Their Company increased after this daily: Most of the English Gentlemen who were Students in the University of Paris did Homage to the Earl, among whom was Mr. Richard Fox, afterwards Bishop of Win-
chester; and as their Numbers grew greater Ab-
road, their Interest at Home was consequently enlarged.

The Ul CFR, who by his Spies had a full Ac-
count of all their Proceedings, knew that the Hopes of the Party were founded on the Earl's Promptitude, and the Princes's Purposes, forgeting the many Affronts he had cast on the Memory of her Husband, on her own Honour and the Legiti-
macy of her Children, and even the Murder of her dear Sons, he comply'd with him, and pro-

mised to bring over her Son, and all the late King's Friends from the Party of the Earl of Rich-

mond. She went so far, as to deliver up her Five Daughters into his Hands; whom as soon as King Richard had got in his Custody, he re-

olved to order the Matter so, that he might be in a Condition to take the Eldest of them to be his Wife; which was a fair Way of defeating the Monomachy. The Earl's Engagement and Edu-

cation was so charm'd by his faithful Promises, that she wrote to her Son the Marquess of Dorset to leave Earl Henry and hafly to England, where she had procur'd him a Pardon, and provided all sorts of Honours for him. What success her Letters had, we shall see in the Course of this History.

We have already ob serv'd, that King Richard had car'd his Eyes upon his Brother Edward the Fourth's Daughter, the Princes Elizabeth: He had been guilty of Treason and Murder, and at most all the Crimes that are to be found in: the Internal Roth: Incest from only wanting to make him a compleat Monster of Mankind, the Horror of his People, and the Shame of the whole World. As he was Master of the Art of Diflimination, and had lately put on the Mask of Piety, so he was a little at a loss how to pacify his Fair Speeches by the way, to make room for his Niece in his Bed. He began his Lewd Deigne, by shewing an Aversion to his Wife's Company and Embraces. He complain'd to se-

veral Lords of the Council, of her Barreness; especially to Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of 

Canterbury, whom he had lately Relieved out of Prison. He told him of some Private Designs the Queen, which had render'd her Person disagreeable to him, and hoped the Bishop would tell her of it, who, being a Woman of a mack Temper, he thought would take it so much to Heart, that
the would not Live long after it. Dr. Bakerham said to some of his most intimate Friends, The
Queen's Days are but few; for he perceiv'd by the Ul CFR's Discourse, that he was weary of her and wanted another Wife, and he knew him so well, that he could not foppose he would for her. He had done enough bloody Cruelties he had been guilty of to satisfy his Luft and Ambition. To prepare the Way for her Death, he order'd a Report to be spread am-

ong the People, that she was Dead: Which he did with an Intention, that the Rumour coming to her Ear, it might alarm her with fear of her hidden Fate, and with Fears throw her into a Difafe which might carry her off. The Queen no sooner heard of what was reported against her, but the believed it came originally from her Husband; and thence concluding, that her Hour was drawing nigh, she ran to him in a most Sorrowful and Deplorable Condition, and de-

manded of him What she had done to deserve Death? The Tyrant answer'd her with Fair Words and Falfe Smiles, bidding her be of Good Cheer, for to his knowledge she had no other cause, but whether her Grief, as he deign'd it blood, Eruck'd to her Heart, that it broke with the Mor-

t's Fear, or he had spoil'd her, her end was cer-

nally suspected, by Poison, the Died in a few Day after it. She was Daughter of the Died from fam-

ous Earl of Warwick; and when Richard mar-

ried her, Widow to Prince Edward, Heir to

Henry VI. The Ul CFR affected to shew an ex-

traordinary Sorrow at her Death, and was at the Ex pense of a Pompos Funeral for her. Nor-

withstanding all his pretended Mourning, before she was scarce cold in her Grave, he made his Addresses to the Princes Elizabeth, who had his Love in abourance, and the whole Kingdom appear'd averse to an unnatural Marriage. His Affairs were in such an ill Poffe, that he durst not provoke the Queen and the People further, by putting a Violence on the Prin-

celle's Inclinations; so he defir'd his Courtship till he was better Settled in the Throne. The Nobility daily pass'd over into France; The Gen-

tlemen, his7, who had been as a Monomachy, where, they'd an Affection to the Earl of Richmond, for they durst not do it, without bringing themselves under the Lath of the Tyrant's Laws. He was moat Jealous of Thomas Lord Stanley, his Brother Sir William Stanley, and Gilbert Talbot. He ob-

lig'd the Lord Stanley to leave his Son George to marry stronger in the Court, as an Exemple of his own Eidelity. He commanded the Gov-

ernor of Calais to Attack the Castle of Haumies: The Earl of Oxford and Captain Blunt immediate-

ly hast'd to the Relief of it, but before they could arrive near it, the Garrison was reduced to the Life Extremity, and the Befegers, on the report of the Earl of Richmond's Approach, offering them to March out with Bag and Bag-

gage, they S surrender'd the Fort, and joy'd the Earl, who led them to Paris, where they were Enter'd by the Earl of Richmond. The Reduction of Haumies, and the small Hopes of Afferance which Earl Henry had in the French Court, made the Ul CFR to feic, that he re-

call'd the Squadron of Men of War, which he had order'd to Cruife in the Channel and pre-

vent the Earl's making a Defcent in England, and continued himself with commanding the Lords of the Parliament, who l'd near the Coafts, to on their Guard to Defend them.

In the mean time the Earl of Richmond con-

ined his Negotiations in the Court of France for Succours; but Charles VIII. being in his Mi-

nority, he was forced to apply to the Regents,
The Queen Dowager, to oblige the King, with his great desires to him, for his Life and her Daughters, continued to write to her Son the Marquess of Dorset, to leave the C. of R. stand.

The Earl of Pembroke had by his Father's Will the title of Earl of Pembroke, and to this Earl, his Son, the Princefs Elizabeth, was betrothed. As the Earl was of a family of great dignity, and the Dowager, the late Queen mother, had left him by will lands and money, it was not unexpected that the Ulfper flatter'd himself 'twould never take effect: For this Reason he grew more Pleasant than before, his Joy increas'd as his Care left'en, and luld'it him at last into a Fatal Secrecy.

But for as soon as the Earl had Notice of his Flight, he apply'd to the French Court, for leave to Apprehend him in any Part of his Dominions; for both Himself and his Followers were afraid of his Discovering all their Designes, to their great Perdition and Ruin.

Having obtain'd Licence to seize him, the Earl sent Mellengers every way in search of him; and among the rest, Humphrey Cheyney Esq. who overtook him near Champagne, and by Arguments and Fair Promises prevail'd with him to remove the Princefs Elizabeth's Design. The Earl began to doubt, that if he delay'd his Expedition to England longer, many more of his Friends might grow cool in their Zeal for him; so he earnestly Solicited the French Court for Aid, interfering to supply a Mass of Men and Money, that Charles cou'd not in Honour refuse him; for what he lent him, he would have Holges, that Satisfaction should be made. The Earl made no Scruple of that, so leaving the Lord Marquess of Dorset (whom he still retained) and Sir John Bourchier as his Pledges at Paris, he departed for Rouen, where the few Men that the French King had lent him, and all the English that followed his Fortunes Rendezvous'd.

When he arriv'd there, he was inform'd of the Ulfper's Intention to marry the Princefs Elizabeth herself, and her Sifer, the Princefs Cecilia, to a Man of Mean Condition. This was indeed the same manner as if his Alliance with the House of York was by that Means broken, their Friends would all fall off from him: However he reluct't to pull for the Crown, as Heir to the House of Lancaster, but then it was necessary for him to increas'e his Strength and Interests; wherefore he dispatched way a Mellenger to Sir Walter Herbert, a Man of Great Power in Wales, to get him to enpole his Quarrel, by an Offer of Marrying his Sifer, a Beautiful Young Lady. The Earl of Northumberland had Married another of Sir Walter's Sifers, and the Earl of Richmond's Agent had Intimations to Address himself also to him, and help him to forward the Marriage. The Mellenger found the Ways so narrowly watch'd, that he cou'd not proceed on his Journey; and 'twas well for the Earl that he did no more in it: for had a ny such Treaty been propo'd and known, his Friends would have been seiz'd by the Privy Council, and had all forsaken him. The Mellenger being thus disappointed, the Earl receiv'd One out of England Morgan Kidwells, Esq; a Lawyer, who brought him Advice, that Sir Rice ap Thomas, a Gentleman who was as powerful in Wales as Sir Walter Herbert, and Capt. John Scragg, a famous Soldier, had made Great Preparations to aflist him; that Reginald Bray had collected large Sums of Money to pay his Troops, and earnestly Entreat'd him to hasten his Voyage and direct his Countre to Wales. The Earl rejoicing at this Good News, order'd all his Forces to Embark and Set sail from Harwich in August, with about Two Thousand Men, in a few Ships, just enou' Transport them. After Seven Days Sail, he arriv'd in the Haven The Earl of Milford, and Land'd at a Place call'd Dolly, of Rich-from whence he March'd the next Day to Har- wort Heath in Lancashire, in a Field with Joy by the Townsmen. Having receiv'd his Men and Rest Notice, by Trufly Mellengers, to his Mother, the Lord Stanley, and Sigibert Talbot, that he intended to direct his March towards London, defiring them to meet him on the Way with their Powers, he advanced to Shrewsbury, where Sir Gilbert Talbot joyn'd him with the Earl of Shrewsbury's Tenants, as Sir Rice ap Thomas and Richard Griffith Esq; had done before, with a Body of Welsh-Men; by which his Army be Power came so strong, that he easily Reduced all the In- terests. In the Meantime, the Lord Stanley and his Brother Sir William Stanley rais'd Men, but did not declare whom they would fide with: Sir William advanced with his Army into Staffordshire, and wait'd on the Earl of Richmond at Stafford, attend'd only by Twenty or Thirty Perions. The Lord Stanley lay at Litchfield with 7000 Men, and neither he nor his Brother join'd the Earl. Sir William having had a Short Con- ference with him, return'd to his Forces; and when the Earl approach'd near Litchfield, the Lord Stanley return'd to Athlone, to prevent King Richard's having any Supplication of him; being afraid that the Tyrant would murder his Son the Lord Strange, whom he had in his Ca- nontry, if he sied openly with the Earl of Rich- mond.

The Ulfper at first defip'd the Earl's At- tempt, hearing he had brought so few Men with him, he did not doubt but Sir Walter Herbert and his Broth'rs would be surpris'd by the Procee- dings up on it, of Wales, which he order'd him to ra'll, but when he heard that Sir Walter had suffer'd him to past, and so many Gentlemen had Joyn'd him with their Friends and Dependants, that his Army would be as numerous as his own, if the Lancaster Men, under the Stanley's, declar'd for him, he resol'd to Oppose him in Person. He commanded Henry Earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Bourchier and Sir Walter Hungerford, and other Gentlemen whose Loyalty he suspected to attend him in Arms, and sent for the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Sir Robert Bracken- bury, Litchfield, the Earl of Lincoln, and the whole of them to bring their whole Strength with them, to enable him to give the Earl Battel before he receiv'd further Assistance. When all his Troops were arriv'd at Nottingham, where he kept his Court, he put himself at their Head, and led them to their Parties, and kept them to the Party that he was in the Party, as he account, had all forsaken him. The Mellenger being thus disappointed, the Earl receiv'd One out of England Morgan Kidwells, Esq; a Lawyer, who brought him Advice, that Sir Rice ap Thomas, a Gentleman who was as powerful in Wales as Sir Walter Herbert, and Capt. John Scragg, a famous Soldier, had made Great Preparations to assist him; that Reginald Bray had collected large Sums of Money to pay his Troops, and earnestly Entreat'd him to hasten his Voyage and direct his Countre to Wales. The Earl rejoicing at this Good News, order'd all his Forces to Embark and Set sail from Harwich in August, with about Two Thousand Men, in a few Ships, just enou' Transport them. After Seven Days Sail, he arriv'd in the Haven The Earl of Milford, and Land'd at a Place called Doly, of Rich-
As he was musing on the Difficulties of his Enterprise, he lag'd behind his Company, and it growing Dark, they march'd on and entred Tamworth before they mixt him. His Cart was increas'd, by a Report, that King Richard was at hand; who, coming up before the Lord Stanley had Joyn'd him, threaten'd his whole Army with Destruction; yet his Men were not discourag'd, they trusted in their own Valour and the Goodness of their Cause, and proceed'd with Great Resolution.

The Earl having infinitely loft his Companions, and the High-way to Tamworth, turn'd aside to a Little Village Three Miles from Tamworth, where they flay'd all Night, not daring to discover himself, or ask a Guide to the Town. His Followers were much surpriz'd at his Ab- fence, and afraid what was become of him. He was also apprehensive of the ill Effects of their mixt him, and not a little fearful of falling in to the Hands of some of the Uffirper's Parties. Early in the Morning he left the Village, and happily arriv'd at the Town, to the unplea-sable Joy of his Army; He could not conceal his Ab- fence by pretending he had been to confult with some private Friends of his who durft not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his Companions shou'd think him Guilty of such a Blunder as to leave his Way, when he had so many Guides about him, and made that of a Piece, which was induc'd downight Ignorance; So came it that his Prin- cess to implicate them People who are ready to judge favourably of all their Actions.

He just flew himfelf to his Soldiers, and then left them again to go to Atherjone, where he firft faw and faid the Lord Stanley, his Father in Law; He held a Conference with his Prince and Sir William Stanley in a little Field, where they con- fulted how they should give the Tyrant Battel to the left Advantage. In the Evening Sir John Savoy, Sir Bryan Sanford, and Sir Simon Digby, came unto him with all their Friends and Fol- lowers from King Richard who was advanced to Lewes, and his Army encamp'd not far off, on a Hill call'd Arme Beame, in Befworth Parifh.

The next Day after King Richard arriv'd at Leif- erger, he went to the Camp and drew up his Men in order of Battel on the Plain. He plac'd his Archers in Front under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of the Arme Solf, who himfelf led the Main Body, with two Wings of Cavalry on each flank. The Earl leaving the Lord Stanley return'd to his Army, and march'd them out of Tamworth towards the Enemy, re- solving to fight King Richard. The Lord Stanley also march'd from Atherjone, and halted in a place between the two Armies. The Earl fear'd him to come and help to fit his Men in Order of Battel; but the Lord Stanley even now was fo cautious, that he excus'd his appearing among the Earl's Followers; He had him Draw up his Soldiers, He would do the fame by his, and Joyn him at the Attack. The Repræntation of the Earl of Richmond inwardly, he fecret'd with a deal fatisfy'd as if he had come, and Cearfully put his Men in Order: His Front was thin, and confulted of Archers, commanded by John Earl of Oxford, Sir Gilbert Talfer the Right Wing, and Sir John Savage the Left, attended by a Train of Yeomanry, with Arm'd Clergymen, Courts, and Hoods, who made a gallant Figure, terrible to the Enemy. The Earl of Richmond accompa- nied by the Earl of Pembroke led the Main Body; his whole Strength did not amount to Six Thou- sand Men; Stanley's Forces which were Seven or Eighty Men. At this Distance out of all Expectation, and King Richard had twice that Number. In the Order we have mention'd, the two Armies advanced towards each other; the Lord Stanley moving aide off as the Earl of Richmond mord; and the Catter of the Battle lay on the Plain where he expexted the Earl's Approach, he made a Speech to his Army to this Purpofe:

My Friends and Fellow-Soldiers,

By your Valour and Conduct I got and have King Ric-hard enjoyed the Crown in spite of all the Wicked Plotter and my Friends who have govern'd this Nation as a good Prince ought to do for the Benefit of my Subjects, and done nothing without the Advice and Confent of my Counsellors, whose Fidelity and Willom I have often prov'd; and your Loyalty to me makes believe that you have an Opinion of me as I have of my self, that I am your Rightful and Lawful King. Tho' at my Accession to the Throne I was Guilty of a Wicked Detected Crime, yet my Repentance of it has been so Severe and fo Sincere that I hope you will forget it, as I shall make it to my own and your Profit. Considering the Danger we are in at this Time, what a gracious Prince I have been to you, and what good Subjects you have been to me, we are bound by the first Bonds of Obligation and Duty mutually to defend one another in so great Peril. To keep what we have we need not fear to take it: And as by your Afcendance was advanced to the Throne, so I hope by the same Help to con- tinue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the Traitorous Devices of an Obdurate Wicked man (whose Father I never knew, and whom I never had exact Account of) for this Reason:

You hear who they are that depend upon, a Company of Traytors, Thieves, Outlaws and Fugitives; mean Beggarly, and Cowardly Frenchmen whose Aim is the Deftuction of you, your Wives and Children, as 'tis their Leader's to Dispolife of the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Let us therefore joy heartily in our common Defence, Fight like Lions, and fear not to dye like Men: Indeed there is Nothing for you to be afraid of. The Hare never fled faster from before the Hound, nor the Lark from the Kite, nor the Sheep from the Wolf, therefore our Soldiers. If feries of our shall quit the Field at the Sight of such brave Soldiers. Nor do I Promise you Victory without Reason: For let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And firft for the Earl of Richmond, Captain of the Rebels, a Wifh Boy, of little Courage and Experience inWar; Eart bred up in the Duke of Brittain's Court like a Bird in a Cage, who never saw an Army, and consequently is not Capable to Lead one. The Soldier's Suc- cess is owing in a great measure to the Captain's Conduct and Valour. What can his Men do drawn from the Army of the Earl of Richmond, a Crew of Vagabonds and Rebels, who will Tremble when they fee us advancing with Banners display'd to chaffe them. They will either fly before us, or Confeffion of Divine Vengeance, for the breach of many Oaths. Alleged they should be Sparing of our Treasuries, and spare our Arms, and at our Feet implore our Royal Mercy. As for the Frenchmen and Bretons, our Noble Anciforrs have often tri- umph'd over them. What are they? Boffiers, Drunkards, Ravifhers, Cowards, The most diffi- cult and Least Valourous of all. In a Word, the Earl of Richmond was accompa-

The Earl marches to fight him.
Whether this Speech was made By him or for him, we cannot decide; the Author from whom we took it says it was his own, and that it had not so good an Effect on the Minds of his Soldiers as he intended it should have. He had many Gentlemen, and others in his Army, who followed him more out of Fear than Affection; and will'd well to his Adversary. The Earl of Radcliff receiving by his Scouts, That the Ulstermen had arrived in Battle a little distance off on the Plain, rode from Rank to Rank and Wing to Wing to encourage his Men. He was arriv'd at all Points, (his Helmet except'd) and got up on an Eminence to be the better seen by his Soldiers: For tho' he was hand-fight and well-proportion'd, yet he was short. Having kept Silence some time to consider of what he was about to say to them, He began his Speech thus:

I ever God appear'd in a just Cause, and gave a Blessing to their Arms who underv'r the good of their Country: If ever he aid'd such asventur'd their Lives for the Relief of the Innocent, and to Supprisse Male-factors and Publick Criminals; We may now, "My Friends and Fellow Soldiers," be sure of Victory over our Proud and Infolent Enemies. If Judeus with his Captains and Men, can not be so Wicked as to imagin God will leave us, to afflict those that fear him nor his Laws, nor have any regard to Holiness or Justice. We have the Laws Divine and Civil on our Side; we fight against a Ferocious Band with his own Blood, a Destroyer of the Nobility, and an Oppressor of the Poor. Commons of this Realm; and against a Horrid Band of Murderers, Assassins, Rebels and Uffurpers: For he that Stiles himself King wears the Crown of which Right only belongs to me. His Favours and Followers feize your Efts, cut down your Woods, ruin and lay waste your Mannors and Mansions, and turn your Wives and Children to Wander in the wide World without Succour and Relief: The Cause of all these Mischiefs, the cruel Tyrant Richard, reft affir'd that God will this Day put them in your Power, and upon your Topes and to his Demerits. His Followers wounded by the Stings of their Guilty Consciences, will not dare to look Justice in the Face; and believe not that you numerous Army are your Adversaries, many of them, if not the most, are for your Side, the Ty-rant's Service, have his Crimes in Abhorrence; and wait only for an Opportunity to join us. You have often heard from the Pulpit, That 'tis the greatest of Virtues to bring down the Oppressor, and to help those who are in Di-
The Duke of Norfolk, the Ulsterman's chief friend, changed the order of his battle, widened his first line, but closed and enlarged his second; and then renewed the combat. King Richard hearing the Earl of Richmond was not far off, attended with a few of his guards only, fought him amidst his enemies, and having for a while the superiority, sent for his sword and ran towards him; the Earl perceived him, and prepared to receive him as a man shook his mortal foe. The King meeting with Sir William Brandon the Earl's Standard Bearer in his way, overthrew and slew him. This Knight was father of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; father of Henry VIII. Richard then fought Sir John Cheyne, dismounted him, and forced his way up to the Earl, who kept him off at Swords Point till Affinity came in, and was relieved by his followers. At the infant Sir William Stanley, who had been as wary as the Lord Stanley, his brother, joined the Earl with three thousand chosen men, upon which King Richard's soldiers turn'd their backs and fled, themselves fighting, manfully in the midst of his enemies was slain. The Earl of Oxford made a terrible slaughter in the Van of the Ulsterman's army. The Battle then was for the Lord Stanley's Charter, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury dy'd on the spot, together with about a thousand of their men. The greateft part of those in the main body of Richard's army watching their opportunity, while the Van was hotly engaged with the Earl, left the field and departed; for every man to his home; having been by force taken from their habitations to fight for a prince whose Government was odious to them. The Duke of Norfolk was warn'd, by a Dyftich in the Meeter of those times which was fix'd on the Gate of the House where he lodged, not to venture farther in the Tyrant's Quarrrel, for he was betray'd, and all those that engag'd with him would be ruin'd. The Rhimes were these:—

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold; For Dicken, thy Master, is Bought and Sold.

But as John Howard Duke of Norfolk owed his advancement to the Ulsterman, who made him a Duke, he thought on his own Title to the Honour he held would be Precaution, if Richard couldn't defend his following his fortunes, and fell a Victim to his Ambition. Sir William Catchy a Judge, who had been a main instrument of the Ulsterman's tyranny, and several other Offenders were Taken, and two days after beheaded at Lichfield. The Lord Guilford, Humphrey Stafford Elg. and Thomas Stafford his Brother, made their Escapes. Many Gentlemen and Private Soldiers threw down their Arms, submitted to the Earl, and were graciously receiv'd. Among those was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who did not engage in the late Battel, He and his Men standing Neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of Richmond's favour and Sworn of his Privy Council. Thomas Earl of Surrey was sent to the Tower, as having been more zealous than the rest in the Tyrant's Cause: However he was releas'd soon after, and preferr'd to Places of the greatest Trust and Authority. Earl Howard's other Brother, a Hundred Men Kild on his Part, and no Perfon of Quality besides Sir William Brandon. The Engagement lasted in all about two Hours, and happened on the 22d day of August. The Ulsterman threw fled his Evil Cause before he had reign'd two Years, two Months and one Day, reckoning from the Time of his Coronation, 1485, which was the Day after his Election. Had he liv'd with as much Glory as he dy'd, his Character would have shone bright in the English Annals. But tho' he wanted not Personal Bravery, yet that Quality as shining as it is, was follow'd and attend'd by his Cruelty, and Thirft of Blood. He was as unmercifully and as unmercifully as his Father, not Defpar hurrying him on to Death. In the Beginning of the Battel, he perceiv'd, by his Mens fighting with an ill-will and others leaving him, that the Day was Lost. Some of his Creatures advis'd him to Fly, and brought him a Letter from the Duke of Suffolk, telling him how generally he was hated by the whole Kingdom, and that his Crimes were such as dený'd him all hopes of Pardon, he thought the longer he liv'd his Misery would be the longer, and that at last he should dye with Infamy; wherefore he rush'd desperately into the thickest of the Enemy, and met a more glorious Fate than he deserved.

After the Battel was over and the Victory entirely gain'd, the Earl of Richmond fell down on his Knees in the Open Field, thank'd the Almighty for the Blessing he had given to his Army, and took the Command of it; and, commanding their Subjects which now he had the Charge of. He then rode up to an Eminence, and thence gave his Soldiers Thanks for behaving themselves so well in the late fight, promising them all Rewards answerable to their Defeirs. The Army bowing Clapt their Hands and saluted him King, crying out with one Voice, King Stanley, Stanley puts the Head on his Heart in his Head

The Earl of Richmond was the King by his Armys

The Lord Henry, King Henry! And the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's Crown, which was found among the Spoils of the Field, put it on the Earl's Head, who from that Time thenceforth is known to the Title and Pomp of King. We must not omit to inform the Reader of the Lord Stanley's Escape. King Richard hearing his Father had raise'd Five Thousand men and was Advancing towards the Earl of Richmond, sent to him to Join him, and swore by God's Death, if he would not, he would order his Son's Head to be cut off before his Face. The Lord Stanley answer'd, I had more Sons, and could not Pretend to come to him at that Time. The Tyrant as he swore to do, order'd the Lord Strange to be Beheaded at the Instant when the two Armies were to Engage: But some of his Council abhorr'd that the Innocent should suffer for his Father's Offence, told the Ulsterman, Now was a Time to Fight, and not to Execute; advising him to keep him Prisoner till the Battel was over; The Tyrant hearken'd to their Advice, broke his Oath, and commanded the Keepers of his Tents to take him into Coldby, till he return'd from the Combat. By this Means the Lord Strange escaped the King's Revenge, equally Bloody and Injurt. The Keepers of his Tents deliver'd him to his Father the Lord Stanley after the Fight; and for having him, were taken into the New King's Favour; and presents made the Earl of Howard march'd to Lichfield. Where King Richard's Body stript naked was brought in a shameful manner to be Buried. Blanch Sangler, a Purveyor of King Richard at Arms threw it upon a Horse, like a Calt, Body ignominiously hung on one Side and his Heart hung on the other, covered with Dirt and Blood. The Purveyor rode with it to the Grey-Fryers Church at Lichfield, where it was expos'd a Filthy Spectacle to the View of the People, who used it Ignotiously, and afterwards was Buried in that Abbey-Church, where King Henry in respect to his Family.
The Reigns of King Edward V. and his Successor Richard III. were so short, that there were few Remarkable Occurrences in their Times: And the most Illustrious Persons, both in War and the Arts and Sciences, will more Properly come under that of Henry the VIIth.

In the First Part of Richard the IIId's Reign, There happen'd such a Flood in Gloucestershire, that all the Country was Overflow'd by the Severn, several Persons were Drown'd in their Beds, Children in Cradles swim about the Fields, and Beasts were Drown'd even on the Hills: The Waters did not Abate in Ten Days; which hinder'd the Duke of Buckingham's Palling that River into Wales to joy the Welshmen who were rife against King Richard, and occasion'd his Misfortune and Death.

Banister, who betray'd the Duke of Buckingham his Master, was sorely afflieted with God's Secret Judgments: His Eldest Son went Mad, and died raving in a Hog-fly. His Eldest Daughter, who was very Beautiful, was suddenlyicken with a foul Leprosy. His Second Son was taken lame in his Limbs. His Younger Son was Suffocated in a Puddle of Filthy Water; and himself in an extreme Old Age found Guilty of Murder, but sav'd by his Clergy.

Of Men of Learning, there were some in the Reign of Richard III. of Note: As,

John Penketh an Augustine Frier, of Warrington in Lancashire, one of Sextus's Followers; he Preach'd an Infamous Sermon in Favour of King Richard: The same did Dr. Shaw, an Eminent Preacher, Sir Edmund Shaw's Brother, an Alderman of London.

John Kent, or Culike, Born in South-Wales, Rhetorician.

George Ripley, a Carmelite Frier of Boston, a Great Mathematician and Poet.

Dr. John Spine, a Carmelite Frier of Bristol, &c.
THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD III.

In Five BOOKS.

By GEO. BUCK, Esquire.

The Argument and Contents of Book I.

The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tyranny of King RICHARD the Third.

The Royal House of Plantagenet, and the beginning of that Name. What Sobriquets were. The Antiquity of Surnames. Richard is created Duke of Gloucester, his Marriage and his Issue: His martial Impositions: His Journey into Scotland and Recovery of Berwick: The Death of King Edward the Fourth. The Duke of Gloucester made Lord Protector, and soon after King of England, by importunate Suit of his Baron and of the People, as the next true and lawful Heir. Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond praifeth against the King: He is conveyed into France. The Noble Lineage of Sir William Herbert, his Imposition: He is made Earl of Pembroke. King Edward the Fourth feith, and after King Richard, follicit the Duke of Britain, and treat with him for the Deliverie of the Yeung Earl of Richmond his Prisoner. The Success of that Business. The Quality and Title of the Beauforts or Somerets. The Lineage and Family of the Earl of Richmond. The solemn Coronations of King Richards and of the Queen his Wife; his first at Welfminster, the second at York. Nobles, Knights and Officers made by him. Prince Edward his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, and the Oath of Allegiance made to him. King Richard demandeth the Tribute of France. His Progres to York. His careful Charge given to the Judges and Magistrates. He holdeth a Parliament, wherein the Marriage of the King his Brother with the Lady Grey is declared and adjudged unlawful, their Children to be illegitimate and not capable of the Crown. The Earl of Richmond and divers others Attainted of Treafion. Many good Laws made. The King declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawful Heir of the Crown. The King and Queen Dowagers are reconciled. He hath written Advertisements of Innovations and Practices againft him: Createth a Vice-Confable of England. His sundry Treatises with Foreign Princes. Dr. Morton corrupteth the Duke of Buckingham, who become discontent, demanding the Earlom of Hereford, with the great Confableship of England: He taketh Arms, is defeated and put to Death by Marshal Law.

ROMAN

The House and Title of York.

RICHAU Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucesfer, and King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the Third of that Name, was the Younger Son of Sir Richard Plantagenet, the (a) fourth Duke of York of that Royal Family, and King of England, designate by King Henry the Sixth, and by the most Noble Senate, and Univerful Synod of this Kingdom, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this Richard Duke of Gloucefer, was the Lady Cecily Daughter of Sir Ralph de Neville, Earl of Westmorland, by his Wife Joan de Beaumont, the Natural Daughter of John Plantagenet (alias) de Gaunt, Duke of Guine and Lancaster, King of Castile and Leon, third Son of King Edward the Third; for in that Order

(a) He was not the fourth Duke of that Family. The first was Edward of Langley. The second was Edward his Son, whose Brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was beheaded for Treason before Duke Edward dy'd. He left this Richard, who could not be the fourth Duke of York, his Father having never born that Title; but his Uncle Edward being Slain at the Battle of Agincourt, and dying without Issue, King Henry the Vith created this Richard Duke of York; so he was the third Duke of that Title of this Family.
this Duke is best accounted, because William of
Harfild, the second Son of King Edward the
Third died in his Infancy, and this Duke of York
and King designate, was propagat'd from two
younger Sons of the same King Edward the
Third, whereby he had both Paternal and Ma-
ternal Right of the Crowns of England and France:
But his better and nearer Title was the Mater-
nal Title, or that which came to him by his
Mother the Lady Anne de Mortimer, the Daugh-
ter and Heir of Philippa Plantagenet, who was the
sole Daughter and Heir of Lyndes Plantagenet
Duke of Clarence, and Second Son (*e) of King
Edward the Third, according to the Account
and Order aforesaid.

And this Lady Philippa was the Wife of Sir Ed-
ward de Mortimer, the great and famous Earl of
March, and that Duke Richard, King designate,
by his Father Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York
(Sirnand al do Comminghorough) liked directly
and in a Masculine Line from Edmund Plantagenet,
alias de Langley, the first Duke of York, and
the fifth Son of King Edward the Third; who was
the most renowned and glorious Progenitor to
tho Princes of York and Lancaster, and the first
King in Line from the House of York,=
Seward Plantagenet, famous for his great Prow-
esses and many Victories, King of England in the
Right of his Mother the Empress Matilda or
Maud, Daughter and Heir of King Henry the
First, and 3d Anglorum Domina, sometime Wife of
the Emperor Henry the Fifth, by which he was
also Sirnand Duke of Normand Free
The French
men call'd him Henry de Cour Montayne, or Court
Mantle, because he wore a Cloak shorter
than the Fashion was in those Times. By his Father
Goffride, or Geoffry Plantagenet, he was Earl or
Duke of Anjou (for then Dux & Comes, and
Don
was in the Synonymes and Prom-
misuous words) he was also Earl of Maine, of
Tournay, and Hereditary Senechal, or High Stew-
ard of France, and by his Marriage of Elenor
Queen of France Repudiate, Daughter and Heir of
William Duke of Guyenne and of Guine, and
Earl of Poisson, he was Duke and Earl of those
Principalties and Signories also by the Em-
prefs his Mother Duke of Normandy: He was
Lord of Ireland by Conquest, and confirm'd by
Pope Adrian. But these were not all his Seignio-
rises and Dominions; for after he was King of
England, he extended his Empire and Principle in
the South to the Pyrenean Mountains, (The
Confinies of Spain and France) in the North to
the Isles of Orkney, and in the East and West
with the Ocean, as Giraldo Cambragenis, Gil
Nebrigronis, & Joanna Sarisboruniens, grave and cre-
dible Authors affirm, who fill'd him, Regnum
Brietannia maximum: and doubtless he was the
greatest King of Britain since King Arthur.

But it is controverted amongst the Antiqui-
aries and Heralds, which Earl of Anjou first bare
the Surname and Subrogit of Plantagenet, or
Plantagenet after the vulgar Orthodox, by what
occasion, and from what cause it was taken and
bore'd, and when, and in what Beginning; Some would have the forenamed Geoffr
Plantagenet, Father of this Henry, the first
Earl of Anjou, which bare it. But we shall find
stronger Reasons to derive it from a much more ancient Earl of Anjou, and better Causes than
any we have seen. If we have any pause to
back to their Stories, and compare the Men and
their Times. Geoffry Plantagenet being a Man of
a Gallant and Active Fire, disposed to the Courts
of Princes, to Juifs, Turnaments, &c. and to
the Courthip of fair Ladies those of the High-
eft Rank, and had so Amorous a Star, That
Philippe et Geoffry, Kings of France, fupped him for
too familiar Commerce with his Bed. But it was
never to his disadvantage when he achieved and mar-
ried the Empress Matilda, which way very
very well calculate, he neither had nor would
be intent or at leisure for such a mortified and
perilous Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But if we
would know the Man, let us look upon the first
Filles, Earl of Anjou, who liv'd about an Hum-
drty Earl Dced Years before the Norman Conquest of King of Anjou-
land, and was a Son of Godfrey, or Geoffry Grisep
the first Earl of Anjou (according to du Hail-
lan) Ancestor and Progenitor to the forefabled
Geoffry Plantagenet, some leven or eight Degrees
in the ascending Line, as Paradis accounteth, a
Man rais'd upon the Foundation of a great
Courage and Strength (two of the best Princi-
plies when they have good Seconds, and make
too a glorious Man, where they ferve their Ver-
tues, not Affections, as in this Prince they did)
whose Diffolution on the other side being let
out into awant an Ambition and Covetousnes,
not look'd upon the Unlawfulness of great Ex-
pires, how horrid ever (which amongst the ma-
ny reft) run him upon the shelves of wilful Per-
jury and Murder; the one for defrauding and
spoiling a Church of certain Rights, and the
other for contriving the Tragedy of his young
brother Edward, Duke of Brittany, to make him
self Lord of his Country and Principality.
The secret Check and Scourge of those Crimes had a
long time to work upon his Confidence, and of
a great Sinner made a great Penitent, being Old
and having much Solitary Time and many heavy
Thoughts; if he had not naturally attend Old Age, and
fugget better Considerations of our fometime
(youthful Sons) he open the Horror of them, and his
affiliated Mind to his Confessor; (as great Con-
stantine to Egyptus) who enjoy'd him to make the
fame Confeffion before the Holy Sepulchre at
Jerusalem; which Pilgrimage the Earl perform'd in
all lowly and contemplative manner, paling as a
Private and Unworthy Perfon, without Train or
Followers, five two of his meanest (which he took rather for Witneeff than) Servants, whose
Service was, when they came near Jerusalem, the
one with a Cord (such as is us'd for the Strang-
ing of Criminals) thrown about his own Neck, to
draw or lead him to the Holy Sepulcher, whilft
the other did accoutre and trimp him as a Accout-
re condemned Perfon, and with extremity Scour-
g him until he was prostrate before the Sacred Mo-
ument, where he gave Evidence of his unfeal'd
Contribution and Sorrow. Amongst other devout
Expressions, uttering this, Mon dieu & Signor re-
cy a Pardon le perjure & bimidez & misride,
Foulou; And after this Pilgrimage he liv'd 
many Years of Prosperity in his Country, ho-
noured of all Men. To judge this, there are
many Examples of other Princes and Noble Per-
sons, who, by treating like the Venerable One
Thonland, and somewhat before, and in an ac-
chority Three or Four Ages after, who underwent the
like Pilgrimages impos'd under Base and Me-
chanick Nick-names and Perfons, as of a Car-
penter, a Smith, a Fisherman, a Mariner, a
York-Shepherd, by the Saire of our Lord.
My inquiry after that of Plantagenet, I met with
an ancient Manuscript, that afford'd me a large

(by Lyndes Duke of Clarence, was his Third Son: The Eldred was Eldred the Black Prince, the Second William of
Hertford, and the Third Lyndes, &c.

Vol. 1. U u 2

Catalogue
Catalogue of many fuch, by the French call'd Sobriquets; from whence I have transcribed the few for a Tafte.

Sobriquets.

Binger, Shepherd.
Grignouille, Gray-coat.
Tête de Epagne, Head of Tow.
Arboife, a Thatch.
Martiell, a Hammer.
Grandebouf, Ox-face.
La Zauche, Branch upon a Stem.
Hudlette, a Sheep-Hook.
Hapkin, Hatcher.
Chapelf, Hood.
Sam-terre, Lackland.
Maldiet, Ill taught.
Giffard, Teucours, or Heifer.
Fils de Fleau, Son of a Flail.
Plantagenet, the Plant or Stalk of a Broom.

And, under the Name and Habit of a Broomman, our Pilgrim perform'd this Penance, and took the Sobriquet of Plantagenet from wearing a Stalk of Broom, or Plant of Genii; this is generally receiv'd, but the Time and Reason neither set down nor rended by any of our He- ralds and Antiquaries, French or English; for the time when he perform'd this, I observe was about the Year of our Lord One Thousand certainly. But for the particular Reason this Count had to change the Genii Plant, or Broom-stalk, before any other Vegetable or Thing, I shall lay down that Opinion which is my own, noting for a Circumstance by which the Way, the Broom in Hieroglyphical Learning is the Symbol of Humility; and the Poets, particularly Virgil the best of Poets, gives it the Epithet of humilis, humilia Genii; and the Etymologists derive it from Genii, the Knee, the Part most appli'd, and as it was dedicated to the chief Aet of Reverence, Kneeling; to which the Natural Philosopher saith, there is Mutual a Correspondency, and so Natural a Sympathy between Genii and Genifia, that if any of other Plants or Vegetables, it is most comfortable and Medicinal to the Pains and Diff- eases of the Knees. Pliny the great Master among't them, saith, Genii tuae, cum, &c. Genus dolentia

But the most considerable Reason is, as I conceive, from the ufe he was confign'd to make of the Twigs of Broom when he came to be forc'd out of Jerusalem, the Place necifitating the ufe of them to that purpose, being (as Strabo relates) a Stony, Sandy and Barren Soil, only natural and grateful to the Genii, as the Watry and Moift to the Birch, Willow and Withe, of which there could be none there for that Reafon. And from hence it muft moft conjeflarly take the begin- ning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Polterties continued for their Surname, who became Dukes and Princes in fundry places, and fome of them Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland; and (as the People of that Age verily believe'd by their observation) were the more Propitious and Happy for his ufe.

For the conftinuance of the Name, fome (who pretend to fee further and better in the Dark than others as clear fighted) would have it taken of late time, and not used by the Kings and

Princes of England, of the Angwané Race. But there are many Proofs to be adduced with them: Let us look into Mr. Brodt's Genealogies of England, we shall find nothing more obvious than the Dedications of theuf Princes to the Honour of the House of Anjouy, than the Addition and Surname of Plantagenet; Edm. Plantagenet, Geo. Plantagenet, John Plantagenet, Edu. Plantagenet, Lyulf Plantagenet, Humphrey Plantagenet, &c. In the French Historians and Antiquaries, Joas de Til- let, Girard de Hailion, Claude Paradis, & Jean Bat- ron de la Hay, we shall often meet with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Arthur Plantagenet, Richard Plantagenet, and diversif the like, all of the first Age, when the Angwané Princes firft became English, and some before. Mr. Camblen all in his Im- mortal Britannia, mentioneth some very ancient, as Richard Plantagenet, John Plantagenet, &c. Among 'lefs, that the forenamed Geoffrey Plantage- net ufed to wear a Broom-flail in his Bond, as many Nobles of the House of Anjouy did, and took it for their chief Surname. It might be added, that these Earls of Anjou were defend- ed out of the Great House of Saxony in Germany, which hath brought forth many Kings, Empe- rors and Dukes; and that they were of Kind- red and Alliance to the ancient Kings of France, is an Argument for their Privilege. But I will clofe it with the high Nobility of King Richard, as the good old Poet did for another Heroical Perfon;

**Deus ës illeque Parente. Ovid. Deus is a King.**

By either Parent born a God.

and come to the other Matters of his Private Story: And first for his Birth and Native Place, which was in the Castle of Pfembrige, or as some write, the Castle of Birkhamfied, both Castles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the Year of our Lord 1450, which I discover by the Calculation of the Birth, Reign, and Death of King Edward his Brother, who was born about 1441, or 1442, and Reigned Two Years, and that Part of the Year 1453. But in the Year Forty, Anne 1483. The Butches of Tork, their Mother, had Five Children betwixt them, fo that Richard could not be less than Seven or Eight Years younger than King Edward, and he surviv'd him not fully Three Years. The Name of Plantagenet, and the other Chil- dren of Richard Duke of Tork, were Brought up in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire, but lived for the most part in the Castle of Middelam in York- shire, until the Duke their Father, and his Son Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Rutland, were Slain in the Battle of Wafesfield, Ann. (c) Dom. 1561, upon which his Father's Death, and the Death of his Mother, (having caufe to fear the Faction of Lancafher, which was now grown very exulting and strong, and of a Mortal Emnity to the Houte of Tork) secretly con'vey'd her Two younger Sons, George and Richard Plantagenet (who was then about Ten Years old) into the Low-Countries, to their Aunt the Lady Margaret Ducheff of Bur- gundy, Wife of Charles Duke of Burgundy and Brabant and Earl of Flanders. They continued at Ulrich, the Chief City then in Holland, where they had Princely and Liberal Education, until Edward Earl of March their Eldeft Brother had recovered his Father's Death, and taken the King- dom and Crown (as his Right) from Henry VI. 

(†) He was Slain the 3eth of December, 1460, as by Their History of Families is to be seen in Bibliothèque, pag. 1025.

when
when he call'd Home his Two Brothers, and en-
ters them into the Practice of Arms, to sear
their Forwardness, and Honour of Knighthood,
which they did away upon; and Food and
Food after invests George in the Dutchy of Clarence
and Earldom of Richmond, which Earldom he the
rather below'd upon, to darken the young
Earl of Richmond Henry Tudor. Richard had the
Dukedom of Gloucester and Earldom of Carlisle, as
I have read in an old Manuscript Story, and the Tudor
Tudor had been a Duke and afterwards whether he was
Comes thereof after the ancient Roman under-
standing, that is Governor; or Comes, or Count,
after the common taking it by us English, or ot,
themselves, that is, for a special Title lord, I will
not take upon me to determine, but affir
I had heard him himself.

And after the Great Earl of Warwick and Sa-
lishbury, Richard de Neville, was reconciled to the
King's Favor, (d) George Duke of Clarence
was married to the Lady Isobel, or Elizabeth,
the Elder Daughter of that Earl, and Richard
Duke of Gloucester to the Lady Anne, which La-
dies, by their Mother the Lady Anne de Beau-
champ, Daughter and Heir of Sir Richard de Beau-
champ Earl of Warwick, were Heirs of that Earl-
dom. But Anne, altho' the younger Siter, was
the better Woman, having been a little before
married to Edward Plantagenet Prince of Wales;
and Duke of Cornwall, only Son of King Henry
the Sixth, and was now his Princes and Dowag-
er, by whom Duke Richard had a Son call'd
Edward, created Prince of Wales when his Fa-
ter came to the Crown.

The Employment of this Duke was for the most
part in the North, as the Country of his Birth,
so more naturally affected by him;
according to the Poet:

Natales solis delecte sine Morte. Orul.
Sooth'd with Sweet Charms, all their love
Native Soil.

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony,
with a Great Eftate of the Dutchefs his Wife,
of which the Seigniory of Perith, called Perith,
in Cumberland was part, where he much reigned,
and kept his House. Whereafter it is certain
that Northern Side generally honouring and af-
fecing his Deporment, being Magnificent (to
apply Sir Thomas More) something above his
Ability, which he express melt in his Hobicit-
ality. And surely, if Men are taken to the life
biff from their Actions, we shall find in him
the Circle of a Character (not so commanlicate and
mix'd, as Passionate and Purblind Peas have
shaff it) whilft we quiff not at those Virtues
in him, which make up other Princes absolute:
His Wildom and Courage had not then their
Nicknames and Slanmary as now, but drew the
Eyes and Acknowledgment of the whole King-
dom towards him; and his Brother had a judicious
Experience of his Fidelity and Confinacy in di-
vers Hazardous Congreges and Battles, through
which he had faithfully follow'd his Fortune,
and return'd all his Undertakings successfull: As

at Barnet, where he entred so far and boldly in
1482. to the Enemies Army, that Two of his Esquires,
Thomas Part and John Minster being neer to
him were slain by Sir Thomas Vallory and
himself; and put moft part of the Enemies to
flight, the rest to the Sword. With the like
Valor he behaved himself at the Battle of Evens,
Doncaster, St. Alhun, Blois-seathe, Northampton,
Mortimer's Cross, and Towcekerby. And it was then
confect a Man of Considerable Sense, the State
his taking of the Famous Pirate Thomas Neville, of
The Ear-

Lib. Ma-

nuscript. in

quire a-

D. Rob.

Cot-

ton.

Co-

mplete.

Camden

in Cabi-

land.

Sir Will.

Howard.

Pulbri-

Goth Farb-

minds.

(4) This is so erroneous, that the Earl of Warwick was at Open Varience with the King, and had prevailed on the
Duke of Clarence, who was Poor, by Offers of this Match to forake King Edwards Interest, and join with the
Earl against his own Brother; upon which the Duke did not despair but attempt his Brother by himself, and returned
with him to England and espouse his Brother the Kingdom. Harington's Edward IV. p. 42.

(5) This Thomas was never Earl of Kent, but William Son of William Neville Earl of Kent, who was Lord Faul-

conbridge before King Eduard IV. created him Earl of Kent.

(6) This Story is told quite another way by Harington. Faulconbridge came to London with his Forces, Attacked
the City, was forced to retire, got into Sandwich with 500 Men, fortified the Town, and yielded it last on Terms of
Quarter, brought by the Duke of Suffolk, which were violated, and Neville being apprehended by his Brother,
was executed, tho' he pleaded That his Name was particularly interred in the Sandringham Church. The Duke of Gloucester
upon

By George Buck, Esquire.

1582. King of Scotland, that he refused to pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Co-

venant; and therefore refoul'd by Arms to com-
pel him to it: But King Edward being disfra-
icted with a Jealous Care and Watching of France,
neglected that Baunck of Scotland, and in the
mean time Alexander Duke of Albany, Brother to
the late King James, being King James's Brother,
used, and makes England in his way, and in-
ligates King Edward to put on Arms against his Brother;
promising to return shortly out of France, and raie
a Power in Scotland for his Ald: Here-
upon the King resolv'd it, and sent the Duke of Gloucester with a good Army into Scotland, who march'd Mafter of the Field near to Berwick, hav- ing a little before sent Sir Thomas Stanley to Bejiege it, and soon after took it himself. But the Duke of Albemarle failed him, and had under-hand Struck up a Peace with his Brother of Scots- land; yet Richard of Gloucester accomphni'd the Expedition very honourably and happily: Thus

To enlarge what he reporteth defertive- ly, and abridgeth; King Edward, notwithstanding, that Negligence (noted by him) levied Stragl Forces (the King himself being as well engag'd in the Famlid) and made the Duke of Gloucester his General, under whom went Sir Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Stanley, after Earl of Derby, the Lord Lo- well, the Lord Grey of Groftack, the Lord Scrope of Bolton, the Lord Ferrington, Sir William Parr of Reigate, Father of the Lord Parr of Reigate, Pendle, and Ferrington, and Grandfather to Sir William Parr Earl of Ely and Marquefs of Northampion, Sir Edward Woodville Lord Rivers Brother to the Queen Elizabeth, with many other of Eminency and Noble Quali- ties.

The Duke march'd forth with his Army to the Borders and Frontiers of Scotland, giving the Oreturn to such as refidit; then made up to the Strong Town of Berwick, which at that Infant the King of Scotland pollede by the Sur- render of Henry VI. and had the like Success with those Troops of the Enemies be met and found about the Town. After a short Siege, the Bejieged upon Summons and Parley, finding themselves too weak to make good the Oppo- sition, were easily persuaded to be quiet, and finally rending the Town and Cattle upon very tender Conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of Croyland. Having placed a Gover- nor and Garrison in the Town, he continued his March towards Edinborough, with a Purpoze to Bejiege and Sack it, but was met in the Half-way by Ambaffadors from thence, who, after a Favourable Audience and Accrefs, craved, in the Names of the King and Nobles of England, or at leaft a Truce between the King- doms, offering in Fair Conditions for it, that the General, after a Deliberate Conflitution, granted to Suspend or Intermit all Hoftile Pro- ceedings, with a Fair Entertainement to their Perfons, and a Publick Edict throughout the Army, That no English should offer any Violence or Offence to any Scots or their Goods; and by this Provident Truce, that Ruddy Storm, which seem'd terrible to impend, was diverted and made a Calm Preface to the Famous League, afterwards concluded by him when he was King and James the Fourth of Scots, and while these Employments rai'd him there, News ar- rived of King Edward's Death, and was mut- ter'd very doubtful by some who had con- fidence and ground to foppose it halfe'd by Treachery. The Nobles at London, and in the Several Parts sent the Duke Home by their Private Letters and Free Approval, to aflume the Protection of the Kingdom, and Two Princes committed unto him by the King. Rex

The Army and Affairs of the other Parts dispos'd, he came to York, where he made a few Days to pay some Religious Offices and Ceremo- nies to the Monarchies and Excellencies of the De- ceased King, so halfe'd it to London, having in his Traie (besides his own ordinary Retinue) Six Hundred Voluntary Gentlemen of the North Parts, brave Horfemen and gallantly mounted, upon the Way he dispatch'd certain Segual Mef- fengers to the Young King (who was then at Loddon-Caftle in Wales) to provide for his Hon- ourable Conduct to London, where he arriv'd not the Place for the Lord Protector, Magnificently Receiv'd and Lodg'd at the Bif- hop's Palace: His Brother the Duke of York was then with the Queen Mother in the Palace at Welfington, who out of a pretended Motherly Care (rather indeed her Policy) would not let him go; and for her to fee the King, who had defied her Company, the Lord Protector took Sum- ary with him in the Abbey. The Lord Protector solicites her by some Noblemen to fend or bring him to the King; which the peremptorily void against, until Cardinal Boreauer Arch- bifiop of Canterbury was made the Meflenger, so gravely and efficiently perfuaded with her, that she delivered him the Duke: After some Days reprieve in London-Houfe, the King, according to Ancient Custom, was to remove Court to the Tower of London, the Caffle Royal and Chief Houfe of Safety in the Kingdom, un- til he could weigh and tast the Affairs of the Kingdom and such Troubles (if any hap'en'd as often inter- ceptes the alterations of Reigins, were well dis- patch'd and complafe (some threatening Evils of that kind being discover'd and exftinguish'd before the Protector came to London) 3 and until all things proper to his Coronation were in Prepa- ration and Readiness, the Lord Protector flill being near unto him with all Duty and Care, and did him Homage, as Honourable Philippe de Comines, le Due de Glorofere avoit fait homage de la Londe au Supplement 5 but this Teftimony, being avouch'd by one who loved not the Protector, may leave more credit to who fays, When the Young King approach'd Sir Thomas towards London, the Lord Protector, his Uncle, Merve- rode bare-headed before him; and in pafling along, faid with a Loud Voice to the People, Beside your Prince and Sovereign; to which the Prior of Croyland, who lived in thofe Days, re- plied, as being furely one of the Infamities of the Reformation, to which the Protestant Church would not aveue. But after this, the King by Authority of the Protector, the Lord Protector, and the Lords, receiv'd halfe'd the Propofition of the Queen's Mofleffours, and the King's Relfort, the King's Letters capite nulato, quam Felix alesque quilibet corporis eis. Cre- bius in subfato exequit, Regi Nepoti suo facere difficult aut recusavit: Avis why should their Services and his Confiency be judg'd lea's real to the Son than to the Father, his Care and Providence looking pelligrously through all Turns that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely and moved fuch of Danger as were vehemently suspected for their Ambition and Inolent Affm- ming Power and Authority not proper to them, and to fiood ill Affected to their Prince, and Tuulent Bifligers of the Government. And though the King was in the whole of them, as it fell out in the time of King Ed- ward, between those of the Blood Royal (with whom of the ancient Barons sided) and the Regu- nts, who being fubborn, haughty, and incom- patible of the others Nearth to the King, Kindred, Territories, and Trade, and in the Compe- titions and Turfdom of the Nobles, and became fo infolent and puf- lic in their Pride and Outrage towards the People, that they for'd their Murrams at length to bring forth Mutiny againft them: But finding the King's Inflation gentle on that side, they fo temper'd it, as they dur'd not on any other Side; and the King's Affm of the Blood and Chief Nobility; many times by Slanders and False Suggestion, privately incendiing the King againft them, who suffer'd their Infamities too far, whilst his Credibility fuftained, and his Fau-
Made Good by any Direc't and Juff Proof. But 

admit he was now grown Jealous of him, and 

sent Sir William Catesby, a Man, in great credit 

with the Lord Hasting's, to find out what 

Oddtion he held of that Title and Claim he might lay 

to the Crown, who (prefuming upon Catesby's 

Gratitude and Truf't that had been advanced by 

him) without Circumvention, and even with In-

dignation expected an utter Mif'ace thereof; and 

engag'd Hiftelf, his Uttermoff Power and Abl-

ity against it, peremptorily adding, 'He had ra-

t'yer fee the Death and Deffufion of the Pro-

tor and Duke of Buckingham, then the Young 

King depriv'd of the Crown: Which Reply, 

Catesby (being more juft to his Employment than 

honor to his Point) returneth the Protector, who 

laid hold upon the next Occafion to feize his 

Head, which is the Greateft and bloodieft Crime 

that brings any Proof against him; and yet not 

fo clear, but that there may be fome other State 

Myfpery or Frad fuplifted in it. Let us leave 

it upon that account, and but confider how 

much more we forgive the Fames of H. I. E. III. 

H. IV. E. IV. H. VII. becaufc they had their 

Happy Stars and Succefs; and then, Proferum 

Tetis winter occafion, there is Aplante goes with 

the Act and Aéor. Julius Cesar, was, and 
ever will be reputed a Wife and a Great Captain, 

almo'ft his Emulation cost an infinite Quantity of 

Excellent Humane Blood, and his Nephew Oth. 

Augimus never ceas' Profdring Bafkiling and 

Mallificing, until he had di[fpatch'd all his Proud 

Emulators: Tulum Cesar thought it, Crinem facrum 

tol crimen Regal. or, Crimen forum Ambito: de Off. & 

WhOLE Rule was, 

" Si vindicandum e fuis, regnandi gratia 

Vindicandum efi, alias rhen pictatem color.

If Right for ought may c'er be violate, 

It must be only for a Sovereign State. 

Drawing it from that Rule (tho' Apocrypha) in 

"Eritis inae diuino in redicemque et 

Kakelius adiuvab. & addas & redas xaves.

If injunct aegro oporat, pro tyrannide (aus Regno) 
puderebimus e'ta inae aegro, in alter pictatem color 
expedit.

And Antonius Caracalla, alleged the Text to 

injuftifie the Killing of his Brother Geta his Relligue 
in the Empire. Polybios, the Brother of Eutyches, 

was of the fame Religion, and faid, A Kingdom 
could not be bought at too high a Rate, 

but in Friends, Kindred, Wife and Riches: Vis Aicrom 

d ad potentium. & tollere Emolum & premere Adverso-Hi 

rius, which the great Matter of Aicions allowed, 

had been conterminated by many great Examples 

of State-reafon, and Policy in all times, 

The Appian Age. For an old Observation, 

and general in all foreign Countries faith, 

Regnum fiat: Senec. in 

Et fraude ademtium antiquam e> specierte imperii. Trag.

By Fraud or Theft to feize a Crown, 

is the Old Game, long face to Princes known.

So King Aicres, by his own Experience could 

say:
Dominion teaches every Wicked Art.

But what tho' Ages called Valour, Wisdom and Policy, in those great Scholars of State, who, by the possession of the ancient and modern Principles, and Rules of Empire, come not under the Licencé or Warrant of our Christian Times; yet we may speak thus much for Richard (to those who cry him to deep an Homicide) that he had either more Confidence or less Cruelty than they attribute to him, and the same Art of Power, could not secure himself of others. He had as just cause to fear, especially Jasper Earl of Pembroke, his nephew Richmond, and the subtle Doctor Morton, who was extremely his Enemy, and the Chief Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And also this King had no certain notice which way his Enemies would, yet he knew enough to suspect him for, and to remove him from the Council-Table unto the Custody of the Duke of Buckingham, the Man he had reason to suppose nearest to his Truth, though his Expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now secretly in his Heart deferted from the King, and became Male-content: Morton but touch'd his Pulpit, and knew how the Diffenter lay, which he irritated into such Sparkings as gave him Notice where his Conspiration was most apt and prepared; yet, foolishly m-matter'd it, that he had leave to steal from Buckingham Castle to Ely for so good store of Coin found safe put to his France whither his desires vehemently carried him, in hope to fashion the Earl of Richmond to his Plot; and under pretence of a Lancastrian Title, to file him to take up Arms and invade England, with the Affurance of many mighty Friends there, which would make the Design of an easy and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificial and Eloquent Perjuries add to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earl's Temper like other Mens in that, and observing him with a kind of pleasure himself, he gave such a studied gloze and Fervoration to the Text, that the Earl was too much charmed with the Commander and Hope for the Invasion, that their pursu' spread as well into England as to France. The Protector having all certain Intelligence of some particular Designs dispos'd himself in his Actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engag'd themself to Richmond, who yet kept a Face of Love and Fidelity towards him, as did the Duke of Buckingham and the Countess of Richmond, who appear'd in this Infant an earnest Sutor to reconcile her Son into favour; and that the King would be pleased to believe on him any of King Edward the Fourth's Daughters. But this took not the Vigilancy of his Eye from him and his Party, the Canse being of Greater Danger and Apprehension now, than in King Edward's time; for the Earl had drawn unto him many of the English Nobility and Gentry; and some Foreign Princes had in favour to him moved the Arts of the time of King Edward, his Title and He was so little undertook by his Blood of Lancaster, and the better judging-fort of the English Nobility and Gentry, King Lewis the Eleventh of France, Francis the Second Duke of Buckingham, and other Foreign Princes look'd very vigilant, and as his fame was heard, as they heard of the King, the Might be Jealous of him, being given out for an Heir of the House of Lancaster, and Nephew to Henry the Sixth. With this he consider'd, that some Foreign Princes
The Earl of Richmond, belonging to the ancient Dukes of British, (whose Heir and Successor he was) though disdained by the space of Thirty Years, now he would expect either Restitution or Compensation for it, and the better to assure himself, he conveys them with a good Guard to the Castle of Farnes, where himself often refined, continuing a more cautious and strict Eye upon the Earl of Richmond, as Nephew to Henry VI. and that he laid Claim to the Title and Crown of England by the Blood of Lancaster: For which he made their Imperial Habitations, as Philip Cameas faith, Le des trames leuement pour frisamiers. And Jean Froissart calls it, Pris Joueres; for the Duke had well considered what Reputation and Life he might raile by them, and knew the News could not be disfavourable to the King of England. whose Throne had been threatened so much by the Earl of Richmond's Liberty; and therefore, from hence he hop'd an answerable Benefit, and to contract the King in a Firm Acknowledgment and.Intent upon him; nay, which is further, (if we may believe Jax. New) he brought by Jean Froissart to show the King of France so hard upon King Edward, as that he should not dare to make any Break with him, proper Henricum Richardienzi Comitum non ade- lat Anglus ab auctoria Britannii dixedere.

Nor was this Author much mistaken, for the King would have accorded to any reasonable thing to purchase the Earl into his Hands; and it was no little Perplexity to him when he heard of their Flight, but was the better calme'd when he understand where they were, the Duke of British being his Friend and Allie, in whom he suppos'd to set an Interest (let off by some other Conditions) that he sent a Fair Encouragement to demand and gain them both; whereas, had they fell into France, he must have expected the greatest Diftadvantage could have been contri- buted out of such an Occasion. For Lewis, tho' he were then in Truce and League with him, was neatly a Politian, and studied only his own Ends, yet fears him as a King famous for his Proves and Victories, and as ably supply'd in his Coffers for all Undertakings: But (which did equally quicken the Hate, as well as Fear of France) had threatned to enter it with Fire and Sword, for the Re-conquest of the Duchy of Normandy, and the Counties of Poitou and Touraine, wherefore we may believe that he bears the credit of an Oracle, which good Em- 

- Quam molestus aderem, 
Quam aderens, periles extensus.

- Whom Men Fear they Hate,
And whom they Hate they fear to Reun.

and doubtless in his Heart he was favourable to any Chance that might have Ruin'd or Infestr- ed England, and cou'd have with'd the Earl of Richmond, as a friend to the Nation. King Edward feasonably prevented this, that such Attempts, tho' at first they appear'd but like the Prophet's Cloud, might not spread after- into a Spacious Storm. And to prevent all underhand Contrads with the Duke of British, he had sent Instructions interpret- ed by a Rich Prefent, and Richer Promises. The Duke receives both as Honourable Com- plement, pretending none could be more ready to do the King of England's Commands than he. But where he treated for the Delivery of the Earls, he hop'd to be lawfully excused, be- ing an Act, which would create a States and Speech only upon his Credit and Honour, but upon all Princely and Hospitable Privileges; and cou'd appear no less than a mere Impurity, to thwart such disinterested Persons as tied to their Protec- tion, into the Arms of their Enemies; and it was his Interest, if any such and the Treasonable Plot should be actuated upon the, the Guilt must re- flect on him. But that the King might believe he was forward to come as near his Daughters, as in honour could be, he engag'd himself to keep to Careful and vigilant a Watch upon them, that they might be perfectly safe. He at the same time, endur'd them, if they were in strict Prison. This being returned, 'tho' not agreeable to the King's Hope and Wishes, yet bearing such a Caution of Honour and Wildom, he remained satisfied, and so it passed for the Space of Eight Years, (as I conjecture) for the King made this De- mand in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, 1472, all which time he was very intent to preserve the League with good Sums of Money and cost- ly Presents. In the Twentieth of his Reign, 1485, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Earl of Richmond had hired up Fresh Embers and New Allies, with whom he might, if the French were not a bit of the French Crown, had, by the Solicit- 

- Etiam epe- ficit in foé. 

-vation of Belcham, to the Bishop,
which was about 39 Years a- after Solihul, or a fubsequent

-Jac. Nys- 


- uberius i

- lib. 17.

King Ed- ward treat- 

- the Cli- 

- ury of Richmond
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

Philip de Comines) in which circle of time, it may
with admiration be observed, thru' what Changes
and Events of other Sorts, Dangers and Diffi-
culties he was preferred. Soon after King Ed-
ward's Decease, King Richard renew'd
and continued the Treaty by Sir Thomas
Hutchin of York, receiving the fame Satisfaction K. Rich-
and, but was fail'd in the performance, as
and so unctionally, that it then appear'd the
whole Business was brought to no purpose, but
sent the Duke of Brit.

The Duke of Br."tian
Fear then for Love or Honour (the Name of Ed-
ward and the Earl of March being, indeed, ac-
counted terrible, where his Victorious Sword E. V. Ful.
and belles, in}

Thus it appear'd, for having mar-
ried Margaret, Daughter and Co-heir of

The Duke Francis died without
Child. Male, and the Dutchy being swallowed up
and drown'd in the Lillies or Crapands of France,
and with his Family of Britains irrecoverably lost
and destroyed. Thus much for the Jealousie and
Fears of these Two Kings.

† The Site, Condition and Authority of Duke Richard, while he was only Protector, and his acknowledged Obedi-
ence to his Nephew King Edward V. will be plainly seen by some Infructions given to cer-
tain Commissioners sent to the Lord Dyson Lord Deputy of Calais, from the same Journal. The Duke's Letter was
as followeth.

The Injunctions are as follow:

These be the Articles of Injunctions given to the L. Mounseijer, Master John Cock Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Sir
Thos. Thonges Kt. and waiving to the Letter of the Lord Dyson, late directed into the Kings Grace, as then Protector of

The Earl of Northumberland referred the other of Calais, perteyning to any of the three Jurisdictions; that in-
trusted upon the knowledge of the Deth of King Edward III. (who God afoill) came unto them, made holy toge-
gether, by a Pontifick Act, to be true unto King Edward V. his Son, as to their Liege Lord and to keep the Town, Careful
and preserved, in the person of the Duke, who was apperteyning to our Realm, with all his Forces, and other Men with
him, who had apperteyned his Person, or of the Lieutenant, then being the Kings Lieutenant, and not without due Payment to be made to the Soule and
other Officers of all that must be found due, for the bare keeping of the said Town and Marches.

Thus to Article, it shall move before, that howbeit suche other of Licenzure was made done upon the Deth of the
said King Edward III. to his Son, not only at Calais, but also in divers places in England by many great Office,
and Persons, being than ignorant of the verray face and true Title, which our Sovereign Lord that now is King Rich-
dard the III. had, and had the same famine to the Crowne of England, that OTHER notwithstanding he never show any
good cause, or occasion, upon knowledge of the said Duke, to give them satisfaction and performance, he non
raught given to him, to whom it appertyneth not, and thereupon to make his Owe, and owe his Servcie
and Fidelite to him, that good Lawe, Reason, and the custome afoill of the Lords and Commons of the Royall
have enogeledged to reign upon the People, which is our said Sovereign Lord King Richard III. better to the said King.

Edward III. late deceas'd, whom God Pardon: Whole face and true Title is evidently flowed and declared in a bill
of Petition, which the Lords Spirituals and Temporells, and the Commons of the Land solemnly pressed unto
the Kings Highness at London the XXV day of June. Whereupon the Kings said Highnes notably alligned by writ
not at the Lords Spiritual and Temporell of this Royall, went the same day unto the Palais at Trinimund, and
then in such Roial Honourable apperried within the grail the tokke of PellefFion, and declared his Mind, that the same day
shall not be made upon them. He was apperteyning to the Kings Grace and from thence he was sent to Calais, and
was received ther with Procesion, with great Gratulation and acclamation of all the People in every place, and
by the way that the King was in. The Copie of the which file the King will be obtien unto Calais, and their
were the three Presidents: Doctor, Master and Speaker, with the presence of the said
three Jurisdictions, what afoill, degree or condition they be of; and also them of the lawe, and of the
Feiches and others to him, as to their Sovereina Lord; like as the Lords Spirituals and Temporells, and many other
Nowmen in gret number, being in England, free and of good honest, have done, for their part: And that the said
were made within the said Calais with the taking of the Town, and upon our said Lord King Richard the III. and them not deliver to any Perfone, but by his Commandement only, &c. J.S.

These Resolutions of determing K. Edward V. and of making Richard King were very suddenly taken, as also the
Pretence of the Duke of Pegemont, who was obtained on their Emancipation, that the very of the two to come was
let, which was to be the 24th Day of June. And all Inlen Preparacion was making for that Purpose, till near the
day Day King Edward with the Advice and Order of his Uncle Richard the Protector, appoinnt and furnished the Gen-
thal Assembly, and went towards them with all the Forces he had, and towards the Calais:

To Ove Gilbert Eld Truhy and Welbeloved, We Grote you weill. And by the Advice of our deseart Unke,
the Duke of Pegemont Protector of our Royall in your young Age, and the Lords of our Counsel, we were 
the space of time. Wlling and willing we gave them litte charging you, that you shall do well in this Behaior:

Noble Order of Knighthood at our Coronation: Which by Gods Grace we intend shall be Salueng the one and
twentieth Day of this present Month at our Palace of Trinimund; Commanding you to be here at our Tower of Lan-
con with all your said Good Command, to have ut Communiction with our Comarchantnes in the Matter: now
falling before in any Wise, as ye intend to plese us, and as ye will answer. Yeven the 15 Day of June.
But now to the progress of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one General Dislike, and an Universal Negative Voice, refuted the Sons of King Edward, not for any ill Will or Malice, but for their Diffabilities and Incapacity; nor those of the nobility held them not legitimate, and the Queen Elizabeth Grey, or Woodville, no lawful Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the King's Wife, by reason of her extreme unequal Quality. For thed and other Causes, the Barons and Prelates unanimously call their Election upon the Protector, as the most worthy, and nearest, by the experience of his own Devotions, and the fervour of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of Buckingham to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the Chief Lords, and other Grave and Learned Persons, having Audience given to them in the Chamber at Grays Inn, the Duke, (then York-House) thus addres'd him to the Lord Protector:

SIR, May it please your Grace to be informed, that after much Grave Consultation amongst the Noble Barons, and other Worthy Persons of this Realm, it stands concluded and resolve'd, That the Sons of King Edward shall not reign; for who is not sensible, how Miserable a Fortune, and Degrading Estate that Kingdom must be in, where a Child is King, according to the Wife Man, with the several Clans. But here, Sir, there is Exception of further consequence against them, that they were not born in lawful Marriage, the King having then another Wife living, Dame Elizabeth Butler: Besides the great Dihonest and Reproach he would be charg'd with, to deal with a Woman so far unmeet for his Bed. These Considerations have repeatedly turn'd all their Eyes and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your singular Virtues, and that Intered in the Crowns of England and of France, with the Rights and Titles, by the High Authority of Parliament, ever since his late taint'd to the Royal Blood and Illue of Richard Duke of York, whole lawful begotten Son and Heir you are, which, by a just Course of Inheritance and the Common Laws of this Land, is divolv'd and come to you. And unawfuling that any inferior Blood should have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determin'd to make your Grace King, to which, with all Willingnesses and Alacrity, the Lords and People of the Northern Parts concur. And the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, have all allow'd, and gladly embraced this general Choice of your Grace; and are come hither to beseech you to accept their just Election, of which they have chosen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I must therefore again crave leave, in the behalf of all, to desire your Grace will have so much Alacrity and Speed to the Good of this Realm, to call your Eyes upon the growing Difficulties and Decay of our Estate, and to let your happy Hand to the redress thereof; for which, we can con-

celve no Abler Remedy, than by your under-taking the Crown and Government, which we doubt not shall accrue to the Land of God, the Profit of this Land, and your Grace's Happiness.

This Speech of the Duke is recorded by Dr. Morton, Sir Thomas More, and other Chronicles and Historians, to which the Protector gave this Reply:

Mighty Noble Lords, and my most Loyal and True Friends, and Dear Country-men.

Albeit I must confess, your Request most respectiful and favourably, and the Points and Necessities alleged'd and urg'd true and certain, yet for the Entire Love and Reverend Respect I owe to my Brother deceased and to his Children, my Privy Council do give me leave, more to regard mine Honour and Fame in other Realms; for where the Truth and Certain Proceedings herein are not known, it may be thought an Ambition in me to seek what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge so deep a Reproach and Stain upon my Honour and Sincerity, that I would not bear for the World's Diadem: Besides, you must not think me ignorant (for I have well observ'd it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdom, than Pleasure; especially to that Prince who would charge his Authority and Offices he ought to give to the King of England, tho' of late negligently and unhappily lost.

There the Protector became silent and thought it not safe in his Discretion or Policy, to offer all the Difficulties he had of the Sovereignty, for that would have been Matter of Exprobration of the Barons, and touch'd too near the quick, tho' he had well observ'd, by Fandry Experiences of the Leading Times, and Moderns too, the inconstant ebbing and flowing of their Dispositions, so variable and apt they were to take up any occasion of Change, purfuing their Kings (if once stirr'd) to implacably, that many times they never left without Death or Deposing. Examples he had in the Reigns of King Edward his Brother, and Henry VI. not long before that in the time of Richard II. and his Grandfather Edward II. more anciently the Extream Troubles and Diftrusts of King John, and Henry III. all the Barons, being dreadful Warnings and Infolent Monuments of their Haughtiness and Vol. I. X x x x - Levi-
The Life and Reign of RICHARD the Third,

1483. Lumia: and this was Alitera mento repulsum with the Wife Prince.

But the Duke of Buckingham, thinking the Protector let too flight a Consideration upon to Great a Concernment, and the Affection tender'd by himself and the Nobility, and over reached his private course to the Lord Mayor and Recorder, tending to his mixture, for an Epilogue or Cloze to his former Oration, he thus freely adds.

SIR, I must now, by the Priviledge of this Employment, in the and Behalf of both, and my Country, add so much Freedom unto my Duty, as to tell your Grace, It is immovable, and solemnly revolv'd by the Barons and People, That the Children of King Edward shall not Reign over them. Your Grace hath heard some Causes; nor need I intimate, how these Events have elapsed and proceeded so offenensively to other Men, and so dangerously to themselves. Alas, is now too late to recall or retire.

And therefore, they have fixt this Election upon you, whom they think most able and careful for their Safety: But, if neither of the other Events, the Earnest Precepts of the Nobility and Commonalty, can move you, we most humbly desire your Answer and Leave to Elect some other that may be worthy of the Imperial Charge; in which we hope you shall not incur your Displeasure, confiderring the Great Necessity of our Welfare, and Kingdom were it. And this is our last Suit and Petition to your Grace.

The Protector touch'd by this round and baving Ferwec, which made him very sensible: For (as Sir Thomas More dearly confesseth) the Protector was so much moved with this Words, that otherwife of likelihood he would never have inclined to their Suit: And faith, That when he saw there was no remedy, but that he must either at that Lufiant take the Crown, or both he and his Heirs irrecoverably let it pass to another; paradoventice, one that might prove an Enemy to him and his, especially if Richard, who kept in; between them and this Prince, the Hatred was equally extream: Therefore it heaved the Protector to collect himself; and fixing his Consideration upon the effect of that Necessity they last urged, gave this Reply:

MY most Noble good Lords, and most loving and faithful Friends, the better Confidence of your Loves and most Eminent Inconveniences inflamed by your Noble Speaker, hath made me more furious to apprehend the Benefit of your Froler and Election. And I must confess, in the Mediation which there is, I find an Alteration in my self, not without some Disfuration when I consider all the Realm to be against the Sons of King Edward, and therefore being certain, there is no Man to whom the Crown by Just Title can be so due and our moft Duke and princely Father, Richard Duke of York; to which Title of Blood and Nature, your Favours have joyn'd this of Election, wherein we hold our self to be most strong and safe: And having the lawful Right both, why should I endure my part, that's Enemy to my Right and become a Vassal to my Envious Subject? The necessities of these Causes (as admitting no other Remedy) urges me to accept your Offer; and according to your Request, and our own Right, we here affirm the Royal Preheminence of the Two Kingdoms, England and France, from this Day forward, by us and our Heirs, to Govern and Defend the one, and by God's Grace and your Good Aids, to Recover and Effect the other to the ancient Allegience of England; declaring to you that it is rather, than I intend and endeavour the Advancement and flourishing Effe of this Kingdom.

At which they all cry'd, God be prop of King Richard: And thus he became King. But yet his Detraction to Shinder and Accuse all that was said or done in these Proceedings for the Sake of some for mere Diffimulation; by which Junctile, it may as well confeder, against the World, the Barons, worthy and Grave Commons, which had there Voti therein, who should a fall a motif impend and intolerable Scandal upon all the High Court of Parliament; for in short time after, all that was alleged and acted in that Treasury and Collropy was approved and ratified by the Court of Parliament, fo that their Cavils only discover an Extrem Malice and Evil. For it was not possible, therefore not credible, that it passed upon such an infall (as it were) by any Practice, for God and the World, and if our Lords, with all the Barons, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, to procure and pervert them from the Sons of King Edward, so unani mously to become his Subjects, and put the Crown upon his Head with such Solemnity and Public Ceremonies. Wherefore these Matters had their current, the Northern Gentleman and his Southeren Friends joyn'd in a Bill Supplicatory to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, earnestly expressing their Defires for the Election of the Lord Protector, with the former Causes urg'd: Alfo That the Blood of the Young Earl of Warwick now interred, and his two Sons, of the Name of the Parliament. This Bill was deliver'd to the Lords, assembl'd in the Great Hall at Westminster, the Lord Protector sitting in the Chair of Mar sc among them, upon the 26th of June, Some or Seven Days after he was Proclaim'd: The Tenour of the Bill was thus written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland:

H. AM. Croyland.


In English thus:

The Protector, that day, wherein he took upon him the Government, under the Royal Name and Title, being the 26th of June 1483, feated himself in the Marble Chair in the Great Hall of Westminster; after which, all the Lords, as well Temporal as Spiritual, and others sitting, or standing by, 12 a certain Writing was produc'd, wherein, 13 by
By George Buck, Esquire

1483. "by way of Humble Petition, in the Name of
the Gentry and Northern People, was repre-
fented, First, That the Son of King Edward
were Baifards upon account of his having ented
beforeinto a Contract of Marriage with the La-
dy Eleanor Rother, before his Marriage with
Queen Elizabeth: And next, That the Blood
of the late Edward, Duke of York, in the Line of
was Attraint. Insomuch, that none being
'to be found that was undoubtedly of a Law-
ful and Lineal Deceit from Richard Duke of
York, besides Richard the Protector, Duke of
Gloucester, they therefore Humbly Petitioned
'the said Duke to take to himself his Right
'ing the Kingdoms of England, and to Ac-
cept of the Crown.

But the Barons were all accorded before this
Bill came, (b) both Sides moving with an equal
and contented forwardness, and in July next
following, 1483, was Crown'd and Received with
as general Magnificence and Acclamations, as an
ny King in England many Years before. For as
Grave Man writeth, (i) "Paxi dignissimi Regno, &c.
non inter malos sed bonus principes Commercamus;
That he was most worthy to Reign, and to be
named amongst the Good, not Bad Princes.
Thrice honored is he, among with no less State and Greatness; Accompanied him from the TOWER to Welfinham, having in their Train (besides the Nobility of the South Parts) Four Thousand Gentlemen of the North (k). Upon the 19th of June 1483, in the
5th Year of Lewis the French King, he was
King of England, the Morrow following, and Rode with Great Solemity from London to Welfinham, where in the Seat Royal, he gave
the Judges of the Land a Strict and Religious
Charge for the Just Executing of the Laws; then
departed towards the Abbey, being met at
the Church Door with Procession, and the
Scepter of King Edward delivered to him
by the Abbot; so ascended to St. Edward's Shrine,
where he or'd, the Monks in the mean time
fingring Te Deum: From thence he returned to
the Palace, where he Lodg'd until his Coronation.

Upon the 4th of July he went to the Tower
by Water with the Queen his Wife, and the
next Day (l) * Created Edward his only Son, (about
Ten Years old) Prince of Wales; * He invested Sir
John Howard, (who was Made Lord Ho-
ward and Knight of the Garter, 17 Edw. IV.)
in the Duchedom of Norfolk, in a favourably Ad-
misson of the Right of the Lady Margaret his
Mother, Daughter of Sir Thomas Morely, D. 1487;
of Norfolk, and an Heir General of the Morely,
Dukes of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey, descended
from the Lord Thomas Plantagenet of Brotherton,
a Younger Son of King Edward I. and Earl of
Norfolk, This King also made him Marshal and
Admiral of England; he was as rightfully Lord
of Brotherton, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer of
England, as I have seen him filled by Royal
Warrant in a Commission for Treaty with Truce
with Scotland.

His Eldest Son, Sir Thomas Howard, was at
the same time Created Earl of Nor-
ingham, Francis Lord Vificount Levett, and
Chamberlain to the King; the Lord Stanley
referred to Liberty and made Steward of the
Houhold (l), Thomas Rotheram, Chancellor
and Archbishops of Canterbury, having been committed
for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen
Window, received to Grace, and many Knights Ad-
dubbed of the Old Order, and some of the New,
or Habit of the Bath, whose Names I have left
down, to shew what regard was had of their
Family, and in those Times accused of so much
Maliginty.

Sir Edmund De la Pool, Son to the Duke of
Suffolk.
George Gray, Son to the Earl of Kent.
William Zouch, Son to the Lord Zouch.
Henry New, Son to the Lord Abergaveny.
Christopher Willourby.
Thomas Arundel.
Henry Badington.
Germaine of Cilmyon.
Henry Banton.
Edmond Beddingfield.
Thomas Bullen.
Thomas Lendcomer.
William Say.
John Brown.
William Enderby.
Thomas of Vernon, i. another William
William Barkley.

The 5th Day of July he Rode from the Tower His Core;
through the City in Pomps, with his Son the nation.
Prince of Wales, Three Dukes, and Nine Earls,
Twenty Two Vificounts and Simple Barons,
Eighty Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen not
tobe numbered; besides Great Officers of the
Crown which had Special Service to do. But
the Duke of Buckingham carried the Splendid

(b) The Barons and Commons were so far from Chooing him, that they were afraid he would not Crown his Ne-
phew. Vid. Sir Thomas More's Hift. of Edward V. and Richard III.

(i) Compare this Quotation out of Cambden with that which author fays of K. Richard in his Brit. fab. His. Leicestershire; speaking of Walford, siete Henry earl of Richmond encounter'd K. Richard III. who had by nay voted Robert Gourard of
de Uffelins. He overcome and fell the Uffelins, and freed England by his Vallour from the Rule of a Tyrant. Beaches, he
does not tell us where Cambden speaks to well of him.

(k) These four thousand Gentlemen of the North, were (as flall and Oufan relate it) 5000 follow evill appared and
many horse, assembled in Fulling in the North, and were the Consequence of the Nobility.

(l) His Creation was not before September following, for at 1483 as appears afterwards by the Chronicle of Crodland, and
the Notes there. J. S.

(i) This Title this young Prince enjoy'd but a fmall time; For as he was Created about the 5th of September, he was
dead the 11th of November in his next Year, as may be collected from a Warrant of K. Richard to Nicholas Levinger,
Receiver of the Dutchy of Lancaster, order'd thereby to pay to John Dawsy, late Treasurer of Farmery 1393. 9. 5. due
to him for divers Promises and Emptions by him made for the same (as the Warrant caufed) of John Dear Son, whom
God save, only the 21st of July, 1484. But before his Death, the King his Father heaped up all the Honour he cou'd upon him: He made the Lord Prime, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for Three Years;
confir'd his Title of Earl of arm and made to him 1 concurred Great Officers in his Houhold, where I find William
Blount, whom he had not the 20th of June, 1483. to fay for which he had the 5th of July, 1483. Mark affign'd him for his Salary yearly out of the Hufomony of Farmery, 3. 4.

(j) If it were give credit to the King his Father's Patent to Create him Prince of Wales of great hopes for his
Excellent Parts and Disposition. The Words are, Cujus optimas dotibus, &c. praefcunt qui quasque arma Rubalebantur aequior
principio, et in prudenter, in euncturiamque, in partibus propriis positis, in eundemque, etiam autem promitentiem
Remarkeable Endowments of Nature, whereby, his Young Age conditioner's, he is singularly furnished, do portend to
us great and undoubted hopes by the favour of God, that he will be a good Man. K. Rich. journal paece. J. S.

(p) For fear of the Lord Strange, his Son, who was at this time, was ruling Pover in the North.
of that Day's Bravery, his Habit and Caparisons of Blew Velvet, Embroidered with Golden Naves of Cart's burning, the Trappings supported by Footmen, habited costly and intable. On the Morrow, being the 4th of May, all the Prelates, Militia, and others, advanced him at his Brink Hall towards the Chapel; the Bishop of Rochester bare the Cross before him, the Cardinal and the Earl of Huntington followed with a pair of Gilt Spurs, and the Earl of Bedford with St. Edward's Staff for a Relic. After the Procession, the Town of Norwich Sways naked, the Lord Stanley the Mace of the Constableship (but waited not for Constable) the Earl of Kent bare the Second Sword naked with a Point upon the Right hand of the King, the Vicount Lovat another Sword on the King's Left hand with a Point. Next came the Duke of Suffolk with a Scepter, the Earl of Lincoln with the Ball and Crofs, then the Earl of Surrey with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard in Place of the Constable of England, the Duke of Norfolk on his right hand with the Crown: After him immediately, the King in a Sun-coat and Robe of Purple, the Queen in a blue Robe borne by the Bishops of Five Ports, the King between the Bishop of Bath and Durham the Duke of Buckingham bearing up his Train, and serv'd with a White Staff for Senecial or High-Ste-ward of England.

In the Front of the Queen's Train, the Earl of Huntingdon bare the Scepter, Vicount Lifhe the Rod with the Dove, the Earl of Wiltshire her Crown, and next to him follow'd the Queen her Scepter (in Robes like the King) between Two Bishops, the Canopy born by Barons of the Ports, upon her Head a Coronet set with Precious Stones; the Lady Margaret Somerset, Countess of Reading, in her Train, followed by the Dutchess of Suffolk, with many Countesses and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Procession pass'd through the Palace, and entered the West Door of the Abbey, the King and Queen taking their Seats of State, they'd until divers Holy Hymns were sung, then ascended to the High Altar lifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voided in fancy Places for their Anointing; which done, they took other Robes of Cloth of Gold, so return'd to their Seats, where the Cardinal of Canterbury and the other Bishops Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter, in the Hands of the Ball and Crofs in his Right, and the Queen's Sceptor in her Right Hand, and the Rod with the Dove in her Left; on each Hand of the King a Cross, before him the Earl of Surrey with the Sword as aforesaid, on each Hand of the Queen a Bishop, by them a Lady kneeling, the Car- dinal said Mafl, and gave the Pax; then the King and Queen defending, were both houl'd with one Hilt parted between them at the High Altar: This done, they Offer'd at St. Edward's Shrine, where the King laid down St. Edward's Crown if in their Place another, return'd to Welf- mingster-Hall in the same State they came there differ'd, and retired themselves for a Season, in which Interim, came the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, mounted upon a brave Horse, trapp'd with Cloth of Gold down to the Ground, and laden with Price of People and void the Hall. About Four o'clock, the King and the Queen set to Dinner, the King at the Middle Table of the Hall, and the Queen on his Left Hand on each side a Coun- cils attending her, holding a Cloth of Paviliane (or rather of Eiifiance) for her Cap: On the King's Right Hand sat the Archichap of Ca-

terbury, and all the Ladies were plac'd on one side of a Long Table in the middle of the Hall against them, at another Table the Lord Chan- cellor and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen.

Behind the Barons of the Kingdom sat the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for Perfons Quality. After all were feated, came the Lord Mar- shal again, the Earl of Surrey Constable (For hii sae tentonum) the Lord Stanley, the Lord of Hertford, Sir Walter Hounslow, Transferer of the Houhold, and Sir Thomas Piercy, Controller; they serv'd the King's Board with one Dibh of Gold and another of Silver. The Queen was serv'd all in Velvet Gills, and the Cardinal Archiship in Silver Dishes.

As soon as the Second Course was serv'd in, Sir Robert Diam, the King's Champion, makes Proclamation. That whatsoever he say, King Richard the Third was not lawfully King, he wou'd fight with him at all Gutterance, and for Gage thereof threw down his Gauntlet; then all the People cry'd, King Richard, God save King Richard, and this六个 by three several parts of the Hall; then an Officer of the Cel- lar brought him a Gilded Bowl with Wine, which he drank, and carried the Cup away as his ancient Fee: After that, the Heralds cry'd Largif three, and return'd to the Scalfid.

Lafly came the Mayor of London with the Shef- fifs, with a Veller, ferving the King and Queen with Sweet Wines, who had each of them a Cover'd Cup of Gold for their Reward: By which time the Day began to give way to the Night, the King and Queen departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a Brief and True Relation of his Coronation, written by all the Beft Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, principal and allow'd, which may confine the Boldness of that Slander, that says, He was not rightfully, and authenti- cally Crown'd, but obliquely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all times have De- tractors, and all Courts their Pariahes; and ma- ny that have admired Princes to their Graves, even there have turn'd from them, with Ingra- titude and Murmur. Soon after this the King dimifbled, and feat Home all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, with a straight Charge and Di- rection to them, the Judges of Oyer and Termi- nal, and with all other Magistrates and Officers in ge- neral and particular, for the Equitable and Truth- Government of their Jurifdictious and Circuits: And it is oberved, those Times were under as happy an Expectation of Law and Justice, as thoiie, either before or after more atter'd; which John Hole (a Learned Man, and Doctor of Physick) implies in a Manuscript Pofcy of his.

— Sola juris reiugis Miniftcr, Illa sedem alta, talis fermo praefatui; Molles convicis foeris praxfis Jethro, Sola quod Papuli nequitiam compenderit, Confiantis populi praefidis atq; Tribunum, Sic cum me praefcatum perfimile Regni, Ardua magnamur teneatis urnam revera; Ex primith, a volvi praefatit inactus minus Acquis Jofitis, anfcripsit me; Autorum miseros vel feriiti cives, Nec vota ei in commemorabilia Puppilam in auris, Denys, largius, ne vos Corumpatis iniqua, &c.

Then feated on his Throne he thus began, As Mefi was by Jefebs Coucil wont.
All things thus in a happy Preface and Good Order, the King, with the Queen, departed from London, and makes Windsor the first stop in his Progress for some few Days: From thence to his Mannor of Woodstock, then to the University of Oxford, where the Muses Crow'd their Brows with fragrant Wreathes for his Entertainment. Next he visited the Circular City of Gloucester, and gave the Citizens (for the Love and Loyalty they exprest, in Holding the Caffle and Town confantly against Queen Margaret and the Forces of Henry the Sixth, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of Buckingham takes his leave for Berwick, constantly disposed and affected to King Edward's Appearance. Otherwise making small Play any where, (save at Coventry) until he came to the goodly and ancient City of York, the Scope and Goal of his Progress, which he received him with all Honour and Feltivity, and was there the second time Crow'd by Dr. Rainhard Archibishop of that See, in the Cathedral Church, and his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, as the Prior of Greyboy reports; 
Eodem die que Richardus Coronatus est Rex in Ecdesi Metropolitana Eboracensi, novum Filiun Edwardum in Principatum Walliae cum insignia urae ornae & vexii, & Toppia & foppilfa ficta Or, conversaque ibi fece iu. 

And indeed, it was a Day of Great 

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The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

\textbf{The Parliament of England.}

\textit{Fifth Day.}

\textbf{The Q. Mother & K. Richard reconciled.}

This Year the King kept very Magnificent Chriftmas at Wolmifte, and was reconciled to the Queen Dowager, who left Sanctuary, \& to congratule the King's Favour, fent her Five Daughters to Court, where they were receiv'd with all Princely Kindneffe.

On the Three and Twentieth Day of January, in the Fift Year of his Reign, he famm'd a Parliament to be held at Westminster, in which (after the enacting of many Good Laws) the Marriages of King Edward were debated, that with the Lady Gray adjug'd unlawful, and her Children illegitimate, there being proof of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, Daughter of the Old Duke of Buckingham, and Relic of the Lord Butler of Sudley, then and long after living, and all that had been inter'd by the Duke of Buckingham, or contain'd in the Bill fpipidatory, demonftrated, was again confufed, and judgment given that Marriage, and the Children of the old Lady Gray of the Earl of Warwick and his Sister, the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, all decreed and confirm'd by Act of Parliament; fo that here to tax fo general an Allent, were to lay there was not one Honett nor Juft Man in that High Court, and what greater Scandal to the whole King- don't.

\textbf{There was likewise at the birth of the Earl of Richmond's Prerence to the Crown, by a Titl deriv'd from the Houfe of Lancaster, who was at that time in France, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of Buckingham in the Quarrel. Oh! the infinite Windings and Perplex'd Sleeper we labour through, to get that we must bid Goodnight to To morrow; and yet the True and Rightful Lancaster had no Finger in this affair, this Earl was not then granted to be of the Houfe of Lancaster, until the Pope by his Bull had given him that Style, and himself (after he was King) by his Prerogative affum'd it. In this Parliament he was attained of High Treafon, and with him John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Lord of Darts, Tafer Earl of Pembroke, Lord the Bishop of Salisbury, Peirce Bishop of Exeter, the Friends \& Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, Thomas Confedere Mortim Bishop of Ely, Thomas Naucluck, by the Rates of the Earl of Salisbury, the Prince Bishop of Chester, the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, Thomas Confedere Mortim Bishop of Ely, Thomas Naucluck, by the Rates of the Earl of Salisbury, the Prince Bishop of Chester, the Father and Sons of King Edward, living in the State and in the head of the Death of their Father.
To the Vice-Consulable of England Conscientiated.

T H E King to his beloved and faithful Ralph Aldham Esq. greeting. Know, that We fully confiding in your Fidelity, Williorn, and Integrity, have allgird, deputed, and ordain'd you at this time our Vice-Consulable of England, and our Commissioner, Giving and Committing by the tenor of these Preffents, Power and Authority gene- ral, and our special Command to Hear, Examine and Proceed against all Perftons whatev- ever, injpicted or guilty of the Crime of High-Treason against Us, either by way of Examination of Witneffes, or otherways, as shall seem to you most expedient and fafes- able to your Office: As also in thefe Caufes, judically and fenfentially, according to the Exigence of the Cafe and Demerit of the Delinquent, without all Noise or Appeal, when you fhall thinke fit, to procce, Determine and Commit to final Execution.

With all Clamours, Words, and Special Terms by Law or Cuftom required to the Execution of that of Our Command and Authority, as if here particularly expreff'd; taking unto your Affifiance some Public Notary of known Fide- lity, who may commit to Writing all thefe things, with what elfe thall be in or about the Premises fecrify, or, in any manner of way require; Commanding and strictly in- joiuing you, That all other Clafters whatever be laid aside, you apply your felves to the forefaid, how often, and at what time it fhall be necffary, and the above-mentioned Caufes you Hear, Examine, and in the fame Proceed and them Determine and commit to final Execution as faid is. We alfo by the tenor of these Preffents firfstrings all command and every one in this Part whom it may concern, to obey you in performing the Pre- fencies, and that they affift and diligently help you in all Things, In Confirmation, & Wit- nesfs the King at Cowen, the 24th Day of O-tober, and Firft Year of his Reign: Taken from the Mouth of the King himfelf:

What Success this Commiffion, and new Office had, I find not reported; but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the Faction loft none they could Corrupt or Win: Yet furely, the infiftion of it was very Politick and Important, as a plain Image and Portrait of the Office and Authority of the Great or High Conscientiative of England, which, in the Execution of a Wife and Valant Perfom, is of a high and great use.

Having made mention of these Offices, it shall not be a Parergue, between thefe Acts, to inter- add the ref of this King's Officers, both Chief and Others; but they refpect their Office in the Hou- nor or Dignity: I have before named the High-Confoatable, the Great Marshal, High Ad- miral, Lord Chamberlain, the ref were Sir John Wood the Elder, Lord Treasurer the Firft Year, and Sir John Trench, Lord Audley during the Reign of his Reign. Dr. Rick's "The History of Lincoln" had the Great Seal, Thomas Bowes was Master of the Rolls, (which Place Henry the Seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Councilor) John Kendal was Principal Secre- tary, Sir William Amyon Treasurer of the Vol. I. Y y, Houseold.

For Matters of Treaty, with this King and Foreign Princes, I have been a Memorial of one for the Conference and Composition between (a) Philip Duke of Burgundy, and the Elettes of Flanders, who in the Record are call’d

"Membr. Flandria; The Princes and States had each of them their Commissioners to Treat and Determine the Affairs, which I find they dispatch’d with Approbation of the Princes their Masters.

There was also a Commision about these Times, to Hear and Redrefs the Complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of France and of Denmark, which was very well expedit.

Anno Regni 2. That Treaty of Peace and League with Scotland, (began before) was continued, and finifh’d by Commissioners sent from James IV. King of Scotland, and by other Commisfioners Delegate for the King of England; tho’ for Scotland were Cali Earl of Argyll, Chancellor of Scotland, N. Bihor, and the L. Lyon, for England, Lord David and Sir Keith, Mr. Archibald Qubilain, Archdeacon of Lodon and Secretary to the King, Lium King at Arms, and Duncan of Dundar; they came to Hampton in September, Anno Dom. 1484, and were honourably receiv’d in the Great Chamber of the Castle, the King sitting under his Royal Cloath of State, and Mrs. Archibald Qubilain, stepping before the rest, address’d a very Eloquent Oration unto him in Latin, which reflect’d upon the Praine of Martial Men and Art Military, including much to the Honour and Praine of King Richard. This Treaty aim’d partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage between James the Prince of Scotland and the Lady Daughter, of John de la Peine, Duke of Suffolk, and Nicce to King Richard.

Commissioners for the King of England, were John Bihor of Lincoln, Richard Bihor of St. Aupo, John Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas Gurnage Caff, or private Siris, Sir Thomas Stanly King’s Man, Sir N. Ld. Strange, Sir N. Lord Powis, Sir Henry Lord Fitz-rob, Sir Humphry Lord Davers, Mr. Thomas Barrow Master of the Rolls, Sir Richard Ratllefs, William Catehy, and Richard Salkeld; The other for the Treaty of Alliance and Marriage, were Thomas Archbishop of York, John Bihor of Lincol, John Bihor of Worefier, John Duke of Norfolk, William Earl of Nottingham, John Sutton, Lord Dudley, N Lord Harpe of Ulyph, Sir Willym Hulpe Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, Sir Richard Ratllefs, and William Catehy: But the Successs of that, and many other Good Intendments, were interpow’d by the Inconveniency and Contraffe of the Times. The Lady Anne The Lady de la Peine, upon the breach thereof, (rejoiv’d to accept of other Terms.) For the Duke of Burgundy was in Scotland on a Religious Habit in the Monastery of Iam (e).

There was another Treaty of Peace and Truce Treaty in this Second Year, between him and the Duke of Britain, or at the least given out for Peace, also was indeed but a Part and Pretent of the Treaty: For the main Negotiations on the King’s side, was, how to get the Earl of Richmond out of his Custody into his own, or be as well receiv’d of him there as his Brother King Edward was: And for this Treaty, the chief Negotiators were the Bihor of Lincoln, and Sir Thomas Hutton for the King, the Bihor of Loom and others for the Duke. The Treaty began Anno Dom. 1484. and was finish’d and ratify’d in the Year following; but the Duke violated his Part immediately, by giving Aid to the King’s Enemies.

In the same Year there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treasury of the Exchequer) that moved a Peace and Truce betwixt the Twelve Years of Treaty of France, wherein it must be underftood, the Tribute before mention’d was Article’d.

Allso in this Year, and the Year before, there was a private Treaty, which we must not pass Treaty of by, for the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with Marriage King Richard himself. For what the Success of it was, and how far it proceeded, I will more aply preffent it felf in another place.

We are now to take notice of the Duke of Buckingham’s Revolt, for this was the Preparato of Rervolt and Fourrier of the revol: And to give it the Duke more taking Feature and fecion Prtence, it must be given out, That the Caufe was the Reformation of an Ill Government and Tyrannic, under which Species (for Treafon is ever fairly palliat, and Feldom wants the form of some Plea, thro’ at the Bar) they must take up Arms against the King. And here (as some RIVERS derive’d from the Sea, cannot sinnen lose their Name, so as tooner the ancient Taint and Inconveniency, which the Prince wisely suspect’d from the firl. For the Duke of Buckingham (how Affibly fover he trim’d his Duke Countenance) it fhou’d firen départed Male of Buck content from Court, yet made not that general Affiftance which the King’s Children, or his Nephew, or his Quer, but challenge’d him by some private Grudges, * as denying to give or refcrve to him the Duke of the Earlorh of Hereford and Cowfablehip of England against the King.

(a) This cannot be true, for Philip D. of Burgundy died in June 1457. according to W Gewt, and his Son, Charles Ten Yenne, his Brother in Law. To Charles succeede Anne his Daughter, married to Maximilien Arch Duke of Albr rounded, who in right of his Wife was Ad Duke of Burgundy till the Year 1483, when he was chosen King of the Romans, and was 1452, before his Son the Arch Duke Philip succeed him in the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, as Duke of Burgundy, Eight Years after his King Richard’s Death, see this Cen

(b) This, in his Account of all the Dukes in England since the Conquest, fays Anne de la Pool was by King Richard’s procurement, married to the Duke of Saffolk, the Suport King’s eldest Son. But Richard had extremely obliged this Duke, to keep him felf to him; so that he had little reason to be malcontent. While he was Duke of Gloucester and Protector of the Realm, and of the Perfon of his nephew Edward V. he proceede for the Duke all the Government and Authority of Wales, and other bordering Counties: For he had the Office Inherite of all the King’s Counfels, and the Office of Seward of the fad Dukes and divers Missouri, Rewards, Lands, Lordsliips, &c. in the Counties of Stasup, Herefor, Somfet, Darfor, and Wiltz: To have without making Account or rending any thing to the King. To him alto Edward V. granted the whole Overright and Government of his Subjects in the Bamhian, and all the Authority for the fuccefsion of his Father and Government, and Converfation on the Peace in those Parts, to call them together, and to Array and Arm them. To the faid Duke the King also gave the Office of Chief Justice and Chamberlain in South and North Wales for term of Life. He conftitute him Conable of the Castle and County of Pembroke, of the Castle and County of Pembroke and other Counties, for the King in Rebellion, the Castle and Lordship of Kilgerman in South Wales, and the Castle and Town of Lampfaen there; the Lordship of Wallcey and Pembroke in the County of Pembroke: the Castle and Lordhip of Welshorford in South Wales. He also gave, granted or confirmed to him several

Retarded
England (for they went together a long time) which he alledged belonged to the Partage that fell to his Great Grand-mother the Lady Anne Daughter and Heir of Thomas Plantagenet, alias Woodstock, created by King Richard II. Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham, and of his Wife Eleanor, Daughter and Co-heir of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, of Essex and Northampton, Lord of Brecknock and Confaitable of England (in the time of King Edward III, and the last Earl of the Fa- ther's Line, i.e. King Edward the Third, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham; Mary, the second Daughter, was married to Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lanca- ster, and after King of England, by the Name of Henry the Fourth, and the Earldom of Hereford fell to his Wife; in favour whereof, he was created D. of Hereford by K. Rich.II. and the Earl- dom (now a Duchy) and the Rights thereof re- tained by his Heirs, and the Feoffees in the several Heirs and Successors until the Death of K. Hen. VI. who died without issue, and then all the Effaites of Lancaster (especially that of the Royal Family of Lancaster) eftablished to King Edward IV, and from him it came to King Richard, as heir to his Mother, and Ancestral Right; the Duke of Buckingham pretended Title to that Earldom by his said Grandmother Anne, who was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the aforesaid Lady Eleanor (wife of Thomas de Woodstock Duke of Gloucester) and the Wife of Edmund Stafford Earl of Stafford, and Grandfather to this Henry Duke of Buckingham, who the rather preluded to make this Claim, because the like of the other Sister Mary being extinct, he took himself also to be her Heir.

But King Richard reliishing something in this, near the Disposition and Inclination of Bullying- brook, answered, "That the Earldom of Hereford was of the Inheritance of Henry IV. who was also King of England (the) by Tort and Infrac- tion" and will you, my Lord of Buckingham, claim to be Heir of Henry the Fourth? "You may then happily assume his Spirits, and lay claim to the Crown by the same Titles. This was as bitter as short, and doth tally; First, because it came with a Repulse; Secondly, because by the Laws, and due to his right and Seisin, and as a tax of his Loyalty, and begets another pretence of Exception in the Duke's Bofom, which he called a breach of Promine in the King, for not joining the Prince his Son in Marriage with the Lady Anne Stafford his Daughter: But all those Colours were but to give Complexion to the Face of his Disdiction; the true Cause was well divined and found out by the King, his Ambition and Aim to be So- vereign, raised by an overweening of that Royal Blood he supposed to be in his Deftinent from the said Thomas de Woodstock, &c. Son of a King &c., and to have the Lordship and Succession of all other Countries, and in the last Partage of North and South Wales, and Marches of Wales, Parceled of the Dutches of Lancaster and the Office of the Mayor and Master of the Game within all the lands, &c.

And lastly, he had granted to him the Stewardship of the Town of Chelfeefield; and of the Manor and Lordship of Ster- date in the County of Derby, for term of Life. 3. Journ. of K. Rich. III.
vantage, he applies which he had violently drawn from the Duke's Discontent and Pallionate Discourses, when, perceiving the Glance of his Ambition, and that derv'd from the great Opinion of his Royal Blood, he preternaturally tickles and feeds that Humour, until he had sooth'd him past his own Strength or Retirement; for, in the secret Drift was, to ape a present Pique— the Duke's and Percier's, a Real Plague among those Men, 'tho' not to set his own Title on foot, yet lays open the Advantage of the present times to it, proposing that Urpation and Tyranny against the King Regnant, and the strong likelihood of his Deposing. This lifts the Duke something higher in the view of Ours. He wrote to Fords to Pander, and perceiving Richmond was the Man they had aim'd at for this Great Blow (who had condition'd by Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, (for the Countess of Richmond, had by the Means of Dr. Lewis, conciliated the Friendship of the Queen Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the House of York into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many potent Lords and some Foreign Princes had promised their aids.) He began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong Path to his Journey's end, for his Title and Claim must be nothing, so long as the whole of the House of York were united: And that the Earl (who stood between him and his Aims) was not only refusible to attempt, but strongly aid'd for it, himself not able, upon such an In-stant, to raise a Power able to Encounter, much less give Check unto his violent Ambition. whereof he was well aware as against himself, and that it would fall out far better to fide with the Times; a Consideration which doubletfe would highly fit a Spirit where so much Greatest of Opinion and Ambition was. And the Doctor discerning this Difficult, and that he was fright- ed in his Hope and Resolution, to recover him an entire Man, and not let him stand by an Idle Spectator in so meritorious an Action, he opens a private way of Honour and Sati-sfaction, urging him the first and greatest Man the Kingdom was to know next the King: And finding his particular Difficulties to King Richard, of all that was his Title, and Argument of his Worth and Worthinesses, (as it were) reprises each Particle, to the greatness of his Spirit and Discourse. The Countess replies not much at this time, but but in his Thoughts leaves him, and presently faliions a Visit to the Countess of Richmond, (a Lady by her Letters) and, as she was pleased, know the credit of his Intelligence, which he's renomm'd with, and leads to such Circumstances, and the Opinion of the Court in the Case that the Duke now forfakes himself, and fully gives up his Resolution and Promise to her: Thus prepar'd, he finds out the Lord Stanley, the Marquess of the Duke of Dorset, Edward Countrey Earl of Devonshire, and of Biddings. For, at this Time the Duke was in the Person of Sir Thomas Birtwistle, Sir John del, Robert Walbride, Edward son of So- meilc, and Wrotho, Thomas Arnold, who severally wrote to the Earl of Dorset, to force them to confer with him for the Earl of Richmond, to march to Devonshire, there to receive the Earl and the Duke with his and the Duke of Buckingham. But the King was early in his Prepara-tion, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earl of Richmond arrive there, else they had fast'd a most dangerous Blow upon him. * And at this full stop, in these Progresses, the Con-tinuws, we may observe, how uncertainly in spirator our strongest Valuations we are our own; and with what doubt and fear we apply to purposes, and are answerless, on the absent, cannot be secure. to the Earl for the Earls. Wires, while our Expectations are apt to be faster'd and ought themselves, but are overtake'n in their Succes, and Fates, as this was Great Man's; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the English being fatter'd by a fudden and hew traujuration that did dangerously overflow'd all Pafibages, they could not joy nor past the River Severne, while the fudden and misfortunes of it ftruck the Souiards with fher Alteration, that this most part of them forfook the Duke and left him to himself: The Earl of Richmond was as the Duke was glad to be met by the Earl of Devonshire, upon the Coasts of England. The King took the Advantage this Accident offered, and par'd the Duke, not only with a Gallipoping Army, but with Edicts and Preca- riations that promised a Thousand Pounds in pretend-ed Money (whereunto four Writers add, so much Letters on his Part, to procure them as far as they were within their Power) so that the Duke, who was betray'd and brought to the King, the Duke, and afterwards the Duke, were all at Salisbury, by [ Humphrey Bannister, of an eternal Mind.]

* The King was now in the Month of Octob. at Lincoln, providing to go to meet the Duke his Rebel, and with rich Strength as he was fully in Confi-dence. He was greatly incendiary against the Duke for his had a Regalit of the extraordinary Gills and Honours he had bestowed upon him, which made him side the Duke, The most great Creature Living, in a Poff- er linewidth under his hand, as well as others, and bow's ordering by himself the Officers of the Chancery, to lend him the Great Seal, which he should have occasion to use. The Original is full preserved in the Tower, and friendly furnish'd me by Mr. G. Holinshed, Deputy keeper of the Records. It ran to this Tenor. 

By the King N. G. 

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Truly and well-beloved, We greet you wele, and in our heartly wish thank you for your manifold Prefentes that your Servantes in your behalf have presented unto us this our being here: whereof we assure you we take and accept with good heart here and we have cause. And whereas We Goddes Grace intend briefly to advance us towards our Rebell and Traitor the Duke of Buckingham, to refite and with-hold his malicious pursuage, astutely by our other Letters We certify you you are more noise at large: For which Cape we behoved to have our great Sice here: Whereof Information, we have set down our Entry, the same convenient come unto us with the fame: Wherfore we will, and纳theley charge you forthwith, upon the sight of this, ye feau do the fame ore great Sice to be fer to you us; and fuch of thefe of our Chancery abey your Wifdomes, that be thought necessary, receiving these our Letters for your sufficient Dil-igence in that behalf. Youen under our Signet at our Cite of London the fifth day of October. Then follows the King's Poffeitir under his own Hand, vis-

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Brand) having liv'd by this Man's Service, and now thought treacherously to fuit his Ru
in. The Duke being examin'd, freely confess'd all, and for it lost his Head in the Field accord
ing to Martial Law used by Armies, in Nov
And here, if we view him in the Figure of his Ambition or Fate, we shall find Dr. Morton
his Caput Angel, or the malignant Planet of his Fortune; who, as Sir Thomas More confess'd and affirmed, by his Politick Drifts and Pride,
advanced himself and brought the Duke to this Ru
in the Head, come into Sanctuaries, o
ters into Britain to the Earl of Richmond, and come into Flanders, all their Plots being now how to be falked. And thus far King Richard, in the Voyage of his Affairs, had a promising Gale; we will therefore here cast Anchor a while, and clasp up this First Book with the Relation of his Better Fortunes.

BOOK II.

The Argument of the Second Book of the Life and Reign of Richard III.

The Earl of Richmond praiseth with Foreign Princes, and with the English Nobles for Affiance and Forces to make his First and Second Invasions of England; he came first to Poole with 12 Successes, secondly to Milford with bonis avibus. What Baffards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of Lancaster; how Lancaster and Beaufort, or Somerfield differ. Baffards of Kings must not take the Surnames of the King or Kingdom. The Honourable Privilege of the Name of Plantagenet. Prince Edward and Queen Anne, John de la Poole proclaims' Heir of the Kingdom by Richard the Third. Baffards of John Duke of Lancaster made Legitimate and Capable of Offices, Honour and of Heritage by Richard II. and the Parliament. What the Legitimation of the Pope is. Arms and Names of Princes Baffards. The Nobility of King Henry VII. He affid much in the Titles of York and Lancaster. The Pope growth to him the Title, Dejure Belli, & de Domo Lancastria. The greatness of the Title of York; of Council and Counsellors. The Prerogative of the King in Judgments and Controversies. The Earl of Richmond landed at Milford Haven; his Entertainment there and in Wales: His Aproves for divers Wives: He marrieth to Bolsworth: King Richard and his Fights; Richard is overcome and laid, also the Duke of Norfolk by the Earl of Oxford (ut Creditur). The Earl of Richmond is slain by Crownd King in the Field: The fatal Error of King Richard: King's love'd Combat: The Titles of King Henry VII. Kings go not now to Wars: Cruelties committed upon the Body of King Richard: He was attainted of Treason, the against the Laws of Nature and of Royal Majesty, with many of his Followers and Servants: The Earl of Surrey how released out of Prison; his Genealogy from Hewardus Walter de Buck, and his Progeny.

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excused, being unable to furnish him, at least in so short a time as his Expedition required for it, which Answer, for the prejudic, the Earl, thought not fit to press him. But having a prompt and strong Alliance in his good Fortune, makes up to some of the Duke's most honourable and powerful Friends, to lay Siege that way to him by private Advantages; for by his permanent connections with the Inclinations of many Great Ones, being Master of a pleasant acute Wit, which was well supply'd in him by the strain of all Courtly Acts; to tho' he had the help of the French Tongue, which he spoke excellently well and, to give the more plausible Acute and easy, he was (as Philip de Comines, who knew him, testified) a very Compleat and well Furbished Gentleman which makes the Rule certain, and well animating;

Gratior est palabra veniens e Corpora virum.

The Beauties of the Mind more gracious are, When as the Bodies Features are more fair.

In the number of those Eminent Persons he had gain'd during his Fair Impression, more foremost was that of Prince of Wales Margaret Duchess of Buckingham, Daughter of Gaffan de Foix (a Great Man in the Western Parts of France, whose Ancestors were well affected to the English) and Madam De Bevoir the Duchesses, so far countenanced him in his Design, that he became an earnest Suitor unto the Duke her Husband, and prevail'd both for his Liberty and Aid; for Caution and Pledge herein, he was only to kneel at the High Altar, to be bless'd, and then must kneel, in the Cathedral Church of St. Vannes, there to make his Religious Vow, justly and truly to observe what Reconciliation he privately had promised to the Duke and Duchesses, which Pretension made, he had three Ships well rigg'd and furnish'd with Men, Arms and Vessals, as my Author relates.

An Conte de Richmond furent aux defpens du due trois grans Navires de Britannia, charges de gens de Armes, 8t. Or qui je m'en in me.

The Death of Edward the Earl his Lady, this Lady his Daughter and Heir Anne, who brought the Duchy of Buckingham to France. 1484.

Yet the King being a Man of an equal Moderation to his Courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly Encounters; and as it was said of Julius Caesar, That he soon past'd the Death of his only Daughter Julia (most precious in his Affections) by his own hand. He was, quam omnia visit, so King Richard temper'd his Grief and Befoines to fogether, that the One made him not unfeelie, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of Crayland telleth, did all things gravely and delicately as before.
By George Buck, Esquire.

John Earl of Lincoln and after Duke of Suffolk, as a Heir apparent, had no Children. 

He accordingly gave a Conjuration to the Parch of Richmond, and, by the Deliberation and Consent of the Barons, he was inductious to think of a Successor, and to nominate such an One, whose Blood and Worth might make him equally Heir to the Crown and the Peoples Affection, (with the highest approbation of the King,) and one of them near to the Line of de la Pole Earl of Lincoln, Son and Heir of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, and of the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, Duchesse of Suffolk, the Sitter and Heir of this King Richard, who was declared and proclaimed Heir apparent to the Kingdom. This was a Conjuration to the Faction of Richmond, and, indeed, what greater Afront could thwart them, if, thro’ the Hope of Lancaster or Beaufort were next Heir to the Crown, (as the Predecessers affirmed for the Earl of Richmond,) who would likewise have him to be Caput genus Lancasteriae, & Principis Familiae, tho’ they could scarcely prove him (volere aliquo genere) to be the Heir to the Line of his Families, until he came to be King, for it was a Question in those Times, and much disputed, whether the Beauforts or Somerset were of the Hope of Lancaster or no? Moft true it is, the Children of the Hope of Lancaster being lawfully Born, and after Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster had conquer’d and depo’d Richard II. were to be holden of the Blood Royal, and capable of the Crown in their natural and due order. But thro’ the Beauforts or Somerset were, as the Vulgar hath it, Fili Populi, or as the Imperial Juris-constutes say, liberi singii sui, who by the old Greeks were term’d Arrogantes, i.e. sine pace, the Doctores of the Spiritual Law, drawing the Originem of such Children ab illico et damnato coinn., of the polluted adulterous Bed (and so those Beauforts, three Males and one Female, begotten by John of Gaunt as he believed) according to their pretensions were to be considered as the Children of Sir Robert Stewarfd, begotten upon Katherine his Wife in his life time, who was Daughter of Sir Payen Rove a French Man, dwelling in Beauforts, and was Gay’s Herald to the Duke of Lancaster. His Duchesse Dora Constanitia (a most Noble and Virtuous Lady, Daughter of Den Pedro King of Castile,) was living also in the time he kept this Katherine and had those Beauforts, who were Sirnamed from the Place of their Birth, a Town of his own in Anjou. But to Note transit, how obnoxious this Duke made his Frailties, (thinking to put a smoother Face upon his Sin,) gave it out that he was delighted at the Liking of his Katherine Stewarfd his Duchesse, against the liking of the King and all his Noble Friends, and direct To- nor of the Common Laws, which pronounce Marriages betwixt such as have lived in Adultery unlawful: Nay, to make him the more Marvlae and Smiling Difcourfe of the Court, the Infamy after his Son’s Death, when he discerned he fastener’d Embers of his Defires and Passion. But he obtain’d those Children to be legitimate : First, by the Pope Ubanus the Sixth; next by the Charter of King Richard II. and both these Indulgences after- wards were enlarged and confirm’d by his Son. Yet neither these four legitimate Children, nor

Sir Thomas of the year 1468, and
died Ann. 1397.

To which end he was permitted to the Prince, a Familiar Title of Lancaster, so long as that Name shall hold, much less of Plantagenet, for that was the name of the Circular Sirs, Plantagenet, the Kings of England and Princes of the Blood Royal, since the time of the Second Henry, Son of the Emprefs Matilda, the first Founder of that Name in the Royal Family of England. Of which Honour were Partakers the Princeley Family of Beauforts, the Wills, of Orange, of Donau, of Clarens, of Woodwick, of Gloucester, &c. And there are yet some Noblemen in Portugal, who descended from John Duke of Lancaster, and are called and written de Lancaster, others of the like Origin and Title may do as much. Neither would they other than Sir John de la Pole Earl of Lincoln, Henry VI, all Kings of the Lancasterian Race, Duke of Gaimden, due to let the Lineage of Beaufort (tho’ they of Purge respelled them as Kinrife, and advanced them to many Honours) assume the Surname of Lancaster, holding it an Arrogation and Uphefion of the Royalty and Royal Rights, wherein they fol- lowed the例 of Lancastor. D. of Len- low’d their Ancestors, who devised other Names for their Male Children; as Fitz-Ray, Oxenfield. The pecu- liar of the Earl, &c. Fitz-Herbert, Clarendon, Fitz-Henry Langue for Cornwall, &c and they continued the Surname of Beaufort and Somerset till the Earl of Richmond the Ba- came, and this was in imitation of the Kings of France as I conceive; for within the reach of my Opinion, from this Time of the Pseudo Kings of England, Coper, they never vouchsafed any of their Male Sons to be capable of the Crown of France, or to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the Surname of France; but the illegitimate Daugh- ters may take the Surname France or de France; because they can make no Claim to the Crown by a pretended Permission of Salick Law, which John de Tillet witnesseth.

La troisiéme ligne a du tout rejoué, les Baffards Arms of non seulement de la Coronne mais aux de Avaon, & Baffards de Surnom de France, qui Concessé seulement aux Baffards et aux Arms of England, &c.

And as the Baffards of the Kings of England had other Names, fo they took different’d Arms, orcliffe were permitted to bear their Mother’s (if of any Family), if tolerated to bear the Arms of England, then they were Divery’d in a checking, debating and rebating manner, with Bafions, Beggars, Siniffer Bars, Borders, Marks being added, the Baffards of England, of which neither any new Gentleman might bear, such as the Learne call’d Filius terra & novus Homines; and we vulgarly, Upfarts. But to object against the ufe of this in England, the Example of Hamelio is brought in; and to credit it, his Arms form’d by some weak and negligent Herals, who call him Hamelin Plantagenet; when the truth is, this Hamelin (Baf’t Son of Jeoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou) was simply call’d Hamelin, and his Son William took the Surname of his Mother Dame Isabel de Warren, Daughter and Heir of William de Warren Earl of Surrey, which their Paper con- tain’d, was from that Time of the King Joannes de Warrenna the Second, both Earls of Sur- rey, and Isabel de Warren and Elamia de Warren, &c. mention’d in the Charters and Records, but never Plantagenet, which is acknowledged by our heralds Antiques and Antiquaries; Mr. William Cambier, author of these Words, habits Elia the Comn of Guilelmus Warren Comitis Surrie Hamelio Sallum. Nisium Galfried Plantageneti, &c. Titulus Com- mitis Surriss maritum eorunn. Hamelius Guilelmus Surrie Comitus Gormus, cuius possit a fide Warrenorum Nomina condor, in an e. And that the Bafe Son of King Edward, if it commonly call’d Aris de Placentia, proves noth- ing neither, well considered: For the Times
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third,

1484-

Times when this Arthur lived, the Name of Plantagenet being only left in the House of York, (the Lancasterians Plantagenets being more ex- tinguished) had not the former Honour and Reputation, but was darkened and set down, rather drawing a Cloak over Henry VI. and the bare Back of the White Rose daily fading and withering; and so malignant was their Planet then, that, as a learned Gentleman hath further observed, It was not fit in that time to be a Plantagenet; therefore, the Persecution of those Times can be no Warrant for the Object, nor to be imagined by the Publick Herald, that the Pope had stain'd this Fable of Hamelin. Yet farther, not only giving him and his Posterity a false Surname, but affign'd him by the like Fabulous Art, a Shield of familiar Enigmas, the Arms of France border'd with an Orle of Normandy or Guay, which he, nor yet any of his Ante-Linage Lineage of Anjou or their Progeny ever bear, or could by just Title bear, either simply or compounded, or the Pro- genitors of our English Kings the Lilies of Gold in an Azure Field, until King Edward claim'd the Crown of France, and afford'd them in the Right of Queen Isabel de Valois his Mother, who was then the first bare them quarterly with the Arms of England.

But the Arms of the ancient Earls of Anjou were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Buckle of a military Scarf or Belt, fet with Precious Stones) not a Caraboucle or more precious Ruby, for the Term is erroneous and absurd, if considered: The Princes of Anjou bare a Scarboucle in a Shield party per Chief, Argent and Gules; and the Heirs of this Hanstein (who took the Surname of Warren) bare all the Arms of the House of Warren in their Shields and Carabonins, but bare the Scarboucle of Anjou for their Crest, as they were desirous of that kind of Adornment, as I have seen upon a Seal of Joannes de Warrenna Earl of Surrey, at a Charter, dated 20 Edw. III. Ann. Dom. 1466. apud Dom. Rob. Cotton, which hath given me occasion to speak much to cure the Blemish that mislake hath thrust into Histor- ry, such Aburdities having their Infelation, and passing by an Age or two upon the easy and com- mon judgments, after grow up for tall and un- denying Truths: For some merely reading the Complexion of things, as they do Men by their outsides, or as Boys Poetry, with tickled Faith; through such wide Ears and Observations, crept in to the Publick: And yet tied to the knot of Pride in the Utterance on the other side, that made Chiefoue, the

Scarbou- 
cle, falsely call'd a Scarboucle.

Difference of Lancaster and the Beaurefts, alias Somerfet, between the House of Lancaster and Somer- set, was the most honourable to the Children of John de Beaureft. These were held to differ as much as Royal and Feudal, Soveraigny and Soveraigny; for their Mo- dely at first was very well pleas'd with that of Beaureft, and it seem'd Honourable enough while the Children of John de Beaureft, the eldest Brother (being Earl of Somerset) affirm'd the Name of their Fathers greatest Honour and Earldom for their Surname, and the rett following, quite left the Name of Beaureft, and made the other Houses call'd From this John de Beaureft Earl of Somerset and Marquess of Dorset, defended Henry Duke of Somerset, Father Natural to Charles Somerfield, created Earl of Worcester by King Hen- ry VII. VIII. And 'tis worth the noting, that this Duke Henry left the Faction of Lancaster to fol- low, and was distinguish'd upon that side by the Pope, and Richard II. have no other Surnames but Beaureft in either of the Inframments Apolitical, nor any Words to give or ensure them to any Capacity of Royal Title, or State of Sovereignty in the Crown, only purged them by the Pope's Spiritual Power from the foulness of Baffards, allowing them as Child- ren legitimate and lawfully born, but gives 'em no other Title than Joannes de Beaureft Miles, Henricus de Beaureft Clericus, Thomas de Beaureft Domini, and more the Pope cannot devise to the Baffards. But Sarbone, and some of the Beft Canonists hold, who peremptorily affirm, That the Pope cannot make Baffards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can they give his power to constitute Successors or Heirs, or hold Offices or Dignities, or to have the right of special Disposition, to which the Civil and Imperial Laws agree, and is authentic in Eng- land, as a learned and eminent Judge reports, though others think it of too severe a nature, and moderately agreeable to Reafon and Laws.

The Civil and Temporal Perils against Beau- 

fords, Sic Edw. Cok.


Nisi pro bono et merito, &c. Avunculi nostri, proprius arbitrio & munere suorum, sub eis propriae subditatum, quos hinc legitimitis, &c. in eis, &c. namque se jussi, &c. in eis, &c..

The Earl of Wores- 

com,volumi pro beneficio nostro, &c.

RICHARD, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To Our most Dear Cousins, the Illustrious John Beaufort Kt. Henry Beaufort Clerk, Thomas Beaufort Gent. and Joanna, Beaufort, Children of Our most renowned Ed Uncle, the Noble John Duke of Guinevere and Lancaster, Children German and Our Lieges, Greeting. We for the Honour and Merits, &c. of Our Uncle, out of Our own Good Pleasure, and in Consideration of his Defect, because you are Capable for your Virtuous Inclinations, and Nobility of Life and Manners, and defcended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that you are by the earneft Entreaties of Our Uncle, your Parent, to remove from you (for as is said) there is a Defect in your Birth) this Defect and all its present Consequences, We will that you be and be reputed Capable, to be preferred, promoted, elected, affirmed and admitted to all Honours, Dignities, States, Degrees, Offices Publick and Private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and personal Capacities, whatsoever definitions they be, distinguished, whether Dukesdoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending or holden of Us, and then to take hold of, and enjoy as freely and rightfully as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Customs of Our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or observed, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithstanding; with which, out of the Flaues of Our Royal Power, and with Content of Our Parliament, by the Tenor of these Prefents We dispence, and do in Consideration of the same to thee, to Birth Right and Legitimation the twenty first Day of February in the thirtieth Year of our Reign. R. II.

Here we find large Graces, Honours and Priviledges conferr'd upo th'ose Bastards; for the King calls then Confruence, they be not only confirmed by their Legalisation, but makes them (by the help of the Parliament) capable of Barons, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Princenalties; enableth them for all Offices publick and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of and enjoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands and Scigioris Heraeditialy, as lawfully, firmly, and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawfull Matrimony, but yet contrary to the Laws, and which is a noble Interest in the Crown, at the least, to the observation of those who allow not the Claim of the Beauforts and Somersets, and yet, that to reach that, there must be Words of a higher extent, Words of Empire, Majesty and Sovereignty; such as Representation, Signet, Great Seal, Diadem, Purpurs, Magnifi, and the like: Nei ther of thieves, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, so no Title to the Crown or Sovereignty cou'd pass to them.

To which the other Side replies, That there is a Word in the Charter that comprehendeth the Empire, Kingdome, and Sovereignty, that is, of Beauforts, whereof the King and Parliament make the Beauforts capable, Principes being the State of Principes, a Title of the most absolute Sovereign Power; for the Roman Emperors in their greatest Height, were call'd Principes, therefore Principes is thus defined; Principes est genere quern Janna Reip. potestas of, & qui primas omnium dominat., and Principes et Dominatus are used as Synonyms. But it is conceiv'd an Error now, to take Principes for Regnum, or Superium Dominatus, being the word Principes long before, and in the Age of Richard the II. also ever it makes his Father to be Sir Edward of Lancaster's son, and of higher Generation, and Heir apparent, not only of Kings, but also of Dukes and Marquesses, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King Henry IV. a wife, dirct, and wary Prince, though he was much inclined to those Beauforts, (as being his Natural Brethren by the Paternal side, and willing to advance them all he cou'd) yet he discover'd clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entail'd the Crown successively to his Four Sons, and to the Heirs of the Charter Bodies, that he reputed not the Beauforts to be, to be Lancasters near the Crown: Neither is there the least Clain or Mention to have a ny Remainder therein to them: First, he in taile'd the Crown to his eldest Son Henry Prince of Wales, after him to the Heirs of his Body; If they fall, then to Thomas of Lancaster his Second Son, and to the Heirs of his Body, so to John, and his third Son, and the Heirs of his Body. Lastly, to the Fourth Son Humphrey, and to the Heirs of his Body, for still, and for every Estate: The words are, Post ipsum successore Heredibus suae de ipso corpore legitimae progenies. This creandum, which is all, and implicatively an express Law in the Hands of the Crown himself, is confirmed by Act of Parliament holding at Westminster. The Two and Twentieth Day of December, and the Eighth in the Eighty Sixth Year of Henry IV. and seal'd with his own Signet. Upon the Dexter side of the Summary, that, hung the Seals of tinder Lord's Spiritual, Day of the Left side, the Seals of the Lords Spiritual, The Nobe, and family, and all the Earls, Bishop, and Family of Lancastor, Princimp and Crown cou'd not so well and rightly bear the Name of Beaufort or Somerset, being a Tudor by his Right. Father, and so to be Sainned, or of some other Wols Name (if there were any ia his Family) by his Mother he was descend'd from the Beauor Glover, forts, from Lady Margaret Countess of Dunfermline, 1499, was Daughter and Heir to John de Beaufort Duke of Somerset, (p) and Grand-child to John of Gaunt, by Katharine the Wife of Otto de Sumfor, which John de Beaufort was created D. of Somerset by Henry V. His Wife was the Daughter and at length the Heir of Sir John Beaumamp.

of Burgh, and the Widow of Sir Oliver St. John when he married her: But the Earl of Richmond, by his Grandmother Katherine Queen of England, was descended from the Kings of France; and his Nephin in a Pedigree (drawn after he was King) deriv'd from the ancient Kings and Princes of Britain. Pelidore faith, he was Ex siue Nepe King Henry VI. who call'd him Nephew, and he the King, Annunciation no. 4 for (our Uncle) instead of Patruum, as it is in the Records of the Parliament, Act 1 of Hen. VII. but that is a great error, as we erroneously now take it, that is his German younger Brother's Son, for then he had been a true Maculine Ille of the House of Lancaster and Royal Blood of England.

But he was Nephew to him by his Brother Arthur, Edward Tudor Earl of Richmond, the Son of Queen Tudor of Merkred, and of Queen Katherine, Daughter of Charles the Sixth King of France, which the French well knew, and gave him the better Etefen for it, but those Honours were obscure Additions to him that must not go less than for a Prince of the House of Lancaster and England, which was grieved with such vulgar credit in France, that Du Tillot miltook John Duke of Somerset, Father of Margaret Countess of Richmond, for the true and lawful Son of John de Gaunt, &c. by his first Wife Blanch Plantagenet, Daughter and Heir of the Earl (g) and Carlom of Lancaster. Philip de Conines, Lord of Arcachon, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title, which he gives us thus:

Hic nuntiatus, nullum durum (Come ye ejoy a la Corone d'Angleterre: And this expresseth, he had no great Opinion of either, tho' he was then King when this was writ. But let us suppise he had been demolish'd from that proud Thought, his Claim must followd whilst the Hope of Tork survived; for Richard Plantagenet Duke of York and King of England Design'd, by Act of Parliament holden 39 Year of King Henry VI. to whom these Titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, and Protecor of England were given by the Three Elites in that Parliament, descend'd from the Daughter and Heir of the Second Son of King Edward III. (For as before, so still I leave the infant William of Hesfield without the Catalogue) and King Henry IV. and his Progeny, descend'd from the Throne of the late King Henry VI. being the Heir of the House of Lancaster then living did acknowledge in that Parliament the Title of Richard Duke of Tork, the only lawful and just Title; so consequently next and better than that of Lancaster or any other; and before any Bragfort or his Heirs, the Line of the two Daughters of John Duke of Lancaster; Philip and Katharine (married to the King of Portugal and Portugal) he was to be prefer'd if Foreign Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earl of Richmond measuring his own Height by the Advantage of a Tumultuary and Indisposed Time, and finding his Lancastrian Pretence began to have a popular Retinue, he was now in compatible of any others Precedency and Proportion: For tho' Great Ones that led him by the Hands into the Action, laid the Line by their own corrupted Hopes and Fears of the Success, therefore would let the Fortune of their Expectation faint in him. Bishop Winckley flied much in the course of their Affairs, and was a great Oracle to the Earl, who was noted too Pardial and Cordulons, especially where he believ'd the Persuas of any Honesty, Virtue, or Learning, for which his Fame yet bears some Stains of Morton, Dudley, Emplin, Bray, Urfew, Knovett, &c. for there be two Extremes observed in the Councils of Princes, one, when the Prince is subject to follow the Councils of Evil Men; the other, when the Prince is too opiniated to conflate with Council; such an one as was the Hardy D. of Buckingham, was opiniated and overweening of his own Wisdom and Judgment, that he underthought all Mens ells; which wide Conscius of his hath left this Monument.

Caris. pag. xx. l. 12. Amorum Consilia & Rationes (ne Po. Hone) fequis quid autre voluerit, insignis non haec vis, tit. John vens ab alis disser, & judicavit, se proprio errore Magnus

omnium Consilia habere recorditus.

And to give us yet a further Character of Bp. Morton, Sir Thomas More (sometimes his Master) tells us, his best Inclinations were Iway'd to the dangerous Poissions and Rules of Policy; and Dr. John Vird in his Metrical History of England, brings him in an Ambodexter and Obfer-ter of Fortune, one while Yorkizing, another while Lancastrizing, thus delivering himself:

Si Fortuna mei faveit partium, siem
Egate Hrnici Sexti adaudem studeb, Edwardus nauquet amem Regis in aedem,
Sel quia suprafect stes fenentia Regi,
Henrico afferre, ac Edwardo reddere Scipionem.
Tanta mea navigatis loventia mentem, Ut sequerer partes Regis vitatu sepultus, Adefevs vivens, &c.

If smiling Fortune had my Party own'd, And the Sixth Henry's Offspring had enthron'd, I'd ne'ver have fruck to Royal Edward's Claim, Nor fill'd his Court, affilant to his Fame: But since all-potent Heaven had so decreed He grasp'd it, and King Henry's Succeed, No stupid Madness cou'd my Mind misguide With a dead King premptuously to fade

Against a living Victor

Which may be thought well said by a mere Polititian, but from a Friend it wants something of a Christian; for true Friendship and Pity will own us in the blackest Adversity and Silence of the Grave, as the Divine Ariphath something near observ'd in this elegant Stanza.

Neffin pur sapere du ei fa amaro
Quando vires in morte, qui eie vide
Pero ei ha uerti, et o fluminis elle,
Chi miustrut tuta, una medeema fede,
Se poi se camppa in trogra ul ha fata,
Volta la turba abudatia ti piode,
Et quel de cuor uma rimen forte,
Et ami il suo amico dopla morte.

No Man whil'st he was happy ever knew Allredly of whom he was belov'd, For then he hath both feigned Friends and true, Whole Faith feems both alike till they be prov'd; But he left of all the flattering Crew When from his happy State he is removed: But he who loves in Heart, remains still one, And loves his Friend when he is dead and gone.

Dr. Morton's Aims were drawn from other Rules, which with great Alacrity, made him Archbishopp and Lord Chancellor of England, and put him the next Libt into a Cardinalship, and then he flood on Tiptoes by the King,according to the Roman marshalling of States; for in the Pope's Libt of Ranges and Preferre, his Holiness is the first, then the Emperor, next a Cardinal, then
then a King: And in this, Sir Th. More notes the extremity of his Pride, to argue his Wisdom and Piety, which otherwise might have kept Him and his Memory unfaddly in their Preferments, so much our Vices impumfluate our Fames, Hypocrisy leaving the Scars but of a deform'd Care upon it at best.

By George Buck, Esquire.

The Controversie of the Union of England and Lancashire, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable Opinion of the King, (at least in the beginning of his Reign) though after (as may be observ'd) he thought those attributions but small Wyres to hold the Weight and Consequence of his Crown; nay, to render was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his loving the Titles of Tasso and Cervantes, and the brave feats of Samefer, that he seem'd tacitly to wave and quit them, and fluck to that of his Sword and Conquest; for the more publick Voice and Knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation, Proclamations made with these Titles, Henricus Rex Anglie &c. but the Barons could not fear only affay, nor condend to, tho' the King peremptorily aver'd and maintain'd he might justly affume and bear it, having as a Conquering entered the Land, fought for the Crown, and won it: They asurer as peremptorily, That he was becomea King, and both for his Kind and Virtu, and by their permission had that fair and prosperous Footing upon their Coasts; not by any Stroke of his French, who were not so many as the left Legion of the Romans, and had found but bloody Entertainment by the valiant English, if they had everee they had landed, besides, the Insurrection of a mortal Foe against the Invader, never to be exiguidid, but with an utter Expulsion and Deferration, which they humbly pray'd might be worthy of his consideration, and not to take from his loving People the just due of their Affections, by affrighting so much of his Vicroy to the French, or his Wiff Sword; fish they voluntarily opend their Arms and Country to receive him and put the Crown upon his Head; that this was their free and voluntary Act, they hoped he could not forget: And if so, why would be made such an Archivement, a Conquest, or a Purchafe of the Sword? Terms terms, the Title of Lord of England infantly echevied as he was King, which before was in controversy or in nudium, or * Abeyance (as our Lawyers say) for no Man being a Subject, how Capital and Chief a Judge, or of what Judicatory Power foever, could give a Definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous Case or Act of the King. But the King himself, which is an ancient and authentic Paragraph in the Laws of England, as learned Judge Bruden affirined.

De Charis, & de falsis regum rum possunt haftri
ciis diuiteres, nec sic opulenta quis, possunt cam interpretari, fed in submersis & sociis, & nos aliqua dicto connectas insulam, Dominis Regis expr
cendi interpretatio & voluntas, &c.

The reason is given in the Books of the Civil and Imperial Laws peremptorily, quia de primi
gulis judicio non est dispandum. So that Controversy, whether the Beaumonts or Somersets were of the House of Lancaster, or capable of the Crown or not, was nothing else but there was a competent Judge, a King, and King of England, who by that Virtue and Power decreed to himself, the Title of Lancaster, with all the Royal Aurahanes confirm'd by the Pope, as proper to himself; and then the Words French and French, had some colour to say he was De la ligne de Lancastre, &cusus genitus regali &

Principis Familiae Lancastrensis.

But the Chancellor Morton, by a more happy and plausible Inflation, term'd the Marriage an

Unio in Coniuge &c. by John Stow says, the was the firmer
up of those great and grievous Taxes which raised the People to Arms and Rebellion. Thos. Notes of his Natural Dispositions fluck like Weas upon the Face of his Religion, and from that Mind, whereby Affections jutile Religion and Confidence out, how hazardous may the Power and Consuel of sich he, to the Inclinations of a Wife Prince, but this Prate made his fo cannot

under the Heavens, the Tempers, that they deceived not his Expectation, but brought him home to his Ends, and to the Favour of a provident and wise Prince; that he was so, the World must jeffly own; and in all his Actions, we may fee him of a safe and con
trolled Will, governed by a most cautious Spirit; as great a Husband of those Virtues he had, as of his Glory; not too Modest (if I be not much mistaken) to hear of either of both which he had left us pious Tales. But the most surviving Addition of Memory, is that great Example of majesty and her Sex, Qu. Elizabeth, who was said to be like this King her Grandfa
th, as well in composition of Qualities, as Fa
vour and Lineaments, that she was the lively and perfect Image; and to use an even Hand in the Exertion of Himself and his Power, it must not be denied, (how far off ever he was at fir) after the dead of his Father, he was the head of the Patriarch of all the Right and Ti

tles which carried it, or had dependency thereon, and to conegue all in a full and perfect strength, the Title of York was confirm'd to him by Marriage of Elizabeth Plantagenet; ellsed Daughter of Edward IV. Prince or Head of that Family, afoon the Title of Lancaster infant

ly echevied as he was King, which before was in controversy or in nudium, or * Abeyance (as our Lawyers say) for no Man being a Subject, how Capital and Chief a Judge, or of what Judicatory Power foever, could give a Definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous Case or Act of the King. But the King himself, which is an advocate and authentic Paragraph in the Laws of England, as learned Judge Bruden affirined.

By George Buck, Esquire.

But the Chester Law, Morton, by a more happy and plausible Inflation, term'd the Marriage an

Unio in Coniuge &c. as proper to himself; and then the Words French and French, had some colour to say he was De la ligne de Lancastre, &c. deus genitus regali &

Principis Familiae Lancastrensis.

But the Chancellor Morton, by a more happy and plausible Inflation, term'd the Marriage an

Unio in Coniuge &c.
RICHARD THE Third.

The Life and Reign of

1485.

But it's observable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles: neither did the King publicly solicit the Pope to confirm these Two Titles, his Ambassador had that Particular in his Private Instructions: So that by this, the Pope feemeth only to confirm them, and to give them due and proper to him before, and the Titles De jure Bella, & de jure Lancafrize, fem'nd not as any Matters or Subject of the Bull, but rather some Defire the Pope had, to express a Love and Honour to the King, and that he was pleased, Ex pede jure, by the Pope's power, & certe scientia jure, to make this honourable Memorial of all the Majestical Titles in the King's Right, as the more flately Embroideries to his glorious Letters of Apostolical Indulgence, for the Dilpensation of the said Marriage convey'd, and in these words:

Pope's Charter for the Title of Lancafrize, &c. for the dispensing with the incommunis Matrimonii.

And then in the End, not in the Front, this Bull is intituled, Pagina confirmationis naftr aerprobationibus, promun~cat~m, constit~tiones, declar~tiones, suspiciones, omni~os, benedicti, in்ibiti, &c. &c. 

And when, after all the more careful repairing and curing all Haws and Defects of Titles, the Pope added, as his Grace's sayings, &c. 

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, De Domino Lancafrize, and De Jure Bella, without any seeking or Solicitation (as we are led to credit) for there appeareth not any express Suit or Motion by the King to that purpoze, though by Circumstances and Probability it was preparing under way, for the other Things were but of slight Request and no necessity, nor obnoxious to any Danger; when those two Titles were the present Marks, his Aim was strongly and mainly directed to. Though, I must confess, after a while, he was as lightly taken, as withstanding the Pope's Thunder and Lightning, added to them) as in the Titles of Turk and Lanceroff, which he discovered, and not obtrusively, when he moved the Eftates in his first Parliament, to grant an Eftate Hereditary and Entail'd of the Crown and Kingdom, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heirs of his Body: beyond this as 'twould not require much, nor they give, which was unnaturally condecd unto, as a Gift of a new Title confirm'd by their Acts; the Copy whereof I have transcribed (where I come to rehearse the Titles of our Sovereign Lord the King, that was the Rehearse of the Divination of this Piece so far, but that the Canse may be gue'd at, why he held himfelf not fale in the Titles of Turk and Lanceroff, of Beaufort and Somerset already touch'd at, but may fall more feasibly elsewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with his other Transfers, and to have them out of their time and place; my Purpoze only being, to take so much Light from the Story of Henry VII. as shall but properly conduce to the true fadowing and proportioning of K. Richard's, being necessarily incom'd to inculcate fuch Matters as may form of no precept conclusion; yet

lofing their Observation, we fhall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the Credic and Honour of K. Richard and his Acts: To which, according to the Orders and Affairs of Time, I am now to come again.

Richard was driven from Poole with the Storm, which was now again very fully raising fresh Preparations in France, and King Richard upon the Intelligence, as flickling to levy Souldiers, and re-inforce all his Forces that he could, and the Bull from Richard found it not so easy a Matter now as at firft, to draw a Party and Concurrency from France, having fped fo ill in his former Undertakings, which indeed struck a great Difcouragement in the Expectation of all his Favourers, and made his Welcome the colder to the D. of Bruton; the rather also, because he had been with the French King before he came to him, which was taken but illi, altho' the Earl could not otherwise do, being forc'd upon the Coalls of Normandy; and coming into the Road at Depe, landed, to Refresh himself and Company: From thence he intended to Rossna, which having now engage'd him thither to the King, being, (as Philip de Comines faith) follow'd in a very honourable Port, by 500 Englishmen. In his Stay there to (flew us how much Intered a provident and active Spirit hath in Fortune) he fo heighten'd and perfection'd his Behaviour to the Court, as considerably plac'd the Favour and Respect of the Greatest and Nobleft Perfon's to him. But most happily, the fair Opinion and Esteem of the Princely Lady Anne of France, eldelf Sifer to King Charles the Eighth, who had fuch an Influence upon him in his Ministries, that his four-pitch't Duke de Orense, Prince of the Blood: in a Embassy, or Miliffe whereof, he took Arms and rais'd a Civil War in France (as John Tilles and others write).

She was Wife to Petre de Bourbon Lord of Beaujan, after Duke de Bourbon: but Beaujan being his moss flately and honourable Seigniory, he was called Mouffon de Beaujan, and his Lady had to flexible an Inclination to the Earl of Rich mond's Cause, that the importuned the King to aid him with a good Sum of Money and 3000 Men, but odd Fellows: For Philip de Comines faith, they were Three mille hommes in pour mie, c'est que nous pouvons encore no better than Rogues and Thieves, the Men of base Quality and the Low Com mage. Whileth these were levying, the Earl (thirty of all Opportunities, and as diligent to add what advantage of Time and Aid he cou'd visits the Duke of Bruton in the fame purpoze. The Duke propounds it to his Council, which Peter Landis his Treasurer and Chief Counciler objects againft, with this Reafon, That if the Enterprize succeed'd well, yet the Event must fall out unhappily and ill to him; the Earl having now interced'd himelf to the Favour and Affi rmance of Charles King of France: And this wou'd be the firft Link of Bruton's Engagement, (as it was) that the Earl and his Confederacy muft be loft to Bruton when he came to be King, being refeepice tie'd to lend the King of France Aid againft them, if any Cause shou'd happen, which the King of France had a prepar'd Stomachs for, and had not been nice to seek any Pretence on the Matter, out of their time and place; my Purpoze only being, to take so much Light from the Story of Henry VII. as shall but properly conduce to the true shadowing and proportioning of K. Richard's, being necessarily incom'd to inculcate such Matters as may form of no precept conclusion; yet
for, as profitable as safe, his Advice was to
say the Earl: The Duke knowing his Coffers at
that time very lank, and that the King of Eng-
lund would offer well for him, approv'd the
Council, and releif'd to be led by LANdau (whose
Refpects (notwithstanding) were very affection-
ate to him.) No other Discourse entered my head,
Caution of some Friends, or suggetted to him by
his better Genius, fare it is, by some un-
known Means he had knowledge of it; and yet
this was determin'd but at Night, and design'd
for the Morning: But before Midnight, or the
knowledge of Prince Twelve Gentlemen his Followers, had left LANdau, and receiv'd a
Admonition (under the French King's Pro-
tection) from thence to the French Court again, the
King being still very pliable and confant to his
Promise concerning those French Forces un-
der his own Charge. The next thing he works at,
is how to enlarfe the Earl of Oxford out of the
Field of Hanmer, committed thither by Edward IV. (and in this he uses, or rather fol-
low'd indeed) the Contrivment of Dr. Morton, who held good Quarter with the Earl of Oxford,
and by his frequent Visits, had a familiar and eas-
ily the Earl of Oxford taking the
opportunity of, last it fhou'd be shut again by
some Miurichage, for Richmond thought, or fould
the Confiitution of his Defign not a little
strengthening by the Earl of Oxford's Confedera-
cy: Nor did he mistake himfelf in his Accompt,
when he let him down of Special Ufe, knowing
him a Man of an Eminent Power, widely, and
valiantly Temper'd: And to give him the stron-
geft Prefumption and Confidence, one that most
mortally hated Edward IV. and all the House of
York: To begin therefore an Obligation, the E. of
Richmond makes a Complemental Journey to
Hanmer, (See Sir Th. Monn's Hi-
story of Edward V.)
and occasion to propound himself unto the Earl
who had been partly prepared by Dr. Morton,
and therefore met him the nexte way, engag-
ing himself solely to the Premises, and (by our-
tue of an indefatigable Confidence) fits upon
his Keeper, wins him to the Faftion, and to
Paris with them. By which time, all Prepara-
tions were in readines; and whilft they make this
Stay in the French Court, the Earl of rich-
mond receive a faire Excape and Profection from
the French, and his Caffifer of Anfwer to the Forces:
This Supply came very acceptable, and however
he refented the Duke's late Purpofe upon him,
his withold him, he mutt now convert his
Anger into Thanks, which he returns with a
reciprocal Profection and Order, to fend the
Troops to Harlfsen, where his Shipping lay, and
was the Reafonable for his Souldiers.
In the end of July 1485, he took leave of the
King and his most Noble Confin Madam De
Beauch, departing for the Port of Harlfsen
in Normandy, where he met with Two Thou-
land Britth who formed the Duke honourably accommodat-
ed. But by the Way, he made some Stay at Ro-
ven, and had News which much diftemper'd him,
That the Lady Elizabeth was withforth to be
married to King Richard; this quicken'd his
Hafte for England, prefuming, his landing would
forbid the Banes, otherwise he might fit down who
he thought the Earl of Oxford might infert the
main Hope and Confequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great Prætexts
would fail, yet seemed to hear it, as a
thing that could not concern him so much, having so
preheat and provident a Wit, that in any Chance
he wanted not Council and Determination in
himself for all Fortunes; infantly releifing to
apply his Suit to her Sister the Lady Cecily: But ere he could perfectly ftufe these
Intents, they were allo countercheck'd by the next
Packet, which affur'd him the Lady Cecily was
lately married: Neither did that (after some
Collection of his Miffortune) afforce him to vary
quickly, varying his Difposition to his Fortune, he
would now fix himself upon some Choice in
Briftain, amongst his noble Friends (for the moft
defp. With Men) and treats about a Daughter of
Sir William Herbert, a Gentleman of an noble
Family; all this was paffes by the Earl of Wal-
des, who had married the eldest Daughter,
not long before, to the Earl of Northumberland,
to whom the Earl of Pembroke (by a new cre-
ated Friendship betwixt them) imposus the
whole Defign, and prefes his Comporition in
it; for by this means it was perfu'd, the gree-
test part of Walde would fall under their Com-
mand; which had no small Addition to a Ban-
ith Man's Fortune. Whilft those things were
in their Moudd, Dr. Morton gave him fuch
affurance, by Letters, of the Countries Readines
to receive him, that it was thought best to take
the Advice of the Earl regardant to the Month of July they loofe from Harflen, and
safety arrived at Milford Haven in Pembrokehire,
his Native Country: After some Refehing, he
marches to a Town call'd Haveroft Whiff, and
was enring amongst his Brith Kindred, who
therefore welcomed him as a Prince, defended from
the ancient Princes of Wales, (the Country generally
very noble and loving to their Friends)
whilf he continued amongst them, Sir Rilde
Thomas, Sir Wolfer Herbert, Sir John Savage, Sir Gilbert
Tailoue (who drew his young Nepheh the Earl of
Shy into this Action with him) and divers
other of the Earle of Oxford's Brothet, with a
considerable Body of Forces. His Army thus strong and united, he
putts the Seavas, and marches to Lififfeld, pur-
posing to hold out to London, if the King had not interpo'd it, who, though he lay at N-
tingham when the Earl landed, and while he
marched through Wales, had conftant Spies upon
him. But as no Policy or Law can secure their
Faith, that think they may difpife with it, fo
All Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition
and Ingratitude urges Merit: And to fhew there is
not much of our Face in our own Providence,
when this King thought the Nobility molt firm
in his feate, commencing to put them at the
conffart upon their Conffany, they make a prefent and
general Deduction to the other; but he had
heightened and contracted his Revolution and
Judgment to the greatnefs of his Caufe, and was
not now to be outbid by Chance or Danger.
The next Day (which was Sunday about Evening)
puifling through Lefher in open Pomp, the
two mafla-
Corwn Royal on his Head; with him John D. of
Norfolk, Marthal of England, the Earl of Su-
rey, the Earl of Walfomartland, the Vifcount La-
vel, and other of the Nobility and Gentry at
wings. Readie Heart the Armies came an Interview,
and put themselves in array: The next Morn-
ing, early, there was some Conference held in
the King's Tent, by those Peers and others of
principal Trufh, who gave him particular Infor-mation of all thofe secretly revoluted; and it much
amaz'd him, the Earl of Northumberland
was among the most conftant and forward in his Refpects and Favour, there-
fore where he had confert'd fo much, he sus-
pected little. But no Obligations are religious if
not held. And alfo the Conflict he froid
but as neutral, yet the faddennes and example
of it drew many from the King, even at the In-
stant.
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third,

1485. flung when he was ready to arm himself: Yet this was not of so great and servile amazement unto him as the Lord Stanley's Defection: who, in pledge of his Faith, had left his Son George Stanley, whilst his Wife (the Earl's Mother) had made her full belie Perjuries of stronger Tye, and fish-induced him to the Lancastrian Side, he being with 200 Men at Philip de Cussant be not mistaken; for our Stories have but 5000. But it was a very great Defection, and made the Earl's Army far stronger: so that the chiefest Point of Contestation now, was how to preserve him by Flight, and the recovery of the Hold, under great Tempest, and Karter'd or spent its violence, which they conceiv'd could not be long, if the Camp broke up and once dissolv'd. But no Argument could fall on him, tho' the benefit of a Swift Horse was offer'd at his Tent Door, nor the Futility and Portent of Prodigies, related by his Friends, as prefiguring some Inevitable Calamity, and that Prophetical Prediction, Jack of Norfolk be not too bold.

For Dickeon shy Matter is bought and sold. The thee things aggrandiz'd, the weakness of his Army object'd, Countess, Perquisitions, Terrors, Prodigies, Prophecies, could not make him hear; so fatally refolute he stood in the Jealousie and Reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily proffering, He would rather adventure Life, Crown and Fortunes, than his Honour to a cowardly and fainter Concoction. This might prove of a desperate Will, if he had not afterwards given an Apodixis in the Battel, upon what Plat-form he had project'd and rais'd that Hope, which as it had much of Danger in it, so of an inconscius and great Resolution, and might have brought the Odds of that Day to an even Bet; for knowing the Earl to be th' only and appentant after Glory and Renown, but of an unpractis'd Skill in War, and as inferior in Courage to him, he had project'd (in manner of Stratagem) so soon as the Armies approach'd ready for the Charge, to advance himself before his Troops, and give the Signal of his Foot's and the Signal of a Combat. And to provoke and single him with a more glorious Invitation, he wore the Crown Royal upon his Head, the fairest Mark for Valour and Ambition. Polidore says he wore it, thinking that Day should either be the End or the First of a Better, which may as well be a reason of his wearing it Three Days before at Leicester, when he rode from thence to Bosworth. But don'doubt, by it he intended chiefly, that the People might see and know him to be their King: And tho' that flood ar'm'd against him, looking upon that Imperial Example, who under the Hands and Vociyes had set it, should by the Awe and Sovereignty of it, consider how lately they had aw'dom'hod him their lawful King; and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegiances, they feared, they might so fondly bound to defend him and his Title as it, again as all others. Whatever was his Myth, it render'd him a valiant and confident Master of his Right; and in the Confinacy of Hope and Resolution, he gives order for the Battel: The Armies confronted, and whilst the Alarm and every Blow began to be hot and furious, forth braved King Richard towards the Earl, waiting him by a Signal, who seem'd readi- dily to accept it; and pricking his Horse forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompt'd their Spirits and Ambition: For a good Author tesfifeth that Gano Rich- mond<div></div>divides super Regem Richardum, &c. But 1485.

His Car"on so farz, and Mars became Retrogade, it being but a nimble Train, to draw the King on to some Disadvantages, or elie not like his furious Approach, for suddenly he makes halt, and with as much Credit as he could (and no Harm) recover'd the Vantage of the Hold, wherby English and Scotch had so much speed and serceness, that he forc'd him to his Standard: And now, high in Blood and Anger (to see his Valour deluded by fuch a Politrick Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his own Hand flew Sir Charles Brandon, Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer, thinking to have made the next Blood of the Earl his Father to the Dread of Soulinders interjected, refuge him, Sir John Brandon, Cheney being one of the foremost, whom the afterward King struck from his Horse to the Earth, but D. of Suffolk, charged and inuiron'd with Multitudes (that like a Storm came on him) Valiant Richard falls the Sacrifice of that Day, under their cruel Swords, so barbarous in their Execution, as if his Body must fail more, because they could not kill his Better Part, mangleing and wounding his dead Corps whilst it lies drench't in Gore. Est Lupus & Turpes infans morsibus abyfi, Et quacques minor deludentes fera et. Foul Bears and Wolves influt and tear the Skin, With each Inferior Savage of the Plain.

As Curs in their Kennels will bite and tear the Skin of those Beasts which in the Field they durft not bark at: Occidit in bella vis sentantium cado Richardus, Crimibus attrauitus, durn feoro fociat boisi. Drag'd by the Hair to Hoftile Swords a Prey, And slain with barbarous Wounds the vanquish'd Richard lay. And after all (to complete their Barbarism) threw his Body behind One upon a Jade, and convey'd it to Leicester. A Story to be thought incredible, at least to charitable and model'd Ears, and highly upbraided by the happier and Christian Fame of William the Conqueror, who fewest pun'd a Soul with the Sign of slaying the Thigh of King Harold after he was dead, though an Ulfeper and his peridious Enemies with all noblest caus'ing the Body to be delivered to his Mother for an honourable Interment, which was solemnly celebrated in his own Abbey at Wulfham, Hen. How- ington.

The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was crown'd in the Field with that Crown King Richard wore, which the Lord Stanley put upon his Head, and watered him King, by the Stile of the Henry VII. King of England, &c. and Henry Henry. Ford of Richmond Earl of Richmond Son of Edmund as Meredith ap Tendor (alias of Hadkam) Earl of Richmond, and in the Blood of the Earl of Devon, and the Kings of Ecosse, and the Earl of Shottland, by the Duke of Somerset attain'd to the Crown, and had the easier acent by the Overfight and Reminifches of Richard in that Cataftrophe of his Reign, who gave too much Opportunity and Scope to the Actings of his Enemies when they were under his Power and Arm. And in the Fortune of his Judgment (at the closing of the Scene) that did not better pre-fuppofe his E- nemny too prudent and refer'd, to truth the Advantage he had upon so sharp and fingle an Hazard: But Richard believ'd he had the odds in Courage and Monomachy of him, which prov'dly might make him hold the Combate, and so of the Field (the Strait being so de- ferter too) refolv'd rather to truth to the Fate of his own Valour, than the Chance of an uncertain Eleaf: A Resolution not to rash and overweaving,

The Challenges of James VI. and the Age, the valiant Prince James the Fifth of Scotland, in person challenged Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk, General for the King of England, who accepted it; but the King into his Demands would have the Country or Lands then in controversy, to be made Brandon's, which was without the General's Power to engage, being the Inheritance of the King his Master, but proffer'd better Lands of his own upon the Combate, which was not accepted, so that concluded nothing.

The better End of these Challenges and Combates, being at first look'd from Mercy and Piety, for by this Single Adventure, the Innocent Blood of Armies was (more than flam'd) profer'd, Forreign Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generals in the like Examples, which this Age draws a Curtain before as not fit for Imrulatures, making too derogate a Wound in asettled State and Succession; the first who render'd that (or some more Politick) Reason for Princes not to adventure themselves, was Philip II. King of Spain, (as a late Writer auctcribed) but is mi'laken, for the more ancient Histories of Syria and Persia incursion some Kings that refrained from Wars long before; as Herodotus, Diodorus, Tacitus Pompeius tell us: but let us take measure from that Times, Wifdom, Valour, Policy, etc. to this, and we shall find them but tortherning Foundations of States which cannot upbraid the Divine Decree of God, when he intends to scourge or alter Kingdoms; for where such Vicitudes are de'n'd, the Counsels and Faculties of Men must be darkned, and there will cut out all Concurrences and Advantages to further that Purpose. So in the Extirpation and Tranferring the troubles by breaking one Jarr to make another, whose fatal Commutations should extinguish the Piety of our Natures, and make us modest Confiners of their Events: For as we see things but thro' a Cloud, whilf we measure them by Accidents, so we introduce on God's Providence, judging Men's Actions in their Success, while we overact our own. Of such a Composition was the ill-will of King Richard, who forgot him not in his Grave, but endeavour'd to be equally cruel to his Memory: And in November following a Parliament was holden, in which he was accused of High-Treason: a Strain very high to make him guilty of that; being a King, he could not commit. By the same Figure may others, who were fill'd Chief Aiders and Affiliates of King Richard in the Battel of Bosworth, as Sir John Howard Duke of Norfolk, &c. though condemn'd from the Court all Richard's Reign. But Sir Thomas Moor afirns, he was constantly with him and near his Counsels, Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke: Frances Lloyd Vicount Lovel, Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Fer-


Thefe of Note that were taken, left their Heads at Leicester two days after, being St. Bartholomew's-Day, and had a Glimpfe like that Bartholomew in France in our Time; all fuch Slaughters from thence call'd BARTELEMS and BARTELEMISS, simply in a perpetual Sigmas of that Burchery. It is further, the Duke of Norfolk was slain The Duke in the Battel by the Earl of Oxford, and the of Norfolk Story of Croiyland beemeth to lay as much; bly an Comes Oxoniæ valentissimi miles in eam alam qui de Oxford. Dux Norfolciæ constabat crat in agrò (de Red- more) tum Gallicorum tum Anglicorum militum Commentarius Sebastiani, &c.

Amongst thefe that escaped the 2d Defining The Earl of that Day, was the Earl of Surrey, Sir Itho. of Surrey Howard Vicount Level, Sir Thomas Stafford, and his Brother N. Stafford, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Foreign Countries and Sanctuaries, obferving themselves till the Storm and Smart of that Day's Mery were past. But some would maintain Thomas Earl of Surrey to be one of them that submit- ted to the New King at Bofworth, immediately after the Overthrow, which must not be believ- ed, if we understand the Composition of thofe Times and Affairs: For certain it is, the E. Richmond has perpetually profcrib'd all that, he had caufe to fear or hate, whose Names are partly in the Rolls, kept in the Chapel of the Convertites in Chancery-laws, and partly omitted by the Scribes.

Now the Earl of Surrey of all the rest, was to think anddifmal that time, could be no Excuse left for his Life. And therefore let no Man think he was taken or submitted, but took an happier Seafon some Months after. The Relation and Truth is (by the Warrant of one that well knew him, and the inner-pallage of his Fortune) the Earl opportunely left the Field, but fo weakened that Faintafts and Night conftrain'd him to the Houfe of a Gentleman not far from Notting- ham, and one that bare a faithful Refpect to the Earl and his Family, until he was recover'd. In the mean time, that terrible Parliament held in the next November was conclu- ded, and the King's Deifes reasonably well appeased, in feeing the Execution of his New Laws past upon some of them.

After which, (some small distance of time) followed a gracion Pardon to all the Offenders in that Causes, which proffer'd Mercy this Earl laid hold on, having to confer himself (by his Submission) his offences, consider'd, being but an Act of Loyalty to his Master. But this confi- dence sent him to the Tower; for tho' the Vio- lence of the Storm appeard well calm'd, yet the
the King retain'd some Heavings of it in his Thoughts: And this Improvisement continued from his first Year of Reign unto the Fourth; and towards the beginning of that, being in the Tower with Queen Elizabeth (to whom he was shortly after to be married) he took occasion to call for the Earl, (bearing fill a gut of the same Tempf of his Brow) and challenged him upon the old Quarrel, his Service to the late Ulifper and Tyrant, (as he niftly termed the Raffe) the Earl had moved his Pardon, and more fatisfactory Consideration to the Nature of his Offence, which Thoufands more conceiv'd to be but a due effect of their Liege Duties, and Allegiance to a Prince fo lawfully, and with all General fufferance crownd, whose Ticle he held himfelf bound to defend by the Law of God and Nations, and would die in defence of him and that Crown, though he fhould find it upon a Stake: The King left him with a ftern and ruffling Reply, but in cold Blood better acknowledged his Integrity, and thought he would come of no lefs Value to him, having made him to haffte home to his Patro- don, which soon after he granted him; nor did the Earl lofe ought of that Opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privy Council, then Lieutenant or Governor of the North, and General againft the Scots, whom he overthrew; as fatal was it to them as it was to him, where he took their King in the time of Henry the Eighth, who made him High Marshal and Treafurer of England, and refoluf'd to his Father's Dukefdom, the Inheritance of his Grandmother Mowbray, being a Man of fuch a happy Direction in his Carriage and Wifdom, that all his Actions came home with profperous Suc- cefs, and accumulated what was fometime spoken of his great Ancenftr Howard, of whom it was question'd, Utrom fcelism an euerius efte, fo Fortunate and Honourable hath that Houfe been in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognition, it holds with the moft Ancient Families, the Extractions and Propagation from Mowbray, Warren, Bruce, Dalbery, Marshall, Segrave, Plantagenet, Brother- ton, Bigot, Fitt-Allen, Matravers, Buckingham, Oxford, and Dores: The Father of which Hel- ward, was Leofrith Lord of Barns, and the ad- diction Lineaffure Howard, was the Earl's Father an Arm'd Houfhold, the Lady Edna, defcended from the great Olaf, a Duke amongft the Eafterlings in King Edgar's time: In whole Family, I alfo find a Noble Kinman of his called Howard (to note other) This Howard was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Perfomage, unif'd with an equal Strength and Valour (to whom tmitter Belfius, much, or too much devoted to Mars. He ferved in the Wars of Northumberland, Corn- wall and Ireland; and after in the Lower Ger- many, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a fair Lady called Tusfrida, the Daughter with the Queen of Flamerich, where he continued until the Death of his Father 'call'd him Home. About which time, William Duke of Normandy made his Conqueft of this Kingdom, and had gratify'd Johanif Taulou the French Count, now Earl of Holland, with Leofrith's fee of this Earl the Earle of Northumberland, and the Count very rudely had efpul'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Polleflions and Dower. Hewardus feft upon him with fuch Forces as he could fpeditely rafe, took, and held him Prisoner in defiance of the Conquef- tor, till himfelf recommodated for what he had done with a large Sum of Money. This drew thofe of the Nobility to the protection of his Sword, which the Con- queftror had chaf'd out of their Country, who had forfiedy themselves in the ifle of Ely, and made their owne General, whereby he faw a Cattle that a long time after had his Name. But the Normans took that Advantage to infell their Country, and put him again to the Recovery of it, which he fo fortunately fetted, that the Conqueftror was contented to make him his, and hold the good favour of what he lived. He was buried in the Abbey of Greyneld: Consider- ing his Life by the Lady Tusfrida, there is mention only of a Daughter named Tusfrida, mar- ried to Hugo Ennermus, Lord of Deeping: But cir- cumfance will perfwade us, he had other Life, if we confider him in the like of his Strength and Ability, and that divers contmued of his Sir-name in that Country a long time after him, which makes it probable, he had a Natural Son, (at leat, bearing his own Name of Howard) that next to him was the Original Anceftor of this Houfe of Howards: And let not be thought any Disparagement the ho- noy of Noble Families from the Baffard- ral Life; for many Princely Families have been den't and propagated from Natural Sons, as was Eneas, Romulus, the Founders of the Ro- man Families; So was Theofius and Themisacle, Lyv- as Platharch witteth; others lay as much of Her- cules.

The King of Spain defcended from Henry de Trastamara, Bafe Son of Alfonbus the Jufticer, King of Castile. And who doth not honour the Prince of Wales the Conqueftror, Baff- Son to the Duke of Normandy? Where was a more Heroical Man than Robert Earl of Glouce- cer, late Son of King Henry I. The Earls of Warren defcended from Hamelin, a bafe Son of Geoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou: The Noble Herberts are also faid to come from a bafe Son of Henry the First.

And the Duke and Earls of Somerset (which followed the re-covered the Off-Spring of the Beauforts, Natural Sons of John de Gaunt.

For a further Conjecture, why thef: Howards must be defcended from Howards or Herewards (for fo fome Writers call him; but Ingulfus, who knew him, confamment calls him He- wards) both Names may fence in the fame, Chief Cadis, father an Arm'd Houfhold, the Roman call'd Imperator.) And that the Ti- tles and Names of great Offices have given Sir- names to many Noble Families, we have Exam- ples in plenty; Particularly, the Fiftants of Mil- lan, the Chamberlaines of Normandy, the Stewards of Scotland, the Boflers of Ireland, and divers oth- hers, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Anceftors and Fathers; and the fame Prefumption or Argument may be for taking the Sir-name of Howard, and the Origine of their Family from Howards, the Howards from the time of Howard, dwelling in thefe Countries of Holland and Marlfont, and were Lords of some Lands belonging to him, until by their Matches, with the Daughters and Heirs of Fisk- ton, Tendering, Mowbray, Tilney, &c. they became poiffiffed in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Berkshire, and were Lords fometime of Summing-hill near Sherfield. (For or with small interruption) the old Sir-name written Howard, or Hereward in Charters and Records, and Howard in Stories. But defend we th'o- the Succession of fome times to William Howard, Chief Jufticer in the Reign of Edward I. Grandfather of Edward the Third, father of the Earl Marshal, admiral of the North Fleet, in the Naval Wars of Edward III; his Son Sir Robert Howard married the Daughter of the
By George Buck, Esquire.

1485. the Lord Seale, and Sir John Howard (who liv'd in the time of Henry IV. and died Anno 16. Henry VI.) had two Wives, Margaret Daughter and Heir of Sir John Plain Knight, by whom he had Elize, who was married to John de Vere Earl of Oxford, who brought him a goodly part of the Howards Lands: Her Heirs were married to Latimer and Wimfield, very fruitful Families. His second Wife was the Daughter and Heir of Sir William Tendering of Stoke-Nayland, and by her he had married his eldest Son, who married Margaret Mawbray, Daughter of a Cadet of the House of Lan caster, who became Co-heir with her Siter the Lady Berkeley, Wife to Thomas Mawbray Duke of Norfolk, dead in Venice, and left his Son Henry Howard Heir to Howard and Mawbray; and John Howard, the Son of John Howard, was created Earl of Norfolk by King Richard III. in the right of his Mother Mawbray, he married the Daughter of the Lord Martins, and by her had Thomas Howard, the first Howard Earl of Surrey; this is he who survived the Danger of Bosworth Field, and was afterwards created Earl of Norfolk, from whom all the Howards now living are Descended, whose Family hath been so fruitful to furnish this Kingdom with four Dukes, many Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, three High Treasurers, six High or Great Marshals, ten High Admirals, and the Earls of the Merchants House, Privy- Seal, and many Chamberlains of the King's House; and one lately lived who had born the Offices of High Conable, Lord Lieu tenant, Lord high Steward, Marshal and Admiral of England, Chief Justice of the better Part of this Kingdom, and Chamberlain of the Royal Household, a Man honorable In his Deportments, and fortunate in his Undertakings; as at the great Marine Battles against all the Naval Powers of Spain, the Pope, and Princes of Italy, Anno Dom. 1588. and in the Siege of Cadiz, An. Dom. 1596.

And this is the Grand Child of that Thomas Lord Howard, who for his better Distinction and perpetual Honour is styled Triumphant Scenery.

I have stray'd into this Digression, as a grateful Tender of an Acknowledgment I owe to that illustrious Family, and their Noble, Patriotic, and Favour to my Ancestral, especially to that Unfortunate Butcke and his Children, who wicder'd with the white Ro'e, (bearing an ancient and Hereditary love to the House of York, and in good Credit and Favour with the King his Master) nor let this Remembrance of him, and his noble Family, even Offension or Vain-glory, whilst I say no more than what other Histories dictate, which give him an able Character. Master Camden Claudius (in his Immortal Britannia) deriveth this Sir John Butcke, from Sir Walter de Butcke of Brabbm and Flanders, who flourished at the greatest Part of their History from the Castle of Butcke in Liège, a City and Frontier Town in Flanders, where the ancient Earls were accustomed much to reside; the Ruins of this Castle remained in the late time of Ludwike Génezarden, who faith, He saw the Carcusses thereof, and discovered to the Prince (then Duke of Brabant and Earl of Flanders) to King John, with Auxiliary Troops: Roger Wunderer Litch, Walter Butcke, Gerard de Decavre, and Colomiton, servant in Argyllam cum multitudine hominum militum, &c. and he did the King excellent Ser vice here (as many of our Historians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him with Lands in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire: 1485. And in Yorkshire (where he made his Seat) he found an ancient Family of the Surname of Bucke of Ffylmorpe, in the Wipenakate of Bargyolle, where that Family had anciently been, (for the Name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and meaneth the Sycamore Tree, or Beech Wood) here Walter contracred Alliance, and married Ralph de Bucke his Eldest Son, to the Daughter and Heir of Goceline de Bucke, Grandchild to Richdolph de Bucke, who in a later age, and Benefactor to the Abbey of Bredlington, (as is mentioned in the Charter of Henry I. made for the Foundation of that Monastery,) and from this Walter descended John Bucke Knight, who married a Strell, and was so constant in his Affection, that (alh' he died in this Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the Rhads, his Arms are yet to be seen in the Ruins of the Hospital of St. John's near Smithfield, and in the Church of Allhallows at the Upper end of Lombard-street, which was repair'd and enlarg'd with the Stones brought from that defolat'd Canoby: He liv'd Duke Bucke, his Son (who died in the Life of the Prince) as I have seen by the Date of his Deed in Hertthill, Anno 1 Ed. 1. & An. 22 Ed. 1.

From this Knight of the Rods descended Sir John Bucke, who for his too much Forwardness in Charging a Fleet of Spaniards (without the Earl of Arundel) the Lord Admiral, was committed to the Tower, (as testified in the Records there Anno 12.) Richard II. Lawrence Butcke his Son, followed Edward Plantagenet Duke of York, and was at the Battel of Agincourt with him, when he was Slain: John Butcke Knight, the Son of this Lawrence, married a Daughter and Heir of the late Earl of Devon, of which Family are descended the Barons Perres of Kendall and Rose, Queen Katherine (the last Wife of King Henry VIII.) the Lord Peres Marquefs of Northampton, and the Herberts Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery.

The Butcke Residing for the most Part at Wel-Stanton, and Hertburt in Yorkshire, and match'd into the Families of Strell, and Searl, by which, we have much noble Kindred; Sir John Bucke for his Service to the House of York, espe cially at the Battel of Fladgell, where he married the Daughter of Henry Searl, by whom he had Robert Bucke and other Children, who were brought into the Southern Parts by Thomas Duke of Norfolk, where they have remain'd ever since; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miserable Estate by the Attachers of the same Father. But the Duke befriend'd two Daughters in Marriage, one with the Heir of Bucke, the other, with the Heir of Fitz-lewis, very ancient Families, from which Matches divers Honourable and Noble Perfons are descended. The Sons were: one a Son, the other a Count, the latter, the last Howard the Duke befriend'd Robert Bucke, the Eldest Son at Melford-Hall in Suffolk, and married him into the Families of Highnam and Cotton, as also did the Blunts of Blunts, the Talbots of Grafton, from whom the Barons of Munific, and the late Earl of Shrewsbury befriend'd; one of the Daughters of this Bucke married to Frederick Tymes of Shel ley-Hall in Suffolk, his nearest Kinman by the Dutchess his Mothers side. But some perhaps must call this my Vanity, I shall but answer them, that I think my self bound (by the Blood and Memory I claim from them,) to pay them my self. Relations and Endowments, ac knowing with the great Confular Philosophers, Parentes chartarum habeat deoemus, quod ab Vol. I. 532 53.
The Argument of the Third Book of the Life and Reign of Richard III.


Quod tibi non vis alteri ne feceris.
He wrote many Poems and Epigrams, and was highly esteemed by his Praisers and Admirers, as is evident from many Letters and Notes on his Works. The following is an extract from one of them:

"The man who wrote the following lines is known to all:"

`Yet he wrote many Poems and Epigrams, of which we have seen a few. Among them were some in praise of Sir Walter Raleigh, which were published in 1591. These poems were highly esteemed by his contemporaries and are still read and admired today."
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

very excellent Ingredients and without Peer in his time; yet his Values had the fling of much Detraction, and the Worth of his many glorious good Works interpreted for Vices and Excesses; to fich it must be said, good and false values oft. And if their Injustice suffer under the fame Jahn, they must know this doom hath the credit of an Oracle, quod vero

heavens cut damn. And if his Relations cannot deny then he infinuates and dives into the Peoples Hearts: fo where he expresses the Bounty and Magnificence of his Mind, it is a subtle Trick to purchase Friend-ship; let him conceal the Know ledge of his In-justice, if he fhall have the blessing of his Mercy and Clemency extended to the high-efl Offenders, (as to Pogge the Attorney, who had made a Libel against him, before the Coun-terfeiting of his Hand and Seal) they were but palliated, and his Friendship merely a Court. Brow. They have yet a more capricious and subtle Calumny, reproaching the Calling of his Eyes, Motions of his Fingers, Manner of his Gufure, and his other natural Actions.

I confefs with Cicero that status, inccefs, fijfio, occupant, vulus, ocnun, munum muto, have a certain kind of Decorum, but he makes it not a Vice to err in any of them, nor any Error committed in them was a Vice; another in him it must be fo defined by the Laws of Utopia: Nay, they will difpleaf his very Sleeps, to find Prodigies Dreams and Bug-bears, (Accidents frequent to themselves) which they dref in all the Fright and Horror Fiction and the Stage can add, who would have fung. Pears to his Glory, had his Sword brought Victory from Bawforth Field: But now, their Envy is born with him from his Mother's Womb, and delivers him into the World with a Strange prodiy of Teeth; altho' (I am perfuaded) neither his Father nor Sir Thomas Thake with the Dutches his Mother, or her Midwife, about the matter.

But if true; it importeth no reafon why thofe early and natallies Teeth fhould prefage such Horror and Guilt to his birth; when we fhall remember thofe many Noble and Worthy Men who have had the like, (without any imputation of Crime) as * Marcus Caius Sirmam there-upon Dunatns, Cu. Pappins, King of the Envpris (a Prince much renowned for his Victories and Virtues) Manoar Son of Praqias King of Britanies, born with an intire Semicircular Bone in the Head of his Father, (I know not whether) they aggravate the Pangs of the Dutches in their Tra-

vail with him: which had not been fufferable, without Death, if fo extram and intolera-ble, as they would have them thought for,

Quod feri potest esse quo, quod nume, brevis eft.

What can be born is light: what cannot: short.

But the over came them and lived almost Fifty years, and after years; others have died in that Bed, yet was bar-rit the Children not made Guilty of Murther: *Juflus to To-berme, the Daughter of Jufiuls Cariar, Wife to great Prou-" cessions, and more merciful for his Mother, a Daughter of Datalvuii and Julia Claudia the Empreft, and Wife of Caligula, died all of the Difficulties and Extremitie of their Child-bearing; so did Q. Elizabth Wife of King Henry VII. and since the Mother of that motl: towardly and hopeful Prince Edward VI. in travails of his Birth; with many Thoofand more, whose Deaths (mucl. left their Pains) were never imputed to their Children.

The next Objection is somewhat of more re-gard, (but as far without the certainty of a Proof) which is the pretended Deformity of his Face, as it is by Juftus to Toberme the chronic depo-"torily alledged it was not deformed, of which Opinion was John Snow, a Man indifferently inqulitive (as in all their other Affairs) after the verbal Relations and Perfons of Princes, and curios in his Description of their Features and Lineaments, who in all his Inquiry could not fuch Notce of Deformity in this King; but hath acknowledged voce voce, that he had spoken with some ancient Men, who from their own Sight and Knowledge affirmed he was of bodily Shape compley enough, only of low Statoe, which is all the Deformity they proportion; and monitioned that who knew him, and writ much in his Description, obferve any other: And Archibald Quinslaw,Ambassador unto this King from Scot-land, in his Oration says, he had corpus exiguum; not otherwife; fo (to my conceit) Philip de Ca-mines and the Prior of Croyland (who had seen and known this Prince) feem to clear him im-"plicatory; for in all their Discourses of him, they never directly nor indirectly, covertly or apertly, infinuate this Deformity which (I fup-"pole) they would not have paifed: And by his fullory Figures which I have feen, there was no fuch Deformity in this Prince on or Lindigoe, but all decently compaflied to his Stature, his Face of a warlike Affect (which Sir Tho. More in his callen a craved Village) of all the Children be-"ing faid to be more like his father in favour and compofition of Shape, who the not call was of an even and well disposed Structure.

And Sir Thomas More himfelfe, doth not cer-"tainly affirm the Deformity, but rather fews to take it as a Malitious Report: for, faith he, King Richard was deformed as the Fame ran by thoife that hated him; habebus rumo confcntiunt, and forely it had been a strange Kind of Comfi-"

*Sir Thomas More describes them thus: He was little of Stature, ill-featured, of limbs, Crook-backed, his Left Shoul-der much higher than the Right, he was flaid favourite of his Father, the Duke of York, and so it is reported, that he could not be Delivered of him, unles he came into the World with his Feet forward, and not that ofmf".

Holinhead's Description of him is much the fame: He was small and little of Stature of Body greatly deform'd, the open and a part of his Face hidden, (as fuch as the fit of his Affe) a Man would judge it to favour and smell of Malice, Fraud and Deceit.

Mr. Sachev cannot avoid error; there is no mention even in Dr. Shew's Speech of King Richard's being like his Fa-ther in his Countenance, his Words were, in the very Noble Prince, the Special Pattern of

"knightly Proofs, as well in all Prince behaviour as in the Lineaments and favor of his Village, representing the ve Face of the Noble Duke of York, his Father. Hol. p. 728. Sir Thomas More writes, That the People instead of Approaching this Har~ngage, stood afar'd at the Preacher, who for mere Shame hid himself, and not long after yield away to Death. Holf. p. 70. & Rich. III.
1483. Pulpit at St. Paul's Crof; whilst the Protector was present, before many Hundreds of People, (who had seen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; in the whole, the Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the Splendor of whose Person shone out in all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments of his Body and in the Favour of his Visage, refer- Ving the present Face of the Noble Duke his Father; this is the Father's own Figure, this is his own Contenance, the very fine and in- damble In and express Likeness of that Noble Duke.

Now, what can Malice extra out of this, so unbd or figurate his Honour: if Men of blemish'd Parts may contain a Wife, Vu- lant, Learned, Liberal and Religious Soul, and be in every Part most absolute, compared to us in many famous Men; and at our Home (as well in this present Age as in the more ancient) we have had Men of a harth Fabric, most nobly furnish'd in the Compositions of their Minds.

But because that Cawis could not fetch Blood from him, they will make him guilty of other Things that are not out of the reach of the Noble Duke Henry VI. which Murder they say (and very favourably) his Brother Edward contrived, but wanted him to act; it an Accusation of very harth Credit, that either King Edward, so truly noble and valiant a Prince, should put a Prince and his own Brother, upon so horrid a Thing, or he induce to her Sin. Sir Thomas Moore holds King Edward would not engage his Brother in so bloody a Office, there being many Reasons that he durst not, neither do his Adveraties charge him directly by any credible Author of that Time, or discover by whom this Murder was done. This Prior of Canterbury makes it so formidable.

The temporary invention of corpus regis Henrici sexti examine in turre Londinilium. Paracel Sus., & spatium punctum et dem su gnicnum sacrilega manus in Clericlin Domini anus summata, unde & egere tyranus & patres glorius murtruc tium movatur, etc.

That is, At this Time the Body of King "Henry VI. was found Dead in the Tower of London. May God spare, and give time of Repealation to him, who hath dared to lay Sacrilegious Hands upon the Lord's Anointed, AND A CHARM was put upon the person of a Tyrant, as the Sufferer that of a Glorious Martyr.

Tyranus in the proper Confrontation, being Rex, for who soever is Rex is Tyrannus, according to the ancient Signification; for amongst the Greeks Tyranus was said to a King simply, good or bad, and this (some hold) makes against King Edward; Richard being Duke of Gloucester then, yet so doubtfully as may be relented by good Authority; for it is the Opinion of very good Men, Henry VI. was not murder'd, but died of natural Sickness, and extr- edentibus sibi agricultores quam animi vero innumeravit, & sic ego corporis & inter membra pestilentia duxi; i.e. "Henry King VI. for ma- ""ny Years, by reason of a Sickness which had been, after him, had contrated a certain Weak- ness of Mind, and so remained for a long time both diseased in Body and disfigured in Mind. This confider'd with the Aggravation of his Character by Provosts in the City, who had the Crown and Liberty (being then a Prisoner) the Overthrow of all his Friends and Forces in the Battel of Towknbury, but (above all) the Death of his Son the Prince, might make a stronger Heart and Constitution than his, in a shorter Term, so Opinion is received and al- leaded by a learned and discreet Gentleman.

The occasion of the Murder of King Hen. Amny- stai, vi. hath no other Proof but the malicious Affirmation of one Man; for many other Men more truly did supposte that he died of Grief and Melancholy, when he heard the Over- throw of his Gaud and Enemies, with the Sluflher of the Prince his Son: And Johannes Majes in H. 6, his faith it was reported, King Henry VI. died in captivity of Grief and Thought. Concerning the Slu- ther of the Prince his only Son, it is noted to be certain and altogether his Will: Murther; for the King demanding him, how he invaded his Kingdom, his Reply was, that he might, and ought to do it, in defence and Pre- The fervation of the Right, which the King his Fa- ther and his Heirs had in the Crown; and main- taining this latest Answer so peremptorily and boldly, the King in rage struck him with his Filt, (as some fay armed with a Gauntlet) and insatnantly the Noblemen attending, as George Politus Duke of Clarence, Marquess of Dorset, the Lord Har-Vigil, Sir Edwardings and others, drew their Swords upon the 74, Prince of Wales; and this would make the particular Fact of Duke Richard.

But to the contrary, I have seen in a faithful Manuscript Chronicle of those times, that The Duke of Gloucester only of all the great Per- sons, stood still and drew not his Sword; the Reasons to credite this are, first it might be in his mere Sense of Honour, feeing so many drawn upon him, there was no need of his, or in his respects to the Prince's Wife, who (as Johannes Ana, near Majerus faith) was in the Room and near a-kin E. fii, to the Dutches of York his Mother, and to Richard, whom the Duke was also very Affectious, in which he the former-mentioned was Man- tained in marrying her; y, this Duke being in an ob- stinacy of noble Actions in his Bofom, which milking the obscure and mean Burial of Henry VI. this Prince's Father, he caus'd his Corps to be taken from Clerisy, and to be ho- norably convey'd to the Royal and Stately Chappel of Windsor, ordained for Kings.

And Sir Thomas Moore faith further, He was suspected to have the contriving Part in the Richard Duke of Clarence his Brother's Death, yet not-gal- lant feelth it was commonly said Richard oppos'd the D. himself against the Unnatural Proceedings of the King, but the fearfully and publicly observable was the truth is, it was the King's own immovable and inexorable Doom who thought it jutly and necessarly his due, for Clarence fred Guilt- ty of many Treasons and great ones, and by

† Edward Hall writes, Richard Duke of Gloucester as the const ment Fame ran, to the intent that his Brother King

Edward might reign with more Sucey murder'd King Henry with a Dagger.

Sir Thomas More writes, he had his own Hand; King Henry VI. being Prisoner in the Tower, as was confutedfully;

without Commandment or Knowledge of the King. Hild.

The Lord Bawm, speaking of the Ignorancy offer'd his Corps at Eileker, No Man thought & envied Him who

was the Hand, the Treachery of King Henry VI. that Innocent Prince was discouer'd, See Hen. VII.

This, says Highehead, is recorded by some Persons altogether favoring the House of York.

† Edward Hall affirms he was murdered by George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, See.

* The Lord Bawm says, he was the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of Clarence his Brother.
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his ingratitude had so forfeited himself to the Duke of Gloucester, that no friend durst move in his behalf; this the King did afterward acknowledge, with some Discontent, when his Wrath had cooled, as we may guess in this Expression of his: O infelix fratrem, pro cujus salute nemo homo voceat; yet Polidor Virgil doth mention that his Death was caused by the Sequel; but let us interpret that a little, and take up another Accusation which puts into the way.

That Richard Duke of Gloucester should scandal the Birth of the King his brother with Baffard, and alledge it for a Special Matter in Dr. Abbot's Works, that he being heir of the King Edward IV. a Baffard, and that the Dutches his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certain Gentleman; this he might erroneously scatter in the Pulpite, and take it upon the like Intelligencce, by which (in the same Sermon) he call'd her (to whom King Edward was betrothed before his Marriage with the Lady Grey) Elizabeth Lucy, whose Name was for a certain Elenor Butler alias Tabot, so call'd by King Richard, and written in the Records.

This Drift had been too gross for King Richard, to lay any Imputation on his own Mother, (a Virtuous and Honou- rable Lady) being it cast also a Shame and Baffard upon himself, for if he offended in one, she might as likely offend in another, and in the reft.

And to quit him of it, Sir Thomas More, Richard Graften, Mr. Hall, say that King Richard was much displeased with the Doctor, when he heard the Relation, which the Duke of Buckingham also affirmed in his Speech to the Lord Mayor of London. That Dr. Shaw had incur'd the great Displeasure of the Protector for speaking so dishonourably of the Dutches his Mother.

That he was able of his own knowledge to say, he had done wrong, to the Protector there- in, who was ever known to bear a reverend and filial Love unto her: and to cut off all other Father Doubt and Question, it was proved and testified upon Records that George Duke of Clare- nce only rais'd this Slander in an extreme Ha- tred to the King his brother, (many Jars falling between them) by which the King had a just caufe to take notice of his Malice.

Vide supra. Clarence the Prince, ac magnis, ac magis viribus, et in consilio contra virum pro- ferre, quem libenter hideret aut manufactum in danno Regis, i.e. "The Duke of Clarence was obser- ved more and more to withdraw himself from the Presence and Conversation of the King, to keep Silence in the Council, fearlessly uttering one Word, and willingly neither to Eat nor Drink in the King's House."

When Richard even in that calamitous Time Henry VI. had overthrown King Edward in a Battel, recover'd the Kingdom, and proclaim'd Edward an Ufurer; so faithful was his Brother, (that he) was proclaim'd Traitor for him, and could not concur in this Expression of the City of Gloucester with the King's Power, the Citi- zens foad at defance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of Gloucester's Town, who was with the King, and for the King, and for them would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a most confiderable Expreffion in this Mottto (p. 50) Lex- a me loe; which I have forc'd him by his own Hand and Subscribed, Richard Gloucester. The other was as constantly undermining at him, after conferred with the Earl of War- well his Father Allie, who had turn'd Faith from the King, and went into France, soliciting for Force against England, in which the King was forc'd to fly out of the Land: Clare- nce not so satisfied, (unless he might utterly fupplant him) fled that Slander of Baffard- dly himself, Heir to the Crown, which was proved and given in evidence against him, at his Trial and Attainder by Parliament, amongst sundry other Articles of High Treafon.

Vide supra. That the faid Duke of Clarence had in Partia- lity and untruly Publish'd King Edward a Baftard, as well for the在一个Reign, that he him- self therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, the Royalty and Crown belonging unto him, legiti- mately, and to his Heirs; thefe be the very Words of the Record, and enough to tell us who was the Author of that Slander, and what important Caufe the King had to quit him felf of Clarence: a bitter Proof of the old Proverb, fratrum inter Erus ex acerbitate jum, and all the Favour Clarence Childe, could at his end obtain, was to choofe it, (as John de Steres reporteth it) fo that it was not done to the Duke of Gloucester, but the King's incapable Displeasure for his Malice and Treafons that could not be expiated by the Death of another, while he liv'd: Witness Polidor Virgil, Edwardus Rex post mortem frasis e fællis timeri a nimadu per &#578; e is ipe jum timeat neminem. That is, "King Edward the Fifth after his Brother's Death, perceive'd that he was fear'd by all, and himself now fear'd no Man."

Next, for the Murther of the two Sons of Who King Edward IV. Edward V. King in hope, made a Monarch, in the Way the Duke of York and Norfolk, his younger Brother, they allege it in this manner.

That King Richard, being defirous to rid tho' two Princes his Nephews out of the World; implo'd his trufthy Servant John Green to Sir Ro- bert remoteactions Lieutenant-Confable of the Tower, about the executing of this Murther; and by reason that Plot took no effed, (Sir Ro- bert not liking it) the Protector fuborn'd Four others, John Serres, Robert M_pl, Michael James Tyrrell, and Williams Slater to undertake it, who, (as they further allledge) fomented them in their Beds; which done, they made a deep Hole in the Ground, at the foot of the Stairs of their Lodging, and there buried them, hiding the place under an heap of Stones (as the ancient manner of tumbling). Others va- ry from this, and say confidently, the Young Princes were Imbark'd in a Ship to Tower- Wharf, and convey'd from thence to Sea, f0 cast into the Black Deepes; others aver they were not Drown'd, but let fane on Shore bey- ond Seas. And thus their Stories and Relations are fatter'd in various Forms, their Accusations differing in very many and material Points, which makes the Credit of their Suggestion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertain, one giving the Vye to the other, their Malice having to this Tongue their Memory. Others aver it worth the noting how opposite (and as it were) ex Diametro repugnant are they.

In vulgus fama valuit laudes E rogii alii Polidor quae terrarum partem mirage, as data superiores effe. Vide supra. Thus Polidor, with which Dr. Morton and the other, Sir Thomas More agree, that one place called Berkem Wardswc was Dr. Morton as well with the Princes as with the People, i.e. Sir Tho. More, English and Foreign, held to be the younger Son of Edward IV. and that the Deaths of the young King Edward and of Richard his Brother, had come
come so far in question, as some are yet in doubt, whether they were destroy'd or no, in the days of King Richard; by which it appears they were thought to be living after his Death. And as the act of their Death is thus certainly difputed, so is the manner of it controverted.

For Sir Thomas More affirments (as before repented) are no safer to rest with than his Pillows; but Pelisson faith peremptorily it was never known of what kind of Death they dy'd. Another Author, and more Ancient, agreeth with them.  

Vulgarly of Regi Edwardi poena coneeissi in  

Pillows, true.

The Lord Brooke affirms of King Richard, "He was the Munlver of his two Nephews (One of them his Lawful King  

in the Prent, and the other in the Future falling of him.)"

Hicagnum in this Burial of the Princes is now call'd Diuigie; since the Bones of them have of late Years been found. For, when, in the time of Chickier Master of the Ordinance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answer lying in the Six Carl Houses were removed off to be repos'd, in the White Tower, and a new Pair of Stairs were made, a contrary Conveyance of them. There, for the Labours in the making of the old Stairs came to the Bones of confirmed Corps, cover'd with an heap of Stones; the Proportion of the Bones being answerable to the Ages of these two Royal Youth, The News of this Discovery, being brought to K. Charles II. he made a solemn Oath before these Princes Bones, that he would them to be translated; and this, then, they were honourably inter'd in affin the Seventeenth Chappell among their Royal Ancestors, the Kings and Princes of this Land.

And this Discovery that Time hath made, makes it very probable, that the bloody Part of this commonly received History is true, and that the Real Daughters of King James I. and the Monument for them made of white Marble hath this Inscriptiun in Capital Letters, viz.

H. S. S.

RELIQUIA EDWARDI reg, Regis Anglia, & RICHARDI Ducis Eboracensi.

Frater regius, sacrae Romanae urbis Londrensis conclusus, ingens, Cunctis suis famulis, adiret & obloyt.

rulkanar fratus Patruus Richardi apud Regii predi. Offa defiderativi am &

multus quisvis, post anno CXCII. Scalatum in reliquiae, (Scatulae in sacellum Terris

Albe super ducenti)  

tutela defixa, unius terrarum vix versata XVII die Julii, anno

Dom. MDCLXVIII. C A R O L I V. Rex Clementis, in uberrimam fermo majestatis inter

avvis Monumenr Principis atque filiwm tullis perfutor, anno Dom. MDCLXXXVIII.

Amm. Regii sic XXX. J. S.

And it adds a great Sufficion to b. Rial. of the Prince Bios, that after the Queen Dowager had delivered the Son of the late Prince out of her own Cobyly, the Bill kept the Sanftuary in the Abby with her Daughters; and that for many Months after their Usurpation of the Crown. For there she was in the Month of March, which was eight Months after, and could not as yet be persuaded to leave the Place. Which must needs be out of the Fear and Dislike of Michael to befall that ten Years of her Daughters. He is in the mean time, thinking her Abiding here, might continue odious Reflections upon him from the People. Labour'd all he could to remove her thence. Informed that for her better Confidence and Satisfaction, I find in an Original Journal wherein the Thieves formerly swore, to the Lady, before an Examinacy of Lords, that it was a Seerual and Temporal (as it seems in Parliament time) the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London preselt. That if the would come from Sanftuary, she should be provided for by an Honourable Allowance; and that her Daughters should have no Intree into the Tents, but that they should be kept in the Lower Chamber. And further he cau'd all this to be drawn up in a Form in perpetuo regi Monarcha: Which was to this Tincture;

Monarcham, That I Richard by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, in the preference of you my Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, and the Major and Aldermen of my City of London, promisse and were promisse, upon their holy Evangelies of God by me personally touched, that if the Daughters of Dime in Elizabeth Gray late calling her self Queen of england, that is to win, Elizabeth, Cecill, Anne, Kerin, and Brigett, well come unto me out of the Sanctiarie of Wsoinmtd, and be gypedal, ruled and demened after me; than I shall see that they shall be in Sinternet of their Loffes; and also not infure any muner by any manner perfone or perfones to them or any of them, in their Bodies and Perfones, to be done, by way of Raviishment or defolating, or contrary to their Willles. Nor them, or any of them, contrary to the Tore of London, or other prisione; but that I shall put them in honest places of good name and fame, and them honestly and courteously that fee may be spoken and estricated; and have to all thyges requisique and necessitie for their exhibition, and findings, as my kynelesones; And that I shall do marie fliche of them as now ben mariable to Gentleness borne, and overcice of their Laws and Ministers, to the verdy well of the lands, and of my faro for the time of the state, and in likenesse to the other women, when they come to lawfull marriage, if they lyff. And forke Gentiles as shall happen to marie white them, I shall frithly change from tyme to tyme tolyringly to love and estricate them as their Willles and my Kynelesones, as they well afford and cliche my desplett. And over this, that I shall yearly from henceforth content and pay, or cause to be contented and paied, for the Exhibition and finding of the same Dame Elizabetgh Gray, during her natural life, at four terms of the yer, that is to win, at Palafo, Midford, and elsewhere, at two lewes, one of the fourth yeare of my body, for his finding to attend upon her, the Summe of DCC Mark of Lawful Money of England, by even percons.

And moreover I promisse to me, that if any servyle or optry be report made to me of them, or any of them, by any person or persons, that then I shall not give therunto faith no credence, nor put thereto any more interpetition, before that they, or any of them, so accused me, shall reprove and make good their tale.

writtie wherefo in this Wasing of my Oche and Promite afofoleid, in their fiat Preseffions made, I have let my Sign Manuella, the first Day of March the first yer of my Religion.

I was on the bedside of what exemplary Gratifications the King granted to Tyrell, that common History reporteth to be the great Devier, Proctor and Manager of this bloody Busine, and to be the Landmarks the Lieutenant of the Tower that was to conceal. To this latter were given the Manors of State Morron, Dovedale and Loopwade, of Conward, and Caleter, and other Lands in County Morfon; all the Lands and Tenements in the County of Kenv, and elsewhere, lately belonging to the Earl Kenv, the Clever, and Robert Kersby, of the value of 171. 11. 4d. And also the Manor of Mountain mar Ktihngtield in Beri, And the Manor of Glottenham, value 771. 9s. 8d. The King
For true it is, there was much diligent Search made for their Bodies in the Tower: All places open'd and digg'd that was suppose'd, but not found. Then it was given out a certain Priest rook up their Bodies and buried them in another Sepulchre not to be found: but hereon (but with better Decorum for the more Credit of this Allentario) they might have added it was done for sigilla confessiun, which may not be revealed.

Sir Thomas More, facing the Affurdities and Consequences of these Opinions (so much puzzled and distracted with the Variety and Uncertainty thereof) concluded their Bodies were beat'n God wot where, and that it could never come to light what became of them: ¶ Hall, Holilngford, Grafton and the rest, confess they were buried before the place was discovered. And (if there be a strict Inquiry into the Mystery) we shall discover, that they were neither buried in the Tower nor swallow'd in the Sea; for the Testimony and Relation of sundry grave and discreet Persons (and such as knew the young Duke of York) will resolve us how they were deposited into a foreign Country; and also alive many years after the Time of this Imaginary Murder; to which may be added strong Authorities having laid down some Conjectures that may Anfwr the Inquiry after the other. And first, where's as it is said, Papists, and forsooth the Pope his Coronation jur'd this Murder; to retel and contradict that, there be certain Proofs, that the Princes were both living in the Month of February following the Death of their Father, which was ten Months after; for King Edward died in April before, and forsooth the Pope his Coronation jur'd this Murder; in the Records of the Parliament of Anno 1 Rich. 3, where there is mention made of this Prince, as

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| King appointed him also Receiver, for his Truth, Sadness and Difcretion (as the Letters ran) of the King's Infla, Profits and Revenues of his Lordships of Middlesex and Meres in Kent. He had also, with the Constitution of the Tower, over the Father and Operator of the Musick, and Keeper of the Exchange within the Tower during his Life. He had also the Keeping of the Lion, with the Fees. Sir Henry Tyrrel, who was Knight of the King's Body, had the Office of Stewart of the Lordships of Lancashire, Northumberland, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, with the Fees, and the Matches, for the term of Life; with the Fees, Sir, accoutred, and to make Officers under him: He was also Chief Governor of Glamorgan. He had also granted him (with one Richard Gold) the Ward and Marriage of 8th Arnold Frye, Son and Heir of John Arnold Frye, Frye, with the Keeping of the Lands. Tenements and Manors, appurtenant to the Castle of Rule and Building of the Castle of Gagey; to have and occupy the said Charge during Pleasure, and in the Absence of the Lord Lieutenant there. And a Commission was made to the Lieutenant, Coroner, Knights, Esquires and other Officers of the Sheriff of Glamorgan and Monmouth, and the Counties of Monmouth and Radnor, as their Governor and Leader, as he had been heretofore, notwithstanding the King sent him to Gagey; and they are to be ready with Horses and Harness and Money, for Men to attend upon his Deputies, to do the King's Service, when they should be called. This was dated in January, Anno 9so. The King also sent him to Flanders for divers Matters concerning his Brother's Visit to Flanders, as he had been herefore, notwithstanding the King sent him to Gagey; and they are to be ready with Horses and Harness and Money, for Men to attend upon his Deputies, to do the King's Service, when they should be called. 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moft, and in their Humane Conftitutions and Corporal Habitude sympathizing, of one Lin-
age and Family, of one Blood and Age, of the fame Spirit, which gave a certain un-
lkely of the fame Studies, Affections, Passions, Diftemperatures, fo confequently fubjeice to the
effe Infirmities, to which may be added equal and common Confedellions, the fame compa-
ient and commoront Fates and Times, and that there is Rural Natural? and then they might
both Die of like Diffaeces and Infirmity, and were not treacle, taken away by Violence.
Secret, or Overt: For it may with afe no Ar-
gument be fpedt the Son of King Richard,
(being in the like Danger of Secret Violence
for the fame Cafhe as his Confid was) might
fully fo.
But to open the Circumfance a little nearer;
What Danger could the Lives of those two Prin-
ces be to Richard? who was accepted King by a
fufp&'d, as to have fent into a foreign Country, and that flanders (as all our Stories teftify), there commended to a liberal Education, under the Curature of a
worthy Gentleman in Warbeck, a Town in 
Flan-
ders, but kept very privately all the Life-time
of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make
him of the Coun cil. After his Death, knowing
Henry Rich mond a cruel Enemy to the House of
York, for his better Safety was committed to
the Care of \ Charles of Burgundy, and his
Dutchefs the Lady Margaret Ann to the Prince,
as formerly the Dutchefs of York, upon a like
Cause of Fear and Jealoufy had lent them her
two younger Sons George and Richard.

The Dutchefs being very tender to let this
young Duke have all Princely and Vertuous
Education in Terny in Antwerp, and after in the
Court of the Duke of Burgundy, as he had been in
Warbeck, &c. And with the greater Circum-
feption the Coun cil of the Dutchef did not allow him as jealous an Opinion of Henry VII. as the Queen
Widow had of Richard III. Therefore, as yet,
it was advised to conceal his Name and Qul-
ality: being not come to the Growth nor Age
to have Experience in his own Affairs, much
left to undertake an Attempt to Confequen
t and Mighty as the Recovery of a Kingdom:
Neither were the Times and Opportunity yet
ripe or propitious, to fahion fuch an Altera
tion as was projected and must be produced, tho'
to there was pregnant Hope of an Induction to a
Change of Government firft'd by the King's
Coutionefies and some Acts of Tyranny, Gri-
vance and Rebellions in the North and Wef t
Parts; not long after (which lent a feasnable
Hand to thefe Designs) great Unkindnefs fell
out betwixt Charles the French King and Hen-
ry VII. who fo far provoked the French, that he
declared himself with a great Army over Sea, and Sea, the Quarrel was of good Advance-
ment to the Dutchef of Burgundy's Plot, and
brought the Duke of York better acquainted with foreign Princes and their Courts; who
was fen t into France, into Portugal, and other
Places, where he was receiv'd and entertain'd
like a Prince.

In which time fuch of the English Nobility
as were interelled in the Secret, and knew where
this Prince refided, found fome Opportunity to
give him Affiftance, and lent Sir Robert Clifford
and Sir William Barclay into Flanders, with
a Vifit to the Confeience of what Noble Friends
he had ready to Serve him: tho' their more
particular Errand was, to take a ftrict Obfer-
vance of him, and fuch private Marks as he had
been known by from his Cradle; there had been
fome Counterfeits, encouraged to take up
on them the Perfons of the Earl of Warwick,
and Richard Duke of York: But here the cer-
tainty of their Knowledge found them they look'd
for, by his Face, Con traceback, Lineaments and
all Tokens familiarly and privately known to
them; obferving his Behaviour, naturalized and
heightened with a Princely grace, and in his Dif-

† This is an Error, Charles Duke of Burgundy died An. 1477. Six Years: before Edward the Fourth, and Duke
Richard was in England when his Father King Edward died.

Vol. I. B b b cource
cousine able to give them a ready Account of ma-
ny Passages he had heard or seen whilst he was in Eng-
lund; with such things as had been done and
discoursed very privately, speaking English
very perfectly, and better than the Dutch or
Walloon: By which Sir Robert Clifford and the
rest, found them so much surprised, and
touched, that they were not well contented, that they wrote to the
Lord Fitzwarren, to Sir Simon Montford, and
others (who had a good Opinion towards him)
the full account of what they had oberry'd ex
era faitu,a, or supra.-uumenta corpora. About this
time (to intermix the Scene with others) Dr.
Harriot and some of the Princeal Perfonas, well
affecting the Earl of Warwick, and hoping to
get him forth of the Tower, (in purpose to make
him King) had enticed a handfome young Fel-
low, one Lambard Simonde of London, bred in the
University of Oxford to become his Counter-
fellow; and fo intricted him in the Royal Gene-
alogy, that he was able to fay as he was taught. 
maintain'd and abettet, chiefly, by the Vifcount
Lowel, the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Druyon,
and Sir Simon Preft, andc, who being prezentd to
the Duke and Dutchefs of Burgundy, and by
them honourably entertain'd, did, by his father,
Edward, one Monta Sway' Captam of very
eminent Fame, and fame Forces, with which he
made an over into Ireland, where they received him
as Edward Earl of Warwick, as he was of many
here at home: And when the Defeat was difc-
cover'd, the Escape was, Thofe Lords but used
this Coftrfafter of the Earl for a Colour, which
they could get him out of the Tower to make
him King. But the Veil is early taken from
the Face of thofe Impofitors, Examples giving us light
in many; for the fame Men may, all cannot be
deceive'd: So Phuedo-Agrippa in the Time of
Tiberius was foon found to be Clemens the Servant of
Agrippa, th'o' very like to him; and Pheuedo-
Nero in Nero's Time, who took upon him to be
Nero reviv'd, was quickly unmask'd.

Valerio Patercles telleth of a certain ambigious
Counterfetter in Macedon; who called hime-
ftelf Philip, and would be reputed the next Heir
to the Monarchick, and this was the Devices
of Phaedo-Piophilus: Allo in the Reign of Commodus
One pretended to be Sextus Claudianus, the Son of
Maximus; with many fuch that are obvious
in old Stories; and many of the like famp have
been here conver'd in England; which bred
the great Error, that this Richard was the
Son of Edward IV. to be heard of; tho' thofe Jealousies pro-
ceed not from the detection of any Fraud in
him, but of the late Impofure of the faid Lamb-
bert, the Shoemaker's Son, and the Abufe of the
Complotter: for the Kingdom having been ab-
ufed with thofe Phuedo-Claudianus, had reason to
be doubtful of every unknown Perfon which al-
figned the name of Greatnes; in regard where-
of many, fhafk in their Opinions from this Per-
kin, or Richard; many others fuppoling their
Belief, were very curious to inform themfelves,
who the further they enquir'd, were the more
enamour'd of him for this fuppofition. The Son of
Edward IV. against whom, thofe of the
harder Credibility, objected it as an Impofibility,
that this young Duke could be convey'd out of
the Tower, fo long, and fo conceaf'd; which
the wiser fort could eafily anfwer by many an-
deous Examples, which fhew the divers Relations
of Noble Children preferv'd more admirably. And this young Duke himfelf, in his own behal,
when fuch Objeftions were made againlt him,
did alledge to James King of Scotland, the Hi-
Story of fuch, mention'd in the Book of the King,
and that most special of one; 

Which the Dutchefs his Aunt, Sifter German to
his Father, was strongly confirm'd in, giving
him all anfwerable and honourable Accomodati-
on; fo did the Chief Nobility of thofe Parts,
and as an Heir of the Houfe of York, there was
render'd him the Title of Earl-Rofe-Blanc', the
proper and lawful Heir to the Princes of York;
withal, a gallant guard of Souldiers was allowed
him for Attendance, and much was he favour'd
by the Arch-Duke Maximilian, King of the Re-
mon, by Philip his Son Duke of Burgundy; Charles,
the French King, the King of Portugal and Scot-
land, by his numerous and powerful Perfor-
nages in England, who at extreme Peril and
Hazard, avow'd him to be the second Son of
Edward IV.

The Princes aforemention'd, readily supplying
him with Coin and Affifiance towards his Ac-
trееements King Henry actively apprehends what
it threatened, and befights himfelf to take off
their Inclinations, dispatching Dr. William War-
iam (after Archbifhop of Canterbury) with Sir
Edward Payning, a grave and worthy Knight,
to under-rate his Credit with thofe Princes
and fuch strong Perfwafions were used, that
Philip Edward Payning, King Maximil-
ian was before return'd into Austra) utterly
denies himfelf and his Subjects from his first:
Engagement, but excepted the Widow Dutchefs
of Burgundy, over whom he had no Power of
Command, becaufe he had all Justice and Jurif-
diction in thofe large Signories, whereof her
Dowry was compounded.

And thus Richard was fpotted here; what
hope of Aid he had, or did expect by his Voy-
gen into Portugal, I cannot fay, tho' his Ente-
rein there was honourable; But by reaon of
the distance of the Country, it may be thought
he was to build little very likely from office,
his chief Confidence and Refuge being in England
and Ireland, where he had a good Party, and
fail'd with a pretty Fleet into Ireland; there he
was welcome and receiv'd as the fecond Son
of the

The Life and Reign of RICHARD the Third.

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Profers of Favors and Mercy,with Promises of such Honour and Condition as drew him to the Court, where the King look'd upon him with a very gracious and bountiful Utage as a Noble Perfon; But his prompting Jealouies and Fears and of his own call of his Principles, for the proposition of a Marriage of Arthur the Prince of Wales and Katharina Daughter of King Ferdinando. This Occasion no sooner offer'd it self to his Consideration, but a Polo was dispatch'd to Caffile, with Letters and Instructions, to give the King a true and certain Account of what was done by King James of Scotland, urging him to use the Power and Credit he had with him, for the Delivery of Perkin to himself: Which Ferdinando undertook, and sends Don Pedro Ayala (not one Peter Hualas, or Peter Hoyles) as our vulgar Stories have a wife and parents, and of a noble House (who so ably used his Brain in this Employment, that King James pass'd to him his Promises, to dimifs Perkin to his own Fortunes, but would by no means deliver him to the King. Thus Perkin was again supplicated Versio vel solo, and of necessity driven into Ireland, where he was for a time received and entertain'd: Whilft they were agitating their first Plot of setting him King, Charles the French King sends to him Le de Laque and Effien Frient to offer him his Friendship and Aid: With this good News Perkin half'd it into France, where he found his Welcome very honourable, as betraying a Prince, a Great Personage, and his old Friend, Monsieur Courre-Salle was Captain. Before this King Henry had threatened France with an Army, but now upon a better View and Deliberation, foreseeing what this had in it, he propounds very fair Conditions for a Peace with the French King, promising him and his Court to entertain, and so it was concluded. Perkin after this began to think the King shent'd his Respects, and look'd upon him (as it were) but Imaginable, with half a Countenance; and fearing there might be some Capitalization in this New League, that might concern his Liberty, privately quits Paris, returning to his Aunt of Burgundy. Altho' Perkin was thus shorten'd in his Foreign Expeiditions, he had those both in England and Ireland, that much favourd him and his Cause, making another Voyage into Ireland, but return'd with his first Comfort; for though those forces could not help him, yet it appear'd, if the King's Officers cur'd them so, they could not flir.

From Ireland he fall'd into England, landing at Beddin in Carnovall, the Cornifli and Weftern Men therabouts receiving him very gladly, pronouncing him King of England and of Franes, &c. by the Title of Richard the Fourth (as he had been proclaim'd before in the North Parts of England, by the Council and Countenance of the King of Scots). Out of Carnovall he marches into Devonfli to Exeter, to which he laid Siege, having then about 5000 Men in his Army, but the King at hand and far stronger, he was forc'd to rile from the Siege; upon which those few Friends he had left (finding his Want, and the King with greater Strength approaching) forbok him to provide for themselves. Thus abandon'd, no way before him but Flight, and Perkin, torture'd with the Multitude of Persecutions, Fifty or Forty refolute Gentlemen, removes the Abbey of Beany in Hampshire, where he took Sanctuary, from which the King's Party who purfued him, would violently have surpriz'd him; Which the Abbot and Religious Perfon's would not endure as a thing too onfent against their Priviledge. The King after leads him to

A Rack. The Lord Feralam says he was only fit in the Stocks.

The Force of the King, and Chief Mifchief of Torteures.
The tortured gladly doing this the sooner to exchange those Torments with Death, as the far left Pain.

And therefore this young Man may be excusable in what he did against himself, his Youth being ignorant of these high Points of Honour, and yet he could by no means be delivered by Grace and firm Resolution, nor happily in Religion, and the worse also by the reason of his long Imprimony and heavy Trouble, having no Council to strengthen him, nor so much as in Charity to comfort him, but left a miserable desperate forlorn, that could not be for ever at rest, nor escaped from the left. And if learned grave Men, Men of Grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for fear of such Punishments, have denied some chief Points of Christian Faith, yet have been excused for the Torture like, (of which we have testimony in Ecclesiastical Stories) what may a tender and inexperienced Youth do? For which just Canons, the best Doctors of the Civil Law, and also of Theology, condemn and abhor the use of Torture, as having a further Milchief in it, and is Ararmoa Gobemati a secret of Torture or of Hell.

Torture Gobemam. The French call Torture Gobemate.

The Poor and Warwick Parishes.

Parke, by a Common Jury, who are Men (many times) of little Honesty, and to suf- fer, upon a Common and a famous Place, Tyburn, by the Name of Perkin Warbeck, to confirm the People he was what they condemned him for: For his Nick-name was suppos'd to have utterly disinherited him, and (as it were) directed him of all his Noble Blood and Titles, the Condition of an impostor serving best for a Cocks against that Purple Shower, which was at the Fall and Cruel Usage of this miserable Prince.

It may be thought the Earl of Warwick had as shamefully suffer'd, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinal could have reach'd to have made him a Counterfeit: But all Men knew, he was not only a true and certain Prince, but free from all Practice, (A) yet he was restrained of his Liberty, and a Prisoner the most part of his Life, from the time of his Father's Attainer until he suffer'd; this was after they had surviv'd King Richard their Uncle about Fifteen Years.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality it is called in Law.

Some holding an Escape to be but an Error, a natural dislike of Bondage, or a Forteit of Simplicity, proceeding from a natural and very to- lerable desire of Liberty, which Opinion is confider'd of the Case; and the Council of the Princes may also be the better receiv'd, if it be well consider'd, that this Plot of their Escape was not projected by themselves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper Infrumens (be- ing young and inexperienced) to entangle them in some capital Offence, and so of Death, of which kind of Offences they flood clear before, not once accused, having never been indicted or attainted of any thing Capital. Therefore now their Innocence must be made guilty; and in this I say no more than all our Historians or others say, who agree in one Opinion, that the King could not take away the Lives of Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick, until this Practice of their Escape was laid to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was Perkin now to be thought a Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Blood, claiming the Crown; for otherwise, he was Perkin of Eindars, a bafe Fellow and a most culpable and notorious Traytor; then what need they look further for a Crime to put him to Death? And if he were not a Tray- tor, surely it was a Tyranny to make, of an inno- cent and guililess Man, a guilty Felon, and by Traitors and Acts to forgive an Offence out of nothing. For doubtless an innocent and true Man may seek Freedom, and purpose an Act of Escape, also commit it, and yet be still an Hon- est Man, and a Faithful Good Subject: for Nature and Reason teacheth and alloweth all Men to either Injuries and Adperitions.

Besides this Practice of those Young Men, to escape, was found (as Poldark well observeth) Crimen Alienum, and not Crimen proprium; then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their Lives. But whether it may be laid upon them, it was nothing but a Defire of Liberty out of Durance, in which they were kept for a small, or no Of- "He openly read his Confession, and took it upon his Death to be true; that he was an Impostor. Ed. Verulam, Hen. VII. 1485. Ex cept the Name, of which he was tried for imagining to escape with Perkin, and to raise Sedition and destroy the King to which Indiscretion he pleaded guilty. Ed. Verulam, Hen. VII. 556 The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.
The Civil Law holdeth Supposition of Flight or Escape to be no Crime. Suppositio fugae quia non facit detrimentum, repulsa absurda, non confessionem crimini; so Ulpian. And by the Laws of England, if a Prifoner do escape, who is not imprison'd for Treason or Felony, but some lesser Offence, he maketh Trefpafs, according to the Old Law of England.

Escape non adjudicatur verius eum, qui confessos firmos, pro transgressus. Escape shall not be adjudged for Felony or other Crime, in one who is committed for Trefpafs.

For the Ecape is made in the Common Law, to be of the same Nature and Guilt with the Crime whereof the Prifoner is attainted: And certainly, neither the Earl of Warwick, nor Richard, alias Perkin were attainted of Trefpafs or Felony, &c. before.

But to celeb this Dispute and Tragedy, not long after, some of the Infrumments that be-try'd them into this, as Walter Blunt, Thomas Afoode, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, finished at Tewon, because they should tell no Tales.

And to this faccd Relation, there can be no better Testimony than the Hands of their Writedfs, who have feald their Confession and Knowledge with their Bloods: Men of all Con- ditions and Eftates, all maintaining at the laft Caff, that Perkin was the true Duke of York; whole Affirmations I will produce, give me but leave, by the way, to answer one Objection that Carl brought about this Duke, call'd in forth Perkin Warbeck. A new Writer affirming him to be an Impofor, whose Learning may be as much mistaken in this as other things, that he laid a great pretenfe to Knowledge, especially in the History of England and other Countries. Indeed his Judgment and Reading are much ex- preft alike in his Pamphlet, which he calls [The History of Perkin Warbeck], wherein he forfeits all his Skill, to make him a Parallel in adverfe Fortune and fuppofed base Quality, to the unhappy Don Sebastian late King of Portugal, who he also professes an Impofor. And to arrive at this huge Knowledge, he would have us think, he took much pains in the fifting of Authors; and indeed I think he did fift them, concerning his Ignorance in the Cafe of Don Saba- ftian (if he be not too wise to be inform'd) I will urge some Reafons on Don Sebastian's side, with this own Evidence; and contrary to the Kingdom of Barbary, Anno Dom. 1584, was overthrown in a fierce and bloody Battel in the Fields of Alexler, by the King of Morocco, where it was thought he was flain, but escap'd and fled secretly travers'd or defign'd travelling in that manner through many parts of Africa and Afia; some Thirty Years; in which Time and Travel he fuffer'd much, liv'd in Captivity and Mifery, but at laft got away into Europe, with parporfe to have got into Portugal (if poiffible) to re- poife the Kingdom.

In his Letter he came to Venio, there disco- ver'd himfelf, and defires aid of the Pencettatem States: They entertain'd him as a Prince di- ftreft'd, gave him Good Words, but darft not lend him Affilience, fearing the King of Spain; yet the chief Senators and many of the wifbt of the Signory made no doof of him. Among them Signora Lorenzo, the Daughter of the Senators Order (a Man of wise and great Abilities) was appointed by the States, a Com- missioner (with others) to hear and examine this Cufion of Don Sebastian, in which they took much pains. And this Signora Lorenzo (being lieger Ambaffador in England) affirm'd and protected folomnly, he and all the other Commissioners, were clear and very confident he was Don Saba- stian King of Portugal, notwithstanding they durst not give him Aid, but councel'd him for France, where the King fav'd right, without mina Baro- fien of another's Diplomacy. But taking Fra- di Darcy in his confidence, in the habit of a Fryer, he was observ'd and discovered by the Spies which the Grand Duke of Tuscany had fet up upon him from Venice, who to intrain with the King of Spains, Philip the Second, and for some other commo- dious Considerations, deliver'd Sebastian to the Governor of Ordatelle (a Spanish Port in Tusca- ny) from whence he was sent by Sea to the Count De la Mar, Vice-roy of Naples, who convey'd him into Spain: There for a while his Entertain- ment was no better than in the Gallies: What other Welcome he had I know not, but the fame wear certainly he was secretly made away after Philip the Third was King. The said Vice-roy of Naples confed in fecret to a Friend of his, he verily believ'd his Prifoner was the true Sebastian King of Portugal; and was induc'd to be of that opinion, by the strong Teftimonies and many ftrange and peculiar Marks which were some honourable to Sebastian, and knew him by, all found about the Body of this Sebastian. And the French King Henry IV. it fhou'd feem, was perfuas'd no Ics: For when the News was told him the Duke of Florence had fent this Sebastian to the King of Spain, he told the Queen what an Ill Deed her Uncle had done; in other words, Our Father a fait un acte fort indi- gne de fa Perfonne.

Dr. Stephen de Sampago, in a Letter to Joseph Exeore, Counsellor and Almoner to the moft Cheflrian King, writes thus, "The King, Don Sebastian, is here in Venice, &c. So soon as he arrived here (where he begin'd to find his Belief) the Ambassador of Calse perfuad'd him ve- ry cruelly, perfuading the Signior that he was a Calabron, &c. I fwear to your Father- hood, By the Paffion of Jefus Chrift, this Man is truly the King Don Sebastian; he hath all the Marks on his body, without falling in any one, as he had in his infancy, only the Wounds excepted, which he receiv'd in that Battel of Affick; he gives the reafon of his Life, and account of all his Pallages, &c. He is known and re-known by the Concierroris, the Judges, by the great part of the Senate, and even the Confellor, &c. and a great deal more of him upon Knowledge he judiftifies: As much wittifels John de Cafiro Son to Don De Alvaro de Cafiro, one of the Four Gover- nors that ruled the Kingdom conjunctly with the King Don Sebastian, who in his Letter to the Captain of the Company, amongst whom was the Duke Angoro, &c. As for the Exterior Marks of his Body he wants not one of them; he wound- ed on the Brow of the Right Eye, and on the Head, as many wittifefes when they faw him in the Battel, which he begin'd in the Hand-writing, fill the flame, obferving the very fame Me- thod, as is very well remembred by divers. There might be much more inflinced in the behalf of this Sebastian, but this may serve for better Intelligences; to whom I may add, That Men experienced in the Affairs and Policy of State, know it a rare thing to fad in any His-
sory, the examples of a Prince, being feized and possessed of any Signiori or Principality (how unlawfully forever) who hath reigned them, or any part to the true Heirs. Have we not In- frances at Home, where the Son hath taken the Kingdom, or of a Father, and Got it again, but rather endeavour’d to hafe his Father’s Fate? Much after that manner, when Henry Duke of Lancaster had got the Kingdom, he held it and would not reiege to the Right Heir Richard the Second, nor after his Death to the Earl of Mortimer, the their was Edward Earl of Warwick; yet King Henry would not let his Hold go: And the Car- dinal Favourite, finding he could not compass his Aims one way, contrived it another. By the Machiavelian Advice he gave to Ferdinand K. of Caffifi, not to conclude the Treaty of the Marriage between Prince Arthur and his Daugh- ter Katherine, until this Earl and Perkin were dis- pofet of, which Ferdinand follow’d and urg’d the King, pretending it the Security of his E- flare and life. In brief, it is not possible toMr. Plawd a Private Man, tho’dis courageously po- fized to acknowledge the true Proprietary hath a better Title than he.

How unjustly have the Kings of Spain detain’d fudtry Signiori and Principalties from the lawful Heirs? Yet if the Wrong done by such another differing Lord, be put to this former Unferer, Malaf fate (as the Imperial Faraffualts will term him) his Sentence will be, Such a ra- pacious Prince doth wrong.

But let us now take a more particular View of these Witneffes who ftood for Perkin. And having formerly mentioned Sir Robert Clifford, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons Cliff- fords, I will proceed with that which may be more remarkable in him, because he was of a Family that long hated the House of York, from the Battel of Wakefield, when and where they rolled an Emnity fo deadly, as was not to be reconciled or satisfied wifl of them one remained; yet became Followers again of the White Rose Family; and this Robert Clifford serv- ed King Edward Very near, and in good Credit.

So could not but have an affured Knowledge of the King’s Sons, and therefore the more particularly feft to certify his Knowledge; who certainly affur’d him to be the younger Son of Edward, and confirm’d many with him; fuch as had likewise ferv’d King Edward, and he had been acquainted with the Prince’s conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir Robert’s Opinion. The Lord Fitz-Walter was of the fame Belief, and avowed Perkin the true D. of York most conflantly unto Death: As refo- lute was Sir William Stanley, though he were L. Chamberlain to Henry VII. and in great favour; with Sir George Neville, Brother to the Earl of Westmorland, Sir Simon Mowbray, Sir William Dawsby, Father to the Lord Dawsby, Sir Thom- as Tuftau, Sir Robert Rarellie of the House of the Barons Fitz-Wil- liams, Sir John Taylor, Sir Thom- as Chacenar, Thomas Bagenal, with many other Gentlemen of Quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of York, Son of Edward the Fourth, and fudny of the Clergy, who had been Chaplains to the King his Father, or otherwise occa- fion’d to attend the Cort, as Dr. Rich- ford, Dr. Payne, Dr. Sutton, Dr. Wescot, Dr. Paul’s, Dr. Layborn, Dr. Lofts, with many other learned Profefors of Divinity, who would not endure to hear him call’d Perkin. The Lord Fitz-Water, Sir William Stanley, Sir Simon Mowbray, Sir Ro- bert Rarellie, Sir William Dawsby (as Martyr of State) confirm’d their Testimony with their Bloods. So did the King’s Serjeant Farrow, who 1485. left the King’s Service and apply’d himself to Perkin, for which he was executed as a Traitor:

And one Edwards, who had ferv’d this Duke Richard, was cut in pieces for the fame Cause; so that many of the Young Men of good worth, with 200 more at leat, put to Death in fudtry Cities and Towns, par- ticularly in Ken, Exfex, Naffolk, and about London, for their Confidence and Opinions in this Prince.

This party was some Great Men (tho’ they made Hollingh, Grosfin, Hall, Jon.

And Sir Thomas Mor, after Dr. Morton, thus John Mor- wright; The Man, commonly call’d Perkin son, Thom. Warbeck, was as well with the Prince, as with the People, held to be the younger Son of K. Edward the Fourth.

Richard Grafton affirmative the fame; In Flan- den (Gitch he) and most of all here in England, it was to be held for an Unpardon’d Truth, and only of the People, but of the Nobles, that Per- kin was the Son of King Edward the Fourth: And they all fiove and affirmed this to be true.

The learned and famous Mr. Camden avereth, Mr. Will. Camden. There were many wife, grave, and Percions of good Intelligence, (who lived in that Time and near it) that affirmed confidently, This Perkin was Second Son to King Edward: Then both the Brothers were not made away by King Richard; and firely it was little Reafon or Policy, to cut off the One and spare the other; neither indeed was there ever any Proofs made by Teflimony, except some few passages in the Book of Rela- tion, or Policy, that this Crime could be his, tho’ many to the contrary; for he not only prever’d his Nephew, the young Earl of Wor- swick, but in his Confidence (a special Note of his Magnanimity) gave him Liberty, Pleasure, and the Command of a lateley House of his own.

Now if he had been fo ambitious and bloody, he would have provided otherwife for him, knowing his Title was to take Place, if his Blood had not been attainted in his Father’s in regard whereof, K. Richard, when his own Son was dead, cauèd his Nephew John de la Pole, elec’t Son of his Brother, and Edward, the Duke of York, to be proclaimed his Heir apparent; an Argument of Respect to his Kindred and next Title to the Crown, in whomsoever it was; which other Men regarded not so much as the unhappy Sequel fhow’d; and there was an impious Necessity in that, for whiff the Prince of York surviv’d, (e- specially the Males) no other Titular Lord, or Pretender, could be King by his own Right, or by colour of Right, nor by any other Means, unless he had married a Daughter, and the eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth.

And alfo the Deaths and manner of taking away thofe Princes (the Sons of King Edward) is hold, by our Writers, uncertain and obscure, it is manifest (at leat for the general Manner of their Death) to be either by the Publick Sword, or by the Sword of Justice or of Butch, as were the Duke of York, the Children of the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Suffolk, &c. by the Private Sword; that is, by Secret and Ciofe Private Slight, Treachery, (which the Romans call’d Sword of War) the Arts Infidif. by Smothering, Starling, Poisons, of Trea- Sorery, &c. And that the Sword was used a cher- gainst the Family of York, there is more than Con-
By George Buck, Esquire. 559

There was a controversy between Richard Trott and the Bishop of Hereford, as to the propriety of certain proceedings in the Convocation of Canterbury. The Bishop had ordered the Bishop of Hereford to appear before him, and to answer certain questions relating to the state of the Church and the king's business. The Bishop of Hereford refused to appear, and the controversy continued for some time.

For there is no more dangerous or fatal Delinquency to Greatness, than to be intangled in the Multitude of Contempt, Odium & Contempt, being the Two Evils that overthrow Kings and Kingdoms; the One, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the Vanity and Obscurity of the Prince, the Other, from the Peoples Opinion of him and his Vices, and then he must neither reign nor live any longer. Emnus, said with Cicero, Quem ex putant persiles expectant: And so that was praed. Cited, upon the Fortune, Fame and Person of this Kings, as it were, a fit Monument of Judgment and Equity of the most knowing in thos Times, their cunning Transfus Crimina could take no Hold of them; neither appears it probable, that the Earl of Richmond himself (when he had got all Justice and Power in his Hand) did hold King Richard guilty of the Murder and Subornation of thos Fellows, nor them the Assailans: For doublets then, being to Wife and Religious a Prince, he would have done all Right to the Laws Divine and Humane, and that, I believe, in the extremest and publick Way of Punishment, to make it more fit and proper.

But they freely enjoy'd their Liberty with Secrecy to natural Deaths, without any Question or Apprehension, Tyrrel excepted, who suffer'd for Sir Thomas Trefaun long not after committed by him against King Henry himself. Neither was John Green named a Poet or Pastor, and every one in question, nor do the Historians of thos Times (the more Temporizers) charge him with this Practice against his Neighbours, until after his Coronation, (when fay, they sur'd King Richard) and giving this refpite of time, there was no Cause, why after all the way away, he being then secure in his Throne and Title, and they long before pronounced incapable; First, by the Ecclesiastical Judges, then by the Barons and Parliament: And where was the cause.
cause of fear? But if King Richard had been of that bloody Constitution, the Man whose Life could be made prejudicial must have been the Duke of Warwick, as a lawful Son of St. Quinten; and, because the Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to King Richard, had lived so long without any pretense to the Prince of Wales, there was a necessity for the Languarian Faction (if they must have a King of that Family) to take those Princes away, not to leave King Richard yet alive, nor yet any Prince of Lancastor, for all those were before any of the House of Bohunets, in the true order of Succession, and stood in their way; so did the Progeny of Brotherton, of Woodfolk, of both the Earls, Gloucester, &c. Tho' they feared few, or none of thole Titular Lords, being men so little affected by Sovereignty, but content with their own private Fate and fudal Estate, when all was one with the Languarions, who were so vehement in their royal Approaches, that besides King Edward IV. and his two Sons, King Richard and his Son, the Prince of Wales, there was afterward (and as occasion served) The Earl of Warwick and Duke of Suffolk, and others, both Male and Female of that Princefully Family, laid in their cold Urns, and it must be so, else there could be no place for the Bohunets and Somersets, their turns beimg left (the King of Portugal, of Caffle, and other King coming before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.)

In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by John de Vere Earl of Oxenford, which may be worthy of our Observation for Example sake, and makes not against the caufe of Perkin.

This Earl of Oxenford much affected and devoted to King Henry VII. was a great Enemy to this Richard (alias Perkin) and I think the only greater Enemy he had of the great Nobility, how this dislike grew I cannot say, whether out of Ignorance or Incredulity, or out of Malice, hating King Edward, and all that had a near Relation to that Family, or else to apply himself to the Honour of the King; but he and the Cardinal are said to be the chief Urs of Perkin Dispatch, and he, being High Confable, pronounced the Sentence against the young Earl of Warwick, (which much disaffected the Prince of Wales) near to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (that was his chief Seat) there lived in the Woods an old Hermit (a very Devout and Holy Man as the Fame of those Time admit him) who seem'd much troubled to hear this News, for the love he bare to the ancient and noble Family of Oxenford, of much Anguish of Spirit, saying, the Earl and his House would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody Purfuit of the innocent Princes, for the Event of which Phrophecy this hath been observ'd.

Not long after, the Earl was arrested for an Officer to small, the no fault (considering his Merit and Credit with the King) could have thought it worth the Questien, for which he was fined at Thirty thousand Pounds, (in those days a Kings Sm) (a) after this he liv'd many Years in great Distress, and died without having any Child. I may beggar him, and in much shorter time than his Life-time, that great and (b) lately Earlomd of Oxenford, with the opulent and Princeely Patrimony, was utterly dispossessed, and com in falsa agna (as the Spaniard faith in the Refrain) yet this Earl was a very Wise, Magnificent, Learned and Religious Man in the Estimation of all that knew him, and one more like to raise and acquire a new Earlom. (b) But it thus fell, for what was the preferred, the Caffles and Mannors dilipated, (c) This was the Chappel wherein this John de Vere and all his Ancestors lay Intomb'd with their Monuments, which points so defaced to the Ground, their Bones calut ed left under the open Air in the Fields, and all the Northen City of this Earl was so effectually, that in his Sons, Power and made him their Chief, being strongly affected to any of the House of York, bands of were they Legitimate or Natural, for Richard, Duke of York's, Sake, sometimes their Viceroy: Grafen & Chew, &c.

And thus much in brief of that. (d) Now to resolve a Question, why the King deferred so long the Death and Execution of this Earl of Warwick and Perkin, and took so long deliberation after he had revolufion; (c) why one Reafon and the chief brought by fome, is, That in regard Perkin was an Alien, and is alledged the Allegiance of a foreign Prince, therefore forfeth the he can't be executed for Death of the Earl of verity, nor Trefon by our Laws: which is the Prince a ridiculous Evanion, for we have frequent Ex amples in our Stories, That the natural Subjects of France, of Scotland, Spain, Portuul, Germany, and Italy, have had Judgment and Execution by our Laws, for Trefon and Trefon, as Peter de Gouvion a Frenchman, Sir Andrews Harely a Scot, and lately Dr. Lopez a Portugal; therefore apparently that was not the Case the King so doubtfully, and (as it were) tiempoely deferred their Arraignments and Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defied it some inward Awe or concea'd Scarp, fuch as they call'd Eumeneid and Evriny, and believed haun ted thole Men that had purpof'd or acted a Wick-Genius.

desths: Upon which the Poet laid well:

Patriguerus unus mens versa Manci.

And aflign'd to every Man his protecting Spiri t, whom the Greeks call'd Demons, the Latines Genii; concluding, that when the Genius of him against whom the Milchief aims, is Stronger and more Active than his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly takes Place.

For example, Produce the mortal Emnity Plutarch between Ovidianus Casar and M. Antonius, in which Anthony could never prevail by any At tempt; who confulting with his Soothsayers, they give the reason to be the power of Ovidian us's Genius above his. It is reported the great Philothaeus, Philosopher Apollinus had such a Secret Protection, and so strong, that the Emperor Domitian had no power over his Life, tho' he studied means to take it; Suidas adding that this Philosopher in confidence of his Genius when he left the Emperor, added this Verse,

Ou nos m. escaev, vnas nosse potens altius.
BOOK IV.

The Argument of the Fourth Book of the Life and Reign of Richard III.

Upon what Occasion the Sentence of Bastardy was given upon the Children of King Edward the Fourth, and why. The Sundry Loves, Woesings, Contrasts and Marriages of King Edward IV. His sisters Concubines, His Device of the Fetterlock, and the Falcon. His Woesing the Lady Elinor Talbott alias Butler, the Lady Bona of Savoy, and the Lady Elizabeth Gray Widow, and his Marriage with her. His former Marriage or Contract with the said Elinor, her Wrongs and her Death. Kings must not marry the Daughters of their Vassals, nor other without the consent of their Barons. Dr. Stillington Bishop of Bath Imprison'd for speaking of King Edward's Marriage with the Lady Elinor Talbott, Spuria vitulamina. How King Edward might have falsified those Errors and prevented all the Mischiefs following them. The Children of King Edward IV, declared and adjudged Illegitimate. King Edward's Death supphed by Poison; the Mortality of the Plantagenets. The Authority of Parliament; Parliaments how so called and derived; Parliaments against Parliaments. The first Parliament of Vol. I. CCCC King
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third,

King Henry VII. What treason is; whether Sovereign Princes may be said to commit treason against their Subjects; The Treaty of Marriage between King Richard III., and the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, and chiefly fought by her self and the Queen her Mother; The Entertainment of the Lady Elizabeth at the Court; the first Likel of Divorce; The Scruples of the Lady Elizabeth; King Richard never meant to marry her. The Marriages of Nicols allowed by the Pope, and usual; the true Cause of Sir Thomas More's Condemnation and Execution.

How contrary betwixt Deities were, you may see in the Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, a very minute description in the Concourse of such Matters as thefe there was another fair Creature to dear unto him, that his too much Affection begat Sufferation; of which he gave her a Kind Expiration, by a quaint Device sent unto her in a rich Jewel, fashion'd much after the manner of the trivial Heraldriffs 'tis in France, and call'd Rubus de Passage. The Device was, A Faulcon encompass'd with a Fetter-lock: The Mott, Am Faulcon Serrure. The Caution lying in the Ambiguity and double fœne of Faulcon; which being whole and proper, figuraeth a Hawk; but divided, hath an obtene Signification, and fo Faulcon become an enigmatique. The King afterward was so affected with this Device, that he would have it carv'd and painted, in many of his Royal Works yet to be seen at Fetterbyng and elsewhere.

Yet altho' the King's Jealousie was thus particular to her, his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gamefer, and he that would call at all, fairly set. Above all, for a time he was much spell'd with Eleanor Talbot, Daughter of John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (call'd in the Act of Parliament 1 Rich. 3. the Old Earl of Shrewsbury) her Mother was the Lady Katherina Stafford, Daughter of Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and she the Widow of Thomas Lord Butler Baron of Sudjyfly. Her Beauty and sweetness of Disposition drew his Defire so vehemently, and with such respect, that he was suddenly Contradict, and after Marianne Stigliani, Daughter of the Duke of Bad, Councilor of State (one much favour'd by the King, and often employ'd by him in great Affairs) this was winnow'd by our English Writers, and veritable Philip de Comines, in thefe Philip de words: Le Evénoue de Bath (lequel avoit of Pes Cameris Comelier de Roy Edouard) disoit que le Roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains deduit Edouard, 

In English thus:

The Bishop of Bath, a Privy Councillor of King Edward said, That the King had plighted his Faith to marry a Lady of England, whom the Bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Bishop, who said that afterwards he marry them both, so they could number, and the Roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains deduit Edouard, & disoit affn c'est Edouard, qu'il avoit après espérate, 

This is a patch'd Quotation out of the 4th Book of Phil. de Comines; Let the Reader see a true one out of the 4th Book of the same Author.

Le duc de Gloucester avoit fait Hommage a son nouvel comme a son Roy & Souverain Seigneur & incommencey a commencer ce cas en pleine Parlement d'Angleterre feit degrayer deux Filles du Roy Edouard de deux duchées, font emblée de quelque cas qu'il prouvoyt par un Evénoue de la Eny Anglaise, qui autre fois avoit en grand crédit avec le Roy Edouard, & paroit l'état apte en tout par Enjou & le royaume d'Une Somme d'argent à ce qu'il avoit fait de Mariage a son Dame d'Angleterre. Il auroit nommé pour ce qu'il avoit fait, mais le Roy avoit envoyé la promesse entre les mains deduit Edouard, & fut cerne Cormeau avec l'Edouard le faisant pour la France. — The Duke of Gloucester had done Hommage to his nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and a little after did this thing by him and did promise to marry the Duke of Gloucester's eldest daughter, whom he brought to France, and had King Edward's permission to marry her, in the presence of the Bishop of Bath, & had promised Marriage to a certain English Lady, whom he named, on purpose to have his Will of her; that he gave her this Promise before him the said Bishop, upon which he perswaid her, and desir'd her, and Bernard Edouard, continuer, y a gardé ceste sengne en fon cœur, &c. This week the Bishop kept Revenge in his Mind.
The Lady Bona was afterward married to John Cadeke, afterwards Duke of Malmaison. 

with the more noble and easy dispatch, the Earl of Warwick being a Man eminent through all the Parts of Europe, for his Valour, Wit, and Heroical Vertues. Expecting a Wellcom at his Return answerable to the period of his Employment, but finds an Alteration not only of the King's Affection, but of his Conscienct: for in the Mean time to manage the Article of time as it were) wrode and wedded the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Relict of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and of Jucetius, jotemine Dutches of Bedford, and the Daughter of the Earl of St. Eole. Her Husband was one George Knight, Gentleman, who became a very vehement Lamentation, revolting from the House of York, and therefore the more hateful to those of that Family, and the Well-wishers thereof (to the Earl of Warwick.) He was Slain at the Battle of St. Albans: Of whom, and of this Lady his Wife, as of this Marriage, Philip de Comune relates Something, which I shall leave to the Interpretation of the better knowing, and desire not to understand it in the words: Or de puis le dieu Roy Edward eployé la fille d'un Chevalier de Anglortre femme veufue, qui avoit deux fille et oufli par Amour.

In English thus:

"King Edward, having changed his Purpose of taking to Wife the Lady Bona Daughter of a rich Gentleman, to the Duke of Sussex, married Elizabeth the Widow of John Gray, Knight; concealing, ap. 2. 4. on the Account of the Meaness of her Birth, and what he had done, not only from his Princely Title, but from his Money, the favor of the Nobles, and of the Family.

"His Father: Which thing when it came to be known, was matter of Admiration to every one; The Nobles murmured thereat, and by their Words every where bewray'd the Indigation of their Heart, that the King had not acted suitably to his Dignity, and that they accounted this Marriage blame-worthy and dishonourable, because he had taken so low a Lady, and was blind Love, not by Reason. It was this which gave a Beginning to that Hatred and Enmity betwixt King Edward, and Richard the renowned Earl of Warwick, &c."

But if you will not give credit to him, you shall hear an English Prelate living in those Times. 

Edwardus Rex setat præca electione cœlum Dileatis reli¡cit annum Elíabeth, inconclusi Regni procer poecribus clandestìam fíbi defunxit matrimon i; poeta ita in regnum Caroli fact î; quod qui d e Regni opere testimonium retinet, quia de tunc mat rix fìte fama p storage ad Regni Confer tium fecum propretio sublimare. That is, "King Edward, without consulting with the Nobles of his Realm, and relying solely upon his own Choice, secretly married the Widow of a certain Knight, by Name Elizabeth, but keeping her afterwards to be her own, and only the King's, By which the Peers of the Kingdom were highly disfigusted, because he had so unadvisedly exalted a Woman so meanly defcended to a Partnership in Sovereignty. Thus this amorous King lost his Honour, with the great dishonour of many of his Nobles and great Friends: yet it is well, that he had no more real and present feeling of the Error: being the first King of England that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majesty in the Alliance of so private and mean a Family."

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The Story of Arragon mentions a King deposit'd for marrying the Daughter of his Subject; and King Edward was something near it: for soon after, he was expuls'd his Kingdom being a man that kept in indigence and invincible Courage above his Troubles, he happily reco'd that Los, never his Honour and Friends, which he might have prefer'd, and prevented all those Calamities that overtook him in his dif- fairs, by the Advice of the Dutchess his Mother, who was a virtuous Adversary against his Love to this Lady Gray, used all the Perversions and Authority of a Mother, to return him to the La- dy Eliz. fasth, his former Love and Wife (at least his contracted) to finish and confound what he was bound to by publick Solemnity of Marriage, and preferv'd the peaceful and innocent Engagements, that for the Arguments fake, I have transcrib'd the Pallace out of Sir Thomas More and the rest of our English Writers. Thus she jeopardized it.

My liege Lord, and my Dear Son; it is very commonly reported you are purposed to marry the Lady Gray, a Wit- dow and a mean Gentlewoman, which you cannot conceive will redound to your Disparagement and Dihonneur: All the Wife, Great and Noble People of your Kingdom, will think it far more to the Advantage of your Honour, Profit and Safety, to seek the Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in a Foreign Country than your own; as well in regard, thereupon may depend great Strength to your Effe, and great possibility of en- larging your Possessions by such Affinity. Allo it being well consider'd you may not safely marry any other than the Lady Bona, the Earl of Warwick having proceeded so far in the Cur- rent of that Match already, that 'tis likely he will not fit down contented, if his trouble- some and costly Negotiation should be so lightly blown off and frustrated. Besides, Sir, consider it is not princely for a King to marry his own Subject; (at least no great and important Occasion leading him thereunto, nor Peculiarities or other Commo- dity depending thereupon) but will be less tolerable to all Opinion, than to Rich Man (should marry his Maid, only for a little wanton Dotage upon her Perfon; in which kind of Marriages, many Men commend more the Maid's Fortune than the Master's Discre- tion. Yet there must needs he more Honesty in such a Marriage, than can be Honour in this which you affect: For the difference is not so great betwixt a rich Merchant and his Servant, as you must think between the King and the Widow Gray; who in Perfon (albeit there be nothing to be milled) there is no- thing so excellent, but it may be found in many cases; and, more than in woman of noble and many ways exceeding her, and more compara- tively to your Effe (chose it as well Virgin, who must be thought of a much more honour- able Elevation than Widows) wherefore the Widowhood only of Elizabeth Gray ('tis) in all other things fee were convenient for you, you were enough to refrain you, being a King, and so great a King. And it must flick as a foul Disparagement to the sacred Majesty of a Prince (who ought as nearly as to approach the Priesthood in Pure- ness and Cleanliness, as he doth in Dignity) to be defiled with Bigamy in his first Marri- age.

Thus far the King could with Attention hear the Dutchess; but being extremely far gone in Love, so that his mind, on the 1st of Fajinen, of Love, it was relinquette to marry her; and partly in har- neft, and partly in play (as one that well wili he was out of the Check of a Mother) yet reve- nently thus replied;

MA D A M,

A Litho Marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his Grace inclineth, either Parties to love mutually and virtuously (as I hope and I trust he doth work in our) and not for the re- gard of any temporal Advantage, yet, never- theless, this Marriage (if it flemeth to me, being consider'd, even after the World's account) is not unprofitable nor without fruits: For I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or foreign Prince so necessary for me, as the Friendship and Love of mine own Subjects; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, seeing I disdain not to marry one of my own Land; when (if a foreign All- iance were thought to require) I could find the Means of that much better by other of my Kin (where all these Parties would be concerned) but to marry my self to one whom I should, peradventure, never love; and for the possibility of more Pollution, lose the Fruit and Pleasure of this I have already: For small Pleasure took a Man of all he hath, or can have, if he be Vived against his Appre- tice.

And I doubt not but there be (as you say, Madam) other Women in every point com- parable to the Lady Gray; therefore I let not other Men to Wed them, no more than have they reason to mislike where it like them.

Nor doubt my I am Cousin of Warwick's Love can be so slightly settled to me, as to grind at that which I affect; nor so unreasonable, to look, that in my Choice of a Wife I should rather be ruled by his Eye than mine own; that were to make a Ward, and bind me to the Appointment of a Guardian; with such fervile and hard Conditions I would not be a King.

As for the possibility you urge of more Inheritance by new Alliances in strange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwise, it is oftentimes the occasion of more Trou- ble than Profit. Besides, we have already a Tit- le and Seifine so good and great, as may suffice to be gotten, and so to be kept by one Man, and in one Man's Days.

For your Objection, That the Lady Gray hath been a Wife, and is now a Widow, and hath already Children; Why, (By God) Sir, for God Lady) I that am a Bachelour have some Children too; and fo, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us is like to be barren. And I trust in God, Madam, you shall live to see her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that shall be a Joy and Comfort to you.

For the Bigamy objected, let the Bishop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Or- ders of Priesthood; for I confess I understand Bigamy is forbidden to a Priest, but I never will it yet forbidden to a Prince; therefore I pray you, Good Madam, trouble your self and me no further in this Matter.

Then
Then the urged his Contract (c) with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and his having a Child by her, (as she said) and thought her Self bound in Consequence to charge him with. Mr. Moor, Grafton, Strow and the rest, say, The King uttered against her of a Slander which well and justly he might do, and these Authors may retract what they have written. For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, tho' he loved her well, being of an affable and witty Temper; nor did she ever allure the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by sweet and tempting Language: And who knoweth not credula res Amor e? But true it is, he had a Child by her, which was the Baffard Archer, called commonly (but unwdly) Arther Plantagenet, after ward made Vicount Iyfle by H. VIII.

In this Relation, the Historians have much and feoululy err'd; not only corrupting the Story, but have injured the Dutches of Torke in her Judgment and Knowledge of these Matters; and the tenor of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this Eliza-abeth Lucy (is to the Grand and Quality of this meaner than the Lady Grey whom he conceived to be liable of; for Elizabeth Lucy was the Daughter of one Wyat of Swagnewen, a mean Gentleman, (if he were one) and the Wife of one Lucy, as mean a Man as Wyat. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and she was One of those most famous Three who had peculiar Epithets, being call'd his Witty Leman. For that they would have her say the King was never betroth ed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore, I conceive, it was never extracted from her. But truly to false the Story and Error of these Writers, we must know, that Lady to whom the King was first betrothed and married, was Elizbaie Tailtes, Daughter of a Great Peer of this Realm, of a most noble and illustrious Family, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is also called in authentick Writings the Lady Butler, because she was then the Widow of the Lord Butler, a Lady of a very eminent Beauty and answerable Virtue, to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a Child by her. This is that Lady (not Elizabeth Lucy) the Queen spouse of her son; and (to note other) the King's Breach with this Lady, was a Caufe the fabrica Widow would not deliver her Name, in the Marriage, which was co vered Credulitas damno feti est publice. This Marriage caicd the Lady Elizbaie Butler into fe perplex Melancholy, that she spent her Self in a solita ry Life ever after: And how she died is not cer tainly known; but out of doubt, Kindness was not the cause, he having a Kindness for every new Face, and was so become exceedingly fancied to his new Wife the Lady Gray, no Court or Pleasure now, but where is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence, (which was many Years, and render'd a fruitful ill to him) no question, that Party of her Kindred made that Meslousie himself; yet in Remem brance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by fuch fensible Apprehensions, he could not brook to have it mention'd; which was the caufe of his Difpleasure against his ancient Chaplain Dr. Stillington of Burts, because he did write to himself, and Lords, that he would discover a King don, in discovering the Marriage, occasion'd by the Lady's sudden Indiposition and prefig evening sorrow; who not able to contain her felf, had open'd it to a Lady her Sifer; or, as some fay, to her Mother the Countefs of Shrewsbury; the, to the Earl her Husband; he confults it with his nobleft Kinclows and Friends, as it was a general Keith; they to inform themselves the better, had Conference with Dr. Stillington, who afirmed the Contract and Mar riage, with whom they advise; that as he was a Bifhop and a Privy Councillor, it behoved him to prepare it to the King's Conceration for some Redrefs and Satisfaction. But the Bifhop (too willing) dared not deal with the King in that manner; rather with'd they would apply it to the Duke of Gloucefter, as the Man most inward with the King; whereof Philip de Co mines thus writteh; Ceufay Enseufy d'Bath, mifit Philip de avant a ce Duc Gloucefter, que le dit Roi. Contraft douart fait fort amoureux, d'un Dame, d'Angle terre, & luy promife de l'epouser pour ce qu'il conçut avec elle, ils f'y concerné: et dit ceufay Enseufy, quil les avoit Enpofys, & ny avoit que luy & eux deux.

The Duke of Gloucefter, as they defir'd, prefis the Lod, who became more and more in AGAINST the Bifhop, saying, He had not only betray'd his Truf, but his Children; and upon that Heat puts him from the Council-Table under a ftrict Imprifoment for a long time, which at length he redeem'd himself from by a heavy Fine, as is testify'd by Dr. Goodwin Bifhop of Hereford, in his Catalogue Epigraphorum, who writ eath thus; Philip de Comines, le Roi Edw. de soppaier Enseufy, & le temo in prisa, & le Rosslen de un bon femme d'Argen. Which was taken for a peace of more Paffion than Justice; the Bifhop not deferving fuch fuffer in this cafe, where his Confequences might very well excede what he did.

Not long after, King Edward died; of what How K. Diffafe it is doubtfully fuggfected; Some thought of an Apollony or Dead Patie. Polior Virgil faith, of a Disfafe utterly unknown to all the Physician, which leaves it to a further Confruc tion. The Author of the History of Britains, delivers plainly, that King Edward was kill'd by Poifon (as the common Report in France went). Edd. i. in Aucmains difjonz que le Roy de Angleterre Edw. avant efe Empofyen au mois d' aurd en l'an 1463. Et Enguerrant de Manfiredet wright, That fome fay'd he died of an Apollony others, not very well. He was of the Marriage, and was maried to a learned Doftors, de cste lait damoises (letet est publice. This Marriage caicd the Lady Elizbaie Butler into fe perplex Melancholy, that she spent her Self in a solita ry Life ever after: And how he died is not cer tainly known; but out of doubt, Kindness was not the cause, he having a Kindness for every new Face, and was so become exceedingly fancied to his new Wife the Lady Gray, no Court or Pleasure now, but where is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence, (which was many Years, and render'd a fruitful ill to him) no question, that Party of her Kindred made that Meslousie himself; yet in Remembrance of this Pre-contract after a time, moved him by fuch fensible Apprehensions, he could not brook to have it mention'd; which was the caufe of his Difpleasure against his ancient Chaplain Dr. Stillington of Burts, because he did write to himself, and Lords, that he would discover a King don, in discovering the Marriage, occasion'd by the Lady's sudden Indiposition and prefigeing.

(c) Hillelghed fays: the only caufe of a Percontract to be alleged made by him with the Lady Elizbaie Lucy. But all Doubts removed, all Things made clear, and all Cavillations avoided, he privily in the Morning married her. Pag. 665.
of sundry credible Persons, importing and testifying the Children of Edward IV, were Ballards, with such opinion the City of London pass'd; and Dr. Shaw, Frier Pink, and other Preachers in the Pulpits declair'd them Spurious nivialimina. To this confeffed all the People of the North Parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before-mention'd; which the Court of Parlia-ment adjudging the same, sentenced of Improvidence in their Father, who might have prevented all Quarrels and Questions about that and future Claims, repair'd all Flaws and Defects of Titles; also have taken away the Error and inaccuracy of the Pro-cont-tract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Ballards to his Children; and fo have avoided all the ensuing Mischiefs and Calamities. If first he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady Eleanor from the Pope, who was then held to have all Power both of Heaven and Earth.

Or if after the second Marriage (and while he flourished, which was by the space of fourteen Years) he had either by a due Consideration, or Counsel of his best Friends, wrought the Pope's Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady Eleanor; then, his Apo-po-logical Bull of Dismission, that gave the imputation of Ballards to his Children; and so have avoided all the ensuing Mischiefs and Calamities. If first he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady Eleanor from the Pope, who was then held to have all Power both of Heaven and Earth.

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received it with so much content and liking, that presently the shaft into France for her Son the Marquis of Dorset, that was there with the Earl of Rich mond, earnestly soliciting him to renounce his Place, and return home to the King's Favours and Advancement, which he ac-

quired him: and sends the Lady Elizabeth to Attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the eye, fo in the Heart of the King. The Christmas following (which was kept in Wilt mfen-Hall) for the better colour of feed-
ing her Thrift, the Queen, sends her other four thither, who were received with all honorable courtesies by the King and Queen Regent; especially the Lady Elizabeth was ranked most Chronicle familiarly in the Queen's Favour, and with as

Little distinction as Sisters. But Society, nor all the Pomp and Pelfivity of those Times, could cure that sad Wound and Languor in the Queen's Breast, which the Death of her only Son had left. The Addresses of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feign'd wooning of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of Sufpicion to the Earl of Rich mond's Intelligencing Friends, and there was a Purpose to marry the Queen's Daughter Elizabeth; which must prevent the Earl both of his Hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title: a Clause that made them gutter very broadly against it: (for indeed, what more con-

ceiv'd them?) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly: but the Queen-Widow, and the Lord foon contain'd in their Desires and Expectation; only the Objection was, The King had a Wife: as tho' he could not marry another whom he liv'd; not remembering how usual it was, not only for Kings, but private Men, to put away one Wife and marry ano-

ther, for Civil Crimes, as well as Adultery and Treacon. The Romans might repudiate their Wives, for conver-

sing with Men that were not of their Kindred, and for going to fee Plays and Cirque Spectacles, (their Husbands not being with them) or if the Wife were unquiet or curst of her Tongue, &c. Henry VIII. put away Queen Katha-

rine of Capefile, and Queen Anne of Cleve; the one, because she was too old and cold for Pleasure; the other, because he was not fruitful or wan-

ton enough. Sometimes Men have put away their Wives for being Sluts, for having unfi-
vourous Breaths, or some Infecions Disea-

ces, without a Necellicity of taking away their Lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

Pope Clement VII. so ratify'd the Divorce of King Henry VIII. against Katherine of Capefile, as he defyt'd al Laws (Divine and Human,) that should contradict and impugn his Power and Dispensation, in these words: 


-4 The King sent the Queen, with the Marquis of Dorset to bring her into a Fool's Paradise. 7

Die
The Life and Reign of Richard the Third.

1485.

The tera Hedobemdis, 25 die mensis Oktobris, 
Aurum ab orbe conditio, 4349.

Et ego Jachim cognominatus N. filius Nathani, quem enim habebis in orbe in Regna N. Te N. 
axemnus modo, cognominatur N. filium N. quia 
sumi novum utraeque habet demum, & liberavi, & 
repudiavi te, ut, ut tua juris & dominæ animæ 
tuæ, & ad eundem, ut desini et pectus uter, 
quæ unius, & ut qui quisquam prohibe, quod 
minus fii in manu tuo, ut hoc die & in aeternum. 
Ecece, permísso es unisuque vix, & hic eci tibi 
à uae datos Libellus repudi, & Epiphae dimittor, 
& Infrumentum libertatis sunt Legis Meèa & 
Irœsia.

Which Verbal Latin Translation is thus Word for Word rendered into English.

Upon the third Day of the Week and 29th of 
the Month of October, in the Year of the 
World, 4349.

I Jachim firmasset N. the Son of Nathan, 
who at this Day sojourn in the Town of 
N. in the Kingdom of N. have, thee N my 
wife, firmasset N. the Daughter of N. who 
shall hitherto been my Wife, now discharged, 
and liberate, and repudiate thee from thy self, 
that thou mayst be in thy own Power and 
Midst of thy own Life, and to depart and 
be married by any other Man, as shall 
feem good in thine Eyes, and that no Man 
may hinder thee, from being at thy own 
Discharge, Go thou for this Day and for ever. 
And behold, thou art permitted to any Man, 
and be this a Bill of Divorce, and Epitaph di 
military, and Infrument of Liberty given un 
to thee by me according to the Law of Moses 
and of Israel.

But the Anwser which was made in the Name of 
The King to the Lady Elizabeth concerning 
her Queen, was, That she could be no Impediment 
of long continuance, being a very weak Woman in a Consumption, and past hopes of 
Recovery her Phyicis giving their Opinions, he could not live past the middle of February 
next Month at most; at least, he was permitted to die 
for he died in the next Month, March. When the midst and laft of February was past, the 
Lady Elizabeth being more impatient and jealous of the Success than every one knew or conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of Nor 
falk, intimating first, that he was the Man in whom she had in respect of that love her Father had ever bore him, and then the Congratulations his many Courtships, in continuance of 
of which, she desirous he to be a Mediator for her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage 
propounded between them; who, as she wrote, her only joy and Maker in this World, and 
that she was in heart and Thought with italizing infruing, that the better part of February 
was past, and that she feared the Queen would never Die.

All the letters her own Words, written with her own Hand, and this is the form of her 
Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or 
Original Draft, under her own Hand, in the 
magnificent Cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel 
and Surrey: By which it may be observed, that

This is another notorious fact: he abandonded her Bed, and sent her word was out of love to her Barren 
ness; if he did not poison her, he certainly was not sorry for her Death.
BOOK V.

The Argument of the Fifth Book of the Life and Reign of Richard III.

What a Tyrant is, and how a Tyrant and King Richard differ. The Destruction of the Plantagenets. The Daughters of King Edward how befouled. The Death of the Queen their Mother. The Virtues of King Richard the Third. The Elogy of the Three Brothers, King Edward the Fourth, George and Richard. The Magnificent, Publick and Charitable Buildings of King Richard the Third: His good Laws, and other good Works. That to die in the Wars is no Dishonour, but an Honour: Attis Reges Crimen regale: His Comparison with other Kings accounted good. King James's gracious Deemamour to his Cousin. A Character and Elogy of King Richard the Third. The Title of the Norman Race and of York defended. The many Titles of King James. The Wedding Ring of England. Lapis Regno fatalis. King Richard's Sepulcher and Epitaph. The Author's Scope; Peroratio & Votum.

We will next endeavour to understand that Vocabulum (that is, a Tyrant, or an Evil King) call upon King Richard; which indeed, comprehended all Scandals and Impieties whatsoever. Tyrannus est qui just proprius Commoda fludent, & publici adversatur. And, Tyrannus est qui dominavit eruditoribus ab silentio. An evil Tyran is he who endeavoureth only his own Advantage, and is an Enemy to that of the People: and again, a Tyrant is one that abuseth his Authority to Cruelty. A Tyrant is, by another Wife Man, compared to a Dragon, which becometh not a Dragon un-
The Life and Reign

of Richard the Third,

1485

Exactions, Robberies, SACRIFICES, Blood-shed, Murder, Adultery, Incest, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Lavishness, Prodigality, and all manner of Excesses: These be his Arts of Reighting, and thebe he his Virtues,

invectus Tyranni claris fortissime trucidat.

Tyrants with envious Eyes the Brave beheld, And murder in cool Blood the Valiant and the Bold.

Another fault,

Tyranni mirimur ostat privis, faliscem jubeat.

They force the Wretch to live, the happy Man to die.

So it was truly said by the famous Orator of Athens,

Demi..

Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud est quam tranfato pecuniamur a judicis Dominis, ad aliquos idque indigatos. That is,

"The Liberality of a Tyrant is nothing else but the Taking away from the rightful Owners what which belongs to 'em, and giving it unto others, and those unworthy thereof.

His Thirst and Covetoushe, for his largentious Riots and Luffs, are so inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Claudit in re.

Non Tertullianis illumin tantiar aremis Temporalibus potestagi Tagi, non magna yuenitis, durae Paccoli, oneratum eunxenit Hercum, Archit majore sf. &c.

Not Togus golden Tide can e're allwage, Nor red Patiles quench his avaricious Rage.

Give him whole Herms at a Draught; his Thirst

inundam demands yet more

Quicquid conficiens pulchrumque ex Esquire tene, Res fci ex, &c.

These may serve for the Notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impieties our King Richard was very little, or not at all obvious.

For First, Whereas a Tyrant impoht any grievous Taxes and Oppressions upon his Subjects, he took away such Grievances, and particularly, by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax (tho' disquitted with the name of a Benevolence) for requiring to impose any upon the People. The D.of Buckingham said, That the name of Benevolence, as it was taken in the Time of K. Edward IV. signified that everyhant should pay, what he of his own good will lift, but what the King of his good will lift to take.


Therefore, where tyrannical Acts be objected against him, they must be conceived done by other Men, or by their Pratice, or else he before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor could be properly calld Tyranny.

Amongst those he impu.. to him when he was King, which are called Tyrannies, the Re-...
Caligula
spent 230
Millions
in
Corruptions
left
than
years.

Money
inten-
in
confpira-
knowing
Confpira-
tion,

Shelly
Stow
1485–
Riktrd
[eme'd
than
that
in

his
a

Because
thought
Imperium,
Exce
Horse

Buck  Esquire.

My

Thefe

Domitian,

"...

for
..V

laudable A's done by you in several Bat-
tels for the Salvation and Defence of this

Realms.

Here followeth another general and mem-
orable Tefimony of him, and of more regard
and honour, because it is aver'd by One that knew
him from his Youth, the Duke of Buckingham,
who (after Richard was made King, and this
Duke became ill affected) acknowledg'd to Bp.
Morton, in private Speeches between them, (c)
That he knew Richard, from his
1st knowledge even to that time, a Man clean

without Dilimination, trucable, and without
Injury; and that for these Refpects he was very
deinous to advance him, and laburd earnestly

to make him Protector. Therefore, whatever
the Duke said after in reproach of the King, it
may judily be thought to proceed from Spies
and Malice.

There is this Commendation of his Eloquence Eloquentis
and pleasing Speech; which tho' no Regal Vir. Principis
true, yet it is an Ornament to the greatest
heathen Princes and commendable. The Prior of Croy-
land repeating the Difpute of a Controversial
between the two Brothers, George Duke of Clae-
rence and this Richard of Gloucester, at the Coun-
cil-Table before the King their Brother, fitting
in his Chair of State, relates it thus:

Praeficatori, inter Duces Fretarum, discribunt, ut
unique rarissima sectioiiem allegata sint in presentia
Regis (i.e. in Tribunali in Camera Concilii) quid
omnes circumstantes, eisam peritum Lagen eam orationis
 monitors abumantiam ipsi principibus in sui propriae caus.

That is,

"A Difpute arising betwixt the two Dukes,

being Brothers, so many pregnant Reasons

were adduced by them on either Side, in the

Presence of the King, fitting in his Chair of

State in the Council Chamber, that all who

were present, or even those who were well skilled in

the Laws, did admire that fluency of Speech

which the Princes had in Readiness in their

own Caufe, &c.

Then speaking of the excellent Wits, extraordinary
Knowledge and Gifts of these three

Brothers, maketh this honourable Praecony: the three

princes Brothers,

Hi tres Germani, Rex, & duo Duces, tam excell. iti ingenio caelebrome, ut si discribatur non voluerint su.

niculas ille triplices difficilissimae nonseptare. i. e.

(a) His killing the two young Princes when they were deliver'd up to him by their Mother, and his shewing his witter'd Arm as he wish'd, are no great Proofs of his Sincerity.

Vol. I. D d d 2 These
The good Works of
King Rich-
ard.

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and
magnificent Works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in
Middelburgh in Yorkshire; another College of Priests
in Louth in Tворег-фире, near to the Church
call'd Our Lady Biking. He built a Church or
Monument in Tewton in Glou&fiurn, a Monument of His
Thankfulness to Almighty God, for the happy and great Victory his brothers had upon
the Partisans of the Family of Lancaster, and the
Sons of Henry VI. who before fled Richard Duke
of York, King designate, and Father of these
two Kings.

He founded a College in York, convenient for
the Entertainment of an Hundred Priests.

He disdained a great part of the Forest of
Widwood, and other vast Woods between Wood-
Widwood and Brofffon, for the Good and Benefit
of the People of Oxfordshire and the Places adja-
cent.

He built the Great Stone Tower in Welmin-
ster, (which at this Day is a Work of good Use.) And
when he had repaired and fortified the Castle of
Carlifie, he founded and built the Castle of Peart
in Cumberland.

He manumified many Bond-men.

For the better encouragement of the Estaf-
tering-Hautes (their Trade being beneficial and
profitable to this Kingdom,) he granted them
some good Privileges, as Poldier writeth.

He also first founded the College and Society
of Heralds, and made them a Corporation; and
(as the words in the Charter are) he ordain'd
it, Ut intervinius Corpus Corporation in re &
nomine, habeant Sacramentum perpetuum, &c. (a
tame of his love to Honour, and his noble Care
for the conservation of Nobility, Chivalry and
Gentry,) Which Corporation this King effa-
blidh'd by his Royal Charter, and plac'd the He-
radals in an ancient fair House, which was call'd
Twakine sometimes, after commonly Colb-harbour,
and as I hear upon the Thames; ordaining four
Kings at Arms, by the Names and Titles of John
With, Garder; Thomas Holm, Clarencex; John
Mow, Norway; and Richard Chapmey, Glou-
celler.

For Wales, I have seen the Charter wherewith
the King created first Richard Chapmey, Edg,
King at Arms, by the Title and Name of Glou-
celler, dated Anno R. III. at Welminfer, in the
Moath of March, when the Charter of the Foun-
dation was granted.

He further eflablidi'h, That these four Kings at
Arms and at the Rest of the heralds, who are in
the Charter of the Return of the Herald & Palan
eons at Ffamous, should lodge, live and common
together, in that House, where the Rolls, Monu-
ments and Writings (appertaining to the Office
and Art of Heraldry and Armory) should be
kept, giving also Lists and Tenements for the
payment of an Annual Maintenance of a Paying
Chantry Priest, to say and Sing Service every Day, and
to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and for
their Souls when they were dead.

Lastly, He gave fundy good Privileges and
Immunities to the End Corporation: Which
Chapmey continually resided in the Office until
within these few Years, but now is in another
place: The want of it importeth nothing, be-
ing the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives,

kept in the Convert-house, now call'd the Rolls.

It was firm'd by the Parliament, and dated
at the Annuities, annu Roya premia, edo 12d 11.

He also built or repair'd some part of the
Tower of London towards the Tombs; in memo-
ry whereof, there be yet his Arms impaled with
those of the Queen his Wife, flanding upon the
Arch adjoining to the Sine-gate.

He began many other good Works, which his
sudden Fate prevented; as Poldier thus witnec-
feth.

Richardus Torus multa opera publica & privata
inclutavit, quae immutata mero præcepit quam per-
fectis. Which Works and Monuments of Piety
flow not the Acts of a Tyrant. Poldier Virgil,
being neither Tores nor Lancastrian, speaks much
in commendation of his pious and charitable
Disposition; to which I refer the Readers, and
put it to their indiftinct Judgments, that two
many of thofe call'd Good Kings, have exceeded
him in their longer and prosperous Time, be-
ing in quiet possession too of their Crown and
Kingdoms? Let me add for a Corollary, what
that of the worthy Preatie Arctobald Quinlaw
Chief Secretary, and a Privy Councilor of Scots
and of His Occupation, when he was One of the
Commissioners for a conclusion of Peace and
Marriage between Prince James, eldest Son
to the King of Scotland, and the Lady Ann,
Daughter to John de la Pole; from whence I
have collected thefe.

Serennfimus Princeps,
U N A me rei confiitut., & juxta, tu
(5) in omni
vita tua genere celebratus fana per quons Orbis ter-
rarum ambitus distinguatus, tuo esse innate benevolu-
itus in clarissima praestitisse, humanitas, tua munificentia, litera-
litas, fides, fomnia publica, incredibili anima magnitudine,
qua num humana, fide penfa divina fapientia, te non modo
singula facies, verum volos & populuum officium pro-
bet & quod versatum in praestantissima & prominentia
et sacra-
cista & dida in multa conditum.

Serenissimum Princeps, Cum in Strome & Com-
mercium, Domino maximo, qui te aliis anno elegentis
regnum, te deferet, tuam, amicitiam & affectum tuum, ut
saliat, sapit & cognosces meiam, et quid mea erat erat,
tua & divina vibration, quod Commodum ennum
Celisfinae nominum & factamen contrarium, tributum
pain

Feci aem tuum fumma Imperi & Principatus dignum in
Richards spirits, quae moralis & Heredita visu illustrata, de te fides Statut
predicativus propius quodThebanorum Principis implentius ipsius ferus,
Poetis tuos vel atque

Nempe tuum tantum animam natura minori corporis, nec
tantum viae ct cuirico rerum. Magno in exiguis regulatas
corporis versus. Inte eum factu militaris, viratrum, pri-
tricia, felicitatem, & auctoritatem, quae omnibus in optimo exerci-
to princeps Cicero requirit.

In te (Serenissime Principis) praestat Regi & Impera-
toribus praestat te concussatus, tu ad usum tuum Bella, tu
et homines viximus consecratione compotum utriusque appositas

Tu visus (Serenissime Domine & Principes) de intendens
inter tuam & Supremum Principem charitate & amicitia, fide et
Angli & Scoti dilectissimae respectus nullum ponunt diversi-
men habeturus, sed in tuam omnem & benevolentiam tuam
omnem aliis esse consecratus, et numerabilis consociationi
et capita, omni populi delibera, de his communibus, unum,
Matrimonio, & Affinitate confecratus.

In freto dom fluis corrent, dom munificentia ambra
Lebant dominat, suscitat purum dom errore folitis.

Dom inga munia opes, flores dom Pictus amalas,
 Dunque Tyghe palpantem opes, dom vero cecato,
Simpere basse numerique tuum, laudatis numen.
In English thus;

1484.

Most serene Prince,

ONE thing is to me at this time favourable and encouraging, which is your Majesty most high Renown in every kind of excelling Qualities, extended even into the Corners of the World; also the most illustrious and surpassing Excellence of your innate Goodness and Generosity, your Clemency, Liberality, Truth, great Justice, Magnanimity surpassing Belief, your not human, but almost divine Wisdom, you shew in your self gentle to all, and affable, even to the most vile of your Subjects; by which you have your Virtues, and by your great Prudence, whatever is spoken and pronounced by your Majesty favourably confirmed and accepted. The most serene Prince the K.of the Sea,amaly Master,our High Love and Eleem he has for your Majesty, is dearful of your friendship and Affiance, even beyond what I am able to express; the Faults that I may chance to commit, they find a Cufe as well as an Excuse in your Divine Virtues, whereby you are become like unto, and are, as it were, entred into the Society of, the celestial Inhabitants. He beholds in your Face a princely Majestie and Authority Royal, sparkling with the illustrious Beams of all Moral and Heroical Virtues. To you may not unfairly be applied, what was said by the Poet of a most renowned Prince of the Thibams:

—So great a Soul, such Strengths of Mind Sage Nature n'e to a lef Body joy'd.'

For in your Majesty are Military Provi'd, Skill, Succes, and Authority; all which are by Clever requird in an able General of an Army.

In you (most serene Prince) all the Excellent Qualifications of a Good King and Great Commander are happily united, incomprehensible, that to the Perfection of your Military and Civil Accomplishments, nothing could be added, even by the highest Rhetorical Rights of a most conccmitn Orator.

You therefore (most serene Prince) will be pleas'd in your Royal Wisdom, to take fuch Measures, upon your Part, for establishing a Loyall and Friendship betwixt you and our Prince, that with respect to mutual Love, the Difference betwixt an English and a Scotch Man may not henceforth be remembered, but both Nations may be united by the Bond of Love and Benevolence. So, from the Love, sweet Agreement, Union, Alliance, and as it were Marriage of your People and these of ours, unto both innumerable Advantages shall accrue.

While Floods to th' Sea do roul, and Moun- tains high,

Call Eebbe Shades, Stars sparkle in the Sky,

Wild Bears on Hills, Fifth wanton in the Streams,

Bees feed on Thyme, at Titan's later Beams

Locuts on Dew, you high renowned Name

Shall ever live, and fly on Wings of Fame.

But what is this, or more, to Malice and Detraction, that haint him to his Death; and after that, making the Catastrofe, or laft tragi- cal Act of his Life at Bosworth-field, an immedi- ate Stroke of the Divine Vengeance, for such Off-
And to secure his Efface, had more than learnt other finer Rules of Policy. That reach of State upon Philip of Auvergne, Duke of Burgundy, King of Castile and Arragon, is not the least of the World.

This Prince Philip was by crois Fortune put into the King's Hands: Purposmg out of Flan-

ders to go into Spain, with the Queen his Wife, took Shipping at Sines, and passing by the Outfall of England, was by a Tempest forced for his Shelter into the Port of Harwich, in Dor-

fishere: The Queen being ill, and distemper'd much with the Storm, was compell'd to make some stay there.

Sir John Carver, and Sir Thomas Tremard (principal Men in those Parts) gave speedy Intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the Accident, and purposed to make good use of it, as speedily returning his Command to give them all honourable Entertainment; but not suffer them to depart, until he had seen and falu-
ted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as soon as the Queen and their Keep had recover'd and refresh'd them-
selves, thought he was only to give those Knights Thanks, and take his Leave; which they by way of courtesy and respect interposed, in be-
half of the King's vehement desire to salute him and the Queen: A Moton the Duke much pref-
to, as the Natural of his Kingdom; as the Intrest of his Journey stood; but the Intrest was so impe-
rious, he must stay, and alter his Journey for

Windor, to meet the King, who received him there in a Magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feast, propounds a Suit to the Duke for Edmund de la Pool (then in his Dominions) a Prentender to the Crown of England, and the Child to so soundly affected to him: A Suit of a harsh Exposition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemish of his Honour and Piety, as he no-

ably urged: but no Argument had Vertue, nor no Tortue Argument enough to excuse it; the King must have him, or the Duke must stay. Caft upon this Extrem (and foreseeing what Disadvantages were upon him, some honourable Conditions granted, that he should neither lay Punishment nor Death upon him) he gave his Promise to send him, and the King strictly and reginally told him himself to be called to the Refonation. The Duke accordingly sent this de la Pool into England; who upon his Arrival was deliver'd to the Tower; but his Life not toucht until the King lay a Dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Referrament, enjoying his Son af-
ter his Death to cut off his Head; which was done when he came to be King, and was held some taint to both them; though the Son field himself acquit and warranted by the Example of King Salmon, who was made the Infrument of such another substil Slaughter by his Father

Dud, that thought he kept himself by Equi-

vocation: Example, not to be immunity of a

Christian Prince, being a Sin; and Sins are to be avoided, nor imitated.

The eldest Brother of thefe de la Pools, John de la Pool, Heir to the Duke of Suffolck, and Head of this family, was Slain caudally at the Battel of Parno, and who, as near need the Chil-

King Richard III. was Proclaim'd Heir apparent. The Sifer of these Princefully de la Pools, the Lady Katharine, was kept clofe Prisoner in the Tower, until Grief and Sorrow bower her to the Grave.

Nor is it much from our Purpose to note the Change that took Place among the Chil-


dren of King Edward IV. but cold Influ-


ences then; for the Lady Bridges was thrust into a Nunnery at Darsford, chiefly (as it was thought) that she should live Sterile, and die without Illis. The Lady Cecily was married to a base Fellow, that fo her Illis might be ignoble and contemptible: The Wrong being the great-

er, to the ruin of the World, she lost her Quality; the King of Scotland propounding Prince James unto her; and the French King Louis demanded her for the Dauphin Charles of France.

It was observed too, that this King was but Altch the

an Honourable and Square a Hand to his Queen, and

the Lady Kate-

Queen Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial were well

Errors, because she deliver'd her Son Richard married,

to the Protector; for which there was a Con-

sideration upon her Goods, Chattels and Re-

cences, and the confidnt to Bermondsey Abbey there; for to

where she liv'd not long, Care and Grief were

bein follow'd in the Time of

Kings,

the one to

and the other to


dom of the House of York, he gave the last blow to: and after the dispatch of the aforesaid Edifft Edward,

mard de la Pools, cans'd the Lady Margaret Plan-

yngton: Countes of Salisbur, then Daughter to the Earl of Devon, and the sonnes of Edward and Richard,

of the other.

Heir of George Duke of Clarence, to be Attained of by the Earl of Devon, RoberGlou-

Jiff, etc.,

Fol.

three

Three-

Dowman in Arms, anno 33 H8. Not long after, the

Sir Henry Pool her eldest Son was put to Death, and his Son Reynold Pool was assaulted of Trea-

son with her (20 Man knowing what the Trea-

son was) but got suddenly out of the Kingdom

into Italy, where he became much favour'd by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward

made Cardinal, and highly renowned (in those Times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble Merits. Richard Pool, another Son of the Coun-

tes of Salisbur, bed, and liv'd a handil Man in foreign Countries; yet at the height of a good Reputation, until he was Slain at the Battle of Pavia.

Thefe be sad Pales, which my Pen but tou-

ches at, to note the Partiality of some on one Side, and the Intrest of others on the other

Side, who have made King Richard the work of all Princes; when other of our own have had as great an Appetite of Empire, whole Fames and facred Names we gratulate with Honour.

Nor let my just and plain Meaning be mi-

Raken, which urges nothing in Dillike or Ex-

probation that King Henry the Seventh had the

Crown, whom our Age must acknowledge a Wife, Provindic and Religious Prince, The Restorer of the ancient Line of the Bri-

rifs Kings to their Reign and Kingdom, Ne-

phecy of King Henry the Sixth by his Grand-

son, Henry Ten, who was the youngest of King Henry the Fifth, and Mother of King Henry the Sixth, and of his Brother Uterine Edmund Tenor Earl of Richmond, the Father of this King Henry the Seventh; and fo he was Nephew alfo to Charles the Seventh King of France. I only conceive he was born in the right, and not violently a hand, not raying tem-

pus bene placit.

And here I may fitly take occasion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Tides of the Normans, and Princes of York, by our vulgar Historians and Chroni-

And if it be dry great growths, as this grew by the Error of King Edward's Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weaken'd (at the least blemish'd) but that could have no con-

The funda-

ments of our Title to the Crown of


Grafton.
By George Buck, Esquire.

In 1485, being made found again as soon as King Richard came to reign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty Power of Findley Parke, by whom it was made as strong and firm as ever; besides the aid of the Difficulties Apothisphoric (in those times Sacred and Authentick). And without that (if need were) our King now reigning hath other Royal Rights, more than fanious Triplex; some more ancient, authentick and just, therefore more fenced, and of more powerful Hopes than the Norman Title, which was a violent acquit of the Sword, and a Parachute made by Blood, so consequently none of the Belt; which was well conceived by that great Macedon, when he said, Non omnia possit in oman gladio inceperat. Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Contesor is said to have made to William the Conqueror, being to no Purpore, because that Gift or Legacy was disclaimed and disallowed by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.

Yet Nothing new, and Prophecy, have also made that Title good; for Prophecy hath power to Ratify and Confirm the Titles both of Princes and of Private Men.

But our King is the immediate and sole Lawful Heir of King Egbert (who first gave the Name of England, and was absolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, Edgar, Edmund, Athelstan, Alfred, and many others, as well Saxons and Angles, as Anglo-Saxons, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duly defended and devoted to Edmund Ironside King of England, who was Father to the noblest and truest of all Kings, Edward Ironside, whose Fair Daughter and Heir (a religious Lady) the Princess Margaret of England, was married to Malcolm Canmore King of Scotland; from which Ancient and happy Alliance, the King our Sovereign Lord is directly and certainly defended, and is the true and only Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; to the most ancient and famous Title, and Right of the first Kings of Britain are in him, being the next Heir of our last Britifh King Henry Tudor, whose Genealogy I have been derived from the Antick Kings of Britain, and from divers other British Princes. And this Henry Tudor (by the warrant) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his Claim, by the strongest and greatest Authority, procured them Decreed to him and to his line (so established in himself and his Potteryer for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

And this Act was renewed and firmly canta-

bilibb'd, for our Sovereign Lord King James,

Anne regina primus,

Yet King Henry the Seventh obtained of the Pope another Title, Jure Belli.

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of Britain) are coalesced and met in our Sovereign King; for he hath not only the Claims of the ancient Kingdom of Britain, of the Saxons, and Anglo-Saxons Kings, and of the Norman Race; but also the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of York, of Lancaster, and of Wales &c.

And (not as the leaf, in reference with thefè) he hath in pofition also, those singular and particular Monuments of Stone, and Sovereignty by some call'd Eata Regn, and Instrumenta & Monumenta Regni, & Imperii definita.

One being the King of the accounted Holy King Edward, the Son of King Etheldred, which was consecrated and extraordinarily blessed by Etheldred St. John Baptist in Padstow, and sent back by the Britifh Writers (as it is) which hath been religiously kept in the Abbey of Westminster, and is (as Tradition goes) the King which the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Inauguration and Consecration of the Kings, puts upon their Finger, call'd in our Stories, The Wedding King of England.

The other Monument of the Britifh Empire, is the Marble Stone whereupon Jacob laid his fatal Head, when he had those Celestial and Mystical Stones. Visions mentioned in Holy Writ; which Stone was brought out of Padstow into Ireland, and from thence carried into Scotland by King Kenneth; after translated to the City of Sten, and used for the Chair wherein the Kings sat at their Coronation; brought out of Scotland by Edward the First into England, as the best Florians of Scotland and England relate.


That is, The Marble Chair fatal to the Scots Kings, and in which they used to Sit when they were crowned, was by King Edward I. removed from Stone to London, and placed in Westminster Abbey, where it yet remains.

It is but or born in a Chair of Wood, and for a perpetual Honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at Westminster) this is writ:

-Si quid habet euri vel Coloniae caele, falfus Claudius hae Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapsis, -Ad eum, eum iniam Jacob quondam Patriarchae, Quem polius coronis nominis miraqua; Quam tuat a Scottis Edwards primus, &c.

-If old Records say true, this Chair That noble Stone inclosed does bear, On which the Patriarch did his Head recline When he view'd Scenes all wondrous & divine; This the first Edward did from Scotland bring.

George Buchananus Sith, The People are seri-

ously perfwaded that in this Stone (which he calleth Lapidem Marsavermum rudem) The Fate of fallable the Kingdom is contained, and that fatum Regni non regal is thus understood: viz. What King of Scots after Lord of that Stone, and Sovereign polity thereof, shall be King, and reign.

Therefore, the 7th of November in the Year 1485.
In the Country where he findeth that Stone:
Thus is told in a Prophetical Dictum.

Thus have I led you through the various

Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this

Prince's Life, to his left Aft and Place, where,

(after Revenge and Rage had stirred their harronous Cruelties upon his dead Body) they gave

his Royal Earth a Bed of Earth, honourably,

appointed by the Order of King Henry the
Seven, in the Chief Church of Leeds, and of St. Maries, belonging to the Order and Society of the Grey Friers; the King in short time after
taking a fair Tomb of mangled colour'd Marble, adornd with his Statue to be erected thereupon, to which some grateful Pen had also endeavored to add some Graffs whereon

(never fixt to his Stone) I have been able to record Manuscript-Book chain'd to a Table in a Chamber in the Guild-hall of London: which

(faults and Corruptions being amended) is thus repressed, together with the Title thereto

prefixed as I found it.

Could this King be brought off from the horrid Imputation that lies upon his Memory, of much Bloodshed, Oppression and gross Hypocrify, to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him a good King. For in several Proclamations of his Reign, and Public Declarations by him made, he expressed a Care of the good Estate of his People, and a Concern to have Sin and Vice checked, and carried himself with a Regard to Learning and Religion.

Here follow some Infrances:

Upon the Appearance of a Conclave of Claudefor in the Execution of his Office, the King taking particular Notice thereof, and of the Occasion, sent a Special Letter to the chief Officers there Ver.

RIC. H. V. To the Major, Sheriffs and Aldermen of our Town of Gloucester, that now be, or that ever as such we have in this our County, and ever since, by Command of our Lord the King, do make Vexillation, and be ye by your Deputys and others to procure that ourlden and parcell of Sentiments, and such other contain of the said Types, or any of them, be not done, or attempted at any time, or in any way, under cover of any pretence, or otherwise.

The same Vexillation, or any other, be they in Manchester, or else where, or otherwise, if they do or attempt to do any such thing, they shall be made to repent it, and to repentance, or else ye shall make the King to repent thereof, and the King may then commended by the King.

The same Vexillation, or any other, shall be so made, or attempted, as to cause the said King and his Subjects, or any Subject, to repent thereof, or to repentance, or otherwise, the said King may then commended by the King.

For the checking of Vice and promoting of Sobriety and Vertue, both in Temporal and Spiritual Men, the King wrote this Circular Letter to the Bishops.

Reverting Faith to God, Right Trullte and Welbeloved, We gree ye were ye Alcayrtyng ye that amengs other oare Seculer behavies and Care, ore principal Extent and foremost desire is to be vertue and cleanness of

Lving to be avanced, encreed and multiplied, and vices and all other thing repugnant to vertue, provoking the high Indigation and feerful Dilpfare of God, to be reprefled and aimed but And this perfectly followed

and put in execution by Perfones of high Esteem, Pre-minister and Publick Men, as well as Private and noe Example, but to take care thereof, for example, and to enfore the fame, but also thereby the great and infinite Goodness of God is made placeable, and graciously enclosed to the satisfaction of our Petitions and Prayers. And forschiome as it is nota-

rily known, that every Justification, as wele in their Faithfull Care, as other, there be many, as wele in the Spirits of the Temporal, and as well and to the perpetual exec-
a
de ample of other, and lothomemone of every welediplofed Perfone, wee therefore well and deire you, and on Goddes bethward inshort and require you, that according to the Charge of your Profection, you wele full, and Graceful Perfones of your Jurisdiction and the entire Particular

of execution of Sinne and Vice, to be reformed, repreffed and punifhed condoningly after their demerits: not sparing for any love, favour, drec or affection whether it be in Good or Bad, ortherwise. Wherein ye may be assured we will yewe unto your favour, aide and allience, if the Cas so shall require, and fee to the sharpe Punifhment of the Repugnants and Interfumers, if any fiche be.

And if ye will diligently apply you to thefession and perforating of this Matter, ye fhall not only ouuo

due unto the right acceptable pleases, but over that we shall fee the Perfone Spiritual as ben under your Requi-
tell Care, noon otherwise to be enticed or punifhed for their Offences, but according to the Ordinances

and Lawes of holy Church. And if for the due execution of the Premisses any Complaint or Subjection be made unto us, we will remaye unto your Deference and reformation thereupon, in the name of God, your Cardinalis. And thus proceeding to thefession horeof, ye shall do unto your Selfe good honours, and unto us right

familiar pleasure. Ye even, ver. at refolution the X. day of March.

And his Care of the good Government and Ease of his Subjects, part of his Proclamation against his Rebels in

Penn and them ye Vis.

And over this, the Kings Highneck is fully determined to se due Administration of Justice throughout this

Realme to be had: And to rehausse, punyfice, and to laboure at Exaction and Oppressions in the fame. And for that Care well that at his comeing now into the realme, no Perfone dwelving within the

fame, that fyndeth hym grieved, oppreffed, or unlawfullli wronged, do make a byl of his Complaynt, and put

it to his Highneck, and he shall be heard, and without delay have suche convenient remedy as shall accord with

his Lawes. For by his Grace is uttered, that all byl and Complainces shall be hear, and all things done by him ably enjoy their Lands, Liveldes and Goodes according to the Lawes of this his Landes, which hee be naturally

born enberty. And therefore the King chargeth and commandeth, that no maner Man of whatsoever Condi-
tion or of any degree of any Grace or Goodnes, shall have any libertie to defraud his Duty, and his Service, or him in any Imperate.

Death. And also, that no maner Man make tyr, or contrive any Quarrels to either for any old or new can-
rage, hate, malyce or cause, or ofte make, upon paine of Death. Nor allo take Man's meat, Houste meat, or any

of his Lawes, without he pay truly and upon paine of this Death. Nor allo make Man's Robes, or any

Goodes, and his Body to Prifon at the kynges Wyll. And overthry, that no maner Man troble or vex any Farrant, or Occyper of any of the Landes that appertenyd to the abovedeyned Rebels and Traitors, otherwise y than by the framme

Acte of Indemnity, that al fals Befede and all fals Complainces, that al fals or otherwise have been made, shall be

own hand the Revenews and Mony grown, and to grow of the said Landes, unto the tyne they the kynges

pleasure in that behalfe. And the Kyng our said Soveraign Lord chargeth fraite all his Mynber. Officers and the Sub-
saffets within the same Countie, to dehurb all without at refernes that well atone any thing contrary to thy

proclamation, and that take and freely keep in Prifon, unto they have from the Kynges highneck otherwise in

commandement for their Delivery. f. 5.
To give you him in his equal Dought and
Competition : He was of a mean or low Com-
pact, but without Disproportion and Unevenness
either in Lineaments or Parts (as his several
Pictures present him) His Aspect had most of
the Soldier in it ; So his Natural Inclination
(Complexions not uncertainly expounding our
Dispositions) but what was of wants of the Court-
Plan, Effeminate Centurions think must needs be
hardh and crabbed (and Envy will pick Quar-
rels with an Hair, rather than want Subjed);-
The Judgment and Courage of his Sword-
Actions, rendered him of a full Honour and Ex-
perience, which Fortune gratify'd with many
Victoires ; never any Overthrowes through his
own Default, for lack of Valour or Policy. At

Epitaphium Regis RICCHARI Tertii,
Sepulchri ad Leitcefrism, jufius, & fumpribus
St Regis Henrici Septimi.

Hic ego, quem vario Tellus sub Marmore claudi,
Tertius at jufa voce Richardus eram ;
Tutor eram Patriae, Patrias pro jure Nepotis ;
Dumpta, tenui regna Britannae. fide.
Scegenitas dat binita domascat adempit
Emptusque, tus tus mea Specta, dux,
Fortiter in bella constant desertor ab Anglia,
Rex Henrici, tibi, jepimus, fucubuli.
At sumptus, pius, ira, foe ofa discans,
Regem olime facis Regis bauer Cali.
Quoruid exasperat fama, quing his annis
Astra transeunt gland, fufra faltati event,
Antique September undena lutea Kalendari,
Ruderamus vare tra petita Rafa.
At mea, quasquis oris, proper commifi precans,
Sis Minor ut precius paxa levata tuiti.

Deo O. M. Trino & Uno, fit laus
& gloria eieceru. Amen.

Epithaph of Richard III. bury'd at Leicefter
by the Order, and at the Expense of King
Henry the Seventh.

I Who am laid beneath this Marble Stone,
Richard the Third, polit'd the Brifhe Throne;
My Country's Guardians is my Nepht's Claim,
By Truf related to the Kingdom came.
Two Years and fifty Days, fave two, I reign'd,
And bravely Stroke in Fight, but unfulfill'd
My English left me in the lockeles Field,
Where to Henry's Arms was forc'd to yield.
Yet at his Charge, my Coire this Tomb obtains
Who pious inter'd me, and ordains
That Regal Honours wait a King's Remains. 3
Th' Year fourteen hundred 'twas & eighty four,
The twenty first of August, when its Pow'r
And all its Rights I did to the Red Rafe restore.
Reader, who're thou art, thy Pray's below
T' sone my Crimes, and eafe my Pain below.

To Court, and in his general Department, of an
affable Reverence and tractable Cleverness. In his
Difpence, of a magnificent Liberal Hand, some
what above his Power (as Sir Tho. Moor fets
down). And surely the many Churchies, with
other good Works he founded, (more than
any one former King did in fo short a time)
must commend him Charitable and Religious,
as the excellent Laws he made, do his William
and Strain of Government, which Men confi-
febs of the left. So having (even from thofe
his bittrefte times) the Efeceem of a Valiant,
Wife, Noble, Charitable and Religious Prince,
why should ours deprave fo much upon
Truf, and deny Works their Character and
Place?

Epigramma in RICHARDOS Anglie Reges, ex vet. lib. M.S. tranferiptum.

T'feci funt Richard quorum fortuna erat aqua,
In tribus eflaria tus cujus proprius fars ef;
Nom Comers lorum finis fine profeftate
Corporis, agent rapax crite modus, & violentus
Interius fuerat ; Sed major gloria prima,
Pratia terrarum qui geller & reductam
Tela Balifanum feriunt ejus externa regna.
Alter despitius regna, qui carere Cujus,
Mendibus exsitter certis, fame volle portre
Elegit potius, quam fana probara videre.
Tertius exauhui fatins amplus diminuam
Edwardus cumulat, profebris auxilares
Henrici partes, potf annus denique binos
Subepet regni, Bala confideos eifrem
Mundanum vitam, tam perditus atque Carnam:
Amo millem; Centum quartus olugam;
Adjunctis guamque, & cum lux Sextilis ad efo,
Undena duplex, denies aps flupuram,
Es vindex alba Rafa Rubra refert in orbe.

Epigram on the Three Richards, Kings of
England, the Latin tranferiptd from an
Old Manuscript.

T Three Richards did in England wear the Crown,
An equal Fortune in the three was shown ;
All Childlesse dy'd, and left no Race behind,
Rapacious were their Lives, to Force alike inclin'd;
Their Deaths were violent. The first excell'd
The Reft in Fame, and *Triumphs of the Field,
Returning home, he on a foreign Plain
Was by the fatal Darts of Archers Slain.
The Second was from Sovereign Speech depo'd.
For several Months in fierce Confinement clos'd,
He chose to Starve, rather than fee his Shame,
And bear the Infults of reproaching Fame.
The Third profolutely spent the treafure'd Store
That Edward rais'd, but when with warlike Pow'r
To crush brave Henry's Partizans he try'd,
Wounded in Fight, he fell himfelf and dy'd.
Thus the Red Roses, their Oppofites flain,
Revver'd and flourifh'd in the World again.

Vol. I. Eee THE
THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. HENRY VII.

By the Right Honourable FRANCIS Lord Verulam, Viscount S. Alban.

AFTER that Richard the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all Times since, was by the Divine Revenge, favouring the Design of an exiled Man, Overthrown and Slain at Bosworth Field: There succeeded in the Kingdom the Earl of Richmond, thenceforth fly'd Henry the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his Nature a great Observer of Religious Forms, caused To Deum Landamus to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himself with general Applause and great Cries of Joy, in a Kind of Military Election or Recognition, saluted King. Mean while the Body of Richard after many Indignities and Reproaches (the Divisae and Obscurae of the common People towards Tyrants) was obscurely buried. For tho' the King of his Noblemen gave Charge unto the Friers of Leicester to see an honourable Interment to be given to it, yet the Religious People themselves (being not free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any Man's Blame or Contention. No Man thinking any Ignorancy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King Henry VI. the Innocent Prince with his own Hands; the Conspirator of the Death of the Duke of Clarence, his Brother; the Murderer of his two Nephews (one of them his lawful King in the Prefent, and the other in the Future, falling of him) and vehemently suspected to have been the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make Vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the Degree forbidden. And altho' he were a Prince in Military Vertue approved, Jealous of the Honour of the English Nation, and likewise a good Law maker, for the Ease and Solace of the common People: Yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the Opinion of all Men, weight'd down his Virtues and Merits; and in the Opinion of wise Men, even tho' Vertues themselves were conceived to be rather Rigour, and affected things to serve his Ambition, than true Qualities ingenerate in his Judgment or Nature. And therefore it was noted by Men of great Understanding (who seeing his after Acts, look'd back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the Time of King Edward his Brother, he was not without secret Trains and Mines to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many Diforders, could not be of long Life, but was to leave his Sons of tender Years; and then he knew well how easy a Step it was from the Place of a Protector, and first Prince of the Blood, to the Crown. And that out of this deep Root of Ambition it sprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that passed between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. of France, concluded by Interview of both Kings at Ponseney, as upon all other Occasions, Richard then Duke of Gloucester, Jealous of his Honour, raising his own Reputation to the Disadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the Eyes of all (especially of the Nobles and Soldiers) upon himself; if the King by his Valorous Life and mean Marriage, were become Eneminate and left Inhabitant of Honour and Reacon of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politick and wholesome Laws which were enact'd in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an Usherer, thereby to woone and win the Hearts of the People, as being conciusious to himself, that the true Obligations of Sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry in the very Entrance of his Reign, and the infant of time, when the Kingdom was cast into his Arms, met with a Point of great Difficulty and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wifhest King in the newness of his Eftate; and so much the more,because it could not endure a Deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent K. Henry's to his Person, three several Titles to the Imperial Crowne; the firft, the Title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent Pact with the
the Party that brought him in, he was to mar-
ry. The second, the ancient and long disputed
Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the House of
Lancaster, to which he was Inheritor in his own
Perfon. The third, the Title of the Sword, or
Conquêst, for that he came in by the Victory of
Bosworth, his Law being in possession of that
Field. The first of these was fairest,
and most like to give Contentment to the
People, who by Two and Twenty Years Reign of
King Edward IV. had been fully made capable
of the Clearness of the Title of the White Rose,
which it is plausibly
able Reign of the fame King toward his later
Time, were become affectionate to that Line.
But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he
relied upon that Title, he could be but a King at
courteous; and have rather a matrimonial than a
genial Power; The Right remaining in his Queen,
upon whom Death, either with
lie, or without lie, he was to give place and
be removed. And tho' he should obtain by
Parliament to be continued, yet he knew there
was a very great difference between a King
that holdeth his Crown by a Civil Act of Ef-
fecution, and which is helder by a
Law of Nature and Defeat of Blood. Neither
wanted there even at that time, secret Rumours
and Whisperings (which afterwards gather'd
strength, and turn'd to great Troubles) that
the two young sons of King Edward IV. or one
of them (which were said to be defoy'd in the
Tower) were not indeed murdering, but convey'd
secretly away, and were yet living: Which
if it had been true, had prevented the Title of
the Lady Elizabeth.
On the other side, if he
rood upon his own Title of the Houfe of
Lancaster, inherent in his Perfon, he knew it
was more coalesced and
ually pre-judg'd in the common Opinion of the
Realm, and that it tended directly to the
Disinherition of the Line of York, held then
the indubite Heirs of the Crown. So that if
he should have no lie by the Lady Elizabeth,
which should be Descendants of the Double
Line, then the ancient Flames of Difcord and
inefible Wars upon the Competition both of
Houses, would again return and revive.
As for Conqueft, notwithstanding Sir William
Stanley, after some Acclamation of the Soul-
diers in the Field, had put a Crown of Orna-
ments on his Head, and were said (as it was
found among the Spoils) upon King Henry's
Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he
remember'd well whatConditions and
Agreements he was brought in; and that to
claim as Conqueftor, was to put as well his
own Party, as the red, into Terror and Fear;
as that was not a power of disemranking of
Laws, and disposing of Men's Fortunes and
Effates, and the like Points of absolute Power,
being in themselves to harth and odious, as that
William himself, commonly call'd the Conqueror,
howsoever he used and exercised the Power of a
Commander, whether the same was
barm to use that Claim in the beginning, but
mixed it with a tituile Pretence, grounded up-
on the Will and Defernation of Edward the
Confessor. But the King, out of the Greatnes
of his own Mind, preftly called the Die,
and the Convoy Countenance, on the parts;
and knowing there could not be any
Later-reign, or Suspence of Title; and prefer-
ing his Affection to his own Line and Blood;
and liking that Title beft that made him
independent; and being in his Nature and Conви-
Mated not very apprehensive or fore-
casting of future Events afar off, but an Enter-
tainer of Fortune by the Day, refolv'd to refit
upon the Title of Lancaster as the main, and to
use the other two, that of Marriage and that of
Baftel, but as supporters; the one to appeale
for the Soveraign, and the other to beat down
open Murmur and Difpute; not forgetting that
the fame Title of Lancaster had formerly main-
rain'd a pollution of Three Defeants in the
Crown, and might have proved a Perpetuity.
In the Duke of York, a Prince, who
nent a
the Duke of York, the King, a
orys, the latter

The Title of the White Rose.

The Lancaster Titl
the con-
| ded mean
by Parli-

Sir Will. 
Stanley
Crowns
K. Henry's
in the Field.

The Title of the White Rose.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Seventh.

Drink moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature’s Work were neither irritated by Heat, nor turn’d back by Cold, he commonly recover’d. But Infinite Perfections did suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and to be apprehended, and not to be an Epidemick Difcase, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Confititution of the Air, gathered by the Pre-dispositions of Season, and the speedy Celllation declared as much.

On Simon and Judas the Even the King dined with Mr. Barbours, Archibishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, and they both went over the Bridge to the Tower, where the Morrow after he made Twelve Knights-Bannerets. But for Creations he dispenced with them a Sparing Hand: For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a Coronation so near at hand, he only created Three: Tayer Earl of Pembroke Creations (the King’s Uncle) was created Duke of Bedford: of Noble Thomas the Lord Stanley (the King’s Father in Law) Earl of Darby, and Edward Courtney Earl of Devon; tho’ the King had then nevertheless a Purpofe in himself to make more in time of Parliament, bearing a wife and decent respect to his Creations, some to honour his Coronation, and some his Parliament.

The Coronation follow’d two Days after. King Henry upon the 30th Day of October, in the Year of our Lord 1483; at which time Innocent the Eighth was Pope of Rome: Frederick the Third, Emperor of Almaine; and Maximilian his Son, now Duke of Bavaria, was King of the Romans, and the Eighth King of France: Ferdinand and Isabella Kings of Spain; and James the Third, King of Scotland; with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time at good Peace and Amnesty. At which Day alfo (as if the Crown upon him had put Parliament into his Train) he did interrete, for the better security of his Perfon, a Band of Fifty Archers under a Cap- Yeoman to attend him, by the Name of Yeomen of his Guard: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of Dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any meaner appearance appertain’d to a Cafe, he made it to be underfoot for an Ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succifion for ever after.

The Seventh of November the King held his A Parliamenat at Westminster, which he had London’d immediately after his coming to London. This Day the Duke of Difcase had a swift Course both in the Sick Body and in the Time and Period of the lasting thereof: For that they were taken on, upon Four and Twenty Hours escapeing, were thought almost affured: And as to the Time of the King and Reign of the Difcase ere it ceased; it began about the 21st of September, and clear’d up before the end of October; infomuch as it was no hindrance to the King’s Coronnaon, which was the Last of October; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but Seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever, but as it seemed not feared in the Veas or Humors, for that their follow’d no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Maf of the Body being not tainted; only a malignt Vapour flew to the Heart, and faddled the vital Spirits; which firdt Nature, then found it both for the fads of No- Sweat. And it appear’d by experience that this Difcase was rather a Surplice of Nature, than obidant to Remedies, if it were in time look’d unto: For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and

Why K. Hen. cntr. Lee- dot. in a clofe Chrit.

vation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accownted and chose as a Day prosperous unto him.

The Mayor and Companies of the City receiv’d him at Shore-bitch; whence, with great and solemn Publick and Religious Tenor of No- blemen, and Perfons of Quality he entered the City; himself not being on Horfeback, or in a open Chair, or Throne, but in a Clofe Chri- roits, as One that having been sometime an E- nemy to the whole State, and a profcrib’d Per- fon, choo to keep State, and strike a Revenance into the People then to fawn upon them.

He went first to St. Paul’s Church, where not meaning that the People should foon that he came in by Ballot, he made Offer- tory of his Standards, and had Orizons and Te Deum again fong, and went to his Lodging pre- pared in the Bishop of London’s Place, where he r’d for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his Council and other principal Perfons, in preface of whom he did renew again his Promife to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did the atter, because, having as before roving out of Britain’s one given artificially, for serving of his own Turn, fome Hopes, in cafe he obtain’d the Kingdom, to marry Anne Inherits to the Ducthy of Briffaine, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married; it bred fome doubt and fufpicion amongst divers that he was not fince, or at leat not firk’d in going on with the Match of England so much defir’d: Which the Con- ceit also, tho’ it were but Talk and Diagnome, did much affic the poor Lady Elizabeth her felf. But, howfover he both truly intended it, and defir’d also it fould be fo believ’d, (the better to extinguih Envy and Contagion into his oth- her Purpofes) yet was he reduc’d in himself not to proceed to the Commaution there’f to his Coronation and a Parliament were paft; the one, leaft a joyent Coronation of himself and his Queen might give any Countenance of partici- pation of Title; the other, leaft in the influence of himfelf, when he was pleas’d to obtain by Parliament, the Votes of the Parliament might any ways refléct upon her.

About this time, in Autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the City and other Parts of the Kingdom, a Difcase then new; which of the Accidents and Manner of the Creation of this, I will not enter. This Difcase had a twift Courfe both in the Sick Body and in the Time and Period of the lafting thereof: For that they were taken on, upon Four and Twenty Hours escapeing, were thought almost affured: And as to the Time of the King and Reign of the Difcase ere it ceased; it began about the 21st of September, and clear’d up before the end of October; infomuch as it was no hindrance to the King’s Coronation, which was the Last of October; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but Seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever, but as it seemed not feared in the Veas or Humors, for that their follow’d no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Maf of the Body being not tainted; only a malignt Vapour flew to the Heart, and faddled the vital Spirits; which firdt Nature, then found it both for the fads of No- Sweat. And it appear’d by experience that this Difcase was rather a Surplice of Nature, than obidant to Remedies, if it were in time look’d unto: For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and
In this case, the lady Elizabeth, so not in the nature of Special Entail (he) carried it otherwise with great Wisdom and Meafure: For he did not prefer to have her own way in the Declaration or Recognition of Right; as on the other side he avoided to have it by New Law or Ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of Etablifhment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words; That the Inheritance of the Crown found reef, remain'd, and abide in the King eu't., which Words might equally be apply'd; That the Crown should continue to him, but whether a having former Right to it,(which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and Possifion (which no Man denied) was left to her a in interpretation either way. And again, for the Licenfing of the Entail, he did not put it to go further than to himfelf and to the Heirs of his Body, not speaking of his Right Heirs; but leaving that to the Law to decide: So as the Entail might feem rather a personal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Diff-inheritance to the House of York. And in this Form was the Law drawn and pass'd; which Statute he procured to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull the Year following, with mention, nevertheless, (by way of Recital) of his other Tides, both of Defent and Conquett: So as now the Wreath of Three was made a Wreath of Five; for to the Three Parts, Lines, and Works, or Lines, and Conquett, were added Two more, the Authorities Parliamentary and Papal. The King likewise in the Reversal of the Attainders of his Parlakers, and difcharg'ing them of all Offences incident to his Service and Suc- ceur, had his Will, and Acts did pass accord- ingly: In the Privilege whereof, Exception was taken to divers Perfons in the House of Commons for that they were attainted, and there- by not legal, nor habilitate to serve in Parlia- ment, being disabled in the highest degree; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make Laws, who themselves were not inlaw'd. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the Time of King Richard been strongest and most declared for the King's Party, were return'd Knights and Burgellies for the Parliament; whether by Care or Recom- mendation from the State, or the voluntary In- clination of the People; many of which had been by Richard III. attainted by Outlawries, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this: For tho' it had a grave and fpecious Show, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wifely not flo wing himself at all moved there- with, he would not understand it but as a Cafe in Law, and with'd the Judges to be advis'd thereupon; who, for that purpo e, were forth- with allumm'd in the Exchequer-Chamber (which is the Council-Chamber of the Judges) and upon delivery, they gave a grave and fale Opini on in fubfence with Law and Convenien ce, wherein was, That the Knights and Bur- gellies attainted by the Courfe of Law, fhand for- bear to come into the Houfe, till a Law were made for the Reversal of their Attainders. It was at that time incidently moved among the Parlakers, in their Imagination, that what should be done for the King himself, if he were likely to be attainted? But it was with unanimous content refovd, That the Crown takes away all Defects and Stains in Blood; and that from the time the King did affume the Crown, the Fountain was clear'd, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood discharged. For next, that the Law might be the Law of Parliament, that all Records wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's Attainer, should be defaced, cancel'd, and ta- ken off the File. But on the Part of the King's Enemies, there were by Parliament attained the late Duke of Gloucefter, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sarrey, Vifcount Lowel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffes, William Catches, and many others of Degree and (a) Quality. In which Bills of Attainders, nevertheless those were contained many juft and temperate Charges, Savages, and Pro- visions, well flowfng and fore-recognizing the Wil- dom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spi- rit of Government. And for the Pardon of the ref, that had fhoold againft the King; the King, upon a fecond Advice, thought it not fit it fould pass by Parliament, the better (being manner of Grace) to imprropriate the thanks to himfelf, using only the Opportunity of a Parliament time, the better to difperfe it into the Veins of the Kingdom; Therefore during the Parliament, he publish'd his Royal Proclamation, offering Pardon and Grace of Restitution to all fuch as had taken Party, or been Participant of any Attempts againft him; fo as they submitted themselves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to him: Whereupon many came out of Sanctuary, and many more came out of Fear, no less guilty than thofe that had taken Sanctuary. As for Money or Treasure, the King thought it not feaonable, or fit to demand any of his Sub-jeocts at this Parliament; both because he had received fatisfac'tion from them in Matters of fo great Importance: And becaufe he could not remunerate them with any General Pardon, be- ing prevented thereby by the Coronation Par-don, pass'd immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every Man's Eye, what great Forfeitures and Confequences he had at that pre- sent to help himself; whereby thofe Cautions of the Crown, might in reason spare the Purfes of the Subject, especially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few Laws pass'd at that Parliament, almoft for form fake: amongst which, there was One To reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Customs; and another, To draw to himself the Sequefres and Compositions of Italian Goods, for not Employment, being Points of Profit to his Coifers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early Providence (which kept him from all necelcity of exacting upon his People) could likewise have attempted his Na- ture thence. For the Parlakers, which was in his former Creations, the Innuement or Ad- vancement in Nobility of a few others: The Chandos of Britain was made Earl of Bath; and Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Daubeny; and Sir Robert Wiltwoby Lord Brooke. The King did all with great Noblesfe and Bounty, his chief concern in his time had their turns in his Nature) relcro Edward Stafford (El- deft Son to Harry Duke of Buckingham, attainted
in the Time of King Richard's not only to his \ Dignities, but to his Fortunes and Possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the Man that mov'd the first Stone against the Tyranny of King Richard, in the Expedition he made the Bridge to the Crown upon his own Rains. Thus the Parliament brake up.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King sent forthwith Money to redeem the Marquefs of Exeter, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left as his Pledges at Paris, for Money which he had borrowed when he made his Expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit Occasion to send the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Bray (whom he used as Councillor) to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the City a Preft of Six thousand Marks: But after many Parleys, he could obtain but Two thousand Pounds. Which nevertheless the King took in good part; as Men use to do that practife to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy Council John Morton and Richard Foxe, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter, vigilant Men and secret, and full of the Wit and Wisdom with him a person of all Men elfe. They had been both vers'd in his Affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were Partakers of his adverfe Fortune. This Morton soon after upon the Death of Bouchier, he made Archbishop of Canterbury. And for Foxe, he made Lord Keeper of his Privy-Seal, and afterwards advanc'd him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For altho' the King lov'd to employ and advance Bishops, because having rich Bishopricks, they carried their Reward upon themselves: Yet he did n't raise them by Steps, but he might not lose the Profits of Frib-fruits, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

At last upon the 18th of January, was solemnized the fo long expected and so much desired Marriage, between the King and the Lady Elizabeth. \ † Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph and Demonstrations (especially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladness, than the Days either of his Entry or Coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his Life-time, while the Lady Elizabeth liv'd with him, (he re'tly loved her) he should himself no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' she was Beautiful, Gentle, and Fruitful. But his Aversion towards the House of York was so pre-dominant in him, as it found place, not only in his Wars and Counsels, but in his Chamber and Bed.

Towards the Middle of the Spring, the King full of Confidence and Assurance, as a Prince that had been Victorious in Battel, and had preval'd with his Parliament in all that he defir'd, and had the Ring of Acclamations fresh in his Ears, thought the reft of his Reign should be as Baffing a Triumph over a Kingdom. Yet as a wife and watchful King, he would not neg-lect any thing for his Safety; thinking never-theles, to perform all things now, rather as an Exercit, than as a Labour. So he being truly inform'd that the Northern Parts were no only instructed with the Army of York, but particu-larly had been devot'd to King Richard the Third; thought it would be a Summer well fent to Vift thefe Parts, and by his Presence and Application of himself, to reclaim and re-define thofe Honours. But the King in his Ac- quaint of Peace and Calms, did much Over-cast his Fortunes; which proved for many Years together, that the Kings of England were not Princeps, but feif. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Eafeir, but he receiv'd News, That the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford (who had formerly taken San-tuary at Colchester) were departed out of Sanctuary, in that place, no Man could tell. Which Advertifement the King defir'd, and continued his Journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain Advertifement, That the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great Power of Men, and that the Staffords were in Arms in Worfepshire, and had made their Approches to the City of York to Affift it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Rag or Remnant of Bafworth-Field, and had Nothing in it of the main Party of the House of York. But he was more doubtfull of the raising of Forces to refift the Staffords than the Prince of Wales, of which he was a Core of People where Affiftences he fuppected. But the Action enduring no Delay, he did speedily levy and fend against the Lord Lovel to the Number of Three thou-sand Men, ill arm'd, but well affur'd (being taken from some few out of his own Train, and the reft of the Tenants and Followers of fuch as were false to be trufled) under the Conduet of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to fend his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave Commiffion to the Duke to pro-claim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his Approach to the Lord Leo-vel's Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the Heralds were the great Ordinance. For the Lord Lovel upon Proclamation of Pardon, miftrusting his Men, fled into Lancashire, and Jouring for a time with Sir Thomas Blount, after Sa'd over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret: And his Men, forfaken of their Captaiia, did presently submit them-selves to the Duke. The Staffords likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happen'd to the Lord Lovel (in whole Succefs of his chief Truf't was defpair'd and diffus'd. The two Brothers taking Sanctuary at Colbourn, a Village near Abingdon; which place upon View of their Pri-vilege in the King's Bench, being judged no sufficient Sanctuary for Trainers, Humphrey was executed at Ysburn; and Thomas, as being led by his Elder Brother, was pardon'd. So this Rebellion prov'd but a Bluff, and the King hav-ing by this Journey pur'd a little the Drags and Leaven of the Northern Peoples, that were before in no good Affection towards him, re-turn'd to London. In September following, \* the Queen was de- livered of her firft Son, whom the King (in Honour of the British Race, of which himself was) nam'd Arthur, according to the Name of that Ancient worthy King of the Britains; in whose Afts there is Truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is Fabulous. The Child was Strong and Able, tho' he was Born in the Eighth Month, which the Phy-sicians do prejudice.

* Holcroft writes, The Queen was deliver'd at Winchester, in Sept. 1485, which is more probable than that she should be deliver'd now; for she was married but on the 18th of January in this Year.
There followed this Year, being the Second of
the King's Reign, a strange Accident of State,
wherein three Persons of whom we are for
naked, as they let it scarce Credible; not for
the Nature of it (for it hath lain out off) but
for the Manner and Circumstance of it, espe-
cially in the Beginnings. Therefore we shall
make our Judgment upon the things themselves,
as they give Light one to another, and (as we
can) dig Truth out of the Mist. The King
was green in his Eftate; and, contrary to his
own Opium and Defert both, was with-
out much Hatred throughout the Realm. The
Roots of all, was the discontemning of the
House of York, which the general Body of the
People had a hand in. The Mother of the
Hearts of the Subjects from him daily more and
more, especially when they saw, that after his
Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did
nevertheless not so much as proceed to the
Coronation of the Queen, not vouchsafing her the
Honour of a Matrimonial Crown; for the Co-
ronation of her was not till almost two Years
after, when Danger had taught him what to
do. But much more when it was spread abroad
(whether by Error, or the Canning of Male-
contents) that the King had a purpose to put
to Death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower:
where it was barely paralleled with that
of Edward the Fourth's Children, in respect of
the Blood, like Age, and the very place of the
Tower, as it did releif and reflect upon the
King a most Oidious resembland, as if he would
be another King Richard. And all this time it
was still whisper'd everywhere, that at least
one of the Children of Edward IV. was living.
Which Brut was cunningly fomented by such as
def'd Innovation. Neither was the King's
Nature and Cullions greatly fit to difperfe the
Blifs; but contrariwise he had a fashion rather
to create Doubts than Affurance. Thus was
Fuel prepar'd for the Spark; the Spark that
afterwards kindled such a Fire and Combustion
was at the first Contemplable.

There was a certain Priest call'd Richard Simen,
that liv'd in Oxford, and had to his Pupil a Ba-
ker's Son nam'd Lambert Simenell, of the Age of
20 Years. Which Richard was much beloved
and well favour'd, not without some Extraordinary
Dignity and grace of Aspect. It came into this
Priest's Fancy (hearing what Men talk'd, and
in hope to raife himselve to some great Bifhop-
rick) to caufe this Lad to Conferret and Per-
form the Ceremony of the Sacrament; which was
uppofed to be Murder'd; and afterward (for he chang'd
his Intention in the Manage) the Lord Edward
Plantagenet, then Prifoner in the Tower, ac-
cordingly to frame him and inftruct him in the
Part he was to play. This is that which (as
was touch'd before) seemeth scarcely Credible;
Not that a Paffe person could be allow'd to
gain a Kingdom, for it hath been seen in an-
cient and late Times; nor that it should come
into the Mind of any an abject Fellow, to en-
terprize so great a Matter; for high Concils do
sometimes come streaming into the Imagi-
nation, without any Pattern, and then they
are Drunk with News and Talk of the People.
But here is that which hath no Apparance;
That this Priest being utterly unacquainted with the
ture Perfon, according to whole pattern he
shou'd shape his Counterfeit, should think it pof-
fible that his Plot should be in Gexture and Fashions, or in recounting past Mat-
ters of his Life and Education, or in fit Anwser-
es to Questions, or the like, any ways to come
near the remembrance of him whom he was to re-
prent. For this Lad was not to perfonate one
that had been long before taken out of his Cabi-
dine, or carry'd away in his Infancy, known
to few; but a Youth that till the Age almost of
Ten Years had been brought up in a Court
where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For
King Edward touch'd with Remorse of his Bro-
ther the Duke of Clarence's Death, would not
indeed relieve his Son, (of whom we speak) to
be Duke of Clarence, but yet he appointed
Warwick, reviving his Honour on the Mo-
ther's Side, and used him honorably during his
Thfe, tho' Richard III. afterwards confid'd him.
So that it cannot be, but that some great Perfons
that knew particularly and familiarly Edward
Plantagenet had adviced him, that no one could hold the Book so well to Promp
t and inftruct this Stage-Play, as he could.

Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more
was it the meaning of any of the better and
foger Sort that favour'd this Enterprize and
did hear the Secret; that this disguis'd fool should
polp'd the Crown; but at his Peril to make
way to the Overthrow of the King; and that
done, they had their several Hopes and Ways.
That which doth chiefly fortify this Conjequte
is, that as soon as the Matter brake forth in any
Strength, it was one of the King's first Acts
to clother the Queen Dowager in the Neacnost
of Bernardy, and to take away all their Lands
and Eftate; and this by clofe Council without
any legal Proceeding, upon far-fetch'd Preten-
ses; That he had deliver'd her two Daughters out
of Sanctuary to King Richard contrary to Promise.
It is like wise no small Argument that some
Edward was known to be peryvered for Rigorous and Undie, both in Matter and
Manner, makes it very probable there was some
greater Matter against her, which the King up-
on an union of Policy, and to avoid Envy would
not Publish. It is likewise no small Argument that there was some Secret in it, and some up-
prest and Examinations; for the Priest
Simen himself, after he was taken was never
brought to Execution; no, not so much as to
publish Trial (as many Clergymen were upon
left Treasons) but was only shut up close in a
Dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of
Lincoln the Duke of Suffolk and the Duke of
Gloucester was slain in Stokes-field, the King open'd him'self to some of his Council, that he was forry for the Earl's Death, because by him (he said) he
might have known the bottom of his Danger.

But to return to the Narration it felt; Simen
did first inftruct his Scholar for the part of
Richard Duke of York, second Son to King Ed-
ward IV, and this was at such time as it was
voiced that the King purposed to put to Death
Edward Plantagenet Prifoner in the Tower, where-
at there was great Murrer. But hearing soon
after that the Grand Duke the Plantagenet had escaped
out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so
much beloved among the People, and such Re-
joycing at his Escape, the cunning Priest chang'd
his Copy, and clofe now Plantagenet to be the
Subject
The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident when it came to his Ears; both because it struck upon that String which ever he most feared, as also because it was flirred in such a Place, where he could not with Safety transport it, or be able to prevent it. For partly thro' Natural Value, and partly thro' an Universal Supplication (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his Achievements in Peron. The King therefore first called his Council together at the Charterhouse at Sion; which Council was held with great Secrecy. But the open and publick View of the Plot which presently came abroad were Three.

The First was, That the Queen Dowager, for that she, contrary to her Pacht and Agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the Marriage of her Daughter Elizabeth, with King Henry, had nevertheless deliver'd her Daughters out of Sanctuary into King Richard's Hands; should be cloister'd in the Nunery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

The Next was, That Edward Plantagenet then Clofe to the Tower, should be in the most Publick and notorious manner, that could be devised, shew'd unto the People: In part to discharge the King of the Envy of that Opinion and Bruit, how he had been put to Death privily in the Tower; But chiefly to make the People see the Levity and Impudency of the Proceedings of Ireland, and that their Plantagenet (c) was indeed but a Puppit, or a Counterfeit.

The Third was, That there should be again a general Pardon proclam'd a general Pardon to all that would reveal their Offences, and submit themselves by a Day. And that this Pardon should be contain'd to so ample a manner, that no High Treason (nor even against the King's own Peron) should be excepted. Which tho' it might seem strange, yet it was not so to a Wise King, that knew his greatest Dangers were not from the least Treasons, but from the greatest. Those Resolutions of the King and his Council were immediately put in Execution. And first, the Queen Dowager was put into the Monastery of Bermondsey, and all her Effeit seiz'd into the King's Hands, whereas there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the Menaces and Promises of a Tyrant, after such a Diminution of her Sex (wherein the King had flourisht (Disfigure nor Alteration) but much more after so happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, blessed with filo Male, should upon so sudden Mutability or Discouragement of the King's Mind be so everly handled.

This Lady was amongst the Examples of Q. Klng's great variety of Fortune. She had first from a birth Gregory's dittrefl'd Sufitor and defolate Widow, been taken to the Marriage-Bed of a Batchelor-King, the goodfild Perfonage of his Time; and even in his Reign he had endur'd a strange Eclipse of his Flight, by being for some time banish'd from the Crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair Ilue, and continu'd his Nuptial Love (helping her self by some obfrefous bearing and diminuion of his Pleasures) to the very end. She was much Affidionate to her own Kindred, even unto Faction; which did

The Life and Reign of HENRY the Seventh.

Subject his Pupil should perfonate, because he was more in the present Speech and Votes of the People; and it pieced better, and follow'd more close and handsomely upon the Brut of Plantagenet's Escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much fermentative into his Scripture, if he should here in England; he thought good (after the manner of Scenes in Stage-Plays and Masks) to shew it after off; and therefore fail'd with his Scholar into Ireland, where the Affection to the House of York was most in height. The King had orders Given to the Masters of Ireland, and had not removed Officers and Counsellors, and put in their Places, or at least intermingled Perons, of whom he found affured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong Bent of that Country towards the House of York; and that it was a ticklish and unfert State, more ease to receive Differrlers and Mutations than England was. But trufling to the Reputation of his Victories and Succes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdom.

Wherefore through this Neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepar'd for Revolt and Sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first Address was to the Lord (a) Thomas Fitz-geard, Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland; but the Manner Eyes, he did call such a Misc (by his own Inuination, and by the Carriage of his Youth, that express'd a natural Princeinely Behaviour) as joynd perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earl's own Mind, left him fully poss'd what it was the true Plantagenet. The Earl of Kildare, and his Deputy communicated with some of the Nobles (b) and others there, at the first Secretly. But finding them of like Affection to himself, he suffer'd it of purpose to Vent and pafs Abroad; because they thought it not safe to Revolve, till they had a tale of the People's Inclination. But if the Great ones were in Forwardness, the People were in Fury, entertaining this Airy Body or Phantafm with incredible Affection; partly, out of their great Devotion to the House of York; partly out of a Proud honour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realm of England. Neither did the Party of the Earl, nor the Affection of his Party much agree with them selves with the Attainer of George Duke of Clarence, having newly learn'd by the King's Example, that Attainders do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of K. Edward IV. they thought King Richard had giv'd enough for them; and took them to be but as of the King's Parry, because they were in his Power and at his Disposing. So that with marvellous Confent and Applause, this Counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great Solemnity to the Caffle of Dublin, and there solustr'd, ferv'd and honour'd as King; the Boy becoming his Slave, and doing nothing that did betray the Bafeinc of his Condition. And within a few days after he was proclaim'd King in Dublin, by the Name of K. Edward the Sixth; there being not a Sword drawn in King Henry's Quarrel.

(a) The Lord Thomas Fitz-geard was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Brother to Gerald Earl of Kildare, Deputy to King Henry. Sir James Ware, Annals of Hen. p. 295. (b) His Brother the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Parliam. Lord Treasurer, who were deterr'd to the House of York, the King had writt to the Lord Deputy to come over to England some time before, suspenseing his Fideity; but he now by the Supplication thereupon, and the great Matters of State, which were ended, he conceiveth the Earl of Kildare, and the Deputy serv'd the King, and temporal sign'd a Letter to the King to defer he might Stay. The Lord Zuan advis'd him of it. Sir J. Ware, Cap. 45. (c) In Ireland the Impoiter was cortected on the King, as if he had impow'd a Counterfeit Earl of Warwick on the People, ibid.
The E. of Warwick shown to the People.

About this time also Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal Streets of London, to be seen of the People. And having pass’d the View of the Streets, was conducted to Paul’s Church in Solemn Procession, where great crowds of People assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the Nobility, and others of Quality (especially those that the King most suspected, and knew the Perfon of Plantagenet bell) had Communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertain’d him with Speech and Discourse; which did in effect mar the Pageant in Ireland with the Subjects here, at least with so many as out of Error, and not out of Malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland (where it was too late to go back) it wrought little or no Effect. But in Warwick, there was a great entrance of the King, and people gave out, That the King, to defeat the true Inheritor, and to mock the World and blind the Eyes of simple Men, had trick’d up a Boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the People, not sparing to proclaim the Ceremony of Succession, the more to countenance the False.

The General Pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving forthright order for the keeping of the Ports; that Fugitives, Malecontents, or suspected Persons might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders. Mean while the Rebels in Ireland had sent privy Meffengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought Effects of no small Importance. For in England they won to their Party John Earl of Lincoln, Son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward IV’s elder Sister. This Earl was a Man of great Wit and Courage, and had his Thoughts highly rais’d by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For Richard III. had a Policy of both his Hatred to both his Brethren, King Edward and the Duke of Clarence, and their Lines, (having had his Hand in both their Bloods) to disable their Issues upon 1486. false and incompetent Pretences; the one of At- tainer, the other of Illegitimation; and to design the Issue (in case himself should die without Children,) for Inheritor of the Crown. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had secretly an Eye upon him. But the King having tafted of the Envoy of the People, for his Imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful how to treat upon any matter of Kind, by the Imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it Policy to conferve him as a Corvival unto the other. The Earl of Lin- coln was induced to participate with the Action of Ireland, not lightly upon the greatness of the Proceedings there, which was but a Bubble, but upon Letters from the Lady Margaret of Ber- gundy, in whose Succours and Declaration for the Enterprise, there seemed to be a more solid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the Earl refrain the Buinefs, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an Idol: But courtrarwife, he was more glad it should be the falfe Plantagenet than the true: because the Falfe being bare to fall away of himself, and the True to be made safe of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepar’d way to his own Title. With this Re- solution he fell secretly into Flanders, where there was a little before arriv’d the Lord Lovel, (d) leaving a Correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broghagh, a Man of great Power and Dependencies in Lancaster. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first receiv’d in Ireland, secret Meffengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what was pass’d in Ireland, imploving Succours in an Enterprize (as they said) fo Pious and juft, and that God had fo miraculously prosper’d the begin- ning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her Will and Direc- tion, as the Sovereign Parentes and Protectores of the Enterprize. Margaret was second Sister of the Dutchefs to King Edward IV, and had been second Wife to Charles, fiumam’d the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy; by whom, having no Children of her own, she did with fingular Care and Tenderness intend the Education of the Daughters of the Duke’s Children to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the Dutch. This Princes (having the Spirit of a Man, and Malice of a Woman) abounding in Treafure, by the greatness of her Dower, and her provi- dent Government, and being without a F won child, made it her Design and Enterprize to fee the Mafjey Royal of England once again re-plac’d in her Houfe, and had fet up King Henry as a Mark, at whole O- verthrow all her Actions fhould aim and hope; incommuch as all the Counsells of his preceding Troubles came chiefly out of that Quiver. And the bare such a mortal Hatred to the Houfe of Lancaster, and personally to the King, as he was no ways mollify’d by the Conjunction of the Houfes in her Niece’s Marriage, but rather hated her Niece, as the means of the King’s Acent to the Crown, and Affluence therein. Wherefore with great Violence of Affection he embraced this Overruce. And upon Confeil taken with the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovel, and some other of the Party, it was re- solv’d with all speed, the two Lords affilit with a Regiment of two thousand Almaines, be- ing Choice and Veteran Bands, under the Com-

mand of Martin Swart (a Valiant and Experimented Captain) should pass over into Ireland to the new King. Hoping, that when the Action should have the face of a received and settled Regularity (with such a fcond Perfon, as the Earl of Lincoln, and the Conjequence and Reputation of the City and University) the Favour of it would embolden and prepare all the Party of the Confederates and Malecontents within the Realm of England, to give them Affiftance, when they should come over there. And for the Perfon of the Counterfeit, it was agreed, That if all things proceeded well, he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received: Wherein nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln had his particular Hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the Party took Courage, by seeing themselves together in a Body, they grew very confident of Success, conceiving and discounting amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better Cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard. And that if there were not a Sword drawn again- gained them in Ireland, it was a sign the Swords in England would be soon fcarce, or beaten down, for a Bravery upon this Accomp- lishment of Power, they crownd their new King in the Cathedral Church of Dublin; (c) who formerly had been but proclaim'd only; and then fate in Council what should further be done. At which Council, tho' it were pronounced by fome, that it were the belt way to Edify themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King Henry thither in Perfon, by whose Aidence they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in England; yet because the Kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their German Soldiers, and for that alfo the Sway of the Ishman, and generally of the Men-of-War, which (as in fuch Cafes of Popular Tumults is usual) did in Effet govern their Leaders, was eafier, and in Affection to make their Fortunes upon England: it was concluded with all poffible Speed to transport their Forces into England. The King in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, tho' it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to fatter the Irish as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with a loud Noise, when he heard that News; and thought that the Earl of Lincoln was Embark'd in the Action, and that the Lady Margaret was declar'd for it, he apprehended the Danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his Kingdom muft again be put to the Stake, and that he muft fight for it. And first, he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of Lincoln's falling into Ireland out of Flaniers, that he should be affaid both upon the Eaf-parts of the King- dom of England by Some Imprefion from Flan- ders, and upon the North-west out of Ireland: And therefore having order'd Mufleurs to be made of Forces, and augufly defign'd two Generals, Jasper Earl of Bed- ford, and John Earl of Oxford, (meaning himself alfo to go in Perfon where the Affairs should most require it) and nevertheless not expecting any actual Invasion at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his Journey himself to- wards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those Parts. And being come to S. Edmund's- bury, he understood that Thomas Marques of Dorset (who had been one of the Pledges in France) was hazing towards him, to purge himfelf of the Accufation which had been made against him. But the King, the Earl of Ear for him, yet was the time fo doubtful, that he fent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair Meiflage nevertheless, that he fhould bear that Diligence with Patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preferve him from doing hurt, either to the King's Service, or to himself; and that the King fhould always be able (when he had cleared himself) to make him Reparation.

From S. Edmund's-bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to Walf- fingham, where he visited our Ladies Church, famous for Miracles, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance. And from thence he return'd by Cambridge to London. Not long after, the Rebels, with their King and their Majefty's good People of England, the Earl of Kirkde, the Lord Leeds, and Collonel Swart (landed at Fouldey in Lancifhiffe, where they there repair'd to Sir Thomas Browne, to enter with some Small Company of EngKich. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm was forever neither to divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number: And in Person (taking with him two defign'd Generals, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford) was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he fent forth a Troop of Light Horsemen for Discovery, and to intercept some Stragglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their Proffeg and Ferpfes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without Intelligence from Epiplas in the Camp. The Rebels took their way towards York, without spoiling the Country, or any Act of Hostillity, the better to put themselves into fa- vour of the People, and to perforate their King: who (no doubt out of a Princefly feel- ing) was Sparing and Compaflionate towards his Subjects. But their Snow-ball did not ga- ve them their Will. For the Forces send to them, neither did any Rife or Declare them- selves in other Parts of the Kingdom for them, which was caufed partly by the good taste, that the King had given his People of his Government, joy'd with the Reputation of his Feli- city, and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of England, to have a King brought in to them upon the Shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their Army was in Subftance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgment on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take their way towards York: Consider- ing what they had been, they could not have been a Nurfeiy of their Friends; yet it was there where the Lord Lofvel had lo lately Dis- band'd, and where the King's prefence had a little before quaffify'd Differentias. The Earl of Lincoln deceiv'd of his Hopes of the Coun- tries Concouere unto him (in which cafe he would

(c) He was crown'd with a Crown taken from a Statue of the Virgin Mary in our Lady's Church near Domfgate, Dr. Pap's Bishop of Weftphal preach'd his Coronation Sermon; and the Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurers, Earl of Linfford, Lord Leeds, and many more Persons of Quality asfifted at the Ceremony: The Archhiving of Armg ret uad a

Sir J. Hume, Cap. 111.
...would have temporized) and seeing the Bifhops paft Retrait, revolvd to make on where the King was, and to give him Battell, and then upon march'd towards Newark, thinking to have surpriz'd the Town. But the King was some-
what before this time come to Nattingsham, where he call'd a Council of War, at which was con-
fidered, whether it would be better to protract time, or to march on the Rebels. And in which Council the King himself (what continual Vigilance did fight in sometimes caufeful Suf-
piions which few else knew) inclined to the ac-
celerating a Battell. But this was presently put
out of doubt by the great Aids that came in to
him in the inftant of this Confultation; partly upon Messages, and partly Voluntary from man-
ny Parts of the Kingdom.

The Principal Perfon's that came then to the
King's Aid, were the Earl of Strewbury and the Lord Strange, of the Nobility; and of Knights
and Gentlemen to the Number of at least Three-
fcore and ten Perfon's, with their Companies, making in the whole at the leaft Six thoufand
fighting Men, besides the Forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, find-
ing his Army to bravely re-enforfed, and a great Alacrity in all his Men to fight, was confirm'd in his confident Fervency, and mankind so as he put himfelf between the Enemies Camp
and Newark; being both their Army fhou'd get
the Commodity of this Town. The Earl no-
ing difmav'd, came forthwards that Day unto a
little Village call'd Sibbden, and there encamp'd
that Night upon the Brown hanging of a Hill. The King the next Day (f) prefented him Bat-
et upon the Plain, the Fields there being open
and Champion. The Earl courageoufly came
down and joynt Battel with him. Concerning
which Battel, the Relations that are left unto us are too naked of negligent (tho' be an
Action of fo recent Memory) as they rather declare the Succes of the Day, than the Man-
ner of the Fight. They fay, that the King di-
vided his Army into three Battelles; whereof the Van-Guard only well strengthend with Wings
came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and ob-
finate, and laid there before the Victor
unity inclined either ways; fave that Judgment
might be made, by that the King's Van-Guard
of it felf maintain'd Fight againft the whole
Power of the Enemies, the other two Battelles
remaining out of Action) what the Succes was like to be in the end. That Martin Swart with
his German perfom'd bravely: and fo did tho't
few Englifh that were on that Side; neither did
the Irifh fail in Courage or Fiercenef; but being
almoft naked Men, only arm'd with Darts and
Skeins, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight
upon them; infomuch as the furious Slaughter
of them was a great discharge and appal-
lement to the ref'. That there died upon the
place all the Chieftains; That is, the Earl of
Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare; (f) Francis Lord Lo-
ew, Martin Swart; and Sir Thomas Broughton; all
making good the Fight without any Ground
given. Only of the Lord Lowel there went a
Report, that he fell and swam over Trent on
Horfefack, but could not recover the farther
Side, by reafon of the deepness of the Bank,
But the Batell of Newark was Drown'd in the River. But another Report leaves him not there, but that he liv'd a long after in a Cave or Vault. The Number
that was Slain in the Field, was of the Enemies
part Four thoufand at the leaft; and of the
King's part, one half of his Van-Guard, be-
fore the Rebels had made him Name. They were
taken Prisoners amongst others, the Counter-
feit Plantagenet (now, Lambert Simwell again)
taken.

And the crafty Prieff his Tutor. For Lambert
the King would not take his Life, both out
of Magnanimity, taking him but as an Image
that had writ Pardons, and provided for their Life and likewife out of Wildom, thinking that it
he fuffer'd Death, he would be forgotten too
soon; but being kept Alive, he would be a con-
tinual Spectacle, and a Kind of Remedy againft
the like Incantations of People in time to come.
For which caufe he was taken into Service in
his Court to a holy Office in his Kitchen; fo
that (in a kind of M姿态ea of Human Fortune)
he turn'd a Brooch that had worn a Crown.
Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a
Put in a
Comedy or Farce after a Tragedy. And after
the
works he was preferred to be one of the King's
Falconers. Made one of his Falcon-
cors.

After the Batell the King went to Lincoln,
where he caufed Supplications and Thankful-
ness to be made for his Deliverance and Victory, fought on the next Day. And that his Devotions might go round in Cir-
ple, he fent his Banner to be offer'd to our Lady
of Walthingham, where before he made his Vows, and thus deliver'd of this fo strange an Engine
and new Invention of Fortune, he return'd to his former Confidence of Mind; thinking now, that
all his Miffortunes had come at once; and it fell out unto him according to the Speech of
the Common People in the beginning of his Reign, that faid, It was a Token he should reign in
labours, because his Reign began with a Sickness
of Swart. But howsoever the King thought him-
self now in a Haven, yet fuch was his Wildom,
that his Confidence did feldom darkens his Fore-
sight, especially in Things near hand. And therefore awak'd by fo fresh and unexpefted
Dangers, he enter'd into due Conideration, as
well how to weed out the Partakers of the for-
mer Rebellion, as to kill the Seeds of the like
in time to come; and wished to take away all Shel-
ters and Harbours for deficontented Perfon's,
where they might hatch and folem Rebells,
which afterwards might gather Strength and
Motion. And Firit, He did yet again make a
Progres from Lincoln to the Northern Parts,
tho' indeed it were rather an Itinerant Circuit
of Juflice, than a Progres: For all along as
he went, with much Severity and ftrep Inqui-
Sition, partly by Martial Law, and partly by
Commiffion, were punish'd, the Adherents
and Aiders of the late Rebels: Not all by Death,
(For the Field had drawn much Blood) but by
Fines and Ranfoms which fpared Life and rai'd
Punifhment. Amongst other Crimes of this na-

(f) Polydore Virgii places this Battell in the Year 1389. But that is nothing of the leaft Mifakes in his Hiftry.

(f) The Earl of Lincoln, Earl of Kildare, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton; all
making good the Fight without any Ground

given. Only of the Lord Lowel there went a
Report, that he fell and swam over Trent on
tincture, there was diligent Enquiry made of such as had raised and dispifed a Buit and Rumour, a little before the Field fought, That the Rebels had the Day, and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled: Whereas it was suppo-
ised, that many Saccours, which otherwise were likely to have come to the King's Help, had sud-
ily put off and kept back. Which Charge and Accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was indiscretion embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the beat af-
fected to the King's Part, nor forward to come to the glad to appear to this Col-
our to cover their Neglect and Coldness, un-
der the presence of such Disconforts. Which cunning nevertheless the King would not understand, tho' he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.
But for the exterminating of the Roads and Canals of the like Commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his Shoe did wring him, and that it was his deprevling of the Hone of York, that did rancle and ruffle the Affections of his People. And therefore be-
ing now too wise to disdain Perils any longer, and so the Confidants of the King, in that of a Kind (at least in Cerimony) he resolved at last to proceed to the Coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in State, and in a kind of Triumph, and celebrated his Victory with two Days of Devotion, (for the first Day he repaired to Paul's, and had the Hymn of To Deem Sung, and the Morrow after he went in Procession, and heard the Sermon at the Crofs) the King was with great Solemity crown'd at Westminster, the Five and twentieth of November, in the Third Year of his Reign, which was about two Months after his return to London, that had been so long attending on the Queen, that had stayed long for Godfathers. Which strange and unusual diiance of Time, made it Subject to every Man's note, that it was an Act against his Stomach, and put upon him by Necellity and Reafon of State. Soon after, to flew that it was now fair Weather again, and that the Imprisionment of Thomas Marquefs Dutify was, rather upon Suppofion of the Time than of the Man, he the fad Marquefs was fet at Liberty without Examination, or other Circumstance. At that time also the King fent an Ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his last and firft Visit, that he had paffed through the Floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arrived un-
to a Safe Haven: and thanking his Holinefs that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the prefence of his Ambassador; and offering both his Perfons and the For-
ces of his Kingdom upon all Occasions to do him Service.
The Ambassador making his Oration to the Pope, in the prefence of the Cardinals, did fo magnifie the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the Henems. But when he did again to extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had faid in Praife of his Master and MilTreflfs feem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertain'd, and extremely much made on by the Pope: Who knowing him-
self freed from all Importunity, and to the Chriftian World, was wonderously glad to hear that there were fuch Echoes of him Sound-
ing in remote Parts. He obtained also of the Pope a very Juft and Honourable Bull, quefifying the Privileges of Sanctuary (where-
whereby the King had been extremelv grateful) in three Points.

The King
Procures
Ball from the Pope
about San-

1487.
1487.

The first, That if any Sanctuary-man did by Night, or otherwife, get out of Sanctuary pri-
vily and commit Murder and Treafon, and then come in again, he should lose the Benefit of Sanctuary for ever after. The Second, That howsoever the Perfon of the Sanctuary-man was protected from any Execution in England yet if he have got out of Sanctuary heould not. The Third, That if any took Sanctuary for Cafe of Trefon, the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.
The King also for the better Securing of his Effect, set a Sergluous and laconical Example, (whereof he faw the Realm was full) who might have their Refuge into Scotland, which was not under Key, as the Ports were; For that Caufe, rather than for any doubt of Holti-
Hed from both Places, before his coming to Lon-
don (when he was at New-Cote) he * s ent a Solemn Embaflage unto James III. King of Scot-
land, to Treat and Conclude a Peace with him himself. The Ambafladors were Richard Fox Bishop of * in-
"exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcomb, Comptroller giuf, 1457. of the King's House, who were honourably re-
ceived and entertain'd there. But the King of Scotland, having a Mind that he might have the
King Henry did (the more Mortal, as afterwards ap-
pear'd) that is, Discontented Subjects apt to rife and raise Tumult, altho' in his own Affec-
tion he did much defire to make a Peace with the King; yet finding his Nobles averse, and not daring to difpleafe them, concluded only to
Truce for Seven Years; giving nevertheless Prom-
ife in Private, that it should be renew'd from time to time, during the two Kings lives.

Hithereto the King had been exercis'd in fett-
ing his Affairs at Home. But about this time brake forth an Occafion that drew him to look abroad, to be pleased to hear the news of the World. Charles VIII. the French King, by the Vertue and good Fortune of his two immediate Prede-
cefors, Charles VII. his Grandfather, and Lewis XI. his Father, receiv'd the Kingdom of France in more flourifhing and Spreading Eflate than it had been of many Years before; being reinct-
egrate in those Principal Members which anciently had been Portions of the Crown of France, and were after diflivered, fo as they remain'd only in Homage, and not in Sove-
reignty (being governed by absolute Princes of their own) Ariges, Normandy, Prince of Burg-
undy, Normandy, and the County of Alencome remain'd only Britain to be reuni-
fied, and so the Monarchy of France to be re-
duced to the ancient Terms and Bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an Ambition to re-purchafe and re-annex that Duchy. Which his Ambition was a Wife and well-weighted Ambition; not like unto the Ambi-
ations of his fucceeeding Enterprizes of Italy, For at that time being newly come to the

Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, after paying for it two Years.
found himself also in Peace with all his Neighbour Princes. As for those that might oppose to his Enterprise, Maximilian King of Romans, his Rival in the fame Daimes, (as well for the Dutchy, as the Dauphin) feeems to be Means; and King Henry of England as well feomewhat obnoxious to him for his Favours and Benefits, as ifby'd in his particular Troubles at Home. There was also a fair and fpecious Occafion offer'd to him to hide his Ambition and to jufifie his Wars agaft the Britan, for that the Duke had receiv'd and fuccou'd Louis Duke of Orleans, and other of the French Nobility, which had taken Arms againft their King. Wherefore King Charles being relolv'd upon that War, knew well he could not receive any Oppofition fo Potent, as if the King of Spain, and either upon his State, in preventing the growing Greatnefs of France; or upon Gratitude unto the Duke of Britain, for his former Favours in the time of his Diffrets, efquells that Quarrrel, and declare himself in Aid of the Duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was fettled by his Victory, but forthwith he sent Ambafadors unto him to pray his Affiftance, or at the leaft that he would fand Neutral. Which Ambafadors found the King at Leouier, and deliv'red their Emballage to this Effect. They liftly impofted upon the King the Succes that his Mother had before taken upon Maximilian, in recovery of certain TOWNS from him; which was done in a kind of Privacy, and inwardness towards the King: as if the French King did not effee him for an outward or formal Confederate, but as one that had part in his Affiftances and Fortunes, and with whom he took Pleaflure to communicate his Bufinefs. After this Complement, and some Gratification for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand; declaring to the King, that their Mafter was enforc'd to enter into a just and Necessary War with the Duke of Britain, for that he had receiv'd and fuccou'd tho' that were Treafors, and declared Enemies unto his Perfon and State. That they were no mean, diftrefed and calamitous Prifons that fett to him for Refuge, but of fo great Quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own Fortunes, but to invade his: and that by the Head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the firft Prince of the Blood, and the second Perfon of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, was rather on their Mafter's part a Defensive War than an Offensive; as that, that could not be omit'ted or forborne, if he tended the Confequenc of his own Eftate; and that it was not the firft Blow that made the War incompatible, (for that no wife Prince would play for) but the firft Provocation, or at leaft the firft Preparation. Nay, that this War was rather a Succeffion of Rebelions, than a War with a jul Enemy, whereof to fpeake is. That his Subjects, Treafors, are receiv'd by the Duke of Britain his Homage. That K. Henry knew well what went upon it In Example, if Neighbour-Princes fhoould Patronize and Comfort Rebelions, againft the Law of Nations and of Leagues. Neverthelefs, in this Affair, that King had been beholding to the Duke of Britain in his Adverfity; as on the other fide, they knew he would not forget alfo the Readines of their King, in Aiding him when the Duke of Britain, or his mercenary Councillors fall'd him and his Prince, for the French Princes. And there was a great difference between the Courtefies receiv'd from their Mafter and the Duke of Britain; for that the Duke's might have Ends of Utility and Bargain; whereas their Maiters could not have proceeded but out of entire Af- fection. For that, if it had been mediat'd by the Politicians of the one with their King's Affairs, that a Tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than fuch a Prince; whole Venice could not fail to make him great and Potent, whenever he was come to be Mafter of his Affairs. But howsoever it flood for the point of Obligation which the King made, it was to the Duke of Britain, that their Mafter was well afford'd, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that was just, nor ever embarrass him in foil-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, since this War which their Mafter was now to make, was but to deliver himfelf from imminent Dangers, their King being in France, the King would fhow the like Affection to the Confervation of their Mafter's Eftate, as their Mafter had (when time was) fhow'd to the King's Acquisition of his Kingdom. At the leaft, that according to the inclination which the King had ever profefled of Peace, he would look on, and fand Neutral; for that their Mafter could not with reafon prefs him to undertake part in the War, being fo newly fettled and recover'd from Intoller Seditions. But touching the Mfferie of re-annexing of the Duchy of Britain to the Crown of France, either by the Prince of Orange by Marriage with the Daughter of Britain; the Ambassadors bare aloofe from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made moft against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their Conference with the King, the affurred Purpose of their Mafter, to match with the Daughter of Maximilian; And enter- tain'd the King also with fome wandring Dif- courzes of their King's purpose to recover by Arms his Right to the Kingdom of Naples, by an Expedition in Peru; All to remove the King from all Jealousie of any Detriment in their other Parts upon Britain, otherwife than for quenching of the Fire, which he fear'd might be kindle'd in his own Eftate. The King after Advice taken with his Coun- cil, made Answer to the Ambassadors. And firft returned their Complement, blowing him the eight Days of the King's reception of those Towns from Maximilian. Then he fami- liarly related some particular Paffages of his own Adventures and Victory paifed. As to the Buifsins of Britain, the King anfwer'd in few Words; That the French King and the Duke of Britain were the two Perfons to whom he was moft obliged of all Men; and that he fhould think himfelf very Unhappy if things should go fo between them, as he fhould not be able to acqiiire himfelf in Gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him to a Christian King, and a Monarch of France to fulfill all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himfelf for a Me- diator of an Accord and Peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's Eftate and Honour both, would be prefer'd with more Safety and Peace than by a War, and that he fhould fpare no Cost or Pains, no If it were to go on Pilgrimage for fo good an Effect: And concluded, that in this great Affair, which he took fo much to Heart, he would exprefs himfelf more fully by an Em- ballage, which he would fpecialy difpatch unto that Purpofe. And in this fort the French Ambassadors were difmiff'd; The King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of Britain, as the Ambas-
which Grounds being by the French King willy laid, all things fell out as he expected. 

For whose Purpose this Peace was fixed, the Duke of Bourbon, the President of the Court of Britain, the Duke was then scarcely perfect in his Memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of Orleans, who gave Audience to the Chaplain Urswich, and upon his Ambassadors deliver'd, made Answer in such a Forte that the Duke of Orleans, that the Duke of Orleans was an Hoof, and a kind of Parent or Fofeu father to the King, in his tenderness of Age and weaknesses of Fortune, did look for at that time from King Henry (the renowned King of England) rather brave Troops for his Succours, than a vain Treaty of Peace. And if the King could confent to this Treaty, he was forgetful of that he did before him aforerime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wisdom confider of the Future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in foreign Parts and with his own People, not to suffer Britain (the old Confederates of England) to be swallow'd up by France, and so many good Ports and Strong Towns upon the Coast be in the Command of fo Potent a Neighbour-King, and fo Ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly defired the King to think of this Business as his own; and therewith brake off, and denied any further conference for Treaty.

Urswich return'd first to the French King, and related to him what he had pafl'd. Who finding things to foft to his Defire, took hold of them, and faid, That the Ambassador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagion'd before, That confidering in what Hands the Duke of Britain was, there would be no Peace, but by a mixte Treaty of Force and Perfwafion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and defired the King not to defir from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the King's Power to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly reprezent'd unto the King by Urswich at his Return, and in fuch a fashion as if the Treaty were in no foft desperate, but rather far'd for a better Hour, till the Hammer was out of Work, and the King of Britain might be fave. Whereupon there pafl'd continually Packetts and Dispatches between the two Kings, from the one out of Defire, and from the other out of Diffimilation, about the Negotiation of Peace. The French King mean while invaded Britain with great Forces, and diftur'd the City of Nantes with a Thrft Siege, and (as one, who tho' he had no great Judgment, yet had that, that he could diflimile home) The King was no lefs ready to revive and quicken the late-mentioned Treaty: And thereupon fent three Commissioners, the Abbots of Aubigny, Sir E. Hayd., and Chaplain Urswich formerly employ'd, to do their utmost Endeavors, to manage the Treaty roundly and strongly. About this time the Lord Woodville, (Uncle to the Lord) found out a Valiant Gentleman and defirous of The Lord Honour, fitd to the King, that he might raise some Power of Volunteers under-hand, and go without Licence or Paifport (wherein the King to Aid the might any ways appear) go to the Aid of the British Duke.
The King's

Duke of Brittan. The King denied his Requet (or at least seemed so to do) and laid a great Commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the King thought his Honour would suffer if he did so. And likewise of the English, that the King met with, by occasion of this War of Brittan, in strengthening himself with new Alliances; as namely that of Ferdinand of Spain, with whom he had ever a content even in Nature and Customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was partly his subject, and partly interested. So that in that respect he promised himself Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the End. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great Affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer Edges, or Points of Wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main Grounds. For although he had Reason to conceive, that the Council of France would be wary to put the King into a The War against the Heir-apparent of France; yet he did not consider, that Charles was not guided by any of the Principal of the Blood or Nobility, but by mean Men, and their Mafter-piece of Credit and Favour, to give Venturous Counsels, which no great or Wise Man durst, or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his unbale and Necelous Counsels being not then known.

After Consultation with the Ambassadors, who brought him no other News, than he expected before (though he would not seeme to know it till then) he preently summoned his Parliament, and in open Parliament pronounced the Cause of Brittan to both Houses, by his Councillor, John Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who spake to this Effect.

The King is Grace our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Causes that have moved him at this time to Summon this his Parliament; which I shall do in few Words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and of you all, if I perform it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in hatch Memorial the Love he received from you, when he had his first interview with you, in your last meeting, in Embassiation of his Royaltie; freeing and discharging of his Par- takers, and Confirmation of his Trayors and Loyalty.

Rebels: more than which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign, in one Action. This he taketh to well at your Hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well appro\n
ning Subjects, in all Affairs that are of pub- lice Nature, at home or abroad.

Two therefore are the Causes of your present Affembling: the one, a foreign Business; the other, a very high Affair of Generall at Home.

The French King, (as no doubt ye have heard) mauch at this present hot War upon the Duke of Brittan. His Army is now before Namur, and holdeth it straightly believeing to be the Principal City (if not in Ceremonie and Preeminence, yet in Strength and Wealt) of that Dutche. Ye may guess at his Hopes, by his attempting of the Hardeft part of the War first. The Cause of this War he knoweth bet. He allgedeth the entertaining and fancour of the Duke of Or- leans, and some other French Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the
The King's Aids: The French King Aids, or New-truly; the French Aids figures, to fo their

Cafe requires. The King, as a Chriftian

Prince, and Bleffed Son of the Holy Church

hath offered himfelf as a Mediator, to treat

with Peace between them. The French King

yieldeth to treat, but will not lay the Profe-
cution of the War. The English defire

Peace, but feeke to it fafely; not upon

Confidence or Stiffnefs, but upon Difficult of

true Meaning, feeing the War goes on. So

as the King, after as much Pain and Care to

effect a Peace, as ever he took in any Busi-

fes, not being able to remove the Profe-
cution on the one Side, nor the Difficult on

the other, caufed by that Profeution, hath

forfeit the Treate, and not repenting of it, but

defparing of it now, as not likely to fucceede.

Therefore by this Narrative you now under-

fand the State of the Queftion, whereupon

the King prayer thy Advice; which is no

other, but whether he fhall enter into an

Auxiliary and Defensive War for the Britons

against France.

And the better to open your understandings

in this Affay, the King hath commanded me
to fay somewhat to you from any of the

Profeutions that I do intervene in this Business;

and fomewhat of the Confequence thereof,
as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and

fomewhat of the Example of it in general:
Making neuer-thelefs no Conclufion or Judg-
mient of any Point, until his Grace hath re-

ceived your faithful and politic Advices.

First, for the King our Sovereign him-

self, who is the principal Perfon you are to

eye in this Business; his Grace doth Prefer

that he truly and conftantly defireth to reign

in Peace. But his Grace faith, he will neither

buy Peace with DilHonour, nor take it up at

Interest of Danger to evade; but fpall think

it a good Change, if it pleafe God to change

the inward Troubles and Seditions, where-

with he hath been hither exercifed, into

an honourable Foreign War. And for the

other two Perfons in this Action, the French

King, and the Duke of Brittan, his Grace
dothe declare unto you, that they be the Men,

unto whom he is of all other Friends and Al-

lies moft bounden: the one having held over

him his Hand of Protection from the Tyrant;

the other having reafh forth unto him his

Land of Help, for the Recovery of his King-

dom. So that his Affection toward them in

his natural Person, is upon equal Terms. And

whereas you may have heard, that his Grace

was enforce to fly out of Brittan into France,

for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would
not in any dift have that reflect upon his

former Benefits: For that he is throughly in-

formed, that it was but the Practice of some

corrupt Perfons about him, during the time

of his Sickness, altogether without his Confeft

or Privy, as he never took it at all. But he again

of these things do interefs his

Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well,

that the higher Bond that tythe him to pro-
cure by all means the Safety and Welfare of

his loving Subjects, doth dif-interest him of

these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise

not to have his Grace be forced to

make a War, he do it without Pain, or

Ambition.

For the confefion of this Action towards

this Kingdom, it is much as the French Kings

intention is. For if be no more, but to
How Rebellion is to be prevented.

Trade to be Confidert.

Foreign Manufactures and Commerce.

By the Lord V E R U L A M. 593.

"of Joy, and Sorrow, than his Grace hath.
"Joy, in respect of the rare and visible Fa-
"voirs of Almighty God, in Girting the Im-
"perial Sword upon his Side, and affhiffing the
"name his Sword against all his Enemies; and
"likewise in blessing him with so many good
"and happy Subjects, whom he have never
"faith to give him faithful Counsel, 
"ready Obedience, and courageous Defence.

Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God
"to suffer him to hecath his Sword (as he great-
"ly defined otherwise than for Administration
"and for his own use) to draw it oft, to cut
"off traitors and dis-

loyal Subjects, whom (it seems) God hath
"left (a few amongst many good) as the Cana-
"anites among the People of Israel, to be Thorns
"in their sides, to tempt and try them; tho'
"the end hath been always (God's Name be
"blessed therefore) that the Destruction hath
"fall upon their own Heads.

Wherefore his Grace faith, That he feeth
"that it is not the Blood spait in the Field, that
"will give the Blood in the City; nor the Mar-
"shall's Sword, that will fet this Kingdom in
"anew. And, Indeed, the more it is, to
"stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in
"their Beginnings; and for that purpose to
"devife, confirm, and quicken good and whol-
"en Laws, against Riots, and Unlawful Af-
"fembles of People, and all Combinations and
"Conspiracies of them, by Liberties, Tokens, 
"and other Badges of Ficious Dependances;
"that the Peace of the Land may by these Or-
"dinances, as by Bars of Iron, be soundly bound
"in and strengthened, and all Force both in
"Court, Country, and Private Hones, be app-
"prented. The Care hereof, which so much
"is concerned you selves, and which the Nu-
"merous of the Times doth impatiently call for, his
"Grace commends to your Wildoms.

And because it is the King's Desire, that
"this Peace, wherein he hopeth to Govern and
"Maintain you, do not bear only unto you
"Leaves for you to Sit under the Shade of them
"that have the Safety but do hold you Fair of
"Riches, Wealth and Plente: Therefore his
"Grace prays you, to take into Consideration
"Matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures
"of the Kingdom, and to repress the barbar
"and baren Imployment of Monies, to Ufury
"upon the Lends of the Duke and the Duke's

Men, (as their Natural life is) turned upon Com-
"merce, and Lawful and Roayl Trading. And
"likewise, that our People be fet on work in
"Arts and Handicrafts; that the Realm may
"fiddle more of it; that Idlenes be avoid-
"ed, and the draining out of our Treasures,
"for foreign Manufactures, stopped. But you are
"not to rest here only, but to provide further,
"that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought
"in from beyond the Seas, may be imploy'd
"upon the Commodities of this Land; where-
"by the Kingdom's Stock of Treasure may be
"made to be both, be made not diminifh'd, by any
"over trading of the Foreigner.

And lastly, because the King is well affi-
"red, that you would not have him Poor, that
"wishes you rich; he doubteth not, that you
"will have Care, as well to maintain his
"Husband, as you Care of your own, and all other Natures,
"as also to supply him with your loving Aids,
"if the Cafe shall require. The rather, for
"that you know the King is a good Husband,
"and that a Steward in effect for the Publick;
"and that what comes from you is but as Moi-

ture drawn from the Earth, which gathers
"into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth 1483.

again. And you know well, how the King-
"does about you grow more and more in Great-
"nes, and the Times are flirring; and there-
"fore not fit to find the King with an empty
"Purse. More I have not to try you; and
"of that, with the King, hath been, but be-
"ter expreff'd: That but your Wildoms and
"good Affections will supply. God blefs your
"Doings.

It was no hard Matter to dispose and affect
"the Parliament in this Business, as well in re-
"spect of the Emulation between the Nations, The Em-
"p and the Enemy at the late growth of the French
"Lion by the
"England, by obtaining to goodly a Maritime Pro.

French, vince, full of Sea-Towns, and Hves, that
"might do Misthief to the English, either by In-
"vasion or by interruption of Traffick. The Par-
"liament was also moved with the Point of Op-
"position; for although the French seem'd to speak
"reason, yet Arguments are ever with Multiitudes
"too weak for Suffocations. Wherefore they did
"advise generally to the King with a fhort and
"flant Quarrel, and to fend them speedy Aids,
"and with much alacrity and forwards grant-
"ed to the King a great Rate of Subsidy, in
"Contemplation of these Aids. But the King
"both to keep a Decency towards the French King,
"to whom he professed himself to be obliged,
"and indeed defirous rather to thow War, than to
"make it; sent new olemn Ambassadors to in-
"timate unto him, the Decree of his Estates, and
"to iterate his Motion, that the French
"would deff from Holfody; or if War must follow,
"to defire him to take it in good part, if at the
"same Time of his People, who were fensible of the
"Cafe of the Britains as their ancient Friends, 
"and Confederates, he did fend them Succours;
"with Profection nevertheless, that to five all
"Treaties and Laws of Friendship, he had limited
"his Force, to proceed in Aid of the Britains, 
"but in no office to War upon the French, otherwise
"than as they maintained the Possession of Britains.

But before this formal Ambaffage arrived, the
"Party of the Duke had receive'd a great blow,
"and grew to manifest Declination. For near the
"Town of St. Albans in Britain, a Battalion
"had been given, where the Britains were overthrown, 
"and their Emperor, and the Duke of Dancy, who
"the Prince of Wales, and almost all his Soldiers val-
"antly fighting. And of the French part one

thousand two hundred, with their Leader James

Gallois, a great Commander.

When the News of this Battall came over into
"Enjand, it was time for the King (who now

the Bri-

had no Subterfuge to continue further Treaty of

Di-

and few before his Eyes, that Britains went to refer

speedily for lofF, contrary to his Hopes, know-

ing also that with his People and Foreigners
"he was both, be feared to be next height of Ill-repu-
"tation for his former Delays) to dispatch with
"all possible fpeed his Succours into Britains, which
"he did under the Conduct of Robert Lord Brook, Aid Ent
"to the Number of Eight thousand choice Men, them-
"and well armed; who having a fair Wind in
"few Hours in Hand, and joyned their Servants
"felves with those Britains Forces, that re-
"mained after the Defeat, and march'd straight
"on to find the Enemy, and incamped aft by At

what

them. The French willingly Husbonding the Poli-
"fition of a Victory, and well acquainted with
"the Courage of the English, especially when they

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are freth, kept themselves within their Trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give
Battel. But means whereby they satisfied the
Englih with all Advantages set upon them with their Light Horse.; wherein nevertheless they received commonly Loses, e-
specially by means of the English Archers.

But upon these Achievements, Francis, Duke of
Britain, deceased; an Accident partly through the
King might easily have foreseen, and ought to
have reckoned upon, and provided for; but that the
Point of Reputation, when News firft came of the
Battel lost (that somewhat must be done)
did overbear the Reason of War.

After the Duke's Deceafe, the principal Per-
sons of Britain, partly bought partly through
Fathers all into Confederation; fo as the
English not finding Head or Body with whom to
join their Forces, and being in Jealousy of
Friends, as well as in Danger of Enemies, and
the Winter begun, returned Home five Months
after their Landing. So the Battle of St. Alban,
the Death of the Duke, and the Retreat of
the English Soccours were (after some time) the
Caufes of the Loses of that Dutche; which Ac-
tion some accounted as a Blemish of the King's
Judgment; but moft but as the Misfortune of
his Times.

But however the temporary Fruit of the
Parliament in their Aid and Advice given for
Britain, took not, nor proffered not; yet the
Lafting Fruit of Parliament, which is good and
whofom Laws, did prosper, and doth yet con-
tinue to this Day. For according to the Lord
Chancellor's Admonition, there were that Par-
liament dives excellent Laws ordained, con-
demning the Points which the King recom-

First, The Authority of the Star-Chamber,
which before fubftituted by the Ancient Common
Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain
Caufes by Act of Parliament. This Court is one
of the Sagel and Nobleft Inhabitants of this
Kingdom. For in the Diftribution of Courts of
Ordinary Juftice (besides the High Court of
Parliament) in which Diftribution the King's
Beach holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the
Common-Places, Pleas Civil, the Exchequer Pleas con-
cerning the King's Revenue, and the Chancery
Pleas, there are other famous and notable
Forms of Law, in Cafe of Extremity, by the Confi-
cence of a good Man; there was nevertheless
always refr'd a High and Preheminent Power to
the King's Council, in Caeles that might in
Example, or Congerence, concern the State of
the Commonwealth, which if they were Cri-ni-
mal, the Council fued to Sit in the Chamber,
called the Star-Chamber; if Civil, in the White-
Chamber, or White-hall. And as the Chancy
had the Prerazor Power for Equity; fo the
Star-Chamber had the Confitution Power for
Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court
of Star-Chamber, is compounded of good Ele-
ments for it confifteth of Four kinds of Perons:
It differeth also principally of Four kinds of
Caufes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stel-
linean, and the Indictments and Middle Acts to
which they refer'd was for his Principality not actu-
ally committed or perpetrated. But that which
was principally aimed at by this Act was, the
Power of the Chief Judges, and the two chief
Supports of Force; Combination of Millions, and Maintenance or Head-
ship of great Perons.

For the general Peace of the Country, the
King's Care went on to the Peace of the King's
House, and the Security of his great Officers
and Counfellors. But this Law was somewhat of
a fram'd Competition and Togett'ry. That
if any of the King's Servants under the degree
of a Lord, do confpire the Death of any of the
King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, it is made
Capital. This Law was thought to be procured
by the Lord Chancellor, who being a fter and
haugeth Man, and finding he had some Mortal
Enemies in Court, provided for the ftronger
Drowning the Envy of it in a general Law, by
communicating the Privilege with all other the
King's Counsellors and Peers, and yet not daring
to extent it further, than to the King's Servants
in Check-Roll, left it should have been too barb
for the Gentleman, and other Commons of the
Kingdom; who might have thought the Prince of
England invad'd, If the Will in any Cafe of
Bilony should be made the Dee. And yet the rea-
son which the Act yeldeth (that is to say, That
be it Comprofe the Death of Counsellors may be
thought Indeferable, and by a mean to confpire
the Death of the King himself) is indifferently
all Subjects, as well as to Servants in Court. But
it feemeth this fuffeth to serve the Lord Chan-
cellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to
need a General Law, for that he grew after-
wards as odious to the Country, as he was then
to the Prince.

From the Peace of the King's House, the King's
Care extended to the Peace of Private Houfes
and Families. For there was an excellent Moral
Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying
away of Women forcibly, and againft their will
(except Female-wards and Bondwomen) was
made Capital, and upon fome occasions con-
ceiving, that the obtaining of Women by force
into Polleffion (howsoever afterwards At-
fent might follow by Allurements) was but a
Rape drawn forth in length, because the firft
Force drew on all the reft.

There was made alfo another Law for Peace
Laws a-
A Law for
in general, and repreffing of Murtherers and
Man-slaughters, and was in Amendment of
the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That
whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in
cafe of Homicide, did expect, The Year and the
Day, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of Ap-
pel, and that it was found by Experience that
the Laws which many Ages compounded with
and many times wearied with the Suit, fo that
in the end fuch Suit was let fall, and by that
time the Matter was in a manner forgotten,
and thereby Proceflion at the King's Suit by
Indictment (which is ever bell, Fiat enim orinve
neglectual; it was ordain'd, That the Suit by
Indictment might be taken as well at any time
within the Year and the Day, as after, not pre-
judicing nevertheless the Parties Suit.
The King began also then, as well in Wif- The Pri-
dom as in Justice to pare a little the Privilege vices of
dom of Clergy, ordaining, that Clergs to be
by herchoice the Hand; both because they might
be banish'd, or deprived of their
faiis or office, or other
of corporal Punifhment, and that
they might carry a Brand of Infamy. But for
this good Act's fake, the King himself was after-
branded by Perkin's Proclamation, for an ex-
crable Breaker of the Rites of Holy Church.

The King's Care went on to the Better Peace of the Country; by which Law the
King's Officers and Farmers were to forfeit
their Places and Hold's, in cafe of unlawful
Retainer, or partaking in Roasts and unlawful
Alliances.

These were the Laws that were made for
reprefling of Force, which those times did chie-
fly require; and were fo prudently framed, as
they
the Subsidy granted at the same time, bare a Fruit, that proved harsh and bitter. All was in
in a Storm. For when the Commissioners entered into
the Taxation of the Subsidy in Yorkshire, and the Bishopric of Durham; the People upon a
fuddain grew into great Mutiny, and faid open-
ly, that they had endured of late Years a thousand Miferies, and neither could nor would pay the Subsidy. This (no doubt) proceeded not ful-
ply of any present Neeceffity, but much by Rea-
lon of the old Humour of thofe Countries, where the Memory of King Richard was fo strong, that it lies like Lees in the bottom of Mens Hearts; and if the Vefell was but flirred, it would come up to the Surface. But this was partly by the
Inflation of fome Faction Mafecontent, that bare principal Stoke amongst them. Hereupon the Commissioners being somewhat affaihned, deffer'd the matter unto the Earl of Northampton, who was the principal Man of Authority in thofe Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, fignifying to the King plainly enough in
what Flame he found the People of thofe Coun-
tries, and praying the Kings Direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one Penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by Parliament, both because it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Releaf, or Mitigation, and chiefly because he would never endure, that the bare Multitude should frustrate the Authority of the Parliament, wherein their Votes and Confents were conclu-
ded. Upon this diffpatch from Court, the Earl assembled the principal Juries and Freet-holders of his Countrie, speaking in that
imperious Languag wherein the King had written to him, which needed not (Save that an Harf buflines was unfortunately fallen into the Hands of a Harf-man) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the Stout-
ness and Heightness of delivery of the Kings Errand, that himfelf was the Author or prin-
cipal Perfverer of that Counfel. Whereupon the
meaner fort ronted together, and fuddainly allaying the Earl in his Houfe, flew him, and di-
vers of his Servants. And refled not there, but
crefting for their Leader Sir John Esmond, a fad Man, more in Truth and Jufhification bor-n an ill Toleat towards the King; and be-
ing animated also by a Baife Fellow, called John a Chamber, a very Boyfeuces, who bare much fway among the vulgar and popular, entred into op-
en Rebellion, and gave out in flat Terms, that the Kings, Enemies. After this, hefhed his
with the maintenence of their Liber-

War in England, and being honourably entertained, and
faw in such good
of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received
to special Favour) with a Compelete Power again-
the Rebels; who fought with the Principal Band
of them, and defeated them, and took alive a
Rebellion in
John a Chamber. For Sir John Esmond, he fied into Flan-damer, to the Pargenes
gages of Burgundy: whole Palace was the Saturn-
ary and Recepcape of all Trarriers againft the
King. John a Chamber was executed at York,
in great State; for he was hanged upon a Gib-
bet rafh, a Stage higher in the midft of Square
Galloys, as Trarrier Paramounct, and a num-
ber of his Men that were his chief Complices, and
him were hanged upon the lower Story round about reflow
The
they were more generally parted. Nei-
ther did the King himself omit his Culfom, to
Hanging:
he be firft or fecound in all his Warlike Exploits,
making good his Word, which was fulfilled with
him when he heard of Rebels; that He offered
but to see them. For immediately after he had
King Henrys
went down the Earl of Surry, he marched towards
them himfelf in Perfon. And although in his
Journey he heard News of the Victory, yet he
went on as far as Yorke, to pacifie and fettle thofe belo

And in the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Richard Temefall for his principal Commissioner, to levy the Subsidy, whereof he did not remit a Denyer.

About the fame time that the King left on this
As the Earl of Northumberland, he left likewise a faithful Friend and Ally of his, the Third King of Scotland, by a mifer-
ble Difafter. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long fmother of Discontent, and Haft of many
of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into Seditions and Alterations of Court, was at last difturbed by them having taken
Arms, and surprifed the Perfons of Prince James
his Son, partly by Force, partly by Threats, that they would otherwife deliver up the Kingdom to the King of England, to shadow their Rebelli-
on, and to be the Titular and painted Head of thofe Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himfelf too weak) fought into King Henry, as alfo unto the Pope, and the King of France, to
compoze thofe Troubles, between him and his

The Kings accordingly interpoled their Mediation in a round and Princefully man-
er: Not only by way of Requefs and Perswai-
s, but by the profeffeion of Menace, declaring, that they thought it to be the Com-
mon Cause of all Kings, if Subjefis should be offered
to give Laws unto their Sovereigns; and that they
would accordingly refent it, and revenge it. But the Rebels that had taken off the greater Yoke of Obedienc, had likewise caft away the lette

And Fury prevailing above Fear, made anfuer. That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would reign his
Crown, Whereupon (Treatie of Accord ta-
king no place) it came to a Battel, at Barwicke, be-
Tween the King and Prince.

In which Battel the King was far more tranfported with Wrath and just I nudication, to arri-

inconfiderately fighting and precipitating the lead.
Charge, before his whole Numbers came up to
him, was (notwithstanding the contrary exprefs promises and straight Commandment of the Prince his Son) the Ill
flain in the Pursuit, being fied to a Mill, Situated near the King

As for the Pope's Ambaffadors, which was fent by
Adrian De Caffello an Italian Legate (and perhaps as thofe times were might have previ-
more) it came too late for the Ambaffary, but no-
for the Ambaffador. For paffing through
England, and being honourably entertained, and
received of King Henry, (who reigned one of the Towers, and fell with much respect to the Sea of Rome) he

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fall into great Grace with the King, and great
Familiarity and Friendship with Morton the Chan-
cellor. In so much as the King taking a liking to
him, and finding him to his Mind, preferred him
to the Bishopric of Hereford, and after-
wards to that of Bath and Wells, and employ-
ed him in many of his business of State, that had
Relation to Rome. He was a Man of great
Learning, Wisdome and Dexterity in Business of
State; and having not long after ascended to the
Degree of Cardinal, paid the King large Tribu-
mates of his Gratitude, in diligent and judicious
Advertizement of the Occurrences of Italy. Ne-
vertheless in the end of that time, he was Partake-
er of the Conspiracy, which Cardinal Alphonso
Petrarci, and some other Cardinals had plotted a-
gainst the Life of Pope Leo. And this Offence
in itself so hainous, was yet in him aggravated
by the Motive thereof, which was not Malice or
Discontent, but an aspiring Mind to the Papacy.
And in this Height of Impiety there wanted not an
intermixedness of Levity and Folly; for that
(as was generally believed) he was animated to
expect the Papacy, by a fatal Meckeysy, the Pre-
diction of a Sooth-fayer, which was: That one
forsaid should succeed Pope Leo, whose Name should be
Arian, an aged Man of great Learning and Wisdom. By which Character
and Figure, he took himself to be describ'd, though
it were fulfilled of Adrian the Flemmig, Son of a
Dutch Brewer, Cardinal of Tortella, and Pre-
ceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that not
changing his Christen-name, was afterwards cal-
el Adrian the Sixth. But the things happened in the Year fol-
lowing, which was the fifth of this King. But
in the end of the fourth Year the King had cal-
el again his Parliament, not as it seems for
any particular Occasion of State. But the for-
mer Parliament being ended somewhat sudden-
lv, in regard of the Preparations for Britau, the
King thought he had not remunerated his Peo-
ple sufficiently with good Laws, which ever-
more was his Retribution for Treaveure. And
finding by the Insequent in the North, there was
Discontentment abroad, in respect of the Sub-
sidy, he thought it good to give his Subjects ye-
ther Contentment, and Comfort for that Kind.
Concerning his Times for good Common-wealths
Laws did excel. So as he may justly be cele-
brated for the best Law-giver to this Nation,
after King Edward the first. For his Laws (who
in all respects well are) deep, and not vulgar;
not made upon the Spur of a particular Occa-
sion for the Prefent, but out of Providence of
the Future, to make the Effe of his People still
more and more happy; after the manner of the
Legislators in Ancient and Heroical Times.
First therefore he made a Law, suitable to
his own Acts and Times. For as himself had in
his Perfon and Marriage made affection to the
Concord, in the great Suit of the Title for the Crown; fo by
this Law he fortified the like Peace and Quiet
in the Private Possessions of the Subjects. Or-
daining, That fines thenceforth should be final, to
conclude all Strangers Rights; and that uppon fines
levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the Subject
should have a Time of Warch for five Years
after his Title accrued, which he fore-passed,
his Right should be found for ever after; with
some Exception nevertheless, of Minors, Mar-
ried-Women, and such incompetent Persons.
This Statute did in Effect but restore an An-
cient Statute of the Realm, which if it fell
also did, but in Appearance of the Common-
Law. The Alteration had been by a Statute,
commonly called the Statute of Non-claim, made
in the time of Edward the Third. And fully
this Law was a Kind of Prognostick of the good
Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part)
continued in this Kingdom, until this Day. For the Statutes of Non-claim are for times of War, when Mens Heads are a Tussle, that they cannot intend their Effe; but Statutes, that quiet Pooleis, are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the Banes of Peace.
Another Statute was made of singular Policy,
for the Population of this Kingdom, and (if it be
throughly considered) for the Souldiery, and
Military Forces of the Realm.
Inclofures at that time began to be more fre-
quent, whereby Arable Land (which could not
be manured without People and Families) was
turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a
few Hird-men; and Tenancies for Years, Lives,
and at Will (whereupon much of the Yeomans-
lived) were turned into Demefies. This
bred a decay of People, and (by consequence)
a decay of Towns, Churches, Tithes, and the like.
The King likewise knew full well, and in no
wife forgot, that there resided upon this a Body of great
Taxes; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower
Books of Subsidiis. In remedying of this in-
convenience, the King's Wifdom was Admirable,
and the Parliament's at that time. Inclo-
flures they would not forbid, for that had been
to forbid the Improvement of the Patrimony of
the Kingdom; nor Tillage they would upon For-
cel, for that was to strive with Nature and U-
tility. But they took a Coure to take away The In-
depopulating Inclofures, and depopulating conve-
niencies of the Kingdom, and to favor a
Remo-
Vnce of the Enclosure, and make the
Husbandry, that were under with twenty Acres of
Ground, and upwards, should be maintained and
kept up for ever; together with a Compenent Pro-
portion of Land to be sold and occupied with them; and
in no wise to be fevered from them, as by anot-
her Statute, made afterwards in his Successors
time. That this was fully done and ordered.
The King nevertheless, wished to see them
not to be taken; but not by way of Popular Acti-
ons, but by seifure of the Land itself, by the
King and Lords of the Fee, as to half the Profits,
till the Houses and Lands were refcorbed. By this
means the Houses being kept up, did of necessity
inforce a Dweller; and the Proportion of Land
for Occupation being kept up, did of necessity
inforce that Dweller; not to be a Beggar or
Cottager, but a Man of some Subsistence, that
might keep Hinds and Servants, and set the
Plough on going. This did wonderfully con-
cern the Mighty and Manner- hood of the King-
dom, to have Erms, as it were, of a Standard of
an unchangeable Body out of Penury; and did in effect amorize a great part of the Lands of
the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the
Yeomans or Middle-People, of a Condition
between Gentlemen, and Cottagers, or Peasants!
Now, how much this did advance the Military
Power of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true
Principal of War, and the Examples of other
Kingdoms. For it has been held by the ge-
neral Opinion of Men of both Kind of
Judgment in the Wars (howsoever few some have varied, and
that it may receive some distinction of Cafe)
that the Principal Strength of an Army con-"
The King also (having care to make his Realm potent, as well by Sea as by Land) for the better maintenance of the Navy, ordained, That Wines and Wood from the Parts of Gallicain and Languedoc, shall, from henceforth (according to the Poets fiction) shall fret armed Men for the Service of this kingdom.

The King also made a Statute in that Parliament, Monitory and Minatory, towards Justices of Peace, that they should duly execute their Office, inviting Complaints against them, first to their Fellow-justices, then to the Justices of Affile, then to the King or Chancellor; and that a Proclamation, which he had published of that Tenor, should be read in open Sessions four times a Year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap either Obedience or Forfeitures; wherein towards his last, (with a good Decline to the left Hand) he did ordain Remedy against the Practice that was grown in use, to flop and damp Informations upon Penal Laws, by procuring Informations by Collusion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at Fleasfare, and pleading them in Bar to the Information, which were profected with Effect.

He made also Laws for the Correction of the Mint, and counterfeiting of Foreign Coin current. And that no payment in Gold, should be made to any Merchant-STRanger, the better secure Trade within the Realm, for that Gold was the chief Extravagance in every Room.

He made also Statutes for the Maintenance of Drapery, and the keeping of Woolens within the Realm; and not only so, but for flitting, and limiting the Prices of Cloath; one for the Finner, and one for the Copper Finner, which, both because it was a rare thing to set Prices by Statute, especially upon our Home-Commodities; and because of the Wife Model of this Act, not prescribing Prices, but flitting them not to exceed a Rate, that the Cloather might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good Statutes were made that Parliament; but these were the Principal. And here I do deliver those, for the sake of his Work shall fail, that they do take in good part my long infufing upon the Laws, that were made in this King's Reign. Whereof I have thefe Reasons; Both because it was the prehemi-

By the Lord V E R U L A M. 597

The English Navigation advanced. The

Corrigers but

Hous'd Beggars.
The French Forces besieged a little Town called Dixme, where part of the Flemish Forces joined with them. While they were doing this Siege, the King of England, upon the pretence of the safety of the English Pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should come contemnible, and thereby he shaken off by the States of Brabant about this Marriage. For he over the Lord Morley with a thousand Men unto the Lord Du Boucoy, then Deputy of Calais, with forces of instruction to aid Maximilian, and to raise the Siege of Dixme. The Lord Du Boucoy (giving it out that all was for the Strengthening of the English Marches) drew out of the Garrisons of Calais, Havre, and Guines, to the Number of a Thousand Men more. But that with the fresh Successes that came under the Conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the Number of two Thousand, or better. Which Forces joyning with some Companies of Almaini, put themselves into Dixme, not perceived by the Enemies; and passing through the Town with some Enforcement on the Forces that were to the Town, assail’d the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of Fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the English and their Partakers obtained the Victory, and flew to the Number of eight Thousand Men, with the loss on the English part of a Hundred or thereabout. The Lord Du Boucoy, the Lord Morley. They took all their great Ordinance, with much rich Spoils, which they sent to Newport, whence the Lord Du Boucoy returnd to Calais, leaving the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cornes being at Ipswich, left a great power of Men, thinking to recover the Loss and Diligence of the Fight at Dixme, came presently on, and fate down before Newport and besieged it; and after some days Siege, he resolved to try the Fortune of an Assault: Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the French Banner. Whence nevertheless they were prefently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh Succours of Archers arriving good Fortune (at the instant) in the Haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cornes discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (with whom he himself and his Sucee- cers, which was gained) levied his Siege. By this means, Matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of England and France, for that in the War of France, the French Forces of England and England and French Wars were much blooded one against another. Which Blood rankled the more, by the vain Words of the Lord Cornes, that declared himself an open Enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present Service, making it a common By-word of his, That he could be content to lie in Bed seven Years, or die with Calico from the English.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of Maximilian, advis’d him now to prehend his Marriage with Britain; he was called to a Conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed both with the young Lady, and with the principal Percons about her, as the Marriage was connaturate by Proxy, with a Ceremonies, being performed for her. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnly Bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian’s Ambassa- dor with Letters of Proclamation, and in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men and Women of Quality (which was seen at Calais) between the Epousal Sheets; to the end, that that Ceremony might be thought to amount to a Consummation and actual Knowledge. This done, Maximilian (whole Property was to leave things to his own Pleasure, as they came to Perfection, and to end them by Imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head: and who might as easily have beded the Lady himself, as to have made a Play and Diligue of it) thinking now all afferred, neglected for a time his further Proceedings, and intermarry’d with the King and Queen of England, King (consulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended Consummation was rather an invention of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by secret Infrumments and cunning Agreements, as well Marrows about the young Lady, as Councillors, first sought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady her self, wherein there was a double La- bour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the Lady, but Maximilian’s Daughter was likewise contract to King Charles. So as the Marriage hald upon both Feet, and was not clear on either Side: But for the Contract with King Charles, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian’s Daughter was under Years of Confect, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disfragement left to either Part. But for the Contract made by Maximilian with the Lady, they were under drive, having nothing to allledge, but that it was done without the consent of her Sovereign Lord King Charles, whole Ward and Client she was, and to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Confect. Which Defect (they said) the’t it would not evacuate a Marriage, after cohabitation, and actual Consummation; yet it was enough to make void a Contract. As for the pretended Consummation, they made Sport with it, and said, That it was an Argument, that Maximilian was a Widdower, and a cold Water, that could not content himself to be a bedgroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of Que- stion. So that the young Lady, wrought upon by these Reasons, finely inflit by such as the French King (who spared for no Rewards or Prom- ises) had made on his Side; and althou this neither gave great Joy to the French, nor dreading of King Charles, being also a young King, and a Bat- chelor) and lott to make her Country the Seat of a long and miserable War, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this se- cret Treaty with the Lady, the better to fieve it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King Charles referring to his wonted Arts, and the Difficulties in carrying the Marriage as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of England with the King, in vain belief, sent a Solemn Ambassade by Fran- ces Lord of Luxembourg, Charles Marignian and Robert Gaguen, General of the Order of the Bonnes and the Coaice, to conclude Peace and League with the King; accompanying it with an Article in the Nature of a Requett, that the French King might with the King’s good Will (according unto his Right of Seigniorie and Tu- telage) dispose of the Marriage of the young Daughters of Britain, as he should think good, by a Judicial Proceeding to make Void the Marriage of Maximilian by Proxy. Alto all this while the better to amuse the World, he did continue in his Court and Caftody the Daugh- ter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in high things, not meaning her, but contrari- wise profesting and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for
for the Dutchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his Right of Sceignory, and to give her in Marriage to some such Allie, as might depend upon him.  

When the three Commissioners came to the Court of England, they deliver'd their Amba-

fage unto the King, who remitted them to his Council, where some days after they had Aud-

ience, and made their Proposicion by the Priory of the Trinity (who tho' he were Third in

Place, yet was held the chief Speaker of them) to this Effe.

MY Lords, the King our Mafter, the greatest and mightieft King that reign-
ed in France since Charles the Great (who

Name he beareth), hath nevertheleſſe thought

it no Elabargement to his Greatneſs, at this

time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray

a Peace with the King of England. For which

Purpoſe he hath sent us his Commissioners, in-
fraeted and enabled with full and ample

Power, to treat and conclude; giving us fur-

ther in Charge, to open in some other Bath,

nefs of the Secrets of his own Intellenſe. Thence

he beſt the imminent Love-Tokens between

great Kings, to communicate one with ano-

ther the true State of their Affairs, and to

paf by nice Points of Honour, which ought

not to give Law unto Affection. This I do

conclude; that Subject is not unlawfull for

you to imagine the true and cordial Love

that the King our Mafter beareth to your

Sovereign, except you were near him, as we

are. He uthe his Name with fo great respect;

He remembreth his first Acquaintance at

Example of Contemnment; may, he

never speaks of him, but that presently he

dfalls into Discourse of the Miseries of great

Kings, in that they cannot converse with their

Equals, but with Servants. This Affection to

your King Perfon and Vertues, God hath

put into the Heart of our Mafter, no doubt

for the good of Christendom, and for Pur-

poſes yet unknown to us all. For other Root

it cannot have, face it was the fame to the

Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the King

of England. This is therefore the firſt Mo-

tive that makes our King defire Peace, and

League with your Sovereign; Good Affection,

in the true fides to his own Heart. This Affection is also arm'd with reafon of

Eftate. For our King both in all Cour
d

and Franknefs of dealing open himſelf unto

you; that having an honourable, yea, and a

holy Purpoſe to make a Voyage and War in

remote Parts, he confidereth that it will be

of no small eʃcio, in point of Reputation to

his Enterprize, if it be known Abroad, that

he is in good Peace with all his Neighbour

Princes, and fpeciallly with the King of En-
gland, whom for good Caufes he eeuently

meddled with.

But now (my Lords) I give me leave to ufe

a few words to remove all Scriuples and Mis-

understandings between your Sovereign and
 ours, concerning fome Late Actions; which
 if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder

this Peace. To the end, that for Matter paf-

fing, our King may conceive Unkindnefes of
 ther, nor think the other conceiveth Unkind-

nefs of him. The late Actions are two; That

of Britain and that of Flanders. In both which,
 it is true, that the Subjects Swords of both

Kings have encountred and bricken, and the

Kings and Inclinations aloft of the two Kings,

in respect of their Confederates and Allies,

have fevered.  

For that of Britain; The King your Sove-

reign knoweth well what hath paſſed. It was

a War of Necessity on our Mafter's part. And

the Evils of it were harp and pi-

quant as could be, yet did make the War

rather with an Olive-Branch than a Laurel-

Branch in his Hand, more definic Peace than

Viciry. Besides, from time to time he fent

(as it were) Blank-Papers to your King, to

write the Conditions of Peace. For tho' he

his Honour and Safety were upon it, yet he

thought neither of them too precious, to put

into the King of England's hands. Neither

doth your King on the other Side make any

Unfriendly Interpretation, of your King's

fending of Secours to the Duke of Britain;

for the King knoweth well, that many things

must be done of Kings for Satisfaction of their

People, and it is not hard to difcern what is

a King's own. But this Matter of Britain is

now (by the Act of God) ended and paſſed;

and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a

Ship in the Sea, without leaving any Impref-

fon in either of the Kings Minds; as he is

fine for his part it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; As the former

of Britain was a War of Necessity, fo this was

a War of Justice; which with a good King

is of equal Necessity, with danger of Eftate,

for if he should leave to be a King. The

Points of this Affair are Subjects in Chief to

the Crown of France, and their Duke the Ho-
mager and Valf of France. They had wont
to be good Subjects, howsoever Maximillian

hath of late diltemper't them. They fled
to the King for Justice, and Deliverance from

Oppreffion. Justice he could not deny; Purchafe
he could not give for Money. This it was good for Maximilian to

know, if he could have feen it in People ma-
tined to arrest Fury, and prevent Defpair. My

Lords, it may be this I have faid is needles,

fave that the King our Mafter is tender in

any thing, that may but glance upon the

Friendfhip of England. The Amity between

the two Kings (no doubt) stands entire and

inviolate. And that their Swords

have claffed, it is nothing unto the publick

Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very

uical in Auxiliary Forces of the belt and

brilliant Confederates, to meet and draw blood

in the hands of the King of England. Nay, many there be who would

be willing to make the fame Name on both fides, and yet it is

not (for all that) A Kingdom divided in

itself.

It refeth (my Lords) that I impart unto

you a Matter, that I know your Lordships all

will much rejoyce to hear; as that which Im-

porteth the Christian Commonweal more than

any Action that hath hapned of long time.

The King our Mafter hath a Purpoſe and De-
termination, to make War upon the Kingdom

of Naples; being now in the Portificion of a

Baffardip of Arragon, but appertaining unto

his Majesty, by clear and undoubt'd Right;

which if he should not by just Arms feck to

recover, he could neither acqut his Honour,

nor Anfwer it to his People. But his Noble

and Christian Thoughts reft not here. For

his Resolution and Hope is, to make the Re-
conquerd part of Naples, by the Bridge to,

port his Forces into Greece; and not to spare

Blood or Treasure (if it were to the impawn-

ing of his Crown, and dispeopling of France)

tll either he hath Overthrown the Empire of

the Ottoman, or taken it in his Way to Pa-

rable. The King knoweth well, that this is

a Defign, that could not arife in the Minds of

any
any King, that did not sedulously look up to God, whole Quarell this is, and from whom cometh both the Will and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Perfon that he bear eth (tho' unworthy) of the Thrice-Chriftian King, and the elder Son of the Church. As life is given by the Example (in more Ancient time) of King Henry IV. of England, (the first renown'd of the Houfe of Lancaster; Anceftor, tho' not Progenitor to your King) who had a Purpofe towards the End of his Time (as you know better) to commit the Conjunftion into the hands of the Church, and by the Example also (prefent before his Eyes) of that Honourable and Religious War which the King of Spain now makes, and hath almost brought to Perfection, for the recovery of the Realm of Granada from the Moors. And altho' this Enterprise may seem vait and unmeaneful, for the King to attempt that by his own Forces, wherein hereafter a Conjunction of moft of the Christian Princes hath found Work enough; yet his Majesty wisely confidereth, that sometimes final ler Forces being united under one Command, and more effeclively confidering the (not to pro- fcribing in Opinion and Fame) than much grea ter Forces, variously compounded by Allocati ons and Leagues; which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings, turn to Dilutations and Divisions. But my Lords (that which is as a Voice from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprise, is a Rent at this time in the Houfe of the Ottomans. I do not fay, but there hath been Brother against Brother in that Houfe before, but never any that had refuge to the Arms of the Christians, as now hath Genex, (brother of the Fr{t King's) that great reftoration to the hands of a Monk, the other being between a Monk and a Philofopher, and better read in the Aecran and Averages, than Able to wield the Sceptre of fo Warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Mafter's memorab le and Heroical Resolution for an Holy War. Or that he be carrieth in this the Perfom of a Critten Soldier, as well as of a great Temp oral Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, and is content for this Caufe to beg Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remaineth only that a Civil Requifite, than any Efential part of our Negotiation, which the King makest to the King your Sovereign, The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in Chief of the Dutchy of Brittain. The Marriage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guar dian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, and no Bufinefs of Eflate: yet nevertheless to run a fair Course with your King; whom he defires to make another Himfelf, and to be one and the fame thing with him) his Requeft is, That with the King's Favour and Content, he may difpofe of his Marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the Pfent and pretended Marriage of Maximilian, according to Juflice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to fay, defiring your Pardon for my Weaknefs in the De fcription; as ripe and would be foon gathered. The other was more laffing; and that was to put him into fuch a temper as he might be no Diffurbance or Impediment to the Voyage for Italy. The Lords of the Council were filent; and the King, That they knew the Ambaffadors would look for no thing he did, till they had reported to the King; and fo they rofe from Council. The King could not well tell what to think of the Marriage of Brittain. He faw plainly the Ambition of the French King was to impute nize himself of the Dutchy, but he wouldn dered he would bring into this Jabot litigation, especially confidering who was his Suc ceftor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Brittain for loot; but refol ved to make his Profite of this Bufinefs of Brittain, as a Quar rel for War; and that of Naples, as a Wrench and Mean for Peace, being well adverfified how strongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his Council, and keeping himfelf somewhat clofe; he gave a Direfion to the Chancellors, for a formal Answer to the Ambaffadors, and that he did in the prefence of his Council. And after difcoursing with him apart, bad him fpeak in fuch Language as was fir, in a Treaty that was to end in a Breach; and gave him alfo a Special Cauze, that he fhou'd not difpel his words, to difcourage the Voyage of Brittain. Soon after the Ambaffadors were fent for to the Council, and the Lord Chancellor fpake to them in this fort. My Lords Ambaffadors, I shall make The Lord answer by the King's Command ment, unto the Elloquent Declaration of your Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The French fent his former Love and Ambaffadors to Acquaintance with the King your Mafter. But the good Speech.
good Brother the French King, that his five tunes may succeed according to his hope, and his honourable Intentions. And whensoever he shall desire to depart from here, our heart as well as your Mother is pleased now to say, that he beggett a Peace of the King, so the King will then beg of him a part in that War.

But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the King's part. It shall be, as the King's Mother hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say it (my Lord Prior) that your King is resolved to recover his Right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor appear for any other. And that with what hopes and confidence the King our Master faith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Angoue, yea and the Kingdom of France it self.

I cannot express it better than in your own Words: If therefore the French King shall content that the King our Master's title to France (as they might) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this Demand, answered in some Heat; That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter: And they assur'd themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any Diminution of the Crown of France either in Territory or Regality. But howsoever, they were too great masters for them to speak of, having no Commision. It was replied; that the King looked for no other Answer from them; but would forthwith send his own Ambassadors to the French King. There was a Quefion also asked at the Table, Whether the French King would agree to leave the disposing of the Marriage of Britain with an Exception and Exclusion, that he should not marry any himself? To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their King's Thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. This was not dismissed, but came before the Prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenfons Prior of Chrift-Church in Canterbury; who were presently sent over into France. In the mean time, Lancel Bishop of Canoe, was sent as Roman, from Pope Alexander to the two Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope Alexander finding himself pent and lockt up, by a League and Combination of the Principal States of Italy, that he could not make his way for the Advancement of his own Houfe (which he immoderately thirsted after) was devisous to trouble the Waters in Italy, that he might fib the better; calling the Net, not out of Saint Peter's, but out of Bergia's Bark. And doubting leaff the Feats from England, might flay the French King's Voyage into Italy, dilpatch'd this Bishop to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the French King, and finding him well inclined (as he conceiv'd) took on his Journey towards England, and found the English Ambassadors at Calais, on their Way towards the French King. After some Conference with them, he was inHonorable manner transported over into England, where he had Audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good Ominous Name to have made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpofe of the French King to marry the Dutchefl could be no longer dil-
Crowned of Tribute, or Acknowledgment, but (by the Favour of Almighty God) try Right but the Crown of France it self; remembering that there hath been a French King Prifoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mighty Hand then ever, and never more provoked. Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New Acquittes are more burthen, than strength. The Male-contents of his own Kingdom have not been Bafe, Popular nor Titulary Impo- rors, but of an higher Nature. The King of Spain (doubt ye not) will joy with this, not knowing what the French Kings Ambition will play. Our holy Father the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid, but England should be able to get Reafon of France, without a Second. At the Battels of Cruffy, Potillers, Agents' Court, we were of our selves. France hath much People, and few Souldiers. They have no fable Bands of Foot. Some good Horfe they have; but thofe are Forces, which are yeafit fit for a Defensive War, where the Adverfary are in the Affiftants choice. It was our Difforders only, that loft France; and (by the Power of God) it is the good Peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto bleffed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reign'd, never bettered out my bad Subjects, and tried my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable foreign War will vent it, or purify it. In this great Buflines, let me have your advice, and Aid. If any of you were to make his Son a People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable foreign War will vent it, or purify it. In this great Buflines, let me have your advice, and Aid. If any of you were to make his Son by Law. This concerns the Kingdom and Spars of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to feek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for Matter of Treafure, let it not be taken from the Congrefs, for whom the Benefit of the War may redound. France is no Wilderfens; and 1, that profefs Good Hufbandry, hope to make War (after the beginnings) to pay it off. Go together God's Name in and lofe no time; for I have called this Parliament whenever I try for this Cause. Thus fpeak I the King: But for all this, though he flew great Forwardnes for a War, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Pri- vate Council likwise, (except the two Bifhops and a few more) yet nevertheless in his Secret Intreaties, he had no Purpofe to go through with any War, upon France. But the Truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, to make his Return in Money. He knew well, that France was now entire, and at Unity with it elf, and never to mighty many Years before. He faw by the tatt that he had of his Forces fent into Britain, that the French knew well enough how to make War with the English, by not putting things to the Hazard of a Battel, but warying them by long Sieges of Towns, and strong Forfitted Encampings. France of the III. of Scotland, this true Friend and Confede- rate) gone; and France the IV. (that had fuccede- deth wholly at the Devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of Perlims of Spain, and Maximilian; he could make no Foundation upon them. For the one had Power, and not Will; and the other hath Will, and not Power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken Breath, from the War with the Moors; and Merchanted at this time with France, for the reforing of the Counties of Bangiinian and Perpignian, oppugnator to the French. Then he be out of the French Discontent. There is an ill Blood within the Realm; which having ufed always to reprefis and appeac in Perfon, was loth they fhould find him at a diftance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Diffi- culties in the profecution of a War, he caft with him all the Confequences, in two things, Tell him how by the Declaration and Inchoation of a War, to make his Profit. The other, how to come off from the War, with faving of his Ho- nor. For Profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his E- nemies for the Peace, like a good Merchant, that maketh his Gain, both upon the Commodities exported, and imported back again. For the Point of Honour, wherein he might fuffer, for giving over the War; he confeffed well, that as he could not truft upon the aids of Peri- nands and Maximilian, in Supports of a War, the Impudence of the one, and the double pro- ceeding of the other, lay fair for him for Occafions to accept of Peace. Thofe things he did wisely fore fee, and did as artificially conduc, whereby all things fell into his Lap, as he de- fire. For as for the Parliament, it prefently took Fire, being affiftionate (of old) to the War of France and defirous a-fresh to repair the Difhonour they thought the King fuffitaine by the Lofts of Britain. Therefore they advifed the King (with great Aftarity) to undertake the War of France. And although the Parliament confifted of the First and Second Nobility (together with Prin- cipal Citizens and Townifmen) yet worthily and juftly reffpecting the more the People( whose Depu- ties they were) than their own private Perfons, and finding by the Lord Chancellor's Speech the King's Indicaition in that way; they confented that Commissioners should be elect for the pur- fuing and levying of a Benevolence, from the more A Benev- able fort. This Tax (called Benevolence) was later devifed by Edward the Fourth for which he grant- ed him all might. It was abifiled by Richard the Third for a War, and by the King to go with it. He was the people, and then the King, revived by the King, but with confent of Parlia- ment, for fo it was not in the time of King Ed- ward the Fourth. But by this way he raiied ex- ceeding great Sums. Incumbrach the City of London (in those Days) contributed nine thou- sand Pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the Wealthier fort. There is a Tradition of a Dilemma, that Bifhop Morton the Chancel- lor ufed to raife the Benevolence to higher Rates; and some called it his Forfe, and some his Crutch. For he had couched an Article in this to the Commissioners, who were to levy the Benevolence; That if they met with any that were fparing, they should tell them, That they muft needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they muft needs have, because it was feen in their Fort, and manner of living. So neither kind came anide. This Dilemma was merely a Parliament of War; for it was in fubfance, but a Declaration of War againit France and Scotland, with some Statutes conducing thereunto; as the levye pu- nifhng of more, and keeping back of Sould- iers Wages and Captains. The like Severe Law for the Departure of Souldiers without Licence; Strengthening
That which Lands without Fine.

There was also a Statute, for the disparing of the Standard of the Exchequer, throughout England, thereby to size Weights and Measures; and two or three more of less Importance.

After the Parliament was broken up (which lasted for long) they were engaged in his Preparations for the War of France; yet neglected not in the mean time the Affairs of Maximilian, for the quiting of Flanders, and reforming him to his Authority amongst his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of Ravenstein being not only a Subject Rebel'd, but a Servant revolted (and to much the more Malicious and Violent, by the Aid of Bruges and Gaunt) had taken the Town and both the Castles of Sluice, as we said before.

And having (by the Commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barks, for the Seabeing Trading and spoiling, and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that paffed along that Coast, towards the Mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friesland; being ever well Victualled from Picardy, besides the Commodity of Ships from Naufrage, and the Country adjacent, and the Avails of his own Prizes. The French affifted him still under-hand; and he likewise (as all Men do, that have been of both sides) thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a Peris.

Therefrom he set one of his Forces home, to Bruges, towards the Sea, called Dam, which was a Fort and Approach to Bruges, and had a Relation also to Sluice. This Town the King of the Romans had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever fail'd. But therewith the Duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the Peris of an Umbræ, to compose things between Maximilian and his Subjects; but being (indeed) full and affiffed to Maximilian. Upon this Pretence of Neutrality and Treaty, he proposed to the King of the Romans of Bruges, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of some Number of Men of Arms, fit for his Effait; being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a Country, that was up in Arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers Matters of great Importance, for their Good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his Carriages and Harbinger's before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his Men of War entered the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before enquired still for Ians and Lodgings, as if they would have refled there all Night, and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards Dam; and they of Bruges only gazed upon them and gave them Paffage. The Citizens and Inhabitants of Dam also expected no Harm, from any that paffed through Bruges; and discovering Forces a far off, fuppos'd they had been some Succours, that were come from their Friends, knowing some dangers, towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well, till it was now late, they entered them into their Town. By which kind of Sleight then rather than

Stratagem, the Town of Dam was taken and

the Town of Bruges strangely block'd up, where-by they took great discouragement.

The Duke of Saxony having won the Town of Dam, sent immediately to the King to let him know that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein, that kept the Rebellion of Flanders in life. And that Hinterland was much infal'd by the Barks of the Lord Ravenstein; sent bright-ways Sir Edward Poynings a valiant Man, and of good Service, with twelve Ships, well furnifh'd with Souldiers and Artillery, to clear the Sea, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Engliſhmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he flired not, and likewise hold in frain, Siege the Maritim part of the Town; but alfo falf'd one of the Caftles, and renewed the Affault for twenty days space (filling still out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great Slaughter of them of the Caftle, who continu'dly fought them for twenty days. The Relief of the English part alfo were plain a Brother of the Earl of Oxford's and some fifty mofe.

But the Siege still continuing more and more firrit, and both the Caftles (which were the principal strength of the Town) being defir'fed, they propos'd to the Duke of Saxony, to peaceable with the English, and a Bridge of Boats, which the Lord Ravenstein had made between both Caftles, whereby Succours and Relief might pull from the one to the other, being on a Night; set on fire by the English, he despairing to hold that against the English (as well as the Caftles to the English, and the Town to the Duke of Saxony), by Composition. Which done, the Duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (as some good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the Almain and foreign Succours were difmiff'd. The example of Bruges other of the Revolted Towns followed so; that Maximilian grew to be out of Danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of Neeceity. And Sir Edward Poynings (after he had done this Office) would be glad to have all things fettled returned unto the King, being then before Balthaer.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from Ferdinand, and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; signifying the final Conqu' of Granado from the Moors; which Affent in it felf to worthy, the King of Ferdinand (whose manner was never The Sir to foke any Vertue for the floeing) had express- John Red hand to be conferred and displayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious Panchets and Cere- monies,that were observed in the Reception of that City, and Kingdom: Besides inflating many other things, that the King would not by any means in Perfon enter the City, until he had first alook fien the Crofs set up upon the greater Tower of Granado, whereby it became Christian Ground: That likewise before he would enter, he did Homage to God alone, pronouncing by an He- rald from the Height of that Tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that Gion- done, by the help of God Almighty and the Glorious Virgin, and the Vertuous Apostle Saint James, and the Holy Father Innocent the Eighth, together with all the Aids and services of his Prelates, Nobles, and Commons: That yet he fliff'd not from his Camp, till he had feen a

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little
little Army of Martyrs, to the Number of Seven Hundred and more Christians (that had lived in Bonds and Servitude as Slaves to the Moors) pafs before his Eyes, with a Pious Devotion, and that he had given Tribute unto God by Alms and Relief extended to them all, for his Admission into the City. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of Holy Oration.

The King, together with the Ministers into the Quire, or the Reciters, all Religious Actions, and naturally affecring much the King of Spain, (as far as one King can affect another) partly for his Verticals, and partly for a Counterpoife to France; upon the receit of these Letters, lent all his Nobles and Prelates, that were about the Council, together with the Ministers and Al-
dermen of London, in great Solemniety to the Church of Paul; there to Hear a Declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinal. When they were Allembled, the Cardinal (standing upon the uppermost Step, or half-space before the Quire, and all the Nobles, Prelates, and Governors of the City at the foot of the Stairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were Allembled in that Confereute Place to sing unto God a New Song: For that (said he) these many Years the Christians have not gained new Ground or Territory upon the Infidels, nor have they found any bounds on the Christian World: But this is now done by the Proves and Devotion of Ferdinand and Isabella, Kings of Spain; who have (to their Immoral Honour) recover'd the great and rich Kingdom of Granada, and the popu-
los and mighty City of the same Name, from the Moors, having been in Possession thereof by the space of Seven hundred Years, and more. For which, this Affembly and all Christians are to render Laud and Thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of Spain; who in this is not only Victorious, but Apolitical, in the gaining of new Provinces to the Christian Faith. And the rather, for that this Victory and Conquest is obtain'd, without much Effusion of Blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gained, not only new Territory, but infinite Souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty (as it seems) would have been brought to the Christian Faith, if he did relate some of the most Memorable Par-
tics of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole Affembly went Solemniy in Procision, and Te Deum was fing.

Immediately after the Solemniety, the King kept his May-Day at his Palace of Savoy, now Richmond: Where to warm the Blood of his Nobility and Gallants, against the War, he kept great Triumphs of Jufling and Tourney, dur-
ing all that Month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan (one of the King's Gentlemen-Uffiers) having nade a great National Tourning in St. John's Day, that the King at Arms had given Vaughan, were ap-
pointed to run some Courses one against anoth-
er: And by accident of a faulty Helmet, that Parker had on, he was friccon to the Mouth at the first Combe, so that his Tongue was born unto him at the Root of his Neck, so that he died preffntly upon the place. Which because of the Controversy Procedent and the Death that follow'd, was accounted amongst the Vulgar, as a Combat or Tryal of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, having put his right hand over his Crown, and in reality, (but fo as they were not yet met or murthered together) sent Upholshill (now made his Almoner) and Sir John Ryley to Spain, Maximilian; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to pass the Seas into France, and did not know, what was the Reason of it, where he did appoint to join with him, according to his Promifue made unto him by Counte-
balt, his Ambassador.

The English Ambassadors, having repaired to Maximilian, did find his Power and Promifie at a very great distance; he being formerly pro-
vided of Men, Money, and Arms for an English Enterprize. For Maximilian having neither Wing to fly on (for that his Patrimony of A&rias was not in his Hands, his Father being there living; And on the other Side, his Matrimonial Terri-
tories of Vanders being partly in Dower to his Mother, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late Rebellions) was thereby de-
stitute of Means to enter into War. The Amba-
assadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to adverfife the King thereof, rather than to return themselves till the King's further Plea-
ture were known: The rather, for that Maxim-
ilian himself spake as great as ever he did be-
fore, and entertain'd them with dilatory An-
vswers; so as the formal part of their Amba-llage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw thro' his Bufinefs from the be-
ginnings, and from back to the Ambassadors, com-
mending their Diffcription in not returning, and will-
ning them to keep the State wherein they found Maximilian, as a Secret, till they heard further from him: And while mean went on with his Voyage Royal for France, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching Maxim-
ilian's Poverty and Diligence.

By this time was drawn together a great and puiffant Army into the City of London. In which were, Thomas Marquefs Darby, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Thomas Earl of Derby, George Earl of Sceululbury, Edmund Earl of Suffolk, Edward Earl of Devonshiu, George Earl of Kent, the Earl of Essex, Thomas Earl of Ormond, with a great num-
ber of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentle-
men; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of Wales; The Army rising in the whole to the number of Five and Twenty Thousand, and the most, of which the King (confiant in his accoum'd Truf and Im-
ployment) made Tafier Duke of Bedford, and
John Earl of Oxford, Generals under his own Perfon. The 4th of September, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the Sea; all Men wondring that he took that Season (being fo near Winter,) to begin the War; and some thereupon gathering it was a Sign that the War would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: That he intended not to make a Summer Bu-
ffontie; but to make it a Winter Campaign (without term or repre-
ected) and to recover France; it skill'd not much when he began it: Elsewhere, having Calice at his back; where he might Winter, if the reason of the War so required. The 6th of October, he Im-
\[K. Henry’s bank’d at Sandwich; and the fame Day took

\[Land at Calais which was the Rendicewhich
\[ile the Fleet was not all ready, but we were all any in this his Journey towards the Sea side (wherein, for the Caufe that we shall now speeke of, he never to much the longer) he had receiv'd
\[Letters from the Lord Cordes; who, the hotter he was against the English in time of War, had
\[himself in a Neckclofe, and the under of a
\[besides was held a Man open, and of good
\[Faith. In which Letters there was made Over-


carcass
tore of Peace from the French King, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the King's Talle: but this was carried at the first with very wonderful Secretty. The King was no sooner come to the Calm of Peace began to blow. For, first, the English Amba-
dors return'd out of Flanders from Maximilian; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any Aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether improvided: His Will was good; but he lacked Money. And this was known through the Army. And altho' the English were therewithal nothing dismaying; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, upon bad News to Speak the more Bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. Infantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came News that Ferdinands and Fabio, Kings of Spain, had concluded a Peace with King Charles; and that Charles had refford't unto them the Counties of Ruffignon and Pergignan, which formerly were mortgaged by John King of Arragon (Ferdin-
and's Father) unto France, for Three hundred Thousand Crowns; which gift Charles clearly released. This came also handomely to put on the Peace: both be- cause so Potent a Confederacy was fallen off, and because it was a fair Example of a Peace bought; so as the King should not be the Isole Merchant in this Peace. Upon these News of Peace, the English began to suspect the Bishop Caraffa, and the Lord Dauingay (Governour of Calicis) should give a Meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himselfe nevertheless, and his Army, the 15th of October removed from Calicis, and in four days March fat him down be- fore Bullogne.

During this Siege of Bullogne (which con-
tinued near a Month) there paffed no memorable Accident of War; only Sir John Savage, a va-
riant Captain was Slain, riding about the Walls of the Town to take a View. The Town was both well fortilled and well man'd; yet it was diftbursed, and ready for an Assault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much Blood: but yet the Town would have been carried in the End. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commissioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no way to make an effeetual Treatie, rather a Bargain than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were; save that there should be paid to the King Seven hundred forty five Thousand Ducats in Prefent, for his Charges in that Journey; and Five and twenty Thousand Crowns yearly, for his Charges suffcianed in the Aids of the Brontes. For which Annual, he had Maximilian Bound before for those Charges; yet he counted the Alteration of the Hand, as much as the Principal Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinately, when it should Determine or Expire: Which made the English Bitterly and Perfonally to charge and certifie. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Son King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Char-
ges. There were also affig'd by the French King, unto all the King's principal Counsellors Grand and Common, that the Debt was also upon their Heads. Which whether the King did permit to have his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envoy of a Bulinc de that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted. For cer-
tainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Place. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had with him hand in hand One of his bold Captains, and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the Nature of a Supplication. But the truth is, this Peace was wellcome to both Kings. To Charles, for that it affiro'd unto him the Peace of France, and the German Prize of Naples. To Henry, for that it fill'd his Colliers; and that he forefaw at that time a Storm of inward Troubles coming upon him; which presently after broke forth. But it gave no lea Discontent to the Nobility, and practi-
ced that the People of England should neither fold them orf engaged their Eftates upon the Hopes of the War. They fluck not to say, That the King cared not to please his Nobility and Peo-
ples, to further himself. And some made them-
elves merry with that the King had said in Par-
lament: That after the War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it itself', saying he had kept Promise.

Having rifen from Bullogne, he went to Calicis, where he flay'd some Time. From whence also he wrote Letters, * (which was a Courtsey that Dated the 5th of November, 1549.)

...Bullen

K. Henry heilenges Bullignes

Sterling

The Fr. King buys a Peace
K. Henry

Sterling

The Fr. K. gives large gifts to King Henry's Officers.
The Kings Device to divert the Peoples Hatted.
...ved alive: For that those who were employ'd in that barbarous Fact, having done the elder brother, with Remorse and Compasion towards the younger, and fixt him privately to seek his Fortune. This Lure he cut abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the freh Example of Lambert Simnel) would draw at one time or other some good-will to him, and induce his further Diligence, not committ ing all to Chance. For, she had some secret Epi sals (like to the Turks Commissioners for Children of Tribute) to look abroad for handson and gr strength Youts, to make Plantagenet, and Dukes of York. And he did light, in one of all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn, for a Counterfeit of Richard Duke of York.

His Per- son.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whole Adventures we shall now describe. For, first, the Years a went well. Secondly, he was a Youth of fine Favour and Shape; but more than that, he had such aOrafty and bewitching Fashion, both to move Fytic and to induce Belief, as was like a kind of Falsification and Inchantment to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood such a Wanderer, or (as the King called him) such a Laundier, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his Neck and Parents. Neither again could any Man, by Company or Converting with him, be able to fay or detect well what he was; he did fofit from place to place. Lastly, There was a Circumstance (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the fame time) that is very likely to have made somwhat to the Matter; which is, That King Edward IV. was his Godfather. Which, as it is somewhat fupicious, for a wanton Prince to become God father to a fine Houfe; and might make a Man think that he might indeed have in him fome bafe Blood of the Houfe of York; at the leaft (the point that was not) it might give the Occasion to the Boy, in being call'd King Edward's Godfon, or perhaps in Spirt, King Edward's Son, to entertain fuch Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none (for ought that appears) as Lambert Simnel had, until he came under the care of Lady Margaret who influenced him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a Townsman of Taunton, that had born Office in that Town, whose Name was (a) John Osbeck, a Convert-jew, married to Catherine de Faro; whose Business drew him to live for a time with his Brother, who had another Wife, in King Edward IV's days.

During which time he had a Son by her; and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleness, because he was a Convert, or upon some private Acquaintance, did him the Honour as to be Godfather to his Child, and named him Peter. But after this proved, on the advice of his Youth, he was commonly call'd by the Diminutive of his Name, Peter-Kin, or Peter. For, as for the Name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before Examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that Name, that a thorough Man of his Name of Osbeck was known. While was a young Child, his Parents return'd with him to Taunton. Then was he placed in a Houfe of a Ruffian-man of his, call'd John Stevock at ASENS; and ro moved up and down between Antwerp and Taunton, and other Towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English Company, and having the English Tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely Youth, he was at length sent by some of the Epi sals of the Lady Margaret unto her Prefence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a Face and Personage, that would bear a Noble Fortune: And finding him otherwise of a fine Spirit and winning Behaviour, thought him fit for the time to enquire after the stone of Marble, to carve out an Image of a Duke of York. She kept him by her a great while; but The Duke with extreme Secrecy. The while, the infruc- tions he had, by many Cabinet-Conferences. Sir Lambert's Intrigues in Principly Behaviour and Guile, teaching him to know the State of Affairs, and to make a Perkin, in the person of a noble and modest Son of his Misfortunes. Then the in- form'd him of all the Circumstances and Particulars that concerned the Person of Richard Duke of York, which he was to act: Describing unto him the Personages, Linements, and Features of the King and Queen his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Sifters, and divers others that were near him in his Childhood; toge ther with all Palatages, some secret some common, that were fit for a Child's Memory, until the Death of King Edward. Then she added the Particulars of the Time, from the King's Death, and his Brother's Birthday, and his being in the Tower. He was his Birthday, and in the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in Sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his Brother's Death, and his own Escape; he knew they were things that a very few could control. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely Tale of those Matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what Account he should give of his Peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and fuch as they knew others could tell (as, for the Credit of the rest; but still making them hang together, with the Part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid fundry captious and tempting Questions, which were like to be asked of him. But, in this she found him of himfelf fo nimble and shifting, as was much to his own Wit and the Duke's Advantage; and therefore laboured the lefs in it. Lastly, she raised his Thoughts with some present Rewards, and further Promises; setting before him chiefly the Glory and Fortune of a Crown, if things went well; and a sure Refuge to her Court, if the World should fall. After such time as he thought it was perfect in his Lefion, she began to cast with her felf from what Coaft this Blazing-Star should ftart appear, and at what time it might be upon the Horizon of Ireland; for there had the like Meteor strong Influence before: The time of the Ap- parent Greatness, the Duke's Time should be en- gaged into a War with France. But well she knew, that whatfoever should come from her, would be held fupped. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ire- land, she might be thought to have fome hand in it. And besides the time he was not yet ripe for; for that the two Kings were then upon the Terms of Peace. Therefore the Wheel'd about; and to put all Sufpicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that the knew Secrets are not long liv'd) he sent him unknown into Por tugal, with the Lady Brampton. (b) English Lady, that Embark'd for Portugal at that time; with

(a) His true Name was Peter Osbeck; he was born at Town in Flanders. Whole Father, John Osbeck, was Controleur of that City. and his Mother Ca crane de Fero, who coulpeak English. Sir J. Wears, Ann. Hist. VII. Cap. 5. (b) Sir Richard Brampton's Wife.
with some Friends of her own, to have an Eye upon him: and there he was to remain, and to expect her further Directions. In the mean time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better Welfare, and Accepting, not only in the King's Person, but also in the French Country. He continued in Portugal about a Year, and by that time, the King of England called his Parliament (as hath been said) and declared open War against France. Now did the Sign reign, and the Confession was come, under which Perkin in the appears. And therefore was he sent forth sly unto the Dutchefs of to go to Ireland, according to the first Disign. In Ireland he did arrive at the Town of Cork. When he was come thither, his own Tale was (when he made his Confession afterwards) that the Irishmen, finding him in some good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of Clarence, that had been there before: And after, that he was Richard the IIId's bafe Son: And lastly, that he was Richard Duke of York, second Son to Edward IV: But that he (for that) caused all those reports, and offered to Sware upon the Holy Evangelists, that he was no Rich Man: till at last they forced it upon him and had him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the part of the Duke of York, and drew unto him Complices, and Partakers of all the Means he could devise: Intermuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kirk dare, to come in to his Aid, and be of his Party; the Originals of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the Dutchefs had gained unto her, a near Servant of Henry's own, one Stephen Frison, his Secretary for the French Tongue; an Active Man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frison had fled over to Charles the French King, and put himself into his Service, at first time as he began to be in open Enmity with the King. Now King Charles, when he understood of the Perfon and Attempts of Perkin (ready of himself) to embrace all Advantages against the King of England, inflitigated by Frison, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret forthwith dispatch'd one Lucas, and this Frison in the person of Ambassadors to Perkin to adverifie him of the King's good Inclina tion to him, and that he was relev'd to Aid him to recover his Right against King Henry, an Ulraper of England, and an Enemy of France; and with'd him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in Heard now that he was invited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner: and imparting unto his Friends in Ireland for their Incouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, shall presently into France. When he was come to the Court of France, the King receiv'd him with great Attendance, and fled him by the Name of the Duke of York; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the Representation and the Countenance of a Prince, affig'd him a Guard for his Perfon, whereof the Lord Conregaill was Captain. The Courtiers likewise, that he ill mocking with the French) applied themselves to their King's Bent, seeing there was Reafon of State for it. At the same time there repair'd unto Perkin divers Englihem of Quality; Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about One hundred more, and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frison, of whom we speake; who follow'd his Fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his Principal Counsellor, and Instruct

ment in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the 1492, the French King's part, was but a Trick; the better to bow King Henry to Peace. And therefore upon the first Grain of Incence that was fixt upon the Altar of Peace at Bullaenge, Perkin was sent from France, and not the French King deliver him up to King Henry (as he was labour'd to do) for his Honour's sake, but warn'd him away and diffimul'd him. And Perkin perfidiously on his part was ready to goe, doubting he mightly might be caught up under-hand. Therefore King's, took him into Flan gary unto the Dutchefs of Burgundy; pretending, that, having been privately tos'd by Fortune, he directed his Course thither, as to a faire Harbour: No ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first Address. The Dutchefs, on the other part, made it as new and strange to fee him: pretending (at the first) that she was taught and made wife by the Example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any Counterfeit Stuff; tho' in even that she did she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (as was under the presence of others) to pole him and him, and try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York, or no. But seeming to receive full Satisfaction by his Anwers, she then reign'd her self to be transport'd with a kind of Altonishment, mixt of Joy and Wonder, at his miraculous Deliverance; receiving him, according from Death to Life: and inferring, who God, who had in such wonderful manner previ'd him from Death, did likewise referve him for some great and prospere Fortune. As for his Dimiffion out of France, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or confecrate to a neglect, but he return'd his countrymen contrariwise, that it did fwell manifestly under the world, that he was some great Matter; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the Peace: being no more but the Sacrificing of a poor differ'd Prince unto the Utility and Ambition of two Mighty Monarchs. Neither was Perkin for his part wanting to himself, either in gracious and Princely Behaviour, or in ready and appo cite Anwers, or in contesting and carefull those that did apply themsevles unto him, or in pretty Scorn and Difdains to those that seem'd to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquire himelf, and not so much as it was generally believed (as well amongst great Persons, as amongst the Vulgar) that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a Lyce, was turn'd by habit almost into the thing he seem'd to be; and from a Lyer to a Believer. The Dutchefs therefore (as in a Cafe out of doubt) did him all Princely Honour, calling him always by the Name of her Nephew, and giving him the Delicate Title of The White Rose of England; and appointed him a Guard of Thirty Persons, Halberdiers, clad in white, and of the Livery of Murray, and blew, to Attend his Perfon. Her Court likewise, and generally the Dutch and Stranger in their usage towards him, expressed no less Respect.

The News hereof came blazing and thunder ing over into England, that the Duke of York was now alive. As for the Name of Perkin Hol beach, it was not at that time come to light, but all the News ran upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertain'd in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great Honour in Flanders. These dames took hold of divers with some upon Difcontent, in some upon Ambition, in some upon Loyalty and Desire of Change, and in some few upon Con science and Belief, but in most upon Simplicity; and
and in divers out of Dependence upon some of the better sorts, who did in secret favour and more or less, than their Brutes. And it was not long ere their Rumours of Noveltv had begotten others of Scandal and Murmurs against the King and his Government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his People, and Disconveniencer of his Nobility, that the Cafls of the Captains, and the Persons with Whom he was, were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not Reige in her Right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a Muf- culine-Branch of the House of York, that would not be at his Court; and moreover he would depose his Lady. And yet (as it forteth in things which are currant with the Multitude, and which they affect) these Fames grew so general, as the Authors were left in the Generality of Speeches. They being like running Weeds, that have no certain Root; or like Footings up and down, imposible to be traced. But after a while, these ill Humours drew to an Head, and settled secretly in some eminent Perons; which were Sir Wil- liam Stanley, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mount- ford, Sir Thomas Tewson. Thefe entered into secret and fierce favour to the Duke of York's Ti- tle. Nevertheless none engaged their Fortunes in this Buinefs openly, but two; Sir Robert Clif- ford and Major Willam Barley, who fail'd o- ver into Flanders, sent indeed from the Party of the Conspirators here, to understanding the Truth of thofe things that palled there, and not without some help of Monies from hence; Pro- visionally to be deliver'd, if they found and were satisfied that there was Truth in these Pretences. The Perfon of Sir Robert Clifford (being a Gentle- man of Fame and Family) was extremely Wel- come to the Lady Margaret. Who after the Publick Conference with him, brought him to the fight of Perkin, with whom he had often Speech and Discourse. So that in the end won either by the Dutchefs to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the Perfon of Richard Duke of York, as well as he knew his own; and that this Young Man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the Conspiracy came to a Correspondence between Flanders and England.

The King on his part was most hopeful, but to an unwarily found. Yet he, though he thought well of his Fear, and do this Idol too much Worship. Nevertheless the Perons he did flut up, or at least kept a Watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected. But for the rett, hechofe to work by Countermines. His purpofe was to have two. Two were to lay open the Abufe; the other to break the Knot of the Conspirators. To detect the Abufe, there were but two ways: The first, to make it manifest to the World that the Duke of York was indeed a muther'd. The other to prove, that he were Dead or Alive, yet Perkin was in Counterfeit. For the first, it once flood. There were boron to Complain, and forth with could speak upon Knowledge to the Murther of the Duke of York: Sir James Trelol (the employ'd man from King Richard) John Digleston, and Miles Parry, his Servants (the two Bouchers or Tor- monts) and John the Priest of the Tower, that bu- ried the Dead. Of which four, Miles Parry and the Priest were dead, and remain'd alive only Sir James Trelol and John Digleston. These two the King caus'd to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two innocent Princes. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect:

That King Richard having direcd his Warrant for the putting of them to Death to Bracken- bury the Lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his War- rant to Sir James Trelol, to receive the Keys of the Tower from the Lieutenant (for the space of an Hour). The next Night, the King, by the advice of Sir James Trelol accordingly repair'd to the Tower by Night, attended by his two Servants afore- named, whom he had cho'en for that purpose. That himself stood at the Stair-foot, and told thefe two Volunteers to execute the Murthere. That they should first dispose of them in the Tower, and then cut their Master's Heads, and fmother'd their Heads, and foon after they were both murder'd; which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the Stairs, and Stone Stones call'd upon them. That when the Report was made to King Richard, that his Will was done, he gave Sir James Trelol great Thanks, but took Except- tion to the Place of their Buryal, being too halfe for them that were Kings Children. Where- upon another Night by the King's Warrant re- new'd, their Bodies were removed by the Priest of the Tower, and buried by him in Some Place, which (by means of the Priest's Death soon af- ter) was never known. This gave occasion to deliver'd Abroad, to be the Effect of thofe Exa- minations. But the King nevertheless made no ufe of them in any of his Declarations; whereby (as it feems) thofe Examinations left the Bu- nefs somewhat perplex'd. And as for Sir James Trelol, he was soon after Beheaded in the Tower, for other Matters of Treafon. And John Digleston (who it feemeth fpake beft for the King) was fortiith with fet at Liberty, and was the prin- cipal Means of divulging this Tradition. There- fore this kind of Proof being left, the Dutchefs, the King used the more Diligence in the latter, for the更加 this Place was delivered abroad into feveral Parts; and especially into Flanders, divers Secret and nimble Scouts and Headed Spies; fome reigneing themfelves to fly over un- to Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and fome under other Pretences, to learn, search, and difc- over all the Circumstances and Particulars of Perkin's Parents, Birth, Perfon, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a Journal (as it were) of his Life and Doings. He furnifi'd thofe his employed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligence: givin them alfo in Charge, toadvertise continually what they could contra the King, to employ others in order now, and ever as one Advertisement and Discovery call'd up another, he employ'd other new Men, where the Buinefs did require it. Others he employ'd in a more Special Nature and Truth, to be his Pioneers in the main Counter-Mine. Thefe were directed to inflate themfelves into the Famili- arity and Confidence of the principal Perons of the Party in Flanders, and fo to learn what Af- fociates they had, and Correspondents, either here in England, or Abroad; and how far every one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the Perons, so for thofe Actions themselves, to difcover to the Bottom (as they could) the u- moff of Perkin and the Conspirators their Inten- tions, Hopes, and Practises. Thefe latter Bef- troy-Spies had fome of them further Instru- ctions, to perfever till they had taken the better and ancient Way of Perkin, by making Reconnoitres to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with Promife of Pardon, and good Conditions of Reward. And (above the rest) to affift, fap, and work into the Confiacy of Sir.
Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him (if they could) being the Man that knew most of their Secrets, and who being won away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a strange Tradition; That the King being lost in a Wood of Sufferings, and not knowing whom to trust, had both Intelligence with the Confessors and Chaplains of Oliver's great Men; and for the better Cheryl those Eelips cast abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cuffed at Pauls (by Name) amongst the Bedroll of the King's Enemies, according to the Cuffon of those Times. These Eelips plied their Charge so roundly, as the King had an Anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the contradictory Characters of their Conspirators in England, and many other Mysteries were reveal'd; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be allured to the King, and industrious and officious for his Service. The King therefore (receiving a rich Return of his Diligence, and great Satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first divulged and spread abroad the Imposture and Juggling of Perkin's Perfon and Travels, with the Circumstances thereof throughout the Realm. Not by Proclamation (because things were yet in Examination, and to might receive the more the left;) but by Court-facts, which commonly is better than false Proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an Ambassado unto Archdike Philip into Flanders, for the abandoning and disaffilling of Perkin. Herein he employ'd Sir Edward Powening, and Sir William Warham, Doctor of the Canon-Law. The Archdike was then Young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Ambassadors had Audience, and Dr. Warham spake in this manner.

My Lords, the King our Master is very sorry, that England and your Country here of Flanders having been counted as Man and Wife for so long time, now this Country of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not only to his Gra- dukes Difquiet and Difhonour, but to the Scorna and Infamies of all Sovereigns. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coy, is a high Offence by all Laws: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Perfon, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an Anti-Chrift, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this Sage Council, to think that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be given by you to the Pallion of some) the thing in itself is so improbable. To let Tefimonials afide of the Death of Duke Ri- chard, which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (because they may be thought to be in his own Power) let the thing testify for it self. Sense and Rea- son, no Power can Command. Is it possible (crow you) that King Richard should damn his Soul, and foul his Name with so abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Cafe? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Instruments) did turn to Pity in the midst of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and Savage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to such Errands, with an Halter about their Neck: So that if they perform not, they are fire to dye for it? And do you think, that thefe Men would hazard their own Lives, for sparing another? Admit they should have fa- ved him: What should they have done with him? Turn him into London Streets, that the Watch-men or any Passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a Justice, and so all come to light? Or should they let him off? They should have then required a great deal of Care, and Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Business. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his Cradle. And because he is a great Prince, if you have any good Proofs here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life, and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the Kings Faalconer. And therefore (to speak plainly to your Lordships) it is the strangest thing in the World, that the Lady Margaret (execute us, if we name her, whole Malice to the King is both causeless and endless) shoul- d now when she is old, at the time when other Women gave over Childbearing, bring forth two such Monitors; being not the Births of nine or ten Months, but of many Years. And whereas other Natural Fathers bring forth Children Weak, and not able to help them selves; he bringeth forth tall Striplings, a- ble soon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we stay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once take the Joys, which God Almighty both revoke up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in such Honour, and with so much Royal Illice, which she might be pleased to accept as her own. The King's Request unto the Arch- Duke, and your Lordships, might be; That according to the Example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an Antient Confederation, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he man- aged his Request with such moderation as to bring his hands, Prizes and Impressions of this fort, being to be accounted the Com- mon Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Laws of Nations.

After some time of Deliberation, the Ambas- sadors received this short Answer.

That the Arch- Duke's Answer to the English Ambas- sadors went to Persistent Duke, but in all things con- serva the Amity he had with the King. But dors, for the Dutchs Dowager, she was absolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own.

The King, upon the Return of the Ambas- sadors, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew that a Patrimonial Dowry carried no part of Sovereignty, or Com- mand of Forces. Besides, the Ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the Dutchess had a great Party in the Arch-Duke's Council; and that howsoever it was carried in a Course of Con- vention, yet the Arch-Duke under hand gave Aid and Furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore (partly out of Courage, and partly out of, Policy) the King with great banished all Flemings; (as Flemings well their Perpons, as their Wares) out of his banished. Vol. i. 111 Kingdom;
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Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewise (and by name his Sachems-Adventurers) which was a Restraint in Answer, to return; transla-
ting the Mart (which commonly followed the English Cloth) unto Calice, and embarked also all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of Honour, not to fulfill a Pretender to the Crown of England, to whom he sent Letters to keep Terrns of Friendship with the Country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: for that he knew well, that the Subjects of Flanders drew so great Commodity from the Trade of England, as by this Embrace they would forever lose that Trade, and that the Affairs of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displease the People. Nevertheless for Form's sake, by way of Requi-
tual, the Arch-Duke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders; which in effect was done to his Hand.

The King being well advertised, that Perkin did more truth upon Friends and Partakers with-
in the Realm, than upon foreign Arms, thought it behooved him to apply the Remedy, where the Difease lay; and to proceed with Se-
verity against some of the principal Conspirators here within the Realm; Theyreby to purge the whole Land, and to remove permanent Hopes in Flanders, wherefore he caueth to be apprehended (almost at an infant) John Ratcliff Lord Five-Water, Sir Simon Minotur, Sir Thomas Towrass, William Dawnyney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cleffmeron, and Thomas Aurnow. All these were arraigned, convicted and condemned for High Treason, in adhering, and promising aid to Perkin. Of thefe, the Lord Five-Water was conveyed to Calice and there held in Keep, and in hope of Life, until soon after (either im-
patient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Minotur, Robert Ratcliff, and Sir William Dawnyney were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The rest were par-
doned, together with many others Clerks and Lay' in, amongst which were two Dominican Fri-
ers, and William Weightly, Dean of Pauls: which were tried for Particulars, and came not to publick Trial.

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not flir too many Humours at once, but (after the manner of good Physicians) purge the Head last; or that Clifford (from whom most of these Discoveries came) referved that Piece for his owne coming over; signifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the busine, whereof he would give the King further account, when he came to his preface.

It was a very Good Day; even being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's Sec-
don Sir Henry was created Duke of York, and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights Bachelor, and Gentlemen of Quality were made Knights of the Bath, according to the Cerimony. Upon the Morrow after Twelfth-Day, the King removed from Whitting-
ham (where he had kept his Chriftmas) to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had Advertitement, that Sir Robert Clifford (in whose office and Business most of Perkin Secrets were layd up) was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that Sir Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might without Suspicion, or Noise, or fending abroad of Warrants, be prifonat-
ted, that the Court and Prifon being within the Cindure of one Wall. After Dinner the King drew unto him a fetched Council, and admitted Clifford to his Presence; which first fell down at his Feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed secretly afflu-
ded of his Power. Then commanded to tell his Knowledge, he did not Interrogated nor of himself; not Interrogated) appear Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the great News already. And certainly, there was heard a Man that had done him service of fo high a nature, as to give his Life, and fct the Crown upon his Head; A Man, that enjoyed by his Favour and Advancement to great a Fortune, both in Honour and Riches; A Man, that was tield unto him in fo near a Band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and lastly, a Man, to whom he had committed the trust of his Perfón, in making him his Chamberlai.

That this Man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in Fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to lay over again, and again, the Particulars of his Accusa-

tion, he was farther forfe, he had been truly, and that concerned so great a Servant of the King's, he should not in any wife go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly, and confantly (without Hesitation or varying, and with those Civil Proteftations that were fit) ftaid to that, which he had faid, offering to justify it upon his own soul and Life; he caueth him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his Council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be refrain'd in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the Square Tower. And the next day he was exami-
ned by the Lords. Upon his Examination, he declare-lt little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his Fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence lefs by Confession, he made it enough for Condemnation. It was conceived, that he had suffuch much to his former Merits, and the Interedt that his Brother had in the King. But those hopes were over-weighted by divers things that made against him, and were predo-
minant in the King's Nature and Mind. Firt, an Over-merit; for convenient Merit, unto which Reward may easily reach, both with Kings: next the fewe of his Power, for the King thought, that he that could fet him up, was the more dan-
gerous to pull him down. Thirdly the Glim-
mmering of a Confitration; for he was the Ri-
cheft Subject for Value in the Kingdom; There being found in his Chafe of Hibs forty Thousand Pounds in Gold and Plate, and in the Tower, 5000 Jewels, Houfhold-gift, Stocks upon his Grounds, and all his Eftate and other Personal Eftate, exceeding great. And for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was three thousand Pounds a Year of old Rent, a great matter in those times. Lafly, the Nature of the Time; for if the King had been out of Fear of his own Eftate, it was not unlike he would have spared his Life. But the Cloud of so great a Rebellion hanging over his Head, made him Work fire. Wherefore after some sixe Weeks di-

tance of time, which the King did honorably inter-
terpor, both to give space to his Brother's Inter-
redt, and also to the Work of this Week, to set a Conflict with himself what he should do; he was Arraigned of High-Treason, and condemn-
ed, and presently after beheaded.

Yet this
Yet is it to this Day but in dark Memory, both what the Cafe of this Noble Perfom was, for he himself, and what it was, the Ground and Cause of his Defection, and the Alienation of his Heart from the King. His Cafe was faid to be this: That in Difference between Sir Robert Clifford and him, he had faid, That if he were faire, that that was, Men were King Edward's, and were not his. This Cafe seems somewhat an hard Cafe, both in Respect of the Conditional, and in respect of the other Words. But for the Conditional, it seems the Judges of that time (who were learned Men, and the Three chief of them of the Privy Council) thought it was a dangerous thing to be faid, so much as to qualify Words of Treafon; whereby every Man might express his Malice, and Blanch his Danger. And it was like to the Cafe (in the following Times) of Edward Barton, the Holy-Maid of Kent: who had faid, That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Katherine his Wife again, he should be deprived of his Crown, and die the Death of a Dog. And infinite Cafes may be put of like Nature. Which (it feemeth) the Grave Judges taking into Consideration, would not admit of Treafons upon Condition. And as for the Positive Words, That he would not beare Arms againft King Edward's Son; though it be calm, yet it is plain and direct Over-ruing of the Kings Title, either by the Line of Lancaster, or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if Stanley had charged his Lance upon him in the Field. For if Stanley would have held that Opinion, that a Son of King Edward had fill the better Right, he being so principal a Perfon of Authority, and Favour about the King; it was to teach all England, to fly as much. And therefore (as those Times were) that Speech touched the Quick. But some Writers do put this out of doubt; for they fay, that Stanley did expressly promise to Aid Perkin, and sent him some help of Treasure.

Now for the Motive of his falling off from the King; it is true, that at Baysworth Field the King was beted, and in a Manner inclosed round about by the Troops of King Richard, and in a great number. Stanley was bet that by his Brother, with Three thousand Men to his Rescue, which he performed fo, that King Richard was slain upon the Place. So as the Condition of morall Men is not capable of a greater Benefit, than the King received by the Hands of Stanley; being, like the Benefit of Good, at once to Save, and Crown. For which Service the King gave him great Gifts, made him his Counsellour, and Chamberlain; and (somewhat contrary to his Nature) he winked at the great Spoils of Baysworth Field, which came almost wholly to this Man's Hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless blown up with the Conceit of his Merit, he did not think he had received good Meefee from the King, at least not prefling down and running over, as he expected. And his Ambition was so exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became Suitor to the King for the Title of King of England; he becoming a kind of Appenrur to the Principality of Wales, and dving to go to the King's Son; his Suit did not only end in a Denial, but in a Diffafe. The King perceiving thereby, that his Delires were temperate, and his Cogitations vait, and irrige- rous, and that he was a man after his throne, but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well. And as a little Leaven of new Diflair doth commonly four thousand, though he were a King, the weight of former Merits, the King's Wit began now to juggle with his Paffion more, Stanley, at Baysworth Field, though he came time enough to fave his Life, yet he flayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no Matter gainft him, he continued him in his Places, until this his Fall.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, Giles Lord Darcy, a Man of great Power, of long Years of Age, the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford (who now was become the State-Informer) was from the beginning an Emiflary, and Spie of the Kings; and that he fled over into Flanders, with his Studies and Ability. But this is not probable; both because he never revealed that Degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over; and chiefly, for that the Discovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

Thefe Executions (and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the Party, and by Means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the moft inward Man of Truf't amongst them) did extremely quell the Design of Perkin, and his Companions, as well as did the Discovery, as Diflair. So that they were now (like Sand without Lime) ill bound together; especially as many as were English: Who were at a Glaze, looking one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their Side; but thinking that the King (with his Baits, and what with his Nets) would draw them all into him, that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the Thread, sometimes one, and sometimes another. Baies (that was Joint-Commissioneer with Clifford) did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worit; yet made his Peace at the length. But the fall of this great Man, being in fo high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the Kings; and the Manner of Carriage of the Buite, as if there had been secret Inquisition upon him, for a great time before; and the Cafe for which he suffered, and that the Well, for I say nothing of the Time, nor the Place, nor any thing in effect, Tell the Title of Yorke, was better than the Title of Lancaster; which was the Cafe almoft of every Man (at the leaft in Opinion;) was Matter of great Torour amongst all the King's Servants and Subjects: Infomuch, as no Man almoft thought himself secure; and Men that were confirmed, or talk one with another. But there was a general Diffidence everywhere. Which neverthelesse made the King rather more Absolute, than more Safe. For, Bending Inwards and shut Vapours fpangle fources, and oppoif moft.

Inevitable Heroucop presently came forth Swarms and against Volleys of Libels (which are the Gifts of Liberty of Speech restrainted, and the Fames of Sedition) containing bitter Inevitives, and Slan-

ders against the King, and some of the Coun-
çil. For the conturving and dispersing wherefo (after great Diligence and Inquiry) Five mean Perfons were caught, and executed.

Meanwhile, the King did not neglect Ireland, being the Soil where the Muthromes and Upbattt-Weeds (that spring up in a Night) did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his Affairs there) Commissioners of both Robes: The Prior of Lambh-

ton, &c. and the Prior of King's Bagnat, and the King's Commissi-
orers put into Ireland.
happening still upon the Affections of the Common-
People towards the House of York. What Body of
Common-People he thought was not to be prac-
ticipated upon, as Persons of Quality are; But,
that the only Practice upon their Affections, was,
to set up a Standard in the Field. The Place
where he would make his Attempt, he chose to
be the Coast of Kent.

The King by this time was grown to such
an height of Reputation for Cunning and Policy,
that every Accident and Event, that went well,
was laid and imputed to his Foreight, as if he
had fe'it before: As, in this Particular of Per-
kin's Defenur, and in the World would not
be believed afterwards, but the King having
secret Intelligence of Perkin's Intention for Kent,
(the better to draw it on) went of purpofe into
the North, a far off, laying an open Side unto
Perkin, to make him come to the Clofe, and to
trip up his Heels, having made face in Kent
before hand.

But it was, that Perkin had gather'd together
a Power of all Nations, neither in Number, nor
in the hardinnes and Courage of the Perons,
contemplabile, but in their Nature and Fortunes,
to be fear'd as well of Friends as Enemies;
being Buckingham and many of them Felons, and
such as liv'd by Rape. These he put to Sea,
and arriv'd upon the Coast of Sandwich and Deal
in Kent, about July.

There he call Anch'or;' and to prove the
Affections of the People, fent some of his Men to
Land, making great boaft of the Power that
was there. The Kent-fmen (perceiving that
Perkin was not follow'd by any English of Name
or Account, and that his Forces confifted but of
Strangers Born, and moft of them Safe People,
and Free-booters, fitter to spoil a Coast than
to recover a Kingdom) refenting unto the prin-
cipal Gentlemen of the Country, prefcribed their
Loyalty to the King, and defir'd to be directed
and commanded for the bell of the King's Ser-
vice. The Gentlemen, entering into Confultation,
directed some Forces in good Number, to fhw
themselves upon the Coast; and some of them
to make Signs, to entice Perkin's Soldiers to Land,
as if they would join with them; and some o-
thers to march to him, in open Plain. But the
affairs were not, the Kentifh-men faw that it was
better to encourage them to Land. But Perkin,
(who, by playing the Prince, or elfe taught by
Secretary Prius, had learn'd thus much, That
People under Command do ufe to confult, and
to alfo to refolve to do what they think proper
wife run upon an Head together in Confultation)
considering the Delay of Time, and obferving
their Orderly, and not Tumultuary Arming,
doubted the worth. And therefore the wily
Youth would not fet one Foot out of his Ship
till he might fee things were far. Wherefore
when the King's Forces, perceiving that they could
draw on no more than they, that were formerly
laid, fet upon them, and cut them in pie-
ces, ere they could fly back to their Ships. In
which Skirmifh (besides that they fled and were
fain) there were taken about an Hundred and
fifty Perons. Which, for that the King thought
that to punish a few for Example was Gentle-
man's-play, but for Rafcal-People, they were to
be cut off every Man, especialy in the begin-

(1) Not a fewer Men, Sir F. W. An. Stv. VII. Cap. X.
(2) 'Twas not the Earl of Kil'f'are, but his Brother the Lord Thomas Howard that was slain at Stonefield. Hld. Cip. III.
(3) The English Statutes were admitted in Ireland in old Times. Those Laws that were now made did not in a long
Time pass beyond the English Pale. Hld. Cap. X. Payings arrefted the Earl of Kil'f'are and fent him Prisoner to
Ferdinando of Naples was not nam'd as principal; yet, no doubt, the Kingdom of Naples was tacitly included, as a Fee of the Church.

There died also this Year Cecile Dutches of York, Mother to King Edward IV, at her Caffle of Barkhanfield, being of extreme Years; and who was entituled to live, according to the Provisions following, to receive the King did excel in good Commonwealth Laws; so nevertheless he had, in secret, a Design to make use of them, as well for collecting of Treasure, as for correcting of Manners; and so, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law that was made this Parliament, was a Law of a Strange Nature: rather Juft, than Legal; and more Magnanimous than Provident. This Law did Ordain, That no Per- son, that did affift in Arms, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be Impe- cted for, or Attainted by the Court of the Law, or by Act of Parliament: But, if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be Void and of none Effect; For that it was agreeable to Reafon of Efate, that the Subject should not enquire of the Juf- tices of the King's Title, or Querrel; and, it was agreeable to good Confequence, that (whatever the Fortune of the War were) the Subject should not fuffer for his Obedience. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pions and Noble: being like in matter of War, unto the Spirit of Dorem in matter of Prage, who fed, if I have fent, I am raife, or Amayf the Enemy: Nor wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep fore- sight. For, it did the better take away Occafion for the People to bufinefle themfelves, to pray into the King's Title; for that howsoever itfell, their Safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the Love and Hearts of the People, because he found more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless, it did take off from his Party, that great Tine and Spur of Neceffity, to Fight and go Victors out of the Field; considering their Lives and Fortunes were put in Safety, and pro- tected; for they fhou'd have been by it or run away. But the Force and Obligation of this Law was in it felf illufory, as to the latter part of it; by a precedeit Act of Parliament, to bind or fur- fruate a Future. For a Supreme and Absolute Power cannot conclude it felf, neither can that which is in Nature revocable be made felf, nor more than if a Man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Other Will, it should be Void. And for the Cafe of the Act of Parliament, there is a notable President of it in King Henry the VIII's Time; who doubting his uniferm dye in the Minority of his Son, procured an Act to Pafs, That no Statute made during the Minority of the King fhou'd bind him or his Successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his Great Seal, at his full Age. But the firft Act that paffed in King Edward the VI's Time, was an Act of Repeal of the former Act, which declared the King's Minor. But things that do not bind, may fatisife for the time.

There was also made a flourishing or under- propping Act for the Benevolence; to make the Sums which any Person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by
An Act

for doing

in

Forsa

enfero,

without Fee to Counsel, Attorney, or Clerk, whereby Poor Men became rather Able to Vex, than Unable to Sue. There were divers other good Laws made that Parliament, as we said before: But we will observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a Vulgar Nature.

The King this while, tho' he sat in Parliament, as in full Peace, and seem'd to account of the Defights of Perkins (who was now return'd into Flanders) but as a May-Game; yet having the Composition of a Wife King (Stout without his Humbleness, or their Humbleness, Ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the Heirs, or those in Remainder, of the Lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The Remedy was, by giving Power to the next, to enter for a Forfeiture.

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Done that are Dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily such a Command-ment from the Tyrant, for the murthering of her Children. Thus in my tender Age escaping by God's Mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over Sea. Where, after the Arrest of the Party had the greatest charge, (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or Practice God knew) suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean Conditions for the fulfilling of my Life. Wherefore distracted between several Passions, the one of Fear to be known, left me; the Tyrant should have a New Attempt upon me; the other of Grief and Difdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with my self to expect the Tyrant's Death, and then to put my self into my Sitter's hands, who was next Heir to the Crown. But in this Scain, it happen'd one Henry Tiddler, Son to Edmond Tiddler Earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the Realm, and by subtle and foul Means to obtain the Crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertain'd. So that I resolved to go from Tyrant to Tyrant. This Henry, my extremest and mortal Enemy, so soon as he had Knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtle Ways and Means he could, to procure my final Deflation. For my mortal Enemy hath not only falsely furnished me to be a feign'd Person, giving me Nick-names, so abusing the World; but also to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offer'd large Sums of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Mini- bers, with whom I have been retained; and made improper Labours to certain Servants to bent my Person, to Murk my Person, and others to fake and leave my Righteous Quarell and to depart from my Service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every Man of Reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bent his Self with important and incessant Labour and Industry, to com-pass my Death and ruin, if I had been such a feign'd Person. But the truth of my Cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Duchess Dow- ner of Barnaby's, my mother, to assert me, and only to acknowledge the Truth thereof, not loving to affliit me. But it seemeth that God above (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a tight Concord and Amity, by so great an Obligation) had re-served the placing of me in the Imperial Throne of England, for the Arms and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoiled of the Kingdom of England; as of Late (in Infir Memory) it was done in the Person of Henry VI. Where-fore for that your Grace hath given clear Signs, that you are in no Noble Quality inferior to your Royal Ancestors; I, so divertfed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put away the Scourge of your Kingdoms by your Affihtance to recover my Kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear my self towards your Grace no otherwise, than if I were your own Natural Brother, and will upon the 2d of July, 1495.

After Perkins had told his Tale, King James answer'd bravely and wisely, that whatever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands. And from that time forth, tho' there wanted not some about him, that would have perverted him, that all was but an Illusion; The Scots yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkins's amiable and altering Behaviour, or inclining to the Recommendation of the great Persons abroad, or willing to take an Occasion of a War against King Henry, he entertain'd him in all things, as became the Perfon of Richard Duke of York; embraced his Quarell; and (that the Perkins marries the Lady Catherine Gordon, Daughter to the E. of Huntly, being a near Kinwoman to the King himself, and a young Virgin of excellent Beauty and Vertue. Not long after, (2) the King of Scots in Per- son, with Perkins in his Company, entred with a great Army (though it consisted chiefly of Borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkins for a Perumbe before him as he went, caus'd to be publish'd a Proclamation of this Tenor following, in the Name of Richard Duke of York, true Inheritor of the Crown of England.

I hath pleas'd God, who puttest down The Old, the Mighty from their Seat, and exalteth final of the Humbled, and fuffereth not the Hopes of the Damned to be exalt'd. On the Anniversaries of the Battle of Bannockburn, the land, and on the Anniversaries of the Battle of Flodden, the land of Northumberland, and the land of York, as we by natural and li- real Right appertaineth knoweth, in whose own Heart our undoubted Right, (we being the very Richard Duke of York, younger Son, and now surviving Heir-Male of the Noble and Valorous Edward IV. late King of England) hath not only depriv'd us of our Kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means fought to betray us, and bereave us of our Life. Yet it his Tyranny only extended it self to our Persons (altho' our Royal Blood reacheth us to be feodiable of Injuries) it should be left to our Grief. But this Tidder, who boreihed himself to have Overthrown a Tyrant, hath ever since his first Entrance into his usurped Reign, put little in Practice but Tyranny and the Feasts thereof. For King Richard our Unnatural Uncle, al- tho' Desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other Actions (like a true Plantagenet) was Noble, and lov'd the Honour of the Realm, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this our Mortal Enemy (agreeing with the Hand of Death) Conquering his Birth, and trodden under foot the Honour of this Na- tion, selling our bel Confederares for Money, (2) Metamath the Emperor, Charles the Eighth. King of France, and Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, wrote to the Sower King in favour of this Counterfeit. Sir J. W. Cap. 9.
and making Merchandize of the Blood, Estates, and Fortunes of our Peers and Subjects, by Feigned Wars and diabolical Discontents, only to mislead their Councillors. Nor unlike hath been his bateful Mid-government, and evil Departments at Home. First, he hath (to fortify his false Quarrel) curd divers Nobles of this our Realm (whom he held Subject, and flood in Dread of) to be cruelly murdered, as Sir Thomas Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe. William Davewbury, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Runamkins. Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary, many to be hanged, and not reprieved in Person, our right entirely well-beloved Cofen, Edward, Son and Heir to our Uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; with-holding from them their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they should never be of Right and Power to Aid and Affift us at our need, after the Duty of their Liegeance. He also married by Compulsion certain of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our said Cofen the Earl of Warwick, and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, certain of his Kinmen and Friends of simple and low Degree; and putting apart all well-born Nobles, he hath more than once falk, and Truf't about his Person, but Bifhop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Ricerley, Turbervile, Tier, Chelemly, Emfon, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Harry Wyat, and fuch other Cailifs and Villains of Birth, which by fuch Inventions and Filling of the People, have been the principal Finders, Queeners, and Councellors of the Mis-rule and Milchef now reigning in England.

We remembering these Premities, with the great and execrable Offences daily committed, and done by our forefald great Enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of our Mother the Holy Church, upon Pretences of Wicked and Heathenish Policy, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold Treafons, abominable Murthers, Man-baughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People, Taxes, Tavages, Talleages, Benevolences, and other unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other heinous Effcfts, to the likely Defraution and Fifation of the whole Realm; hall by God's Grace, and the Help and Allifance of the great Lords of our Blood, with the Council of other fad Persons, fee that the Commodities of our Realm be impofi'd to the moft Advantage of the fame; the enterfoufe of Merchandize between Realm and Realm, to be minimifered and handled, as hall more be to the Com- monwealth: the Defpotic Power over our Subjects, as and all fuch Difines, Taxes, Talleages, Benevolences, unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, as be above reheared, to be fore- done and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in fuch Cases as our Noble Regent Kings of England, have of old Time accufed to have as the Aid, Succour, and Help of their Subjects and true Liege-men.

And further, we do our Grace and Clemency, hereby as well Publifh and Pro- clamation to all our Subjects, Resignation and free Part of all By-path Offices we have formerly, against our Person, or Estate, in adhering to our said Enemy, by whom (we know well) they have been mil-led, if they shall within time convenient, fubmit themselves unto us. And for fuch as shall come with the foremost, to affift our righteous Cause, we shall make them so far Partakers of our Princeely Favour and Bounty, as shall be highly for the Com- fort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their Death. As also we shall by all means, which God fhall put into our hands, fhew our Favour to our Subjects, the Consentment to all Degrees and Estates of our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their entire, preferring the Ho- nour, Privileges, and Preeminences of our Nobles from Contempt or Dilagagement, according to the Dignity of their Blood. We shall exadl and provide our People the whole Rights and Endowments, and confirm our Cities, Boroughs, and Towas, in their Char- ters and Freedoms, with Inlargement, where it shall be deferv'd; and in all Points give our Subjects caufe to think, that the bleffed and debonaire Government of our Noble Friend the King Edward (in his left Times) is in us revived.

And for as much as the putting to Death, or taking alive of our faid Mortal Enemy, may be a means to raf much Effusion of Blood, which otherwise may enfe, if by Compulsion he be no Advocate to us, and number of our Subjects to refit us; which we defire to avoid (though we be certainly informed that our faid Enemy is purpoofed and prepared to fly the Land, having already made over great Malies of the Treasure of our Crown, the better to fupport him in foreign Parts) we do hereby declare, that whoever shall take or difperf our faid Enemy (though the Party be of never so mean a Condition) he shall be by us rewarded with a Thoufand Pounds in Money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an Hundred Marks by the Year of Inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit both toward God and all People, for the deftrution of fuch a Tyrant.

Lastly, we do all Men to wit, and herein we take also God to witneff, That whereas God hath moved the Heart of our Dear Brother, John King William, to Assist us in Persou, in this our Righteous Quarrel; it is altogether without any Pact or Promife, or to much as Demand of any thing, that may pre- judice our Crown or Subjects: But contrari- ly, with Promife on our faid Cousin's part, that whenever he shall find us in fufficient Strength to get the upper Hand of our Enemies (which we hope will be very fuddently) he will withforthee peaceably return it into his own Kingdom, containing himself only with the Glory of fo Honourable an Enterprize, and our true and faithful Love and Amity.

Which we shall ever (for the Glory of Almighty God) fo order, as shall be to the great Comfort of both Kingdoms.

But Perkins Proclamation did little edifie with the People of England; neither was he the better by the time that he was at the Court in Wherefore the King of Scotland being none came in to Perkins, nor none flared any where in his favour, turned his enterprize into a Rode; and waited and destroyed the Country of Northum- berland, with Fire and Sword. But hearing that there were Liberal Principles in the Country, and not willing that they should find his Men heavy and laden with Bottle, he returned into Scotland with great Spoils, deferring further Futurcation, till another time. It is said, that Perkins acting the part.
part of a Prince handomely, when he law the
Scotch fell to wait the Country, came to the King,
but he did much disappoin-"tment, and defird. Than that might not be
the manner of making the War; for that no
Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he defir-
d to purchase it with the Blood and ruin of his
Country. Whereunto the King anfwere
that he was much too careful for that that was none of his, and
that he should be too good a Steward for his Enemy,
to fave the Country to his use.

By this Time, being the eleventh Year of the
King, the Interruption of Trade between the
English and the Flemings, began to pinch the
Merchant, and many of his Subjects, to a
great Extent, which moved them, by all means they could devise, to
affit and difpofe their Sovereigns repectively,
to open the Enterrouere again. Wherein, they
conferred with them. For the Arch-Duke and his
Council began to fee, that Perkin would prove
difad to the Kingdom, and to the Good of all Men, and
that it was the part of Children to fall out about
Babies. And the King on his part, after the
Attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to
have the Bounties of Perkin in less Effentia; so as he did not put it to account, in any Con-
fideration, that they were good and his
had
was, that being a King that loved Wealth
and Treafure, he could not endure to have Trade
fick, nor any Obftruction to continue in the
Gate-vein, which defirer that Blood. And yet he
kept State so far, as first to be fought upon.
Wherein the Merchant-Adventurers likewise,(be-
ing a strong Company at that time, and well
underft with Rich Men, and good order,) did
hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities
of the Kingdom, though they lay dead upon their
Hands for want of Vent. At the last, Commif-
foners met at London, to treat. On the King's
part; Bishop For Lord Frevy Seely, Vice-Comte 1602.
Kendal Prior of Saint John, Warham Maifer of
the Rolls, who began to gain much upon the
King's Opinion; Urfschus, who was alwef over one;
and Rilejey. On the Arch-Duke's part, the
Lord Broaws his Admiral, the Lord Parmael Pre-
fides, the Lord Chamberlaine, and others. The
Treaties were concluded a perfect Treaty, both of Amity and Enterrouere,
between the King and the Arch-Duke; contain-
ing Articles both of State, Commerce and
Free-fihing. This is that Treaty, which the
Lennings call at this Day, Intercyfus Magnus,
both because it is more compitant, than the pre-
cedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth Years
of the King; and chiefly to give it a Differenee,
from the Treaty that followed in the one and
twentieth Year of the King; which they call
Intercyfus Maius. In this Treaty, there was an
expref Article against the Reception of the
Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that
if any fuch Rebel should be required by the Prince
whole Rebel he was, of the Prince Confede-
rate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate
fhould by Proclamation command him to avoid
the Country. Which if he did not within fifteen
Days, the Rebel was to fand proconfab, and put
out of Protection. But neithertheless in this Ar-
ticle, Perkin was not namet, neither pefhaps
contained, becaufe he was no Rebel. But by
this means his Wings were cleft of his Follow-
ers, that were English. And it was exfremly com-
pert in the Treaty, that it fhould extend to the
Territories of the Dutchels Delweger. After the
Enterrouere thus reforued, the English Merchants
came again to their Mansion at Antwerp, where
they were received with Proclamen and great
Joy.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth
Year of his Reign, the King called again his Par-
Sanct, for to give him both Protection
against Malice, and the cruel Preatory War lately
made by the King of Scotland; That that King,
being in Amity with him, and no ways provok'd,
fofheburn in Hatred towards him, as to
drink of the Lees and Dregs of Perkin's Intoxi-
cation, was ever where elfe defecuted and
delivered: And that when he perceived his
was out of his Reach, to do the King any Hurt, he
had turned his Arms upon unarmed and un-
provided People, to spoil only and depopulate,
contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace:

Concluding, that he could neither with Honour,
be the Subjeft of his King, nor with Peace, to make
any other Treaty. Therefore, he called a Law, at the
See of the Merchant-Adventurers of England, against the Merchant-
Adventurers of London, for Monopolizing and
making thirr the Trade: Which it feemeth
they did, a little to fave themselves, after the
time that they had failld by want of Trade.
But thefe Innovations were taken away by Par-
Iament.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his
Money. And though he avoided to fight with
Enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to
fight it with Rebels at home. For no fooner
began the Subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but
the People there began to grudge and murmur.
The Cornwall being a Race of Men, fount of Stoc-
ne, mighty of Body and Limb, and that lived
hardly in a barren Country, and many of them
could (for a need) live under Ground, that
were Tinners; they muttered extremely, that
it was too little to be figured, that for a
fmall Sires of the Scots, foon blowen over, they
feould be thus grinned to Powder with Payments: And
fai'd, it was for them to pay, that hat too much,
and lived idly. But they would eat the Bread
they got with the Sweat of their Brows, and no
Man dare take it from them. And the Tides of
People once up, there want not com-
monly flirring Winds to make them more rough:
So this People did light upon two Ringleaders,
or Captains of the Rout. The one was one Mr.
Joseph a Blackfmit, a Blacksmith or Farrier of Bodmin,
a notable talking Fellow, and no less destrous to
be talked of. The other was Thomas Flanneham,
a Lawyer; who by telling his Neighbours com-
monly upon any occasion, that the Law was on
Lawyer, hears the Head of the Rebels.
This Man talked Learndly, and as if he could
tell how to make a Rebellion, and never break
the Peace. He told the People, that Subsidies
were not to be granted nor levied in this Caf';
that is, for Wars of Scotland (for that the Law
had provided another Courfe, by Service of El.
The Cor-
fluence, for thofe Journeys) much left when ab-
was made but a Preatory War to Poll and Pill the People: And therefore that
it was good they should not fland now like Sheep
before the Shearers, but put on Harnefs, and
take Weapons in their Hands; Yet to do no
Creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a

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The English
sent to the
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with Joy
and Pro-
celations.
Strong Petition, for the laying down of those grievous Payments, and for the Punishment of those that had given him that Counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the Duty of true English Men, and be above the Captivity of the King from fuch wicked Oaes that would destroy both him and the Country. Their Aim was at Arch Bishop Morton, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the King's Streames in this Envy.

After these two, Flammeck and the Black-smith, had by Joy, they did not find what they were to do. Tobin of Content in the Multitude, they offere'd themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better Men to be their Leaders; which they faid would be ere loong: Telling them further, that they would but be their Servants, and firft in every Danger; but doubted not but to make both the Wp East and the End East of England to meet in so good a Quarrel; and that all (rightly underftood) was but for the King's Service. The People, upon thefe Seditious Inflammations, did Arm (most of them with Bows, and Arrows, and Bills, and fuch other Weapons of Rude and Country People) and Forceth under their Leaders, and them that in fuch Cafes is ever at pleafure) marched out of Corn-wa!l, through Devonshire, and Taunton in Somersetshire, without anfom Slaughter, Violence, or Spoil of the Country. At Taunton they killed, in fury, an Oflicious and eafier Committee for the Subfidy; whom they called the Pro- fessors of Peace. Thence they marched to Wells: where the Lord Audely (with whom their Leaders had, before, fome fecret Intelligence) a Noble-man of an Ancient Family, but uquiet and popular, and affiping to Ruin, came in to them, and was by them (with great Gladness and Cries of Joy) accepted as their General; they being now prou'd, that they were led by a Noble-man. The Lord Audely led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolifh People, who (in effect) led their Leaders, had a Mind to be led into Kent; fancying, that the People there would joy with them in their Refurrection or Reformation; concerning the Kentifh-men had fhewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King for lately be- fore. But the rude People had heard Flammeck fay, that Kent was never converfed, and that they were the freest People of England. And, upon them (with great impudence at their Hands, in a Caufe which they confeited to be for the Liberty of the Subject.) But when they were come into Kent, the Country was fo well fettled, both by the King's late kind Ufage towards them, and by the Credit and Power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abergaveney, and the Lord Cobham, as neither General, nor Yeoman came in to their Aid; which did much fump and difmay many of the impofter fort: Infomuch, as divers of them did fecretly fly from the Army, and went home. But the hurter fort, and thofe that were most engaged, fled by it, and rather waxed ftrong, than falh'd in Hopes and Courage. For as it did fomewhat appal them, that the People came not in to them; so it did not lefs encourage them, that the King's Forces had not fet upon them, having marched from the Whiff unto the East of England. Wherefore the People that were in their Way, and en- cumbered from Black-heads, between Greenwich and Eelham, threatening either to bid Battel to the King (for the now Seas went higher than to Morton, and Brans) or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find lefs fear, than Wealth.

But to return to the King. When firft he heard of this Commotion of the Cornifh-men, occa- tioned by the Subidy, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it fell, but in regard of the Conformity, and other Difcontent, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted leaft a War from Scotland, a Rebellion from Cornwal, and the Practices and Conspiracies of Perkin and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; knowing well, that it was a dangerous Triplicity to a Monarch, to have three fronts of a Perilous Nature, the Difcontents of Subjects, and the Title of a Pretender, to meet. Nevertheless, the Occafion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the Parliament had broken up, the King had prefently rafed a Paullant Army, to War upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great Prepara- tions either for Defence, or for new aflaying of England. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readines prefently to fet forth, under the Conduct of Daukeney, the Lord Chamberlaine. But as foon as the King understood of the Rebellion of corn- wall, he let them furprize retaining them for his own Service and Safety. But therewithal he difpatched the Earl of Sury into the North, for the Defence and strength of thofe Parts, in cafe the Scots fhou'd ftrir. But for the Courfe he held towards the Rebels, it was utterly differing from his former Callom, and Practices; which was ever full of Forwardsnefs and Celerity, to make head againft them, or to fet upon them as soon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was at- tempted by Years, and left in Love with Dangers, by the continued Fruition of a Crown; it was a time when the various Appearance to his Thoughts of Perils of feveral Natures, and from divers Parts, did make him judge it his beft and fureft Way, to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and Center of his Kingdom. Accord- ing to the Ancient Indian Emblem ; in fuch a fubtle Affay, To hold the Middle of the Bladder, that no fide might rife. Besides, there was no necelfity put upon him, to alter this Courfe. For neither did the Rebels spoil the Country; in which Cafe it had been Difho- pous to abandon his People: Neither on the oth- er fide, did their Forces gather or encrease, looking to overtop them. But the more they fell, before they grew too strong. And laftly, both Reafon of Eilate and War feemed to agree with this Courfe; For that Infrufion of bafe People are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means alfo he had them more at Vantage, being tyred and harried with a long March; and more at Mer- cy, being cut off far from their Country, and therefore not able by any fuddain Flight to get to retreat, and to renew the Troubles.

When therefore the Rebels were encamped on Black-Heads, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of London, and the fair Valley about it: the King knowing well, that it flood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encom- tring them, by fo much the fooner to diapatch with them, that it might appear to them, even in the height of their Spirit, that they were then in choo- sing his time; resolved with all Speed to affail them, and yet with that Providence, and Scurry, as fhould leave little to Venture or Fortune. And having very great and puiflant Forces a- bout him, the better to maffer all Events and Accidents,
Accidents, he divided them into three Parts.

The first was led by the Earl of Oxford, in chief, assisted by Lord Selford. These Noblemen were appointed with some Colonets of Horse, and Bands of Foot, and good store of Artillery wheeling about, to put themselves beyond the Hill, where the Rebels were encamped, and to beat all the Skirts and Defences thereof, so that they might not slip away, whereby to have those Wild Beasts (as it were) in a Toast. The second Part of his Forces (which were those that were to be most in Action, and upon which he relied most for the Fortune of the Day) he did assign to be led by the Lord Chamberlain, and to encamp themselves upon the Hill, from that side which is to-ward London. The third Part of his Forces (being likewise great and brave Forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all Events, to reinforce the Fight, or confound the Victory; and mean while, to secure the City. And for that purpose he encamped in Perible in St. George's Fields, putting himself between the City, and the Rebels. But the City of London (especially at the first) upon the near encamping of the Re- bels, was in great Mumult: As it would be to have wealthy and Populous Cities (especially those, which are inhabited by Queen's Guards of Regions) who feldom lie out of their Windows, or from their Towers, an Army of Enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the Concert, that they dealt with a Round of People, with whom there was no Compo- position, or Condition, or orderly treating it need be; but likely to be bent altogether upon Ra- jin and Spoil. And although they had heard, that the Rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon Spoil in the end. Where- fore there was great running to and fro of Peo- ple, fome to the Gates, fome to the Walls, fome to the Water side; giving themselves Alarms, and Panick Fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate the Lord Mayor, and Shew and Hadden the Sheriffs, did their Parts stoutly and well, in putting and ordering the People. And the King likewise did adjourn some Captains of Ex- perience in the Wars, to advise and assist the Citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the Matter, that the Rebels must win three Battels, before they could evince the City, and that they had his own Perfon between the Rebels and them, and that the great Care was rather how to im- pound the Rebels, that none of them might e- scape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of Fear. The rather, for the Confederates reported which (was not small) three Captains of Oxford, Efo- fax, and Davenund, all Men famed and loved a-mong the People. As for Tafher Dnce of Bedford, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars, he was then sick, and dyed soon after. It was the Two and twentieth of June, and a day (which was the Day of the Week, the King fancied) when the Battel was fought; though the King had by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the Rebels Battel on the Monday follow- ing, the better to find them unprovided, and in diffudio. The three Apoimted to circle the Hill, had some Days before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in Places con- venient. In the afternoon towards the Decline of the Day (which was done, the better to keep the Rebels in Opinion that they should not fight) that Day, the Lord Davenund marched on to- wards them, with his first Battel for the Troops of them from Deerfield-bridge, where they fought madely; but being in no great Number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main Army up- on the Hill. The Army, at that time hearing of the Approach of the King's Forces, were putting their Forts in Order, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high ground towards the Bridge, any Forces to feccond the Troops below, that kept the Bridge; neither had they brought forwards their Main Battel (which stood in Array far in- ternal to the Bridge itself) towards the Afect of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted upon the Hill, and recovered the Plain, without Resist- ance. The Lord Davenund charged them with some Fury; Infomuch, as it had like (by acci- dent) to have brained the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardness in fighting in the Head of his Troops, he was taken by the three Rebels; but immediately refused, and deliver- ed. The Rebels maintained the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons flew no want of Com- bone: But being ill armed, and ill liked, and without Horse and Artillery, they were no good Opponents in pieces, and put to flight. And for their Three Leaders; the Lord Davenund, the Black-smith, and Flammock (as commonly the Captains of Commandments are half-cour- aged Men) suffered themselves to be taken alive.

The number slain on the Rebels part, were twenty.

† Two thousand Men; their Army amounting (as it was) into the Number of Sixteen thousand.

The reft were (in effeé) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encampéd, with the King's Forces round about. On the King's Part there dyed about Three hundred; most of them about Arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a Taylor's Yard: So strong and主义思想, a Cornish Men were said to draw. The number of the Rebels, gods Bannerets, as well upon Black-beasts with his Lieutenent, had won the Field (while- ther he rode in Perible to perform the said Creation) and was there on his own Account, and that he was the first who had been encampt. And for Matter of Li- bcrality, he did (by open Eddie) give the Goods of all the Prisoners unto that had taken them; either to take them in Kind, or com- pound for them as they could. After matter of Honour and liberality, followed matter of Se- curity. And that about, Audley and the Cur- sills to be Executed. Flamrock and the Black-smith were hanged on the Draught, and quartered at Tower Hill, The black- smith taking Plague upon the hurdle (as it appeareth by Words which he uttered) to think that he should be famous in aftertimes. The King was once in mind to have sent down Flam- mock, and the Black-smith, to have been executed in Cornewall, for the more Teirour. But, being advised that the Country was yet unequal and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their Prisons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the Blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfy himself with the Lives of only three Offi- cers, for the Exploitation of this great Rebellion. It was a strange thing, to observe the Varie- ty and Inequality of the King's Executions and Pardons. And a Man would think it, at the first, a kind of Lottery or Chance. But, looking into Vol. I. Kkk 2 is
it more nearly, one shall find there was Reason for it; much more perhaps, than (after so long a distance of Time) we can now discover. In the Kenilworth Commotion (which was but an Handful of Men) there were executed to the number of One hundred and fifty; and, in this so mighty a Rebellion but three; whereof one went to the Scaffold, the other to the Stake, and the third to the Thousand Men that were slain in the Field: or that he was not willing to be severe in a Popular Cause; or that the harm-lefs behaviour of this People (that came from the West of England, to the East, without Mifchief, or fpoil of the Country) did some- where in the World, and move them to Compatience, or lalité, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon Wantonness, and them that did rebel upon Want.

After the Cornh Men were defeated, there came from Calice to the King, an honourable Ambaffe from the French King, which had arriv- ed at Calice a Month before, and there was played in respect of the Troubles; but honourably enter- tained and defrayed. The King, at their first coming, went unto them, and prayed them to have Patience, till a little Smoak, that was raised in his Country, were put out, which would some time continue; (as his Manner was) that openly, which neverthe- less he intended seriously.

This Ambaffe concerned no great Affair; but only the Prolongation of Days for payment of Monies, and some other Particulars of the Frontiers. And it was (indeed) but a wounding Ambaffe; with good Respects to entertain the King in good Affection: But nothing was done or handled, to the Derogation of the King's late Treaty with the Italians.

But, during that time that the Cornh Men were in their March towards London, the King of Scotland (well advertised of all that pulleth, and knowing himselfe free of War from England, whenever thofe Stirs were appeased) neglect- ed not his Opportunity; but thinking the King had his Hands full, entered the Frontiers of Eng- land again with an Army, and beleaguer the Cal- fe. To which the King, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to Forrege the Country. But

The Rife of Bishops. 

The King enters Eng- land with an Army. 

The Earl of Surry enters Scotland.

The Scotch King enters Eng- land with an Army.

For Bish- op of D. Fox, Bishop of Durefte (a wife Man, and one that could fee through the Prefent, to the Future) doubting as much before, had caufl his Caffe of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnilh- ed, with all kind of Munition: And had mann'd it so as it would be very great Damage to the Forces, to go into it, to try whether the King could have a Con- cord between the two Kings. Halas took it upon him: And coming to the Scottish King, af- ter he had with much Art brought King James to hearten to the more safe and quiet Councils, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that Peace would with so great difficulty cement, and close, if he would send some wise and temperate Coun- cellor of his own, that might treat of the Con- ditions. Whereupon the King directed Bishop Fox (who at that time was at his Caffe of Nor- ham) to confer with Halas, and they both to treat with fear Councils in Scotland, in exchange for the Scottish King. The Commissioners on both Sides met. But after much Dispute upon the Articles and Conditions of Peace, proposed upon either part,they could not conclude a Peace. The chief Impediment thereof was the Demand of the King to have Perkins deliver'd it to his own Hand, and under a seal, and not protected by the Law of Nations. The King of Scotland on the other side peremptorily de- nied to do; saying, That he (for his part) was no Competent Judge of Perkins Title: But that he had received him as a Suppliant, pro-

The Life and Reign of Henry the Seventh.
That he Skelton Telling The But vmg. for / hated and all aions Peace, also yet following. Mafter Wherefore to that him fitter faken fpeak his took the Tranfport in
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Citizens did, that the Englishmen at

at London, and under the King's Noble, and the other, a Nation is diffafified with the People of Ireland, that if they had have it, it never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first when the People began to take Arms there, he had been crowned at Whitehaven before this time. When he went into the King, he had now that Ex- perience would fell poor Princes for Shoes: But he must rely wholly upon People; and therefore advised him to Sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall. Which, accordingly he did; ha-

(6) He arrived at Cork the 28th of July; where some out of Afflacement, others for Desire of Change flocked to him; among whom, tis faid was Maurice Earl of Desmond. The Mayor and Citizens of Waterford notified his Arrival to the King, and as they had bravely defended themselves against Saint's Armer, fo they did the same now against Perkins, for which they were taken into the King's especial favour. Mr. J. W. Cai. XLII.
vings in his Company four small Barks, with some Sixscore or Seven score fighting Men. (2) He arrived in September at Whifbord-Boy, and forthwith came to Radum in the Blacksmith's Town: where there assembled unto him a great number of Townsmen of Exeter, and of the rude People. There he set forth a New Proclamation, striving with the People with fair Promises, and humouring them with insinuations against the King and his Government. And, as it fareth with Smoke, that never oblieveth it fell till it be as thick as Night; he did now before the City, and raise his Stile, initiating himself no more Richard Duke of York, but Richard the IVth, King of England. His Council advised him by all means, to make himself Master of some good walled Town; as well to make his Men find the Sweetness of rich Spoils, and to allure to him all loole and lost People, by like hopes of Booty: as to be a sure Retreat to his Forces, in case they should have any ill Day, or unlucky Chance in the Field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the City of Exeter, the principal Town for Strength and Wealth in those Parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbear to use any Force at the first: but made continual Shoots and Out-cries, to terrify the Inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places Call and Talk to them from under the Walls, to luya with them, and be of their Party, telling them, That the King would make them another London, if they would be the first Town that should Acknowledge him. But they had not the Wit to feed to them, in any orderly fashion, Agents or chosen Men to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part, shewed themselves stout and loyal Subjects. Neither was there so much as any Tumult or Division amongst them: but all prepared themselves for a Valiant Defence, and making good the Town. For well they saw that the Rebels were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their Numbers encroached, the King's Successors would come in. And, howsoever they thought it the extremity of Evils, to put themselves at the Mercy of those hungry and disorderly People. Wherefore letting all things in good Order within the Town they nevertheless let down with fewer Men from several parts of the Walls privily, several Meilengers (that, if one came to Mirchance, another might pass on) which should advertise the King of the State of the Town, and implore his Aid. Perkins also doubted that Successors would come ere long, and therefore resolved to use his utmost Force to encircle the Town: And for that purpose, having mounted Scaling-Ladders in divers places upon the Walls, made at the same instant an Attempt to force one of the Gates: But having no Artillery nor Engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs and Timber, nor by the use of Iron Bars and Iron Crowns, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the Gates on Fire: which he did. But the Citizens, well perceiving the Danger, before the Gate could be fully confum'd, block'd up the Gate, and some space about it on the inside, and set Fire to the Fuel: while they likewise set on Fire, and so repuls'd Fire with Fire: And, in the mean time, raised up Rampiers of Earth, and cast up deep Trenches, to ferre instead of Wall and Gate. And for the Encalades, they had fo bad Successes, as the Rebels were driven from the Walls, with the Loss of Two hundred Men.

The Duke of Buckingham, who was lord of Perkins' Seige of K. Henry Exeter, made Sport with it, and said to them that they were about him, 'That the King of Rake-bells was in his Land'd in the West, and that he hoped now to have of Rake the honour to see him, which he could never yet do, be it.

And it appeareth plainly to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much joyn'd with the News of Perkins' being in English Ground, where he could have no Retreat by Land; thinking now that he should be careful of those privy Stitches which he had long had about his Heart, and had sometimes broken his Sleeps in the midst of all his Felicity. And to set all Mens Hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those, who should now do him Service to make an end of thefe Troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the Eleventh Hour and had the whole Wages of the Day. Therefore now (like the end of a Play) a great Number came upon the Stage at last. He sent the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Brook, and Sir Richard Thomas, with expedite Forces to speed to Exeter, to the Rescue of the Town, and to spread the Fame of his own following in Perfon with a Royal Army, The Earl of Devonshire and his Son, with the Counts, and the Elders, and other principal Persons of Devon (which were now in the hearing that the King's Heart was so much bent upon this Service) made haft with Troops, that they had rais'd, to be the first that should succour the City of Exeter, and prevent the King's Successors. The Duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave Gentlemen, put themselves in Arms, not paying either the King's or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themselves, the more to inusual their Merit, exalting to the King their Readiness, and desiring to know his Pleasure. So that according to the Proverb, In the coming down, every Saint did help.

Perkins hearing this Thunder of Arms and Preparations against him from so many Parts, raised his Siege, and March'd to Taunton; beginning already to Squint one Eye upon the Crown, and another upon the Sanctuary: Thy the Cornish men were beasts, like those of old times; and quench'd, chaff'd, that would fooner beat them than bow; swearing and Vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their Blood were spilt. He was at his Rising from Exeter between Six and Seven thousand Strong, many having come unto him after he was let before Exeter, upon Fame of so great an Enterprize, and to partake of the Spoil; Thou upon the railing of his Siege, some did flip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dilimbed all Fear, and seemed all the Day to use Diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, he fled with Thenceforth Horse to Beverley in the Hundred Horfe to pursuie and apprehend him, before he should get either to the Sea, or to that same little Island, call'd a Sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore

(3) His Wife came also with him.
all they could do, was to befit the Sanctuary, and to maintain a strong Watch about it, till the King's Pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the Rebels, they (being deficient of their Head) without Stroke Stricken, fubmit themselves unto the King's Mercy. And the King's Councils in the Army (who did) rather to fave Life than to spoil it, and was never Cruel when he was Secure; now he faw the Danger was past, pardon'd them all in the end, except some few defperate Perfoncs which he refer'd to be Executed, the better to fet off vifions of the King's Cenereus, and to put his Eye as his Fane he eat her to her Queen to remain with her; giving her very Honourable Allowance for the Support of her Efate: which the enjoy'd both during the King's Life, and many Years after. The Name of the White-Ruff (which had been given to her Husband's fallc Title) was before in common Speech to her true Beauty.

The King went forwards on his Journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the Citizens great Commanations and Thanks; and taking the Sword he wore, from his Side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded him to carry it before him. There it was also called to be executed some of the Kings- leaders of the Cornclf, in Sacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and Trouble. At Exeter the King confulted with his Council, whether he fhould offer Life to Perkin if he would quit the Sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The Council were divided in Opinion. Some advised the King to take him out of Sanctuary perfore, and to put him to Death, as in a Cafe of Necelfity, which in itself differfhen'd with confecrated Places and Things. Whereof they doubted not, but the King thought it an Extraordinary Deed, which was made for the Particulars of some, or many, either by Declaration, or (at leaft) by Indulgence. Others were of Opinion (since all was now safe, and no further Hurt could be done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new Scandal and Envy. A third fort fell upon the Opinion that it was not polfsible for the King ever, either to fatisfy the World well touching the Impoffure, or to learn out the bottom of the Conuifacy, except by Promife of Life and Pardon, and other fair Means, he fhould get Perkin into his Hands. But they did all in their Preambles much bolden the King's Cafe, with reasons exceeding to the nature of the cafe. That a Prince of his High Wisdom and Vertue, should have been fo long, and fo oft exercis'd and ven'd with Idols. But the King faid, that it was the Vexation of God Almighty himfelf, to be vexed with Idols, and therefore that that was not to be blamed by him. The Perfon of Perkin, of whom he refped thefet, he always defpif'd them; but was griev'd that they had put his People to fich Trouble and Mifery. But (in Conclufion) he lean'd to the third Opinion, and fo fent fome to deal with Perkin. Who feeing himfelf Prouifer, and defir'd of all Hopes, having try'd Princes and Pro-

The Lady Katherine Gordon, Perkin's Wife, royally entertain'd by the King.
by a great part of the Building was confin'd, with much costly Household-stuff, which gave the King occasion of Building from the Ground that fine Pile of Richmond which is now standing, Somewhat before this time also there fell out a memorable Accident: There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Fencier, dwelling in Bishop's Man Cove, a Man of Navigation. This Man feeling the Succes, and emulating per- haps the Enterprize of Christopher Columbus in that fortunate Discovery towards the Southwett, which had been by him made some Six Years before, conceived with himself, that Lands might lie towards the Southwett. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first. For the two great Islands of the Old and New World, being (in thehape and making of them) broad towards the North, and pointed towards the South, it is likely, that the Discovery first began where the Lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a Discovery of some Lands, which they took to be Islands, and were indeed the Conti- nent of America towards the Northwet. And it may be, that some Relation of the Nature comon of those Islands, or the Knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppos'd, (defirous rather to make his Enterprize the Child of his Science and For- tune, than the Follower of a former Discovery) did give him better assurance, that all was not Sea, from the Wett of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Scrup's Prophecy, or Plato's An- tiquities, or the Nature of the Tides, and Land- winds, and the like, which were the Conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have rely'd. Tho' I am not ignorant that it was like- wise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten Dis- covery (a little before) of a Spanish Pilot, who did not, but Christopher Columbus, bear the King in hand, that he would find out an Island endued with rich Commodities, procured him to Man and Vichal a Ship at Bri- fie, for the Discovery of that Island; with whom ventur'd also three small Ships of London-Mer- chants, fraught with some Goods and flight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous People. He fail'd (as he affirm'd at his Return, and made a Card thereof) very far Westwards, with a Quar- ter of the North, on the North-side of Tierra de Labrador, until he came to the Latitude of sixty five degrees, where the Sea was pitch black open. It is certain also, that the King's For- tune had a tender of that great Empire of the West-Indies. Neither was it a Refus'd on the King's part, but a Delay by Accident, that put by so great an Accomplishment. For Christopher Columbus refus'd the King of Portugal (who would not embrace at once both East and West) im- ploy'd his Brother Bartholomew Columbus unto King Henry, to Negotiate for his Discovery. And it so fortun'd, that he was taken by Pirates at Sea; by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before the King of Spain, the King of Portugal, the King for his Brother, the Enterprise by him was Atchieved, and to the West-Indies by Pro- vision were then refer'd for the Crown of Castile. Yet this hurried the King fo, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the 16th Year of Henry the Eighth, which was the time therof, he granted forth new Commissions, for the Discovery and Invailling of unknown Lands.

Accident, that drew on great and happy Effects. During the Truce with Scotland, there were cer- tain Scottifh Young Gentlemen that came into Norham Town, and there made merry with some of the English of the Town. And having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle, obseruing their sportive looks, or once or twice, and having not their Minds parg'd of the late ill Blood of Hostility, either suffred them, or quarrelled them for Spies. Whereupon they fell at ill Words, and from Words to Blows; so that many were wounded of either Sex. But the King, who was at Norham (Norham Town) had the worft. In so much as some of them were Slain, and the rest made halfe Home. The Matter being complain'd on, and often de- bated before the Wardens of the Marches of both Sides, and no good Order taken, the King of Scotland took it to himself, and, being much kindled, sent a Herald to the King to make Pro- testation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King (who had much try'd Fortune, and was includ'd to Peace) made Anfwver, & That what had been done, was not utter'd with ill-will, by his King. But if the Garrison-Soldiers had been in fault, he would fee them punish'd, and the Truce in all Points to be preferv'd. But this Anfwver seem'd to the Scottifh King but a Delay, to make the Complaint burst out with time; and there- fore it did rather exasperate him, than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the King, that the Scottifh King was still Difcontent and Im- patient, being troubled that the Occasion of breaking of the Truce should grow from his Men, sent many humble and deprecatory Let- ters to the Scottifh King to appease him. Where- upon the Scottifh King, moved by the Bishops, Servants and Eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him, That he was in part moved by his Let- ters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him; as well about the com- pound'g of the present Differences, as about other Matters, that might concern the good of both Kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with the King, took his Journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Methfob, an Abbey of the Ceffarines, where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered the Bishop his Offence for the Invasions into his Realm, and the Truce, by his Men of Norham-Castle. Where- unto Bishop Fox made such an humble and smooth Anfwer, as it was like Oyl into the Wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the Presence of the King and his Council. After, the King spake with the Bishop about the Marriage of the Prince, and the Bishop's Command to the Stuarts. The King was greatly admir'd and gratified at the Bishop's kind Behaviour in this Occasion; that he knew well what Place and office the Bishop devin'd for him in the Marriage by the Stuarts. Therefore the Bishop deliv'd with his King a most candid Answer, that he knew well what Place and office the Stuarts devin'd for him in the Marriage by the Stuarts. Therefore the Bishop deliv'd with his King a most candid Answer, that he knew well what Place and office the Stuarts devin'd for him in the Marriage by the Stuarts.
proceed to a Conclusion of Peace, and then to go on with the Treaty of Marriage, by degrees. Hereupon a Peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, to continue for both the Kings Lives, and the Over-liver of them, and a year after. In this Peace there was an Article, that the English Nation, in seven Years, after their coming into Scotland, and no Scottish Man into England, without Letters Commodity from the Kings of either Nation. This at the first Sight might seem a Means to continue a Strangeness between the Nations; but it was done, to lock in the Borderers.

This Year there was also born to the King a third Son, who was Chriftened by the Name of Edmund, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came News of the Death of Charles the French King; For whom there were celebrated Solemn and Princeely Ode

It was not long, but Perkin (who was made of Quick-filver, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to flit. For deceiving his Keepers, he took him to his Heels, and made speed to the Sea Coasts. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent Pursuit and Search made as he could not escape them. And got him to the Houte of Bethany, called the Priory of Shyne, (which had the privilege of Sanctuary) and put him safely in the Hands of the Prior of that Monastery. The Prior was thought an Holy Man, and much reverenced in those Days. He came to the King, and befought the King for Perkin's Life only; leaving him otherwise to the King's Discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high Stomach, and could not hate any that he deipilied) bid, Take him forth, and let the Law en the Stocks. And to promisimg the Prior his Life, he couted him to be brought forth. And within two or three Days after, * upon a Scaffold, set up in the Palace Court at Wemifier, he was Fettered and fet in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the next Day after, the like was done by him at the Courfe and in both Places, he being in the Confeffion, of which we made mention before; and was from Cleeip-fal, conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touch'd before) grown to be such a Partner with Fortune, as no Body could tell what Actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that Perkin was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the King's Privy, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this to pick a Quarrel with him to put him to Death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the two Instruments who obferved him in his Flight, might have kept him from getting into Sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this winding Ivy of a Plantagent, should kill the true Tree it fell. For Perkin, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to infinuate himself into the Favour and kindnes of his Keepers, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in Number; Strengwye, Bloxet, Alwood, and Long-Roger. Thofe Varlets, with Mountan of Promifies, he fought to corrupt, to obtain his Efeape. But knowing well, that his Bed Chriftian was not made of the Sound, as he could feed no Man's Hopes (and by hopes he muf't Work, for Rewards he had none) he had contrived with himfelf a fake a Tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, then Prisoner in the Tower, whom the weary Life of a long Imprifonment, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to Death, had fofoned to take an Opportunity of Refufe for his Liberty. This young Prince he thought thefe Seraphims would look upon, though not upon himfelf. And therefore after that by fome Meiflage by one or two of them, he had talked of the Earl's Confent; it was agreed, that they four should murder their Mafter the Lieutenant; secretly in the Night; and make their blow upon the Lord Privy Seal's portable Goods of his, as they should find ready at Hand, and get the Keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the Earl. But this Conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great Willidom did furburge him with a Sinner Fame, that Perkin was but his Bait, to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very infant while this Conspiracy was in working (as if that all had been the King's indiscretion) it was fatal, that there should break forth a Counterfeited Earl of Warwick, a Cordwainer and young Man, taught and fet on by an Angliffome, Frier, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk, came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this Willard was the true Earl of Warwick, but also the Frier finding fome light Credit in the People, took the Boldness in the Pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his Aid. Whereupon they Hanged; were both prefently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, * and the Frier condemned to * on Stanmore. 

Perkin was put in the Stocks. * On the 15th of July.


Perkin is back. * On the 15th of July.

For the Treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on Land within this Kingdom (for fo the Judges advised, for that he was a Forreign er, and not a Naturalized) but only four Days after executed at Tyburn. Where he did again openly read his Confession, and take upon his Death to be true. This was the end of this little Cockatrice of a King, that was able to delroyle those that did not effy him first. It was one of the lougeth Plays of that Kind, that hath been in Memory, and might perhaps have had another End, if he had not met with a King both Wife, Stout, and Fortunate.

As for Perkin's three Cofellours, they had regiftred themselves Sanctuary-Men when their Master did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or confirmed by the Privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

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There was executed Perkin the Mayor of Cork, and his Son (1), who had been principal Abettors of his Treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other Perkings, about the Tower-Conspiracy, whereof Four were the Lieutenant's Men. But of those Eight, Enraged and immediately after * was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford (2) (for the time High Steward of England) the poor Prince the Earl of Warwick; not for the Attempt to escape simply (for that was not acted); And besides, the Imprisonment naturally led for the Enforcement of the Effigy; by Law could not be Treason); But for Conspiring with Perkin to raise Sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earl confessing the Indictment had Judgment, and was shortly after * beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end not only of this Noble and Commercable Perkon Edward the Earl of Warwick eldest Son to the Duke of Clarence, but likewise of the Line Male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the Famous King of England King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was, there was Race often reported. It hath remained since only transplanted into other Names, as well of the Imperial, as of other Noble Houses. But it was neither Guilt of Crime, nor Reafon of State, that could quarrel the Envoy that was upon the King for this Execution. So that he thought good to express it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie Ferdinando King of Spain. For though these two Kings's understanding one another at half a Word, to it was that there were Letters flewed out of Spain, whereby in the Palffages concerning the Treaty of the Marriage, Ferdinando had written to the King, in particular, that no Affiance of his Succession, as long as the Earl of Warwick lived; and that he was both to send his Daughters to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the Envoy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withall bring a kind of Murdering and Interference into the Marriage, as an ill Proglosfick. Which in Event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small Time after the Marriage, and the Lady Katherine, her self (a faid and a Religious Woman) long after, when King Henry the eight his Revolutions of a Diverse from her was first made known to her, used some Words: That she had not offended: but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.

This fifteen Year of the King there was a great Plague, both in London and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often Change of Places (whether to avoid the danger of the Sickness, or to give occasion of an Interview with the Arch-Duke, or both) faid forth with his Queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke sent an Honourable Ambassader unto him, as well to welcome him into those Parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him Reverence. But it was said withal: That the King might be pleased to appoint some Place, that were out of any Walled Town or Fortress, for that he had done many things upon his State to the Honour of the French King. And though he said, he made a great Difference between the two Kings, yet he would be

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(1) As for Philip John Wates Son he was afterwards Pardoned by the King's Clemency. The Citizens of Cork were also pardoned. Sir J. Ware. Cap. XV.
King, but envi'd by the Nobility, and hated of
the People. Neither was his Name left out of
Parker's Proclamation for any good will, but they
would not bring him in amongst the King's Calf
ning-Coun ters, because he had the Image and Su
percription upon him of the Pope, in his Ho
nour of Cardinal. He won the King with Se
cretations, but chiefly because he was his old Servant in his left Fortunes: And also for
that (in his Affections) he was not without an
inverteate Malice against the Honie of Turk, un
der whom he had been in Trouble. He was will
ing also to take Envie from the King, more
than the King was willing to put it.
For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but
would stand Envie, and appear in any thing
that was to his Mind; which made Envie still
grow upon him more universal, but less danger.
In the Matter of Exactions, time did after
flow, that the Bishop in feeding the King's Hon
our, did rather temper it. He had been by
Richard the Third committed (as in Custody)
to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secret
ly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after
the Duke was engaged, and thought the Bishop
should have been his chief Pilot in the Tempest,
the Bishop was gotten into the Cock-boat, and
fled over beyond Seas. But whatsoever else
was in the Man, he delivered a most happy Memo
ry, in that he was the Principal Mean of joy
ning the two Roy. He died of great Years, but
of Strong Health and Powers.
The next Year, which was the Sixteenth Year
of the King, and the Year of our Lord One
thousand five hundred, was the Year of Jubile
at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the Hazz
ard and Charges of Mens Journeys to Rome,
thought good to make over those Graces by Ex
change, to such as would pay a convenient Rate,
feeling they could not come to fetch them. For
which purpose was sent into England Tafper Pon
a Spaniard, the Pope's Commissioner, better cho
sen than were the Commissioners of Pope Leo
n, afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried
the Bishops with great Wisdom, andsemblance of
Holien's. In so much as he levied great
Sums of Money within this Land to the Pope's
Life, with little or no Scandal. It was thought
the King shared in the Money. But it appeared
by a Letter which Cardinal Adrian, the King's
Pensioner, wrote to the King from Rome some
few Years after, that this was not so. For this
Cardinal, being to persuade Pope Tafper on the
King's behalf, to expulse the Bull of Dispifi
tion for the Marriage between Prince Henry
and the Lady Katherine, finding the Pope difficile
in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal Ar
gument concerning the King's Merit towards that
See, that he had passed none of those De
iers, which had been levied by Pon in England.
But that it might be the better appear (for the Sa
tisfaction of the common People) that this was
Confrerate Money, the fame Nuntio brought
unto the King a Brief from the Pope, wherein
The Pope
invites the
King to a
Holy War.
To this the King, (who underfood well
the Court of Rome) made an Answer rather
Solemn, than Serious. Signifying,

"T hat no Prince on Earth should be more
forward and obedient, both by his Per
son, and by all his possible Forces, and For
tunes, than enter into this faced War, than
himself. But that the difdance of Place was
fich, as no Forces that he should raise for the
Sea, could be levied or prepared, but with
double the Charge, and double the Time (at
the leaf) that they might be from the other
Princes, that had their Territories nearer
adjoining. Besides, that neither the Manner
of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the
Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could
be fo apt for those Seas, as theirs. And there
fore that his Holine's might do well, to move
one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for
the Purpofe, to accompany him by Sea.
Whereby both all things would be fooner put
in Readines, and with lefs Charge, and the
Emulation and Division of Command, which
might grow between tho$e Kings of France
and Spain, if they should both join in the
War by Land upon Good, and might be willy
avoided. And that for his Part, he would
not be wanting in Aids and Contribution.
Yet notwithstanding, if both their Kings
should refufe, rather than his Holine's should
go alone, he would wait upon him, as soon
as he could be ready. Always provided,
that he might first fee all Differences of the
Chriftian Princes amongst themselves, fully
laid down and appeased (as for his own Part
he was in none.) And that he might have
some good Towns upon the Coast in Italy put
into his Hands, for the Retreat and safegard
of his Men.

With this Answer Tafper Pon returned, noth
thing at all discontented. And yet this De
claration of the King (as superficial as it was)
was no longer after elected by the Knights of the
effed King

Rhodes, Protector of their Order; All things
multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had
 gotten such high Efficution for his Wil'dom,
and Sufcienency.
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There were these two last Years some Proceedings against Heretics, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by Penances, than by Fire. The King had (though he were no good Schoolman) the Honour to convert one of them by Diffutation at Canterbury. This Year also, though the King were no more haunted with Sprites, for that by the Sprinkling partly of Blood, and partly of Water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain Apparitions, that troubled him, ill swelling themselves from one Region, which was the House of York. It came to pass, that the Earl of Suffolk, Son to Elizabeth, eldest Siter to King Edward the Fourth, by John Duke of Suffolk, her second Husband, and Brother to John Earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stockfield, being of an husly and cholerick Disposition, had killed a Man in his Fury; whereupon the King gave him his Pardon. But either willing to leave a Cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his Grace, produced him openly to plead his Pardon. This wroth in the Earl, as in a haughty Stomack it ufteth to do; for the Ignominious printed deeper than the Dye, and other Prince for being discoloured, fled secretly into Flander, unto his Aunt the Dutchess of Burgundy. The King fretted at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use fair and timely Remedies, wrought with him by Mielleg, (The Lady Margaret also growing by often failing in her Mischief, wear of her Experiments, and partly being a little swecteated, for that the King had not touch'd her name in the Confession of Perkin) that he came over again upon good Terms, and was reconciled to the King. In the beginning of the next Year, being the seventeenth of the King, the Lady Catherine, fourth Daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in England, at Plymouth, the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur in Pauls, the fourteenth of November following. The Prince being then about ten Years of Age, and the Lady about eighteen. The Manner of her receiving the Manner of her Entry, into London, and the Celebrity of the Marriage were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of Cot, Shew, and Order. The chief Man that took the Care was Bishop Fox, who was not only a Grave Counsellor in War or Peace, but also a good Surveyor of Works, and a good Master of Ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the Active Part, belonging to the Service of Court, or State of a great King. This Marriage was about seven Years in Treaty; which was in part cleared by the Tender Years of the Marriage-couple, especially of the Prince. But the true Reason was, that thefe two Princes, being Princes of great Policy and profound Judgment, Bood a great time looking one upon another's Fortunes, how they would go; knowing well that in the mean time, the very Treatie it self gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a frail Conjunction, and Amity between them; which served on both Sides to many Purposes, that their several Affairs required, yet and they continued still free. But in the End, when the Fortunes of both Princes did grow every Day more and more Prosperous and Affireed, and that looking all about them, they saw no better Conditions, they flux it up.

The Marriage Money the Princes brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was Two hundred thousand Dollars. Whereof One hundred thousand were payable ten Days after the Solemnization, and the other Hundred thousand at two Payments Annual; but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due Return to them jully and indifferently priced. The Joynture or Advancement of the Lady, was the Prince the Third Part of the Principality of Wales, and of her Brother's the Dukeedom of Cornwall, and the Earldom Jurisdiction of Chester, to be after Set forth in severality, or Duty. And in Case she came to be Queen of England, her Advancement was left Indeinite, but thus: That it should be as great, as ever any former Queen of England had.

In all the Devices and Conlicts of the Tri-Devices umphs of this Marriage, there was a great deal at Prince of astronomers. The King being refumled to the History of his marriage, to the old King Alphonso (that was the greatest Astronomer of King's, and was Ancestor to the Lady) was brought in to be the Fortuneteller of the Match. And whereas he had done things in Compiling, they were not altogether Pedantic. But you may be sure that King Arthur, the Briton, and the Defcent of the Lady Catherine from the House of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch at April Fortunes for the Stars. For this young Prince A. D. (that drew upon him at that time, not only the Anno725. Hopes and Affections of his Country, but the Eyes and Expidion of Forreiners) after a few Months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his Rest and Court, as Prince of Wales. Of this Prince in respect he dyed so young, and by Reason of his Father's manner of Education, that did cast no great Light upon his Children, King Henry there is little particular Memory. Only thus, so's Bucco- much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Custum of great Princes.

There was a Doubt ripple up in the Times following, when the Divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catherine did so much Buie the World, whether Arthur was bedded with his Lady or no, whereby that Matter in Fact (of Carnal Knowledge) might be made part of the Case. And it is true, that the Lady herself denied it, or at least her Council stood upon it, and would not blanch that Advantage, although the Plentitude of the Pope's Power of Difpen- sing was the main Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in Respect of the two Queen's that Succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose Legitations were incompatible one with another, though their Succession was settled by Act of Parliament. And the Times that favoured Queen Mary's Legimation would have it believed. But there was no Carnal Knowledge between Arthur and Katherine. Not that they

† Prince Arthur married to the Princess Catherine of Spain.

‡ On the 16th of November.
would seem to derogate from the Pope's absolute Power, to difference even in that Café; but only in Point of Honour, and to make the Café more favour'd than the Taverne that the favoured Queen Elizabeth's Legislation (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrary. So much there remain'd in Memory, that it was half a Year's time between the Creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's Death; which was continued to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catherine were with Child by Prince Arthur, or no. Again, the Lady her self procured a Bull, for the better Corroboration of the Marriage, with a Clause of (vel postea cognitum) which was not in the first Bull. There was given in Evidence alfo, when the Cause of the Divorce was handled, a pleasant Pallage, which was; That in a Morning Prince Arthur, upon his up riling from Bed with her, called for Drink, which he; a Morning which was not accomodated to doe, and finding the Gentleman of his Chamber that brought him the Drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merely to him; That he had been in the midst of Spain, which was an hot Region, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in so hot a Climate, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the Prince was upon the Point of Sixteen Years of Age when he died, and forward, and able in Body.

The February following, Henry Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint. For the Dukedom of Cornwall de-volved to him by Statute. The King also being full handed, and loth to part with a second Dowrie, but chiefly being Affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politick Considerations to continue the Alliance with Spain, prevailed with the Prince (though not without some Re-fusation, such as could be in those Years, for he was not twelve Years of Age) to be con-tracted with the Princess Katherine. The Secret Providence of God ordaining that Marriage, to be the Occasion of great Events and Changes. The same Year were the Epochus of James King of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the King's eldest Daughter; which was done by Parliament in the Fifth and twentieth of January, and To Deum Eternam-fly sung. But certain it is, that the Joy of the City thereupon flowed, by Ringing of Bells, and Bon-fires, and fuch other Incence of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Café of so great and fresh Enmity between the Nations; especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War. And therefore might be truly attributed to a Secret Infinct and Inspiring (which many times runneth not only in the Hearts of Princes, but in the Pulte and Veins of People) and to the display of Loyalty thereby to Divin-fie in time to come. This Marriage was in Au-gust following consecravte at Edinborough. The King bringing his Daughter as far as Colli-Wilton on the Way, and then confring her to the Attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who with great artifict and by the King, brought her into Scotland, to the King her Husband.

This Marriage had been in Treaty by the Space of almost three Years, from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his Mind to Bishop Far. The Sun given in Marri-age by the King, was Ten thoufand Pounds. And the Jointure and Advancement affor'd by the King, was Twenty thoufand Pounds. The Prince's Marriage was in March next following a Year, after King James's his Death, and the Dowry, which was brought by the Princess was Twenty thoufand Pounds a Year in present, for the Lady's in Scot-land. Allowance or Maintenance. This was in the twentieth Years of the King's reign, and it was in the Heat of Summer. The King's Journeys to Scotland were of great importance, and the greatest part of them was spent in the Society of the Lady his Wife, and the Princes and their Neighbours.

The 18th of Feb-ru-ary, The Prince Henry was transplanted to the Prince Ke-tharine. The Prince's Marriage was made to the Emperor of Rome, in May the 4th King of Scot-land. The
Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half Face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment, but sent forth their Precepts to arrest Men, and convene them before them, selves and some others, at their private Houses, in a Court of Commissio, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding, by Examinati on, without Trial of Jury; alleging to them selves there, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies Civil.

Then did they allow us to enthrall and charge the Subject Lands with Tenures in Capite, by finding false Offices, and thereby to Work upon them for Wardships, Liverties, Primer Seines, and Alienations, (being the Fruits of these Tenures) refunding upon divers Pretences and Delays, to admit Men to traverse those false Offices, according to the Law. Nay, the King's Warders after they had accomplish their full Age, could not be suffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying excessive Sums, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex Men with Informations of Intrusion upon feerse colourable Titles.

When Men were Out-lawed in Personal Actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, excepting at great and great Rates, above the bubble Summand, standing upon the first Point of Law, which upon Out-lawries gave Forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Mens Lands and Rents, during the Space of full two Years, for a Pain in Cafe of Out-lawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and inflince them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) Convent them, Imprison them, and Fine them.

Thefe and many other Courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of Preying upon the People; both like tame Hawks for their Maller, and like wild Hawks for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Sub stance. But their principal working was upon Penal Laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the Law was possible, or impossible, in Ubi or Obsolete; But rated over all old and new Statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of Terror, than of Rigour; having over a Rable of Promoters, Quellmongers, and leading Jurors at their Command, fo as they could have any thing found either for Fact or Valu

There remaineth to this Day a Report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his Principal Servant, both for War and Peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his Castle at Hungerham. And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants fent a Letter (in a friendly Manner) in their Livery Coats, with Cogifiances, ranged on both fides, and made the King a Lane. The King called the Earl unto him and faid; My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I feit it is greater than the Speech. Thofe handsome Gentlemen and Toomeans, of which I faw both fides of me, are sure your meanil Servants. The Earl smiled, and faid, It may poffefs your Grace, that were not for mine cafe. They are most of them my Retainers, that are come to do me service at fuch a time as this, and chiefly to ferve your Grace. The King flipt a little, and faid, God and my Lord, I thank you for my good Clear, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my right. My
ed, though not so briskly. But for Sir James Tower (against whom the Blood of the Innocents was shed), as his brother, did still cry from under the Altar) and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attained and executed. The two Knights beheld. Nevertheless, to confirm the Credit of Conyn (who belike had not yet done all his Feats of Activity) there was published at Paul's Conferences, and in the Nineteenth Century, where the Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Conyn and some others by Name, and likewise in general against all the Abettors of the said Earl. Wherein it must be confessed, that Heaven was not in a bloody manner, and Religion to Policy. But soon after, Conyn (when he saw time) returned into England, and with all into wonted Favour with the King, but worse Fame with the People. Upon whole Return the Earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself delirous of Hopes (the Lady Margaret also by this time, could not now become Cool in those Attempts) after some wandering in France, and Germany, and certain little Projects, no better than Squibs of an Exiled Man, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Arch-Duke Phillip in Flanders, about the time of King of Caffio, in the Right of Joan his Wife. This Year + (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his Parliament. Whereof in a Man may easily guess, how absolute the King took himself to be with his Parliament, when Dudley that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this Parliament, there were not made any Statutes memorable, touching publick Government. But those were, that had ill the Stamp of the King's Willdow and Policy. There was a Statute made, for the disannulling of all Patents of Leaf, or Grant, to such as came not upon lawful Summons, to serve the King in his Wars, against the Enemies or Rebels, or that should depart without the King's Licence; with an Exception of certain Persons of the Long-robe. Providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's Wages, from their Home, till their Return home again. There had been the like made for Offices, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands. But a Man may easily fee by many Statutes made in this King's time, that the King thought it fit, to affill Martial Law, by Law of Parliament. Another Statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of Manufactures of Silk wrought by it self, or mixt with any other Thread. But it was not of Stuffe of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no Manufacture in use at that time) but of knit-Silk, or Texture of Silk; as Ribbons, Laces, Coales, Points, and Girdles. Cords, Cordons, and all such Creatures, could then well skill to make. This Law pointed at a true Principle; That where foreign Materials are but Superfluities, foreign Manufactures should be prohibited. For that either banish the Superfluity or gain the Manufacture. The King's Letters were by the occasion of Parliament, to the Sheriffs; Priviledged Officers being no less an Interruption of Justice, than priviledged Places. There was likewise a Law to restrain the By-laws or Ordinances of Corporations, which many a time, to the great Damage of the King, the Common-Law of the Realm, and the Liberty of the Subject, being Fraternities in Ex-

By the Lord

V. R. U. L. A. M. U.

1507.

°

Blood re-

venged.

Sir James Tower being con-
ceded, had, says fit, the 'time he was be-
headed on the 5th of May 1507.

+ it could not be a

bout the time of the Exec-

utions, for they were

Curst the First

Sunday in

November. See Num. p 790.

The King's E-

emies Curst at

Cait's Cods.

† On the 20th of January, A Parlia-

ment call'd and

Dudley chosen Speaker.

Foreign Manufactures pro-

hibited.
the Life and Reign of HENRY the Seventh.

1503.

the Cafe of his own Son Prince Henry. For if both of the Kings had their Kingdoms, in the Reign of their Wives, they defended to the Heirs, and did not accrue to the Husband. And although his own Cafe had both Steele and Parchment, more than the other (that is to say, a Conquest in the Field, and an Act of Parliament) yet notwithstanding, that is a General Title. Having done in his Imagination even of a Wife Man) breed a Doubt, that the other two were not fate nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent, to inquire and observe what became of the King of Agram, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of Caffile. And he was ready to make a Gift, or as Administrator to his Daughter; And whether he were likely to hold it in Fait, or to be put out by his Son-in-Law. Secondly, he did resolve in his Mind, that the State of Confidendum might by this Late Accident have a Turn. For whereas before Time himself, with the Conjunction of Agram and Caffile (which then was one) and the Amity of Maximilian and Philip, his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too strong a Party for France; he began to fear, that now the French King (who had great Interest in the Affections of Philip the young King of Caffile) and England and Spain (as that were expected in the Name of his Daughter, and himself as Administrator, without mention of Philip, his Husband. And that King Ferdinand, however, he did disfigure his name of the King of Caffile, yet meant to hold the Kingdom, without the Spot, and in abeyance, Command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit us to him the Government of Caffile during his Life; which he had laid his Plot to work him unto, both by some Counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinand had at his Devotion, and chiefly by Promise, that he would Philip gave not Way unto it, he would marry some Young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succession of Agram and Granada, in case he should have a Son.

And lastly, by representing unto him that the Government of the Burgundians, till Philip were there, was in Spain contrary; as his natural Sense would not be endur'd by the Spaniards. But in all these things (though wisely laid down and considered) Ferdinand fal'd; but that Plato was better to him, than Pallas.

In the same Report also, the Ambassadors being present, and therefore the more easy, he did strike upon a thing which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of Spain, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip (to he brought his Wife with him) than to Ferdinand; and expressed the Reason to be, because of the Goodness and Charity of the Prince, and the Right, that the Treaty of Marriage then on Foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of France, would break; and that the said Daughter of France should be married to Angllia, that was the Heir Apparent of France, and it is a Speech of Marriage between Ferdinand and Madame de Pois, a Lady of the Blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as Learned in France, and silenced in Spain,
The King by the Return of this Ambaffage, which gave great light into his Affairs, was well inclined, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinand and Alfonfo, and between the Princes of Aragon and Catalonia, and to refolve with fuch in order to confer more entire with the King of Aragon, but more labour'd and officious with the King of Caffile. But he was much taken with the Overture of Marriage with his Daughter Mary; both because it was the greatift Marriage of Chriftendom, and for that it took hold of both Parties. But to corroborate his Alliance with Philip, the Winds gave him an Interview. For Philip choosing the Winter-Season, the better to surprize the King of Aragon, fet forth with a great Navy out of Flinders for Spain in the Month of January, the One and Twentieth Year of the King's Reign. But himfelf was surpriz'd with a cruel Tempeft, that fatter'd his Ships upon thefe Coasts of England. And the Ship wherein the King and Queen were (with two other small Barks only) tera, and in great peril to escape the Fury of the Weather, thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himfelf, having not been ufed (as it feem'd) to Sea, all weary and exafted, Sick, would needs land to refresh his Spirits, tho' it was againft the Opinion of his Council, doubting it might breed Delay, his Occafions requiring Celerity.

The Runners of the Arrival of a Paffant Navy upon the Coast, made the Country arm. And Sir Thomas Tyrconnel with Forces suddenly rafed, not knowing what the Matter might be, came to Weymouth. Where understanding the Accident, he did in all Hambledon and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his Houfe; and with fhipp'd off to the Coast. Soon after came Sir John Carew, Blandef, with a great Troop of Men well arm'd; uing the like Hambledon and Respect towards the King,when he knew the Cafe. King Philip doubting that they, being but Subjects, durst not let him pafs away, without the King's notice and leave, yield'd to the Matters, to two of them, who had they from the Court. The King as foon as he heard the News, commanded prefently the Earl of Arundel, to go to Vifit the King of Caffile, and let him understand, That as, he was very Sorrow for his Mifhap, fo he was glad that he had escap'd the Danger of the Sea, and liking the Occafion himself had to do him Honour; and defiring him, to think himself as in his own Land; and that the King made all hell poible to come and imbace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave Troop of Three hundred Houfe, and (for more State and Splendour) Light. After they had done the King's Message, King Philip feeing how the World went, the fooner to get away, went upon Speed to the King at Wifdom, and his Queen followed by easy Journeys. The two Kings at their Meeting us'd all the Carities, and loving Demonstrations that were poible. And the King of Caffile fouled pleaftantly to the King, That he was now purified, for that he would not come within his walled Town of Calice, when they met left. But the King answer'd, That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwis, but to be forc'd. After a Day or Two of the Scene, the King proceeded into Speech of renewing the Treaty; The King saying, 'That tho' King Philip's Person were the fame, yet his Fortunes and State were raif'd.

In which Cafe a Renovation of Treaty was ufed enough. But though their things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Caffile into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his Arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of Entertainment, said to him; Sir, you have been favor'd upon my Caffile. I beg your Caffile, that you would not give any answer upon yours. The King of Caffile ask'd him, What it might be mean't by that Speech? I mean it (faith the King) by that fame Harebrain wild Fellow, my Subj. the Earl of Suffolk, who is proted in your Country, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are wearisome. The King of Caffile while he was speaking, I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above those Thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will baffe him. The King reply'd, Those Haromes were built in their Neif, and would when they did fly abroad, that his Desire was, to have him delivered to him. The King of Caffile herewith a little confused, and in a fludy, faid, That can I not do with my Honour, and life with yours: for you will be thought to have used me as a Prisoner. The King prefently faid, Then the Matter is at an end. For I will take that Diplomatum upon me, and fo your Honour is recover'd. The King of Caffile, who had the King in great Esteem for his former and real services, was willing to have the King's Amity, for that himfelf was new in his Eftate of Spain, and unfettled, both with his Father in Law, and with his People, compoing his Countenance, faid, Sir, you give Law to me; but fo will I to you. You fhall have him, but when your Honour fen fhad taken his Life. The King embracing him, faid, Agreed. Saith the King of Caffile, Neither fhall it diflike you, if I fend him in such a fashion as he may partly come with his own good Will. The King faid, It was well thought of; and if it pleafed him, he would fende him to the Earl's Message to that purpofe. They both sent severally, and mean while they continued Feating and Partijnes. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl fere before the King of Caffile went; and the King of Caffile being willing to feem to be inforc'd, The King afso with many wife and excellent Perfa- rations, c'd the King of Caffile to offer this Marriage, by the Council of his Father in Law Ferdinand; A Prince To Prudent, so Experience, so Fortu- nate. The King of Caffile (who was in no very good terms with his faid Father in Law) an- w'er'd, That if his Father in Law would fuffer him to partake his Kingdom, he would grant him. There were immediately Messengers fent from both Kings to recall the Earl of Suffolk: Who earl of upon gentle Words ufed to him was foon chair. Suffolk, re- tained, and willing enough to return; afford of his Life, and hoping of his Liberty. He was brought through Blandef to Calice, and thence landed at the Prince of Orange, and with an excellent Guard deliver'd and receiv'd at the Tower of London. Mean while King Henry (to draw out the time) continued his F eaitings and Entertainments, and after he had receiv'd the King of Caffile into the Fraternity of the Garter, and for a Reciproc- cal had his Son the Prince admitted to the Order of the Golden-Breast, he accompany'd King Philip and his Queen to the City of London; where they were enter-ain'd with the greateft Magni- ficence and Triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been convey'd to the Tower (which was with the former parte of the Hites had been receiv'd, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in Subtance concluded Vol. I. Mm m a that.
The Life and Reign of Henry the Seventh.

1506.

The Free-

fishing of the Dutch

refusal to be Con-

ferred.

The King

would have had

Henry the 6th can-

nied.

treaty, which the

Earnings term Intercess-

y, and bears Date at Windsor; for there

be some things in it more to the Advantage of

English, than of them; especially, for that

the Free-fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and

Scas of England, granted in the Treaty of Un-

The Free-

fishing of the Dutch

declined, was not by this Treaty confirmed.

All Articles that confirm former Treaties being pre-

cisely and warily limited to things of Commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observer'd, that the great Temppe which drove Philip into England, blew down the Golden-Eagle from the Spire of Paul's, and in the Fall it fell upon a Sign of the Black-Eagle, which was in Paul's Church-Yard, in the place where the School-Hoose now standeth, and battred it, and brake it down. Which was a strange flango-

ing of a Hawk upon a Fowl. This the People

interpreted to be an Ominous Prognostick upon the

Imperial Hanf, which was (by Interpretation also) fulfill'd upon Philip the Emperor's Son, not

only in the present Difficult of the Temppe, but in that that follow'd. For Philip arriving into

Spain, and attaining the Possession of the Kingdom of Castile without Resistance, (infomuch as Ferdi-

nando, who had spoke to great before, was with

difficulty admitted to the Speech of his Son in Law) nicked soon after, and Deceased. Yet

after such time as the War was an Observation by the

Privy Seal of that Court, That if he had liv'd,

his Father would have gain'd upon him in this

fort, as he would have govern'd his Councils and

Devises, if not his Affections. By this all

Spain return'd into the Power of Ferdinando in

State as it was before; the rather, in regard of

the Infamy of Joan his Daughter, who loving

her Husband (by whom he had many Children)
dearly well, and no less belov'd of him (how

forever her Father, to make Philip ill beloved of

the People of Spain, gave out that Philip (as he

told not) was unable in Strength of Mind to

bear the Grief of his Decease, and fell distracted

of her Wins. Of which Malady her Father was

thought no ways to endeavour the Cure, the bet-

ter to hold his Regal Power in Castile. So that

as the Felicity of Charles VIII. was said to be a

Dream; so the Adversity of Ferdinando was said

likewise to be a Dream, it palled from a Month.

for this time, the King was desirous to bring

into the House of Lancaster Celestial Honour, and

became Sower to Pope Julius, to canonize King

Henry VI. for a Saint; the rather in respect of

that his famous Prediction of the King's own

Affirmation to the Crown. Julius referred the

Matter (as the manner is) to certain Cardinals,

(0) to take the Verification of his holy Acts and

Miracles. But it died under the Reference. The

general Opinion was that Pope Julius was too

Dear, and that the King would not come to his

Rates. But it is more probable, That that Pope

(who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the

Bishop of Rome, and the Acts thereof) knowing-

ing that King Henry VI. was reputed in the

World abroad but for a Simple Man, was afraid

it would but diminish the Estimation of that

kind of Honour, if there were not a diffusion

kept between innocents and Saints.

The King therefore proceeded a Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady

Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Savoy, on-

ly Daughter to Maximilian, and Sifer to the

King of Castile; a Lady Wife, and of great good

Fame. This Matter had been in Speech between

the two Kings at their Meeting, but was soon

after refurned; and therein was improv'd for his

first Piece the King's then Chaplain, and after

the great Prelate Thomas Wolsey. It was in the

end concluded, with great and ample Condi-

tions for the King, but with Premise De Futuro

only. It may be the rather constru'd into it, for

that he heard more and more of the Marriage to go on between his great Friend

and Ally Ferdinando of Arragon, and Madame de

Feis, whereby that King began to piece with the

French King, from whom he had been always

before severed. So fatal a Thing it is, for the

greatest Kings of Raignes, at one time or other to have a little of the Wheel.

Nay, there is a further Tradition (in Spain, tho' not with us) That the King of Arragon, after he

knew that the Marriage between Charles, the

young Prince of Castile, and Mary the King's Sec-

ond Daughter went roundly on (which tho' it

was first moved by the King of Arragon, yet it

was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to

Perfection by Maximilian, and the Friends on

that Side) entered into a Jealousy, that the King

did aspire to the Government of Castile, as Ad-

ministrator during the Minority of his Son in Law; where they had a Compe-

etition of Three for that Government; Ferdinando

Grandfather on the Mother's side; Maximilian,

Grandfather on the Father's side; and King Hen-

ry, Father in Law to the young Prince. Cer-

tainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Govern-

ment (carrying the young Prince with him)

would have been perilous to him, rather than to the

Spaniards, than that of the other Two. For the

Nobility of Castile, that so lately put out the

King of Arragon, in favour of King Philip, and

had discover'd themelves so far, could not be

but in a secret Dilhuff and Dilhaffle of that King.

And as for Maximilian, upon twenty respsects he

could not have been the Man. But this Purpose

of the King's feemeth to me (considering the

King's late Courses, never found to be enterpris-

ing or adventurous) not greatly probable, ex-

cept he should have had a Defire to breath war-

mer, because he had ill Lungs. This Marriage

with the Savoy was promis'd by the King in res-

pect of the Infamy of the King, who now in

the Two and twentieth of his Reign began to be

troubled with the Gene. But the Defluxion

taking alo's into his Breast, wast his Lungs, so

that thirfe in a Year (in a kind of Return, and

especially the Spring) he had great Fits and

Labour's of the Tiffick. Nevertheless, he con-

tinued to intend Buincis with as great Diligence,

as before in his Health. Yet so, as upon this

warning, he did likewise now more seriously

think of the World to come, and of making

himself a Saint, as well as King Henry the Sibth, by Transposing better things, than to be

promis'd to Pope Julius. For this Year he gave

greater Alms than accustomed, and discharged all Prifone-

ners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts

under Forty Shillings. He did also make haff

with Religious Foundations; and in the Year

Following (which was the Three and twentieth)

fulfill'd that of the Savoy. And hearing also of

the bitter Cries of his People against the Op-

positions of Dudley and Empefon, and their Com-

plices ; partly by Devout Perous about him,

and partly by Publick Sermons (the Preachers

(1) The Pope by his Bull committ'd the Examination of this Matter to the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Bishops

of Lincoln, Winchester and Durham; The Bull is in the Cottonian Library. Sir J. W. Ar. Hist. Th. Cap. XX.

*This dated in June, 1504.*

doing
To Crown also the last Year of his Reign as well as his first, he did an Act of Peace, and worthy to be taken into Imition. For he granted forth a General Pardon, as expect- ing a second Coronation in a better Kingdom. He did also declare in his Will, that his Mind was, that Redifution should be made of those Sins, which had been unjustly taken by his Officers.

And thus this Solomon of Engeland (for Solo-

-mo was also too heavy upon his People in Ex-

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Profe went to Diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint and Wars, and (as Edward I. did, and almost all Princes, that were or are of a Merciful nature) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the King was Party: Save also, that the Council-Table intermeddled too much with Matters and Things. For it was a very Court of Justice during his reign, but it fell in the Beginning of the 13th year of his reign, and the part both of Justice and Policy, which is the Darable part, and cut (as it were) in Brafts or Marble (which is the making of good Laws) he did excel. And with his Justice, he was also a Merciful Prince. As in whose time there were three of the Nobility that followed the Earl of Worwicke, the Lord Chamber-lain, and the Lord Amedy. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Difficile and Obloquy of the People. But there were never fo great Rebellions expiated with fo little Blood, but the hand of Judgement did not intermeddle with Rebellions of Black-Heads and Execlus. As for the Severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a Scum of People. His Pardons went over both before and after his Sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and intermeddled Peters, which were Execrable. Which (his Wildom considere d) could not be impu ted to any Inconfancy, or Inequality; but either to fome Reafon which we do not now know, or to a Principle he fet unto himself, That he would woe, and try both ways in one. Which he did to the End he drew his model. In his Peacetime, and as far as he took of Treafure: And (as fome confir'd it) he was the more fparing in the one, that he might be the more prefing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of Nature allurely he coveted to accumulate Treafure, and was a little Poor in admiring Riches. The People (unto whom there is in fured, for the Prefervation of Monarchies, a natural Defire to difcharge their Princes, tho' it be with the unjuft Charge of their Counsellors and Maffakers) did impute this unto Cardinal Merton, and Sir Reginald Bray, Who had, in the Beginning of his Reign, tendered Authority with him, did fo fecond his Humours, as neverthelefs they did tempe them. Whereas Eyfmon and Dudley that follow'd, being Perfons that had no Reputation with him (otherwife than by the fervile following of his Bens) did not give way only (as the fif't did) but hapae him way to thofe Extremities, for which himcelf was touch'd with Renorme at his Death, and which his Succelfor renown'd, and fought to prove. This Excels of his, had at that time many Goliaths and Interpretations. He thought the continual Rebellions where with he had been so many times prov'd to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them low. Some, for that he would leave his Son a Golden-Fleece. Some fuppof'd he had fome high Defign upon Foreign Parts. But thofe were pure Invention. Others thoght that he fetch not their Reasons fo far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed upon no other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I fhould add, that having every day Occation to take notice of the Necceflities of his Princes and People, he either for his own Prospers abroad, it did the better (by Comparifion) fee off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treafure, he never fpard Charge which his Affairs required; and in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards were very limited. So that his Liberty in this above his own State and Memory, Springing than upon the Defectors of others.

He was of an high Mind, and lov'd his Country: and he was of his own Will, and his own Way; as one that re- verfed himfelf, and would Reign indeed. Had he been a Private Man, he would have been a Terror to them, but he was not a Terror to them but keeping of Diilance, which indeed he did towards all; not admittin any thing near or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Se- crets. For he was govern'd by none. His Quees (notwithstanding he had prefent'd him with divers Children, and with a Crown alfo, tho' he would not acknowledge it) must have him, with his Mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any Perfon agreeable to him for Society (fuch as was Haffings to K. Edward IV. or Charles Brandon after to K. Hen- ry VIII.) he had none: Except we should ac- cept in humur Stranenenes, but not in his Reign. Empeors; because they were too much with him. But it was but as the Infrument is much with the Workman. He had nothing in him of Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; Being feible, That Majesty makes Men people bow, but Vain-glorious bow to them. To his Confederates abroad he was Con- flant and Juft, but not Open. But rather Juft to hia was his Inquirie, and fuch his Clofenes, as Treaties, they flood in the Light towards him, and he flooded in the Dark to them. Yet without Myle- stranenenes, but with a Reliance of ful Immortalitie. Communication of Affairs. As for little Envyes, or Emulations upon Foreign Prince (which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went subtilly to his own Bui- nes. Certain it is, that though his Reputa- tion was great at Home, yet it was greater his Fame Abroad. For Foreigners that could not fee the Pages of Affairs, but made their Judg- ments upon the illies of them, noted that he was ever in Strive, and ever a Loft. It grew alto from the Airs which the Princes and Stranenenes receive from their Princes and Agents here which were Attending the The Re- Court in great Number. Whom he did not only content with Courtefy, Reward, and Amba- fadors, and Privatemen; but (upon fuch Conferences as he had put with them) put them in admiration, his ability to find his Universal Indue into the Affairs of the World. Which tho' he did fuch chiefly from themselves; yet that which he had ca- thered from them all, seemed Admireable to every one. So that they did write ever to their Superiors in high terms, concerning his Wildom and Art of Rule, nay, when they were no where, they commonly mentioned him

He was not Vain-glory, but he had not Vain-glory of his Majes. He was of a high Mind, and lov'd his Country: and he was of his own Will, and his own Way; as one that reversed himself, and would Reign indeed. Had he been a Private Man, he would have been a Terror to them, but he was not a Terror to them but keeping of Diligence, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For he was govern'd by none. His Queen (notwithstanding he had presented him with divers Children, and with a Crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) must have him with his Mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Society (such as was Hasting to K. Edward IV. or Charles Brandon after to K. Henry VIII.) he had none; except we should accept of humble Strangers, but not in his Reign. Emperors; because they were too much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Workman. He had nothing in him of Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; Being feeble, that Majesty makes Men bow to him, but Vain-glorious bow to them. To his Confederates abroad he was Constant and Just, but not Open. But rather Just to him was his Inquiry, and such his Closeness, as Treaties, they stood in the Light towards him, and he stood in the Dark to them. Yet without Myself-strangers, but with a Reliance of eternal Immortality. Communication of Affairs. As for little Envy, or Emulations upon Foreign Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went subtilly to his own Business. Certain it is, that though his Reputation was great at Home, yet it was greater his Fame Abroad. For Foreigners that could not see the Pages of Affairs, but made their Judgments upon the lies of them, noted that he was ever in Strife, and ever a Loaft. It grew also from the Airs which the Princes and Strangers receive from their Princes and Agents here, which were attending the The Royal Court in great Number. Whom he did not only content with Courtesey, Reward, and Ambassadors, and Privatemen; but (upon such Conferences as he had put with them) put them in admiration, his ability to find his Universal Insight into the Affairs of the World. Which tho' he did such chiefly from themselves; yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed Admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their Superiors in high terms, concerning his Wisdom and Art of Rule, nay, when they were nowhere, they commonly mentioned him. Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity he had to impart proper to himself all Foreign In- struments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good He had Intelligence from all Parts abroad. Wherein he did not only his Interest in the Life, but his Patrimonies, and Patrons to whom he had been in the Court of Rome, and other the Courts of Christendom; but the Industry and Vigilance of his own Ambassadors in Foreign Parts. For which purpose, his instructions were ever Exact, Curious, and Amounts. And some of his Instructions relating to Inquisi- tion, than touching Negotiating. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in particular
No Consideration or Favor was shown to them by the Lord Chamberlain, who in this reign almost completely succeeded in the duties of his office. The few cases in which he did give attention to the subject of his office were cases in which he had some personal interest or benefit to derive from them. In these cases, however, he was careful to act in a manner that would not offend the King or his ministers. In one instance, he secured the appointment of a friend to a position of influence. In another, he intervened in a dispute between two parties to secure a favorable decision. In neither case, however, did he attempt to meddle in the affairs of the State, or to interfere with the policies of the government. He was content to remain an unobtrusive figure in the court, content to enjoy the favors of the King, and to take nothing more than he was entitled to.
more if the Occasion were sharpened by Dan-
gger. Again, whether it were the Shortness of
his Foreigh, or the Strength of his Will, or
the Dazling of his Sufferings, or what it was;
certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of
his Fortunes (there being no more Matter out
of which they grew) could not have been with-
out some great Defects, and main Errors in
his Nature, Customs, and Proceedings, which
he had enough to do to fave and help, with a
thousand little Induflries and Watches. But
these do beft appear in the Story it self. Yet
take him with all his Defects, if a Man should
compare him with the Kings his Concurrers,
in France and Spain, he fhall find him more
Politick than Lewi the Twelfth of France, and
more entire and Sincere than Ferdinand of
Spain. But if you fhall change Lewis the
Twelfth, for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a
little before; then the Conforn is more per-
fect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinand,
and Henry, may be esteemed for the Tres Ma-
gi of Kings of thofe Ages. To conclude, If
this King did no greater Matters, it was long
of himself; for what he minded, he compar-
fed.
"He was a Comely Perfonage, a little above
Just Stature, well and straight Limmed, but
flender. His Countenance was Reverend, and
a little like a Church-Man: And as it was not
strange or dark, fo neither was it Winning
or Pleading, but as the Face of one well dis-
posed. But it was to the Disadventure of
the Painter; for it was beft when he fpake.
"His Worth may bear a Tale or two, that
may put upon him somewhat that may feem
Divine. When the Lady Margaret his Mo-
ther had diverfe great Suors for Marriage,
Prognos-
the dreamed one Night, That one in the like-
ness of a Bishop, in Pontifical Habit, did tender her
Edmund Earl of Richmond (the Kings Father)
"for her Husband. Neither had fie ever any
Child but the King, though she had three Hus-
bands. One day when King Henry the Sixth
(whole Innocency gave him Holiness was
washing his Hands at a great Feaf, and caft
his Eye upon King Henry, then a young Youth,
he said; This is the Lad, that fhall paff all quiedy
that, that we now ferve for. But that that was
truely Divine in him, was, that he had the
Fortune of a True Christian, as well as of a
Great King, in living Exercifted, and dying
Repentant. So as he had an happy Warfare
in both Conflicts, both of Sin, and the Crofs.
"He was born at Pembroke Caftle and lyth
buried at Wifliionfer, in one of the Statelieft
and Dalmifer Monuments of Europe, both for
the Chappel, and for the Sepulcher. So that
he dwelth more richly Dead, in the Monu-
ment of his Tomb, than he did alive in Rich-
mond, or any of his Palaces. I could with he
did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.
The Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of Henry VII.

In his second Year, John Percival, the Lord Mayor's Carver, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London in this manner: Sir Henry Colyer the Lord Mayor, took a Cup of Wine, and Drank to John Percival, who waited then at his Table standing bare; the Lord Mayor drinking to him and Slinging him Sheriff of London for the ensuing Year, so far made use of his Privilege of Election that way, as to cause Percival to put on his Hat, and sit down at the Table; accordingly the Carver sat down, took on him the Office of Sheriff, and was afterwards Lord Mayor himself, and Knighted.

In his seventh Year, Robert Fabian was Alderman and Sheriff of London. He wrote a History of England and France, from the Creation of the World to the third Year of the Reign of the King Henry the 8th.

In his ninth Year, on the 8th of April, Joan Boughton a Widow was burnt in Smithfield for Herefie and professing Wickliff's Opinions. In this Year Wheat was sold in London for four Shillings a Quartar, and Bourdeaux Wine or Claret, for thirty Shillings a Hogshead.

In the tenth Year of his Reign, the Body of one Alice Hackney, which had been buried 175 Years, over since the beginning of the Reign of Edward the 2d, was accidentally dug up in the Church of St. Mary Hill, London: The Skin of the Corps was whole, and the Joyns of the Arms pliable.

In his fifteenth Year, a Pestilence rag'd in England, which swept away no less than 30000 Men, Women and Children in one Year in the City of London.

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, Sir John Shaw, then Lord Mayor, first caus'd his Brethren the Aldermen to ride to the Water side when he went to the Exchequer- Bar by Water to be Sworn. He was also the first that had the Mayor's Feast in Guild Hall, which was before done at Grocer's or Merchant Taylor's Hall. Also this Year Sebastian Cabot brought three Indians into England. They were Cloth'd in Beatts Skins, and eat raw Fleth. Two of them were seen two Years after dre'sd like English Men, and not to be distinguis'd from them.

In the Year following, on the 18th Day of January, the first Stone of the Chappell known by the Name of Henry the Seventh's Chappell, was laid within the Monastery of Welfington by John Mifp the Abbot, Sir Reginald Bray Knight of the Garter, Dr. Barnes Master of the Rolls, Sir Edward Stanhope, and others, affitting at the Ceremonies. The Charges of this Building amounted to no more than fourteen Thousand Pound, if we may believe our Author.

In the 22d Year of his Reign, the Sweating Sickness which happen'd in his first Year return'd, but the Cure being known, it was not so mortal as the first was.

Besides the famous Captains mention'd by the Noble Author of this Reign, in his discoursing of King Henry VII. he had other Officers of great Valour and Conduct, as

George Earl of Shrewsbury, George Lord Strange, Edward Lord Woodville, Sir Rice ap Thomas, the Lord Morley, and Sir John Cheyne. Thofe that we name hereafter were Men of Courage and Experience; but being Enemies to the Houfe of Lancifher, and taking hold of all Opportunities to disturb King Henry's Government, they Perifhed all of them as Traytors.


The Writers in King Henry VII. time, were

George Ripley a Carmelitc Fryer of Boston. He wrote several Mathematical Treafies; and was after his Death reconn'd a Conjuror by the Populace.

Dr. John Egyham a black Fryer born in York, Professor of Divinity at Oxford: He was fond of Prophecies.

John Percival a Carthusian Monk.

Thomas Mairia a Wellman. He wrote of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

Thomas Scoop of the Noble Family of the Scoops: He affecte'd to Preach in Sackcloth and bare-Foot. He was sometimes a Benedictine, sometimes a Dominican, and sometimes a Carmelite Fryer. He was at last made a Bishop in Ireland, and liv'd to be near a Hundred Years Old. The latter part of his Life he spent like an Author.

John Tuneic an Augustine Fryer, wrote a Grammar, which was Printed by Richard
chard Pinfon one of the first Printers in England.

Gifford, Sirnamed the Grammarian.

John Atteock Bishop of Ely, Founder of Jesus College in Cambridge. It was formerly a Nunnery, but the Abbots and the Nuns were turned out for their dissolute Lives.

Stephen Hans, Esquire, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

William of Ermere in Norfolk, a Carmelit Fryer of Burnham, and a great Divine.

William Gallion of Lyn, Provincial of the Augustin Fryers.

William Colling of Beverham, a Monk of Canterbury.

Cardinal Thomas Bourchier of the Noble Family of the Bourcheirs, Earls of Essex: He was first Bishop of Ely, then Archbishop of Canterbury. He was advanced to the Purple by Pope Paul II.

Philip Browierd, a Dominican Fryer a Divine.

Dr. John Miles, L. L. D. of Bracen Colledge in Oxford; which Colledge was Founded in this Reign by William Smith Bishop of London.

Richard Shireburn Bishop of Chichester, famed for his Learning and Eloquence.

Robert Vidas Vicar of Thaxleam in Essex, Canon of Wells: An excellent Poet says Hol.

Dr. Kingkual.

Cardinal Morton, of whom mention is frequently made in this History.

Henry Mildred, his Chaplain.

Edmund Dudley, Esquire, a Lawyer, once Speaker of the House of Commons. He was a main Instrument of King Henry's Executions. He wrote a Book Intituled Arbor Rei Publica.

John Buckinham, an excellent Schoolman.

Dr. William Blackneie, a Carmelit Fryer, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian, Alderman, whom we have elsewhere mentioned, an Historian.

Bernardus Andreas, who called himself Poet Laureat, and Historiographer Royal. He wrote the Life of King Henry VII.

The End of the First Volume.


A

History of ENGLAND

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