XVI. *Transcript of a Chronicle in the Harleian Library of MSS. N°. 6217, entitled, “An Historicall Relation of certain passages about the end of King Edward the Third, and of his Death:” communicated in a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T. President, by THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer.*

Read 31st January 1828.

James Street, Westminster,
30th January, 1828.

MY LORD,

CONCEIVING that the pages of our Transactions cannot be better occupied than by the publication of such early and authentic manuscripts as may serve to throw light on obscure periods of our ancient History, I beg leave to lay before the Society a transcript which I have caused to be made from the Harleian Library of a Chronicle containing a very minute relation of some remarkable events in the two last years of Edward the Third, which, as our Vice President, Mr. Hallam, has observed in his History of the Middle Ages, have been slurred over by most of our general historians.

My attention was drawn to this Manuscript some years ago by a note subjoined to a luminous and elaborate disquisition on parliamentary Impeachments, in the Annual Register for 1791. The Article referred to, if not written by Mr. Burke himself, was probably from the pen of his friend, the late learned Dr. Laurence, who at that period I believe had succeeded him as the Editor of the historical portion of Dodsley's Register. It seems most probable indeed that a paper of so much importance in the vindication of the course which had been pur-

sued by the Managers of Hastings's trial was the joint and careful production of these two distinguished men. In the note alluded to, a wish is expressed that the MS. in question might be published, "especially as all the latter part of Edward the Third's reign is wanting in Knighton, and the whole reign in the Continuator of Croyland." The writer of the note appears to have derived his knowledge of the Harleian Manuscript from Bishop Lowth's Life of William Wykeham, in which it had been used with great advantage. As Lowth in his Preface has given a descriptive notice of the MS., I conceive I cannot do better than transcribe it.

He says it is "A paper book in folio, containing 19 leaves. It is entitled (by a late hand) 'An Historicall Relation of certain passages about the end of K. Edward the 3^d, and of his death;' without name or date: the hand writing about two hundred years old. It appears to be a translation from the Latin of an earlier age; for the writer, where he doubts of the sense of his author, or of the propriety of his own expression, drawing a line under his own words, or leaving a blank space in his text, sets down the Latin words in the margin; as concerning Edward the Third's death, 'the disease of _____' (in the margin) '*anuli*.' And the author seems to speak sometimes as if he lived in or near the time of which he writes; as in the following reflections on the death of the Prince of Wales; 'Truly, unless God (whoe defended hym in battayle, and *hayth now* taken hym from this worlde, perchaunce that we shoulde put our truste more confidently in God) holde under hys blessed hand, least the miserable Englishe men be trodden downe; yt is to be feared that our enemyes, whoe compass us on everye syde, will rage upon us even unto our utter destruction; and will taik our place and country. Arise, Lorde, helpe us, and defende us for thy names sake.' The same may be observed in some other passages which are quoted from it in the notes. It seems too to have been written *recentibus odiis*, with all the acrimony of fresh resen ment, by the severity with which the Duke of Lancaster, Alice Perrers, and all of that party, are treated. It is only an extract, or part of some large historical work;

for it begins abruptly, 'The nighte followynge—;' and it treats of these transactions more amply and particularly than any of the common accounts of those times. What degree of credit is due to this anonymous historian, is left to the reader's judgment to determine. He will find his testimony impartially cited, where it seemed material, as well when it tends to invalidate the author's opinion, as when it confirms it."

Such is the account of this Manuscript furnished by Lowth, in whose instructive and elegant work, as it is termed by Mr. Hallam, in his note above referred to, it has contributed in no slight degree to illustrate what the same authority pronounces to be the best view perhaps of the secret history of the period in question. It should, I think, be remarked, to the credit of Lowth's impartiality, in drawing this Manuscript from obscurity, and in copiously quoting its authority, that an anecdote which it relates of his hero, William of Wykeham, is by no means favourable to him, for he is represented as having obtained the restitution of his temporalities by means of a bribe to Alice Perrers, the king's mistress:—a charge from which Lowth has taken pains to defend him.

That the work is translated from a Latin Chronicle of an earlier age, as Lowth has conjectured, cannot, I think, be doubted. The transcript I now lay before the Society exhibits abundant proofs of the kind which he has alluded to in support of this opinion. Both the language and orthography of the translation appear to be of the time of Henry the Eighth, if not rather earlier, as I think will be found, on comparing them with the Chronicles of Fabyan, who died about 1512. The hand writing of the text is undoubtedly that of the original translator, and the later hand which appears occasionally in the marginal notes and corrections is that of Stow, the historian, who, in one instance, has re-transcribed a passage which appears to have been misplaced by the translator. If, however, I am wrong in my conjectures, that the translation is older than Stow's time, a rather later date must be assigned to the manuscript, as Stow was not born till about 1525.

Assuming then that it is a translation, it should next be con-

sidered what may have been the description and date of the original Chronicle. Though, after the search which has been made, there is strong reason to doubt the existence at present of the Latin MS., I have no hesitation in believing that it was a History written by a Monk of St. Alban's, formerly belonging to Archbishop Parker, and by him lent to Fox, who made ample use of it in his narrative of the proceedings against Wicliffe. It is evident that the Latin Chronicle itself, and not the translation before us, was Fox's authority, as he has rendered it in his own words, agreeing with the sense, but not with the English phraseology of the manuscript before us. In one instance, he has quoted a few words of the original Latin.^a Stow, on the other hand, having possession of the translation (as before noticed) has frequently adopted its very words. That the original was the work of a Monk of St. Alban's is rendered more than probable by two chapters in the translation, one of them recording a legacy bequeathed to that Monastery by the Countess of Pembroke, and the other (the last chapter in the Fragment) describing the acts of the new Brotherhood, who had established themselves in the town. These incidents, as well as the burning of a brewhouse belonging to the Abbey, and afterwards of some houses in the town, are by our Chronicler recorded among events of the highest public interest.

The disappearance of the original Chronicle from the collection of Archbishop Parker's manuscripts cannot now be accounted for, and must remain a subject of regret.^b Of its date, however, the internal

^a See a note on the chapter, entitled, "Of the discorde raised in St. Paule hys Church," &c. Fox, in the margin of his *Acts and Monuments* (vol. i. p. 558, ed. 1641), refers to the MS. which he had the use of, in these words: "Ex Hist. Monachi D. Albani ex accommodato D. Matth. Archiepis. Cant." Parker himself appears also to have availed himself of the MS. though he does not expressly cite it as his authority. *De Ant. Brit. Eccles.* p. 386. Stow's use of the translation will be shown in a note on the chapter, entitled, "The Duke indamageth the Bishop of Winchester."

^b Lowth, though he does not seem to have suspected that the St. Alban's History, quoted by Fox, was the original from which the Harleian MS. was translated, tells us that he caused a search to be made for that History in Parker's Library at Corpus Christi Col-

evidence of the translation before us appears sufficient to remove all doubt. Lowth, in the passage before quoted, justly remarks that it is written *recentibus odiis*, with all the acrimony of fresh resentment. The writer is a zealous partizan of the good Parliament, as it was called, and of the Romish establishment, as well as a bitter enemy to John of Gaunt, the reigning court party, and the favourers of Wicliffe. These feelings, so intense that they could hardly have subsisted at a period long after the events which first excited them had passed away, have given a more impassioned character to his style than is usually found in the records of monkish history. At the same time, there is a minuteness of detail which belongs only to contemporary narration, and there is often a considerable stress laid on circumstances which could never have been held important at any other period than that in which they occurred. The situation of the author, in a residence so near to the Metropolis, and under the government of a Superior of political and personal influence, the second in the order of those who as mitred Abbots enjoyed their seats in Parliament, may be supposed to have supplied him with opportunities of acquiring intelligence, which, in an age

lege, and he appears, from the result, to have believed that the MS. in that collection, bearing the title of *J. Malverne, Continuatio Chronici Ranulphi*, might have been Fox's authority, with a new name. Through the kindness, however, of the Rev. T. Shelford, I have ascertained that this MS. has nothing in common with that quoted by Fox, or with the Harleian translation, and that the only other MS. in the same library which seemed likely to be the one in question, and which is called *Chronica S'cti Albani protomartyno*, is merely Walsingham's History in another form. This is also nearly the case with the Continuation of Rishanger, (Cott. Faustina, B. ix.) which another friend had pointed out to me as being likely to answer the object of my search. In these MSS. as well as in the others which I have examined, the transactions of the period in question are related with fewer particulars, and much more briefly and drily, than in the following sheets. I ought, perhaps, to make an exception with respect to a fragment of ten pages, closely written in a hand of the sixteenth century, and appearing to be a translation of a portion of an earlier Chronicle. It commences at page 169 of a volume of miscellaneous and detached fragments of early history, formerly in Stow's hands, and now in the Harleian Library, No. 247. Some extracts from it will be given in the ensuing notes.

affording few facilities for its transmission, would have been wanting to such of his class as were remotely and obscurely placed in establishments of inferior consideration. It may be suggested too as not an improbable reason for the strong partiality which is manifested in every page, that Thomas de la Mare, our historian's Lord Abbot, is understood to have been related to Sir Peter de la Mare, one of the principal heroes of his tale.

The party feelings, however, of the writer of the Chronicle, although they strongly support the opinion that he was contemporary with the scenes which he describes, may justly, on the other hand, weaken our confidence in the truth of his colouring, though not of his outline. In this respect, we should read him with the caution which we give to the perusal of Swift or Burnet. The facts bear the authority of a diligent observer; the inferences are those of a partizan. But with this qualification, the value of the Chronicle will not perhaps be thought inconsiderable, when we observe how very imperfectly the events it treats of are related by those writers who were completely or nearly contemporary with them. Knighton, as it has been before remarked, is wholly defective, as well as the Continuator of the Croyland Chronicle. Froissart was abroad, and seems to have been ignorant of what was then passing in England. Walsingham, the authority generally resorted to by our historians for the transactions of this period, is comparatively barren and concise. The Continuator of Murimuth, and the anonymous historian of Edward the Third, published by Hearne at the end of his edition of Hemingford, are equally unsatisfactory, while the few Chronicles of this age still remaining in MS. will be found to be but echoes of those which have been printed. The Rolls of Parliament, however (by far the most important of our Records), will serve, in conjunction with the public documents preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, to bear out the Fragment before us in its material facts.

Whatever may have been the fate of the original manuscript, after it had been in the hands of Fox and Parker, it appears strange that the translation should have escaped the notice of almost all our historians.

Stow, indeed (as already stated) has used it largely, and its value is enhanced by its having been thus relied on by the most industrious and judicious of our Chroniclers. But his contemporaries, Holinshed and Speed, were unacquainted with it; and in later times, except by the two writers referred to in the commencement of this Letter, it appears to have been unnoticed and unknown.^c Barnes, in his very copious and elaborate, if not always discriminating History of Edward the Third, has not shewn any knowledge of its existence, though he refers in his margin to the St. Alban's MS. merely as it is quoted by Fox. It is still more extraordinary that Brady and Tyrrel, who were diligent in the pursuit of their authorities, and Carte, whose notice of the transactions of the period in question is unusually brief, should not have found a clue to it. Rapin and his able and useful Annotator were equally ignorant of it; and Hume, who generally satisfied himself with what he found in Carte, was not at all likely to seek for it. In our own age, it has not obtained the notice of either Mr. Sharon Turner or Dr. Lingard.

I cannot conclude without observing that, having hitherto been unsuccessful in my endeavours to discover the original Chronicle, I should feel greatly obliged to any of my readers who may have the ability and the kindness to assist my search.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To the Right Hon. the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T.

President of the Society of Antiquaries.

^c It should be observed, however, that Mr. Godwin, in his *Life of Chaucer*, has noticed it among the authorities in his margin, but without extracting or referring to any passages, so as to give reason to suppose that he had particularly consulted it.

. Since the above Letter was sent to the press, I have accidentally discovered, in the miscellaneous volume (Harl. 247.) mentioned in a preceding note, a single leaf in the same handwriting as that of the Harl. MS. 6217, and evidently containing the portion of history which should immediately precede it. Through the kindness of Mr. Ellis, who has favoured me with a transcript of it, (having already obligingly assisted me in collating the proofs of the following sheets with the original MS.) I am enabled to insert it in its proper place, the text of the Chronicle, though set up in type, not having been printed off. A title at the head of the leaf, in the hand writing of Stow, tends to confirm the conjecture I have given in the preceding letter, as to the original Latin Chronicle. He calls it “*Liber S. Alban’ penned, as it semithe, by John the Prior of Robarts bridge, made Abbot of Boxley in anno . . .*” The figures 1216 are added, but apparently in a later hand, and evidently through mistake. What was the real date of his removal to Boxley it is not easy to discover. In the new Edition of Dugdale’s *Monasticon* (vol. vi. p. 460) it is stated that but few of the names of the Abbots of Boxley have occurred to the Editors of that work, and the name of John, Prior of Roberts-bridge is inserted with the foregoing date, on the authority of Hasted, the historian of Kent, who appears, however, to have derived his information from the Harleian MS. itself.

It may be proper here to notice, that it has been thought desirable to copy the orthography of the translator, but not his contractions, which, being very numerous, would have occasioned much difficulty in the perusal. Where the contraction, however, has left a doubt as to the word intended to be expressed, it has been suffered to remain.

The notes I have ventured to subjoin to the text of the Chronicle are merely intended for the necessary illustration of its contents, or for the purpose of occasionally verifying them by reference to other authorities.

Transcript of a Chronicle of the time of Edward the Third.

A° 1376 there was a parlyament at London, whiche began about the octaves of St. George, and contynewed 9 weekes, wherein was demaunded for the Kynge a subsidye of the Commons. . The knyghts of the shyre (inspyred as it is thought with the holy Ghost) after dylygent delyberation in the matter, refused to answer to suche petytions without the counsell of the nobles, & for that cause they requyred that certayn byshops, videlicet, of Norwych, Rochester, London, & Carleyll, myght covnsell them wherby with greater delyberation they myght make answer to the kyngs request. The byshops admytted to the recounsell, & hearing the allegations & petytions which the intended to propovnde, foreseinge how the matter was hard, and without great counsell not well to be brought to good effect, for that it requyred a strong hand, made answer, that by all meanes they should labour that 4 lordes which should entyerly love the kyngdome and his majesties dygnytye, should be sent for, with whose favors they myght be backed & defended if any sought to wronge them, and by them to be more incoraged stoutly to prosecute any matter that should be brought to passe for the safetye of the kyngdome, his majesties body and soule, yea, althoughe the Kynge should take the same in evill parte. The knyghtes consentynge with the byshops made request for 4 lordes without whose consent they neyther wold nor cold make anye answer in so wayghtye a matter. Then at there own election the were 4 sent vnto them, namely, the L. Henry Percy, the L. Rycharde de Stafforde, the L. Guy de Bryan, and the L. de Beuchampe,^d who all sware with them, and perceyvynge there good purpose not without God's provydence

^d It appears by the Rolls of Parliament that the Bishop of St. David's and Sir Henry Scroop, were appointed for the purposes named in the text, instead of the Bishop of Rochester and the Lord Beauchamp. The remaining ten are correctly stated above. Rot. Parl. 2, p. 322.

consented with them, yet not without 4 erles faythfull to the land, ryche, & of poure were joyned with them, which graunted, they chose the Lord Edmond Mortymer Erle of Marche, Thomas Beuchamp Erle of Warwyke, W^m Vfford Erle of Suffolke, Rafe Stafford Erle of Stafforde, these beinge chosen it was easye to exact an othe of them, synce they ment nethynge but the kynges honor & the quyett of the lande.

How holye there enterpryse was appered by a vysyon of Thomas de la Hoo, which followethe next after, &c.^e

Whylst thus these nobles and knyghtes were busye about the kynges request, there arose this question amongst them which of the knyghtes should be there speaker, for they had fully resolved to denye the kynges request, untill certayn abuses were corrected, & certayne persons who semed to have impoverished the kyng and the realme & greatly blemysht there fame, were examyned, and there offences accordyng to the qualytye of them, punyshed. Careful they were as is sayd about there speaker, for they doubted certayn of the kynges secretaries, who they thought wold have disclosed ther dryftes, for that they were captious, and in great & especyall favor with the kyng.

In this space God moved the spyryte of a knyght of there companye called Peter de la Mare, pouryng into hym wysdome, and boldnes to the conceyt of his mynd, and with all such constancy that he neither feared the threats of his enemyes nor the subteltyes of such as envyed his preferment, &c. Peter trustyng in God, and standyng together with his fellows before the nobles (wherof the chefe was John Duke of Lancaster, whose doinges were euer contrary, for, as it is thought, he wanted the grace of God, &c. Ma. . he began thus :

Lordes and nobles, by whose faythe & dylygence the realme is gouerned, it is well known to your wysdomes, how with lyke vexations the commons have bene often oppressed, now payinge fiftenes, otherwhyls nynths and tenthes, to the kynges use, which they wold take in good parte, if the kyng or his realme toke any comodytye, thereby, nor

^e This vision is omitted by the translator.

wold they greve at it if it had bene bestowed in the kynges warrs, although scarcely prosper . .^f, but it is evydent nether the kyng nor realme to have any pr . .^g thereby. And because it can not be known how such great expences should aryse, the comynallty requyre an account of such as receyved the same to the kynges use, nether is it credible that the Kynge should want suche an infynyte treasure if they were faythfull that served hym.

When he had thus sayd, they havynge not wherewith to answeere, the judges held there peace.^h

Of the Duke of Lancaster his wordes & his condicions.

The nighte followynge, the Duke consulted wyth his private men how he might putt of that that redounded to his infamy & manyfest dishonor. After dyvers mens opynions dyversly tolde, he, lykyng of none of ther wayes, is reported to have sayde: What sayeth he, doo theis base & unnoble knightes attempt? Do they thynke they be the kynges or princes of this lande? Or els, whence is thys hautynes and pride? I thynke they know not what power I am of. I will therfore erey in the morenyng appear unto them so glorious, & will shew suche power amonge them, & wyth such vigoure I will terryfie them, that neither they nor theire like shall dare henceforth to provoke me to wrathe. Boastyng in this sorte, and vaynely assuryng himself, one of his gentellmen is sayed to have geven him this answer. My Lorde, saieth he, it is not unknown to your honor what helps thes knyghtes, not of the common sorte, as you affirme, but mightie in armes & valiant, have to undershore them; for they have the favour & love of the lordes, &

^f Prosperous?

^g *sc.* Profit.

^h Here ends the introductory portion transcribed from the Harl. MS. 247. At the end of it, the words "Of the Duke of Lancaster, his words and his conditions," which are repeated at the commencement of the Harl. MS. 6217, appear in Stow's hand writing, evidently for the purpose of connecting the two MSS.

specially of the Lorde Edward Prince, your brother, who gyveth them his counsayle and aide effectuallye.

The Londoners allso, all & everychone, and common peopell be so well affected towards them that they will not suffer them to be overlayde wyth reprochefull language or to be molested with the least injurie in the world. Yea, & the knyghtes themselves abused in any reprochefull maner shal be enforced to attempt all extremitie against your person & your frendes, which, happly, otherwyse they wolde never dooe. Wyth this admonition the duke's guyltie conscience was very much troubled. He was afrayde in deede that it wolde so come to passe, as the gentellman had sayde unto hym, and that so his honor should ever mor be disteyned. Whereas, he knew that if mencyon were openly made of his wicked actes, he could not satisfye the peopell by any purgation, nor for trouble of mynde and guyltines of conscience durst, though he were wyllynge thereto, wage battayle agaynst hys envyers. Being couragless, and with synne and uncleannes divers wayes made foule and evel favored for leavyng his lawful wedlock bedd, being an infamous leacher and adulterer, deceived as well hys fyrst wyfe, the daughter of the most noble Lord Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, as the daughter of Peter Kynge of Spayne, and this did he, not only secretly and in hugger mugger, but even in their bedds wolde he laye his lewde harlotts, to the great sorrowe of hys wyfes not daryng to gaynesay hit. O infortunate duke & myserable, O that destroyest them with thy treason and lack of sense and reason, whom thou guydest to battayle, and whom in peace thou shouldst guyde through examples of goodworkes, thou ledest them through buy wayes and bryngest them to destruction, for thou whereas ether God, or, that I may so saye, Nature, the mother of all thynges, hath geven thee a soule and dyscrecion, than the which no thyng is more excellent, so dost abject & abase thyself, that a man may thynke you to dyffer no thyng from a brute beast. Behold, O most myserable man, which thynkest thy self to flouryshe which accountest thy self happye, in what sorte thy owne myseries do overbeare thee, thy lustes

do torment thee ; to whom that which thou hast is not sufficient, & yet fearest lest it will not long contynue thyne.^a

The styng of conscience for thy lewde actes. pricke and vexe thee, but wolde God and the fear of lawes & judgment terryfie thee as it doth others, truly then thou woldest, even agaynst thy will, amende that is amysse.

*The Lord Latymer is depryved of hys offyce, and the depositions
agaynst hym.*^b

The Duke therefor, as afore is touched, punyshed with the most sharpe prickes of his conscience, and terryfied with the answeares of his consaylors, layed asyde all vigor and stoutnes of stomake, and the nexte day came into the assembly of the knyghtes, and, contrary to all expectations, shewed hymself so favourable and so mylde, that he drew them all into an admyracion. They knew how proude Moab was ii or iij dayes before, although they regarded not his arrogancye ; and they sayed, is not this the change of the right hand of the hiest ? The Duke counterfaytinge modestye deceitfully seemed to comforte them, sayinge he knew well the desires of the knyghtes to be zelous and to tender the state of the realme, and therfor whatsoever they thought good to be corrected, they shuld speake and he wolde putt thereto the wysshed remedye.

The knyghtes, though they knew hym to be deceitful, answered hym with thankes gyvyng. Afterwarde, comynge into the Parlement house, and standyng in their judgment seates deposed agaynst the Lord

^a This passage, in which allusion is made to John of Gaunt's amour with Katherine Swynford, whom he afterwards married, may be noticed as furnishing a strong proof that the original Chronicle was written during that prince's lifetime.

^b William, Lord Latymer, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Britany against Charles de Blois, was Governor of Becherel, and also of the Castle of St. Saviour in that province. A particular account of him will be found in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 32. The proceedings in the Impeachment noticed in the text are recorded in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 324 et seq. He was nevertheless employed in important offices and negociations in the commencement of the following reign.

Latymer, the kynges chamberlayne by the mouth of Syr Peter de la Mare, that he was unprofitable to the kyng and the realme. They then made earnest petition that he might be depryved of his office because he was sayed to have deceved the kyng very often and had been fals unto hym, that I may not say a traitor, first when he was sent by the kyng to keape and governe in the kynges stead Litle Brytayne, which was at that tyme a land of peace, he did not only unjustly afflict the country people, but enforced the cities, townes, and castells, (a man could not have donne more in hys enemyes country) to a very greate raunsomme, which money he kept not to the kynges use, but to hys owne ; and it is sayed that our Soverayne Lord the Kyng wantynge he was so enryched as that he filled barrells wyth gold, and sent them to his owne places in England, and that he is of all this convycted nobody doubteth. Seynge at that tyme he susteyned therfor, deservedly, the kynges displeasure, and was condemned justly to pay xxx^{tie} thousand markes, but by the mediation of his frendes, the Kyng our Soverayne Lord forgave him the faulte not pardonyng the monye.

We desyre therfor sayeth Syr Peter that our Soverayne Lord the Kyng may be holpen with his owne, and yf thos somes of monye which of right be dew unto hym, suffice not his wante, we will gladly yelde that the kynges necessities may be satysfied by the common people.

Be it known also to our Soverayne Lord the Kyng, that if he will be governed and guided by his faithful commons, we will bring to pass that the kynges owne shall serve hym abundantlye, although he stretch not hys handes at all to the goodes of hys commons. Item, they deposed by the mouth of the same Syr Peter agaynst the Lord Latymer, that he had solde the castell of Saint Saviours, as it is evident by the accusatyon of Thomas Kateryngtone, keper of the same place. Item, that he hindered the succoryng of Becherel, because when the Engleshe navye were furnyshed wyth a sufficient armed power to serve & to succor the besieged, and for that purpose had receved of the kyng our Soverayne Lorde money for their wages, the sayed Lord Latymer hyndered the same viage, and so as well the kynges toun as monye was loste. Item,

when shyppes were taken by the ryght of warre, whos goodes ought to be converted to the use of the kynge & realme and theirs which took them, he suffered them to departe, recevyng of them wyne and monye; which thyng hym self cannot denye. Item, when Robert Knolles fell into the kynges dyspleasure by occasyon of the yll luck he had in the battayles he fought in France (which ought not to be layed to hym, but to the dysobedience and disordered pride of hys souldiers), the same Robert, for purchasyng of the kynges favor agayne, payed a fine of 10 thousand markes to the kynge by the handes of the same Lord Latymer, of which 10 thousand markes it [is] well knowen the kynge had but ii thousand only, as the treasurer is redy to affirm, and so yt is evident that he deceived the kynge of viii thousand markes. Item, when the citizens of Brystow for save garde of their liberties, which welnere they had loste, offered the kynge our Soverayne Lorde, by the hands of the Lord Latymer 10 thousand markes, our Soverayne Lord the kynge receved no more but ii thousand, viii thousand being converted fraudulently to the use of the sayed Lord Latymer. Item, when our Soverayne Lord the kynge dyd not want monye, he and Rycharde Lyones feyned that they had borrowed of the merchants to the kynge's use 20 thousand markes, wherfor the kynge ought to paye the merchants for the interest 20 thousand poundes as they affirmed, which monye it is well knowen they borrowed not for hym of any merchants, but tooke it of their owne.

Where uppon it appeareth they have wickedly deceived the kynge of 10 thousande markes. Item, the same Lord Latymer and Rycharde Lyones to the common damage of all the merchants of England, and in manner of all the commonaltie have bought up all the merchandize that come into Englande, setting prices at their owne pleasure, where uppon they have made such a greate skarcitie in this lande of thynges saleable, that the common sort of people can skaintly lyve. When the knyghtes had uttered thes matters, and many other out of number agaynst thes persons, they made petition to the Judges, that weighinge uprightly thes outrages of thes men, they wolde use the remedy of correction.

The Duke, though he knew thes faultes to deserve to be punyshed by death, perceyving notwythstandynge that yf he shuld pronounce sentence of death against them, their goodes would turne to the kynges use, and not to his, chose to put of the sentence for a tyme, that he myght wyth some of their goodes helpe his owne dropsie, for he thirsted most vehemently after their monye, and, which is more wicked, he was partaker of their myschevous pranks, as yt is sayed.

Dismissing therfor for that time the assembly, at some other tyme to examine other causes, and wold God he wold judge uprightly, he departed.

Rychard Lyones sendeth presents to the Prince for his favor.

In the meane while Richard Lyones hearyng of these accusatyons, fearynge his owne skynne, sent to Prince Edward a thousand ponde, wyth other gyftes, (for he thought he shulde not delyver himself from perill of death but by the mediatyon of the prince while he lyved), and in deede, if the sayed prince had lyved, he had had sentence of death gyven against hym as he deserved. The prince weyghinge in the balance of justice his lewd actes, refused to accept of the gold that was sent hym, sendyng backe all that the sayed Rycharde had presented hym wyth, and byddyng hym to reape the fruites of hys wages, and drynke as he had brued.^m

^m This anecdote of a proffered bribe to the Black Prince, and its rejection, is only to be found, I believe, in the present Chronicle, and in the fragment (Harl. MS. 247, p. 169,) mentioned in a note to the preceding Letter, where it is stated, that Lyons "by water sent unto the said prince a barill of gould, as if it had been a barill of sturgeon, to purchase his good favour, but when the present was tendered, the prince did utterly refuse it, answering in this manner, that which is in the barill is resty and no whit profitable, for it was neither well nor truly gotten, and therefore he would receive no such present, neither support the said Richard to favour him in his evill doynge." The fact, however, that Lyons owed his escape from punishment to a dextrous and well-timed application of money, is noticed shortly and quaintly by the Continuator of Murimuth (p. 134), who, speaking of Lyons and his fellow delinquent Adam Bury, says "Primus verò, mediante pecuniâ, ab hujusmodi clade valde *sagaciter*, immo prudenter evasit." Walsingham has used nearly the same words, p. 186, edit. Parker, 1574.

Notwithstanding the Prince after that he had sent backe all the presents, was very sorry for hit, saying, fye why was I so alate bereaved of sense and understande ; why had I not dyscretyn ; I never was so voyde of wysdome ? If I had, sayed he, sent thes presents and gyftes to the knyghtes that travayle for the realme, I had donne a good deede. Now Rycharde seying the Prince to have refused his gyftes, he sent the same and greater to our Soverayne Lord the Kyng beasechyng his gracious favour, which the kyng receved thankfullye, sayinge merylye, that he tooke the same in parte of payment of the monye that was owyng to hym, for this saith he & much more he oweth me, and he hath presented us not wyth any thyng but our owne.

The L. Latymer also by his frendes sought as well by entreaty as by monye for them that shulde speake for hym. Here uppon the Lord Nevyle covetyng his favour & monye, spake to Peter de la Mare and his felowes touching the accusations of the L. Latimer grose and loftye wordes, sayinge it to be unfittyng that such a peere of the realme should be accused of such, and that he shuld, notwithstanding their accusations, be still a peere of the realme and contynew Lord Latymer, adding therunto that peradventure they might be hedlong throwne in to the pytt that they had made. To whom Peter gave this answeare, Leave you Syr to be sollicitor for others who shall shortly perhapps have inoughe to doo to answeare for themselves, for as yet we have had no talke of your person, we have not hitherto touched your doinges. Truste to hit or hit be longe you shall have enough to doo for yourself ; with which words the L. Nevile, as if he had been stroken with a thunder bolt, gave over speakyng, expectyng wyth sylence the tyme of his examinatyon, who shortly after beyng accused was put out of offyce, for he was Stewarde of the Kynges house and justly compelled to the payment of viii thousand markes. ⁿ

ⁿ The proceedings against John Lord Nevill are in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii, p. 328 and 329. Dugdale in his account of the acts of this Nobleman (Baronage, vol. i. p. 296), omits to notice his removal from office, as related above. Like Latymer, he held in the subsequent reign very important offices, both at home and abroad.

Of a certein man strangled in pryson by the Lorde Latymer, leaste he sholde detect his treasons, and what difficultye was in fyndyng the foresayed prisoner.

About that time yt was tolde unto the Lorde Percy (who was one on the knyghtes parte) a certeyn squyre to have come from Rochell with letters to the kyng, and for hys answeare to be caste in prison & hys letters taken from hym that they came not to the kynges syghte and all thys to be done by the Lord Latimer. The Lord Percy therfor at the fyrst had a burnyng desyre to apprehende the traitours of the realme, and wolde to God he had continued in the same unto the end.

The next Parlement day he earnestly requested that the same squyre myghte come to hys answeare, whereby they myght better know the cause of hys ymprysonment. They sente therfor by consent of the Duke and Judges to seek the pryson where thys squyre was deteyned that he myght be brought forthe before the sayed Duke and Judges.

Whyche the Lord Latymer hearynge, as it is sayed, procured by secrett frendes that the prysoner sholde not be founde, every keaper of pryson denyinge any suche to be in hys custodie; but the vulgar sort of Londoners to whom hys imprysonment was knowne, not sufferynge the Lord Percy to be foyled (for he was ashamed that he had spoken for such a one as colde not be founde,) wyth clamour and braggs threatened to burne all the innes where the Lorde Latymer hys servants dyd lye, unless he were brought forth whom they knew to be imprysoned.

The Earle's servants therfor fearynge the furye of the people released the sayed squire to whom the Duke & Judges appoynted a certeyne day when he sholde pleade his cause before them, but the Londoners hearynge that for that tyme his examination was dyfferred, mayde such a stampyng & noyse that the Duke and all hys compagnons [parteners]^o

^o In this and other instances where a word is placed in brackets, it has been found written above the similar word in the original MS. as a correction (it is presumed) by the translator.

were troubled therewith, and desirous to repress suche tumult asked [demanded] what they wolde have. To whom the Londoners answered that they feared greatly lest he whose examination was dyffered sholde in the meane tyme secretly be slayne, for but lately one other was slayne in pryson least by hys answeares other mens faultes had been detected. These wordes being harde, allmost all that were present of divers shyres of the realme as well the nobilitye as the Vulgar sorte desyred to know whereunto these wordes tended, to whom by the wiser and better sorte of the commonaltyeyt was answered. Att the sametyme that our kynge & the kynge of Navarr^p had a most secret cosultation in thys realme for certayne covenants to be agreed uppon between them, there was but onely thre persons att the sayed councell, that is to say, oure kynge, the kynge of Navarr, and the Lord Latymer, whoe all gave there othes not to detect the forsayed councell. Yt chaunced afterwards the kynge of Navarr to talk with the kynge of France, of whom he was shamefully rebuked for the covenants mayde with our kynge.

The kynge of Navarr, supposynge all those thynges consulted upon to be unknowne whereunto the thre aforesayd had sworne, constantly denyed that whyche the kynge of France objected unto hym. Too whom the kynge of France sayed, "Thou cannot deny these thynges, behold the letters whyche conteyne all that I say," and delyvered him the letters to reade, showynge hym also the messenger that brought them, sayinge behold thys fellow brought these letters. The kynge of Navarr not knowynge what to answeare was greatly ashamed, and taikynge a fytt houre he called furthe Syr William Hevingham who then by commandment of our kynge was in servyce with the kyng of Navarr & not dyf-famed with any treason & sayed, beholde Syr William how your faythful

p The King of Navarre here mentioned was Charles the Bad, whose death in 1387 is related by the French Historians to have been occasioned by the carelessness of his valet de chambre, in setting fire to a cloth garment steeped in brandy, in which the King had been wrapped by order of his Physicians, for the purpose of restoring warmth to his enervated frame. *Art de vérifier les dates*, i. p. 757.

councell of Englande maikes me unfaythfull to the kynge of France and to sustayne great blame, and then he shewed hym the indorsement of the letters. To whom Syr William sayed, I beseeche your grace lett me have a cotype of the letters. You shall not, sayed the kynge, for the kynge of France hath compelled me to sweare that I wold not reveale them to any; but you shall (sayed he) see hym that brought them, and so he showed hym the messenger that brought them, sayinge, taik heede that you note his person well.

Syr William therfor when he came into Englande and found thys felow in thys cytye, caused hym to be apprehended and committed to pryson, whoe when he was caryed to pryson, as the custome ys, the Londoners caste out many opprobious and malicious wordes agaynst hym, although they knew not the cause of his taikyng.

The man, thus troubled and ashamed, sayed, Good Lorde, what have I doone, that the people ys so moved agaynst me? what offence have I commytted? Trulye I am not guiltye ether of theft or treason, but that I endeavored to carry letters to the kynge of France, the tenor whereof I was altogeather ignorant, and yf for thys cause I be woorthye deathe, truly they have more deserved deathe that wryte the letters & forced me to be there carrier. When the Londoners desyred to heare more of thys matter, he was compelled by the officers hastelye to enter into the pryson, and the sayme day he was found dead, and, as ys supposed, strangled by them. Wherfor the people here desyreth that thys squyre may be commytted to saiffe keapyng, leaste before that he be called to hys answeare before you, he be likwyse strangled & slayne. With thys oration therfor the squyre was commytted to saiffe custodie, and the fame of the Lorde Latimer was many wayes woorthely blotted therby; for truly he was geven to adulterye, covetousnes, and robbery; for leavyng hys noble wife, he was accustomed to lye all nyghte with the hoeres of London within the stewes, puttyng his portion there with adulterers, and prodigallye consumyng that whych by covetousnes he had wrested from hys poor tenants. Covetousnes, therfor, caused hym to withdraw hys faith and honestye that he owed

unto the kyng and kyngdome, and to subvert all good artes, for these he taught pryde and crueltye, and how to maike all thynges sayli-able, whoe although he was borne of a noble parentage, yet he had an evil and shrewed wytt, that shamefully corrupted hys nature. In warres he was nothyng worthe, for his bodye was impatient of hunger, and of greate chillishnes upon earthe, and he never durst, nether yet colde, keape watch among hys enemyes, when, notwithstandinge, in peace he wolde often spend his whoole nyghtes without sleepe amongst strumpetts. He was of a lyinge and deceitful mynde, and very variable, and a dissembler in every thyng. Covetyng other men's goodes, shutting up his owne with untreatable lockes, except for such thynges as he spent in buildyng, and upon other infidels⁴ in defendyng his evil deedes. He had eloquence enough, but little wisdome; but these may now suffice, and thys we have wryten, that the posteritye may knowe what counsellors the kyng used, whoe although he were of a gentle nature, godly and merciful, he hys whooly, notwithstandinge, geven to folow the counsell of such as be continually about hym. And truly whosoever, although voyd of cryme, entereth in friendship with naughtye persons, by dayly use & entycement, he ys mayde like unto them. But omyttinge these thynges, we will convert our style unto the matter from whence we have dygressed.

The day came that thyssquyre sholde be broughte to his answeare, whoe (as ys sayed) was so mollified [pacified] with threates and fayre promises, that the judges colde not wreast out of hym any doubtful answeare. In like sorte yt chaunced unto Thomas Katryngton, the keaper of St. Salvatore, who fyrst excused hymself from the sellyng of the sayme castle by the Lord Latimer, for the day came that he sholde answeare, and preparyng hymself, although he was in pryson, he promysed to shew the pryvate letters of the kyng, and also hys greate charter, whereby he was compelled to sell the castle, but now he nether showed the letters, nor gave any answeare to the purpose, but coveted to prolonge the tyme before the judges, with longe circumstances, wherfor they were both comvtted

⁴ *Sic in orig.*

to pryson agayne. It ys credibly believed that the duke promysed them pardon of punyshment. The Lorde Latymer his money entreatynge for it, so they wolde cease from accusynge hym ; but the Lorde Latymer escaped not so the suspicion of the people, although he gave them money for the same cause.

The Lord Latimer is putt from hys office and hys goodes are confisked.

The duke therfor in the mean tyme, the prefixed day of judgment for the cause of the Lorde Latymer and Rychard Lionnes drawynge near, considered with equall balances the articles and depositions agaynst the sayed Lorde Latymer and Rychard Lionnes ; for there were above thre score notable faultes deposed agaynst hym, of the whiche for the moste part of them he was convicted before the duke & judges, covetyng also to pacifye the people whom he knew to be moved agaynst them, and fearyng the majesty of the prince, whom he knew to favour the people and knyghtes, with judicall sentence he depryved the Lorde Latimer of his offyce, for he was the kynges Lorde Chamberlayne, and confisked all hys goods that colde be found unto the kynge, that he sholde only be content with hys enhaunsed inheritance, and for that they wolde not have his body because he was a peere of the realme, they adjudged hym to perpetuale pryson, to be sayfely kept by the sergeants untill the kynges pleasure were knowne ; yt was further ordeyned of him by publicke decree of parlement that the sayed Lord Latimer sholde from thenceforth be holden as infamous, and should not by any means be admytted to the councell of the kynge or realme. Rychard Lionnes also, he disposessed from all hys lands and tenements that he possessed in Englande, and commanded hys bodye to be kepte in the towre of London. But this rigor was dissolved by the untymely deathe of Prynce Edward that folowed, for after this deathe yt was lawfull for the duke to doo what he wolde, as in the nexte page yt shall appear.

Sir Rycharde Sturi^r known for a lyer, is seperated from the Kyng.

At the saymetime there was a certayne knyght familier with the kyng, named Rycharde Stiri, whose wyde jawes were alwayes harde; for that faythe and good conscience was as colde in him as droppes of ise, whoe for that he taiken with a lye was for a tyme caste out of the courte & kynges presence, for he was mayde the kynges referendarye that he sholde relate the kynges pleasure unto the knyghtes, and there requests unto the kyng agayne, but (as yt ys beleaved) being corrupted with money, he depraved the words & deedes of the knyghtes so much as he colde, tellynge the kyng they endeavored to depose hym, and to doo with hym as in tymes paste they had doone with hys father, & therefor he sholde withstande them in the beggynnyng, before the were holpen and strengthed by the common people, and were able to bryng there purpose to ende. Wyth thys speache, the godly kyng somewhat moved, he favored not the knyghtes now as he dyd heretofore, but began greatly to taik heede unto hymselfe, doubtyng of there fayth and mutability of the vulgar people, but at the laste by diligent search, the trueth, as we have sayed, beyng scarce knowne, he sequestered Syr Rycharde from hys councell as a lyer and sower of discord; but the duke litle astemyng such a defect, quickely after persuaded the kyng to take Syr Rycharde agayne to his favour as he was before, which was done.

^r Notwithstanding the character which is given of Sir Richard Stury in the text, and the opinion which, in a subsequent chapter, appears to have been entertained of him by Prince Edward, he was afterwards employed by Richard the Second on various important occasions, and was even appointed one of the executors of the princess's will. According to Knighton (col. 2661), the *promotores strenuissimi et propugnatores fortissimi* of the Lollard faith reckoned him among their leaders, which may sufficiently account for the acrimonious language applied to him by the writer of the above Chronicle.

A Chapter of the Princes death.^s

About the same tyme upon the feaste of the Holy Trinnitie which hap-
pened the sixt ides of Junii, or the 8 day of Junii, died the most invinci-
ble defender of the citie, Prince Edward of Woodstock, the first be-
gotten sonne of Kynge Edward, after the conquest the third, whose
noble mynd, as it was alwaies stronge agaynst hys enemyes in battel,
so was it fortified agaynst deathe, for being ready to depart the world,
he went not as one which should die but making his supplication to
the most blessed Trinitie, as one which, after his pilgrimage should
return to his contrey, from death to be translated to life, from servitude
to glory. O holy Trinite (sayed he) blessed be thou for ever more,
whose name upon earthe I have alwaies worshipped, whose honor I
have studied to enlarge, in whose faith (although otherwise a wicked
man & a synner) I have alwaies lyved, I hartely pray the that as I have
magnified this thy feast upon earthe, and for thy honor have called the
people together to celebrate the same feast with me, deliver thou me
from this deathe, and vouchsafe to call me to that most delectable feast that
is kept this day with the in heaven; whose prayers (as we may thynke)
were heard of the Lord God, for the very same day about 3 of the clocke
he departed this life. After the tyme he had begonne this preface he lay
intending only to praiers, to almes deedes, and other worke of mercy;
and not only did God gave him the tyme of repentance, but also for the
space of five years & more continually was he visited with a great &
incommodious disese of his body; for all that tyme, commonly every
month, he suffered the flux both of sede & of blud, which two infirmi-
ties made him many tymes so feeble, that his servante took him very

^s Hearne, in a long note on the anonymous history of Edward the Third, printed in the second volume of his edition of Hemingford, p. 444, has referred to a MS. chirurgical work, then in the possession of Dr. Mead, written by John Arden in the year of the prince's death, of which it contained some notices. Of Arden and his works an account will be found in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 47.

often for dead ; notwithstanding he bare all these thinges with such patience, that he never seemed to offer unto God one mutinous word. And before his death he dytributed large gyfts as well to hys housholde servantes as to others of what station or condicion soever, and he humbly requested the kynge hys father, that he wolde ratifie hys gyftes, and wolde cherishe & favour those his servantes and frendes, for that, sayed he, they have deserved to have many other thynges both of your gyfte and myne, and that he wolde suffer hys debtes spedely to be payed of hys own proper goodes, which thyng the kynge promysed agayne, and granted his third petition, that ys to say, that he wolde favor his ssone, and gyve hym hys councell & helpe. After this, callynge hys sonne unto hym (altho' but a little one) he commanded hym upon payne of hys curse he sholde never chaunge or taik away the gyftes that he att hys deathe gave unto hys servantes. Yt chaunced in the same houre, that the forenamed Syr Rychard Stery came to see hym, for the prince had commanded that hys doore sholde be shutt to none, nor to the leaste boy [page], wherfor the sayed Rychard entered more boldly. The prince now prostrate, and in the panges of deathe, lifynge upp hys eyes as well as he myght, seyng that sayme Rychard, he sayed, come hither Rychard, come near & beholde that which thou hast long desyred to see ; & when he affirmed wyth an othe that he never desyred the syght of hys deathe, yt ys otherwise, sayed he, thou wast afeared of thy owne skynne, thy consyence tellynge thee that in tyme to come I wolde not suffer thy excesses [outrages], or the evil counsell thou suggested to the kynge, unpunished ; and truly so it wolde have chaunced, yf God had granted me lyfe, and thou wolde have found that to have been true : evil counsell ys worste to the counsellor ; but now I goe whither God calls me, whom I humbly beseeche (yf thou escape the hands of men) that he wyll make an ende of thy evill deedes. And when he wepte & prayed hym of pardon, God that ys juste, sayed he, rewarde the accordynge to thy deserts ; I will not thou trouble me any longer ; depart forthe of my syghte, not here after to see my face agayne. After hys departure he began vehemently to

faynt and so to loose hys streangth, that scarce any breathe remained in hym, which the Bishopp of Bangor,^t whoe then was present, percevyng, he came unto hym & sayed, now, without doubt, deathe is at hande, and he ys to goe whither God hath appoynted, therefor I counsell you, my lorde, now to forgive all those that have offended you, and for that yt ys manifest that you have offended both God and many men, therefore, fyrste, aske God forgeveness; and secondly, all men whom of sett purpose or ignorantly you have willingly offended. To whom he answered, I will; and the bishopp sayed yt suffyceth not to say only I will, but when you have powre, declarynge the same by wordes, you ought to aske pardon; but he answered nothyng els, but only “I will;” and when he had oftentimes done thys, the bishopp sayed, I suppose some evil sprytes to be here present that let thys tongue, whereby he cannot expresse hys mynde with wordes, &, takynge the sprinckle, he caste holy water by the four corners of the chamber where he lay, and beholde, sodenly the prynce with joynd handes and eyes lifted up to heaven, sayed, I gyve the thanks, O God, for all thy benefyts, and with all the paines of my soule I humbly beseache thy mercye to gyve me remission of those synnes which I have wickedly comytted agaynst the, & of all mortall men, whom willingly or ignorantly I have offended, with all my harte I desyre forgevenes. When he had spoken these wordes [in the full catholicke faith] he gave upp the goste to goe, as we beleave, to hys bankett, whose feaste he then worshipped in earthe, whoe departynge, all hoope of Englishe men departed, for he beyng present they feared not the incursions of any enemys, nor the forcesible meetynge in battayle, he beyng present they never suffered any rebuke for that they had done evil or forsaken the field, & as yt ys sayed of Alexander the Greate, he never went agynste any countrye which he wone not, he never beseiged any citye which he tooke not. Thys doth testyfye the battayle att Cressy, the siege of Cales, the battayle of

^t The Bishop of Bangor, again noticed in a subsequent chapter, was John Swafham, who, according to Bishop Godwin, had been nominated to his see by Pope Gregory “*propter crebra cum Wiclevistis certamina.*” *De Præsul. Angl.* p. 623, edit. 1722.

Poyters, where the Kyng of France was taken, the battaile of Spayne, where Henry Bastarde, the invader [usurper] of that kyngdome was dryven away, & Don Peter, the right kyng of that realme, restored to hys dominion, & lastly, that greatest siege of the cytye of Leovicense,^u where, although with the multitude so pressed that he was scarce able to sytt on hys horse, yet at that houre he so encouraged hys souldyers, that they supposed yt impossible for any cytye to resyste there force. His body was brought to Canterbury to be buried accordynge as in his lyfe he had commanded. O untymely deathe that causest sorrow in the whoole realme of England, in that thou taikest away hym that seemed to be the ayde and helpe of Englishe men. O how sorrowfull leavest thou the ould kyng hys father, taikynge from hym not onely his desire, but the delyte of the whoole people, that ys to say, in taikynge from hym hys fyrste begotten soñe that sholde sytt in hys throne after hym, & sholde judge the people in equitye. O how greate & what sorrowes gyvest thou to the countrie that in hys absence beleavethe her selffe to be voyde of a protectoure. What synckes of sorrow gevest thou to citizens, depryved of such a prince; what tryumphynge joyes to enemies, the feare of such a defender being taken away. Truly, unless God (who defended hym in battayle & hath now taiken hym from thys worlde, perchaunce that we sholde putt our truste more confidently in God) holde, under hys blessed hande, least the miserable Englishmen be trodden down yt ys to [be] feared that our enemies who compasse us on every syde will rage uppon us even unto our utter destruction, & will taik our place & country. Arise, Lorde, helpe us, & defende us for thy names sake.

What the Duke dyd after the Prince's death.

Prynce Edward beyng deade as we have sayed while the Parlement yett endured, the desperate knyghtes of the countyes began to be hautye & proud, & in the meane tyme the Duke with hys malefactours comynge

^u Limoges.

in amongst the knyghtes with an oration earnestly desyred them, that yett whyle the Parlement endured wherein the matters of the realme were handled, the knyghtes, associated with the Lordes & Barons, wolde delyberate whoe after the deathe of the king & the prynce's sonne oughte to inherite the realme of Englande; furthermore he requested that after the example of France they wolde maike a law that no woman sholde be heire of the kyngdome, for he consydered the old age of the kynge, whom deathe expected in the gates, & the youthe of the prynce's sonne whom, (as yt was sayed) he purposed to poyson yf he colde no otherwayse come by the kyngedome; for if these tow were taiken away & such a law established in the generall parlement he was to be the next heire of the realme; for there was no heire maile in the realme nearer than he; but then yt was in every man's mouth, that Edmunde Mortimer Earle of March had maryed the Lorde Lovelle^x hys brother's daughter, whoe was elder than he, to whom by righte of hys wyfe the inheritance of this realme pertained; yf the only sonne of the prynce sholde depart without an heire, whom the Duke greatly feared, knowynge hym to be a good & juste man, & therfor he laboured all that he colde, that the inheritance of this realme sholde not come to hym. Havynge begune therfor [to] consulte together, yt was answered hym to be neadles to labour about such thynges, seying that they had other greate & weightier matters in there handes, that had neade to be largely handeled, & especially (sayed they) for that the kynge ys yett sounde & in healthe, & for hys age may lyve longer than any of us, but beyt granted the kynge sholde depart yet we want not an heire; the prynce's sonne (now ten years olde) lyves and is now lyvyng there ys no neade to labour about such matters. With these wordes the Duke confounded herewith departed.

After this answer, commandment was geven to the knyghtes that yf they dyd know any thing to be corrected, they sholde speake yt before the Duke after there accustomed maner; whoe answered that they

^x Lionel.

oughte fyrste to se put in execution those thynges that were declared before hym. For they saw the Lorde Latymer & Syr Rycharde to enjoy too greate libertye, not lyvyng as men imprysoned in the Tower, but like kyngs to keape wanton banketts, & not only to doo these thyngs secretly with themselves, but openly callynge there companions together with greate noise of trumpetts & other musicall instruments, so lytle they esteemed there accusations.

Therfor Syr Richarde was checked by the Duke, but not corrected, for that, for a show only, there musike was taiken away from them, there conventicles & wanton banketts being dyscontinued, & the knyghtes in the mean tyme, least they sholde be thought to have doone nothyng, exhibited a byll against Adam Bury, Cytizen of London,^y for that he had not doone true servyce to the kyng in examynyng the weighte of the golde that was payed for the rannsme of the kyng of Fraunce. The sayed Adam, presently after he harde suche thyngs to be put upp agaynst hym, knoweyng hymselffe to be guyltie, attempted to flee, he fled away therfor as a wicked man, none pursueyng hym, into Flaunders there to make hys abode untill a better tyme dyd serve hym, for he knew the cloudes of the kyng's wrathe colde not be dryven away without goulde, & therfor he attempted to oppose the brightenes of golde to suche clowdes, & he afterwards perceaved that to be true that Jupiter rejoseth in gyftes geven hym. The knyghtes also consyderyng the exceedyng faultes of the citezens of Gerven,^z & the dyscomodities they had broughte to the realme, they exhibited a byll agaynst them that to the common detriment of the whoole people they had obtained a charter of the kyng that no straunger sholde sell hearings in there Towe, but yf any after the accustomed manner brought hearings thither, the sellyng & pryce of them he sholde comytt to the townesmen, & the towne dwellers themselves sholde maik the pryce accordyng to there own will; whereby it came to passe that many marchaunt

^y For this proceeding against Adam de Bury, and his subsequent pardon, see the Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 330 and 374.

^z *Gernemuta* in margin, *i. e.* Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

straungers withdrew themselves from thys Lande, & went to sell there marchandise in other countryes, & the Gerneinans themselves can wittnesse that they caused suche a darthe the last Lente, that tow herryngs were solde for a peny; wherfor it was requested by the knyghtes in behalfe of the commonaltye, that suche a charter myghte be taiken away that was hurtfull to them present. The Duke denyng to graunte there request, yett at the laste overcome with reason & shame, leaste he sholde be thoughte to have done no justice, he caused that absurde charter to be taiken away.^a

There was at the sayme tyme in Englande a shameless woman & wanton harlott, called Ales Peres, of a base kynred, for she was a weavers daughter of the towne of Hunneye;^b but helped by fortune (beynge nether bewtifull nor fayre), she knew how to cover these defects with her flatteryng tonge whom fortune had so exalted, of a poore servant & harlott of a certayne foole that used with hys hands to carrye water from the conduit to mens howses for necessary uses, that she had promoted her to the familiaritye of the kynge more then was convenient, & the queene yet lyvyng, sholde prefer her in the kynges love before the said queene.

This woman, after she was in the kyng's friendship, she so bewitched hym, that he permytted the warres & greatest matters of the realme to be defyned by her counsell, whoe began to putt all thyngs unjustly from the kynge, to defende false causes every where by unlawfull meanes, to gett possessions for her owne use, and yf in any place

^a See the Rolls of Parliament, ii. p. 330. The "absurde" charter, as it is here called, and against which the inhabitants of Lowestoft had petitioned, was granted in the 46th year of Edward III. for uniting Kirkeley Road with the Port of Yarmouth. Though revoked, as mentioned in the text, it was restored in the following reign, and became a fruitful source of contest till the time of Charles the Second. A very full and detailed history of these proceedings will be found in Gillingwater's History of Lowestoft, to which it may be now added that a new harbour is about to be formed, by means of an artificial cut between Kirkeley Road and Lake Lothing, for the purpose of effecting a navigation for sea-borne vessels from Lowestoft to Norwich.

^b "Hunneye bysyds Excester, as some suppose," in margin.

she was resysted, then she wente unto the kynge, by whose power beyng presently helped, whether yt were ryght or wronge, she had her desyre. Thys woman had Englande suffered now many yeares, for that they hartely loved the kynge & were lothe to offende hym, for there ys a speciall grace in them, that they love there kynge more than any other nation, & whom once they have admytted to the kyngly state the alwaies honour, althoughe he greatly offende. Therfor, althoughe because they dyd know the sayed harlott to be loved of the Kynge more than ryght honesty required, yett they suffered her, (as we have sayed) untell the kynge's fame then was almost loste in all countreyes, & untill she had unjustly [wrongfully] disinherited certen Englishemen, & had almost disteined the whoole realme with her shameless wantones. For her dyshonest malapertnes increased so much, and the patience and humilite of the Englishmen so abounded, that she was not ashamed to sytt in seate of judgment at Westmynster, and there, ether for her selffe, or her frendes, or for the Kynge, as his promotryxe, was not afeard to speake in causes, & presently to aske of the judges dyffynityve sentences in her maters, whoe fearynge the Kynge's dyspleasure, or rather more truly fearynge the Harlott, durste not oftentymes judge otherwyse than she had defyned.

When the Englishe people had, not withoute strugle of consyence, longe suffered these & many other thynges almost incredible, they chose rather to offend the kynge then God; for they dyd know that he wold accept very evill what so ever they sholde object agaynste the sayed Ales, although they endeavoured to doo that which they did agaynst Ales, not to the kynges losse but to hys profett.

The forsayed knyghtes therfor of the countyes demanded in behalfe of the countyes, by the mouth of Syr Peter Lamare, that the duke and hys felow judges wolde oppose them selves to these breutes, & wolde fynde a remedye for these her excesses, & that as well for the kynges honoure as for hys commodytye they wolde cause her to be sequestred from hym, for that she had, as well in thys lande as in all other realmes neare adjoynyng, demynished his honor, & not only with her

pleasant entycements craftely intrapped hym, but (as yt ys sayed) by evill artes had so much drawne hym to the unlawfull lovyng of her, that hys old harte dryed from his naturall moysture by suche lustes of Venus [venerious actes], and weakened hys whoole bodye, & so she broughte a double damage unto hym, for she mayde hym reproachfull to all nations neare, & almost voyde of all streanght.

At the sayme tyme, by diligent searche of the knyghtes, she was found to be greatly in love with Syr William Wyndsoore, whoe then remained in Irland, wherfor the sayed knyghtes endeavored to dryve her into Irlande, yf fortune would permytt them, least wyth her hoorishe speane she abused any longer the kynges symplycyye; but fyrst they went about to gyve the kyng knowledge how they had proved her to be another man's spouse, and how he had lyved a longe tyme in adulterye, whiche thyngs being harde, & yet he signified to the parlement, that he wolde not in any wise that for her offences she sholde be put to deathe, but that they sholde deale more gently with her for the kyng's love & honoure.^c

^c The low origin of Alice Perrers, asserted in the text, is disbelieved by Bishop Lowth, on account of her having been maid of honour to Queen Philippa. Barnes, relying on the king's unblemished reputation, is the chivalrous defender of Alice's chastity. *Hist. Edw. III.* p. 872. Carte boldly pronounces her to have been a "lady of sense and merit," who, having been of the bedchamber to the late Queen, and a great favourite with her, was, "for that reason, and on account of her agreeable conversation, and many other good qualities, in no little favour with the king." He adds, "there doth not appear the least reason to surmise that there was any amour between them, and she was actually married to an honourable person, William de Windsor, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; yet being often with the king she had opportunities of doing offices for many persons, which gave others occasion to repine, and complain of her influence." *Hist. Eng.* ii. p. 534. Lowth, however, remarks, that Carte mistook the period of her marriage, which did not take place till after Edward's death. But in a petition to Parliament in the second year of Richard the Second, from Sir William Wyndesore and Alice, then his wife, to reverse the proceedings against her in the preceding year, it is asserted that she had been improperly called upon to answer as a feme sole, being then, and for a long time before, the wife of Wyndesore. *Rot. Parl.* iii. p. 41. And it may be worthy of remark, that Wyndesore's second commission to govern Ireland appears in the same page of Rymer's

Of the taiking and imprysonyng of Ales Peres' Magician.

When these thynges were a doynge, yt was tolde in the parlement, that the sayed Ales had a long tyme kepte with her a certayne freir of the order of St. Dominike [prechers], whoe in outwarde show professed physicke, & practised the sayme arte, but he was a magician, geven to wycked enchauntments, by whose experiments Ales allured the kynge to her unlawfull love, or els, as I may trulyer say, into madness, for a young man riotous [lecherous] syneth, but a nolde man lecherous outrageously dootethe.

Furthermore yt was reported, the sayed freir to have maid certain pictures, that ys to wytt of the kynge & Ales by whiche with the powre & force of herbes, and hys conjurations in places, he mayde that Ales colde obteyne of the kynge what she wolde, as that famous magician Vertabanus of the kynge of Egypte, he mayde also, as they say Moyses dyd in tymes paste, rynges of memorie & forgettfulnes, & so the freir imagined, that so long as the kynge sholde use them, he sholde never want the remembrance of the forsayed harlott. The duke therfor commanded that the freir sholde be brought furthe yf he colde be founde in any place; & so tow knyghtes, that ys to say, Syr John de la Mare & Syr John Brentwood, in disguised appairell, went unto the place where the freir remained at a maner of the sayed Ales, called Palang Wyke, feynynge themselves to have come thither to seeke helpe, & askyng for hym that colde cure infirmities [diseases]; the freir standynge in hys high chamber, & seynge them cary urinals in their hands, supposynge he sholde gayne a greate sum of money, presently confessed hymselffe to be the man whom they sought. They straightwaies promysed to satysfye hym, yf he wold come downe & provyde some remedye for them; whoe, stricken with the

Fœdera with a grant from King Edward of certain jewels, goods, and chattels, formerly belonging to the late queen, to Alice Perrers, "nuper uni Domicellarum cameræ Consortis nostræ Philippæ." Vol. vii. p. 28.

plague of covetousnes, presently came down, & was taiken by them : & when without remedye he lamented hys taikyng, a certayne mayd sayed unto hym, What ys the matter, father, that you so lament ? what have you now cause to feare ? could you not fore see these thyngs, that were accustomed to tell unto others thyngs to come ? to whom he answered, I dyd foresee truly these thynges, but when they sholde chaunce I was ignorant, for I tolde of a parlement to come, wherein both I & my mystres sholde suffer many adversatytes. He was brought to the presence of the duke & noblemen, where he vaynely, with ambiguous answeres, spent the day. At the laste the Archbishopp of Canterburye, whoe was the protectoure of the freir preachers, scarcely obtained of the duke & noblemen that he myghte be commytted to the freries of hys order, manye exclaimynge out & appoyntyng that he sholde be burned with fyre, & so by mediation of the Archbishopp, hys brothers receaved hym to keape in close pryson.^d Ales Peres, whoe alwayes before had preferred wantonnes to servitude, hearyng of the apprehension of her freir, began vehemently to feare, & her colour failed.

Ales Peres sweareth she will not come at the Kynge any more.

In the mean time the duke caused Ales Perres to be called, & to be examyned of her thynges unlawfully gotten, & other her defectes [offences] before the noblemen, & when she colde not answeare to sundrye objections, & therfor by the judgement of many was thought to be guiltye, they gave sentence on her in thys sort, that from thence forth she sholde not presume to come neare unto the kynge, addyng a punishment, that yf she sholde attempt to doo the contrarye, she sholde loose all that she possessed in England, & shold be forced to goe into perpetuall banyshment ; and, for the greater securitye, (yt ys sayed) she dyd sweare upon the Archbyshopp of Canterbury hys cross, that she

^d The archbishop who exercised this moderation was Simon Sudbury, afterwards assassinated by the rebels on Tower-hill, in 1381. His tolerant principles are a frequent subject of reproach in the monkish Chronicles of this period.

wolde truly & faithfully keape the foresayed commandment. They requested besydes the sayed archbishopp with hys suffragans, that he wolde excommunicate her, yf she att any tyme afterwarde shold doo otherwise then she had sworne. The archbyshopp, & all the byshopps that were present, affirmed upon there oths, that they wolde revenge the perjurye of the sayed Ales with excommunication, yf so be she sholde by any meanes incurre the sayme.

The Statute for the Lordes that shold assist the Kyng, without whose counsell yt was not lawfull for hym to doo any greate thyng.

These thyngs beyng thus, when the Parlement drewe now to an ende, the knyghtes, consyderynge the weaknes of the kyng & the fre libertye that some of hys famylier frendes had had in this realme, for that yt was not lawfull for them now, under pretence of the kynges will, to doo those thynges that they might have donne aforetyme, they desired, in the name of the commonaltye, that there myghte be chosen twelve peeres of the realme, faythfull & dyscreete men, & voyde of taikynge brybes, that sholde be assistant to the kynges counsell continually; that syxe of them att the leaste for leess matters sholde alwayes by course remaine with the kyng, and so often as any difficult matter were to be handled, then all the twelve sholde be bounde to be present.

The covetousnes of some Englishe men moved them to doo this, to whom the kyng gave very little for the dyspatchynge of businesse in this realme, and folowynge therfor after gyftes & rewards, they shunned not covetousnes, & so with them all thynges was sett to saile, that ys to say, faith and justice, whiche they ought unto the kyng and people. Wherfor a great murmuring was raised amongst the people, for he that wanted money they mayd hym also to want justice, & whoe so offered nothyng to them, he returned voyde of his desyre to hys countrey agayne, For thys cause therfor the knyghtes demanded the twelve peeres. The duke likynge of there petition, judged it to be graunted, commandynge them that the sayme twelve peeres sholde be chosen of the comonaltye.

They were chosen therfor, & yt was ordeyned in the parlement, that yf any of the sayd twelve peeres sholde be founde to have taiken brybes [rewards], or to have doone scarce faithfull service unto the kynge or realme, he sholde from thence forthe be removed from administration of that offyce, & be taiken for infamous ever after, & pay unto the kynge fyve tymes more then that which he receaved, & hys body should be subject to the kynge's pleasure, and that these thynges myght perpetually be in force, there were sent of the knyghtes of the Parlement to the kynge to desyre hys assent & confirmation of all the statutes in the foresayed parlement, & that the sayme parlement myght be confirmed, and have the name of a parlement, as the manner was. All which thynges the kynge ratified & confirmed, promysynge they sholde be gratefull unto hym, & thys ys the ende of the foresayed parlement.^e

The Florentines come into England and deceave the kynge.

About this tyme came into England Florentynes, that ys to say of the cytye of Florence, which is one of the cytyes of Italye, and ys under the Pope hys juryisdiction, bryngynge with them letters in excuse of the citizens of Florence, sayinge they dyd not ryse agaynst the Pope, but dyd with all there force defende there proper libertyes, declarynge also

^e The names of these "continual councillors," as they were called, though their services proved to be of short duration, are not recorded in the Rolls of Parliament; but Lowth, on the authority of the Harleian MS. No. 247, p. 143, states them to have been the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, March, and Stafford, and the Lords Percy, Brian, and Beauchamp. To this list, which appears to be imperfect in its numbers, it has been supposed that the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal for the time being were added, in order to complete the number of twelve. Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, vol. ii. p. 235. It should be observed, however, that this number was not definitely fixed by the Parliament, who required that *ten or twelve* should be appointed, according to the king's pleasure, out of whom *six or four* should be continually resident. Rot. Parl. ii. p. 322. In the MS. fragment before noticed (Harl. 247, p. 169), it is said that, "the Duke of Lancaster was not well satisfied, but was sore grieved and vexed because himselfe was not chosen to be of the kinge's counsayle."

that they were unjustly vexed by the Pope, & troubled with many evil persons, wherfor they requested the kynge that he wolde favoure there cause if by any meanes he colde, & that yt myghte be lawfull for them to remaine in thys lande untill a pleasanter tyme served them. The kynge, as he was a most Godly man, understandynge symply those thynges whiche they desyred, & gevyngge creditt to there wordes, gave them lycence to abyde in thys land, promysinge them to bryngge to passe that no publike sentence sholde be promulgated agaynst them, unlesse the sayed Florentynes had fyrst quiett knowledge thereof syxe monthes before.

The Duke reconcileth unto the Kynge those that were condemned in the parlement, not callynge a parlement to consent thereunto.

The Duke of Lancaster about the sayme tyme as I have sayed, abusynge the kynge's symplycytye, delt with him that he wolde taik the Lorde Latymer who was judged infamous by acte of Parlement, into hys former favoure & grace agayne, & that he wolde not only pardon hym for all the offences he had comytted agaynst hys majesty, but also forgive hym all the debtes which he was bounde to pay unto the kynge. Yt was crediblye beleaved that the duke had an infynite sume of money of the Lorde Latymer to taik this matter in hande, for the kynge, who had now for hys great age lefte of the charge of the realme, & had geaven all thyngs into the Duke's handes, permytted all thyngs to be doone as he wolde. The Lorde Latymer by thys meanes havynge gotten the kynge's favoure in shorte tyme, thro the inconstancye of the kynge's wytt, was more dearer, & in greater favoure with the kynge then ever he was before he incurred hys dyspleasure, for the kynge mayde hym amongst others one of hys executors,^f & agaynst the decree of the

^f The king's will, in which Latymer was appointed an executor, is dated the 7th October 1376, a few months after his impeachment and disgrace. Perhaps a stronger proof of the Duke of Lancaster's ascendancy cannot be adduced, that the confirmation which he appears to have obtained from the king of the manors of Gryngeley and Wheteley to Katherine Swynford, the duke's mistress, his second wife, Constance of Castile, being then living. This instrument, dated 4th March 1377, is in Rymer, vii. p. 140.

Parlement called hym to hys counsell ; and the duke before he had gotten agayne the Lord Latymer to be one of the counsell, was encouraged by him, for that he abounded in ritches, & also for that he saw none in the realme that durst withstande hys will, & so he began to be stoute & to lifte upp hys hotiness & removed the Lordes from the kynge, that by decree of the former Parlement were assigned to the kynge's counsell to determyne all matters, commandynge them to depart hoome to there houses, for that the kynge had no more need of their counsell. After thys, that he myght somewhat colour hys dooings, he affirmed the laste parlement ought not to be called a parlement, nor in very deede was a parlement, & therfor the statutes there mayde ought not to be kepte, & so that which was ratified & confirmed, was mayed frustrate for one man's pleasure ; & the generall hope & comodytye of the commonaltie came to hym alone. Wherfor to hys greate grieve & anguish of mynde he had infynyte curses of the common people.

*How Ales Peres returned to the Kynge, of the lenitye of the Bishopp,
and imprysonment of Peter de la Mare.*

The kynge now whoe had bene longe oppressed with the discomodities of ould age,^g callinge the statutes of the laste parlement unto hym selffe for the which beyng evill affected he fell sicke, & as ys supposed not of any natural disease that cometh unto ould men, but of an accidental sickness as ys sayed that afflicteth younge men, that ys of an inordinate luste of the fleshe ; but that disease ys much more difficult to be cured in olde men than in younge for sundrye causes in olde men, that ys to

^g Concerning the "old age" of the king, so repeatedly noticed in the text, it should be observed that he had at this time scarcely completed his sixty-fourth year—a period of life which would not at the present day call forth such an epithet. It may be further remarked that, on reference to Dugdale's Baronage, it will appear that, in the middle ages, the deaths of a great proportion of the English nobility, even when occasioned by natural causes (for war and pestilence had their full share), occurred under the age of forty, and that their eldest sons, though commonly the offspring of very early marriages, very frequently became wards of the Crown, by reason of their minority.

say, for the coldnes in oulde men & naturall heate in younge men, wherfor the kyng for that now he was consumed. Wherfor the kyng, for that naturall moysture was now almost consumed in hym, & inwarde heate greatly weakened, hys strength & force began more & more to fail, & truly yt was affirmed by many, that he fell into thys sickness for the desyre of that harlott Ales Perres, because she was seperated from hym, which afterwards was playnly founde to be true, for that he called agayne the sayed Ales to hys oulde frendshipp agaynst the foresayed statute & othe that she made in the parlement. Whereuppon great murmuring was amongst the people as the kyng hymselfe colde witnes, & the curse of the whoole comonaltye was wysshed to Ales when they proved no remedye to be founde agaynst her wickednes, but beheld her wicked actes to be exalted more than was accustomed above the ceder trees of Libanus, whose fall the common people of the realme so greatly desyred. The archbishopp & hys suffragans, whoe ought to have geven sentence agaynste her if she chaunced to doo any thyng agaynst the decree of the parlement, were mayed like dume dogs not able to barke, for truly to speake the very trueth they were not pastoures, but devourers & hirelyngs, & therfor for fear of the wulf forsaiuers of the sheepe; I do not speake of all, for perchance God hath left some unto hymselfe that have not bowed there knee before Baal whos vertue peradventure in due tyme shall be declared, but I speake of those whoe when they had taiken the sworde of Peter to cutt off such diseases, they had rather feel the wounds of a syner than prycke them; & so throughe neglygence of the prelates, the oulde scarrs of woundes do waxe greene agayne in the wandrynge sheepe, & the foresayed Ales returneth to her vanitye, & she ys mayd so familier with the kyng with her companions, that yt ys to say the Lorde Latymer & Syr Rychard Stiry, that att there beck the kyng permytted all matters of the realme to be disposed, & commytted also to the government of hym selfe; but they desyrous to be quyte with like revenge upon there accusers, ceased not untill by the kynges & dukes authoritye they had goten Syr Peter de Lamare to the kynges court, whom without

any answeare, agaynst all justice, they sent to the castle of Newercke,^h there to be comytted to pryson, & there were that sayed that the duke gave commandment to behead hym in the nexste wood, & so he shold have been, had not Syr Henry Percy persuaded the duke to the contrary.

Therfor the good & innocent man was greuously vexed by the wicked counsell of thys harlott & her favourers, who conceale the trueth, the same witche by her renewed friendship with the kynge or damnable increasment prevailed agaynst the wills of the people.

O princely levitye, luste, & wantones to be lamented of all England ! O kynge worthy to be called a servaunt of the basest condition, & not a Lorde, for when servitude ys obedyence of a broken & an abject mynd, wantynge hys fre libertye, whoe will deny all lyght, lecherouse, & wicked persons to be servaunts ? Ys he to be thought a fre man whom an unchaste woman ruleth, that can deny nothyng she commandeth, & that dare not refuse as appeareth the pleasures & palaces of Venus ? I suppose this not only to be a servaunt but also a most wicked servaunt, of whatever dignytye so ever he be, for how can he truly be sayed to governe, that can not rule hys owne fleshly lustes ; lett hym fyrste brydle hys owne affections, restreyn covetousnes, & repell other defects of the mynde, & then lett hym begyne to governe others, for yt ys a shame & a fylthye thyng for noble men not to forsaike to be obedient to such wicked lustes, seyng whyle he obeyeth them he ys not to be counted a kynge or a free man, but a very servaunt, & for that at no tyme the faith of the enemye ys to be trusted, therfor lett us cut of thys present matter.

^h Walsingham and the Continuator of Murimuth relate, that Sir Peter de la Mare was imprisoned in Nottingham castle, and they are followed in this statement by Holinshed, Speed, and most of our later historians. But Stow, upon the authority (as it would appear) of the present Chronicle, fixes the imprisonment at Newark. Mr. Godwin supposes that he was first conveyed to Newark, and afterwards to Nottingham. *Life of Chaucer*, vol. ii. p. 243.

The Duke indamageth the Byshopp of Winchester.

While all matters about the kyng were in thys sorte as we have wrytten, the duke laboured agaynst William Wikam the Bishopp of Winchester, sekyng a knott in a rushe, & taikynge occasion by all ways & meanes he possibly colde to indamage hym at least. Amongst other thynges that he objected agaynst hym, he charged hym to have bene false unto the kyng att what tyme he was Lord Chauncellor, & althoughe the byshoppe in declaration of hys innocencye was ready to bryng furth for hymselfe both sufficyent reesons & wytnesses, yett notwithstandinge he caused hym to be condemned without makynge answeare. William Skipibitⁱ beyng justyce & by the kynges authoritye, toke from hym all the temporall goods of hys byshoppricke, & that he might gett the peoples favoure he moved the kyng to give the sayed goodes to the prynce hys sonne, Lorde Rychard of Burdeaux & Chester, who lately had attempted by the kynges gyfte to gett the dominion of hys fathers, & so he used the young prynces name for hys owne helpe. Further more he forbadd the byshopp in the kynges name not to presume to come within twentye myles of the kynges presence.

ⁱ William *Skipwith*. See Stow's *Annales*, p. 271, edit. 1631. He was Chief Baron of the Exchequer. I transcribe the following passage from Stow, in order to shew (as I have stated in the introductory Letter) how closely he followed the above translation. In his margin are the words, "The duke *indamageth* the Bishop of Winchester;" and in his text he says, "The duke now labored against Wil. Wicham, Bi. of Winchester, taking occasion by all waies and meanes he possibly could to indamage him. At the last, among thinges that hee objected against him, hee charged him to have been false unto the king, at what time he was lord chancellor, and although the bishop, in declaring of his innocence, was ready to bring forth for himselfe both sufficient reasons and witnesses, yet notwithstanding hee caused him to be condemned," &c. Mr. Godwin supposes that Stow, in his minute relations of the transactions of this period, had the authority of some narrative which has not come down to us. But it will be quite evident, on an examination of his history, that he has closely pursued and implicitly relied on the above Chronicle, not amplifying but abridging its details.

This revengement upon the forenamed byshoppe as ys sayed, was the occasion of all evill, & that the byshoppe sayed that he was not the kynge or queens sonne, for when the queene labored of chyldbyrth at Gaunt, she was delyvered not of a sonne but of a daughter, whiche she oppressed, & fearynge the kynges wrathe, she commanded the sonne of a Flemish woman borne at the same tyme to be put in the sayme place for her, & so she nourished this man, the forenamed Duke of Lancaster, whom she beare not, and all these thynges the queene tolde att her deathe in confession to the sayed byshopp, & earnestly prayed hym that yf yt chaunced that he affected the kyngdome at any tyme, or els that the sayme by any meanes dyd fall unto hym, he wold maike hys stocke or kinred openly knowne to all men, leaste a false heire sholde inherite the realme of England.^k

How the Earle of Marshe¹ shuned the craftye deceite of the Duke of Lancaster.

In the meane tyme the kynges sickenes increased, & the phisitions began to dispaire of hys recovery, altho' the forenamed harlot together wyth Isabell her daughter dyd lye by hym everye nyght. The duke now whoe determynd all matters of the realme, commanded the Earle

^k This story, though often repeated, seems to be highly improbable. The fraud is wholly inconsistent with the queen's character, nor could she have had any motive for resorting to it, as Edward had two sons then living. But Lowth appears to decide too hastily, when he pronounces that no such story could have been uttered or invented at the period in question, on account of the Duke of Lancaster's silence with regard to it, in his complaint in Parliament of the reports which had been spread against him. The calumny, though rumour might have falsely ascribed it to Wykeham, might still have been (as this Chronicle asserts) reported as true, but not on authority perhaps that could have justified the duke in noticing it. It is related by Abp. Parker, probably in the words of the original Chronicle from which the text is a translation. *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* pp. 385 and 386, edit. 1729.

¹ This was Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, the husband of Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and the great-great-grandfather of Edward the Fourth.

of Marshe to goe to the castles of England on the sea costes, affyrmynge it to purteyne to hys offyce to be in the portes beyond the sea, and there to vew the kynges castles, to builde & fortyfye those that were decayed, & to stoore them wyth victuals, & fyrste therfor he commanded hym to goe to Cales, where having set all thynges well in order, he sholde diligently vew all the other castells near there abouts. The earle as he was a man of a good will, considered that yt was a dangerous tyme [& weighed also with hymselffe] that the duke had a great & ould hatred agaynst hym, for the which he supposed this hoony was not drincke unto hym without gaule, besydes he called to remembrance how the duke had unjustly imprysoned Syr Peter de la Mare his stewerd, & had oppressed the Byshopp of Wynchester, & desyred to doo the lyke to hym if he colde have any opportunitye for the sayme, fearynge also the daunger that by the duke's anger & meanes myght come unto hym, & what also the great peryls he myght fall into beyonde the seas by fals brethren, he chose rather to loose the rodd then hys lyfe. Wherfor he restored the rodd of hys marshallshipp unto the duke, saynge he wold not for a small commoditie wrapp hymselffe into great daungers. The duke rejosynge that he myght with some honoure rewarde Syr Henrye Percy,^m presently gave unto hym the rodd, maid hym Marshall of England, & by thys meanes yt ys playne that the sayed Syr Henry Percy haith alwayes ioyned fast to the duke & hys counceils, wherfor notwithstandinge he haith a long tyme incurred as great hatred of the whoole commonaltieⁿ & that whiche he beleived was an inestimable profett & comodyty & sholde be an infynyte glorie unto hym he perceived to be the begynnyng of all mys-

^m Created Earl of Northumberland in the first year of Richard the Second, whom he afterwards conspired with Henry of Bolingbroke to depose; finally, however, taking arms against his patron's son, in favour of the grandson of the Earl of March, to whose office he had been appointed (as stated in the above Chronicle) by Henry's father.

ⁿ Some words in the MS. are here illegible. This passage affords a strong additional confirmation of the opinion advanced in the introductory letter, that the writer of the original Chronicle was contemporary with the events which he records.

cheyfe & evill agaynst hym, & sodenly to brynge hym perpetuall ignomyne, for he lost (as ys sayed) his owne conscyence, & hys good name with the people of the whoole realme.

A summonyng to the parlement to come.

About the sayme tyme, the duke using the Kyng's authoritye, dyrected warrants to all the Lorde Barons of the realme, that after Chrystmas the nexte Monday, fifteen dayes after St. Hilaryes day beyng expyred, they sholde come upp to London to the parlement that then sholde begynne, wherein the greatest matters of the realme were to be treated of. In the meane tyme he earnestlye consulted with Syr Henrye Percy upon those matters that he intended to demand of the cleargye & common people in the kyng's name, & having decreed upon those thynges they departed a sunder to the places where they wolde keape there Chrystmas.

Of the plentye of wyne and water in Englande after Chrystmas.

The year of our Lorde 1377^o the kyng was at Chrystmas at Haver-
yng att Bouere, where then for the great infyrmytyes of his body in his veines he lay sicke, which yeare suche abondance of wyne was brought into Englande as had not been seen in many yeares before. About which tyme the waters so increased in Northumberland by meltynge of the snow that had in great thycknes covered the earth, that runynge down from the toppes of the mountaynes, myngled with greate peices of yse, yt overturned husbandmens houses, & with his force tooke away there goods of there grounds, as cattail, mylne stanes, meenes, or corne, & moreover descendynge into the sea by the force strikynge togeather of the sayed peeces of yse, yt so violently stricked upon certein shippes, that yt ether drowned them or marr'd them.

• It was the Christmas of 1376. The price of wine in 1379, according to Bishop Fleetwood, was sixpence per gallon for white, and fourpence for red wine. Chron. Prec. p. 77.

The Pope sendeth hys Bulls, declarynge the Florentynes, for their enormous injuryes done unto the Church, to be excommunicated.

In these dayes the Pope sent his bulls into England, commandynge the Bishopp of London^p to execute his will, & cause the sayme bulls to be solemnly published in the Cytye of London. The contents of this bull was, how that for greate injuryes done unto hym, & for many outrageous faultes by the Florentynes commytted, they, with all that communicate with them, were excommunicated & seperated from the chyl dren of the Church, and amongst other causes of there excomunication, the Pope declared how the sayed Florentynes, in despyte of the holy Church of Rome, had wickedly and cruelly kylled a certeyne Muncke, sent by the Pope into those partes, for when the sayme Muncke wolde there have executed the commandment enioyned hym by the Pope, the Florentynes laynge handes upon hym, did not only kyll hym, but with a most vyle and wicked deathe murthered hym; for puttynge hym in a wagoane they kindled four fyres about the seat of the wagon, that ys to say, at every corner one fyre, & with iron forkes mayd readd hoot in the sayme fyre, they pulled hys fleash that seat naked in the mydst of the fyres from his bones, tearynge hys bodye in foure parts; nor yet content wyth this beastly crueltye, they caryed hym in this sorte through the cytye of Flôrence, & when they came unto the place where theves & destroyers of the coun trye are accustomed to suffer deathe, there they settinge downe the sayed muncke not yet dead, they buried hym hande & foote in the ground, & so after a sorte they buried hym quicke in the most execrable maner: for many such like causes, the Pope punyshed them with his sentence of excommunication, & there favourers, of what degree or state so ever they were, to be in like daunger, interdytynge all cytyes

^p The Bishop of London was William Courtney, son of the Earl of Devon, who in 1381 was translated to Canterbury, after the murder of Archbishop Sudbury. He was distinguished for his zeal in the cause of Rome. Archbishop Parker says of him, "in Wicklyffianos vehementissimus erat."

& townes where in after the publication of this sentence, they sholde be wittingly & willingly to the injurie of the whoole Church of Rome, cheryshed. It was moreover added in the bull, that yf the sayed Florentynes wolde become servantes, & suche as we doo call naturall servants [naturalls or bound slaves], with all there goods & cattells, moveable and immoveable, so that they dyd not taik this condition feynedly, or for an houre upon them, then yt sholde be lawfull for masters to taik them as bounde slaves, usynge them to all kynde of servyce at there pleasure, & moreover yt sholde be lawfull for the Florentynes afterwarde to remayne in those countryes where they had taiken servitude, and where, as bond men, then served there maisters. The Bishopp of London not slouthfully fulfillynge the Pope's commandment enioyned unto hym, solemnly published the Pope's commandment, and publikely declared the Florentynes to be excommunicated. The Florentynes feared with thys terrible sentence, & presently considerynge that the Pope's messenger had with like commandment prevented them almost in all countryes subject to the Church of Rome, of two evils they chose, as they supposed, the leaste; that ys to say, rather to serve with the forsayed condition the kynge of England, then by any meanes be subject to the will of the Romanes.^q

The Parlement wherein new thynges were demanded.

About the sayme tyme the prefyxed day for the parlement was at hande, & the Barons with the nobilitye of Englande were all gathered togeather as they were comanded att London. Thyther allso came the Lorde Richarde of Burdeux, a younge prynce with a great number of noble men & knyghtes, whom the Londoners at hys commynge presented with divers honorable gyftes.^r The duke seemed to honour the prynce

^q See Rymer, vol. vii, pp. 103 and 135. In the Royal Proclamation issued after the arrival of the Bull, there is a strong determination manifested to shelter and protect these fugitives against the severity of the papal denouncement.

^r A curious description of the *Mumming* of the citizens to please the young prince, on

above the rest, & placed hym honorably in the kynges seate, and taughte hym to speake these words: wherfor he demanded, as he had learned, that they wolde gyve the kyng tow tenthes in one yeare, or els of every marchandyse solde in the realme of Englande in one yeare, that sholde extende to 20^s one shillinge [xij^d], or of every fyre-house one penye, or of every knyghtes servyce in Englande one ponde of sylver. And presently the duke prosecuted the demand, saynge, that of necessytye one of these thynges ought to be granted, for that the enemyes had now proclaymed warr, and wolde invade thys kyngdome, & therfor better yt were voluntarilye to geve a lyttle then by the adversaryes to loose all.

The knyghtes of the parlement, whom the duke hadd maide at hys pleasure, desyred a respyte that they myghte deliberately answeare hym of these thynges, for all the other knyghtes that in the laste parlement had stoutly stande for the comonaltye he had caused to be removed, so that there remayned not of them in thys parlement but only twelve whom he colde not remove, for that the counties where they were would not choose any other. A day was appoynted them, for they were all as I have sayed, subrogated by the duke, wherfor those few of the faythfuller sorte that remayned were unable to resyste such a multitude. Therfor of the greater parte Hungerforde^s was elected to delyver there answeare by worde of mouth, whoe was a knyghte very famileir with the duke, that ys to say, hys stewarde, whoe wolde speake nothyng but that which shold please hys master. Those few whom we have sayed to have remayned, with one assent earnestly endeavoured

the Sunday before Candlemas in 1377, will be found in the MS. Fragment before quoted (Harl. 247). It has been copied in Stow's London, and also in Strutt's Horda, vol. ii. p. 95. The speech of the Chancellor (Adam de Houghton, Bishop of St. David's) on the opening of this Parliament by Prince Richard, is recorded at length in the Rolls of Parliament, ii. p. 361, and is an amusing specimen of eloquence in the then prevailing taste.

^s In the MS. "The Earl of *Huntyngdon*" appears to have been originally written, and afterwards altered to Hungerforde. It should be *Sir Thomas* Hungerford who was thus chosen Speaker. Rot. Parl. ii. p. 374. See an account of him in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. iii. p. 203.

to wreaste from there folowers, that Sir Peter La Mare myghte delyver there answeare, for that the sayed Syr Peter was prepared to answeare to all objections agaynste hym, in the presence of all the lordes and knyghtes of the parlement; and further, yf he sholde be founde faultye, to submytt hym selffe to the judgement of the judges & noble men there present, but the knyghtes nothyng prevailed in this earnesteste sute for the duke, for when as one of them urged thys matter more boldly than the rest, he was admonyshed to holde hys peace, otherwise he myghte loose hys lyfe, with whiche news both he & hys other companyons of the last parlement, were so feared, that they preferred the sweetnes of thys lyfe before the bitternes of deathe, & there owne busines before the necessitye of others.

The crafty Cautell of the Duke.

When the day came that the knyghtes of the countrye sholde gyve there answeare, the duke, as we have sayed, fearynge least the stoutnes of some, whoe manfully had stood for the commonaltye in the laste Parlement, & were now with them to treat of these matters, wolde be an impediment to those he had subrogated, whereby he colde not bryng hys purpose to passe, practyseth a suttell counsell & assynethe unto the sayme knyghtes as it were tow^t coadjutours by whose voices they sholde be upholden, as the knyghtes in the former parlement were supported, that ys to say, foure bishopps & foure earles, & as many barons,^u whoe all, as ys reported, were ether bound unto hym for hys benefytes, or for other familiar causes expected hys helpe, & thys he frely dyd, not for to helpe the knyghtes, but to hurte the whoole commonaltye that the knyghtes & common people with the myghte of them sholde be over pressed & feared, fyrnly to persyste, whom all men dyd know to promise these knyghtes to desyre nothyng but that whiche the duke wished.

^t *Sic in orig.*

^u These were the Bishops of Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, and Salisbury, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Salisbury, and Stafford, and the Lords Percy, De Roos, Fitzwalter, and Basset. Rot. Parl. ii. p. 363.

*The Cleargie instantly requireth the revocation of the Bishopp of
Winchester.*

While as these thynges were in handlyng, a subsidye was asked for the kynge of the whoole cleargie, & they were commanded not to prolong the p[ar]lement with great delays, leaste they sholde hynder the profytt of the realme. They treatyng therfor of these matters, fyrste they mayde a common complaynt before the Arch Bishopp of Canterbury, as before there common father, of the injurye offered unto there brother & fellow bishopp, William Wicham, Bishopp of Winchester, & how that the injurye was not only unto hym in hys byshopricke, but also unto all them & to the whoole libertye of the churche; wherfor they constantly affyrmed that they wolde not by any meanes effectually treate of those matters, untill all the members of the churche were gathered together, for they truly affyrmed thys present busynes to touche hym & them in common together, & that whiche touched all, oughte for to be approved by all. They pytyed hys faull & the injuryes offered unto hym, & were moved agaynste the archbishopp so far as they durste, for that he was thoughte to be a greate hyred man for the duke, seynge he permytted the sayed bishopp to be so severely handled by the duke, & that he endeavor'd not only by hymselffe, but also wolde speake wordes agaynst hym. Therfor they persysted more vehemently for hys revocation, & although the archbishopp affirmed the forsayed bishopp to be prohybeted by the kynge that he sholde not by any meanes presume to come neare unto hys presence, & therfor contended to excuse hym selffe (leaste he sholde have bene compelled to send letters from hym) for suche daungers as myghte happen therebye, yet, notwithstanding forced with there obstinacye, & the laudable persuasion of the Bishopp of London, he sent a commandment for hym that he sholde come upp to the convocation of the cleargie of London, whoe makynge no delay came to London with a small number of servaunts, whoe before tyme was thoughte to excell all other in multitude of servaunts. He was joyfully receaved of hys felow bishoppes, & as became such a person, greatly honoured.

How the Duke sent for John Wiclyffe to consult with hym, & how he was maide to come to his answeare.

In the meane tyme the duke ceased not (as yt ys sayed) with his felowes to imagyne how he myghte maike the churche subject, & by what meanes he myght submytt the realme unto hym, whereby he myght the frelier bring that to passe that he had long conceaved in hys mynde, for he saw that yt wolde be harde for hym to obteyne hys purpose, the churche standynge in her full state, & very daungerous to attempt publicly to doo those thynges that he had conceaved in hys mynde, the lawes & customes of London beyng in force; wherfor he labored fyrste to overthrow, as well the libertyes of the churche as of the citee, for the whiche he called unto hym a certain false devine, or as I may better name hym, a fyghter agaynste God, whoe, many yeares before, in all hys acts in the scholes had barked agaynste the churche, for that he was justly depryved by the Archbishopp of Canterburie from a certeyne benefyce that he uniustly was incumbent upon, within the cytie of Oxforde, & many new opynions he invented without any grounde but suche which vaynly occupied the eares of the hearers, & myght invite the simple people (desirous alwayes to heare new thyngs, as there manner ys) to hear hym. Thys fellow was called John, but unworthely, for that he had caste away the grace that God had geaven hym, avertynge hym selffe from the trueth, which ys God, & convertynge unto fables. Amongst other thynges whiche he spake, not to be rehersed, he denyed the bishopp to have authoritye to excommunicate any man, & yf yt sholde be graunted that the bishopp colde excommunicate any person, then he affirmed that any prieste myght absolve such a one as well as the pope. He sayed further, that neither the kynge nor the secular lorde coldegyve any thyng perpetually to any person of his churche. That (as he affirmed) in the tyme of William Rufus yt was practysed in Englande, for whom, as for other kynges of the realme (notwithstandynge he took away the church goodes) the churche of England praieth, which

yf she doe lawfully, then she dothe well in prayeynge for the bishopp, & to say she doth yt unlawfully were absurde. Furthermore, he affirmed that the temporall lordes (yf they had need) myght lawefully taik the goods of such religious persons to releave there necessityes. When he hadd taughte these & many worse then these, not only openly in the scholes in Oxforde, but also had preached them publikly in London, that there he myght ether gett the favoure of the duke, & of others whom he had found prone to heare hys opynion, which thyngs he had long sought for, that ys to say that he myght fynde certayne of the nobilitye of thys realme, or rather more ryghtly devills, whoe wolde imbrace hys folyshe toyes, & wolde encorage hym what they colde to maike dull the sworde of Peter, & least he sholde be publikly punyshed they sholde defende hym with the seculer arm, by whom beyng supported, he muche more boldly communicated the matter of excommunication with them, in so muche that he drew into the pytt of errour, not only lordes, but also certeyne simple cytyzens of London, for he was not only eloquent but also a most perfect hypocryte & dyssembler, directyng all hys doyngs to one ende, that ys to witt to spreade hys worde, hys fame, & opynion amongst men. He feined hym selffe to contemne temporall goods as unstable & fraile for the love of eternal ritches, & therfor hys conversation was with those religious that had possessions; & that he myght the more delude the people's myndes, he adioyned hym selffe unto the beggyng freires, approvyng there povertye & extollyng there perfection, that he myght deceave the vulgar sorte. He was furnyshed with many arguments, but with no knowledge from God, & florished to maike hys opinions seeme probable, & abundantly inveighed the eares of the unheartened hearers with the composition of wordes which he spytefully enoughe cast furthe, & vaynly fed the wyndes without frute.

The duke, notwithstandinge, & Syr Henry Percy commended hys opinion, & endeavored to extoll hys learnyng & honestye upp to heaven. Wherfor yt chaunced that beyng thus sett furthe with there favoure he feared not to divulgate hys vanyties much more then before, but

runnyng from church to church, sowed hys falsse madd opinions in the soules of manye. Wherefor (although somewhat late) the bishoppes beyng moved, wakened the archbishopp, there father, as out of a greate sleep, & as a myghtye man drunken with wyne, or rather as a hirelyng drunken with the poyson of covetousnes, that he wolde call backe the wandryng sheepe from the forrage of so manifest perdition, & comytt hym to the oste to be cured, or els, yf neade requyred, sholde cut hym of. The archbishopp (although he had decreed pleasantly to leade hys dayes, & not to keape watche about hys flocke, whereby the wolfe and the hirelyng sheapherd whoe agree both in one thyng, that ys, that the Lordes [Christes] lambes myght be lett out to satisfye there gredines) least he sholde be noted of hys felow shepherds & companyons for a forsaiker of his sheepe, and thereby sholde loose hys fame & name, sent for this prodigall sonne to come & answeare to those thynges that were spoken of hym; for yf departyng from hys father, he had wantonly spent hys fathers goods, as yt was signified unto hym, or yf agaynst hys commandment, returnyng to hys vomyte, he had tasted of the forbidden meals (for the archbishopp had understandyng of these thyngs before), then he commanded hym after that not to touche that deade carcass, least he sholde not only by suche touchyng pollute hym selffe, but all others that sholde communicate with hym. Now he hearyng the thundryng voyce of the offycer summoning that he ought to come before the bishoppes, with feare he carefully thinketh upon his answeare, for an evill mynde knoweyng hym selffe guylty, & prycked with such naughty deedes, cannot be quiett, wherfor when he greatly feared what answeare to geave, he was for an houre so care full that he lost hys streangth [was past hym selffe] but hys doctor who goethe about lyke a roryng lyon, sekyng whom he may devoure, permytted hym to be not longe destitute of perverse answeares.

The duke hearyng that he sholde come to hys answeare, & knoweyng that yf in the sayme wreastlyng he were overthrowne, the strongest on hys parte sholde be wantyng, sent for four Doctours of Divinytye, one of everye order of the beggyng freiers, advertysyng

them that with a naturall & olde hate he pursued the religious persons that had possessions, & from the begynninge envyed there successe, for the earthern pott will longe keape the smell that yt had when yt was new, nether was yt difficult to compell the willynge freires to aide hym in this poynt.

Of the discord raised in St Paule hys churche in London, betwene the Cleargie & the Duke, & Syr Henry Percy & the Londoners, by John Wiclyffe.

Thys sonne, therfor, of perdition, John Wiclyffe, was to appeare before the bishoppes the Thursday before the feast of St. Peter his chaire [23 of February],^x there to be convented for marvellous wordes that he had

^x The date here assigned to this remarkable transaction is doubted by Lowth, because the Pope's Bull, which he supposes to have been the cause of Wicliffe's citation to St. Paul's, bears as late a date as the 22d of May 1377. He therefore concludes, that the tumult could not have happened many days before the death of Edward the Third, which occurred on the 21st of June. Lewis, in his *Life of Wicliffe* (p. 50), supposes the meeting at St. Paul's not to have taken place till the February of the succeeding year, after the accession of Richard the Second, in which he is followed by Mr. Baber, in the memoirs prefixed to his edition of Wicliffe's New Testament, p. xvii. This, however, is completely at variance not only with the relation in the text, but also with that of Walsingham, the Continuator of Murimuth, and the other contemporary or early authorities. Mr. Godwin (*Life of Chaucer*, ii. p. 251) defends the earlier date, suggesting that the citation to St. Paul's was the immediate and personal act of the English prelacy, and that it was the citation of Wicliffe to *Lambeth* in the following year, which was the result of the Pope's interference, the English Bishops having found themselves too weak in the contest, and having, on that account, invited the interposition of the sovereign Pontiff. This appears to be the true solution, agreeing with the statement in the text, that it was upon the suggestion of the bishops, that Archbishop Sudbury had been unwillingly moved to issue the citation. It is true, indeed, that the mandate (preserved in Wilkin's *Concilia*, iii. p. 123), which the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, in consequence of the authority vested in them by the Pope's Bull, issued to the Chancellor of Oxford on the 5th of January following, required Wicliffe's presence at St. Paul's on the thirtieth juridical day from that date. But as we have no account from the contemporary writers that any second meeting

spoken, Sathan, the adversarye of the whoole churche, as ys beleaved, teachynge hym ; whoe after the nynth houre, the duke & Syr Henry Percy, & divyers other assystynge hym, whoe by there powre were able to trouble the weake people, & also beynge as a meane betwene them, that yf any thyng sholde fall from the table of the ritche bishopps, that ys to say plate, although it were soyled in the fall, they wolde gather yt upp & wolde chew yt by there backbytynge, beholde the abominable hoste, John aforenamed, was brought furthe with greate pompe, nether yet was sufficient yt for hym to have onely the common sergeants, unlesse Syr Henry Percy the chiefe Marshall of Englande did goe before hym ; in the waye he was animated by his companions not to feare the congregation of the bishopps, whoe in respect of hym were unlearned ; nether yet the concourse of the people, seyng that he was walled in on every syde with so many knightes. His body was now broughte into St. Paule's churche with an incredible pryde, where such a multitude of people was gathered together to heare hym, that yt was harde for the noble men & knyghtes (the people lettynge them) to passe through, and even by & by with this occasion they were persuaded craftely to pull backe with there handes there scholer, that he myght escape deathe entended hym by manye bishopps. The devill founde a way, that fyrste a dissension beynge mayde betwene the noble men & bishopp, hys answeare myght be differed. Truly when the people beynge gathered together, stayed to geave place unto the noble men, Syr Henry Percy, abusynge hys authoritye, miserably pricked forwardes the people in the churche, whiche the Bishopp of London seyng, prohibited hym to exerceyse suche authoritye in the churche, saynge that yf he

in St. Paul's actually took place, it may be reasonably concluded that Lambeth was afterwards substituted, as a less likely scene for the renewal of popular commotion, though the result proved otherwise. The opinion here expressed may be strengthened by remarking that not only Fox, but his able antagonist Harpsfeld, who, though a zealous papist, was furnished with materials for his *Ecclesiastical History* by Archbishop Parker (in whose mild custody he was a prisoner) understood the tumult at St. Paul's to have preceded and been the cause of the Pope's interference, and that the proceeding at Lambeth was the consequence of it. *Hist. Wicleffiana*, p. 683.

had knowne he wolde have used hym selffe so there, he sholde not have come into the church yf he coude have letted hym, whiche the duke hearynge was offended, & protested that he wolde exerceyse suche authoritye whether he wolde or not. When they were come into our Ladyes chappell, the duke & barons, with the archbishopp & bishopps, syttyng downe, the foresayed John also was sent in by Syr Henrye Percy to sytt downe, for because, sayed he, he haythe much to answere he haith neade of a better seate. On the other syde, the byshopp of London denyed the sayme, affyrmyng yt to be agaynst reason that he sholde sytt there, & also contrary to the law for hym to sytt, whoe there was cited to answere before hys ordinarie; & therfor the tyme of hys answearynge, or so longe as any thyng sholde be deposed agynste hym, or hys cause sholde be handled, he ought to stande. Here upon very contumelious wordes did ryse betwene Syr Henrye Percy & the bishopp, & the whoole multitude began to be troubled. And then the duke began to reprehende the bishopp, & the bishopp to turne then on the duke agayne. The duke was ashamed that he colde not in this stryfe prevaile,^y & then began with frowarde threatenynge to deale with the bishopp, swearyng that he wolde pull downe both the pryde of hym & of all the bishopps in Englande, & added, thou trustest (sayed he) in thy parents, whoe can profytt the nothyng, for they shall have enough to doo to defend themselves, for hys parents, that ys to say hys father & hys mother, were of nobylitye, the Earle & the Countes of Devonshire. The bishopp on the other syde sayed, in defendynge the trueth

^y Fox, in quoting the Chronicle of St. Alban's, then belonging to Archbishop Parker, from which (as is stated in the introductory Letter) the Chronicle above printed is conceived to have been a translation, says, "to use the words of mine author, "*Erubuit Dux quod non potuit prevalere litigio*, i. e. that the Duke blushed because he could not overpasse the Bishop in brawling and railing." Acts & Mon. i. p. 558, edit. 1641. It clearly appears from this and other passages, that Fox had the use of the Latin original, translating it into language which suited his purpose, though not departing from the facts. Fuller, in his Church History, has dramatized this dialogue between the duke and the bishop, in his usual quaint style.

I truste not in my parents, nor in the lyfe of any man, but in God in whom I ought to trust. Then the duke whysperyng in his eare sayed he had rather draw hym furth of the churche by the heare then suffer such thynges. The Londoners hearynge these words, angerlye with a lowd voyce cried out, swearynge they wolde not suffer there Bishopp to be injured, & that they wold soner loose there lyfe then there bishopp sholde be dishonored in the churche, or pulled out with such vyolence. There fury was the more encreased, for that the same day before none in the parlyament at Westminster, the duke being president, &c. it was requested in the kyngs name, that from that day forward there should be no more Mayre of London accordyng to the auntyent custome, but a captayne, and that the Marshall of England, as well in the cytye as in other places myght arrest such as offended, with many other thynges, which were manyfestly agaynst the lybertyes of the cytye, and portended daungers and hurt to the same, which being once hard, John Philpott, a cytezyn of specyall name, arose, and affyrmed that such thyngs were never sene, and that the mayor & comons wold suffer no such arrest, and so before none the counsell brake up. The duke and the byshops revylyng one another, the people wonderfully enraged and trobled, the enemy of mankynde, as I sayd before, procuryng this counsell, and by these occasyons that false varlet & mynyster of the devill persuaded, lest he should be confounded in his inventions, for he saw that in all thyngs he wold be profytable unto hym, & therefore was careful lest such a defender of his part should perysh ether secretly or so lightly.

The convocation at London agaynst the Duke and Henry Percy, and of there flyght.

The morrow after the Londoners collyng the cytezyns together, tooke counsell uppon such demande as the day before the Lord Thomas Woodstoke and the Lord Henry Percy affyrmed did procede of the kyngs will and pleasure concernyng the creation of a captayn in the cyty, & of the use of the Marshalls offyce in the same, as is before declared.

Besydes, of the injury that was offered to his byshop and other matters, and whilst there was longe and great ado and talke about these thyngs, there entered in the Lord Ffyzwalter,^z and the Lord Wydo de Bryon,^a whether to know there mynde, or for what other cause it is uncertayne. The commons at there fyrst comyng scarcely held there hands from beatyng them that came, and were not called for ; but at last, after they had sworne that there comyng to there counsell was not for any hurt unto them or the cytye, they were suffered of the cytezyns, as well for that they themselves were cytezyns, as also had many possessions in the cytye. The Lords tooke an othe of fydelity to be observed to the cyty & cytezyns, or els sel or let there goods to others, because now it was agreed that none of there enemyes should enjoye any tenement or rent in the cytye, therfore these lords put there hands to the booke in a hye place of the hall, the cytezyns & commons requestyng that so it myght be. The Lord Fyzwalter having gotten favor thus at the cytezyns hands, began his oration on this wyse:—Worthy Cytezyns, synce by the othe that I have presently taken, I am bound to love and obeye you, & that by my auntyent inherytance, as may appere, I ought to be your standard bearer, & one of your specyall favorers, there is none that doubt but that your losse redoundeth to myne, & the injuryes that be offered to you are in lyke sort to mee, I thought good, for that it concerns mee as well as you, to forewarn you that your lybertyes are in great daunger, & it were good that you looked more watchfully unto your selves, and whether it be with your knowledg or not, yt is for your discredyt that one should be kept in the inn of the Marshall, namely, of the Lord Henry Percy, where it is well known that the pryson ought not

^z Of Walter Lord Fitzwalter a particular account will be found in Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 220. As hereditary Constable of Castle Baynard, and Banner Bearer of London, he enjoyed very important rights and privileges in the City, which are set forth in Stow's *Survey of London*, Strype's edition, vol. i. p. 60.

^a Guy de Bryan was, as Dugdale observes, a person of very great note in his time. He had been Standard Bearer to the King at Calais, and was afterwards employed in many important military and civil services. *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 151.

to be any such custodye, which if you neglygently at this tyme suffer, it may come to passe that when you wold you shall not be able to repulse or withstand the lyke chaunce with all your forces. Now therefore you ought to take counsell what is to be done in it, and see whether the remysseyon of this dede be not hereafter a thorne in your eyes, & this present presumption unpunyshe bring over you new customs to your manyfest losse & hynderance. The cytezens, whome the comon people for the auntyent nobility of London call proceres, state they all with a shout consent, and every man cryes out that by manyfest judgement they wold condemme such injurie; nether made they any delay, but presently tooke armor, & ran with great rage to the marshall his inn; they break up the doores, brought out the prysoner, & cary away the gyves wherein his feete were bounde, entending to burne them in the mydst of the cytye. The Lord Percy is sought for doubtles to receyve punyshment for the injury, if he could have been founde. The armed men wander up & downe the chambers, thrustyng thorowe the bedds with there launces. The privy houses are searched, but all in vayne; ffor that daye he and the duke were to dyne with one John de Ipres, who before had bydden them; but the Londoners knew it not, for they thought that he & the duke had bene at the Savoye, & therfore with all hast, they posted thither, but whylst these thyngs were doynge, one of the duke's soldyers seeing this, in great hast came to the place where the duke was,^b & after he had knocked rudelye, and could not get in as he wold, with great feare he sayed to Haverland, the porter, if thou love, sayth he, my lord & hys lyfe, open me the gate quycklye, with which

^b This was at Ipres Inn, in St. Thomas Apostle, west of the church. William of Ipres, a Fleming, who came over to the aid of King Stephen against the Empress Maud in 1138, built this "great messuage" (as Stow calls it) near the Tower Royal, where the king "was then lodged, as in the heart of the city, for his more safety." Stow's London by Strype, b. iii. p. 8. William was created Earl of Kent by Stephen, but in the subsequent reign was forced to leave England, and died a Monk at Laon, according to Dugd. Bar. i. p. 612. But Stow says he was recalled and restored to his possessions, which remained to his descendants. John of Ipres, named in the text, was a person of sufficient importance to be appointed one of King Edward's executors. See Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 63.

words he gat entrie, and with great feare, scarce able to speake, he tells the duke, that without the doores were infynyte numbers of armed men, & unles he tooke heede, this day should be his last ; and with his words he made the Lord Percy no less afrayd, for he opened unto hym how for his cause this comotion was made, and what they had done at his inn. They were, when [this man] he came in, standyng about there oysters, & some had eaten some of them, and others none at all. The duke, when he hard this message, thought it nothyng safe to tary any longer there, lept so hastely from his oysters, that he hurt both his leggs aganst the forme, whereby being greved, his offycers offered hym wyne, but he wold not drynke, and sayinge as it were it is fynyshed, the ungodly man fled with his felow the Lord Percy, no man following them, and, entryng the Thames, never stynted rowynge untyll they came to a house nere the maner of Kenyngton, where at that tyme the prynces with the young prynce aboade, before whome (with great feare, as appeared by hys sweatyng and tremblyng) he made his complaynt of all those thyngs that had happened. The prynces hearyng there talke comforted them with such wordes as she thought best for the tyme, promysyng that she wold make a fynall end of all those matters which should be profytable to them, as they should well perceyve.

The comons of London, not knowyng that the duke was fled, in great fury hasted to the Savoye, and in an unlucky houre a pryest chaunced to meete them, and asked of some of them what that styrr or bysynes ment. Some of them answered hym, that they went to taik the duke and the Lorde Percy, that they myght be compelled to delyver agayne to the cytezyns the Lord Peter de la Mar, whom unjustly they held in pryson. The folysh pryest not know how to yeld or geve place to such commotions, but spewed out all the poyson that lay in his mynd, and made them answeare, saying : This Peter, of whom you speake, is a traytor to the kyng, and was worthy to be hanged longe ago. With which words he so vexed them, that with a terryble noyes they all cryed, This is Percy, this is the traytor of England, his speech bewrayes hym. Then ran they all to hym, and strove which should come fyrst to kill

hym. After they had beaten hym and wounded hym, they cary hym to pryson, where as what with his bands, as also the grefe and smart of his wounds within few dayes after he dyed. The Bishop of London hearyng that with suche unhappy sygnes, they hasted to the Savoye, left hys dynner, and met with them, admonyshyng them to be myndfull of the holy tyme (for it was Lent), and for the love of Chryst to leave off from there doings, least they chaunced to defyle that holy tyme with such sedytions, affyrmyng that he wold labor that all thyngs which were done agaynst them should have a comendable end, evene accordyng as they them selves would wyshe. And, doubtless, had not the byshop asswaged there mad mynds with these, or suche lyke words, the duke and the Lorde Percy had that daye lost eyther there lyves or some of there members. Yet, at the byshops warnyng, the matter was pacyfied for that tyme, and every man gat hym home to his owne house. Then were the duke's armes hanged up in sygne of treason, in the most pryncypall streete of the cytye (uncertayne it is by whom, or by whose counsell the same was done), but sure it moved the duke after to excedyng anger. A certayn soldier of the dukes, called Thomas Wynton, a Scottish man borne, desyryng to shew hym selfe a favorer of his master, was so bold that day as to weare the dukes sygne about his necke, through the chefest streetes of the cytye, rydyng armed, in despyght of the cytezens, and this enraged the people more, in so much that he was cast of his horse, and his collar or sygne drawn from his neck by the comons, and had bene well punyshed for hys rash temerity, had not the mayor delyvered hym from there hands, and sent hym a lyttle whyle after to his inn. After whiche deede, it was a syght to see the vanyty of fortune: those to whome the duke had geven such collars, whose pryde the earth was scarce able to beare, now became so humble that they gladly gat them from there necks, & hyd them from syght in there bosoms or sleeves, with these afore they thought to gayn heaven and earthe; and as before they made them known & feared, so now the case being altered, they made them contemptible & subject.

The prynces ^c desyrous to make peace betwyxt the cytezyns and the duke, sent unto London these knyghtes, the Lord Albred de Ver,^d the L. Symon Burle,^e the L. Lewes Clyfford,^f requestyng them, that for love of her, & at her request, they wold make peace with the duke, and end such tumultes for the generall evill or myschefe which comonly followeth such sedytions. The cytezyns, with all reverence, made answeare, that they wold do for her honor what soever she had commanded, but yet they willest or enjoyned the knyghts that came, to tell the duke in words, that he suffer the Lord Byshop of Wynchester to stande to his answeare, and be judged by his peeres, because at that tyme he was an ecclesy-

^c The Princess was Joan, the widow of the Black Prince, who in her youth had been celebrated for her beauty as the "Fair Maid of Kent." She had been twice married or affianced before she became the wife of Edward, whom she survived nine years. Her death in 1385 is related by Walsingham (p. 343) to have been caused by her grief at the refusal of her son Richard the Second to pardon his half brother John Holand, who nevertheless after his mother's death was restored to favour, and created Duke of Exeter. Dr. Lingard says that the Princess obtained her son's full pardon. But according to Knyghton (col. 2676), it was by the intervention of the Duke of Lancaster and other lords, that the king's pardon was procured, as well as the indulgence of the Earl of Stafford, whose eldest son Sir John Holand had killed in their servants' quarrel. An ancient portrait of the Princess is copied in Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, No. XXXV. In her will, printed in Nichols's *Collection*, she declares her firm adherence to the Catholic faith, though five of the most distinguished supporters of Wicliffe are in the list of her executors.

^d Sir Aubrey de Vere was uncle to Robert Earl of Oxford, afterwards Duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard the Second.

^e Of Sir Simon Burley, and the proceedings against him in the following reign, when he was beheaded on Tower Hill, a particular account is given by Froissart, his personal friend. Some inaccuracies in Froissart are pointed out by Tyrrel (*Hist. Eng.* vol. iii. p. 902), and a singular mistake in the MS. *Ambassades*, "*Relation de la Mort*," &c. where John Carnailly is substituted for Sir Simon Burley, has been noticed in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xx. p. 425, note.

^f Sir Lewis Clifford, an ancestor of Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, became a leader among the Lollards, but afterwards recanted to Archbishop Arundel. Walsingham, p. 409. His very remarkable will, in which he enjoins his executors to bury him, "false and traytor to his Lord God," with extraordinary indignities, is preserved in Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. p. 341. It may not be unworthy of remark, that his descendants have adhered to their ancient faith.

astycall person of such aucthoryty, they wold not suffer so greate losse without answeare and processe of lawe, & suffer the Lord Peter de la Mar to answeare for hym self, & prove hym selfe not gyltye, or otherwyse, as he had deserved, after the custome of the lawes of the realme to recyve manyfest judgment; the thyrd they wold account a traytor wheresoever he should be founde. The afore sayed knyghtes, no otherwyse then they had heard of the sayed citizens, reported unto the duke with full mouth those thyngs which had ben enjoyned them, whereby they made the duke very wofull, for whereas they had spoken of a traytor, this sayed he they speak of me, and ytt is not credible that they speak this of him.

The Londoners go to the Kyng about the enjoyning their Liberties.

The Londoners having held a comon counsell about this present matter, sent of the chefe of there citie, ether to justifie that which had happened, or to excuse them unto the kyng, who suing long tyme to come unto the kynges speache, were kept from the kynges presence thorough the procurement of the duke as ytt is thought, yett att length after one dayes stayeng, the duke seing that they resolutely persisted in theyre determination to speak wyth the king, came unto them, willing them to declare unto him the cause of the coming, affirming that his Lord the King was very ill at ease, & that his sickness myght lightly be encreased yf that he were moved to anger, or should heare ought that dyd encounter or crosse his will & that which he would have. But the citizens, whose speaker & chefest man was John Philpott,^g answered the duke wyth

^g John Philpot was Mayor of London in 1378, and was knighted in Smithfield by Richard the Second in 1381, upon the overthrow of Wat Tyler. "A man," says Stow, "of jolly wit, and very rich in substance." Of the wealth and spirit of this citizen, some estimate will be formed, when we are told by Stow that, in 1378, "he hired with his own money 1000 soldiers, and defended the realm against the incursions of the enemy; so that in small time his hired men took John Mercer, a sea rover, with all his ships which he had

due reverence that they were not come by any meanes to augment the kinges sicknes ether by their coming or speache, but rather to mitigate his greif, that he myght be strong to defend them & others if that they myght obteyne access unto his highnes, moreover they sayd that they were charged that they should not communicate those matters which they had in commission from the citie, unto any other than unto theyre liegelord the king himselffe, specially seing that their liege the king had oftentimes willed them that in any matter that touched the citie & citizens, they should not make any other men mediators unto him, but declare theire owne matters them selves unto hym, face to face. But yf they should otherwyse doo then he him self had commanded & the citie had enjoyned them, that then they should gett them evill thanks att both their handes, when they had by such allegations obteyned accesse, they shewed unto the king, how ytt had been published in the parliament that ytt was his will that contrarye unto theyre liberties, the maior should be deposed, & a capteyne created, & other matters in parliament which sowned against there libertyes, also they excused themselves of dyvers things which had been done during the tyme of the comotion of the comonaltie of the citie, which myght redounde unto the dyshonor of the duke, sayeng that they were not pryvie unto any such doinges, but that among so greate a multitude, some lewd felowes had done such matters, they being unwittinge & unwilling, nether can so great a multitude be moved by the exhortations of the maire, when they be once upp, but they goo like a whirlwynd, hither & thither according unto the indiscrete direction of sundry heddes, untill they have done some great thing to the hurt of other or themselves; yet, blessed be God, our duke hath felt no harme, nether hath

before taken from Scarborough, and fifteen Spanish ships laden with great riches." *Survey of London*, b. i. p. 261, edit. 1720. For undertaking this adventure without the sanction of the Council, his conduct was censured, but he made a stout and triumphant defence, and it appears in Rymer that he was afterwards employed in affairs of trust by Richard the Second, to whom he had furnished loans.

any of his ben hurt. But the king being a little cheared upp with their comyng, answered that he would not the diminishing of their liberties; no, he was rather ready yf neede were to augment them, nether dyd any such resolution ever come out of his mouth, & therefore he encouraged them not to feare, commanding them to depart home, & to appease the citizens, & to keape them in peace. After they had taken their leave of the king, as they were comyng back agayne, they mett wyth the duke in the haule, who chardging them wyth those matters that we have told how they dyd, they answered as we have told you, they reported unto the king, adding there unto that yff they would fynd out or learne what he was that had devised such a dyshonor unto the reproach of the duke, that they would punish him as the duke him self would, or yff he would rather so, delyver him unto him for to be punished according to his owne pleasure. They sayed moreover that the citie dyd desyre him to stand theyre good Lord as he was wont, & yf that ought had ben done otherwyse than became them, he should find the citie ready to satisfye him in all thinges. When the duke heard this he was glad, hoping that he should gayne some greate somme of money of the citizens, for he thought that they had used such speache for feare, but ytt was far otherwise then he trusted, for when he sayd that he would presently entreat wyth them about the instant matter, because he thought that, seing the chief of the citie were there, they were sufficient for to deale for all the comons, they answered, that they being citizens had ben sent by the citie unto there leige the king for dyvers causes, which being dispatched, there ambassade was expired, wherefore they could not entreat wyth him unless they had receaved new commission from the citie, & so the joyfulnes of the duke was deluded. But the citizens returning unto the citie, & declarynge in order what had happened, brought no small joye to all the citizens.

The defamers of the Duke are excommunicated, altho' unjustly.

In the meane tyme some men that were pleased with that dissension caused to maike rymes in reproache of the duke, & to fasten them in dyvers places of the cytye, whereby the greate furye of the people myght be kyndled, & the duke's fame blotted, & his name had in greater detestation. Which thynges when the duke had harde, he vehemently requested the bishopps that they wold declare sentence of excommunication upon all those that by such rymes or scrowls had maliciously hurt his fame. The bishopps long stayinge & deliberatynge what they myght doo in this case, for they feared lest they should be troubled by the commonaltye, the chieffer cytezyns of London, desyrous to show some pleasure to the duke, animated the bishopps to doo yt, for as muche as they had mayd no suche thyngs. The Bishopp of Bangor therfor, the aldermen of the cytye assystynge hym, publikely excommunicated all those that had diffamed the duke, & with suche lies had hurte hys good name.

The knyghtes of the parlment errynge from the trueth graunt a peny for every head to be geaven unto the kynge.

A few days after the duke went unto the parlement, that for the causes expressed had been intermytted; but yet he vouchsafed not to come through the cytye, for he suspected the unconstancye of the people, & returned therefore by another way, & entered Westminster by secreete wayes, & so came unto the parlement by a certeine new maner, & not harde of before, hys servaunts goeynge before hym, & caryinge after hym swordes & bucklers, for that they trembled for feare, wheare no feare was. In the saime maner Syr Henry Percy followed hym, caryinge before hym the same show of warre. The duke therfor & the noble men sett downe, they demanded an answeare of the knyghtes of the countyes of those thyngs which had bene demanded of them; whoe over prompt to satisfye the duke's will, answered instade of the com-

monalthe, (when the commonalthe was utterly ignorant of yt) that they wolde to helpe there soverayne kynge not of every house, but of every heade pay a peny^h throughout Englande, so that the money sholde be gathered into the handes of other Earls & Barons, untill they saw how such a somme sholde be spent; furthermore they demanded (as ys sayed suborned by the duke) that the Lord Latimer & Ales Peeres, & for the commonalthe Richard Lyones, disanullynge the last statute of the parlement, myghte by the judgement & statute of this present parlement be restored to all there thyngs, as well inheritance as gotten goodes, as they were before that parlement began. But these thyngs were done without the knowledge or consent of the commonalthe, for all the common people thought them to be worthy hangeynge, but therfor thus we have wryten, that yt may appeare to our posteritye, that not only injurye but also injustyce prevaled, & how faynt hearted the knyghtes were that sholde have stande for the commonalthe, for yf any vertue had remayned in their hartes, they wolde not have consented to suche a new tax & never harde of before, nor have demanded of the duke, beyng president, that which was manifestly agaynst the myndes of the whoole commonalthe; I say in demandyng that murtherer the Lord Latimer & hys companyons, who were guyltye of many mens death, (as was commonly sayed) now alleadgyng hunger, now the iron sworde, & sometymes pryvye conspyracyes to have bene causes thereof.

The cleargy graunted that which the knyghtes had graunted.

The cleargy after many consultations also imitated, for as yt seemed they preferred the feare of the duke before the feare of our Lorde God; but I suppose his chaunced unto them as punyshment for [of] there

^h The grant was fourpence per head, from every lay person, male and female, above the age of fourteen years, real mendicants excepted. See Rot. Parl. iii. p. 364. The very curious and interesting Subsidy Roll, distinguishing the number of persons assessed to this tax in each county, and in most of the principal cities and towns, will be found in the Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 337, having been communicated to the Society by Mr. Topham.

synne, that they sholde graunte the same subsidye to help the kynge of every heade as well of religious men as of secular preystes, that ys to say for every head a peny. Truly yt ys maide a new & straunge taxe, & utterly to be reproved, for althoughe yt be leass then other pensions, yett notwithstandinge yt ys an inducement of many evill customes to come, which perchaunce may brynge most grevous burdens to our posteritye, & in this case that sentence also ys yt to be feared, he that despises the least thynges, by lytle & lytle he shall fall in to the greatest.

Syr Robert Astonⁱ speaketh for the Duke unto the Kynge agaynst the Londoners.

The duke havynge obtained as he desyred, that which he had longe conceived in hys mynde, that ys to say, the taxe of all the heades of the whoole commonaltye, yett he colde not be quyet in his mynde, for that he thought upon the injury the Londoners had done unto hym, therefore he studied day & nyghte by what meanes he myghte restore agayne hys fame almoste loste. Att the laste, by a devised pollycye, he compelled the kynge by hys warrants to sende for the maior, & sheryffes, & also the cheife men of the cytye whom the comon people call aldermen, to come before his presence. Who beyng called, not darynge to goe agaynst the king's commandment, presently they came unto the kynge at his manore of Shene, & beyng brought into the kynge's chamber of presence, they founde the kynge, by helpe of his servaunts, placed in a certayn cheare, & sittynge like an image, & not able well to speake for the manifold greifes that he had by his sicknes, & certein bishopps with the archbishopp, the duke & the kynges sonnes, with many lordes & honorable men syttyng about hym; when after due reverence mayde & sylence commanded, Syr Robert Aston began an oration in thys wyse, All you (sayed he) perchaunce do marvell why you are sent for to come into the kynge's presence, & in presence of these noblemen, & least I shold

ⁱ Sir Robert Aston, or *de Asheton*, was at this time Chamberlain of the King's Household. Rymer, vii. p. 143. He had been Justiciary of Ireland, and was appointed by the King an executor of his will.

longe with vayne wordes suspend your sorrowfull myndes, I will brevely declare the cause of your citation. You know what a greate shame your felow citezens lately broughte to our Soveraigne Lorde the Kynge, & by them was moved & almost turned to sedition all thys realme, I say the injurie was done unto the kynge, for yt ys plane that that whyche ys done agaynste his vicar ys done agaynste hym, without doubt yf you have any wytt you perceave what I meane. You remember with what reproaches you folowed not only hym that representeth hys person [supplieth his place] in the realme, but also the kynge's elder soñe. The offence truly is greate & notorious, & the like haythe not bene sene in our dayes, & therfor yt ys convenient that with a grevous revengement yt be punyshed. I say that with such a punyishment that yt may be a lesson for our posterytye to refrain themselves from persecutyng of there kynge. Therfor I counsell you, O cytezens, to submyt yourselves unto the kynges mercye, whom you have grevouslye exasperated. You know that I have bene amongst humble intreatours, that he that hath leadd a mercifull lyfe, will conclude with a mercifull ende, & to mollyfye his harte, whyche you have greatly above all measure disquieted, submytt yourselves unto the duke's grace, his elder soñe, whom as appeareth you have principally offended, & perchaunce you shall understand any profitable counsell without any gloossynge wordes. The Londoners answered that they had not conspyred agaynst the duke, nether had there bene any shamefull thyng spoken or done agaynste hym that they dyd know of or consent unto, whiche thyng they were ready to prove before there soverayne kynge & the duke hym selffe, yett notwythstandyng they affyrmed, that they cold not stay the foolye of the common people, by whom that which had chaunced was commytted, for the common sort of them wantynge money, & not havynge a proper dwellynge house in the cytye, ys easelye incited to maike sturres, & so much leasse they feare to do evill in that they have no goods to loose. Wherfor the sayed citizens requested the kynge that he wolde not punysh those that were innocent & ignorant of the fact, & to maike the synnes of the offenders to redounde upon the heades of the unguyl-

tye, for that sayed they shulde be agaynst all justice, but this for reverence of the kynge, they promysed the duke, that they wolde with all diligence endeavour themselves to brynge in the common people, & to compell them by law to maike due satisfaction. And more (sayed they) we are not able to doo for the duke that may be to hys honour; and at this worde with the kynge's will they were dismissed, full mery when they saluted the courte on there backes. After thys the kynge sente unto them secretly, commandynge them to call all the citizens together, & to maike one searge [wax candle] with the armes of the duke his sonne in yt, & to carye the sayme in solemn procession to St. Paule's Church, where yt sholde continue to burne before the image of the glorious Virgin, continuat att the charge of the cytye. The wax candle therfor beinge mayde, the cytizens by voyce of the cryer are generally called together; at which call they come, they heare the cause of there commynge, but the commonaltye & those of the poorer sorte contemned to be present att such a procession, therfor with indignation every one departed hoom to his owne house; only the woorshippfull of the cytye maike the procession, placynge the wax candle where they were commanded. But the duke not contented with this satisfaction, he endeavored to feare & styrre the cytyzens wythe reproaches & what threatenynge he colde, sayinge that that whiche they had doone was nothyng gratefull unto hym, nay yt rather redounded to hys greater shame, cheifly for that while he was well in health & alyve, they had in suche sorte offered hys armes drawne in a waxe candle. On the other syde, the Londoners affyrmed that they had expressly done that which his father commanded them, & which they beleaved to have been agreable to hys mynde; yf they had knowne more, they were ready to execute all thyngs that sholde be acceptable unto hym, to whom the duke constantly affirmed, that they knew hys mynde, & were not ignorant how to maike satisfaction. With which wordes the citizens were much scandalized, for presently thys speache was emongst them. Yf (sayed they) yt be such an heinous offence, that with those thynges which the kynge his father for hys honour commanded to be doone, he do not thynke hym selfe

satisfyed, what ys yt that we ought to doo unto hym? Wolde he that we sholde proclayme hym kynge, ys thys yt that he meaneth when he sayeth we know what he desyreth? but thys (sayed they) shall never be doone, & they departed asunder worse friends with hym, then they were before.

About the sayme tyme, a certayne knyghte was taiken, called John Monstreworth,^k whoe had traiterously forsaken the English army, at that tyme when as Syr Robert Knowles, by comandment of the kynge of Englande was sente with a great route of noblemen to invade & subdue in hys name the kyngedome of Fraunce. This John, therfore was ready of wyt & prompt of hand, but very ambitious, & leadd many stout men with wyllynge mynds in the sayme expedition; wherfor yt chaunced, that when he saw the sayed Syr Robert & other knyghtes lytle to esteme hys counsell, in greate anger he forsooke the feild, & lefte them in there enemyes hands, at the sayme tyme cheifly when they had most neede of his helpe, & by that occasion our hoste suffered greate losse, & he with a perverse mynde like a traitour, went unto the kynge of Fraunce, whose counsell the kynge usynge many ways hurte our Country. Att the laste he was taken in Navarr by a certein Vascoine Esquyre called Lodwike of St. Giles, neare unto the citeye Pampilona, when as he caried letters & messages of the kynge of Fraunce towarde Spayne, together there as well plentye of armour as of shyppes to invade the realme of Englande; of all whiche he was apoynted captayne. Beynge broughte into Englande & compelled to confesse, he affirmed that about Æster he sholde have come with hym that callethe hym selffe the heire of Wayles to invade those partes, that beyng restored to hys owne by his helpe, he myghte rejoyce with his auncient inheritance, & he hym selffe to returne backe agayne to the kynge of Fraunce. Therefore after a few dayes beynge condemned to a shamefull deathe, when he

^k Of the misdeeds and execution of Sir John Menstreworth, a short account, containing but few of the particulars detailed in the text, will be found in Walsingham, p. 189, and a similar one in the Continuation of Murimuth, p. 138. Fabyan relates that he was convicted before the Mayor and other Justices of the King in the Guildhall, and executed at Tyburn.

saw there was no way to escape, he called for pen, & ynke, & paper, whiche Syr Henry Percye commanded to be brought unto hym, & he wrote the most parte of a sheete of ryall paper, & sealed yt, requestynge that no other but the kynge sholde open the sayme. Whiche letter Syr Henry Percye tooke at thys handes, but whoe opened the seale, or reade the contentes only (as yt ys reported) the duke & he dyd know, wherfor yt ys thought that that wrytynge ys not suffered to come to lyghte, for that they tow percieved certayne thynges there contained (as ys supposed) that touched the consyence of the one or of them bothe. The saime John, after he had wryten these thyngs, was drawne, hanged, and beheaded, and also cutt in foure partes, & penytenant enoughe (as was sayed) as he gathered the frutes commynge by conspyracyes.

The Bishopp of Winchester¹ recovereth his temporaltytes by mediation of Ales Peres.

In the meane tyme the byshopp of Wynchester, whoo with many losses & iniuryes was afflicted, seynge the lawes of the lande not to be iustly handled, but accordyng to the will of certein persons, & beyng destitute almost of all man's helpe, although he thought the sayme to

¹ Bishop Lowth, anxious to support the reputation of his hero, observes with respect to this statement, that it "has been advanced without any other foundation of proof, or colour of probability than the supposed influence of this lady with the king by some late writers, at a time when, as it could not possibly be verified, so neither could it easily be confuted." But he appears to have forgotten that in his preface he had in effect admitted the antiquity, at least, of the story, by remarking that the work in which it was found appeared to have been written *recentibus odiis*. Whether the statement be true or false, it seems to have been propagated in Wykeham's lifetime, and though perhaps a calumny, it cannot now be easily refuted. Towards the conclusion of his work, the Bishop labours with better success to disprove Bohun's assertion that Alice Perrers was Wykeham's niece. The family name of Alice his niece was Chawmpeneys, and she was married to William Perot. On this question, however, as well as on that of the alleged bribe to Alice Perrers, doubts unfavourable to Wykeham appear to have been entertained by Archbishop Parker, who most probably derived his information from the original of the Chronicle before us. De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 386, edit. 1729.

be unfyttynge for hym, he turned himselffe to the women kynde, that ys to wytt, forced with necessitye he dyd that whiche he ought to doo, providynge not only for hym selffe, but also for the oppressions & losses of hys church. Therfor knowynge that Ales Peres, the kynge's concubyne, cold doo all thynges that she wolde, & that there was not any man that wolde in any thyng resyste her wyll, he requested her helpe, he offered her money, he promysed her greate frendshipp, yf she colde helpe hys bishopricke furth of such troubles. She promysed easely to dispatch his cause, & whosoever thou be that knowest the manners of harlots, thou will not doubt of this, especialle for that his cause was greate [harde], hys adversaryes stronge, and she overcovetous; for truly she not refusynge that whiche was offered, & hyred (as ys sayed) for a sufficyent rewarde, went forwardes to trye yf any sparkes of love yett reigned in the kynge, yf the deceites of a harlott myghte now, as in tymes paste, have place with hym. He therfor that long had been taken with her love, mitigated with her speache & prayers, supposed nothyng to be denyed her now that she asked. Therfor agaynst the duke's will, he commanded hys temporaltyes to be gyven unto hym agayne, & so the bishopp by ryght & wronge, maikynge hymselffe freinds with the ritches of this worlde, he recovered that whiche was loste. The duke, althoughe he greavously tooke that whiche Ales had doone contrarye to hys desyre, yet fearynge the kynge's wrath, he purposed to be silent for a tyme, in deferringe his revengement, & to temper hys wrathe untill he myght more fytly reward them.

Of the death of the Countesse of Pembroke, & of her godly deedes.

The seventeenth day of Aprill, dyed the Lady Mary of St. Paule, Countesse of Pembroke, a woman of singular example, for yet lyvyng, so to the honour of God & glorye of her howse, so in releavyng poore men's necessityes she spent her goods, that unto the dukes themselves, she showered examples of good workes, & dyeyng, she gave all her substance ether to her servaunts that wayted on her, or to dyvers

churches, or to poore folcke; for unto the church of St. Albans she gave a certain image of silver and gilded with golde of St. Vincent, which holdeth in yts handes a certain shewe, where in ys contained one bone of the same blessed martyr, & singuler reliques of all the martyrs & confessours (to whose honour they were mayde) where she had obteyned the benyfite of her prayer.

The maryners kyll the Squyre that had slayne there felow.

About Æster the duke caused the whoole navye to be gathered to geather at London, but why he dyd so he only knowethe, & when, as they stayed there, yt chaunced a certain squire to kill one of the shipmen by the great persuasion (as ys sayed) of the kynges concubyne. The shipmen lamentynge the deathe of there felow, broughte the matter into the kynges courte, which ys called the Marshallsea, which then as chaunced, was kept in Southwerke; but when they perceaved that courte to be over favourable unto the murtherer, & harde further that the sayed Ales Perres by the kynges warrant had gotten a promyse of hys pardon, with a furious madnes, they runne unto the howse wherein this murtherer was kept prysoner, they burst in & brynge furthe the man with gyves on his leggs; att the last (he desyrynge a preist, to whom he myghte confesse hymselffe) they unmercyfully kyll hym like a swyne with a knyfe thruste into hys harte, disdaynyng ether that he sholde be confessed, or receave the blessed sacrament; that done tyng a rope unto the gyves where with his feete had bene fettered in prison, & so fastenyng yt to one in this wyse, they drew hys bodye to the gallows; and when they had hanged hym upp upon the gibbet, as though they had done a great act, they caused the trumpeters to goe before them unto the shippes, where in greate myrthe they spent the reste of the day; and when divers persons attempted to feare them over muche, saynge, that such a heinous offence cold not be unpunished, they answered, that yt was impossible to be revenged upon one of them, unlesse all were called to the like punishment; and further they sayed, that the kyng now had greate

nead of their helpe, whoe, yf he wold not, or wold be ignorant to pardon them, they wold depart from hym, & seeke such a man that bothe sholde knowe how to keape them & also wolde love them, & with a stronge hand wolde oppresse those that wrought thē any evill. These wordes beyng knowne, the punyshment ys deferred and good will feyned.

The Bishopp of Norwiche ys shamefully used at his owne towne of Lynne.^m

A lytle [small tyme] after Æster the Bishopp of Norwiche cōmyng to Lynne, hys owne towne, not content with the accustomed honour that the bishopps, his predecessors had, sought to have a new honour; therefor, seyng the mayor of the towne, when he publikely walked through the streetes to have the sergeant go before hym, carryng the mace in hys handes where soever he went, & supposyng hymselffe, for that he was lord of the towne, to be above the mayor, he requested of the cheif men of the towne, that that honoure myght be done unto hym whiche was doone unto a mayor. In very deede before the bishop the verger ys accustomed only to cary a rodd, typped with blacke horne at bothe endes. The maisters [aldermen] of the towne answer very courtly, that they were well pleased he shold have that honour, yf he colde by a good meanes, & without the offence of the commons of the towne, obteyne such a custome of the kyng or the kyng's counsell, and bryng in the saime, otherwyse they sayed, that they feared

^m This story is quoted in Blomefield's *Norfolk* (vol. ii. p. 368, fol.) from Fox, who has apparently (as in the instance referred to in a former note) translated it in his own words from the *St. Alban's History*. He has by mistake (as Blomefield has observed) substituted *Lennam* for *Lynn*. The town of *Lanham*, or *Lavenham*, in *Suffolk*, never belonged to the bishop, and has no corporation. *Lenna*, as Blomefield remarks, is the old Latin word for *Lynn*. It is rightly translated in the MS. copied in the text, and it is correctly given in *Archbishop Sudbury's interdict* issued on the occasion, and printed in *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 118.

the common people, that was unconstant and prompt to sedition, for the vulgar sort of that towne wolde stone them yf they sholde suffer suche a custome to be broughte in; therefore they desyre hym, upon there knees, that he wolde desyst from such a ptition, that he wolde save hys owne honoure & the aldermen, whoe, without doubt, were in thys case in great daunger yf he persysted in hys purpose. The bishopp, but a young man & unbrydled,ⁿ supposinge thys humiltye of the towne's men to come only for feare of hym, usynge the counsell of Roboum, answered that he wolde in no wyse doo that whiche they requested, yea he wolde doo that whiche he had purposed, in the spyte of them all, whom he called ribauldes. He also dyd chyde the aldermen of the towne for there faynte hartes, for that they sayed they feared the common people of the towne, whome he esteemed as nothyng. All hear-yng the bishopp's obstinacye, very humbly they say unto hym: for that, reverend father, (say they) you affyrme that you will altogether doo that thyng even as you have sayed, we beseache you to have us excused, that we honorably conduct you without the towne & doo oure due reverence unto you; for truly we feare not only oure skyns, but also our lyves, for yf the comonaltye perceave us to cleave unto you att this present in this act, all the deeds sholde be imputed unto us, & so perchaunce we sholde, without cause, suffer punyshment. But the bishoppe, nothyng estemyng them or there reasons, commanded one of his servaunts to taik the mace & to cary yt before hym, whiche was doone, and when he had gone a lytle forwardes, the commons of the towne perceavyng (as they affyrmed) that agaynst the libertyes of the

ⁿ This "young and unbridled" bishop was Henry Spencer, called the warlike Bishop of Norwich, whom Archbishop Parker describes to have been *militiae quam theologiae peritior*. He had been a soldier in his youth, and a commander in the army of the Pope, who preferred him to the see of Norwich. In 1383, when youth could no longer be his apology (for he had then been thirteen years a bishop), he raised a large army in defence of the Papal authority, and led it into Flanders. On his return he was fined and disgraced, but was subsequently pardoned. In his *Life* by Capgrave, printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 359, his conduct is defended, and his character extolled for a strict regard to justice, and for liberality towards the poor.

towne he had erected the mace, & caryed the sayme before hym in the sayme towne, p̄sently they began to shutt the gates, to bende there bowes, & shoote att hym with arrowes, divers with other instruments persecuted hym; wherefore yt came to passe that he was stricken from hys horse, & hys horse hurte, & dyvers of hys men (for that yt was nere nyghte) were greuously wounded of the arrowe flynge in darkenes, they certein of his men leavyng hym there fledd away.

About that tyme was the Earle of Salisburie & Sir Richard of Anglisisin^o sent into Fraunce to treate of peace, at least a truce of ii yeares or more, but they could not obtayne any longer truce then for a moneth, which they utterly refused. Whereupon they stayed in Fraunce about thes things (& some thinking they might saffely have passed betwixt Callais & Dovar^p) about 50 takynge shype wer forthwith intercepted by the galleys, & wer slayne, only ii men & ii wimen excepted, even yn the syghte of the townes men of Calays, they beinge not able to helpe them; Sr Hugh Cavarley^q at the tyme beinge capityne of Callais toke this so greate injury in very evill parte, especially for that it was done while they were yet treatyng for peace, but he coulde not helpe it, but forthe with he toke with hym a number of his best and chosyn out men, & purposynge to requite those injuries so don by the French men that troubled the peace, he made a

^o Stow calls him "Sir Richard Anglisisin, a Poyton," but his true name was Guichard D'Angle, a distinguished and accomplished knight, according to Froissart, who says that the young King, Richard the Second, was, at his grandfather's death, placed under the tuition "de ce gentil Chevalier, Messire Guichard D'Angle, par l'accord de tout le pais, pour l'instruire en nobles vertus." He was created Earl of Huntingdon, and dying in London, was buried in Austin Friars church. Chaucer the poet (called by Froissart, Geoffroy Caucher) seems to have been also employed in the unsuccessful negotiation mentioned in the text.

^p The spelling of *Dovar* in the text (which was by no means uncommon) may furnish an acceptable variation to those persons who are fond of adopting alterations in the names of towns, similar to that by which Dover has lately been transformed into *Dovor*.

^q 'To shew the unsettled state of the orthography of proper names at this period, I will just remark, that in documents preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, I find the name of this distinguished commander given with not fewer than *six* variations.

roode in to Fraunce, kylled a great nombar of men, and brought bake with hym a greate booty of artillery & cattaile, the messengers returned into England & brought nothing backe but rumour of warrs.

The same yere, the day before St. Ives day, there began a great fire in the courte of a kepar of the brew house of the convent of Seint Albons a little before mattins, in which were consumed 8 horses, which were wont specially to labour in the cart; and not longe after, to witt, the xv calends of June, in the towne of Seint Albons, many houses were burnt, to the great losse of many men.

On St. Blasses day following, the Abbot of Seint Albons, in his pontificallys, blessed 3 virgens monialls at cell of Sopwell, usynge the privileges graunted by the apostolicall fathars to hym & hys successors.

Of Ales Peres, how she came about the Kynge in his sycknes, and toke his Rings.

The xi kalends of Jullii, the vygell of our first martir Seint Albons, the renowned kynge Edwardsodden as it were with the desease of the [*annuli*^r] which tyme we beleve was gyven hym of God to the use of penitence, and to redeme his synes, had almoaste sodaynly dyed, (I dare not say, dispisyng or neglectyng the benefite of tyme that God had gyven hym, lyke one that shuld lyve evar & not dye,) trusted still to the fond fables of the often named harlot, when she affirmed he shuld well recover and not dye, so that at that tyme he talked rather of hawkyng & huntyng & suche tryfles, then of any thyng that purteyned to his salvation, only he graunted a certayne pardon of deathe and offences throughout his kyngdome, to the inhabitaunts of the same. Therefore as I have sayd, beinge sodeynly taken with the day of deathe, contrary to the opynion of hymselfe and othars about hym, besydes his voice faylyng, he began to have manyfest sygnes of deathe, by whiche bothe he and others that stode by knewe well he shuld dye. What Ales Perres did then, any man may judge that knoweth the conditions of a harlot, al-

^r So in the margin.

thoughe no man set them downe in writinge; for so sone as she saw the kynge had set fote within deathes dores, she bethought hir of flyght; yet before she went, that all men myght perceave that she loved not the kynge for him selfe, but for that whiche was his, she tooke the rings from his fingars, which for his royal majestie he was wont to weare, lest any should doubte of the truethe of the old proverbe, which saythe, no harlot wanteth any scruple of thefte; thus yelding hym suche thanks for his benefits, she bad him adwe, & so withdrew herselfe from him.

Of the Kings death, and such thyngs as happened about hys departure.

But whylst the kynge had yet the use of hys tongue, the often named harlot was still syttyng by hym, mutch lyke a dogg that wayted gredely to take, or els snatch whatsoever his master wold throw under the boorde, so shee with greedy chapps, wyde gapyng, & uncomely grynnyng, still wayted if any comodyty by chaunce fell to the kynge, not content with the multitude of possessions & great welthe where with the dotyng kynge had dayly enryched her, but ever trusted that the ryver Jordan wold flow into her mouthe; namely, that after the kynge, the possession of the whoole kyngdome wold fall out to her content & obay her alone, as well for feare of the kynge as for her greate ryches, wher in she trusted more then in God; by these, & such lyke occasions, she tooke from the kynge what so she colde snatch or catch out of his hands, & hyndered hym lest he should recompence such poore servants as had long served hym (as then it did become a kyng to do), but what thanks she gave hym for his desertes towards her I have already wrytten, for she dyd nothyng that becomed a woman of her condytion, but wrought still accordyng to her own nature & disposition. The kynge thus beinge at the point of deathe, was left not only of her but of [*blank in MS.*] the knyghtes & squyres who had served hym, alured more with hys gyfts then with love, and remayned almost without a comforter; a comforter I count hym that wold consult somewhat about the health of his soule. Amongst a thousand there was

only present at that time a certayn preyst named [*blank in MS.*] who was careful for his salvation ; this man, lamentyng the kyngs myserye, and inwardly touched with grefe of hart, for that amongst so many counsaylors which he had, there was none which wold saye unto hym the wordes of lyfe, came boldly unto hym and admonyshed hym to lyft up the eyes, as well of his body as his hart, unto God, and with sygnes to aske hym mercy, whose majesty he well knew he had greavouslye offended. The kyng then presently lystened to the advyse of the preyst, & allthough he had a lyttle before wanted the use of his voyce, yet then takyng strengthe to hym without help, semed to speake what was in his mynde, & then, what for weakenes of his body, contrytion of his hart, and sobbyng, his voyce and speache fayled, and scarce halfe pronouncyng this word “Jesu,” he with this last word made an end of his speache ; and I thynk God gave hym power to pronounce it, lest any should beleve he wanted Gods mercy who was ever mercyfull to his subjects : for it is godly to beleve that he obtayned mercye ; because, althoughe he was seduced, or rather overcome with certayn vyces, yet the affection of his gentle mynd, his great innocence which he used synce his mothers womb, his mercy and abundant contrytion before his death, were accounted to hym for health or salvation, & that he was contryte, appered evydently the day before his death, ffor when the harlot scarce worthy to be named, wold, as she was wont, have whyspered in his ear, perhaps eyther with her forme or flattery to please hym, he sodaynly, contrary to her expectation, refused her embrasyngs, & sayd it is nothyng that thou dost, & it is to no purpose thou goest about, & with disdayn, as it is thought of her person, & wery or repentyng his former lyfe, with syghyng he wrong his syde, and turned hymself cleane from her. Besydes, he shewed other sygnes or tokens of penytent devotion, for when the foresayd preyst was desyrous to be certyfyed of his contrytion, he gave hym these admonytions : You know, sayeth he, lovyng lord, that often & without cause you have vexed your naturall and leyge people, vyolatyng not only the laws of God but your own also, to the observation whereof at your coronation with publyke othe you bound yourself,

& where you ought to have geven to every man his due or ryght, you became a regarder of persons, and have not done justyce betwyxt man and man. Aske mercy, therefor, of the mercyfull Lorde, & because your voyce fayleth, lyft up your eyes unto the Lord, that we maye see you bothe penytent & askyng mercye : presently he lyft up bothe his eyes & his hands to heaven, drawynge syghes as it were from the bottom of his hart : no doubt sygnes of his repentance. Then the preyst admonyshed hym that, for as much as he had uniuistly punyshed his servaunts, he wold repent hym, & show the aforesayed sygnes : whyche devoutly he dyd. And agayne he sayth, because it is certayn that many men have greuously trespassed agaynst you, & for that you have hated them, remit [or forgive] with all your hart such as have offended you, & receyve them into your full favour agayne, as you wold your selfe fynd favour and grace at God's hand. Then stretchyng forth his hand, declared that from his hart he freely forgave them. Then the preyst brought unto hym the crucefyx. This, sayth he, is the image of our Lord Jesus, who vouchsafed to suffer for us, that he myght brynge us to his glorye, worshyp it, and pray that Chryst maye for his passyon sake receyve your repentance, & lovyngly forgeve all your synes. By and by he tooke the crosse in his hands, and with teares & syghyng he put it to his mouthe, devoutly worshyppynge & kyssyng the same, and within a lyttle whyle after he yelded his spyryte unto God.^s

^s The beautiful and pathetic lines of Gray, describing the funeral couch of this "mighty Victor," will occur to every reader. Barnes labours to shew the great improbability of this barbarous desertion of the king in his last moments, though, in homelier phrase than was afterwards used by the poet, he admits that "it is very usual, and ever will be, for the court to fall away from the setting sun, and to turn towards the East." The story, however, as related by Walsingham, as well as in the Chronicle before us, cannot now be refuted, though we may reasonably hope that the strong party feeling of the writers may have exaggerated its painful details. It should be observed that the conduct of Alice Perrers on this occasion did not form one of the charges contained in the articles of impeachment brought against her in Parliament on the 22d of December following.

Of the new brotherhoode at St. Albons whiche endured not longer.

The daye and yere above wrytten, the new brother hood, invented at the town of St. Albans, in the honor of Albion the fyrst martyr among the Englyshe men, began mutch laudable & comendable devotion, for it appoynted that, so oft as the foresayed martyr, accordyng to the custome, should be caryed abroad, every one of that fraternity which had not an excuse should be present, *in secta sua*, and of the strongest of them should cary xii [*blank in MS.*^t] made at there owne proper coste, in honor of this fyrst martyr, but this devotion endured not longe, for when the comotion & insurrection of the comons was, they declared they were not the bretheren of St. Alban, but the synagoug of Sathan, as apered evydently by all there affections and actions, at that tyme; for they repulsed the abbot, spoyled the houses & cloysters, and by all the meanes they could, intended the destruction of the monasterye, not contented to do it them selves, but requestyng the townes & villages nere them to do the lyke, as the reader shall more playnly fynd out in that whych foloweth.

^t In the margin are the words "torticios circa matricem in p'cessione," which the translator seems to have been unable to render intelligible English. *Matricem* was probably a mistake for *martyrem*.