

HISTORIE
OF THE ARRIVALL OF EDWARD IV. IN ENGLAND
AND THE FINALL RECOUERYE OF HIS KINGDOMES
FROM HENRY VI. A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI.

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M.DCCC.XXX.VIII.

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
ARRIVALL OF KING EDWARD IV.
A. D. 1471.

Here aftar folowethe the mannar how the moaste noble and right victorious prince Edwarde, by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, in the yere of grace 1471, in the monethe of Marche, departed out of Zeland; toke the sea; aryved in England; and, by his force and vallianes, of newe redewced and reconqueryd the sayde realme, upon and agaynst th'Erle of Warwicke, his traytor and rebell, calling himselfe Lievetenaunte of England, by pretensed auctorite of the usurpowre Henry, and his complices; and, also, upon and agains Edward, callynge hymselfe prince of Wales, sonne to the sayde Henry than wrongfully occupienghe the Royme and Crowne of England; and, upon many othur greate and myghty Lords, noble men, and othar, beinge mightily accompaigned. Compiled and put in this forme suinge, by a servaunt of the Kyngs, that presently saw in effect a great parte of his employtes, and the resydwewe knewe by true relation of them that were present at every tyme.

IN the yere of grace 1471, aftar the comptinge of the churche of England, the ij. day of Marche, endynge the x. yere of the reigne of our soveraign Lord Kynge Edwarde the IV. by the grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, the sayde moaste noble kynge accompanied with ij thowsand Englyshe men, well chosen, entendynge to passe the sea, and to reenter and recovar his realme of England, at that tyme usurpyd and occupied by Henry, callyd Henry the VI., by the tray-

CAMD. SOC. I.

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torous meanes of his greate rebell Richard, Erle of Warwicke, and his complices, entred into his shipe, afore the haven of Flisshinge, in Zeland, the sayde ij. day of Marche ; and, forasmuche as aftar he was in the shippe, and the felowshipe also, with all that to them appertayned, the wynd fell not good for hym, he therefore wold not retorne agayne to the land, but abode in his shipe, and all his felowshipe in lyke wyse, by the space of ix dayes, abydynge good wynde and wether ; whiche had the xj. daye of Marche, he made saile, and so did all the shipps that awayed upon hym, takyng theyr cowrse streyght over [towards] the coste of Norfolke, and came before Crowmere, the Tusedaye, agayne even, the xij. day of Marche ; whithar the Kynge sent on land Ser Robart Chambarlayne, Syr Gilbert Debenham, Knyghts, and othar, trustinge by them to have some knowledge how the land inward was disposed towards hym, and, specially, the countries there nere adioyninge, as in party so they browght hym knowledge from suche as for that caws wer sent into thos parties, from his trew servaunts and partakars within the land, whiche tolde them, for certayne, that thos parties wer right sore beset by th'Erle of Warwyke, and his adherents, and, in especiall, by th'Erle of Oxenforde, in such wyse that, of lykly-hood, it might not be for his wele to lande in that contrye ; and a great cawse was, for the Duke of Norfolke was had owt of the contrye, and all the gentlemen to whom th'Erle of Warwyke bare any suspicion ware, afore that, sent for by letars of privie seale, and put in warde about London, or els found suerty ; natheles, the sayd ij Knyghts, and they that came on land with them, had right good chere, and turned agayne to the sea. Whos report herd, the Kynge garte make course towards the north parties. The same night followinge, upon the morne, Wenesday, and Thursday the xiiiij. daye of Marche, fell great stormes, wynds and tempests upon the sea, so that the sayde xiiij. day, in great torment, he came to Humberhede, where the othar shipps were dissevered from hym, and every from other, so that, of necessitye, they were dryven to land, every fere from other. The Kynge, with his shippe aloone, wherein was the Lord Hastings, his Chambarlayne, and other to the nombar of v^c well chosen men, landed within Humber, on Holdernes syde, at a place callyd Ravener-sporne, even in the same place where somtime the Usurpowr Henry of Derby, aftar called Kynge Henry the IV. landed, aftar his exile, contrary and to the disobeysance of his sovereigne lord, Kynge Richard the II.

whome, aftar that, he wrongfully distressed, and put from his reigne and regalie, and usurped it falsely to hymselfe and to his isswe, from whome was linially descended Kynge Henry, at this tyme usinge and usurpinge the corone, as sonne to his eldest sonne, somtyme callyd Kynge Henry the V. The Kyng's brothar Richard, Duke of Glowcestar, and, in his company, ij*c*men, landyd at an othar place iiiij myle from thens. The Earle Rivers, and the felowshipe beinge in his compayne, to the nombar of ij*c*, landyd at a place called Powle, xiiij myle from there the Kynge landyd, and the reminaunt of the felowshipe wher they myght best get land. That night the Kynge was lodgyd at a power village, ij myle from his landyne, with a few with hym; but that nyght, and in the morninge, the resydewe that were comen in his shipe, the rage of the tempest somewhate appeasyd, landyd and alwaye drewe towards the Kynge. And on the morne, the xv. day of Marche, from every landyne place the felowshipe came hoole toward hym. As to the folks of the countrie there came but right few to hym, or almost none, for, by the scuringe of suche persons as for that cawse were, by his said rebells, sent afore into thos partes for to move them to be agaisns his highnes, the people were sore endwsed to be contrary to hym, and not to receyve, ne accepe hym, as for theyr Kynge; natwithstantdynge, for the love and favour that before they had borne to the prince of fulnoble memorye, his father, Duke of Yorke, the people bare hym right great favouwr to be also Duke of Yorke, and to have that of right apartayned unto hym, by the right of the sayde noble prince his fathar. And, upon this opinion, the people of the countrie, whiche in greate nombar, and in dyvars placis, were gatheryd, and in harnes, redye to resistre hym in chalenginge of the Royme and the crowne, were disposyd to content them selfe, and in noo wyse to annoy hym, ne his felowshipe, they affirmynge that to such entent were [they] comen, and none othar. Whereupon, the hoole felowshipe of the Kyngs comen and assembled together, he toke advise what was best to doo, and concludyd briefly, that, albe it his enemies and chefe rebells were in the sowthe partes, at London and ther about, and that the next way towards them had be by Lyncolneshire, yet, in asmooche as, yf they shulde have taken that waye, they must have gon eft sones to the watar agayne, and passyd ovar Humbar, whiche they abhoryd for to doo; and also, for that, yf they so dyd it would have be thowght that they had withdrawe them for feare, which note of skaundar

they wer right lothe to suffar ; for thes, and oþher goode considerations, they determined in themselves not to goo agayne to the watar, but to holde the right waye to his City of Yorke. The Kynge determined also, that, for as longe as he shuld be in passyng thrughe and by the contrye, and to the tyme that he myght, by th'assistaunce of his trew servaunts, subiects and lovars, whiche he trustyd veryly in his progres shuld come unto hym, be of suche myght and puissaunce as that were lykly to make a sufficient party, he, and all thos of his felowshipe, shuld noyse, and say openly, where so evar they came, that his entent and purpos was only to claime to be Duke of Yorke, and to have and enioy th'enheritaunce that he was borne unto, by the right of the full noble prince his fathar, and none oþher. Thrwghe whiche noysyng the people of the contrye that were gatheryd and assembled in dyvars placis, to the number of vi or viij thowsand men, by the ledinge and gwydyng of a priste the vycar of , in one place, and a gentleman of the same contrye, callyd, Martyn of the See, to th'entent to have resisted and lettyd hym his passage, by the stiringe of his rebels, theyr complices, and adherents, toke occasyon to owe and beare hym favowre in that qwarell, not discoveringe, ne remembringe, that his sayd fathar, bisydes that he was rightfully Duke of Yorke, he was also verrey trew and rightwise enheritoure to the roylme and corone of England &c. and so he was declared by [the] iij astates of the land, at a parliament holden at Westmynster, unto this day never repelled, ne revoked. And, under this manar, he kepinge furthe his purpos with all his felowshipe, toke the right way to a gode towne called Beverley, being in his high way towards Yorke. He sent to an oþher gode towne, walled, but vj myle thens, called Kyngstown upon Hull, desyringe th'enhabitants to have openyd it unto hym, but they refused so to doo, by the meanes and stirings of his rebels, whiche afore had sent thethar, and to all the contrye, strict commandements willing, and also charginge, them, at all their powers, to withstande the Kinge, in caase he there aryved. And, therefore, levinge that towne, he kept his way forthe streight to Yorke. And nere this way were also assembled great compaignies in divars places, muche people of the contrie, as it was reported, but they cam not in syght, but all they suffred hym to pas forthe by the contrye ; eythar, for that he and all his felowshipe pretendyd by any manar langage none oþher qwarell but for the right that was his fathars, the Duke of Yorke ; or ells, for that, thowghe they were

in nombar mo than he, yet they durst not take upon them to make hym any manifest warre, knowynge well the great curage and hardines that he was of, with the parfete asswrance of the felowshipe that was with hym ; or ells, paradventure, for that certayne of theyr capitaines and gadrers were some whate enduced to be the more benivolent for money that the Kynge gave them ; wherfore the Kynge, keping furthe his way, cam beforne Yorke, Monday the xvij. day of the same monithe. Trewthe it is that aforne the Kynge came at the citie, by iij myles, caine unto him one callyd Thomas Coniers, Recordar of the citie, whiche had not bene afore that named trwe to the Kyngs partie. He tolde hym that it was not good for hym to come to the citie, for eyther he shuld not be suffred to enter, or els, in caas he enteryd, he was lost, and undone, and all his. The Kynge, seeing so ferforthly he was in his iorney that in no wyse he might goo backe with that he had begone, and that no good myght folowe but only of hardies, decreed in hymselfe constantly to purswe that he had begon, and rathar to abyde what God and good fortune woulde gyve hym, thowghe it were to hym uncertayne, rathar than by laches, or defaulte of curage, to susteyne reprooche, that of lyklihode therby shulde have ensued ; And so, therfore, notwithstandingyng the discouraginge words of the Recordar, which had be afore suspecte to hym and his partie, he kept boldely forthe his iorney, streyght towards the citie. And, within a while, came to hym, owt of the citie, Robart Clifford and Richard Burgh, whiche gave hym and his felowshipe bettar comforte, affirmyng, that in the qwarell aforesayde of his father the Duke of Yorke, he shuld be receyvyd and sufferyd to passe ; whereby, better somewhate encoragyd, he kepte his waye ; nathcles efte sonnes cam the sayde Coniers, and put hym in lyke discomforde as afore. And so, sometyme comfortyd and sometyme discomforde, he came to the gates afore the citie, where his felashipe made a stoppe, and himself and xvij or xvij persons, in the ledinge of the sayde Clifford and Richard Burgh, passed even in at the gates, and came to the worshipfull folks whiche were assembled a little within the gates, and shewed them th'entent and purpos of his comming, in suche forme, and with such maner langage, that the people contentyd them therwithe, and so receyvyd hym, and all his felawshipe, that night, when he and all his feloshipe abode and were refreshed well to they had dyned on the morne, and than departed out of the cite to Tadcastar, a towne of th'Erls of Northumberland, x mile sowth-

wards. And, on the morow after that, he toke his waye towards Wakefield and Sendall, a grete lordshipe appartayninge to the Duke of Yorke, leving the Castell of Pomfrete on his lefte hand, wher abode, and was, the Marqves Montagwe, that in no wyse trowbled hym, ne none of his fellowshipe, but sufferyd hym to passe in peasceable wyse, were it with good will, or noo, men may iuge at theyr pleaswre; I deme ye; but, trouth it is, that he ne had nat, ne cowthe not have gatheryd, ne made, a felashipe of nombar sufficient to have openly resistyd hym in hys qwarell, ne in Kyng Henries qwarell; and one great caws was, for great partie of the people in thos partis lovyd the Kyngs person well, and cowthe nat be encoragyd directly to doo agayne hym in that qwarell of the Duke of Yorke, which in almannar langage of all his fellowshipe was covertly pretendyd, and none other. An other grete cawse was, for grete partye of [the] noble men and comons in thos parties were towards th'Erle of Northumberland, and would not stire with any lorde or noble man other than with the sayde Earle, or at leaste by his commandement. And, for soo muche as he sat still, in suche wise that yf the Marques wolde have done his besines to have assembled them in any manier qwarell, neithar for his love, whiche they bare hym non, ne for any commandement of higher auctoritie, they ne wolde in no cawse, ne qwarell, have assisted hym. Wherein it may right well appere, that the said Erle, in this behalfe, dyd the Kynge right gode and notable service, and, as it is deemed in the conceipts of many men, he cowthe nat hav done hym any beter service, ne not thowghe he had openly declared hym selfe extremly parte-takar with the Kynge in his rightwys qwarell, and, for that entent, have gatheryd and assemblyd all the people that he might have made; for, how be it he loved the Kynge trewly and parfectly, as the Kynge thereof had certayne knowledge, and wolde, as of himselfe and all his power, have served hym trwely, yet was it demyd, and lykly it was to be trewe, that many gentlemen, and other, whiche would have be araysed by him, woulde not so fully and extremly have determinyd them selfe in the Kyng's right and qwarell as th'Erle wolde have done hymselfe; havynge in theyr freshe remembraunce, how that the Kynge, at the first entrie-winning of his right to the Royme and Crowne of England, had and won a great battaile in those same parties, where theyr Maistar, th'Erlls fathar, was slayne, many of theyr fathars, theyr sonns, theyr britherne, and kynsemens, and other many of theyr neighbowrs;

wherefore, and nat without cawse, it was thought that they cowthe nat have borne verrey good will, and done theyr best service, to the Kynge, at this tyme, and in this quarell. And so it may be resonably judged that this was a notable good service, and politiquely done, by th'Erle. For his sittynge still caused the citie of Yorke to do as they dyd, and no welse, and every man in all thos northe partes to sit still also, and suffre the Kynge to passe as he dyd, nat with standynge many were right evill disposed of them selfe agaynes the Kynge, and, in especiall, in his qwarell. Wherefore the Kynge may say as Julius Cesar sayde, he that is nat agaynst me is with me. And oþer right greate cause why the Marqwes made nat a felawshippe agaynst hym for to have trowbled hym [was], for thowghe all the Kynges [fellowship] at that season were nat many in nombar, yet they were so habiled, and so well piked men, and, in theyr werke they hadd on hand, so willed, that it had bene right hard to right-a-great felashipe, moche greater than they, or gretar than that the Marquis, or his frends, at that tyme, cowthe have made, or assembled, to have put the Kynge and his sayde felawshippe to any distresse. And oþer cawse [was,] where as he cam thrwghe the cuntre there, the people toke an opinion, that yf the people of the contries wherethrwghe he had passed aforene, had owght him any mannar of malice, or evill will, they would some what have shewed it whan he was amongs them, but, inasmuche as no man had so don aforene, it was a declaration and evidence to all thos by whome he passyd after, that in all the oþer contries wer none but his goode lovares ; and greate foly it had bene to the lattar cuntries to have attempted that the former cuntries would not, thinkyng verilie that, in suche case, they, as his lovares, would rathar have ayded hym thann he shulde have bene distressed ; wherefore he passed with mochebettar will.

Abowte Wakefylde, and in thos parties, came some folks unto hym, but not so many as he supposed wolde have comen ; nevarthelesse his nombar was encreasyed. And so from thens he passyd forthe to Doncastar, and so forthe to Notyngham. And to that towne came unto hym two good Knyghts, Syr William Parre, and Ser James Harington, with two good bands of men, well arrayed, and habled for warr, the nombar of vi^c men.

The Kynge, beinge at Notyngham, and or he came there, sent the scorers alabowte the contries adioynyng, to aspie and serche yf any gaderyngs were in any place agaynst hym ; some of whome came to

Newerke, and undarstode well that there was, within the towne, the Duke of Excestar, th'Erle of Oxford, the Lord Bardolf, and othar, with great felowshipe, which th'Erle and they had gatheryd in Essex, in Northfolke, Sowthfolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntyngdonshire, and Lyncolnshire, to the nombar of iiiij^m men. The sayde Duke and Erll, havynge knowledge that the sayde forrydars of the Kyngs had bene aforene the towne in the evenyng, thinkynge verily that the Kynge, and his hole hoste, were approchinge nere, and would have come upon them, determyned shortly within themselves that [they] might not abyde his comynge. Wherefore, erly, abowte two of the cloke in the mornynge, they flede out of the towne, and ther they lost parte of the people that they had gatheryd and browght with them thethar. Trewthe it was, that, whan the Kynges aforene-ridars had thus espyed theyr beinge, they acertaynyd the Kynge therof, at Notyngham, which, incontinent, assembled all his felowshipe, and toke the streyght waye to-them-wards, within three myle of the towne. And, there, came to hym certayne tydings that they were fledd owt of Newerke, gonn, and disperpled; wherefore he returnyd agayne to Notyngham, determyned to kepe the next and right way towards his sayd great Rebell, th'Erle of Warwike, the which he knew well was departyd out of London, and comen into Warwikeshire, where he besterd hym, and in the countries nere adioynynge, t'assemble all that he myght, to th'entent to have made a myghty filde agaynst the Kynge, and to have distressyd hym. Wherefore, from Notyngham, the Kynge toke the streyght way towards hym, by Leicestre; but, as sonne as he hard of the Kyngs comyng onwards, and approchinge nere, eythar for that hym thought not to be of swffcient powere to gyve hym batayle in that playne filde, or els, for that he lacked hardines and cowrage soo to doo, albe it he had assembled greater nombar than the Kynge had at that tyme; for by the pretensed auctoritie of Henry, than callyd Kynge, he was constitute Lievetenaunt of England, and, whereas he cowthe nat arrayse the people with good will, he streightly charged them to come forthe upon Payne of deathe; he withdrew hymselfe, and all his felowshipe, into a strong wallyd towne there nere by hym, callyd Coventrye.

At Leycestar came to the Kynge ryght-a-fayre felawshipe of folks, to the nombar of iiij^m men, well habyled for the wers, suche as were veryly to be trustyd, as thos that wowlde uttarly inparte with hym at beste and

worste in his qwarell, withe all theyr force and myght to do hym theyr trew service. And, in substaunce, they were suche as were towards the Lorde Hastings, the Kyngs Chambarlayne, and, for that entent above sayd, came to hym, stiryd by his messages sent unto them, and by his ser-vaunts, frinds, and lovares, suche as were in the contrie.

And so, bettar accompanied than he had bene at any tyme afore, he departyd from Leycestar, and cam before the towne of Coventrie, the xxix. day of Marche. And when he undarstode the sayde Earle within the towne [was] closyd, and with hym great people, to the nombar of vj or viij ^m men, the Kynge desyred hym to come owte, with all his people, into the .filde, to determinye his qwarell in playne fielde, which the same Earle refused to do at that tyme, and so he dyd iij dayes astar-ensuinge continually. The Kynge, seinge this, drwe hym and all his hooste streght to Warwike, viij small myles from thens, where he was receyvyd as Kynge, and so made his proclamations from that tyme forthe wards; where he toke his lodgyngs, wenynge thereby to have gyven the sayde Earle gretar cowrage to have yssyed owte of the towne of Coventrye, and to have taken the fielde, but he ne would so doo. Nathelesse dayly came certayne personns on the sayde Erlls behalve to the Kinge, and made greate moynes, and desired him to treat withe hym, for some gode and expedient appoyntment. And, how be it the Kynge, by the advise of his Counseylors, graunted the sayd Earle his lyfe, and all his people beinge there at that tyme, and dyvers othar fayre offers made hym, consythar his great and haynows offenses; which semyd resonable, and that for the wele of peax and tranquilitie of the Realme of England, and for ther-by to avoyde th'effusyon of Christen bloode, yet he ne woulde accepte the sayde offars, ne accorde thereunto, but yf he myght have had suche apoyntment unresonable as myght nat in eny wyse stande with the Kyngs honowr and swretye.

Here is to be remembrede how that, at suche season afore, as whan the Kynge was in Holand, the Duke of Clarence, the Kyngs second brother, consyderinge the great inconveniences whereunto as well his brother the Kynge, he, and his brother the Duke of Glocestar, were fallen unto, thrwghe and by the devisyon that was betwixt them, whereunto, by the subtile compassyng of th'Erle of Warwike, and his complices, they

CAMD. SOC. I.

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were browght, and enduced ; as, first to be remembred, the disheritinge of them all from the Royme and Crowne of England, and that therto apperteynyd ; and, besyds that, the mortall warre and detestable, lykly to falle betwixt them ; and, ovari this, that yt was evident that to what party so evar God woulde graunte the victorye, that, notwithstandingynge, the wynner shuld nat be in eny bettar suerty therefore of his owne estate and parson, but abyde in as greate, or greaterar, dangar than they wer in at that tyme. And, in especiall, he considred well, that hymselfe was had in great suspicion, despite, disdeigne, and hatered, with all the lordes, noblemen, and othar, that were adherents and full partakers with Henry, the Usurpar, Margaret his wyfe, and his sonne Edward, called Prince ; he sawe also, that they dayly laboryd amongs them, brekyng theyr appoynments made with hym, and, of lyklihed, aftar that, shuld continually more and more fervently entend, conspire, and procure the distruption of hym, and of all his blode, wherethrwghe it apperyd also, that the Roylme and Regalie shuld remaygne to suche as thereunto myght nat in eny wyse have eny rightwyse title. And, for that it was unnaturall, and agaynes God, to suffar any suche werre to continew and endure betwixt them, yf it myght otharwyse be, and, for othar many and great considerations, that by right wyse men and virtuex were layed afore hym, in many behalfs, he was agreed to entend to some good apointment for this pacification. By right covert wayes and meanes were goode mediators, and mediatricis, the highe and myghty princis my Lady, theyr mothar ; my lady of Exceter, my lady of Southfolke, theyre systars ; my Lord Cardinall of Cantorbery ; my Lord of Bathe ; my Lord of Essex ; and, moste specially, my Lady of Bourgoigne ; and othar, by mediacions of certayne priests, and othar well disposyd parsons. Abowte the Kyngs beinge in Holland, and in other partes beyond the sea, great and diligent labowre, with all effect, was continually made by the high and mighty princesse, the Duches of Bowrgine, which at no season ceasyd to send hir sarvaunts, and messengars, to the Kynge, wher he was, and to my sayd Lorde of Clarence, into England ; and so dyd his verrey good devowre in that behalfe my Lord of Hastings, the Kyng's Chambarlayne, so that a parfecte accord was appoyntyd, accordyd, concludyd, and assured, betwixt them ; wherein the sayde Duke of Clarence full honorably and trwly acquited hym ; for, as sune as he was acertaygned of the Kyngs arivall in the north parties, he assembled anon

suche as would do for hym, and, assone as he godly myght, drew towards the Kynge, hym to ayde and assyste agaynste all his enemyes, accompanied with mo than iiiij ^{m.}

The Kynge, that tyme beinge at Warwyke, and undarstondynge his neere approchinge, upon an aftarnone isswyd out of Warwike, with all his felowshipe, by the space of three myles, into a fayre sylde towards Banbery, where he saw the Duke, his brothar, in faire array, come towards hym, with a greate felashipe. And, whan they were togedars, within lesse than an halfe myle, the Kynge set his people in aray, the banners [displayed] and lefte them standynge still, takynge with hym his brothar of Glocestar, the Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and fewe othar, and went towarde his brothar of Clarence. And, in lyke wyse, the Duke, for his partye takynge with hym a fewe noble men, and levinge his hoost in good order, departyd from them towards the Kynge. And so they mett betwixt both hostes, where was right kynde and lovyng langwage betwixt them twoo, with parfite accord knyt togethars for evar here aftar, with as hartyly lovyng chere and countenaunce, as might be betwix two bretherne of so grete nobley and astate. And than, in lyke wyse, spake togethar the two Dukes of Clarence and Glocestar, and, aftar, the othar noble men beinge there with them, whereof all the people there that lovd them, and awght them theyr trew service, were right glade and ioyows, and thanked God highly of that ioyows metyng, unitie, and accorde, hopynge that, therby, shuld growe unto them prosperous fortune, in all that they shuld aftar that have a doo. And than the trumpetts and minstrelys blew uppe, and, with that, the Kynge browght his brothar Clarence, and suche as were there with hym, to his felowshipe, whom the sayd Duke welcomyd into the land in his best manner, and they thanked God, and hym, and honoryd hym as it apparteigned.

Aftar this, the Kynge, yet levinge his hooste standynge still, with the sayd few persons went with his brothar of Clarence to his hoste, whome he hertily welcomyd, and promised hym largely of his grace and good love, and, from thens, they all came hoole togethars to the Kyngs hooste, when ethar party welcomyd and jocundly receyvyd othar, with perfect frindlynes; and, so, with greate gladnes, bothe hostes, with theyr princes, togethars went to Warwyke, with the Kynge, and ther lodged, and in the countrie nere adioyninge.

Sone aftar this the Duke of Clarence, beinge right desyrows to have pro-

curyd a goode accord betwyxt the Kynge and th'Erle of Warwyke; not only for th'Erle, but also for to reconsyle therby unto the Kyngs good grace many lordes and noble men of his land, of whom many had largly taken parte with th'Erle; and this for the weale of peax and tranquilitie in the land, and in advoydynge of cruell and mortall were, that, of the contrary, was lykly, in shortyme, to enswe; he made, therefore, his mocions, as well to the Kynge as to th'Erle, by messagis sendyng to and fro, bothe for the well above sayde, as to acquire hym trwly and kyndly in the love he bare unto hym, and his blood, whereunto he was allied by the marriage of his dowghtar. The Kynge, at th'ynstaunce of his sayd brothar, the Duke, was content to shew hym largly his grace, with dyvars good condicions, and profitable for th'Erle yf that he woulde have acceptyd them. But th'Erle, whether he in maner dispaireid of any good pardurable continuance of good accord betwixt the Kynge and hym, for tyme to come, consyderinge so great attemptes by hym comytted agaynst the Kynge; or els, for that willinge to enterteigne the greate promises, pacts, and othes, to the contrary, made solemnily, and also priuately sworne, to the Frenche Kynge, Qwene Margarete, and hir sonne Edward, in the qwarell of them, and of his owne sechinge, wherefrom he ne couthe departe, without grete desklaundar; or els, for that he had afore thowght, and therefore purveyed, that, in caase he myght nat get to have the ovar-hand of the Kynge, his meanes were founden of sure and certayne escape by the sea to Calais, whiche was enswryd to hym selfe in every caas that myght hape hym, so that it myght fortwne hym for to come thethar; or els, for that certayne parsons beinge with hym in companye, as th'Erle of Oxenforde, and othar, beinge desposed in extrem malice agaynst the Kynge, wolde not suffre hym t'accepte any mannar of appoynment, were it resonable or unresonable, but causyd hym to refuse almannar of appointements; whiche as many men deme was the verray cawse of none acceptinge of the Kyngs [grace]; wherfore all suche treaty brake and toke none effecte.

In this meane season of the Kyngs beinge at Warwyke, cam to the Erle of Warwyke, to Coventrye, the Duke of Excestar, the Marques Mountagwe, th'Erle of Oxenforde, with many othar in great nombar, by whos than commynge dayly grew and encreasyd the felowshipe of that partie. The Kynge, withe his brithern, this consyderinge, and that in no wyse he cowthe provoke hym to come owt of the towne, ne thinkynge

it behoffoll to assayll, ne to tary for the asseginge therof; as well for avoydaunce of greate slachtars that shuld therby enswe, and for that it was thowght more expedient to them to draw towards London, and there, with helpe of God, and th'assystaunce of his trwe lords, lovares, and seruaunts, whiche were there, in thos partes, in great nombar; knowyng also, that his principall advarsarye, Henry, with many his partakers, were at London, ther usurpyng and usynge the authoritie royall, which barred and letted the Kyng of many aydes and assystaunces, that he shuld and mowght hav had, in divars parties, yf he myght ones shew hymselffe of powere to breke their auctoritie; wherefore, by th'advysse of his sayd brithern, and othar of his cownsell, he toke his purpos to London wards, and so departyd fro Warwicke; yet, este sones, shewinge hym, and his hoste, before Coventrie, and desyringe the sayd Erle, and his felashipe, to come owte, and for to determyne his qwarell by battayle, whiche he and they utterly refused, wherfore the Kynge and his brethern kept forthe theyr purpos sowthewardes. And this was the v. day of Aprell the Friday.

On the Satarday, the Kynge, with all his hooste, cam to a towne called Daventre, where the Kynge, with greate devocion, hard all divine service upon the morne, Palme-Sonday, in the parishe churche, wher God, and Seint Anne, shewyd a fayre miracle; a goode pronostique of good aventure that aftar shuld befall unto the Kynge by the hand of God, and mediation of that holy matron Seynt Anne. For, so it was, that, afore that tyme, the Kynge, beinge out of his realme, in great trowble, thowght, and hevines, for the infortwne and adversitie that was fallen hym, full often, and, specially upon the sea, he prayed to God, owr Lady, and Seint George, and, amonges othar saynts, he specially prayed Seint Anne to helpe hym, where that he promysed, that, at the next tyme that it shuld hape hym to se any ymage of Seint Anne, he shuld therto make his prayers, and gyve his offeringe, in the honor and worshiphe of that blesy whole Saynte. So it fell, that, the same Palme Sonday, the Kynge went in procession, and all the people aftar, in goode devotion, as the service of that daye askethe, and, whan the processyon was comen into the churche, and, by ordar of the service, were comen to that place where the vale shulbe drawne up afore the Roode, that all the people shall honor the Roode, with the anthem, *Ave*, three tymes begon, in a pillar of the churche, directly aforne the place where Kynge knelyd, and devoutly honoryd the Roode,

was a lytle ymage of Seint Anne, made of alleblastar, standynge fixed to the piller, closed and clasped togethars with four bordes, small, payntyd, and gowynge rownd abowt the image, in maner of a compas, lyke as it is to see comonly, and all abowt, where as suche ymages be wont to be made for to be solde and set up in churches, chapells, crosses, and oratories, in many placis. And this ymage was thus shett, closed, and clasped, accordynge to the rulles that, in all the churchis of England, be observyd, all ymages to be hid from Ashe Wednesday to Estarday in the mornynge. And so the sayd ymage had bene from Ashwensday to that tyme. And even sodaynly, at that season of the service, the bordes compassynge the ymage about gave a great crak, and a little openyd, whiche the Kynge well perceyveyd and all the people about hym. And anon, aftar, the bordes drewe and closed togethars agayne, withoutt any mans hand, or touchinge, and, as thowghe it had bene a thinge done with a violence, with a gretar might it openyd all abrod, and so the ymage stode, open and discovert, in syght of all the people there beyng. The Kynge, this seinge, thanked and honoryd God, and Seint Anne, takynge it for a good signe, and token of good and prosperous aventure that God wold send hym in that he had to do, and, remembringe his promyse, he honoryd God, and Seint Anne, in that same place, and gave his offrings. All thos, also, that were present and sawe this worshippyd and thanked God and Seint Anne, there, and many offeryd ; takyng of this signe, shewed by the power of God, good hope of theyr good sped for to come.

The Kynge from that towne went to a good towne callyd Northampton, wher he was well receyved, and, from thens toke the next way towardes London, levynge alway behynd hym in his journey a good bande of speres and archars, his behynd-rydars, to countar, yf it had neded, suche of th'Erls partye as, peradventure, he shuld have sent tha ve trowbled hym on the bakhalse, yf he so had done.

Here it is to be remembred, that, in this season of the Kyngs comynge towards and beinge at Warwyke, and of the comynge to hym of his brothar the Duke of Clarence, Edmond callynge hymselfe Duke of Somerset, John of Somerset his brother, callyd Marques Dorset, Thomas Courtney, callynge hym self th'Erle of Devonshire, beinge at London, had knowledge owt of Fraunce, that Qwene Margaret, and hir sonne, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countes of Warwyke, the Prior of Seint Johns, the

Lord Wenloke, with other many, theyr adherents and parte-takers, with all that evar they myght make, were ready at the sea-syde commynge, purposyng to arive in the West Contrie; wherefore they departyd owt of London, and went into the west partics, and ther bestyrd them right greatly to make an assemblye of asmoche people for to receyve them at theyr comynge, them to accompany, fortyfy, and assyst, agaynst the Kynge, and all his partakars, in the qwarels of Henry, callyd Kynge, and occupyinge the regalie for that tym. And trew it was that she, hir sonne, the Countes of Warwike, the Lords, and other of theyr fellowshipe, entryd theyr ships for that entent the xxiiij. of Marche, and so continuyd theyr abode in theyr ships, or they myght land in England, to the xiij. day of Aprell, for defawlt of good wynd, and for grete tempests upon the sea, that time, as who saythe, continuynge by the space of xx dayes. But leve we this, and retorne agayne to the Kyngs progrese in his jowrney towards London, tellynge how that he came upon the Twesday, the ix. day of Aprill, from whens he sent comfortable messagis to the Qwene to Westminstar, and to his trew Lords, servaunts, and lovares, beyng at London; wherupon, by the moste covert incanes that they cowthe, [they] avised and practysed how that he myght be receyved and welcomyd at his sayde city of London. Th'Erle of Warwike, knowenge this his iourneyng, and approchinge to London, sent his lettars to them of the citie, willinge and chargyng them to resyste him, and let the receyvyng of hym and of his. He wrote also to his brothar, th'Archbysshope of Yorke, desyryng hym to put hym in the uttarmoste devowr he cowthe, to provoke the citie agayns hym, and kepe hym owt, for two or three dayes; promisyng that he wolde not fayle to come with great puissance on the bakhalse, trustinge utterly to dystrese and distroye hym and his, as to the same he had, by his other writyngs, encharged the maior, and the aldermen, and the comons of the citie.

Hereupon, the ix. day of Aprell, th'Archbyshore callyd unto hym toghars, at Seint Powles, within the sayde Citie of London, suche lords, gentlemen, and other, as were of that partye, [with] as many men in harneys of theyr servaunts and other as they cowthe make, which, in all, passed nat in nombar vj or vij ^m men, and, thereupon, cawsed Henry, callyd Kynge, to take an horse and ryde from Powles thrwghe Chepe, and so made a circute abowte to Walbroke, as the generall processyon of London hathe bene accustomyd, and so returned agayne to Powles, to the Bysshops Palays,

where the sayd Henry at that tyme was lodged, supposyng, that, whan he had shewyd hym in this arraye, they shuld have provokyd the citizens, and th'enhabitants of the citie, to have stonde and comen to them, and fortified that partye; but, trewthe it is, that the rewlars of the citie were at the counsell, and hadd set men at all the gates and wardes, and they, seyng by this manner of doinge, that the power of the sayde Henry, and his adherents, was so litle and feble as there and then was shewyd, they cowld thereby take no corage to draw to them, ne to fortifye theyr partye, and, for that they fearyd, but rathar the contrary, for so moche as they sawe well that, yf they wolde so have done, ther myght was so lytle that it was nat for them to have ones attemptyd to have resystid the Kynge in his comynge, whiche approched nere unto the citie, and was that nyght at Seint Albons. They also of the citie in great nombar, and, namly, of the moaste worshipfull, were fully disposed to favour the Kynge, and to have the citie opne unto hym at his comynge. They of the citie also consideryd, that he was notably well accompanied with many good, hable, and well-willed men, whiche, for no power, nor no resistance that myght be made, would spare to attempt, and suporte, the takynge the citie, by all wayes possible; whereof they ne shuld have failed, consideringe that the Kynge at that tyme had many greate and myghty frinds, lovares, and servitors, within the sayd citie, whiche would not have fayled by dyvers enterprises have made the citie open unto hym; as this myght nat be unknowne unto right many of the sayde citie; and, also, as might appere by that was don aftar in that behalfe and to that entent. Thus, what for love that many bare to the Kynge, and what for drade that many men had, how that, in caas the citie shuld have bene wonne upon them by foarce, the citiesens shuld therefore have susteygned harmes and damagis irreparable, and for many othar great consyderations, the maior, aldarmen, and othar worshipfull of the citie, determined clerly amongs them selfe to kepe the citie for the Kynge, and to opne it to hym, at his comynge; as so they sent to hym that therein they would be gwydyd to his pleaswre. Th'Archebyshop of Yorke, undarstondynge the Kyngs commynge, and approchinge nere to the citie, sent secretly unto hym desyringe to be admittyd to his grace, and to be undar good appoyntement, promittynge therefore to do unto hym great pleaswre for his well and swertye; whereunto the Kynge, for good cawses and con-

siderations, agreed so to take hym to his grace. Th'Archbyshore, therof assuryd, was ryght well pleasyd, and therefore wcle and trwlye acquite hym, in observynge the promyse that he had made to the Kynge in that behalfe.

The same nyght followynge the towre of London was taken for the Kyngs beholfe; whereby he had a playne entrie into the citie thowghe all they had not bene determinyd to have receyvyd hym in, as they were. And on the morow, the Thursday, the xj. day of Aprill, the Kynge came, and had playne overture of the sayd citie, and rode streight to Powles churche, and from thens went into the Byshops paleis, where th'Archbyshore of Yorke presentyd hym selfe to the Kyngs good grace, and, in his hand, the usurpowr, Kynge Henry; and there was the Kynge seasyd of hym and dyvars rebels. From Powles the Kynge went to Westmynstar, there honoryd, made his devout prayers, and gave thankyngs to God, Saint Petre, and Saint Edward, and than went to the Qwene, and comforyd hir; that had a longe tyme abyden and soioured at Westmynstar, asswringe hir parson only by the great fraunchis of that holy place, in right great trowble, sorow, and hevines, whiche she sustayned with all maner pacience that belonged to eny creature, and as constantly as hathe benc sene at any tyme any of so highe estate to endure; in the whiche season natholes she had browght into this worlde, to the Kyngs greetyste joy, a fayre sonn, a prince, where with she presentyd hym at his comynge, to his herts synguler conforte and gladnes, and to all them that hym trewly loved and wolde serve. From thens, that nyght, the Kynge retornyd to London, and the Qwene with hym, and lodged at the lodgyng of my lady his mothar; where they harde devyne service that nyght, and upon the morne, Good Fryeday; where also, on the morn, the Kynge tooke advise of the great lords of his blood, and othar of his counsell, for the adventures that were lykely for to come.

Th'Erle of Warrewike, callynge hymselfe lievetenaunt of England, and so constitute by the pretensed auctorite of Kynge Henry, beyng at Coventrie, and undrestandinge well that the Kynge wolde moche doo to be received in at London, and wist nat, in certeyne, ye or no, isshued owt of Coventrie with a great puissaunce, the lords, and all that he might make with hym, and, by Northampton, tooke theire way astar the Kynge, supposinge verrely to have had right great advantage upon hym by one of the

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two waies ; eithar, that the citie shuld have kepte the Kynge owte, whiche failed ; or els, in caas he were received in, he shulde there [have] kepte and observyd the solempnitie of Estar, and, yf he so dyd, he thowght sodaynly to come upon hym, take hym, and distroy hym, and his people [to have] disceaveyed, but the Kyng, well advartised of this yvell and malicious purpos, dyd grate diligence to recountre hym, or he might come nere to the citie, as ferre from it as he goodly myght ; and, therfore, with a great armye, he departyd out of the citie of London towards hym, upon the Saturdaye, Ester's even, the xiij. day of Aprell. And so he toke in his companye to the felde, Kynge Henrye ; and soo, that aftar none, he roode to Barnete, x myles owte of London, where his afore-riders had founden the afore-riders of th'Erles of Warwikes hooste, and bet them, and chaced them out of the towne, more some what than an halfe myle ; when, undre an hedge-syde, were redy assembled a great people, in array, of th'Erls of Warwike. The Kynge, comynge aftar to the sayde towne, and understanding all this, wolde [ne] suffre one man to abyde in the same towne, but had them all to the field with hym, and drewe towards his enemies, without the towne. And, for it was right derke, and he myght not well se where his enemyes were enbataylled afore hym, he lodged hym, and all his hoste, afore them, moche nere[r] then he had supposed, but he toke nat his ground so even in the front afore them as he wold have don yf he might bettar have sene them, butt somewhate a-syden-hande, where he disposed all his people, in good arraye, all that nyght ; and so they kept them still, withoutt any mannar langwage, or noyse, but as lytle as they well myght. Bothe parties had goons, and ordinaunce, but th'Erle of Warwike had many moo then the Kynge, and therefore, on the nyght, weninge gretly to have anoyed the Kinge, and his hooste, with shot of gonnes, th'Erls fielde shotte gunes almoste all the nyght. But, thanked be God ! it so fortuned that they alway ovarshotte the Kyngs hoste, and hurtyd them nothinge, and the cawse was the Kyngs hoste lay muche nerrar them than they demyd. And, with that also, the Kyng, and his hoste, kept passinge greate silence alnyght, and made, as who saythe, no noyse, whereby they might nat know the very place where they lay. And, for that they shulde not know it, the Kynge suffred no gonns to be shote on his syd, all that nyght, or els right fewe, whiche was to hym great advauntage, for, therby, they myght have estemmed the ground that he lay in, and have leveled theire gunns nere.

On the morow, betymes, The Kynge, understandinge that the day approched nere, betwyxt four and five of the cloke, natwithstandyng there was a greate myste and letted the syght of eithar othar, yet he commytted his cawse and qwarell to Allmyghty God, avancyd bannars, dyd blowe up trumpets, and set upon them, firste with shotte, and, than and sone, they joyned and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and coragious ly receyved them, as well in shotte as in hand-strokes whan they ioyned; whiche ioynynge of theyr bothe batteyls was nat directly frount to frount, as they so shulde have ioyned ne had be the myste, whiche suffred neyther party to se othar, but for a litle space, and that of lyklyhod cawsed the bataile to be the more crewell and mortall; for, so it was, that the one ende of theyr batayle ovarrechyd th'end of the Kyngs battayle, and so, at that end, they were myche myghtyar than was the Kyngs bataile at the same [end] that ioyned with them, whiche was the west ende, and, therefore, upon that party of the Kyngs battayle, they had a gretar distres upon the Kyngs party; wherefore many flede towards Barnet, and so forthe to London, or evar they lafte; and they fell in the chace of them, and dyd moche harme. But the other parties, and the residewe of neithar bataile, might se that distrese, ne the fleinge, ne the chace, by cawse of [the] great myste that was, whiche wolde nat suffre no man to se but a litle from hym; and so the Kyngs battayle, which saw none of all that, was therby in nothing discouragyd, for, save only a fewe that were nere unto them, no man wiste thereof; also the othar party by the same distres, flyght, or chace, were therefore nevar the gretlyar coragyd. And, in lyke-wise, at the est end, the Kyngs batayle, whan they cam to ioyninge, ovarrechyd theyr batayle, and so distresyd them theyr gretly, and soo drwe nere towards the Kynge, who was abowt the myddest of the battayle, and susteygned all the myght and weight thereof. Nethes upon the same litle distresse at the west end anon ranne to Westmynstar, and to London, and so forthe furthar to othar contries, that the Kynge was distressed, and his fielde loste, but, the lawde be to Almyghty God! it was otharwyse; for the Kynge, trusting verely in God's helpe, owr blesyd ladyes, and Seynt George, toke to hym great hardies and corage for to supprese the falcehode of all them that so falcely and so traytorowsly had conspired agaynst hym, wherethrwghe, with the faythfull, welbelovyd, and myghty assystaunce of his felawshipe, that in great nombar deseveryd nat from his parson, and were as

well asswred unto hym as to them was possyble, he manly, vigorowsly, and valliantly assayled them, in the mydst and strongest of theyr battaile, where he, with great violence, bett and bare down afore hym all that stode in hys way, and, than, turned to the range, first on that one hand, and than on that other hand, in lengthe, and so bet and bare them downe, so that nothing myght stande in the syght of hym and the welle asswred felowshipe that attendyd trewly upon hym; so that, blessed be God! he wan the filde there, and the perfite victory remayned unto hym, and to his rebells the discomfiture of xxx^m men, as they nombrid them selves.

In this battayle was slayne the Erle of Warwyke, somewhat fleinge, which was taken and reputed as chefe of the felde, in that he was callyd amongs them lyvetenaunt of England, so constitute by the pretensed auctoritye of Kynge Henry. Ther was also slayne the Marques Montagwe, in playne battayle, and many other knyghts, squiers, noble men, and other. The Duke of Excestar was smytten downe, and sore woundyd, and lafte for dead; but he was not well knowne, and so lafte by a lytle out of the fielde, and so, aftar, he escaped. The Erle of Oxenford fled, and toke into the contrie, and, in his flyenge, fell in company with certayne northen men, that also fled from the same filde, and so went he, in theyr company, northwards, and, aftar that, into Scotland.

This battayle duryd, fightyng and skirmishinge, some tyme in one place and some tyme in an other, ryght dowbtefully, becaswe of the myste, by the space of thre howrs, or it was fully achivyd; and the victory is gyven to hym by God, by the mediacion of the moaste blesyed virgen and modre, owr lady Seint Mary; the glorious martire Seint George, and all the saynts of heven, mayntaynyng his qwarell to be trew and rightwys, with many-fold good and contynuall prayers, whiche many devout persons, religiows and other, ceasyd not to yelde unto God for his good spede, and, in especiall, that same day and season, whan it pleaseyd God t'accepte the prayers of people being confessyd and in clene lyfe, whiche was the Estare mornynge, the tyme of the servyce-doynge of the resurrection, comonly, by all the churches of England. And, albe hit the vyctorye remayned to the Kynge, yet was it not without grete danger and hurt, for ther were slayne in the filde the Lorde Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoies sonne and heyre, and many other good Knyghts, and squiers, gode yemen, and many other meniall seruaunts of the Kyngs. And it is to wete, that it

cowthe not be judged that the Kyngs hoste passyd in nombar ix men; but, suche a great and gracious Lorde is Almyghty God, that it plesythe hym gyvythe the victory as well to fewe as to many, wherefore, to hym be the lawde and the thanks. And so the Kynge gave him speciall lovinge, and all that were with hym. This thus done, the Kynge, the same day, aftar that he had a little refreshed hym and his hoste, at Barrette, he gathered his felowshipe togethars, and, with them, returned to his Citie of London, where into he was welcomyd and receyvyd with moche ioy and gladnesse. And so rode he forthe streyght unto Powles at London, and there was receyvyd with my Lorde Cardinall of England, and many other bysshops, prelates, lords spirituall, and temporall, and other, in grete nombar, whiche all humbly thanked and loyed God of his grace, that it plesyd hym that day to gyve to theyr prynce, and soveraygne lord, so prosperous a iowrney, wherby he had surprised them that, of so great malice, had procured and laboryd at theyr powers his uttar destrucion, contrary to God, and to theyr faythes and liegeances.

On the morow aftar, the Kynge commandyd that the bodyes of the deade lords, th'Erle of Warwicke, and hys brothar the Marques, shuld be browght to Powles in London, and, in the churche there, openly shewyd to all the people; to th'entent that, aftar that, the people shuld not be abused by feyned seditiows tales, which many of them that were wonnt to be towards th'Erle of Warwyke had bene accustomyd to make, and, paradventure, so would have made aftar that, ne had the deade bodyes there be shewyd, opne, and naked, and well knowne; for, dowbtles ells the rumore shuld have bene sowne abowte, in all contries, that they bothe, or els, at the leaste, th'Erle of Warwyke, was yet on lyve, upon cursed entent therby to have cawsyd newe murmors, insurrections, and rebellyons, amongst indisposed people; suche, namely, as many dayes had bene lad to great inconveniences, and mischevs-doyng, moyenaunt the false, faynyd fables, and disclandars, that, by his subtilitie and malicious moyvyng, were wont to be seditiously sowne and blowne abowt all the land, by suche persons as cowthe use, and longe had usyd, that cursed custome; whereof, as it is comonly sayde, right many were towards hym, and, for that entent, returnyd and waged with hym.

Here aftar folowithe how that Qwene Margaret, with her sonne Edward, called Prince of Wales, aftar theyr arryvall in the west contrye, assembled greate people and cam to Tewkesberye, where the Kynge delyveryd theym battayle, distressed theym and theyr felawshipe, [and] the sayd Edward, the Duke of Somerset, and othar, were slayne.

Aftar all thes things thus fallen, the Twseday in Estar weke, the xvij. day of Aprile, came certayn tydyngs to the Kynge how that Qwene Margaret, her sonne Edward, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countese of Warwyke, the Priowr of Seint Johns, that tyme called Tresorar of England, the Lord Wenloke, and many othere knyghts, squiers, and othar of theyr party, whiche longe had bene owt of the land with them, with suche also as, with the sayde Priowr of Seint Johns, had gon into Fraunce to fet them into England, were arryved, and landed in the west-contrye, upon Estar day, at Waymowthe, aftar longe abydynge passage, and beyng on the sea, and landinge agayne for defawlte of good wynde and wethar. For, trewthe it is, that the Qwene, and Edward her sonne, with all theyr felawshipe, entendinge to passe out of Normandy into England, toke first the sea, at Humflew, in the monithe of Marche, the xxiiij. day of the same, and, from that tyme forthe wards, they cowlde nat have any stable wethar to passe with; for and it were one day good, anon it chaunged upon them, and was agaynst them, and fayne they were therefor to goo to land agayne. And so, at divars tymes, they toke the sea, and forsoke it agayne, till it was the xij. day of Aprill, Estars Even. That day they passyd. The Countysse of Warwyke had a shippe of avauncage, and, therefore, landyd afore the othar, at Portsmowthe, and, from thens, she went to Sowthampton, entendynge to have gon towards the Qwene, whiche was landyd at Wemowthe. But, beinge there, she had certayne knowledge that the Kynge had wonne the field upon her howsband, at Barnet, and there slayne hym, wherefore she would no farthar goo towards the Qwene, but, secretly, gat ovar Hampton-watar into the new forreste, where she tooke her to the fraunches of an abbey called Beawlew, whiche, as it is sayde, is ample, and as large as the franchises of Westmynstar, or of Seint Martins at London.

The Qwene, Margarete, and her sonne went from there she landyd to an

abbey nere by, callyd Seern, and all the lords, and the remenaunt of the fellowshipe with them. Thethar came unto them Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, Thomas Courteney, callyd th'Erle of Devonshire, with othar, and welcomyd them into England; comfortyd them, and put them in good hope that, albe it they had lost one felde, whereof the Qwene had knowledge the same day, Monday, the xv. day of Aprell, and was therefore right hevy and sory, yet it was to thinke that they shuld have ryght good sped, and that, for that los, theyr partie was never the febler, but rathar strongar, and that they dowted nothinge but that they shuld assemble so great puisaunce of people in dyvars partis of England, trewly asswred unto their partie, that it shuld not mowe lye in the Kyngs powere to resyste them; and in that contrye they would begyne. And so, forthewith, they sent alabout in Somarsetshire, Dorsetshire, and parte of Wiltshire, for to arredy and arays the people by a certayne day, suche, algats, as the sayde lords, and theyr partakers, afore that had greatly laboryd to that entent, preparinge the contry by all meanes to them posseble. And, for that they would gather and arrays up the powere of Devonshire and Cornewaile, they drew from thens more west ward to the citie of Excestar, movinge Edward, callyd Prince, and his mothar, the Qwene, to doo the same; trustynge that theyr presence-shewynge in the contrye shuld cawse moche more, and the sonnar, the people to com to theyr helpe and assistance.

At Excestar, they sent for Syr John Arundell, Syr Hughe Courteney, and many othar on whom they had any trust, and, in substaunce, they araysed the hoole myghte of Cornwall and Devonshire, and so, with great people, they departyd out of Excestre, and toke the ryght waye to Glas-tonberye, and, from thens, to the city of Bathe, withar they came the

day of Aprell; and, as they went, they gatheryd the hable men of all thos partes. The cuntrie had bene so longe laboryd afore by th'Erle of Warwike, and such as he for that caws sent thethar to move them to take Kynge Henry's partie, and, now of late, they were also sore laboryd for the same entent, and thereunto the more lyghtly enducyd, by Edmond, callyd Duke of Somarset, and Thomas Courtney, callyd th'Erle of Devonshire, for that they reputyd them old enheritors of that contrie.

The Kynge beyng at London, and havynge knowledge of all this theyr demeanyng from tymc to tyme, anon purveyed for the relevynge of his

sycke and hurt men, that had bene with hym at Barnet fielde, which were ryght many in nombar, what left at London, and what in the contrye, and sent to all partes to get hym freshe men, and, incontinent, prepared all things that was thought behovefull for a new field; whiche he saw was imminent and comyng on. So purveyed he artilyar, and ordinaunce, gonnys, and othar, for the filde gret plentye. And Fryday, the xix. day of Aprille, he departyd out of London, and went to Wyndsoare, ther to thanke and honor God, and Seint George, where he kept also the feaste of Seint George, tarienge somwhat the longar there for that he had commaundyd all the people, and thos that wold serve hym in this iourney, to draw unto hym thithar, and from thens, suche waye as shulde happen hym take towards his enemyes. And, for so moche as they at that season were in an angle of the land, and nedes they must take one of the two wayes, that is to say, eythar to come streight to Salisbery, and so, that way, towards London; or ells, alonge by the sea-coaste into Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and so to London, to make in the way theyr people the mo in nombar; or ells, they, nat thynkyng themselves to be of puissaunce lykly to have a doo with the Kynge, and, therefore, paraventure, wowlde drawe northwards into Lancasshyre and Cheshire, trustynge also to have in theyr waye th'assystaunce of Walchemen, by the meane of Jasper called Erle of Penbroke, whiche, for that cawse, had bene afore sent into the contrie of Wales, to arays them, and make them redy to assyst that partye at theyr comynge; for whiche consyderations, the Kynge caused great diligence to be done by meane of espies, and by them he had knowledge, from tyme to tyme, of theyr purposes in that behalfe. Yf they would have taken estwards theyr way, his entent was to encountar them as sonne as he myght, and the farthar from London that shuld be to hym posseble, for th'entent that they shuld assemble no myght owt of eny contrye but where they then were, but, for so moche as he undarstode well they toke the othar waye, towards northwest, he hastyd hym, with his host, all that he myght, upon the purpos that he had taken to stope them theyr waye and passage into thos parties whereunto their desyre was to goo, and to make them the more myghty, whiche passagis of lykelyhode eythar must be at Gloucestar, or ells at Tewkesbery, or farthar of at Worcester. And, algates, the Kynge lay so that, would they or no, he nedes shuld nowe recountar them, or stope them, and put them bake. They in lyke wyse, thynkyng

by theyr wysdomes that suche was, or of convenience muste be, the purpos of the Kyngs party, therefore put them gretly in devowre to abwse the Kyngs party in that behalfe, for whiche cawse and purpos they sent theyr aforerydars streight from Excestar to Shaftesbery, and aftarwards to Salisbery, and toke them the streight way to Tawnton, and to Glastonbery, to Wells, and there abouts, hovinge in the contrye; from whens, an other tyme, they sent theyr forrydars to a towne called Yevell, and to a towne callyd Bruton, to make men to undarstond that they would have drawne towards Redynge, and by Barkeshire, and Oxfordshire, have drawne towards London, or ells fallen upon the Kynge at some great advantage. Suche mannar sendynge natholes servyd them of two thyngs; one was, to call and arays the people to make towards them for theyr helpe owt of all thos parties; an other was, to have abusyd the Kynge in his approchyng towards them but, thanked be God, he was nat hereof unadvertisyd, but, by goode and sad advyse, purveyed for every way, as may appere in tellyng furthe his progres from Wyndswr towards them; from whence he departyd the Wedensday, the morne aftar Saynt Georgis day, the xxiiij. day of Aprell, so kepinge his iorney that he cam to Abyndon the Satarday next, the xxvij. day; where he was the Sonday; and, on the Monday, at Cicestre; where he had certayne tydyngs that they wowlde, on Twesday next, [be] at Bathe, as so they were; and that on the morne next, the Wedensday, they wowlde com on streight towards the Kyngs battayle. For whiche cawse, and for that he would se and set his people in array, he drove all the people owt of the towne, and lodgyd hym, and his hoste, that nyght in the fielde, iij myle out of the towne. And, on the morow, he, having no certayne tydyngs of theyr comynge forward, went to Malmesbury, sekyng upon them. And there had he knowledge that they, understandynge his approachinge and marchinge neare to them, had lefte theyr purpos of gevynge battayle, and turned asyde-hand, and went to Bristowe, a good and stronge wallyd towne, where they were greatly refreshed and relevyd, by such as were the Kyngs rebels in that towne, of money, men, and artilarye; wherethrwghe they toke new corage, the Thursday aftar to take the filde, and gyve the Kynge battayll, for whiche intent they had sent forrydars to a towne ix myle from Bristow, callyd Sudbury, and, a myle towards the Kynge, they apoyntyd a grownd for theyr fielde at a place callyd Sudbury hill. The Kynge, heringe this, the same Thurs-

CAMD. SOC. I.

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day, first day of May, with all his hooste in array and fayre ordinaunce came towards the place by them apoyntyd for theyr field. Th'enemyes alsoo avauncyd them forthe, the same day, owt of Bristow, makynge semblaunce as thowghe they would have comen streyght to the place appoynyd, but, havynge knoledge of the Kyngs approochinge, they lefte that way, albe it theyr herbengars were come afore them as ferre as Sudberye towne; where they distressed certayne of the Kyngs partye, five or six, suche as negligently pressed so ferre forwards, dredyng no dangar, but only entendyng to have purveyed ther theyr masters lodgyngs; and so they changyd theyr sayd purpos, and toke theyr way streyght to Berkley, travelyng all that nyght, and, from thens, towards the towne of Gloucestar. The Kynge, the same Thursday, sonne aftar none, came nere to the same grownd, called Sudbury hill, and, nat havynge eny certaynty of his enemys, sent his scowrers alabowte in the cuntrye, trustynge by them to have wist where they had bene. Aboute that place was a great and a fayre large playne, called a wold, and dowbtfull it was for to pas ferther, to he myght here somewhate of them, supposynge that they were right nere, as so they myght well have bene, yf they had kepte forthe the way they toke owt of Bristow. And, when he cowthe nat here any certaynty of them, he avauncyd forwards his hoole battayle, and lodgyd his vaward beyonde the hill, in a valley towards the towne of Sudberye, and lodged hymselfe, with the remenaunt of his hooste, at the selfe hill called Sudbery hill. Early in the mornynge, sonne aftar three of the cloke, the Kynge had certayne tdyngs that they had taken theyre way by Barkley toward Gloucestar, as so they toke indede. Whereupon he toke advise of his counsell of that he had to doo for the stopynge of theyr wayes, at two passagys afore namyd, by Glocestar, or els by Tewkesberye, and, first, he purvayed for Gloucestar, and sent thethar certayne seruaunts of his owne to Richard Bewchamp, sonne and heyr to the Lord Bewchampe, to whom afore he had comytyd the rule and govarnaunce of the towne and castell of Gloucestar, commaundynge hym to kepe the towne and castle for the Kynge, and that he, with suche helpe as he myght have, shuld defend the same agaynst them, in caas they woulde in any wise assayle them; as it was suppos they so would doo that same aforenone; lettyng them wete that he would have good espye upon them yf they so did. And, yf he myght know that they so dyde, he promised to come theyr rescows, and conforte. With this

the Kyngs message they were well receyved at Gloucestar, and the towne and castell put in sure and save kepinge of the sayd Richard, and the sayde Kynges servaunts. Whiche message was sent and done in right good season, for certayne it is the Kyngs enemyes were put in sure hope, and determyned to have enteryd the towne, and ethar have kept it agaynst the Kynge, or, at the leaste, to have passed thrwghe the towne into othar contries, where they thought [to] have bene myghtely assysted, as well with Welchemen, which they demed shuld have fallen to them in thos parties, in the company of Jasper, called Earle of Penbroke, as also for to have gotten into theyr companye, by that way-takynge, greate nombar of men of Lancashire, and Chesshere, upon whom they muche trustyd. For whiche cawses they had greatly travayled theyr people all that nyght and mornynge, upon the Fryday, to the about ten of the cloke they were comen afore Gloucestar; where there entent was utterly denied them by Richard Bewchampe, and othar of the Kyngs servaunts, that, for that cawse, the Kynge had sent thethar. Natwithstandyng, many of the inhabytaunts of that towne were greatly disposed towards them, as they had certayne knowledge. Of this demenyng they toke right great displeasure, and made great manasys, and pretendyd as thowghe they wowlde have assaultyd the towne, and wonne it upon them, but, as well thos that kepte the towne as the sayde enemyes that so pretendyd, knewe well, that the Kynge with a myghty puisawnce was nere to them, and, yf eny affraye had there be made, he myght sone have bene upon them, and taken upon them ryght grete advantage; wherefore they in the towne nothyng dowbtyd, and they withoute durste not for feare begynne any suche werke; and, therefore, they shortly toke theyr conclusyon for to go the next way to Tewkesbery, whithar they came the same day, about four aftar none. By whiche tyme they hadd so travayld theyr hoaste that nyght and daye that they were ryght wery for travaylynge; for by that tyme they had travaylyd xxxvj longe myles, in a fowle contrye, all in lanes and stony wayes, betwyxt woodes, without any good refreshynge. And, for as mooche as the greater parte of theyr hooste were fotemen, the othar partie of the hoste, whan they were comen to Tewkesbery, cowthe, ne myght, have laboryd any furthar, but yf they wolde wilfully have forsaken and lefte theyr fotemen behynd them, and therto themselves that were horsemen were ryght werye of that iorwney, as so were theyr horses. So,

whether it were of theyr election and good will, or no, but that they were veryly compelled to byde by two cawses; one was, for werines of theyr people, which they supposed nat theyr people woulde have eny longer endured; an other, for they knew well that the Kynge ever approchyd towards them, nere and nere, evar redy, in good aray and ordinaunce, to have pursyed and fallen uppon them, yf they wolde any ferther have gon, and, paradventure, to theyr moste dyssavantage. They therefore determinyd t'abyde there th'aventure that God would send them in the qwarell they had taken in hand. And, for that entent, the same nyght they pight them in a field, in a close even at the townes ende; the towne, and the abbey, at theyr backs; afore them, and upon every hand of them, fowle lanes, and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hylls, and valleys, a ryght evill place to approche, as cowlde well have bene devysed.

The Kynge, the same mornynge, the Fryday, erly, avanced his banners, and devyded his hole hoost in three battayles, and sent afore hym his forrydars, and scorars, on every syde hym, and so, in fayre arraye and ordinaunce, he toke his way thrwghhe the champain contrye, callyd Cottes-wolde, travaylynge all his people, whereof were moo than iij^m fotemen, that Fryday, which was right-an-hot day, xxx myle and more; whiche his people might nat finde, in all the way, horse-mete, ne mans-meate, ne so moche as drynke for theyr horses, save in one little broke, where was full lettle relefe, it was so sone troubled with the carriages that had passed it. And all that day was evarmore the Kyngs hoste within v or vj myles of his enemyes; he in playne contrye and they amongst woods; havynge allway good espialls upon them. So, continuynge that iourney to hc came, with all his hooste, to a village callyd Chiltenham, but five myles from Tewkesberye, where the Kynge had certayn knolege that, but litle afore his comyng thethar, his enemyes were comen to Tewkcsbury, and there were takynge a field, wherein they purposed to abyde, and delyver him battayle. Whereupon the Kynge made no longar taryenge, but a litle confortyd hymselfe, and his people, with suche meate and drynke as he had done to be caried with hym, for vitalyge of his hooste; and, incontinent, set forthe towards his enemyes, and toke the field, and lodgyd hym selfe, and all his hooste, within three myle of them.

Upon the morow followyng, Saterday, the iiiij. day of May, [the Kynge] apparailed hymselfe, and all his hoost set in good array; ordeined three

wards; displayed his bannars; dyd blowe up the trompets; commytted his caws and qwarell to Almyghty God, to owr most blessyd lady his mothar, Vrygyn Mary, the glorious martyr Seint George, and all the saynts; and avaunced, directly upon his enemyes; approchinge to theyr filde, whiche was strongly in a marvaylows strong grownd pyght, full difficult to be assayled. Netholes the Kyngs ordinance was so conveniently layde afore them, and his vawarde so sore oppressyd them, with shott of arrows, that they gave them right-a-sharpe shwre. Also they dyd agayne-ward to them, bothe with shot of arrows and gonne, whereof netholes they ne had not so great plenty as had the Kynge. In the front of theyr field were so evell lanes, and depe dykes, so many hedges, trees, and busshes, that it was right hard to approche them nere, and come to hands; but Edmond, called Duke of Somerset, having that day the vawarde, whithar it were for that he and his fellowshipe were sore annoyed in the place where they were, as well with gonne-shott, as with shot of arrows, whiche they ne wowld nor durst abyde, or els, of great harte and corage, knyghtly and manly avaun-syd hymselfe, with his fellowshipe, somewhat asyde-hand the Kyngs vawarde, and, by certayne pathes and wayes therefore afore purveyed, and to the Kyngs party unknowne, he departyd out of the field, passyd a lane, and came into a fayre place, or cloos, even afore the Kynge where he was enbattelede, and, from the hill that was in that one of the closes, he set right fiercely upon th'end of the Kyngs battayle. The Kynge, full manly, set forthe even upon them, enteryd and wann the dyke, and hedge, upon them, into the cloose, and, with great vyoncience, put them upe towards the hyll, and, so also, the Kyng's vaward, being in the rule of the Duke of Gloucestar.

Here it is to be remembred, how that, whan the Kynge was comyn afore theyr field, or he set upon them, he consydered that, upon the right hand of theyr field, there was a parke, and therein moche wood, and he, thinkynge to purvey a remedye in caace his sayd enemyes had layed any bushement in that wood, of horsemen, he chose, out of his fellashyppe, ij c speres, and set them in a plomp, togethars, nere a qwartar of a myle from the field, gyvenge them charge to have good eye upon that cornar of the woode, if caas that eny nede were, and to put them in devowre, and, yf they saw none suche, as they thowght most behovfull for tyme and space, to employ themselfe in the best wyse as they cowlde; which pro-

visyon cam as well to poynt at this tyme of the battayle as cowthe well have been devysed, for the sayd spers of the Kyngs party, seinge no lyklynnes of eny busshement in the sayd woode-corner, seinge also goode oportunitie t'employ them selfe well, cam and brake on, all at ones, upon the Duke of Somerset, and his vawarde, asyde-hand, unadvysed, whereof they, seinge the Kynge gave them ynough to doo afore them, were gretly dismayed and abasshed, and so toke them to flyght into the parke, and into the medowe that was nere, and into lanes, and dykes, where they best hopyd to escape the dangar; of whom, netheles, many were distressed, taken, and slayne; and, even at this point of theyr flyght, the Kynge coragiously set upon that othar felde, were was chefe Edward, called Prince, and, in short while, put hym to discomfiture and flyght; and so fell in the chase of them that many of them were slayne, and, namely, at a mylene, in the medowe fast by the towne, were many drownyd; many rann towards the towne; many to the churche; to the abbey; and els where; as they best myght.

In the wynnyng of the fielde such as abode hand-stroks were slayne incontinent; Edward, called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne, in the fielde. Ther was also slayne Thomas, called th'Erle of Devonshire; John of Somerset, called Marwes Dorset; Lord Wenloke; with many othar in great nombar.

Thus this done, and with God's myght atchyved, the Kynge toke the right way to th'abbey there, to gyve unto Almyghty God lawde and thanke for the vyctorye, that, of his mercy, he had that day grauntyd and gyven unto hym; where he was receyvyd with procession, and so convayed thrwghe the churche, and the qwere, to the hy awtere, with grete devocion praysenge God, and yeldynge unto hym convenient lawde. And, where there were fiedd into the sayd churche many of his rebels, in great nombar

or moo, hopynge there to have bene relevyd and savyd from bodyly harme, he gave them all his fre pardon, albe it there ne was, ne had nat at any tyme bene grauntyd, any fraanchise to that place for any offendars agaynst theyr prince havynge recourse thethar, but that it had bene lefull to the Kynge to have commaundyd them to have bene drawne out of the churche, and had done them to be executyd as his traytors, yf so had bene his pleasure; but, at the reverence of the blesyd Trinitie, the moste holy vrygyn Mary, and the holy martir Seint George, by whos grace and helpe

he had that day atteygned so noble a victory ; and, at the same reverence, he grauntyd the corpses of the sayd Edward, and othar so slayne in the field, or ells where, to be buryed there, in churche, or ells where it pleasyd the servaunts, frends, or neighbours, without any qwarteryng, or defoulyng theyr bodyes, by settynge upe at any opne place.

This battayll thus done and atchived, and the Kyngs grace thus largly shewed, it was so that, in the abbey, and othar places of the towne, were founden Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, the prior of Seynt Johns, called Ser John Longestrother, Ser Thomas Tressham, Ser Gervaux of Clyfton, knyghts, squiers, and othar notable parsonnes dyvers, whiche all, dyvers tymes, were browght afore the Kyng's brothar, the Duke of Gloucester and Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, theyr iudges ; and so were iudged to deathe, in the mydst of the towne, Edmond Duke of Somerset, and the sayd Prior of Seint Johns, with many othar gentils that there were taken, and that of longe tyme had provoked and continuyd the great rebellyon that so long had endured in the land agaynst the Kynge, and contrye to the wele of the Realme. The sayd Duke, and othar thus iudged, were executyd in the mydste of the towne, upon a scaffolle therefore made, behedyd evereche one, and without eny othar dismembringe, or settynge up, licensyd to be buryed.

All these thyngs thus done, the Twesday, the viij. day of May, the Kynge departyd from Tewxbury, towards his citie of Worcester, and, on the waye, he had certayne knowledge that Qwene Margarete was founden nat fer from thens, in a powre religiows place, where she had hyd hir selfe, for the surty of hir parson, the Saturdaye, erlye in the mornynge, aftar hir sonne Edward, callyd Prince, was gon to the filde, for to withdraw hir selfe from the adventure of the battayle ; of whome also he was assured that she shuld be at his commaundement.

The Kynge, beinge at Worcester, had certayne knowledge also, that certayne his rebels of the northe partyes beganne to make commocions, and assemblies of people agaynst hym, in the qwarell of Henry, callyd Kynge ; for whiche cawse he kept nat the ryght way to London, as he had purposyd, but, entendyng to prepare a new felashipp agaynst the sayd rebels in the north, and, to be in a good strengthe of people, whatsoever shuld happe, he determined hym selfe to goo to Coventrye, as he so dyd the xi. day of the sayd monythe ; where he refresshed well suche

as were laft withe hym of his hoste, by the space of three dayes; and thethar was browght unto hym Qwene Margaret. He forgate not to send from thens his messengars, with writyngs, all abowte the contryes nere adioyninge, to suche in especiall as he trustyd best that they would do hym service. Trewth it is whiles the Kynge, in alwyse, thus preparyd a new armye, came certayne tdyngs unto hym, how they of the northe had herd the certeynty of his great vycторies, and how that he disposyd hym to come towards them, with a great armye, and they, sore dredyng his good sped, and great fortunes; nat havynge any of the Warewyks, or Nevells, blode, whom unto they myght have restyd, as they had done afore; knowyng also, for certaynty, that th'Erle of Northumberland was nothinge of theyr partye, but that he wowlde resyste and withstand them at his uttarmoste powere, uttarly takyng part with the Kynge, and his qwarell; the cheftaynes of them that were maliciowsly dysposed, and, for evell entent, as above, have comonned and begone to assemble the people, anon, upon thies knowledge and considerations, they withdrew them from any ferthar proceding to theyr said rebellyon, as folks not lykly to maintayne theire fals qwarell and partye. They lefte theyr bands, and compaignes, and dyvars of them, made menes to th'Erle of Northumberland, besechinge hym to be good meane to the Kynge for his grace and pardone. Some of the scowrars wer taken and put in warde. The citie of Yorke, and othar good townes, and contryes, lowly submittinge them, and [promysinge] than to the Kynge theyr dwe obediyence. And so, by the xiiiij. day of May, it was knowne clerly, by suche as were sent unto the Kynge from th'Erle of Northumberland, from the citie of Yorke, and othar dyvars places in the northe, that there was no rebellyon in all the northe begon, but that it was so passyfied that it ne myght ne shwld anoy the Kynge, in any wyse. Wherefore it was to hym thought, and to all hys counsell, that for to goo into the northe for eny pacification, or punishment of suche parsons, it was not nedefull as at that tyme; and so it was most clerly declaryd, the same daye, by th'Erle of Northumberland, who cam streyght to the Kynge to Coventrye, out of the northe contrye; as his departynge well asswred that the contrye was in good and sure tranquilitie, without any comotions, or unlawfull gatheryngs. Whiche Erle cam not accompanied greatly, but with a fewe folkes, and nat arrayed in maner of warr, for he had no mannar knowledge but that the

Kynge, aftar this his great victories accvched, shuld have good pax, every where in his realme; but it was nat so, for the Kynge had knowledge, or that he cam to Coventrye, by lettars sent hym by lords of his blode beinge at London this season, that the bastard Fawcomberge, whiche, a lytle afore that, had bene sent to the sea by th'Erle of Warwyke, and had dys-tressed many marchaunt-shipps of Portyngall, and taken the ships and goods to hym selfe, in breche of the amitie that of longe tyme had bene betwyxt the realmes of England and Portyngall, he had callyd unto hym, and to his fellowshipe, grete partyes and nombars of marinars, out of every party and porte of England, and many oþher traytors, and misgoverned men, of every contrye of England, and also oþher contries, that had great corage to atend to theste and robery. It was shewed the Kyng that dayly his nombar drew gretar and gretar, and that he was gone to Calays, and browght many men with hym, from thens, into Kent, where he began to gathar his people in great nombar, entendingyng, by lyklyhode, to do some great myschevows dede.

Aftar the Kynge was at Coventrye, he had dayly messages from the Lords at London, how that the bastard had assembled greate people, and, bothe by lande many thowsands, and, by watar with all his shipps ful of people, he came afore London, thinkyng to robbe, and spoyle, and do almaner of myschefe; and therto many of the contrye of Kent were assentyng, and cam with theyr good wills, as people redy to be appliable to suche seditious commocions. Oþher of Kentyshe people that wowl righte fayne have sytten still at home, and nat to have ronne into the dangar of suche rebellyon, by force and violence of suche riotows people as were of the sayd bastards company, for feare of deathe, and oþher great manasses, and thretynges, were compellyd, some to goo with the bastard, in theyr parsons; suche, specially, as were hable in parsons, yf they had aray, and myght not wage to such as would goo, they were compellyd, by lyke foarce, to lene them theyr araye, and harnes; and such as were unharnesyd, aged, and unhable, and of honor, they were compelled to send men waged, or to gyve mony wherewith to wage men to goo to the sayd bastards company. So that, ryght in a shorte tyme, the sayd bastard and his fellowship had assembled to the nombar of xvj or xvij^m men, as they accomptyd themselves. Whiche came afore London the xij. day of May, in the qwarell of Kynge Henry, whome they sayd they woulde have owte of

CAMD. SOC. I.

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the Towre of London, as they pretendyd. And, for that cawse, they desyred the citizens of London that they myght have free entrye into the citie where, first, theyr entent was to have with them the sayd Henry, and aftar, to passe prsceably thrwghe the citie, as they sayd, without any grevaunce to be done to eny parson; upon th'entent from thens to goo towards the Kynge, where so evar they myght finde hym, hym to distroy and all his partakars, in qwarell of the sayde Henry, yf they myght have of hym the ovar-hand.

But, so it was, that the Maior, Aldarmen, and othar officers and citizens of London denied them theyr entrye. As this was in doinge ovar came from London freshe tdyngs to the Kynge, from the Lords, and the citizens, which, with right grete instance, moved the Kinge, in all possible haste, to approche and com to the citie, to the defence of the Qwene, than being in the Tower of London, my Lorde Prince, and my Ladies his doghtars, and of the Lords, and of the citie, whiche, as they all wrote, was likly to stand in the grettest ioperdy that evar they stode. In consideration had for that gret nombar of the persones within the citie were rather disposyd to have helped to have suche mischife wroght than to defend it; some, for they were maliciowsly disposed, and were, in theyr harts perciall to th'Erle of Warwickes qwarell, and to the party of Henry, wherfore were many; some, for they were powre; some, mens seruaunts, mens prentises, which would have bene right glade of a comon robbery, to th'entent they might largely have put theyr hands in riche mens coffres.

Thes maner of writings moved the Kynge greatly to haste hym thethowards; but it was behovefull, or that he came there, he were furnesshyd of as great, or gretar, hooste than he had had at any tyme sithe his comynge into the land; natholes, for that suche armye might nat be prepared so sonne as he woulde, the sayd xijij. day of May, he apoyntyd a notable, and a well chosen, felawshippe owt of his hooste, and them sent unto the citie of London, afore his comynge, to the nombar of xv^c men, well besene; for the conforte of the Quene, the Lords, and the citizens. And hymselfe departyd out of Coventrie towards London the xvij. day of May.

Here is to be remembred, that, whan the bastard and his felashipe myght not purchace of the maior and citezens of London the overtur of the sayd citie, for theyr passage thrwghe, as above, neyther for theyr promises, ne for great thretenyngs and manassyngs, they made semblant to passe ovar

Thames, by Kyngstone Brige, x myles above London, and thethar drewe them the hole hooste, levynge all theyr shippes afore Seint Katheryns, a lytle from the Towre of London; pretendyng that they shuld come and dystroy Westmynstar, and than the subarbs of London, and assay the uttarmoste agaynst the citye, revengynge that theyr entrye was denied them, and theyr passage thrwghe the citie, and so forthe, with theyr hole multitude, have passed thrwghe the contries agaynst the Kynge. But, so it was, as they were onwards in this journey, the bastard had certayne knowledge that the Kynge was greatly assistyd with all the Lords of the Realme in substaunce, great nombar of noble men and othar, in greater nombar than in eny tyme he had had afore; they, greatly fearinge his highe corage and knyghthood, and the great vyctories that God had sent hym, they delayed withe watar wyne (?) and so retourned agayne, and came before London, and shewyd themselfe in hoole battayle in Seint Georgis filde. And that for dyvers consideracions; for ones, they dowbtyd gretly the recountar of the Kynge; also the multytud of them cam rathar for robbing than for revengynge by way of battayle; they doubted, also, to assayle the citie on that othar syde of Thamis, for, lykly it was, that, in caas they myght not prevayle, they of London shuld lyghtly stoppe them theyr wayes homeward unto theyr contrye. And for to devide theyr hoost, some upon the one syde of London and some upon the othar syde, they thought it foly, forsomoche as, with fewe folks, they myght have broken the brydges aftar them, and, with right fewe folks, have kepte and stopped theyr passage.

Here folowethe howe the sayd bastard Fauconberge, with his felashippe, assayed the citie of London, and set fyre upon the bridge of London, and brent greate parte thereof, and upon othar two gates of the sayde citie; and how they were honorably recounted, and discomfeted, and dryven to the watar, and soo the citie delyveryd from them.

The bastard and his fellashippe, thus returnyd agayne from Kyngstonn brigge, afore London, purposynge to execute theyr greate rancowr and malice agayns the citie of London, and that in all haste, to

th'entent they myght have theyr praye afore the Kyngs comynge, whiche they thowght not to abyde, and it to cary awaye in theyr shippes, whiche were ready to attend for the same entent of robery, but a myle or two from the sayde citie. Wherefore, incontinent, they assayled the citie with greate violence, with shot of goons, suche as they had browght owt of theyr shippes, in great nombar, and layd them on length the watar syde, streight ovar agaynst the citie; where with they prevayled no thinge, for the citizens agayne-warde in dyvars placis layde ordinaunce, and made so sharp shott agaynst them, that they durst not abyde in eny place alonge the watarsyde, and so were dryven from theyr owne ordinaunce. Wherefore the bastard purveyed an othar mean to annoy and greve the sayde Citie sore, and therefore ordeynyd a great fellowshipe to set fyre upon the bridge, and to brene the howsyng upon the bridge, and, through therby, to make them an open way into the sayd citie. An othar greate felashipe he sett ovar the watar with his shippes, mo then iij^x men, whiche were devided into two partes; one partie went to Algate, wenying to have entred the citie there, by assaulte; an othar partie went to Bysshops-gate, wenynge to have entred there by an othar assaulte; wher they shot goonns and arrows into the citie, and dyd moche harme and hurte. And, at the laste, set fiere upon the gates, for to have brent them, and so trustinge to have entred at large. Theyr brennyng at the bridge profytid them of no thyng; albe they brent many howses to the nombar of iij^{xx}, but the citizens hadd set suche ordenaunce in theyr ways that, thowghe all the way had been open, it had bene to harde for them to have entred by that way, but upon theyr lyves. The maior, aldarmen, and worshipfull citizens of the citie were in good array, and set to every parte, where was behovefull, greate fellowshipe, welle ordered, and ordeyned, for to withstand the malice of thes forsayd rebels.

To the citizens, and defence of the citie, came th'Erle of Essex, and many knights, squiers, gentlemen, and yemen, right well arraigned, which had right great diligence in orderinge the citizens, and firste to prepare and ordayne for the defence and surtye of the sayd cittie and people thereof where it was necessarye, and preparyd how and where they myght best ysswe owt upon them, and put them from theyr purpos. By which medelinge of gentlemen, and lords servantes, with the citizens,

in every parte, the citizens were greatly encoragyd to set sharply upon them with one hoole entent, where elles it had be lykely they shuld nat have willed to have done so moche therto as was donne. For, as it is afore-sayde, greate nombar of the citie were there that with right good wille woulde they have bene sofferyd to have enteryd the citie, to th'entent to have fallen to myscheffe and robberye with them. And so, aftar continuynge of muche shote of gonne and arrows a greate while, upon bothe parties, th'Erle Ryvers, that was with the Qwene, in the Tower of London, gatheryd unto hym a felashipe right well chosen, and habiled, of iiiij or v c men, and ysswyd owt at a posterne upon them, and, even upon a poynt, cam upon the Kentyshe men beinge abowte the assawltynge of Algate, and mighthely laied upon them with arrows, and upon them in hands, and so killyd and toke many of them, dryvyng them from the same gate to the watar syde. Yet netheles, three placis wer fiers brennyng all at ones. The Maior, Aldarmen, and many of the sayde citie, were anone in theyr harnes, and parted theyr felashippe into divers partes, as them thought moste behoffull, but a great parte of the citizens were at Algate, and with them many gentlemen and yemen, which all made the defence that they best myght; and shott many gouns, and arrows, amoung them; but for thy the Kentishemen spared nat to assayle at bothe the gates, so that the sayde lorde and citizens determined in themselves to arredy them in good array, and to ysswe owt upon them, in hands, and put them to flyght and discomfiture. About iiij ^m and [mo] fell in the chas of them, and slew mo than vij ^c of them. Many were taken, and aftar hanged; the remenaunt went to the watarsyde, and toke theyr boates, and went to theyr shippes, and ovar to that other syde agayn.

Thes haynows traytours and robbers, the bastard and his felawshyppe, seing they cowthe in nowyse profite to theyr entents, by litle and litle withdrew them to the Blackhethe, to an hill three myle from London, the xvij., xvij., and xvij. day of Maye, there abydynge by the space of three dayes; but, theyr abydynge, they had certayne knowledge that the Kynge was comynge with great puisaunce, whereof they greatly adrad, seinge that they myght nat have theyr praye of London, ne havynge hardies to abyde the Kynge and his puisaunce, they disperbled; they of Calais, to Calais, the sonest they cowlde; suche as were of other contrys, into theyrs; many of Kent, to theyr howses; the mariners, and myschevows robbars, rebels,

and riotours with them, to theyr shippes; and drewe downe to the sea coaste with all theyr shippes.

The Kynge this season, well accompanied and mightely with great lordes, and in substaunce all the noblemen of the land, with many othar able men, well arraied for the werre, to the nombar of xxx^x horsemen, cam to the citie of London, sone aftar the disperblyng of the Kentyshe hooste, the xxij. day of Maye, the Twesdaye; where he was honorably receyved of all the people, the maior, aldermen, and many othar worshipfull men, citizens of the sayd citie. At the metyng of them the Kynge dubbed Knyghtes the maior, the recordar, dyvars aldarmen, with othar worshipfull of the sayd citie of London, whiche as hadd manly and honorably acquit them selfe agaynst the bastard, and his crwell hooste; honoringe, and rewardinge them with the ordar, of his good love and grace, for theyr trwe acquitaill, and as they had ryght well and trewly deservyd that tyme.

Here it is to be remembred, that, from the tyme of Tewkesbery fielde, where Edward, called Prince, was slayne, thanne, and sonne aftar, wer taken, and slayne, and at the Kyngs wylle, all the noblemen that came from beyond the see with the sayde Edward, called Prince, and othar also theyr parte-takers as many as were of eny might or puisaunce. Qwene Margaret, hirselfe, taken, and browght to the Kynge; and, in every party of England, where any commotion was begonne for Kynge Henry's party, anone they were rebuked, so that it appered to every mann at eye the sayde partie was extincte and repressed for evar, without any mannar hope of agayne quikkening; utterly despaired of any maner of hoope or releve. The certaintie of all whiche came to the knowledge of the sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London; not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it to so great dispiste, ire, and indingnation, that, of pure displeasure, and melencoly, he dyed the xxij. day of the monithe of May. Whom the Kynge dyd to be browght to the friers prechars at London, and there, his funerall service donne, to be caried, by watar, to an Abbey upon Thamys syd, xvij myles from London, called Chartsey, and there honorably enteryd.

The Kynge, incontinent aftar his comynge to London, taried but one daye, and went with his hole army, aftar his sayd traytors into Kent,

them to represse, in caas they were in any place assembled, and for to let them to assemble by any comocion to be made amongs them, wher unto they, heretoforne, have often tymes bene accustomyd to doo. But, trewthe it was, that they were disperbled as afore; but the sayd bastard Fauconberge, with great nombar of mariners, and many other mischevows men, called his sowldiours, or men of were, went streight to Sandwyche, and there kept the towne with strengthe, and many great and small shippes, abowt xl and vij, in the haven, all undar his rule. And, as sone as they undarstode the Kynge and his hoste aprochid nere unto them, the sayd bastard sent unto hym suche meanes as best he cowthe, humbly to sew for his grace and pardon, and them of his feloshipe, and, by appoyntement, willed there to be delyveryd to the Kyngs behove all his shippes, and became his trwe liegemen, with as streight promyse of trew legiaunce as cowthe be devised for them to be made, whiche, aftar delyberation taken in that parte, for certayn great consyderations, was grauntyd. Wherefore the Kynge sent thethar his brothar Richard, Duke of Gloucestar, to receyve them in his name, and all the shippes; as he so dyd the xxvj. day of the same monithe; the Kynge that tyme beinge at Cantorbery.

And thus, with the helpe of Almighty God, the moaste glorious Virgin Mary his mothar, and of Seint George, and of [all] the Saynts of heven, was begon, finished, and termined, the reentrie and perfecte recover of the iuste title and right of owr sayd soveraygne Lord Kynge Edward the Fowrthe, to his realme and crowne of England, within the space of xj wekes; in the whiche season, moienaut the helpe and grace of Allmyghty God, by his wysdome, and polyqwe, he escaped and passyd many great perills, and daungars, and dificulties, wherin he had bene; and, by his full noble and knyghtly cowrage, hathe optayned two right-great, crwell, and mortall battayles; put to flight and discomfeture dyvars great assemblies of his rebells, and riotows persons, in many partyes of his land; the whiche, thowghe all they were also rygorously and maliciously disposed, as they myght be, they were, netheles, so affrayde and afferyd of the verey asswryd courage and manhood that restethe in the person of our seyd sovereigne lord, that they were, anon, as confused. Wherby it apperithe, and faythfully is belevyd, that with the helpe of Almyghty God, whiche from his begynning hitharto hathe not fayled hym, in short tyme he shall appeas his subgetes thrwghe all his roialme; that peace and tranquillitie shall

grovē and multiplye in the same, from day to day, to the honour and
lovingne of Almyghty God, the encrease of his singuler and famows renoume,
and to the great ioye and consolation of his frinds, alies, and well-willers,
and to all his people, and to the great confusion of all his enemys, and
evyll wyllars.

Here endethe the arryvaile of Kynge Edward the Fowrthe. Out
of Mastar Flyghtwods boke, Recordar of London.