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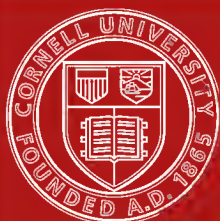
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Six town chronicles of England.



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# SIX TOWN CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND

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AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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## PREFACE

THOUGH short, a preface consisting so exclusively of thanks as this one is far from perfunctory. To the University of Liverpool I owe the opportunity of spending two years in Oxford. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's discovery of several of these chronicles in the Bodleian led to the inception of the work, and to him I am also indebted for advice and kind assistance on many points, as I am to my former preceptors of the University of Liverpool, Professors J. M. Mackay and Ramsay Muir. It would have been vastly more difficult to write on the subject of town chronicles with any approach to finality but for the publication of Mr. C. L. Kingsford's *Chronicles of London*, to which indeed my debt is throughout patent. Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg, of New College, has been good enough to read through a portion of the text, and the proof-readers of the Clarendon Press have also saved me from many slips. My other obligations are all, I hope, acknowledged in the places at which they are incurred.

R. F.

NEW COLLEGE,  
OXFORD,  
*January 31, 1911.*





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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### i. EARLY CHRONICLES OF LONDON

TOWN chronicles have long been accorded a place, albeit a humble one, in the field of historical literature, but only within the last few years has it been possible to attempt anything like an exhaustive survey of them. For London, with which in this connexion no other English cities or towns may be compared, more than a score of chronicles, differing very much in date of compilation, length, and value, are now accessible. Further, critical examination of the existing versions has shown that in not a few cases they have been compiled from London chronicles not now extant, so that the total number is considerably larger than the list of seven drawn up more than fifty years ago as inclusive of all the chronicles of London.<sup>1</sup> Similarly there have been discovered many chronicles for towns other than London, which, although as a rule written at a somewhat later date and of less value, still merit consideration in any treatment of the subject as a whole.

All the chronicles of London, as well as the more important of the similar records of other towns, were compiled between the last quarter of the thirteenth and the close of the sixteenth centuries. They begin with the Latin and French annals of the capital written in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Then, after a break of some years, come the fifteenth-century English chronicles of London. Beginning about this time, although mainly later in date, are to be found the chronicles of Bristol, Chester, Lynn, and other cities and boroughs. Finally, with the development of the craft of printing, the establishment of the Tudor monarchy, the experience in England of Renaissance thought and ideas, the growth of the national consciousness, and the general quickening of intellectual life in sixteenth-century and particularly Elizabethan England, the town chronicler is superseded by the historical writer of wider outlook and more advanced methods, and whilst the figure of John Stow peers

<sup>1</sup> By Nichols, Preface to the *Grey Friars Chronicle*, Cam. Soc., 1853, vi-vii.

out somewhat pathetically from the last years of the sixteenth century, we have but to raise our eyes to see the more stately person of his contemporary, the Lord Chancellor, who, besides being a historian—not a chronicler—was also a philosopher and a man of letters.

The earliest town chronicle extant is found in a volume of civic and historical collections known as the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*,<sup>1</sup> the title really being applicable to but a small portion of the volume still preserved in the Guildhall Library. The chronicle of London is in Latin, beginning in 1189, and it was brought down to 1274 by the original writer, probably Arnold Fitzthedmar, alderman and possibly town clerk—or its equivalent—in the capital until his death in the early years of the reign of Edward I. Meagre for the early part of the thirteenth century, the chronicle becomes of considerable value for the period 1258–74, containing, in addition to its annalistic entries, copies of documents not found elsewhere. A second writer has made additions of no great value in Norman French which reach to the year 1327.

Next, and likewise in Latin, comes the chronicle entitled *Annales Londonienses* by Bishop Stubbs,<sup>2</sup> who edited it from a transcript made some years before the Cotton fire in 1731 almost destroyed the original. This original was incomplete at the beginning—it commenced with the year 1195—and reached to 1329. As far as 1301 the *Annales* consists in the main of an adaptation and abridgement of a version of the *Flores Historiarum*, though the closeness of the connexion varies; from 1195 to 1245 it is a 'servile abridgement' with additions of local interest, but the additions increase in length for the later part of the century, pointing to the use of another chronicle as well as the *Flores*. From 1293 to 1301 there is a gap, but from the latter year to 1327 the annals 'contain a relation which is simply invaluable for the closing events of the one reign and the early troubles of the next'.<sup>3</sup> After another break the chronicle ends with a few notices of the first three years of the reign of the third Edward. In this record also there are documentary insertions, as, for example, those relating to the trial of William Wallace in 1305;<sup>4</sup> the later part of the *Annales* is wide in scope, and there is throughout interest in ecclesiastical affairs. Stubbs concluded, on internal evidence, that the 'chronicle might well be the work

<sup>1</sup> Ed. T. Stapleton, Cam. Soc., 1846; translated, along with the *Croniques de Londres*, by H. T. Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, 1863 (see Intro. iv, for an account of the contents of the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, and *ibid.* viii–ix for its probable author).

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, R. S. i, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xix; and cf. xli.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales*, 139–42.

of Andrew Horn' (d. 1328), fishmonger and chamberlain of the capital, who left to his city the valuable *Liber Custumarum*. Whilst there cannot be certainty on the point, that the writer should be a city official is probable enough, and accords well with the authorship of the later city chronicles. We can trace no direct relationship between the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* and these later records, but the *Annales* has some connexion with the English chronicles of London. There is close resemblance between statements in these later annals of the capital and entries—not found in the *Flores*—which occur in the early part of the *Annales*, and whilst there is enough difference to preclude the idea that these later compilers used the *Annales*, the conclusion that both the earlier and later chroniclers used 'a brief London chronicle, compiled in the latter part of the thirteenth century',<sup>1</sup> but now lost, seems justifiable.

It has been remarked that the first chronicle of London has additions in French, and the next development is a wholly French civic record, covering the years 1276-1345.<sup>2</sup> The use of this language was natural enough in a non-monastic record written at this period; several chronicles of a more general nature were written in the French tongue about this time; romances, ballads, and other works of a more purely literary nature in the same language circulated in England; French ruled in the law courts and was largely used to record the proceedings of Parliament; and, in more close alliance to these *Croniques de Londres*, the invaluable collections of John Carpenter, made early in the next century, contain much matter of civic interest in the same Norman French.<sup>3</sup> The author of this chronicle is unknown; the earlier part, to 1307, is of little value, and bears some resemblance both to the preceding *Annales* and the later English city chronicles, although it is improbable that the compilers of the latter made use of the *Croniques*; from 1307 to the end the record of events is fuller, independent, and of value for general affairs—such as the French wars of Edward III—as well as for the course of events in London. Such, in brief, are the first three chronicles of London, the first three town chronicles for England now extant. Standing apart from each other and from the later city chronicles, they can represent only a portion of the early fruit of the impulse to record the happenings of the capital; they form an Angevin prelude to the work of the Lancastrian and Yorkist civic annalists.

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.* vi-vii. Mr. Kingsford, *ibid.* (notes), gives examples of the close connexion between statements in the *Annales* and entries in the later English chronicles of London.

<sup>2</sup> *Croniques de Londres*, ed. G. J. Aungier, Cam. Soc., 1844.

<sup>3</sup> The Custumals of the Cinque Ports, made in the time of Edward III, are also in Norman French (Lyons, *History of Dover*, 1813, ii. 267-86).

## ii. THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CHRONICLES OF LONDON

For the next sixty years or so we have no town chronicles. One or two London chronicles may have been written—there is a list of city officers<sup>1</sup> with one or two brief notes in Latin, apparently compiled about the commencement of the reign of Henry V, which may be the last of a more vigorous group of Latin city chronicles. But the dearth is probably due in some measure to the absorption of the Londoners in the rising fortunes of their city. The latter half of the fourteenth century witnessed a great increase in the wealth of London and its merchants; it was at this time that the greater city companies began to obtain charters and to distinguish themselves from the numerous lesser crafts, as, for instance, in their claim that the mayor should belong to one or other of these 'Livery Companies'; the growing importance of the native merchant can also be seen from the anti-alien legislation initiated by Parliament in the reign of Richard II. More striking is the political influence acquired by the wealthy merchants in the capital, which made them play so large a share in the tragedy of the ill-starred Richard. With the advent of the Lancastrian monarch however, and the more

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Bodley 596.* Mr. C. L. Kingsford kindly pointed out this manuscript. It consists of three parts, originally quite distinct. The first, in a hand of about the beginning of the fifteenth century, contains the catalogue of London officers; the second is a slightly later copy of Lydgate's 'Birthe and Life of our ladye'; the third, probably of the eleventh century, includes the lives of Saints Cuthbert and Julian, and was once the property of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. 238, 517). The first part contains some devotional and historical pieces of no great value, such as the 'Life of Adam' (ff. 1-16), 'Nomina Regum Anglorum post monarchiam', 'Forma Regum et Reginarum Coronacionis Anglie' (fo. 47), 'Depositio Ricardi Secundi' (fo. 66), with which this portion of the MS. ends imperfectly. The list of city officials begins 'Nomina Ballivorum maiorum et vicecomitum londonii tempore Regis Ricardi primi'. To 1392 only the names of the city officers are given; thereafter there are one or two brief notices of events until 1415. At this date the first hand ceases, and a second takes the list as far as 1422, likewise giving one or two brief Latin notices, that for 1415 being the longest. 'Et in eodem anno rex praedictam villam nomine Harflew intravit et eam obtinuit in die sancti mauri abbatis et postea usque Agyncourt equitavit et ibi victoriam obtinuit in die sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani et tandem ad Calisiam pervenit. Et dicto anno venerunt in Angliam Sigismundus Romanorum Rex et Dux Hollandie ad tractandum pro pace inter regem Anglie et ffrancie et gallicos.' This hand is not so good as the first, which is very clear and neat, and there is no illumination as before 1415. Finally a third and distinctly worse hand has carried the list down to 1474, but no events are recorded.

steady development of fifteenth-century London, there came more attention to the pursuits of leisure. It is interesting to notice that the writing of the early fifteenth-century chronicles of London coincided with a period of much activity in building and repairing in London; the same impulse led at once to the beautifying and re-edifying of the city and to the recording of its history. In 1397 Blackwell Hall was purchased for a cloth market; within a few years the redoubted Whittington, as mayor, founded a library in the Grey Friars in the city, and left money to repair St. Bartholomew's Hospital and rebuild Newgate gaol. In 1410 the new Guildhall was begun, and in 1419—the same year in which Carpenter was compiling his monumental account of the laws and customs of his city—Simon Eyre, another famous mayor, built Leaden Hall as a granary for corn; four years later Newgate was rebuilt, whilst new 'conducts' for taking water to various main thoroughfares in the city were constantly being made about this time. The city enjoyed a sequence of public-spirited mayors, who, after spending their energies when in office on the development of their city, left bequests of no small magnitude to carry on their work long after they themselves had passed away. And not only in London was the growth of wealth seen; other cities and towns followed in its wake, and in the matter of public building, the founding of schools and endowment of chantries and chapels, showed themselves possessors, in no small degree, of the spirit of civic patriotism.<sup>1</sup>

The growth of burghal organization and interest therein is apparent from the large number of town records which begin at this period. And as town chronicles may be considered as a kind of unofficial town record, in many cases the work of men busied with the government of the town, sometimes, as in the case of the first and best of the Bristol town chronicles, writing their works at the express command of the city authorities, it will not be out of place to notice this development, which synchronizes with the writing of the English chronicles of London. In town after town the last years of the fourteenth century or the first half of the fifteenth saw the mayor or his clerk, the sheriff or the chamberlain, or their equivalents, commencing to keep some sort of record. Of course, those now extant may not in all cases represent the first records which were kept, but from the large number of places in which there begin proceedings of the mayor and councils, chamberlains' accounts, records of the various courts held in the town, and even less strictly municipal pro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vict. Hist. of London*, i. 215, 225-6; Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, ii. 11-16.

ductions such as the minute books of the various town gilds, there can be no doubt that there was at that date a very considerable growth of interest in the course and conduct of the affairs of the English towns. In Chester the 'Mayors' Books' were begun in 1393-4 and the 'Sheriffs' books'—concerned with the courts held by those officers—seven years later;<sup>1</sup> the minute books of the authorities of Salisbury exist 'in regular sequence' from the days of Richard II, and with the fifteenth century commence the financial accounts of the Chamberlain there.<sup>2</sup> The burgesses of Canterbury obtained a most gorgeously bound volume in 1393, in which to enter the 'Cofferer's accounts year by year';<sup>3</sup> the 'Whyte Boke' of Lincoln, the register of the mayoral acts, dates from 1421;<sup>4</sup> the records of the 'Court of Brotherhood' of the Cinque Ports began eleven years later.<sup>5</sup> How closely these town records could approximate in form at least to the town chronicles may be seen from the *Diary of the Corporation of Reading*.<sup>6</sup> Begun in 1431, only a year or two before the compilation of the earliest English chronicle of London extant, it contains a record of the acts of the mayor and his council, the entries for each mayoral year being prefixed by the heading 'tempore A. B. tunc majoris villae de Redyngia' and the date, in fairly close correspondence with the placing of the names of the city officers before the record of each year in the chronicles of London. The *Leet Book* of Coventry,<sup>7</sup> a record of more than ordinary value for the light it throws on the life of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VIII, App., 366, 373. The 'Jurats' Book' of Hythe, concerned with the cases which came before the town bailiffs, began in 1412, and various records of the meetings of the Hundred Court of the same port exist from the end of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, Rep. IV, 1874, App., 430, 434); New Romney had its 'Court Book' in 1429 (*ibid.*, Rep. VI, 1877, App., 540).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (vol. II, 1907), 191-2. In Bridgewater the bailiffs' account rolls exist from the reign of Richard II, and those of the water bailiffs from 1441 (*ibid.*, Rep. I, App., 98); the chamberlains' accounts of the port of Lydd, of much value for the light they throw on the finances of the borough, begin 'near the commencement of the reign of Henry VI' (*ibid.*, Rep. V, 1876, App., 516). Bridport, too, possesses the accounts kept by its bailiffs from 1413 to 1453 (*ibid.*, Rep. VI, 1877, 476).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Rep. IX, App. i, 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Rep. XIV, App. viii, 1895, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Rep. IV, 1874, 428.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. J. M. Guilding, vol. i (1431-1602), 1892; the minute books of the city council in York, existing from 1481 onwards, contain a similar but briefer heading to the record of each meeting (R. Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of York*, 1843, 105, 120, 207).

<sup>7</sup> Now being edited by Miss Dormer Harris for the E. E. T. S.; two volumes have appeared (1907 and 1908); the third volume, which is to complete the work and furnish an introduction to the whole, is to come; cf. also *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (vol. XI, 1899), 107.



an English borough of almost the first rank in the fifteenth century, begins in 1421.

The town of Beverley in Yorkshire affords a good illustration of the same interest; the first town minute-book extant dates from 1436, but the 'Great Gild Book',<sup>1</sup> giving the acts of the chief gild in the town, was begun in 1409. Of more interest, however, as a more official town record, is the Chartulary of the borough. The rulers of Beverley took the trouble to re-copy this collection of charters, privileges, and by-laws, towards the close of the fourteenth century, and town officials of the first half of the fifteenth century made entries of varying description in the volume. The interests of the burgesses of Beverley, however, were not confined to their own town; amongst the borough records we find a copy of 'the appoyntment made betwyx the Bastard of Orliance and Burdelez' and the text of the bills sent by Richard of York to Henry VI in 1452, with the royal answer thereto.<sup>2</sup>

In not a few English boroughs were the privileges and customs of the town put in black and white—or usually in more brilliant colours—about the same time. In some cases, as in that of Beverley, it was the transcribing of an older work; so Romney, one of the Cinque Ports, had its custumal copied in the time of Henry VI, and a certain John Serles, town clerk of Sandwich in the reign of the first Yorkist monarch, performed the same task for the sister borough.<sup>3</sup> In many other towns, however, the impulse to codify the customs of the town was first experienced at this period. Colchester, in the reign of Richard II, acquired an 'Oath Book' in which the town clerk entered oaths, charters, and other matters relating to the borough.<sup>4</sup> Best known of all, perhaps, is the collection of John Carpenter, town clerk of London,

<sup>1</sup> Similar records for gilds were begun about this time in several English towns; the 'Great Ledger' of the Stratford gilds was commenced just three years earlier, in 1406 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX, App. i, 290); the Holy Trinity Gild Book of Wisbeach dates back to 1397 (*ibid.* 293); the Assembly Book of the Gild of St. George in Norwich was begun in 1442 (*ibid.* 102); in Bridport no less than six gilds had their books of accounts and assemblies in the early years of Henry VI (*ibid.*, Rep. VI, App., 1877, 477-8).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (vol. xxxvii, 1900), 520-1, 523, 533, 547-8, 621.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Rep. IV, 1874, App., 441; *ibid.*, Rep. V, 1876, App., 568; the little town of Fordwich near Canterbury, probably moved by the example of Sandwich, also had its 'Custumale villae de Fordwico preciosissimum' copied out some time in the latter half of the fifteenth century (C. E. Woodruff, *A History of the Town and Port of Fordwich*, 1895, 213-4; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, 1876, App., 606). It is worth noting that the Red Book and other records of the Exchequer were likewise ordered to be transcribed in the reign of Henry VI (H. Hall, *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, vol. i, 1896, ix).

<sup>4</sup> H. Harrod, *Report on the Records of the Borough of Colchester*, 1865, 2.

who in 1419 completed the *Liber Albus*, with its vast stores of information concerning fourteenth-century London. The *Liber Custumarum* of Northampton, 'the book of the ancient usages and customs of the towne,' was written by an unknown but thank-worthy townsman about the middle of the fifteenth century;<sup>1</sup> Salisbury and Norwich had their *Domesday Books*, similar in character to the *Liber Custumarum*, drawn up respectively in the reigns of Henry V and his successor.<sup>2</sup> For Worcester, somewhat later it is true, we have some information as to how these customals were made. There still remain the 'Ordinances, Constitutions, and Articles made by the King's commandment and by the whole assent of the citizens inhabitants in the City of Worcester, at their gild merchant, holden the Sunday in the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the year of the reign of king Edward the fourth after the Conquest the vj<sup>th</sup>'. This enjoined, amongst other things, that copies should be made of the Charters, proceedings of the town gilds and other documents, and entrusted to the care of the bailiffs, who were, at the expiration of their term of office, to hand them on to their successors.<sup>3</sup> More unofficial was the work of Thomas Grantham, a former mayor of Lincoln and mayor of the Staple of Calais, who in 1480 took the trouble to 'draw out' the 'customari of the city of Lincoln of old ancient time accustomed and used' from French into English, at his own cost and labour.<sup>4</sup> Examples could be multiplied, the more easily of course as we get so far on in the century, but enough has been said to show that the town chronicles written in the fifteenth century were not so much exotics on a soil of burghal illiteracy and lack of interest in the recording of the course of municipal affairs, as a natural growth, accompanying for London and succeeding for other English towns the development of the more narrow and official borough records.

The early Latin chronicles of London had been succeeded by a Norman French record in the fourteenth century. The same century, however, saw the English tongue supplant its foreign-born conqueror. It is true that prose developed more slowly

<sup>1</sup> Ed. C. A. Markham, 1895; also in *Records of Northampton*, ed. Cox and Markham, ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vol. li, 1907, 191; *ibid.*, Rep. I, App., 102. And cf. also *Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. i, ed. Rev. W. Hudson (1906), cxix, 133-99, for the Customal; ii, ed. T. Tingey (1910), 255-318, for the 'Liber Albus' of the city, drawn up in 1406.

<sup>3</sup> T. Smith, *English Gilds*, E. E. T. S., 1870, 376-7; V. Green, *Hist. and Antiq. of Worcester*, 1796, ii, App., xlix-lxx, xcvi; R. Woof, *Catalogue of MS. Records in the Library of the Corporation of Worcester*, 1874, 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XIV, 1895, 490.

whilst Chaucer led and others followed in the creation of English verse—although Lydgate at least of the Chaucerians wrote verse not very far removed from prose. Howbeit the writing, or rather the translation, of chronicles was amongst the first achievements of the native prose. Robert Mannyng, canon at Sempringham in Lincolnshire, translated the rhyming French of Langtoft's chronicle of England into English prose in the first quarter of this same fourteenth century, and the last quarter witnessed a more imposing work in John de Trevisa's translation, from the Latin, of Higden's *Polichronicon*, a work copied and re-copied in the fifteenth century and popular enough for Caxton to print—and continue—as one of the first products of the English press. In the grammar schools, too, Trevisa tells us, French was being superseded by English. So that the citizens of London, who in the early fifteenth century began to write the annals of their city, used the language familiarized not only in speech but in writing. An interesting side-light is thrown on the place English had come to take even in official records, by an ordinance of the Brewers' Company in the capital, who decree that 'whereas our mother tongue, to wit, the English tongue, hath in modern days begun to be honourably enlarged and adorned . . . and our most excellent lord, king Henry V, hath . . . for the better understanding of his people, with a diligent mind, procured the common idiom . . . to be recommended by the exercise of writing', and as many of the craft of Brewers 'do not in any wise understand' Latin or French, and 'the greater part of the lords and trusty commons have begun to make their matters to be noted down in our mother tongue', therefore the ordinances of their craft also are henceforth to be written in English.<sup>1</sup>

It has been conjectured<sup>2</sup> that the earliest English chronicle of London—possibly in part at least a translation from a Latin original—was made in the early years of Henry V. The earliest of these chronicles we possess, however, ends with the names of the city officers for 1432-3.<sup>3</sup> From that date onwards we can place the compilation of a London chronicle, with fair probability, within every succeeding decade of the century.

Three years later than the *St. John's College Chronicle*, ends that in *Cotton Julius B. II*, chiefly of value for the documents

<sup>1</sup> Herbert, *Livery Companies*, 1837, i. 105-6; Leicester had caused a translation into English of its 'Great Charter' (of 1277) to be made in the time of Henry VI (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VIII, App., 423).

<sup>2</sup> Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, viii.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. St. John's College Oxford 57*; the sixteenth-century transcript of a city chronicle in the possession of the Marquis of Bath also ends (imperfectly) in the year 1432, cf. the list given below (pp. 96-8).

it contains. Then come two versions very closely related—*Vitellius F. IX*, ending in 1439, and *Harley 565*, finishing four years later, the second of these being the fullest of all these London chronicles for the years before it becomes contemporary, as it was the first to be printed (in 1823). In *Vitellius F. IX* (with which in content the *St. John's College MS.* may be joined) and another Cottonian MS. (*Fulius B. I*), although the record of events is thinner than in the Harleian MS., there is compensation in the form of the lengthy and fairly numerous documents which besprinkle their pages. The two chronicles are identical for the most part save that *Fulius B. I* is continued, though in rather meagre fashion, to the death of Edward IV, soon after which it was probably written. The year 1443, with which the Harleian record closes, saw the end of another chronicle of London, *Cleopatra C. IV*, imperfect at the beginning and, like some of the other chronicles, showing evidence of the work of more than one hand. Then for some years there is a break. Probably the disastrous course of the English cause in France, coupled with the growing bitterness of parties at home, left men with less leisure and smaller impulse to turn their hands to the compiling of annals, for it is not until the days of Edward IV that the current of chronicle writing in the city can again be perceived. We cannot of course say that no city chronicles were written in the later part of Henry's reign, nor can we affirm that of the six chronicles<sup>1</sup> most probably written in the days of Edward IV none were begun in the reign of his predecessor. At least two or three, in their partisan attitude to the events they recount, possess something beyond a servile adherence to the reigning house: like the writer of the work usually known as the *English Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup> who chose a Brut chronicle instead of a chronicle of London on which to graft his strongly Yorkist record of the early part of the Wars of the Roses, they represented Yorkist opinion in the city before as well as after the second battle of St. Albans. Last of these fifteenth-century manuscript chronicles may be considered *MS. Cotton Vitellius A. XVI*. In the first part (written about 1440), it bears close resemblance to *Gregory's Chronicle*. In the second portion (to 1485) it is in all probability largely based upon a lost London chronicle used by Fabyan, the author of *MS. Gough London 10*, Caxton, and possibly others. Like the rest of these chronicles, however, it is independent in its latest years, which, though not in one hand, cover the reign of the first Tudor. The chronicles of London did not cease to be compiled then; printed

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Rawlinson B. 355, Bale's Chronicle, Harley Roll C. 8, A Short English Chronicle, Gregory's Chronicle, MS. Gough London 10.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. J. S. Davies, Cam. Soc., 1856.

and even manuscript versions of over half a century later exist. But with the introduction of printing and the many movements conveniently summed up in the word Renaissance, the peculiar position of the chronicles of London has gone, and a new era in historical writing opens.

These fifteenth-century chronicles of London vary of course in length from little more than a bare list of the city officers<sup>1</sup> to a comparatively full record of the history of the capital. Equally widely do they differ in value. Like the many transcribers of the *Brut Chronicle* at this time, the chroniclers of London were quite content to copy from previous writers, adding their account of what had happened in their own day. Thus the chronicles in *MSS. Vitellius F. IX, Julius B. I, Harley 565, St. John's College Oxford 57; Gregory's Chronicle*, and *Robert Bale's Chronicle* are very closely related as far as the opening of the reign of Henry VI, and some of them as far as 1439. Indeed it is almost impossible to say which, if any, of the existing chronicles formed the basis of the others, so closely and so confusedly are they connected, whilst the servility of the early part of these records necessarily diminishes their value very much. Not a few of these chronicles of London gain a value above that of their virtues as city annals, by their insertion of documents of more general interest—agreements, treaties, bills presented in Parliament, letters, and even poems, of which in some cases they are the sole repository. By far the larger part of the London chronicle in *MS. Cotton Julius B. II*<sup>2</sup> is taken up with three documents, the record of the proceedings of the fateful Parliament of 1399, the bill against the clergy in 1410, and the agreement arrived at in 1426 between Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester. In *Gregory's Chronicle, Bale's Chronicle*, and *MS. Cotton Julius B. I* are to be found copies of the treaties for the surrender of several of the French towns gained and lost in the reigns of Henry V and his successor, the text of the Treaty of Troyes (1420), and the agreement made between the Dukes of Bedford,

<sup>1</sup> Such as *MS. Rawlinson B. 359* in the Bodleian Library, which begins 'Nomina maiorum et vicecomitum civitatis Londonii tempore Johannis regis Angliae post conquestum decimo anno primus erat maior; quia ante tempus illud custodes erant et ballivi'. It gives the names of the city officers as far as 1530 with very occasional notices of events, the last being a mention of the death of Wolsey in that year (fo. 17). Then follows a list of the wardens and 'custodes' of the 'misterae sive fraternitatis Groceri', the MS. being in all probability the work of a member of that Company. A list of the city officers from 1189 to 1549 is also contained in *Letter Book F* (ed. Sharpe, 1904), 276–303, with very occasional notices of historical events (e. g. p. 288).

<sup>2</sup> Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 19–62, 65–8, 76–95; they are also given in the sixteenth-century version in the possession of the Marquis of Bath; for the date of the anti-clerical bill see below, pp. 58–9.

Burgundy, and Brittany three years later. The writer of the third chronicle in *MS. Vitellius A. XVI* inserts the text of a letter sent by Henry VII from Calais to the city of London concerning his negotiations with the Archduke Philip in 1500.<sup>1</sup> The same writer preserves some verses in praise of London made by the poet Dunbar on the occasion of a dinner given to the Scottish ambassadors by the mayor in 1501, and the verses made for the entry of Princess Katharine into the capital,<sup>2</sup> just as Lydgate's verses written for civic pageants were inserted by the chroniclers earlier in the century,<sup>3</sup> or the Ballad of Agincourt by the writer of *MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. IV.*<sup>4</sup> And as late as the time of Elizabeth we find Stow's chronicle of value for the fifteenth century in part at least from the documents, such as the articles of the rebels of 1450, or the formal claim of Perkin Warbeck to the English crown, which his laborious researches brought to light and his antiquarian tastes led him to insert in his work.

When writing independently, and as contemporary or almost contemporary authorities—as do most of these London chroniclers in the final part of their works—their annals are more evidently and directly of value. Even here, however, it must be admitted that they owe much of their importance to the dearth of historical literature more worthy of the name. The monastic chroniclers had gone, or were fast going, ere the fifteenth century was well on its way. The stream of historical writing which had flowed so long from the Abbey of St. Albans grew feebler, and at last dried up. Abbot Whethamstede kept his *Register* in the unquiet days of the struggle between Lancaster and York, but he is primarily concerned with retailing the fortunes of his abbey, and it is not a little because the rival Roses fought more than once within sight and hearing of the abbey, that his work is an authority of importance for the intestine warfare. It is true that Capgrave, prior of the Augustinian Friary at Lynn and provincial of his order in England, devoted no small part of his time to historical work, writing his *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* concerning Emperors, English monarchs, and others bearing that name and, in English, his *Chronicle of England*. The latter is of some importance for the reign of Henry V, and also as illustrating mid-fifteenth-century prose writing, but the work ends in 1417, and Capgrave is more famous for the voluminous nature of his work than for his his-

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.* 229-31, and *note*, 332, 'the text of Henry's letter is given here only.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 253-5, 233-48.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. *Cotton Julius B. II*, pp. 97-116; *MS. Harley 565* (Nicolas, *Chronicle of London*), 257; *Gregory's Chronicle*, 49-54.

<sup>4</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.* 123-2.

torical skill. William Worcester, busied in his secretarial work in London, and Warkworth, teaching at Peterhouse, cannot be reckoned as belonging to this class, and it is largely the lack of better authorities which makes Worcester's rather confused *Annales*, and Warkworth's continuation of a *Brut* chronicle, of value. The Croyland continuation, and the recently discovered chronicle of Butley Priory, still maintained a glimmer of what had been a brighter light, the one until the opening of the reign of Henry VII, the other until the rude winds of the Reformation quenched it once and for all. But the fire from the torch of historical learning had been carried out into the more stormy air of secular life, and it burnt but dimly until the warm winds wafted from the shores of Italy and Greece came to blow upon it and fan it into quickening flame, until, in Tudor days, it was invigorated by an atmosphere charged with national pride and scholarly temper.

Feebly as it burnt in this fifteenth century, however, there was a freshness about its light which it had sometimes failed to possess in the more calm and confined spaces of the cloister and the scriptorium. The imaginative powers of the merchant or alderman of London might be poor, his powers of expression might be feeble, but his narrative has at times a vividness which the monastic chronicles lacked; he wrote in the native tongue, with simple pen, sometimes with a homely wit, of the things, for the most part commonplace things, in which he was interested, rumours he heard in the Guildhall, sights he saw in Cheapside. These chroniclers tell us of the doings of the Mayor, who naturally occupies a very considerable place in their thoughts. 'For within London', says one of them with genuine civic pride, 'the mayor is next the king in all manner of things.'<sup>1</sup> They speak of his election, how he presides at civic feasts and important trials, of his attempts to keep order in the city, of any breach he may make in civic customs—such as that of riding to Westminster to take his oath. They relate how the city pays its share in taxation, how it provides men or money for foreign wars; they occasionally throw light on the history of the gild organizations in the capital, especially in their relations to the civic authorities. They write of portents in the sky, of the weather, of good and bad harvests, of the price of food, of outbreaks of plague, of outbreaks against aliens dwelling in or trading with their townsmen or fellow-countrymen; they are interested in the buildings of the city, what accidents befall them, of their repair or rebuilding, and in the erection of new edifices; one of them could mention the royal foundation

<sup>1</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle (Coll. of a London Citizen)*, 222.

of Eton, another could make casual comment on the early voyages of discovery. They tell of sermons and recantations from heresy at St. Paul's, of executions at Tyburn, of the ghastly decorations on London Bridge or the city gates, of beheadings on Tower Hill. They can dilate at length on the celebrations accompanying a royal coronation, or the entry of a new-made queen to the capital, even to the inclusion of the menu at the feast. They have a keen eye and ready pen for the pageants and jousts which accompanied such gatherings—Edward Hall, who in the time of the eighth Henry revelled in such things and described them with unflagging ardour, is in this at least a Londoner of the Londoners—for the comings and goings of the court and the nobility, for the meetings of Parliament or the Council, for the arrival and departure of ambassadors and their trains, for the advent of papal legates and the like—in short, for the whole busy and absorbing life of the chief city of the kingdom, the capital, 'the king's chamber,' in which and about which the life of the nation was being focused in the fifteenth century in a way it had never been before. Lydgate was best known as a writer for and about London. The *Paston Letters*, invaluable as they are in giving us a picture of certain classes of society in the latter half of the fifteenth century, owe not a little of their importance as a source for the general history of the country to the fact that certain of the correspondents wrote from the capital and gossiped of what was happening and what was being talked of there; it was in London that the ideas and ideals of the Renaissance first blossomed into flower, just as the principles of the Reformation took strong and enduring root there.

For of course much of what went on in London and which these chronicles record was not merely of civic interest; nor are their interests entirely confined to their own city. Even if he would, the wealthy merchant, the loyal official, could not be blind to the wars and rumours of wars when their course and their effects were demonstrated so plainly by the calls upon his pocket, his time, or even, in the frequent riots in or about the city, the strength of his sinews. It is true that the city chroniclers on the whole look at events of national importance rather from inside the city gates; on not a few occasions it is by 'letters' or 'tidings' to Master Mayor that they hear of and relate happenings at all distant from the capital. But in the absence of other authorities their testimony is often of no mean importance. It would be tedious to point out the many successive events where the city chroniclers give us information obtainable from no other sources. The imperfect chronicle in *MS. Cleopatra C. IV* is rather exceptional in the attention it pays to French affairs, notably around Agincourt, and again later in the years 1432-9, where it supplies



'one of the best of the scanty narratives of the war from the English side'.<sup>1</sup> For the troubles which preceded the Wars of the Roses, and for the wars themselves, all the chronicles of London written in the latter half of the fifteenth century have some contribution to make, and the fact that in treating of the events of their own day they often take sides does not altogether detract from their value, whilst it assuredly adds to their interest. Some of them indeed are less moved than we should expect; they can record the victory or defeat of the royal arms, the passing of an all-important measure, with a formality and absence of feeling which, as it can scarce be put down to philosophic calm, was apparently the result of lack of sufficient knowledge or interest. They are, somewhat naturally, fullest for the rising of 1450, when several of those who wrote in the reign of Edward IV must have seen the Kentish host on Blackheath and witnessed the triumphant procession of its captain through the city, may even have fought on that Sunday night in July when the citizens essayed to drive the rebels over London Bridge and out of the capital. *Bale's Chronicle*, *A Short English Chronicle*, *Gregory's Chronicle*, *MS. Vitellius A. XVI* (whose account has as much claim to be considered independent as the substantially identical one in Fabian), all give us independent and fairly lengthy accounts of the insurrection, each supplementing the work of the others, and forming, together, the main source for our knowledge of the events of that movement.<sup>2</sup> Similarly almost all our knowledge of the anti-Lombard riots of 1456-7 comes from the London chroniclers, just as the Londoner Hall, early in the next century, has preserved by far the fullest account of the 'Ill May Day' of 1517. And for the large part played by the capital in the political struggles of the thirty-five years after Cade's rising, and even later, we are not a little dependent for our knowledge of events on these same and succeeding chroniclers of London. The chronicle *Vitellius A. XVI* has long been known and recognized as a valuable authority for the reign of Henry VII. With *MS. Gough London 10* it gives the best account extant of the trials which took place in 1495 of those persons in England suspected of complicity in Perkin Warbeck's schemes. In like manner it is the recognized source for the history of the Cornish rebellion of 1497. In common with the other city chronicles for this period it is of value as throwing light on the condition of the capital in matters religious on the eve of the breach with Rome,<sup>3</sup> whilst

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.* xlii. 117-26, 136-46.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Kreihn, *The English Rising in 1450*, 1892, p. 7 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Fisher, in *Pol. Hist. of England* (Longmans), v (1485-1547), 486.

its two entries about the discovery movement<sup>1</sup> must not be omitted.

The virtues of these chroniclers of London are almost all, however, the virtues of a contemporary observer, scarcely at all those of the historian. When all that is possible has been said of their good qualities it cannot be said to amount to very much. If their writings be not 'absolutely contemptible', as to one eminent historian the English historical literature of this century presented itself,<sup>2</sup> certainly they will not bear comparison with contemporary productions in Italy or even France. The London chroniclers are servile copyists for a large portion of their works, and they—or their scribes—are not perfect at that. Criticism of their sources, when they use more than one source, seems to have been beyond them; easier to record the same event twice than to try and reconcile accounts divergent in content or date.<sup>3</sup> Indeed it would be surprising if they displayed acuteness of criticism along with the credulity, the belief in signs and omens which they shared with their age and which had not disappeared when Stow and Holinshed wrote. As their models were poor, it was not likely that at a time when learning was at a low ebb, before English prose had felt the touch of Malory or his successors, citizens of London should produce works displaying imaginative power or literary merit. Their writings are not without a place in the story of the development of the English tongue. They helped to familiarize it, to shape it for the flights it accomplished in the next century; their homely phrases and quaint conceits are the legitimate albeit humble parents of some of the qualities which gave the English of later Tudor days an abiding greatness. They were, however, untouched by the influence of foreign literature. With the exception of the reference of Bale to two romances which originally came from the French, there is nothing to show that they were interested in this side of fifteenth-century life; it is from Stow that we hear of a week-long play at Skinners' Well in the reign of Henry IV, and yet Stow was capable of ignoring the dramatic achievements of his own day. The narrowness of their point of view has been mentioned, and the form of their works helped to check any attempt to treat a subject as a whole. Dividing their annals so definitely into years, and these not calendar or regnal but mayoral years, they plod heavily through the course of the months from October

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.*, 203-4; 213-16; 211, 222, 226, 229; 224, 228, 327-30; 337-8; below, pp. 79-81.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, i. 329.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Harley 565* mentions Bedford's victory at Harfleur twice; *Gough London 10* twice records the 'battle of the bridge' in 1450; and see below, *Tanner 2* (p. 83).

to October, and where they are best and most exact the chronological instinct tramps ruthlessly across, and rarely or never along, the furrows of event and tendency.

The chronicles are, indeed, just what we should expect of their authors. The first record of this sort, the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, is conjectured with probability to be the work of a city alderman, and it is to the same class of citizens that we owe the subsequent annals of London. The wealthiest of the burgess class, members of the most important of the city companies, they took no small part in the government of the city, and the comparatively large number of such records we possess for this period—many more must have existed—proves that it had become the fashion in the fifteenth century for those with leisure, and interest in the history of their city, to write or at least possess—for some of the existing chronicles are undoubtedly copies by professional scribes—a record of the sort here printed and described. The authors of many, of the majority in fact, are unknown, but those we do know approximate fairly closely in their rank and position: Robert Bale, notary of the city in the beginning of the reign of Edward IV;<sup>1</sup> William Gregory, skinner, sheriff 1436-7, and mayor fourteen years later, who may well enough be considered the author of a large part of the chronicle which goes by his name until some better authenticated claimant appears; the goldsmith and city chamberlain of the reign of Edward IV who was very possibly the writer of the early part of *MS. Gough London 10*.<sup>2</sup> And similar, though a little later, were the well-known Robert Fabyan, member of the Drapers' Company, sheriff 1493-4, and city alderman for some years, Robert Arnold, merchant and haberdasher of London in the opening years of the sixteenth century, or Richard Hill,<sup>3</sup> also a London merchant in the reign of Henry VIII.

These worthy burgess authors and transcribers did not, however, confine their instinct for recording matters of interest to the compiling of chronicles, and it would be unfair to judge them merely as annalists. In the works of all the writers mentioned above (with the exception of Fabyan, whose chronicle stands on a different plane and will be considered hereafter), the chronicles of the city of London form only part—for historical purposes it is true the most important part—of collections which vary in content and length, in interest and value, just as the interests and knowledge of the different individuals who wrote them must have varied. Indeed, the contents of these commonplace books—the fittest and most inclusive title for these collections—throw

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 67 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 75-6.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 25.

more light on their authors than the city chronicles, just because they illustrate so well the diverse interests of their owners. The majority contain some matters of civic or historical interest, but in addition entries of a devotional or even theological nature, ballads and poems of all sorts current at the time, hints for those agriculturally or horticulturally inclined, medicinal recipes, fables, all are found jumbled together in the most incongruous but, considering the nature of the collections, the most natural way. Many of these works are undoubtedly the fruit of many years of life in the capital, receptacles in which their author might place anything he desired to preserve for future reference; they are the precursors of the more personal journals; they occupy for the fifteenth century a position analogous to that of the diarists who begin in the Tudor period and become so common in the seventeenth century. For a work of an official and strictly civic nature, Carpenter's volumes may be cited, but in considering those more general in character here too the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, more true in this regard to its title, must be considered as the first example of its kind. It contains<sup>1</sup> in addition to its civic chronicle the Assize for buildings in London, the names of the pontiffs and emperors of Rome 'metrice scripta', the names and number of the kings of England, the genealogy of Henry VI, and the 'vision of Saint Edward'. Another collection of the early fourteenth century—though containing no chronicle—is to be found in the Bodleian Library, *MS. Rawlinson B. 356*, whose author<sup>2</sup> was evidently interested in borough constitutions, for in addition to charters and privileges of London, regulations concerning weights and measures, the customs of London Bridge and references to the 'little black book', the 'great black book', the 'red book' and the 'white book', he entered in his collection charters of Portsmouth, of Oxford, of Exeter, of Wallingford, of Reading, of Andover. Similarly of civic and general historical interest are the commonplace books described below<sup>3</sup> of Robert Bale and the author of *MS. Rawlinson B. 355*, though the latter, with *MS. Tanner 2*, can scarce be called civic at all, and Bale entered not a little of a religious nature and even—rare for a citizen of London at the date when he lived—one or two stories of classical origin. In much the same way Ricart's Chronicle of Bristol took but one part of the six divisions which went to make up the *Maire's Kalendar*, the other five being composed of

<sup>1</sup> See 179 App. of the *Liber* for a list of the contents.

<sup>2</sup> In the volume itself, a quarto of fifty leaves of vellum, well written and ornamented, there is no clue to the author, but a certain 'T. Warley' was apparently the owner in 1530 (ff. 16<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> pp. 62, 67.

transcripts from early chroniclers and copies of Bristol charters and customs.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps more interesting, certainly more miscellaneous, are the *Historical Collections of a London citizen in the fifteenth century*, attributed to William Gregory, and the work known as the *Customs of London*, or less correctly, inasmuch as the chronicle fills only about a sixth of the work, the *Chronicle of London* of Robert Arnold. The first of these contains, besides the Assize of Bread and Ale, the names of the churches in the city of London (also found in Bale, Arnold, and Stow's *Survey*), Lydgate's verses on the English kings (also found in the contemporary *MS. Lambeth 306*<sup>2</sup>), the poem on the siege of Rouen<sup>3</sup> and one or two shorter poems on 'Courtesy', 'the Seven Sages of Rome', such things as hints for blood-letting, a 'treatise of medicine for man's body', a note on the 'properties of a young gentleman'.<sup>4</sup> Arnold's work is even more conglomerate. Printed at Antwerp in 1502 and again, with the annalistic notices brought up to date, in 1520, it contains copies of civic ordinances and oaths for officials of the city jumbled together in most indiscriminate fashion with advice as to the 'craft' of planting trees, or the proper fashion for making 'ypocrase'. The articles of Magna Carta are followed by the 'craft to make ink', and that again by a description of the ceremonial at the installation of Bishop Morton at Ely, whilst the famous 'Ballad of the Nut Brown Maid' is found amongst contents of an equally miscellaneous nature. The insertion in these works of verses of an historical nature has been remarked, and in addition to those in the *Collections of a London Citizen*, the volume edited as a *Short English Chronicle*, likewise compiled in the reign of Edward IV, contains not a few verses of varying length and merit. But best of all, from a purely literary point of view, is the commonplace book of Richard Hill,<sup>5</sup> in appearance rather reminding one, save for its vellum cover, of the books kept by the twentieth-century successors of this sixteenth-century merchant and grocer. The volume has however long been

<sup>1</sup> Comparable is the Red Book of Bath, the work of a townsman or official of Bath in the early fifteenth century, including besides local charters, copies of Magna Carta and other statutes, a short Brut Chronicle, a letter of Henry V to Charles of France (1417) and its reply, such items as an English version of the Ten Commandments, some short poems and even epitaphs (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. I, App., 182).

<sup>2</sup> *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ii.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the *Collections of a London Citizen*, 1-46, and also in *Archaeologia*, xxi, xxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Collections of a London Citizen*, i-ii.

<sup>5</sup> *MS. Balliol College 354*. Ed. R. Dyboski, E. E. T. S. (Extra Series, 101, 1907).

known and used as a mine of real value, a treasury of English folk-songs, carols, lyrics and religious poems, many of them found nowhere else and only preserved to us by the care of this London citizen.

Beyond the comparatively large number of these fifteenth-century city records and the probability, nay, certainty, that many more must have perished, there are several other indications of their popularity in the period of the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings. Even better known and copied again and again, from the early years of the fifteenth century, was the *Brut Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> chiefly founded on legends incorporated in the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is not without significance that four of the copies of this work now extant have continuations of varying length from 1418—when many of the versions stop—in the form of the chronicles of London, the names of the city officers being given at the head of every year. The change from calendar to mayoral years apparently did not trouble the writers, who may well, of course, have been citizens of London. Even a writer like William Worcester, whether borrowing from a city chronicle, or merely from the general influence of works with which, passing so much of his time in the capital, and genuinely interested in matters of historical and antiquarian interest, he was sure to be familiar, on one occasion falls into the same custom. He heads his account for the year 1460 of his *Annales*<sup>2</sup> with the names of the mayor and sheriffs of London. And there are the authors of the two Latin city chronicles,<sup>3</sup> one about the middle, the other at the end of the century. In addition to their use of a language foreign in use and probably even in knowledge to the majority of the city chroniclers, they give no sign of their citizenship of London beyond the writing of a chronicle whose form is more probably a testimony to the popularity of the city chronicles than an evidence that the writers were of the class from which the chroniclers of London sprang. Caxton, in compiling his continuation to Trevisa's version of the *Polichronicon*, to print it in 1482, made considerable use of one or more city chronicles.<sup>4</sup> The Grey Friars of London, situate

<sup>1</sup> *The Brut or Chronicle of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, E. E. T. S., 1907-8. The city chronicle continuations are found in vol. ii; (a) App. E, 452-5 (1422-31), very brief; (b) Cont. F, 456-90 (1430-46), fairly full; (c) App. D, 440-4 (1420-8), almost identical with Harley 565, and probably borrowed in part from the same sources; (d) Cont. E, 444-51 (1419-30), agreeing in part with Bale's Chronicle and less with Cotton Julius B. I.; vol. iii of this work, to contain the introduction and notes, has not yet appeared.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of the War with France*, ed. Stevenson, R. S., 1864, 774.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Rawlinson B. 356*, and *MS. Tanner 2*; cf. below, pp. 63, 82.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 78-9.

within sound of the bustle of Newgate and almost under the shadow of St. Paul's, naturally reflected many sides of London life. Their house had been to no small extent founded and enriched by London citizens, and their sixteenth-century chronicler was content to take the meagre annalistic notes of Richard Arnold for his guide—they may also have been his inspiration—in compiling his chronicle, giving the names of the city officers and reckoning by the mayoral years as any layman of the capital might have done. It is true the writer showed more perseverance in pursuit than originality in inception, for, aided to 1501 by Arnold's work, the first edition of which, presumably the one used, reached to that year, he continued his labours not only to the dissolution of the house in 1538 but for many years after, only closing his record in 1556.

### iii. CHRONICLES OF ENGLISH TOWNS OTHER THAN LONDON

In part due to the influence of the London chroniclers were the records of a similar nature for other towns, of which we find the first examples in the latter part of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Although only one or two were written at this date, and the majority are of late sixteenth, seventeenth, or even eighteenth century origin, it will be convenient to discuss them all here, inasmuch as they are very similar in type, and almost uniformly lacking in importance. They have all the defects of the London chronicles, the narrow range, the limitation of form and poverty of expression, without the fullness, the participation in and knowledge of events of national interest, and the comparatively clear field which go to make the London chronicles of value for English history. Many of them, too, are late and barren imitations, in reality not deserving of the name of 'chronicle' at all, inasmuch as they contain arid centuries of town officials with only occasional entries of a purely local character. Naturally some of these later

<sup>1</sup> It is true that Mr. Kingsford notes (*op. cit.* xxi. note) a St. Albans Chronicle (pr. in *Amundesham's Annals*, i, R. S., 1-64) which 'we may fairly conjecture . . . was in part at least derived from the same source' as the London chronicles, but this is not a town chronicle in the sense in which the words are here used, as of course many of the later chroniclers—Hall or Holinshed—were equally indebted to the chronicles of London.

Dr. Gross, *Bibliography of Municipal History*, 1897, xxi-xxiv, gives a fairly complete list of these later town chronicles, to which I owe reference to many of the chronicles here described. Dr. Gross includes, however, several bare lists of town officials which, even on the very liberal interpretation of the word which we must perforce here allow, can hardly be termed 'chronicles' (see below, p. 35, notes).

works are printed, but not a few, as late as the eighteenth century, remain in manuscript, the product of faithful, if somewhat unfruitful interest in municipal history. It may be of interest to note, however, that there were, as early as the sixteenth century, one or two attempts to write the history of specific towns in a broader form than the town chronicle could allow. Thus in the records of the town of Yarmouth<sup>1</sup> there exists *A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitys of the Toune of Great Yarmouth*, apparently the work of a certain Henry Manship 'the elder', a townsman of Yarmouth in Elizabethan days. And just about the time that Stow was gathering the materials for his *Survey of London*, John Vowell (or Hooker), chamberlain of the city of Exeter, but better known as the continuer and editor of *Holinshed's Chronicle*, compiled a work on the history of his city, together with an account of its constitution and officials.<sup>2</sup> The formal *Annals of Ipswich*, written by Nathaniel Bacon, recorder and town clerk there, in 1654,<sup>3</sup> come more under the heading of town chronicles, though the work contains in its almost yearly chronicle from 1200 onwards the names not only of the Town Bailiffs, but those of the Coroner, Common Clerk, Chamberlains, and sometimes those of the Justices of the Peace for the town. The entries, becoming fuller as they approach the writer's own day, are of an official nature, including regulations made by the town authorities, notices concerning town property, awards and penalties of the courts held there, and so forth.

Bristol is, after London, the place in which the town chronicle began earliest, if we except an altogether valueless roll of the Mayors and Bailiffs of Northampton from 1381 to 1461 containing a few brief Latin notices of events of national import,<sup>4</sup> and it

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX, 1883, App. i, 299.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ancient History and Description of the City of Exeter*, n. d. Exeter, begins (1-106) with 'Mr. Hooker's account of the several sieges the city of Exeter from time to time underwent', and later (239, 291 seq.) gives 'a correct catalogue' of all the Bishops of Exeter, and 'the offices and duties of every particular sworn officer of the city of Exeter, collected by John Vowell, alias Hooker, Gent. chamberlain of the same'. Vowell, as his more widely known work suggests, was not a city chamberlain of the normal type. His father filled the mayoral chair at Exeter for one year, but the son proceeded from school in Cornwall to Oxford, leaving there to travel in Germany and France, ere in 1555 he became chamberlain of his native city. His writings, of an antiquarian and historical character, were fairly numerous (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxvii. 287-8).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. W. H. Richardson, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 432 in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, T. K. Abbott, 1900. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. R. H. Weaver of Trinity College for an account of this and several of the other Trinity College Dublin MSS. here described. The list of town officials, which only occupies four leaves, mentions such things as the Battle of Radcot Bridge, the deposition of Richard II, the Lollards' Rising, the



certainly surpasses all other English towns save the capital in the number and interest of its mayoral annals. First in date and value comes the well-known chronicle begun by Robert Ricart, town clerk of Bristol, in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The *Maire's Calendar*, of which the chronicle forms a part, was an official work, as Ricart explains in his Introduction<sup>2</sup>: 'ad requisitum et mandatum venerabilis viri Willelmi Spencer, majoris dictae villae, et omnium discretorum virorum dicti majoris consultorum . . . istum librum incepti, composui et conscripsi.' The chronicle gives the names of the city officers from 1216, when Bristol first obtained its mayor. To 1440 it is merely a list of city officers, but as it approaches to Ricart's own time, entries become more frequent and more full, events of both national and local importance being recorded each year until 1497.<sup>3</sup> For the remainder of the reign of Henry VII only the names of the city officials are given, but in 1522 a fresh hand takes up the work and the yearly entries are continued to 1543. Thence onwards there are occasional entries, more regular for the later years of Elizabeth, and then very few and far between until the record finally closes in 1698. It was probably the example of this record which produced the later Bristol compilations of a similar nature, of which Seyer, the historian of Bristol, said he had seen as many as twenty, and estimated that at least as many again existed when he wrote, though none of those known at present can claim anything like the interest of Ricart's earlier and—for its time—more unique record. One such mayoral calendar covers the years 1216 to 1608 with fairly frequent but brief and historically valueless notices for the later years; another, reaching to 1639, and on the word of Seyer a good one, was compiled by a certain W. Adams; a third ended in 1683, but was continued by a zealous citizen of the following

battles of Agincourt, Wakefield, and so forth. The entry for 1461 may suffice as an example, 'Rex Edwardus habuit concilium suum apud York in dicto anno et dictus rex Edwardus coronatus fuit apud Westmonasterium die dominica in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli in dicto anno'. *The History of Northampton*, 1847, contains (p. 86 seq.) a town chronicle from 1377 to the year of publication, notices of events occurring almost yearly from the seventeenth century onwards.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Miss Toulmin Smith, Cam. Soc., 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i; and cf. 68.

<sup>3</sup> The following, taken almost at random, will serve as an example of Ricart's work: 1489 (p. 47) 'This yere the kyng sent an army of vii M. men into Brytaign to socour the Duches of Britaign. Also this yere the king sent for the Maire, Shiref, and Baillifes to come to his grace to London. And they brought up with them ij men of Waterford bicause the Baillifs had taken them and imprisoned them for brynging of Irissh money to the town.' Some years are fuller and others vary just as much on the side of brevity.

century, a century which also witnessed the drawing up of several additional 'calendars' of Bristol.<sup>1</sup>

Next in date of compilation and possibly in interest is the *Chronicle of Calais*,<sup>2</sup> made, or at least owned, by Richard Turpyn, burgess and merchant of that town in the early years of the sixteenth century. The work extends from 1485 to 1540, though there are one or two gaps of several years. It is chiefly concerned with the military operations for which Calais was the base, recording the advent of the successive monarchs and men of note who landed there. Thus the entries for 1513 and 1520, years when Henry crossed to Calais with a large part of his court, are of fair length. But the writer lacks any sense of proportion; he records the advent of a swarm of bees as gravely as the arrival of a king.<sup>3</sup>

Neither Ricart nor the writer of the *Chronicle of Calais* seems to have borrowed, in matter at least, from any of the London chronicles, although Ricart copied into his work<sup>4</sup> some customs of London from a volume 'that was Master Henry Darcy's some time Recorder of London in King Edward the third days'. But with the brief chronicle of Lynn printed below,<sup>5</sup> the case is different; there seems no reason to doubt that the author drew directly from Fabyan's work, or rather from the continuations of the London alderman's chronicle, adding notices of local events and occasional independent entries of more general interest. This was about the middle of the sixteenth century: in the early part of the next century, another townsman of King's Lynn set his hand to compile a fresh borough record<sup>6</sup> which may have begun with 1347, and reaches to 1623; later another hand continued

<sup>1</sup> S. Seyer, *Memoirs historical and topographical of Bristol*, 1821, Pref. x-xi; *Two Bristol Calendars*, A. E. Hudd, in *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester. Arch. Soc.*, xix, 1894, 105-41; the latest mayoral calendars end in 1740, 1774, and 1814. Adams's *Chronicle of Bristol* has been printed quite recently.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. J. G. Nichols, Cam. Soc., 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 10-15, 19-30, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalendar*, xx.

<sup>5</sup> p. 184 seq.; cf. p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *MS. Add. 8937* (Brit. Mus.). As the MS. has not been printed an example or two may be given:—

fo. 3, 1553. 'Mr. George Rewley. Lord Robert Dudley come to Lynn and proclaymed Ladie Jane Queene and afterward he was carryed to fframingham before queene Marie in the first yeare of her raigne. Also the Duke of Northumberland likewise proclaymed the same ladie Jane Queene and gathered a great host of men and departed with them from the Tower of London into the countrey where his men departed from him by night and then he returned to London like a traitour. And there he with the Duke of Suffolk and the Earle of Warwick and many more were beheaded. Also Queene Marie came to London and there shee was crowned againe after that Sir Thomas Wyatt gathered together a companie of souldiers and came to London bridge and

the work, though with more meagre and more occasional entries, to 1673. Although not of historical importance, this town chronicle is not without interest and is quite distinct from the one printed herein.<sup>1</sup>

Crossing from Lynn to Chester, like that town and the others previously mentioned a seaport, but with perhaps an even richer mediaeval record, here too we find more examples of the same rather *jejune* local annals, compiled in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Best of the four which I have been able to examine is one reaching from 1326 to 1584,<sup>2</sup> a vellum roll thirty feet in length finely written and well set out, the figures of the years and the names of the city officers being boldly inscribed in red. The chronicle opens with the arms of the city and the words 'Nomina Maiorum et vicecomitum Civitatis Cestrie . . .' like the London chronicles. Entries are occasional for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more frequent in the sixteenth. In addition to references to events of national moment, there are many notices of local interest concerning the comings and goings of great personages,<sup>3</sup> visitations of the plague,<sup>4</sup> accidents and repairs to buildings in the city,<sup>5</sup> and occasional riots.<sup>6</sup> Most interesting

after to Ludgate and then returned back and was taken and beheaded at Tower Hill.'

fo. 6, 1588. 'Mr. Thomas Lendall. In this yeare the king of Spayne sent a Navie of 150 greate shippes to invade England. Where the lord Admirall, Sir francis Drake and Sir Lyewine Semer with twoe of hir majesties shippes and 50 merchant shippes of England did meete with the Spaynarde and one the narrowe seas did fight with them and by Godes helpe took some of them and putt the rest to flight. There went oute of this (town) a shipp and a pynnace. Also in this yeare the warehouses on the northe side of Common Stayne yeard were newe buylded.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Add. 29777* (Brit. Mus.); the initials W. B. below the city arms probably refer to the author as William Bird, mayor in 1580, or William Baxter (or Meo), sheriff eight years later; the chronicle or calendar becomes indistinct in 1579 with the addition of a fresh piece of vellum, and ends imperfectly in 1584.

<sup>3</sup> As the visit of Queen Margaret in 1452, of Henry VII and his queen in 1493, and the coming of Prince Arthur in 1498.

<sup>4</sup> In 1506 'great deathe of Sweating sickness in Chester' is recorded; in 1517 there was 'so great a plague' that many fled the city 'in so muche that grass growed in the streates of the same citty', and 1550 and 1558 saw similar visitations.

<sup>5</sup> In 1500, 1501, and 1503 paving is mentioned; the entries 1555-8 also detail building and repairing in the city, and the next year saw the making of a 'new haven'.

<sup>6</sup> In 1463 the chronicle records the deaths of many Chester burgesses slain by a Welshman at the Mold fair; in 1510 there was a 'great debate' betwixt the Abbot of St. Werburgh's and the city; in 1547 a man was hanged there for 'treason speaking'; the year 1549 saw a fray between citizens of Chester

of all, however, are the references, fairly frequent in the later part of the record, to the plays performed in Chester, from 1488 when 'the Assumption of our ladye was plaied in the Bridgestrete of Chester before my lord Strange', mentioning the performance at the High Cross in 1529 of 'an Interlude named kinge Robert of Scissilie', to the Elizabethan days when the rising Puritan movement led to much feeling against the acting of the plays. Thus in 1571 the Whitsun Plays were performed 'thoughe many of the Cittie went forth against the setting forth thereof', and three years later the setting forth of the same plays proved 'to the misliking of many'.<sup>1</sup> Written, from the hand, at a somewhat earlier date, but not to be compared with the previous work in style, is a list of the mayors of Chester from 1272 to 1497 with occasional notes, of general interest and no historical value, very possibly taken from a London chronicle.<sup>2</sup> Poorer still are two mayoral calendars drawn up in the seventeenth century. One,<sup>3</sup> 'A collection of the mayors who have governed this city and the time when they governed', by an alderman of the city, William Aldernay, reaches to 1600 (it is continued by R. Holme to 1658). The other,<sup>4</sup> entitled 'Maiores

and Irishmen in the city, and in 1562 a dispute between the glovers and a citizen had to be carried before the Council in the Marches.

<sup>1</sup> The performance of plays is also recorded under the years 1498, 1560, 1566, 1567 'well set forthe'. Cf. for other record of their playing, E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 352 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. E. 5, 1*. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contained in a quarto of miscellaneous historical matters of various dates. It is catalogued as a list of the mayors of London, but is undoubtedly a Chester compilation; the arms of 'Willelmus Downham, Episcopus Cestrensis, anno domini, 1565', in the same hand as the list of city officers, probably represents something near the date of writing. An extract or two will suffice to illustrate its character:—

p. 150/ (1486) 'In this same year the duke of lyncoln was slayne and the earle of kildare brother and Martin Swarte with a gret company that came out of Ireland and brought with them a kyng of there owne making and landed in the north at the Pole of fodre and within fewe dayes after Kyng Harrie the vij<sup>th</sup> fought with hym and slewe him with many other of his company and put that lad which was made kyng in the tower of london.'

p. 151/ (1497) 'In this same yere Perkin Warbecke landed at St. Ives in Cornewall and seid that he was Richard Plantagenet the seconde sonne to kyng Edward and caused the contrey to ryse againe with him and went to Excetur and set the gate on fyre and king harrie the vij<sup>th</sup> hyring this mette him and toke him and caused to be knowen through out all England, France, Scotland, Bretten and Sayland what he was and sent his commissioners to Cornewall for to hang all the caustes [?] here of for the rising and so they did and Shene was brent the same yere.' The mention of the last event here recorded rather points to the use of a London chronicle; most of these record the burning of the royal house at Sheen.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Harl. 2057* (Brit. Mus.), fo. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Harl. 2133*, fo. 487 to fo. 525.

of Chester and other affaires which fell out in their yeares' from 1240 to 1617 (likewise continued by a second hand to 1635), is a somewhat elaborately planned but poorly executed record, divided into eight columns for the calendar year, regnal year, golden number, and so forth, the last column being given to the 'names of the city officers and remarkable events', brief entries of which become fairly frequent towards the close of the sixteenth century.

The city of Dublin could boast at least three archivists of varying industry in the sixteenth century. Most important is a chronicle in English though with Latin dating, covering the years 1401-1576,<sup>1</sup> and compiled soon after the later date. Whilst the names of the officials and many of the events relate to local or Irish affairs, there are unmistakable signs of the use by the author of a London chronicle, at all events in the earlier part. We can go even further and say that it was a London chronicle of the type used by the writer of *Vitellius A. XVI*, *Gough London 10*, or by Fabyan, or (most probable of the three) Fabyan's chronicle itself. The last part, however, which occupies the bulk of the work, is probably independent. Earlier, briefer, with fewer entries and without direct connexion with a London record, is a roll giving a calendar of the mayors of Dublin from 1413 to 1534 with notices, fairly frequent in the later years, concerning important events of general interest.<sup>2</sup> The third is

<sup>1</sup> *MS. 591* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Of London interest the chronicle notices the freezing of the Thames in 1435, the accident to St. Paul's steeple in 1442, Cade's rebellion, the arrest of some London bakers in 1475, Edward IV's feasting of the city officers in 1481, the reception of the Emperor at London in 1521. Whilst the earlier of these items might come from any London chronicle, the entries for 1475 and 1481 are almost identical with those contained in *Vitellius A. XVI* (187, 189) and *Fabyan* (666, 667), as may readily be observed from the following extract:—

1481 'John ffyane maiore Willame Grampie and Thomas Marller then bayllyffis this yer in the monethe of Julie the kyng sent for the maior with certayne of his bretherne and comuneres of the cittie of Londone unto the floreste of Walthame and there caused the game to be brought before them so that they sawe cours after cours and many a dere bothe red and fallowe slayne and after that the maior and his compayn was brought to a pleassant lodge all made of gren bowis and ther (*sic*) set them to dynner and was served with manny dentie dyshes and dyveres wyne good and plentie and caused the lord chamberlayne with other lordes to chere the maiore and his company sonedrie tymes whill they wer at dynner and at ther dep[ar]tyng gave unto them wenysonne great plentie. This yer also the kyng sent unto the maiores of Londone and her systeres aldermens wyves ij hartes vj bukes and a tonne of wine to make them merie withe all.'

<sup>2</sup> *MS. 543*, in the same Library; e.g. 1516 'Thys yer the Erille of Kyldare went into the Tollis countre and ther his men toke share of Toll and strake of his hede and send it for a present to the maior and the maior gave the brynger for hys paines a crossado of golde'.

practically only a list of the mayors of the town (1470-1594), for it contains but four notices of events.<sup>1</sup>

Not a few other English cities and towns could claim similar compilations. A certain Thomas Hallam of Leicester in 1574 made a roll of the mayors of that town, and two other similar Leicester rolls of a later date also exist;<sup>2</sup> all three contain historical memoranda at irregular intervals. In Oxford, Bryan Twine drew up 'notes relating to the mayoralty with a catalogue of mayors and bailiffs . . . to 1626', a list of city officers from the thirteenth century with occasional entries, mainly relative to the authenticity of the list; a similar list continued to 1695 was also drawn up.<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hilliard, a citizen of York, in 1664 published a work of this nature,<sup>4</sup> *A List or Catalogue of all the Mayors and Bailiffs, Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of the most ancient, honourable, noble and loyal city of York . . . together with many and sundry remarkable passages which happened in their several years.* Shrewsbury<sup>5</sup> possesses two quite good examples of this kind of record; one, fuller indeed than most of them, evidently in its later years—it ends in 1603—written by a contemporary hand. Of Norwich<sup>6</sup> three exist, written at various times in the seventeenth century. Coventry<sup>7</sup> has two at least,

<sup>1</sup> *MS.* 456 in the same Library; it contains notices of Surrey's arrival, the rebellion in Ireland in 1534.

<sup>2</sup> *The Roll of the Mayors of Leicester*, J. Thompson, in *Assoc. Arch. Soc's. Reports and Papers*, xii (1874), 261, 271. Here again, in all probability, the use of a London chronicle may be seen in the entry for 1442 in one of the later rolls (continued to 1686) 'Paul's steeple burnt by lightning'.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Wood F. 26* (Old Cat. 2802), fo. 57, containing also a few notes on the mayoralty of London; *MS. Wood D. 7*<sup>(6)</sup> (Old Cat. 8523), p. 39, covering the years 1122-1695, contains but a few entries relative to the election or removal from office of the city officers (e. g. 1297, p. 69; 1561, p. 119).

<sup>4</sup> The copies in both the Bodleian and British Museum (*MS. Harl. 6115*) have *MS.* notes inserted. The work was reprinted in 1715 at London, and four years later in York continued to the date of issue. *MS. Gough Yorkshire 22* (Bodleian), ff. 50-84, contains a mayoral calendar quite neatly written, ending in 1657 (imperfectly) and almost identical with the printed lists.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury* (1377-1603) Rev. W. A. Leighton, in *Trans. of Shrop. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1880, 239-352; *MS. Add. 20124* (Brit. Mus.), fo. 2, a list with historical notices on vellum, to 1610, continued by another hand to 1661; fo. 57 another calendar, less neat, on paper, reaching from 1372 to 1665, containing, on the whole, more notices of events than the preceding one; fo. 69 and fo. 94, bare lists of town officials.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. I, App. 103, *Roll of all the Bailiffs, mayors, and sheriffs of Norwich, 1399-1632.* *MS. Tanner 396* (Bodleian) is a city calendar, 1403-1696, interspersed with references of local interest, rare before 1500 and quite brief until the last few years. In *MS. Tanner 397* we have a similar but slightly fuller record ending in 1648.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, App. 264 (*MSS.* of the Marquis of Salisbury), a 'list of mayors for Coventry with chronology of events from 1347' ending in 1590; Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, ed. 1730, i. 147-53; the notices in this are irregular; thus, although there are moderately full entries for

one reaching to 1590 and apparently written soon after that date, the other being added to the account of Coventry by W. Thomas when in 1730 he published a second edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*. The 'Black Book' of Plymouth,<sup>1</sup> used as a city record from 1540 to 1710, contains under the mayoralties recorded year by year, notes of general historical interest by several hands. One of the most curious of these late-born offspring is a Southampton mayoral calendar,<sup>2</sup> which possesses the distinction of being written largely in French, its title being 'Les noms des maires de la ville de Southampton depuis l'an du Seigneur 1498'. The notices of historical events, more frequent after 1530, are continued by one hand until 1567, though the list of mayors by this writer does not end until 1615, soon after which English supersedes the French as the language in which the notes are made.

So we could continue almost indefinitely, did we but make our definition of town 'chronicle' wide—and shallow—enough. Worcester,<sup>3</sup> Nottingham,<sup>4</sup> Grimsby,<sup>5</sup> Beverley,<sup>6</sup> Newcastle,<sup>7</sup> all

1660-1, there are none from 1687 to 1723, with which year the calendar closes.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records*, R. N. Worth, Plymouth, 1893, viii. 14-25. Another similar record reaching to 1684 was compiled by James Yonge, townsman of Plymouth at that date. *Plymouth Institution Reports*, 1873-4, ed. R. N. Worth, 512-66.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Egerton 868* (Brit. Mus.), entitled 'A biographical list of the Mayors etc. of Southampton 1498-1671, a very curious record.' The names of the mayors and the date are put on the left-hand side, the entries of events being on the right. An example may be given:—

fo. 4/ 1536. 'Anne Boleyn fut condannée et decapitée et le Roy espousa Jane Seymour. Il y eut en Lincolnshire une insurrection pour le fait de la religion et puis après en Yorkshire. La Thamise fut toute gelée.' The first hand is very cramped and bad and the second is even worse.

*MS. Add. 5833* and *MS. Harl. 4116* (Brit. Mus.) contain lists of officers of the town of Cambridge, but in neither case are any notices of events included; equally bare is the list of town officials of Stamford given in Harrod's *Antiquities* (1785), i. 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. III, App. 253; a list of the town officials of Worcester, 1431-1677, with 'other remarkable things'.

<sup>4</sup> Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, ed. J. Thorsby, 1790, 34-72. The history of the county town is told in the form of annals, the account of each year being prefixed by the name of the mayor.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XIV, App. viii, 1895, 288, mentions lists of the borough officers made by Colonel Gervase Holles, mayor 1636, 1638, 1663, from the Corporation records. *MS. Lansdowne 207 (a)* (Brit. Mus.), ff. 523-9, also contains a bare list of town officers from the fourteenth century to 1669.

<sup>6</sup> *MS. Lansdowne 896*, being vol. viii of Warburton's Collections for Yorkshire, contains fo. 8 'Annals of Beverley with a list of the Mayors etc.', beginning in the second century, mentioning the foundation of the University of Cambridge in 371, and passing lightly over the centuries, with occasional entries of local interest—in the earlier portion taken mainly from Holinshed—until the year 1724, with which the record closes.

<sup>7</sup> *MS. Egerton 2525* (Brit. Mus.) is a neatly written quarto entitled

these and many more English towns had at one time or another some industrious townsman, or townsmen, often of course holding some official position which gave him access to the borough records, who from interest in the past history of his native town, perhaps impelled by the knowledge of the existence of compilations for other towns, drew up his list of those who had filled the position of chief honour in the town as far back as might be known, seeking to clothe the dry bones of officialdom from the very slender stores of general or even local historical knowledge which he or they possessed. Diverse as these later town chronicles are in date of compilation, in the labour which was bestowed upon them, in the proportion of matter of historical interest which they contain, they are all alike in being of the smallest historical value for the centuries in which the scarcity of other material gave real value to annals drawn up by townsmen who wrote of what they had seen and heard. And for their own day they cannot compare in fullness with the London chronicles of the fifteenth century, they cannot claim a local background coinciding with that of the national history to anything like the same extent as the annals written by dwellers in the capital. Many of them can scarce be said to deserve the name of chronicle; ousted by the local history in which they sometimes find a humble place, they are relegated to the domain of the antiquarian, the degenerate descendants of a once fairly vigorous, if not noble stock.

Municipal life in England never attained to the dignity or importance which it acquired in many of the other countries of Europe, and the difference in the amount of self-government and all it implied enjoyed by English and continental towns is naturally enough reflected in the local records they produced, as in every other aspect of town life. In Italy the municipal chronicler appeared at Milan as early as the eleventh century, and from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, not only in the largest towns of that country, but in those of minor importance, the civic annalist lived and flourished.<sup>1</sup> Some of the earlier of these works are

<sup>1</sup> 'A Catalogue of all the mayors and sheriffs of his majesty's town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne with their Coats of Arms and the reignes of the severall kinges and queens of this land with certain briefs or chronicles that happened in their severall reigns since anno domini 1432'. The names of the mayors, with their arms painted in, are given on the right hand of the page, and on the left are the usual occasional entries of well-known events in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the work ends with the year 1776. What is apparently a slightly different version of the same work is printed in Tonge's *Visitations* (1530), ed. W. H. D. Longstaffe, *Surtees Soc.*, 1863, liv-lxxvii; Pref. ix; it has breaks in 1634, 1730, and is continued to 1810.

<sup>1</sup> U. Balzani, *Early Chronicles of Italy*, 246, 292-3, 303-10. Many examples of these are to be found in the volumes of Muratori; some of the more jejune, like the English town chronicles, are headed with the names of the city officers, e.g. *Cronica di Bologna (Rer. Ital. Script. xviii. 241-92)*,



jejune enough, but many occupy a place far above that of the chronicles of London. And to compare these London annals with the outcome of the Renaissance scholarship of the Florentine Republic, from the Chronicle of the Villani in the fourteenth century—avowedly inspired to some extent by the Roman historians—to the works written at the close of the fifteenth century, when the names of Machiavelli and Guicciardini are encircled by others less resplendent but still of considerable lustre,<sup>1</sup> would be as unfair as it would be impracticable; each type of work was largely the product of its own environment, and the vast differences between the environment of the fifteenth-century city-states of Italy and that of London need no urging. From like causes the chronicles of London will not bear comparison with the long series of chronicles written in city after city of Germany,<sup>2</sup> split up into its innumerable states, with cities and leagues of cities, the importance of whose municipal records is indicative of the part they played in the history of the mediaeval Empire. In France however, albeit with the decline of the monarchic centralization accompanying the advent of the Hundred Years' War local historical records increased both in number and value,<sup>3</sup> the town chronicle is rare. Paris produced no works of this kind, and more than one of the comparatively few examples which exist for other towns in France are of importance as much for their linguistic as their historical value.<sup>4</sup> The fifteenth-century chronicles of London, with their many transcribers and

the name of the 'Podestà' for each year being given; similar is the *Chronicon Patavinum* (*Antiq. Ital. Med. Aev.* iv. 1121); cf. also the *Annales Veronenses* and *Annales Matuani* (Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* xviii. 2, 19 seq.), both written in the thirteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Symonds, *Ren. in Italy, Age of the Despots*, has a chapter on 'The Florentine Historians'; cf. also *Italian Literature*, i. 176-8; *Revival of Learning*, 184-5. Cf. for the Villani, Balzani, 332 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. K. Hegel, *Chroniken der Deutschen Städte*, 1862 seq.

<sup>3</sup> A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*, v (1904), cxxviii seq.

<sup>4</sup> The *Chronique Parisienne* (1316-39) and the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (1405-49) do not bear much resemblance to their London counterparts. More like in character—though not in form—is a *Chronique Rouennaise* (1371-1434) (ed. C. de Beaurepaire in *Chron. Normande de Pierre Cochon*, Soc. de l'hist. de Normandie, 1870, 316-64). Chronicles in civic form exist for two towns in the South of France; one the *Libre de Memorias* of Jacme Mascaro, secretary or town clerk of Béziers (ed. C. Barbier, Montpellier, 1895; cf. p. 7 for an account of the contents, and Molinier, iv. 37, for reference to another and later 'chronique consulaire' of Béziers), reaching from 1336 to 1390; the other, the *Chronique de l'hôtel de ville de Montpellier* (ed. Soc. Arch. de Montpellier, 1836-40; cf. D. Vaisette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, viii (1879), 212, Molinier, iv. 38), covering the years 809-1446, and of interest for the Hundred Years' War; both owe some of their importance to being specimens of Languedoc. M. Molinier also mentions (*op. cit.* v. cxxii) a chronicle of the Customs of Bordeaux, apparently similar in character to the foregoing.

continuator, are as unique as the position of the English capital itself, or as the position of these chronicles when compared with those of other English towns.

#### IV. FABIAN TO STOW: END OF THE CHRONICLES OF LONDON

The accession of the Tudor dynasty marks a new era in English historical writing. The introduction of printing, the character of the new monarchy, the extended political arena opened to the nation by the diplomacy and thrift of the first Tudor and the wide ambitions of the second and his minister, the increased intercourse with other countries of Europe, and particularly with Italy—the Italy of Petrarch as of Mirandola, of Savonarola as well as of Machiavelli, the questionings of and revolt from the authority and dogma of the Roman Church, the geographical discoveries of the period,—all these affected the writing of history as they affected every other aspect of English life. London chronicles, and much more general chronicles of England, continued to be written until the Elizabethan age was almost over, but, as we have remarked above, the declining years of the last of the city annalists were the years in which was growing to maturity the philosopher and man of letters who was also a historian; chronicle was being superseded by history.

Caxton set up his press at Westminster in 1477. Although he printed two editions of the well-known Brut chronicle of England and one of the almost equally popular Polichronicon, continuing Trevisa's translation to 1460, both publications also being issued by his immediate successors, the majority of the works which came from his press were purely literary in character, owing much of their importance to their influence on the development of the English tongue. Here Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* stands out, in style far surpassing any previous English prose writing. But this was romance, as far removed in matter as in language from the humble chronicles of the same period. It was not until 1516—passing over the publication of Arnold's *Commonplace Book* in 1502—that Richard Pynson produced from his press *The New Chronicles of England and of France*, the work of Robert Fabyan, alderman and sheriff of London and member of the Drapers' Company, though he probably wrote a large part of his chronicle at his house in Essex. Fabyan's industry is undeniable; he aspired, like his predecessors and many of the general chronicles of which he made use, to tell the story of man from the Creation of the world, and accordingly the first six of the seven parts into which his work is divided deal

with general history prior to the Norman Conquest. But in the seventh part, the only one of any historical importance, Fabyan adopts the form of the city chronicle, giving year by year the names of the city officers until the close of his work in 1485. Although Fabyan's work is poor in comparison with the chronicles written later in the century, it yet showed a great advance on the preceding and contemporary city chronicles. In addition to the value his chronicle possesses for the fifteenth century as not far removed from a contemporary record, and embodying the contents of records since lost—notably a London chronicle used by more than one writer at this time—the writer wove into his 'Concordance of chronicles' many authorities, Latin and French as well as English, albeit he cannot be said to have displayed much criticism in their use. He availed himself of Bede, Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden, William of Malmesbury and others, for the early history of England, Froissart—before Berners' translation—Gaguin and works of less merit for the French history, which, as the title imports, takes no small share of the work; and many of the general and usually valueless chronicles published abroad and in England in the early years of the printing press, in addition to such city records as the Letter Books and the previously written chronicles of London.<sup>1</sup> On several occasions Fabyan ventures into verse, of little value save as demonstrating his interest in literary form, an interest in itself marking somewhat of an advance on the previous city annalists. For beyond Fabyan, the citizens of London had left versification on their city to the monk Lydgate at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the Scottish poet Dunbar at the opening of the sixteenth, just as they left the first attempt to describe the constitution of the capital to a foreigner, Polydore Vergil.<sup>2</sup> Although the comparatively recent publication of the earlier written chronicles of London may have taken from Fabyan something of his importance, in his own day (or rather immediately after, for he died in 1513), when his chronicle was practically unique as a printed and, therefore, far more easily accessible record, the work was extremely popular. Three further editions<sup>3</sup> were printed within fifty years of Pynson's publication of the chronicle, and its popularity outside London is shown by the use made of it in a chronicle of Lynn, and probably in a chronicle of Dublin

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle*, ed. 1881, xiii-xv; cf. 633 for an example of his use of the Letter Books.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Ang.*, 243-4 (lib. xiii, *init.*).

<sup>3</sup> John Rastell in 1533 published an edition with a continuation to the death of Henry VII; in 1542 John Reynes issued a third edition brought down to the year of publication; in 1559 John Kingston continued the work to that year. The continuations are in all three cases brief and jejune.

compiled in the same century. The effect of the introduction of printing on literature in general, and not less on historical writing, was of course enormous; it is impossible to conceive that the triumphs of the Elizabethan age would have come, but for the vastly extended fields of prose and poesy made open by the printing press. An instance of the wider vogue enjoyed by the printed city chronicles is afforded by the brief London chronicle prefixed by Arnold to his *Commonplace Book*. The use of this by the chronicler of the Grey Friars has been remarked above, and the indebtedness of the compiler of *MS. Tanner 2* thereto is noticed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Richard Hill, in the city chronicle which he included in his *Commonplace Book*,<sup>2</sup> also used Arnold's work. From 1413, the year with which his list of city officers opens, to 1490, it is almost identical with Arnold's printed record. From 1490, i.e. within Hill's own memory, it is independent though still quite brief, containing just the sort of notes that a Londoner engaged in commerce would make, and gradually becoming more full until it ends abruptly in 1536, half-way through an account of a procession. Finally Charles Wriothesley, writing about the middle of the century, based his chronicle on the same record as far as 1520.

Whilst Fabyan was thus proving himself a worthy successor to the London chroniclers of the Wars of the Roses, the Union of the Houses concerned in those wars in the persons of Henry of Richmond and Elizabeth of York was bringing in its train developments in the writing of history as deep and far-reaching as those effected in the political life of the nation. Although there is something of the court historian—or rather chronicler—about Waurin, who was busied in his chronicle when in 1467 he visited the court of Edward IV,<sup>3</sup> and, much earlier in the century, Henry V had found his biographer amongst the members of his household, it is with the Tudors that the royal encouragement of learning can more clearly be recognized. Themselves, almost without exception, ranking high in the culture of their age, the monarchs of this line showed considerable interest, modified as was inevitable by political considerations, in the production of

<sup>1</sup> Below, pp. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. R. Dyboski, *E. E. T. S.* (E. S.) 1907, App., p. 142. The year 1536 is the latest date in the MS., and as Hill had been 'hansed' at Bruges as long ago as 1511 (*ibid.* xv), the year with which the chronicle ends was probably near his death. An example will demonstrate the character of the record:—1501 (p. 152) 'This yer there was a derth of corn tyll the hoyes cam owt of Flanders, laden with whet, gret plenty; and after that we had ynough, thankid be God'; or 1512 (p. 157) 'This yer the maior tok good hed to the markettis'.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil des Croniques et ancien istories de la Grant Bretagne par Jean de Waurin*, ed. W. Hardy, R. S., 1864, i. xli.

literary and historical works. And, fortunately for England, they did not confine their patronage to men of their own country, where in 1485 the stream of intellectual life still ran sluggishly, little influenced as yet by the faster-flowing currents of the Renaissance; where, in historical writing, there was nothing at all comparable to the contemporary writings of Comines or Guicciardini. The accession of Henry VII and the comparative freedom from domestic strife gave new life to the arts of peace. The victor of Bosworth Field had spent many years in France, bringing with him to England in 1485 no small interest in French culture, and, one evidence of this, the blind Bernard André, whom he made poet laureate and (on André's own account) royal historiographer. André's work<sup>1</sup> in this capacity, or what part remains of it, is not of very surpassing historical excellence, though as almost the only record of Henry's reign written in the lifetime of the king, it is of importance. It consists of a narrative of the first eleven years of the reign and, of more value, accounts for two of the last years of Henry's life, these yearly summaries being but a fragment of a scheme of annals which André meant to carry on for every year. What is of interest to remark is that in Bernard André we have a classical scholar and a poet, in close enough relation with the royal family to be the tutor of the young Prince Arthur, devoting himself, albeit with much laudatory rhetoric, to writing of an historical nature.

The fame of André however is far eclipsed by that of another foreigner, coming from the very founts of the new learning. It is, indeed, worthy of note that just before the storm of anti-papalism broke out in England, this country should have received from Rome, as a papal emissary, one to whom English historical scholarship owes no small debt. Polydore Vergil, born in Urbino, came to England in 1501 as sub-collector of Peter's Pence. He had already a reputation as a scholar and writer when he first entered this country,<sup>2</sup> and probably soon became well known at court, as he was made Archdeacon of Wells in 1508. The barrenness of English historical literature could not fail to strike one who came from a country where the historical

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Memorials of Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, R. S., 1858. Also ascribed to André are a French poem, 'Les Douze Triomphes de Henri sept,' of date 1497, and two short fragments of little or no importance.

<sup>2</sup> He had already written three works, an epistle to the *Cornucopie* of Perottus (1496), *Proverbiorum Libellus* (1498), and *De Rerum Inventoribus* (1499), the last of which became immensely popular, over eighty editions being published in the different languages and countries of Europe. In England it was 'gathered and translated' by Thomas Langley in 1546, this being the first of nine editions in English (see *Archaeologia*, li. 107-41). I ought to say that I owe much in this account of Polydore Vergil to a lecture on that writer delivered by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher in New College in the Hilary Term of 1909.

instinct was so strong and had borne such abundant fruit. A true humanist, he turned his scholarship where opportunity offered, and within a few years of his entry into the country he embarked, at Henry's request, on the task of writing a complete history of England. On this he was busied many years ere in 1524<sup>1</sup> the work appeared under the title of *Anglice Historice*, reaching in twenty-six books to the death of Henry VII. Thirty-one years later he brought the work down as far as 1538. Whilst the balance of the account of the first part of the reign of Henry VIII is to some extent lost by Vergil's attitude to Wolsey, who had caused his imprisonment for nearly nine months in 1515, Vergil's work contains (Book xxvi) what is without exception the best early account of the reign of Henry VII, much of the later part of it being based upon a sort of diary which he kept during his stay in England.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, less with Vergil as a contemporary and source than as an historical writer that we are concerned. Here his work marks a clear step forward on anything previously written on English history. He was in fact a Renaissance historian, full of the conception of history as a subject to be read and studied for its value in the affairs of life. It was to concern itself, he tells us in the Dedication of the work to Henry VIII, with such things as the nature of the soil, the origin of the people dwelling thereon, the character of the rulers, the mode of life of the inhabitants and their development as a nation. And yet he found in England but jejune annals, 'food without salt.' He applied himself with zeal to supply what he felt was a deplorable deficiency in a country making any claims to the possession of power or culture. He took great pains to collect materials for his work,<sup>3</sup> even his detractors paying unintentioned compliment to him in this regard by their fabrications that he had, after obtaining and using many manuscripts, burnt them all to prevent the exposure of the figments they professed to find in its history. Vergil's most important contribution in the matter of sources was his discovery of Gildas, of whose work he published an edition in 1525. But besides showing breadth of research Vergil displayed critical ability in dealing with his authorities: at times he follows

<sup>1</sup> A second edition was published at Basle in 1546.

<sup>2</sup> Pref. to lib. xxvii; cf. for his imprisonment, *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, ii. ccxxxix seq.; F. A. Gasquet in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* xvi. 9; I. S. Leadam, *ibid.* N. S. xviii. 279.

<sup>3</sup> An example of his zeal and his methods may be found in a letter written by him to James IV of Scotland (*L. and P. of Henry VIII*, i. 751, Dec. 13, 1502) in which he details how, interested in antiquities and observing the lack of a clear account of the history of Britain, he is busied with, has in fact almost completed such a work; his purpose in writing to James is to obtain data concerning the Scottish monarchs.

French authorities instead of English ones and, of more interest, he had the audacity to disbelieve the stories of Geoffrey of Monmouth about Brut and his successors, copied and believed by all the chroniclers of the preceding age and clung to by many of the writers of the following period, from whom Vergil reaped but insult and slander. Whilst Vergil's work is not free from the mistakes which inevitably arose in the attempt made by a foreigner to describe constitutional developments when so much was vague and dark,<sup>1</sup> yet the same external position caused him to remark social conditions which seemed to him peculiar, in the same way as the writer of the best known of the Italian 'Relations' written about this time.<sup>2</sup> For his work is more than a political history of the country. A humanist scholar, he is interested in the development of learning, and especially the 'New Learning', in England; law, religion, and even philology come within the radius of his concept of history, and call for the exercise of his judgement; he was in short an historian and not an annalist. Added to these merits was a purity and ease of Latin style which made his work long remain on the Continent the best-known history of England.<sup>3</sup> And despite the animadversions of Leland and others, Vergil's history was well enough appreciated in England to lead to the translation into English of the greater part ere the reign of Henry VIII was over.<sup>4</sup>

So far the development in historical literature concerning England has been due to foreigners writing in Latin. The reviving waters from the springs of the new birth of learning were borne to this country however by Englishmen as well as foreigners like Vergil or even Erasmus, and it is to the most brilliant of these native scholars that the next historical work of importance, the incomplete Life of Richard III, is ascribed. More, indeed, is said to have written the work in 1513, long before Vergil's work appeared, but the Life was not printed until 1543,

<sup>1</sup> He states, for example, that Parliament began under Henry I (*Hist. Ang.*, 188), and again that Alfred founded the University of Oxford 355 years after Cambridge had come into existence (*ibid.* 107).

<sup>2</sup> *Ital. Rel. of England*, ed. C. A. Sneyd, *Cam. Soc.*, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> Editions of his work were published at Basle in 1546, 1555, 1556, 1570; at Ghent in 1556-7; at Leyden in 1651.

<sup>4</sup> A considerable portion of the translation was edited by Sir Henry Ellis, *Cam. Soc.*, 1844-6. The translation reached to 1485. See the Pref. to the first of these two volumes (xx-xxviii) for an account of the animadvertisers of Vergil. The remarks of Bishop Godwin, editing Bacon's *Life of Henry VII* (with a continuation of his own to 1558) in 1676, may be cited as giving the opinion of an historian of the century following on Vergil's work. 'Among the many who have compiled the history of our nation', says the Bishop in his Preface, 'Polydore Vergil in the opinion of most excelleth; not that he hath written more truly or more copiously than many others, but more politely and latest of any that have taken pains in this kind.'

when Grafton added it to his version of Harding's Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> Traversing a sphere already in appearance so far removed from that of the chronicles of London and their writers, it is worthy of note that More himself was under-sheriff of the city in the very year in which he is said to have written his biography of Richard. London and its citizens, indeed, played a large part in the English Renaissance. Besides More, with his friendly garden at Chelsea, the main interests and activities of Colet lay in the city in which his father had been successively alderman, sheriff, and twice mayor. Vergil and indeed all the foreign legates and ambassadors were much in the capital with the king and court; the printing presses were there; the monasteries had ceased to be active homes of learning long ere they fell a victim to the politic greed of Henry VIII and Cromwell, and until the Universities had shaken off the confining folds of mediæval scholasticism, and even afterwards, the capital remained a centre for much of the intellectual life of the country. In historical work, in addition to the fact that most of the chronicles of the century were written in London, it was Thomas Nicoll, a goldsmith of London, who in 1550 made the first English translation of Thucydides, it is true from a French version itself in turn derived from a Latin translation. Camden was the son of a London paper-stainer; Thomas Lodge, the dramatist, had as father one who had sat in the mayoral chair, and it is with Elizabethan London that the names of the masters of play-writing are associated. Speed and Stow were London tailors; Queen Elizabeth herself was a not very remote descendant of a London citizen and mayor.

More had already translated a life of Pico della Mirandola,<sup>2</sup> a humanist who attracted him, but the biography of Richard occupies a much more important place both as literature—in regard to its English version—and as history. Brief as the fragment is, it is vastly superior in quality to the contemporary work of Fabyan. In Morton's household as a boy, there is no doubt that More derived some of his information concerning the stormy years 1483-5 from the Cardinal, though how much it is not easy to say. Although, however, the biography owes some of its value to its almost contemporary character, it is less as a mere chronicle of events than as a picture, or series of pictures, that the work impresses the reader. The drawing of the character and person of the usurping Richard, indeed, has stamped itself indelibly on all succeeding representations of that monarch, first amongst

<sup>1</sup> It was reprinted by Rastell in his editions of More's Works in 1557 and 1566. The question of the relation of the Latin and English versions is not of cardinal moment here, where it is the production of the biography that is of primary importance.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1510; edited by J. M. Rigg, 1890.



which may be placed that of Shakespeare. And the vividness of More's description of some of the scenes leading up to the accession of Gloucester—the council at which Hastings was arrested, or the parting between the queen and her ill-fated sons<sup>1</sup>—required, in addition to the probable recital of an eyewitness,<sup>2</sup> the imaginative feeling and literary instinct of the author of the *Utopia*. Further, the energy and fluency of the style make the English life of Richard III the first outstanding piece of English prose.<sup>3</sup> It is this fact which distinguishes the biography so markedly from the preceding Latin works. And whilst the generation which witnessed the tragedies of Wolsey and More saw in the one case a secretary, Cavendish, in the other a near relation, 'son Roper,' pay similar tribute to the memory of natures as diverse as they were great, in the writing of biographies,<sup>4</sup> both alike full of grace and charm, yet for historical or literary excellence equal to that of the brief sketch of Richard III, we must look forward just over a century to the life of the conqueror of Richard of Gloucester, written by one who like More was a classical scholar and a man of letters.

For as the waters of religious strife closed over the head of the great humanist, so they drew into their swirl and rush much of what was best in the thought and expression of the sixteenth century in England, and albeit writing gained in vigour, it often became the vehicle for violently partisan attack or defence. Historical work naturally came under the influence of these tides, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* furnishing the best and most familiar example of the writing of history, and that on a large scale, with a definitely partisan religious attitude and purpose. And when opposing parties and policies ruled alternately, history unpalatable to the party in power was apt to suffer: thus the first edition of the Protestant Hall's chronicle is said to have been almost completely destroyed by order of Mary, just as later, though for political not religious reasons, the works of Holinshed, Hayward, and Camden occasioned some trouble and more anxiety to their authors. But despite the zeal

<sup>1</sup> *Richard III*, ed. Lumby, 1883, 40-1, 45-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gairdner, *Life and Reign of Richard III* (2nd edition, 1879), 61, 81, 86, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ascham's opinion (*Works*, ed. Giles, iii. 6, qu. in Ten Brink, iii. 153): 'Sir Thomas More, in that pamphlet of Richard III, doth in most part, I believe, of all those points so content all men, as, if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France or Italy or Germany in that behalf.'

<sup>4</sup> Though not of a contemporary nature, the life of Henry V by Robert Redmayne, also written in the reign of Henry VIII, must not be omitted. See *Memorials of Henry V*, ed. Cole, R. S., 1858, ix-xvi; Kingsford, *Henry V*, viii, 'as an authority this life must be classed with the histories of Hall and Holinshed.'

displayed in the urging of Papal or anti-Papal claims, notwithstanding all the ink, and far more than that, poured out in defence or condemnation of the principles of the Reformation, chronicle-writing flourished and reached its highest development in Elizabeth's days. Interest in the classical historians, in the earlier English annalists and in the antiquities of the country generally, grew in like manner, and some attempt was even made, though in a fragmentary manner, to estimate the value or lay down the methods of the study of history. With all this the chronicles of London still found compiler and public in the same Elizabethan age.

Of the many chroniclers of the middle and later part of the century, Hall, Holinshed and Stow stand out. A work written before the chronicles of these three, but of little merit, was *The Pastymes of People or the Cronicles of Dyvers Realmes and most specially of the Realme of England*, published by John Rastell in 1529, divided like Fabyan's work, from which the author borrowed, into seven parts, the last of which reached to 1485. Edward Hall, educated at Eton and King's College, a lawyer, who also sat in Parliament in the later years of Henry VIII, a Londoner all his adult life though born in Shropshire, possessed of a large store of patriotic feeling, delighting in pageants and profuseness of colour, a Protestant to whom the authorship of a chronicle was by no means a thing to be separated from his religious views and sympathies—Hall was above all a believer in the infallibility of Henry VIII, of whom his work is in fact a glorification. Although Hall was a Londoner, he did not put his work in the form of the chronicles of that city, albeit in common with all the sixteenth-century chroniclers he made not a little use of those records.<sup>1</sup> It is true he pursued the course of events from 1399, the year with which his 'Union of the two Noble and Illustre famelies of Lancaster and York' opens, year by year for the successive kings of whom he wrote, but that did not prevent his work showing a great advance on the methods and qualities of the London chroniclers of even the preceding generation, whose works—including Fabyan's Chronicle—Hall found 'far shooting wide from the butt of a history'. Instead of beginning with the Creation, the fabled Brut or even Richard I, Hall commenced, as remarked, with the first Lancastrian king, and, as may be seen from the titles he gives to the reigns of the different monarchs,<sup>2</sup> he has a definite thesis to propound, de-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kingsford, *op. cit.* xxxiii-xxxiv. Hall mentions 'Chronicles of London' in his list of authorities.

<sup>2</sup> These titles are sagacious and somewhat illuminative; in addition to the first and last recorded above, they include 'The victorious acts of King Henry the Fifth', 'the troublous season of King Henry the Sixth', 'the

veloping his subject from the 'Unquiet time of King Henry the Fourth' to the 'Triumphant Reign of Henry the Eighth'. To him as to Bacon (though Hall was not, like the Lord Chancellor, thinking of the Union of England and Scotland, but of the praise of the monarch under whom he lived and wrote),<sup>1</sup> the beginning of the Tudor dynasty, the blending of the rival Roses, was the consummation of the history of the preceding periods; it showed, in a phrase<sup>2</sup> which may illustrate his grandiose and Latinized style, what Ascham<sup>3</sup> called his 'strange and inkhorn terms'—'that the day was now come that the seed of tumultuous factions and the fountain of civil dissension should be stopped, evacuate, and clearly extinguished'. This concept gives his work a unity and completeness which the earlier chronicles do not possess. Further, his chronicle is of some value from its commencement. For Hall made use of a wide range of materials, and we may find another sign of the development of historical method in that he prefixes a list of the authorities from which he 'compiled and conjoined' his work, dividing them into Latin, French and English writers. He used Comines and Monstrelet for the French part of his chronicle, and he was familiar with Froissart,—presumably through Berners' translation,—although his remarks upon that writer<sup>4</sup> can scarce be said to indicate a high level of critical ability. For the rest, in addition to More's biography of Richard III and Fabyan's *Chronicle*, the diligence of whose author Hall eulogizes, most noteworthy perhaps is the wholesale way in which he borrows from Polydore Vergil for his account of the reign of Henry VII, though Vergil did in some measure return the compliment by borrowing from Hall when continuing his history of England to 1538, just as Speed and Bacon in turn used each other's work.

Hall's *Chronicle*, as we have remarked, is of value for the fifteenth century, where, in addition to his use of manuscript materials and his insertion of documents, he was not, for the later part, too far off

Prosperous reign of King Edward the Fourth', 'the Pitiful life of King Edward the Fifth', 'the tragical doings of King Richard the Third' leading up to 'the Politic governance of King Henry the Seventh'.

<sup>1</sup> Hall died in 1547.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, 1811, 423.

<sup>3</sup> *Scholmaster*, ed. Mayor, 127; and again: 'many sentences be clouted up together, as though Mr. Hall had not been writing the story of England but varying a sentence in Hitching school.' Ascham, however, acknowledges the 'much good matter' contained in the chronicle.

<sup>4</sup> 'John Froissart wrote the lives of King Edward III and Richard II so compendiously and so largely that if there were not so many thynges spoken of in his long woorkes, I might beleve all written in his greate volumes to be as trewe as the gossell. But I have redde an olde Proverb which saith that in many woordes a lye or twayne maie scape' (Dedication of his *Chronicle* to Edward VI).

to incorporate information possibly received by word of mouth.<sup>1</sup> For the reign of Henry VIII, however, Hall was a contemporary, and his account is of very considerable value. He is far from impartial in his attitude towards events. His fervid Protestantism is apparent throughout,<sup>2</sup> yet he adheres blindly to the doctrine that the king can do no wrong, even when his actions directly violate the laws of morality or the Protestant principles of the writer himself.<sup>3</sup> He never tires of describing in minute detail the pageants, such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in which monarch and chronicler alike delighted, at not a few of which indeed Hall had himself been present. For some of the events of the reign, notably happenings in London, such as the rising against aliens there in 1517, the riots against the enclosures attempted round the city, or the opposition in the city to the exactions of Wolsey, he preserves the best account extant; his criticisms of the great men of his time are at times illuminating, and not always inapt, even when they are provoked and perverted by his theological views. And these same definite opinions helped to give his writing a vigour which not even his pomposity of style could remove.

Hall's work has been treated somewhat fully because he is so much a Londoner and so representative of the attitude of Londoners in the days of the Reformation. And yet in the scope of his work, his methods and his results, he is far removed from the city annalists. And as the sixteenth century advanced, the chroniclers of importance, with one exception, get further and further in temper and outlook from the earlier London chroniclers; more and more do they seek inspiration and guidance from classical models, and therefore in following primarily the fortunes of the chronicles of the capital they do not need the attention which Hall and the previous historical writers demanded. The chronicle of Hall's successor, Richard Grafton,<sup>4</sup> also his

<sup>1</sup> He probably received his account of the Battle of Wakefield, of which his relation is unique, in this way (*Chron.* 250; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii, 238, n.).

<sup>2</sup> This, it has been pointed out (Fisher, *Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, v, 1485-1547, 491), does not altogether diminish Hall's value, because of the large amount of anti-Protestant evidence which has been preserved for this period. Simple instances of his bias occur in his attitude to the sack of Rome, or his remark on the preaching of Bishop Fisher who 'preached so much honour to the Pope and his Cardinals . . . that he forgot to speak anything of the Gospel'.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in the case of the Act of Six Articles, Hall, in a speech in Parliament, the account of which is preserved, managed to find reasons for supporting the bill from what he had 'read in chronicles' and the maxim 'Obey your king'. He was also on the commission to take the oath on the Articles in the capital (Foxe, ed. Cattle, v, 504, 440).

<sup>4</sup> *A Chronicle at large and meare Historye of the Affayres of England*, 1568; reprinted, 1809.

printer, and for the final years of the chronicle his editor, is not of much account, being a compilation from Hall and other well-known writers. Raphael Holinshed's work, however, was better stuff, and if his chronicle is to-day best known as a mine in which Shakespeare and others delved, in addition to the literary qualities which made light the task of rounding and smoothing such stones as the dramatist took from thence, the chronicle has its place in the development of historical work. Most striking is the scale on which Wolfe, whose assistant until his death in 1573 Holinshed was, planned the work. The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, which together with the Description of England by William Harrison appeared under Holinshed's direction in 1577, were but part of Wolfe's original scheme, which was to have included the whole world on similar lines. Such a work required many helpers, and its projectors may perhaps be said to have initiated the method adopted, for somewhat different reasons, in our own day, of getting several writers to contribute towards the production of one work under a general editor. It is more in scope and style than in method that Holinshed's Chronicle differs from that of Hall, from which indeed extensive borrowings were made.

With Hall and Holinshed we have travelled far from the city chroniclers. But in Stow,<sup>1</sup> contemporary of both Holinshed and Camden, there is a reversion in some measure to the older type. Born in London, the son of a tallow-chandler, himself working for about thirty years as a tailor in the capital, Stow was more purely a London citizen than the majority of the contemporary chroniclers, who were almost all men of considerable education and sometimes travelled, to whom, as indeed it was to Stow, the writing of chronicles was a profession, a life-work, in a way it had never been, so far as we can judge, for the city annalists of the preceding century. Stow acquired his historical knowledge with much labour, after being more interested, he said, in divinity, astrology and poetry.<sup>2</sup> In 1563, however, at the request of the printer Thomas Marshe, he undertook to write an abridgement of the history of England in imitation of a work of this description published some years before.

In casting his *Summarie* into civic form Stow was not so much abandoning a new and wider scheme as clinging to a style of chronicle which, though discarded by the writers of historical ability, still obtained in several works of minor importance written and published about the middle of the century. The

<sup>1</sup> An authoritative Life of Stow is prefixed to Mr. Kingsford's edition of the *Survey*, 2 vols., 1908.

<sup>2</sup> His first publication was an edition of *The Werkes of Geoffrey Chaucer*.

Chronicle of the Grey Friars has been mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> Of more importance was the chronicle of Charles Wriothesley,<sup>2</sup> Windsor Herald from 1534 to his death, cousin to the Thomas Wriothesley who was first Earl of Southampton and Chancellor in the last years of the reign of Henry VIII. Influenced in part no doubt by Arnold's record, which he used, Wriothesley cast his work into the form of a city chronicle, although it is not without significance that the transcriber of the early seventeenth century, to whose labour we are indebted for the chronicle (the original is lost), omitted the names of the city officers, so causing some chronological confusion.<sup>3</sup> Wriothesley carried his work down to 1558, some four years before his death. A copy of Arnold to 1520 and brief for some time after that, it becomes fuller and of some value for the later years of Henry VIII—notably for the fall of Anne Boleyn—and the two succeeding reigns. It is very civic in scope and colouring, consisting in the main of a series of short notes, apparently jotted down as the events they concern occurred, some of them valuable and interesting, but many of them trivial in character, although their recital is rendered more palatable by the touches of a personal character in the chronicle.<sup>4</sup> This expression of the individuality of the writer, although not entirely absent from the earlier city chronicles, is more evident in the work of another citizen of the capital, Henry Machyn,<sup>5</sup> who found scope for his interest in London and its happenings not in the compilation of a city chronicle, but in the keeping of a diary, at first not much more than a record of the burials in which he had a professional interest, but later developing into a fuller account of what he heard and saw in the London of Mary and of Elizabeth's early years. Less

<sup>1</sup> p. 27. Deserving of mention—though scarcely more—is a London Chronicle (ed. C. Hopper, *Cam. Soc. Miscellany*, iv, 1859, 1-18), covering the years 1500-45. For some of the early years it is only a list of mayors (the names of the sheriffs are omitted), but about 1537 it gets a little fuller, recording happenings in the city, such as the destruction of relics and the burning of Friar Forest (*ibid.* 11-13). The MS. Chronicle of the Marquis of Bath (see below, p. 57) was also copied about this time.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. W. D. Hamilton, *Cam. Soc.*, 2 vols., 1875-7.

<sup>3</sup> The confusion liable to arise between the use of the civic and calendar, to say nothing of the regnal, years, had been realized, for Grafton, when in 1568 he published his Chronicle, appended a table giving the names of the sovereigns and city officers from 1189 to 1568, together with the various dates on which the calendar, regnal, and civic years began (*Chronicle*, 1809, ii. 568 seq.).

<sup>4</sup> For examples see vol. i, Pref.; the civic nature of the work is indicated by the frequency with which Wriothesley describes the elections of the city officers.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. J. G. Nichols, *Cam. Soc.*, 1848. Machyn probably died in 1563, in which year his diary ends abruptly.

worthy of detailed mention are several chronicles in the form of city annals printed about this time. John Byddell in 1539 published *A Short Cronycle*, in civic form; similarly a *Cronicle of Yeres* appeared four years later, and like the preceding work ran through several editions.<sup>1</sup> It was a brief and useless record, in parts merely a list of mayors and sheriffs, its entries borrowed in the main from Fabyan and his continuators. Copied from this (or at most from the later editions of Fabyan) was *A Breviat Chronicle*, of which versions were published by several printers in the ten years after its first appearance in 1552. The *Cronicle of the World*, which appeared three years earlier, the work of Thomas Lanquet and Thomas Cooper, later Bishop of Winchester, republished with a continuation by Robert Crowley in 1559,<sup>2</sup> was a compilation of little more value, but not in the form of a city chronicle. Following on these, Grafton, after spending many years in seeing through his press ecclesiastical and historical literature, first tried his hand at original work in an *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England*, published in 1562, and two years later joined with John Kingston, likewise a printer, to compile a *Manuel of the Chronicles of England*, his own larger Chronicle being issued in 1568.

It was in the year 1565 that Stow's *Summarie of English Chronicles* appeared. There must have been a considerable demand for such works—the nearest approach to the modern historical 'text-books' that the sixteenth century produced—for in addition to the similar short chronicles mentioned above, six editions of the *Summarie* appeared before the year 1590 was over, and the *Abridgement* of the Summary, a volume of tiny dimensions, also ran through the same number of editions in a still shorter time, only ending with its twelfth issue in 1618.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the reprinting of editions in the earlier years was stimulated by the rivalry between the author and Richard Grafton, who himself issued four editions of his own *Abridgement* before his death in or about 1572. But Stow was destined for better things than the writing of summaries in the form of city chronicles which, though the different editions varied a little, were all alike brief, jejune, and entirely destitute of any literary merit. He had aided Archbishop Parker and Raphael Holinshed in their historical works; his store of precious manuscripts grew, and his acquaintance with historical scholars like Camden, Savile, or Thynne was extended. He had, he said in 1592,<sup>4</sup> consecrated

<sup>1</sup> See the list of Chronicles of London, below, pp. 96–8.

<sup>2</sup> This version bore the title of *An Epitome of Cronicles*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> A complete Bibliography for Stow is given by Mr. Kingsford in his edition of the *Survey of London*, i. lxxxii–vi.

<sup>4</sup> Dedication to the *Annales* of that year.

himself for thirty years 'to the search of our famous antiquities', and in 1580 the firstfruits of his larger plans appeared in his *Chronicle of England from Brute unto the present year of Christ 1580*. This was a much more considerable work than the summaries, although it still retained the form of a city chronicle. Twelve years later, however, he produced his *Annales of England*, fullest and best of his annalistic works, enlarged from his *Chronicle* but embodying the results of his further researches—researches which indeed had filled him with projects of a work of which the published *Annals* formed only a part. With the conception of this larger work Stow finally laid aside the restricted form of the chronicles of the city; like Holinshed, he even avoided the sharp division of the text for the regnal years of the king used by Hall.

With the disappearance of the civic form from the pages of Stow, the town chronicle, so far as the capital is concerned, disappeared for ever. It was fitting that Stow, most famous of London antiquarians, should be the last as he was the greatest of the long series of its chroniclers; it was inevitable that with the development of historical writing the narrow range and limited form of the city annals should be superseded by wider aims and more advanced methods. Stow had lived so much in the past history of his city from the days when, as a child, he had witnessed the building of Thomas Cromwell's house in Throgmorton Street, to his declining years spent in the task of visiting and describing its antiquities in the most celebrated of his works, that it is not surprising he clung to the forms of the annals of London, many of which he knew and used, one or two of which he probably owned.<sup>1</sup> Most of the sixteenth-century chroniclers lived in London for a good part of their lives, but Stow was more definitely and more completely a Londoner than them all. Born and bred there, with a personal knowledge of industrial London life, he had enough feeling of citizenship to dedicate the *Survey* and successive editions of the *Summarie Abridged to My Lord Mayor*. And his best-known work, the *Survey of London*, with its wealth of detail about every ward and part of London, its faithful record of all men and women of note who had lived, died, and been buried there, its descriptions of the laws and customs of the city, its multitude of references of every conceivable sort bearing on the history of his 'native soil and country', as he terms the capital—the 'Survey' is not only a book of a life, it is the culmination and completion of the impulse which had led Arnold Fitzthedmar to compile the first city record, the 'Liber de Antiquis Legibus', three centuries earlier.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i. xxxiv.



Stow has to some extent the limitations of the London chroniclers. Practically self-educated, he never approached the scholarship of Camden; we may scan his work in vain for evidence of his interest in, almost his knowledge of, the intellectual movements of his day; we find no mention of the classical models to which his contemporaries looked for inspiration and guidance. 'In hystories the chief thyng that is to be desired is the truth,' he says,<sup>1</sup> and the brevity of his motto is illustrative of the simplicity of his style. Stow's first interests were literary, and his writing is characterized by its plainness, but he has nothing to say of the dramatists living and working about him in Elizabethan London. He was distinctly conservative in temper, and it is not very difficult to find in his chronicle—or indeed in Holinshed's—the 'monstrous observations' which Ben Jonson declared he found in Stow's work. Were it not so, however, the one-time tailor would not have been a true chronicler of London, and the history of their writings would have ended long before the spring of 1605, when John Stow was carried to his burial-place in Saint Andrew's Undershaft, within hearing of the hum of the city in which he had lived and wrought.

Although the annalists of London end with Stow, the developments witnessed in his later writings were carried on by his contemporaries and successors, any detailed mention of whose work, however, lies without the scope of this survey. William Camden, a more finished scholar than Stow, proved himself more of an historian than a chronicler in his *Annales Elizabethae* with their significant dedication to 'God, my country and posterity at the Altar of Truth'. John Speed, originally like Stow a London tailor, entitled his voluminous work a 'History' of Great Britain, and alike in scope, method, and execution it certainly showed great advance on the works of the city annalists. And with the courtly Sir John Hayward we approach more closely still to the real historian. Hayward's depth of research and wide scholarship gave his works, notably his life of Edward VI, a place of some importance in the development of historical writing, as his greater contemporary could recognize. Bacon's historical work, indeed, may be taken to mark the complete severance from the chronicles, civic or general, of the preceding century. Almost without exception the works of previous historical writers owe much of their value to their having been written by men who lived in or near the times of which they wrote. With Bacon, however, it is due less to proximity than to keenness of vision, critical and literary ability, that his *Life and Reign of King Henry VII*, fruit of his maturer years, written long after he had

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Summarie*, 1565.

in his scheme of philosophy<sup>1</sup> settled for himself the bounds and divisions of history, not only became the guide and inspiration for all succeeding attempts to depict the reign of the first Tudor, but created a new and but seldom surpassed standard in historical writing.

And even before the last of the London chronicles saw the light, interest in the past had shown itself in ways other than the compiling of annals. The appearance of Stow's *Survey* was a sign of the development of antiquarian research. Here John Leland, with his laborious journeys and vast collections made in the years of the monastic dissolution, led the way. He had been followed by such men as Bishop Bale with his invaluable *Illustrium maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium* (1548), Archbishop Parker with his editions of the monastic chroniclers, his encouragement of the study of Anglo-Saxon and his patronage of the Society of Antiquaries,<sup>2</sup> Camden with his *Britannia* (1586) and further editions<sup>3</sup> of the chroniclers.

In this second half of the sixteenth century came in addition those translations which have gained for the period the title of the golden age of translation. Considered merely from the historical point of view the translation of the Bible and the study of the Fathers which accompanied the Reformation movement are of no small importance. The more strictly historical translations began—before the Elizabethan age—with Lord Berners' version of Froissart, completed in 1523. Whilst Froissart's great successor Comines as well as the two pre-eminent Florentine historians Machiavelli and Guicciardini also received English dress in Elizabeth's reign, most notable are the versions of the Greek and Roman historians. Almost all the classical historical writers of repute were included—from the already mentioned translation of Thucydides, made, like North's more famous version of Plutarch, through the medium of French, to Sir Henry Savile's rendering of Tacitus in 1591, or the scholarly version of Livy produced by Philemon Holland nine years later.

Along with this many-sided development of historical interest came some thought—fragmentary and unripe for the most part—on the function of history. Most of the sixteenth-century chroniclers, translators, and educational writers have something to say of the value of the study of history. Here, too, Lord Berners comes first with his eloquent passage in the introduction to his rendering of Froissart, wherein he declared history to be 'the most profitable thing in this world for the institution of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Advancement of Learning* (*Philosophical Works*, ed. Spedding and Ellis, iii), 334 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for the Society of Antiquaries, *Archaeologia*, i, 1770, p. iii seq.

<sup>3</sup> 1603; entitled *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica a veteribus scripta*.

human life'. And succeeding historical writers down to the Jacobean Lord Chancellor, with his concise saying that 'Histories make men wise', took up much the same attitude, Stow with the rest waxing enthusiastic over the study to which he devoted his life.<sup>1</sup> Equally earnest in varying ways were Elyot, the author of the *Institution of a Gentleman*, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and others: More<sup>2</sup> could allow his Utopians to stand indebted to the old world for the works of Thucydides. These writers are very practical about it all. The governor and warrior is from the study of history 'to fit himself with sundry sorts of example', history being, as Hall put it, 'the key to induce virtue and repress vice.' By its influence, to quote Berners again, 'the strong hardy warriors' are 'promptly to go in hand with great and hard perils'.

Inextricably bound up with this warlike note was the patriotic feeling so characteristic of the age, giving impetus to and in turn deriving strength from the study of history—especially, of course, English history. Here historical drama, notably Shakespeare's long series of historical plays on events of British history from Lear to Henry VIII, takes chief place, though historical verse of a non-dramatic nature reflected the same sentiments and owed its origin to the same sources. These sources were of course the chronicles of the period, those of Stow, Grafton, Hall, and above all of Holinshed. And as Holinshed and his fellow annalists certainly made use of the earlier chronicles of London, these may claim some share—true, a humble and indirect one, but none the less a share—in the creation of the Elizabethan historical drama. Although the feeling of patriotism was neither so widely apparent nor so strongly expressed in the Elizabethan chroniclers as in the drama of the same period, its presence there is unmistakably evidenced. Holinshed avows<sup>3</sup> that one of the reasons for publishing the chronicle going by his name is 'to put men in mind not to forget their native country's praise', a mission the reader will readily grant to have been fulfilled. For Camden<sup>4</sup> it was 'the love of my country which includes all other affections, the glory of the British name', which led to the production of his most famous work. Hakluyt declared<sup>5</sup> that he was stirred to compile his immortal records of the maritime exploits of his countrymen, the *Principal Navigations*, by his indignation at the contempt he had witnessed abroad for English seamanship.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, 'To the Gentle Reader'.

<sup>2</sup> *Utopia*, ed. T. F. Dibdin, 1878, 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicle*, Address to the Gentle Reader.

<sup>4</sup> *Britannia*, Preface.

<sup>5</sup> In the Dedication of the first edition of his work to Sir Francis Walsingham.

Speed<sup>1</sup> could find consolation for his inability to accept the legends of Brut, in the reflection that the conquered Trojan race was, after all, not nearly good enough to be the source of so famous a nation as his own.

Here this survey may fittingly end. For this expression of a strong national feeling markedly distinguishes the historical work of the later Elizabethan period from that of the earlier city annalists. In addition to the immense developments in the methods, the scope, and the style of historical writing which the Tudor period witnessed, there came slowly and at times imperceptibly this growth of a definitely national point of view, this pervading of historical literature by a national consciousness. Just as in trade and industry the local guilds were being superseded by wider organizations and legislation on national lines, just as the efforts of the towns to solve the problems of poor relief were giving way to a national poor-law system, so in historical work the town chroniclers, in so far as they were of any importance, were succeeded by writers of wider, of national interests, who wrote not as citizens of London or any other city or town, but as Englishmen for Englishmen. The town chroniclers had their place. They had done something to fill the gap between the decline of the monastic annalist and the rise of the Renaissance historian: in the unquiet days of the fifteenth century, when the monasteries were decaying in vigour, when king and courtier, noble and squire, were thralls of civil strife, the citizen of London found both time and interest to keep his record of what he heard and saw. And although his vision might be short, his intelligence limited, his tastes homely, his credulity enormous, and his powers of expression feeble, he deserves some gratitude for the fidelity with which he portrayed the part played by the capital and its citizens in the England not so much of scholar and writer as of warrior and trader.

<sup>1</sup> *History* (ed. 1632), 20.

So much may be said for the history of the town chronicles of England in general. But some further remarks are needed to introduce the chronicles here printed, which chronicles may serve to illustrate in some measure the more general survey already made. They have been printed as they come in chronological order, although this order does not of course necessarily agree with that of their relative importance. In this the third chronicle, attributed to Robert Bale, easily comes first for its length and interest, the fragment from a Longleat MS. with which the group opens being both comparatively and actually of rather slight value.

MS. LONGLEAT. Among the MSS. of the Marquis of Bath<sup>1</sup> at Longleat is a folio volume of eighty-five leaves, written by a professional scribe in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, to judge from the hand, which is regular and clear save where it is spoilt by the poor quality of the paper. The contents of the volume are well spaced out, with wide margins on either side of the text; some leaves are almost certainly lost from the end of the work. The MS. is cased in a fine modern binding bearing inside the cover the crest of 'The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, Baron Thynne of Warminster, 1704', and it is entitled *Chronicle of England Ric. I. to Henry VI., XVI<sup>th</sup> cent.*

The volume contains a chronicle of London similar to that in *MS. Cotton Julius B. II.* Indeed until the close of the reign of Richard II it is almost identical therewith, its differences being almost all merely verbal and such as any copyist might make;<sup>2</sup> to 1399 it might well have been copied from *Julius B. II.* For the years from that date to the imperfect ending in 1432, how-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of the Marquis of Bath for permission to use the MS., and also to Bodley's Librarian for allowing it to remain in the Bodleian for some time.

The MS. is described in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. III, App., 183, but (apparently judging from the contents of the MS. only) it is there said to be of the fifteenth century. The MS., however, is a sixteenth-century copy.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. putting 'shrewe' for 'Jewe' (fo. 5); omitting words (fo. 11) 'a bushell of [wheat] was worth . . .'; a<sup>o</sup> 22 Richard II putting 'Salisbury' for 'Shrewsbury', and so forth. fo. 40<sup>v</sup> is left blank, but the chronicle goes straight from fo. 40 to fo. 41.

ever, this chronicle, whilst still agreeing very closely with *Julius B. II*, yet varies in some years enough to show that it could not have been transcribed therefrom. Nor could it have been copied from *Harley 565*, to which for the opening years of the fifteenth century *Julius B. II* and this chronicle are fairly closely allied. From all appearance this record is but a servile copy, bearing no trace of originality save in the occasional creation of obvious slips or misreadings.<sup>1</sup> The relations of the early fifteenth-century chronicles of London are so complex and confused that dogmatism is impossible, but one may surmise that the sixteenth-century scribe copied a version (now lost) which shared the same original as *Julius B. II*, as far as 1399 at least. For the final thirty years it may be from the same original, if we can regard the author of *Julius B. II* as at times abbreviating and even—as in the case of the bill of 1410—misplacing the statements of his source.

The first and most interesting difference between this chronicle and *Julius B. II* occurs in the opening year of the reign of Henry IV. Whilst the latter does not even mention the death of the deposed Richard,—*Harley 565* and *Gregory's Chronicle* record it in the most formal way,—this chronicle gives an account of his end which, though brief, is yet as full as the other early accounts in English. It is quite consonant with the records of Créton, Walsingham, and the author of the 'Annales Ricardi Secundi', although it says nothing as to the cause of the death of the king.<sup>2</sup> And whilst it does not add anything of importance to the story of the end of Richard II, that story is still dark enough to render worthy of publication a narrative drawn up, in all probability, within thirty years of the event. The close relationship between this chronicle and *Julius B. II*, at times merging into identity, is maintained for the rest of the reign of Henry IV and his successors.<sup>3</sup> Of some importance is the fact that the bill presented against the clergy, inserted here as in *Julius B. II*, is placed in the year 1410, three years later than in

<sup>1</sup> E.g. where *Julius B. II* (with Arnold) omits the name 'Lewes' (p. 82), that of a man who was 'sent ffro my lord of Bedford', the scribe, likewise omitting the word, went straight on, rendering the passage 'maistre *Sent* from my lord of Bedford'.

<sup>2</sup> Créton's account is in *Archaeologia*, xx. 217-21; Walsingham's in his *Hist. Ang.* (ed. Riley, R. S., 1864), ii. 245-6; *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, 313, 330-1.

<sup>3</sup> Thus a<sup>o</sup> 4 is different from *Julius B. II*, the next year being in part identical with *Julius B. II*, in part agreeing more closely with *Harley 565*; a<sup>o</sup> 6 is different from both these records; the next years resemble fairly closely the corresponding years in *Harley 565*, but at times agree exactly with *Julius B. II*; in a<sup>o</sup> 12 (as *Julius B. II*) there is no entry, and the last two years of the reign of Henry IV are likewise similar to the same chronicle.

the other record. This agrees, however, with the other authorities—Fabyan, Walsingham, and Otterbourne—who mention the bill, so that the placing of it in this year by a record so similar to the one which differs from the others may be said finally to establish the date of 1410.<sup>1</sup> The text of the bill in the *Longleat MS.* is identical with that in *Julius B. II* (differing from that of Fabyan in places), save that at the end of the bill, to the ‘noon answer gevyn’, it adds ‘for the king wolde be avysid’. The account of the advent of Henry’s bride in 1403 and that of the rebellion in the north two years later are considerably fuller than the corresponding passages in the other city chronicles. For the reign of Henry V, beyond minor variations, omissions, and additions,<sup>2</sup> of more interest is the fuller entry this chronicle contains, descriptive of the obsequies of the victor of Agincourt, in London. In the last ten years of the chronicle, the first ten of the reign of Henry VI, it again approximates closely to *Julius B. II*:<sup>3</sup> in the tenth year, whilst omitting to notice the meeting of Parliament, the *Longleat MS.* inserts the heading to Lydgate’s verses, ‘The ordennances made in the cite of london agaynste the comyng of the kyng ffrrome his coronacion oute of ffrance.’ With these verses, or rather less than a third of the way through them, the chronicle comes to an abrupt end at the foot of folio 84, ending with the lines (from stanza twenty-three):

On the right hand of thies Emperresses  
Stodde sevyn maydens very celestiall.

Probably the rest of the verses have perished. It is also, of course, possible that the chronicle originally extended further than 1432, but bearing in mind the fact that the chronicle in *Julius B. II* really ends in that year, only the names of the city officers to 1435 (about which date it was most likely written)

<sup>1</sup> The bill is printed in *Julius B. II*, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 65–8; see *ibid.* xxxviii. 295 for the question as to its date, a comparison of the text in that chronicle with that of Fabyan, and the notices in Walsingham and Otterbourne.

<sup>2</sup> The entry for the first year of Henry V is almost identical with that in *Julius B. II*; the next two years are nearer to *Harley 565* though not identical therewith; the fourth year again resembles *Julius B. II* very closely, as does the fifth, though it adds of Oldcastle, who was executed this year, ‘by cause he was a lorde and maister of Eryttykes’; the next three years are similar both to *Julius B. II* and *Harley 565*, and so is the ninth and last save for the passage anent Henry’s death, the only entry for this reign here printed.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the text of the articles between Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester (ff. 69<sup>v</sup>–82) more exactly resembles the text of *Julius B. II* than that of Hall and Arnold, and this is also true of the list of those knighted by the youthful monarch in the same year (1426); yet one or two lines of Lydgate’s verses are transposed, as in *Harley 565*.

being given, it is probable that the original of this very similar *Longleat MS.* was compiled at somewhat the same date. *Fulius B. II* having already been printed, it would serve no good purpose to print this chronicle in full, so that only the fragments noticed above as differing in a marked degree from the Cottonian chronicle—as well as from the other extant chronicles of London—have found a place here.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 57 IN THE LIBRARY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, is a fine folio of 242 leaves of paper in an old cover of parchment, the whole being encased in a modern binding. The hand, of the first half of the fifteenth century, is probably, as in the case of the *Longleat MS.*, that of a professional scribe, being large and regular; many of the initials are rubricated and often the initial letter is written in small and a space left for its elaboration. The original parchment covers are blank, save for odd scraps of writing and drawing. On the front cover is written somewhat elaborately 'W. Hoole', very possibly the name of the person for whom the MS. was copied. Above, presumably the work of an early Tudor penman, are rude sketches of the rival Roses, and another of the two conjoined with the couplet:

The red rose and the wythe  
Be knyght to geder w<sup>t</sup> grett delyghte.

On the other cover are more names<sup>2</sup> without order or connexion. One of these, however, that of John Davenant,<sup>3</sup> has more meaning than the rest. For it was John Davenant, tavern keeper, who (as an entry at the top of fol. 4 informs us) presented the MS. to the College. Davenant kept a tavern in Oxford, of which city he was mayor at the time of his death in 1621. Wood<sup>4</sup> tells us that he was 'a very grave and discreet citizen yet an admirer of plays and playmakers'—a taste which renders natural enough his possession of this MS. It was at his inn—later called the *Crown*—that Shakespeare stayed in his journeys between Warwickshire and London. Sir William Davenant, the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian of St. John's College, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, for opportunity to examine this MS.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. 'Dodlay' in a fifteenth-century hand; below it 'mathew quytarell'; 'John Spacker owneth this book 1573'; 'this book aylaynethe Thomas Wryght bok'; 'Nicolas Holdarress'; a sentence in a late sixteenth-century hand, 'So it is that the redresse of thynges amyssse restithe onely in the handes of almyghty god'; an entry concerning the sale of velvet by 'James ffowch'.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin of fo. 189 is written in a late sixteenth or early seventeenth century hand 'John Davenant wryt this same', which, as it cannot refer to the events there recorded by the scribe of the fifteenth century, presumably refers to the comment itself.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 862-3; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xiv. 101.



dramatist, was his second son, his first, Robert, becoming a Fellow of St. John's College and 'a venerable doctor of divinity'.

In addition to the chronicle of London (ff. 138-222) the volume contains (i) 'The Prick of Conscience' of Richard Rolle of Hampole (ff. 1-137),<sup>1</sup> the last two leaves containing a 'Supplementum defectionum libri precedentis'; (ii) 'Chorus Avium' (ff. 226-38), Chaucer's 'Parlement of Fowles';<sup>2</sup> (iii) 'The Statutes and ordenaunces to be kept in the hoost ordeyned and made by our most excellent and soveren lord kyng herry the ffift' (ff. 238<sup>v</sup>-242).<sup>3</sup>

The chronicle of London is of the ordinary fifteenth-century type beginning with 1189. Its interest lies in the fact that it ends at a date slightly earlier than any of the other London chronicles of that period. Whilst the chronicle in *MS. Cotton Julius B. II* gives the bare names of the city officers for its concluding years 1432-5 and 'the natural assumption is that it was written in 1435',<sup>4</sup> making it so far the first in date of the English city chronicles, the *St. John's College MS.* closes with the names of the city officers for 1432-3, and as there is no entry below and no part is lost, this may indicate the date of writing, a date with which the hand is quite consistent, and which would thus make it the earliest English chronicle of London extant. Such a time of copying—implying of course an earlier compilation of the original—would lead us to regard this chronicle as a possible source for the later similar works, but a close comparison with *Harley 565*, *Julius B. I*, *Julius B. II*, and *Gregory's Chronicle* shows that this is not the case. This MS. corresponds very closely with *Harley 565* and *Julius B. I*, but has enough omissions and differences to prove that neither of these could have been compiled from it. It is interesting to note that the occasional Latin and French notices in *Harley 565* find no counterpart in this chronicle, pointing to their origin in a separate and almost certainly older source. From 1189 to the first years of the fifteenth century the chronicle in the *St. John's College MS.* displays only very slight divergences from the other two records, agreeing exactly sometimes with one sometimes with the other where they disagree, and even differing from both on occasion, as in 22 Richard II (fo. 172), where it omits part of the narrative

<sup>1</sup> Ed. R. Morris for the *Philological Society* (1864) from British Museum MSS.; the final stanzas do not appear in the printed version.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat collated this portion of the MS. for his edition of the poem; Chaucer, *Works, Minor Poems*, 50, 66, 339-59.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Nicolas in his *Battle of Agincourt* (2nd ed., 1832), App. 31-40, from an MS. in the College of Arms. The *St. John's College MS.* omits the titles and nine of the ordinances given in the other copy.

<sup>4</sup> Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, ix. 116.

given in both *Harley 565* and *Fulius B. I.* In 10 Henry IV (fo. 173) it displays verbal agreement with *Harley 565*, *Fulius B. I* being slightly different; in the following year, however (fo. 173<sup>v</sup>), it agrees more exactly with *Fulius B. I*, both showing some divergence from the Harleian MS. In the insertion of documents such as the treaties for the surrender of Falaise and Rouen, the articles drawn up at the marriage of Henry V to Katherine of France (1420), it is identical with *Fulius B. I*,<sup>1</sup> these finding no place in *Harley 565*, where however the strictly annalistic portion is much fuller. Whilst, however, *Fulius B. I* is continued to 1483, though in meagre fashion, the chronicle here described stops short, as mentioned above, with the names of the city officers for 1432-3. The conclusion is that both *Fulius B. I* and this chronicle are copies of a London chronicle, probably written about 1430, the *St. John's College MS.* being copied very soon after the compilation of the original. This original also, it may be surmised, was compiled from another city chronicle in which there were no documents inserted, and which was in turn used by the author of the chronicle in *Harley 565*. As there is nothing of any value in the *St. John's College MS.* which has not already been printed from the other versions, no part of it is here printed.

MS. RAWLINSON B. 355 is a volume of one hundred and thirteen leaves of parchment, measuring eight inches by five, bound in a vellum cover with the title thereon—*Miscellanea Historica Civitatis Londinensis*. A loose leaf written on by a distinct hand, containing a lease of some property in London (1466) and a list of city officers from 1460 to 1495—probably intended as a continuation of the list in the chronicle—forms a sort of inside cover, may well indeed have been the original one. Save for this the volume is written throughout in one small but sufficiently clear hand of the middle of the fifteenth century, and is wholly in Latin. Besides the chronicle, it contains 'Imago mundi honori Augustodensis presbyteri' (fo. 3); 'Cronica Sancti Pauli cum aliis cronicis'<sup>2</sup> (fo. 67)—a very brief and worthless chronicle reaching to 1399, with a notice at the end of the coronation of Edward IV; some brief notes on the foundation of the various religious orders (fo. 75); 'De adventu Normannorum in Angliam', and a list of the shires of England (fo. 81). The chronicle of London ends the volume. This is written in red, the names of the sheriffs being in black; the

<sup>1</sup> Some of them are also contained in *Gregory's Chronicle* and *Vitellius A. XVI.*

<sup>2</sup> Identical with the 'Croniculi S. Pauli ad 1399' printed in *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's*, ed. W. S. Simpson, *Cam. Soc.*, 1880, p. 222 seq.

capitals are adorned with blue, and there is some ornamentation throughout. There is no clue to the original authorship or ownership of the MS., though it was once the property of Dr. Rawlinson. The chronicle covers the years from 1202 to 1459; it is possible that a leaf containing the years 1189 to 1202 is lost from the beginning. Although it ends abruptly at the bottom of a page, this may represent the original ending, as the last word is placed by itself in the centre of a line, and the work was probably, from its general tone, written early in the reign of Edward IV.

The chronicle, like *MS. Tanner 2*, is exceptional in being in Latin, and it is worthy of note that in correspondence with that MS. the other contents of the volume are of a general and ecclesiastical rather than strictly civic character. It may not be the work of a citizen of London at all, in which case it but furnishes another illustration of the extent to which these works were known and copied at this time. For this chronicle, besides being in civic form, is certainly based on one or more London chronicles. Only the last nineteen years (1440-59) which are here printed can claim to be different—save in language—from versions of the London chronicle already known and published. From its abrupt beginning in 1202 down to 1432 the matter is very similar to, often identical with, that contained in *MS. Cotton Julius B. II*.<sup>1</sup> Although this latter chronicle is in English, its notices of the changes of kings and city officers are in Latin, and a close comparison of the two chronicles leads one to the conclusion that *Julius B. II* or its original is a translation, with sundry changes and additions in the shape of documents of considerable length, from the chronicle of which *Rawlinson B. 355* represents a more exact copy.<sup>2</sup> Where *Julius B. II* gives the articles of the Parliament of 1399, this record goes straight on to the reign of Henry IV, as if the original of *Julius B. II* had done likewise; in like manner it omits the bill against the clergy in 1407 and the record of the arbitrament of 1425-6.<sup>3</sup> Like *Julius B. II*, this chronicle bears some resemblance to *MS. Harley 565*. Indeed it has more in common, for in its slight differences from *Julius B. II*, which increase with the

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 1-19, 62-4, 68-76, 95-7.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, to give a brief example, Queen Anne, wife of Richard II, is described in *Rawl. B. 355* (fo. 91) as 'benedicta et graciosa', the rendering in *Julius B. II* (p. 16) being 'a ffull blessed Queene and a gracious'. An obvious omission in *Julius B. II* occurs a<sup>o</sup> 40 Edward III, where 'usque xxviii diem Januarii', in *Rawl. B. 355*, is given as 'usque diem Januarii' in the English chronicle (p. 14). Another example occurs a<sup>o</sup> 7 Richard II, where this chronicle records the arrest of John More, a fact omitted in *Julius B. II*.

<sup>3</sup> Kingsford, pp. 19-62, 65-8, 76-94.

opening of the reign of Henry IV, it agrees with *Harley 565*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kingsford concludes that the chronicles of London were first put into shape in English about 1414, and that *Julius B. II*, ending earliest of all the English chronicles of London extant (with one exception), *Harley 565*, and *Cleopatra C. IV*, may all three have had a common original ending in 1430.<sup>2</sup> This does not preclude the hypothesis that there may have been a Latin version as well as an English one; there must indeed have been several distinct compilations made about this time. The Latin headings, and occasional fragments in the same language, more frequent in *Julius B. II*, rather point to a Latin original. It is conceivable that the author of *Rawlinson B. 355* used a Latin version as far as it reached—probably somewhere near the beginning of the fifteenth century—and then used the version from which *Harley 565* was drawn, translating it into his somewhat unready Latin. With 1440 the chronicle becomes independent, and the force of the suggestion<sup>3</sup> that one version of the London chronicles was compiled in 1440 and used by the authors of the chronicles in *Cleopatra C. IV*, *Harley 565*, *Gregory's Chronicle*, and *Vitellius A. XVI* is strengthened by the fact that both *Rawlinson B. 355* and Bale's *Chronicle* become independent in that year.

The independent part of this chronicle is so short that it cannot be appraised as an addition of much importance to the rather meagre historical literature of the later Lancastrian period. But it is of interest as illustrating party feeling in the days of the rival Roses. Despite its brevity, there is no doubt as to which side had the sympathies of the author. Like Bale's work, it was almost certainly written in the reign of Edward IV, and so its Yorkist bias is natural enough. The Duke of Somerset is represented as 'returning evil for good' after his release in February 1455, by turning the King against York and Warwick. On three different occasions the phrase 'whose hour had not yet come' is used of Somerset, before, with somewhat of malicious satisfaction, the writer records the Duke's death at St. Albans

<sup>1</sup> In 1402, for example, this chronicle has Sir 'Roger' Clarendon, as *Harley 565* and *Gregory's Chronicle*, whilst *Julius B. II* gives, wrongly, Richard; in 1407 it records the marriage of the Earl of Kent, as *Harley 565* though not *Julius B. II*; in a<sup>o</sup> 14 Henry IV it is much longer than the latter chronicle and almost identical with *Harley 565*, though in the twelfth year of the same reign it records (fo. 95<sup>v</sup>) the death of an aurifaber 'in hospitium ducis Eboraci ex tempilbarre' which neither of the other two chronicles contain. For the reign of Henry VI, save for the first two years, which agree closely with *Julius B. II*, it is practically identical with *Harley 565*, *Julius B. II* being less full in the strictly annalistic part. With 18 Henry VI the resemblance between *Harley 565* and this chronicle ceases.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Lond.* xix-xx.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxi.

field in May 1455 'because his hour had come'. And in connexion with the same person he has (a° 31 Henry VI, 1452-3) a rather curious entry which finds, so far as I know, no parallel in the accounts of the other chroniclers of this period. He relates that by the advice of the Duke, the King rode to certain towns of the Duke of York and caused the tenants there, 'naked, with choking cords round their necks, in most severe frost and snow,' to come and make their submission for having previously aided their lord against Somerset, who, it is added, ordered them to be hung, notwithstanding the grant of the royal pardon. Henry became incapacitated in August 1453, and Somerset was placed in the Tower in the following November, there to stay until February 1455, so that the story cannot relate to anything done in the winter of 1453-4, or later. It is curious that from March 1452 for almost twelve months there is practically no record of domestic affairs.<sup>1</sup> The King with the Queen and Somerset paid a 'domiciliary visit' to the Duke of York at Ludlow in August 1452, following it up by a progress by way of St. Albans to Stamford, Peterborough, and Cambridge in October ;<sup>2</sup> he had with him two justices, so that trials may have taken place though a general pardon had been granted in the previous April.<sup>3</sup> But near the end of November, before which one would not expect severe frost and snow, the King was in Reading, and there is no record of a further progress. The Duke of York's articles against Somerset were brought forward in February 1452, and so would not mention anything done in the following winter, but in November 1453 Norfolk accused Somerset in Council.<sup>4</sup> Here, however, as in the articles of Richard of York, the accusations are almost entirely confined to French affairs, and there is no reference to any act such as that recorded by this writer. And it seems improbable that, had such a thing occurred, none of the other chroniclers, who, poor as their works are, rank far higher than this one, should have given no account of it. The author's ill will towards the Duke of Somerset has been remarked upon, and this may perhaps be regarded as another example of it—a distorted account of the progresses in the autumn of 1452, with the inclement weather thrown in to heighten the effect. Bearing most resemblance to the progress here described was that made in the January after Cade's rebellion, when the King journeyed through Kent and Sussex, holding inquisitions on the rioters, of whom twenty-nine,

<sup>1</sup> Gairdner, Introduction to *Paston Letters*, i. lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* lxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay, ii. 151 ; Whethamstede, i. 85-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 259-61 ; and cf. Intro. lxxvii-lxxx for the articles of the Duke of York.

we are told, were executed, others receiving the royal pardon.<sup>1</sup> But the Duke of York was with the King at this time, and nowhere else does the chronicler display such faulty chronology as this would involve.

Comparable to the feelings of the writer towards Somerset is his attitude to Suffolk—'hateful both to lords and commons', captured in flight, 'God so willing it,' as he expresses it. Duke Humphrey on the other hand is lauded. It is perhaps worthy of note that neither here nor in Bale's work<sup>2</sup> is there any hint that the Duke came to his end by foul play.<sup>3</sup> It was more the chroniclers at the end of the century, such as Fabyan, who developed the theory of his murder, and those of the next century took it over with as much more insistence as they had less means of knowing the truth. As the authors of both these chronicles were almost certainly alive at the time of Gloucester's death, their silence on the point is not without value.

This chronicle reflects, though less vividly than Bale's work, the disorder in London in the last years of Henry's reign. It records most of the riots of those years, beginning with that between the inhabitants of Fleet Street and the men of the Inns of Court in 1441. Indeed the last five years of the chronicle (1453-8) record no less than seven outbursts against the peace of the capital. Beyond the anti-Lombard riots of 1456-7, discussed elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> it describes more fully than any other chronicle the rising of the Londoners against the sanctuary men of St. Martin's in 1455,<sup>5</sup> and tells how three years later<sup>6</sup> certain thieves who had attacked two of the city aldermen were taken out of St. Katherine's sanctuary and committed to Newgate, a notice not found elsewhere.

But that is about all; the chronicle is as narrow in its outlook as it is limited in its diction, and it must owe its place here as much to its providing a fresh example of the London chronicle as to any intrinsic merits it possesses.

MS. E. 5. 9, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,<sup>7</sup> identified as the commonplace book of Robert Bale, is a volume measuring nine inches by five, in English and Latin, consisting

<sup>1</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 52, and note; cf. *ibid.* lviii, cxlvii, for a copy of a pardon granted, however, in the following November; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle* has likewise no suggestion of murder; cf. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, note, p. 314; and for the opposite view, Oman, in *Pol. Hist. of Eng.* iv, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1910. <sup>5</sup> Below, p. 109. <sup>6</sup> Below, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> By the kindness of the Librarian and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and of Bodley's Librarian, I was able to use this MS. in Oxford.

of 153 leaves of parchment. It is written throughout in one very clear though small mid-fifteenth-century hand, save for the last years of the chronicle, which are less neat, smaller and more closely written; from its contents the volume was presumably written in London. There is a good deal of ornamentation in red and blue, and the MS. is bound in vellum, having on the back the title *Chronica Anglicana*. Judging from the fact that several pages in the chronicle are misplaced at present, and that one or two leaves are probably lost, the MS. was bound some time after it was written.

Besides the chronicle of London (pp. 121-218) the MS. contains a very brief and valueless Latin chronicle reaching to 1421 (pp. 1-11); various collections concerning London—the oath of the Freedom;<sup>1</sup> the names of all the churches in the city and suburbs (p. 35);<sup>2</sup> 'Capitula Cartae Libertatum Civitatis Londinensis' (p. 36);<sup>3</sup> the charter granted by Richard II to the city in 1384 (pp. 49-86);<sup>4</sup> 'the taxes of oure lord the kyng of alle the wardes of London' (p. 89);<sup>5</sup> and of more general interest—'Forma regum et reginarum coronacionis Angliae' with a list of the officers present thereat (pp. 90-7); 'Gesta Edwardi Terti' (pp. 219-51);<sup>6</sup> 'Nomina Sanctorum Britanniae et Hiberniae' (pp. 277-86) in alphabetical order; 'Acta Pontificum Romanorum' (pp. 116-21), reaching to Pope Urban II. Together with these are some short classical and theological pieces—'Fabulae quaedam' (pp. 287-95), 'Disputatio inter Divitem et Lazarum' (p. 257), 'Historia Adae et Evae' (pp. 297-306), and the like.

There is no clue in the volume itself as to authorship or ownership, but there can be no doubt that it is the MS. described by John Bale<sup>7</sup> as the work of a namesake of his own. As all our knowledge of Robert Bale comes from the Bishop of Ossory, his words may perhaps be quoted: 'Robert Bale, vel Bale senior,<sup>8</sup> jurisperitus, in urbe Londinensi in qua natus fertur,

<sup>1</sup> As given in Arnold's *Customs of London*, and *MS. Gough London 10*.

<sup>2</sup> Similar lists are given in Arnold, 75-7, and Stow, *Survey*, ii. 138-42, the numbers differing slightly.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Arnold, 1-11.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Luffman, 109-14; Maitland, 143-4; and in part in Birch, 70-1; also in Arnold, 14-43.

<sup>5</sup> To be found in Arnold, 46-8; Stow, *Survey*, gives the assessment at the end of his account of each ward; Bale's account begins 'Vicecomitis londinensis'.

<sup>6</sup> Begins 'Anno domini millesimo cccxij tertiadecima die'; the account of the saints begins 'Adrianus Abbas, Graeca lingua'.

<sup>7</sup> *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Catalogus*, Basle, 1557, ii. 65.

<sup>8</sup> He was called senior to distinguish him from another Robert Bale, a Carmelite, prior of Burnham Friary in Norfolk, where he died in 1503; he was well known for his learning, and wrote, in addition to sermons, 'Annales sui ordinis prebrevés', 'Historia Heliae Prophetae', and 'Officium Simonis

tantam est apud praetorem, tribunos ac cives adeptus gratiam, ut publicus civitatis notarius et in causis civilibus iudex haberetur. Nihil prius hic habuit in tam claris officiis quam eius urbis ornamento studere illiusque monumenta clariora reddere. Eius igitur res omnes in unum volumen collegit: instituta, leges, fundationes, mutationes, restauraciones, magistratus, officia publica, comitia et alia; constituens quasi perpetuum chronicon<sup>1</sup> ab ipso Bryto eius fundatore primo, et reparatore Luddo, usque ad Henricum Cornhyllum et Ricardum Fitzriverum, primos eius consules et inde ad suam aetatem. Descripsitque eius civitatis formam, situm, aedificia, pontem, portum et arcem; divisitque eam in quattuor et viginti regiones, quas custodias nuncupabat, quibus et totidem praeesse senatores retulit. Et ut ad eius perveniam scripta, congressit Baleus:—

Londinensis urbis chronicon, lib. i. 'Anno ab orbe condito'; Instrumenta libertatum eiusdem—'Vice-comitatus Londinensis'; Gesta Regis Edwardi Tertii—'Anno domini 1312 tertiadecima die'; Alphabetum Sanctorum Angliae—'Adrianus Abbas, Graeca lingua'; De prefectis et consulibus Lond.—'Hoc anno a Christi nativitate.'

Et hoc ultimum eius opusculum incipit a Ricardo primo, Leonino dicto, anno Domini 1189 quo comitia Londinenses habere coeperunt; et finit in primo introitu Edwardi quarti, anno scilicet domini 1461, in quo ille sub eodem rege claruit.'

Comparison of this account of Robert Bale's work with that of the contents of the Dublin MS. leaves no room for doubt as to the identity of the two; John Bale omitted to mention some of the pieces of minor importance, but the actual list of contents which he gives corresponds with the items in this MS. and further the opening words of the separate parts of the volume are exactly as John Bale gives them. The present home of the MS. can also be explained by reference to the life of the Protestant scholar. In 1552 he crossed to Ireland to be Bishop of Ossory, remaining in Dublin from January to September, 1553. With the death of Edward VI, however, and the changes which followed, his position became insecure and even dangerous, and he hurriedly quitted Ireland, leaving behind him 'Papistarum violentiis coactus'<sup>2</sup> many books and MSS. Of these he gives a list wherein

Stock Angli' (Bale, ii. 65; Tanner, *Bibliotheca*; Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i. 9).

<sup>1</sup> This is the very short Latin chronicle mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> *Script. Illust.* ii, pt. 2, 159. The list includes about 350 MSS., and the writer adds 'De libris impressis nihil hic dico, quos tamen optimos et selectissimos habui'; cf. also the *Index Scriptorum Britanniae*, ed. Poole and Bateson in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1902), xviii–xix, and for a brief mention of Robert Bale's work, *ibid.* 366, 487.



figures 'Roberti Bale Scribae Londoniensis Chronicon', whose present resting-place is shared by several other MSS. left by the fervid protestant in his flight. The fact that Robert Bale's commonplace book was thus early removed from London probably explains why the man and his work were never mentioned by Stow and kindred writers.<sup>1</sup> But if we look back to the time when we are told this public notary, civil judge, and citizen of London flourished—the beginning of the reign of Edward IV—we find no trace of him in published records of any description; there was a London merchant of some importance in the earlier years of the reign of Henry VI with the name of John Bale,<sup>2</sup> a possible near relation to any one of the same name living in the days of Edward IV, and a certain Robert Baily was churchwarden of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in 1476,<sup>3</sup> but there is no evidence to connect either of these two persons with the Robert Bale of the Bishop of Ossory. And the successors of John Bale—John Pits, Bishop Tanner, down to the *Dictionary of National Biography*—repeat his account almost in the same words.<sup>4</sup> Pits elaborates Bale's language but without increasing the sum of his information; Tanner writes similarly, save that he adds, quoting as his authority in each case 'Thinneus', that Robert Bale was Recorder of London and that he died in 1461. But it is probable that both these statements are due merely to carelessness in using Bishop Bale's account of his namesake. Certainly the more important of them, that Robert Bale was once Recorder, is untrue. By the official list compiled from the city records,<sup>5</sup> Christopher

<sup>1</sup> It is true Holinshed mentions him, but he merely copies John Bale.

<sup>2</sup> 'John Bale citizen and merchant alias tailor of London', *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-6, 309; cf. the preceding volume 1436-41, 210, 407, 431. In 1436, in conjunction with another merchant of London, he obtained letters of marque for 'The Christopher of London', in order to 'resist the king's enemies on the sea'.

<sup>3</sup> E. Freshfield, *Discourse on some unpublished records of the City of London*, 1887, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Pits, *Rel. Hist.* (1619), 654; Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 71; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii. 42. Tanner's reference is presumably to Francis Thynne (? 1545-1608), Lancaster Herald, Chaucerian scholar, antiquary, and contributor to Holinshed's chronicle, of whom curiously enough Tanner gives no account. Tanner gives in another place (p. 6 and cf. 71) the name of a work of Thynne, *De hist. Anglis*, which would seem to be the one to which he refers in the case of Robert Bale. Whilst there is no work of this title amongst Francis Thynne's fairly numerous writings, there is one entitled 'Commentarii de Historia et rebus Britannicis' (*MS. Cotton Faustina E.* viii-ix, in the British Museum), but an examination of this collection of historical materials—concerning kings of England, some of the nobility and so forth, rather a jumble and not of much value—revealed no account of the author of this chronicle. (Cf. for Thynne, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lvi. 363-5.)

<sup>5</sup> *Recorders of the City of London, 1298-1850*, compiled in the latter year; Strype's *Stow* also gives a list (ii. 242); cf. for Urswick, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*,

Urswyck was sworn in as Recorder on October 3, 1454, in succession to Thomas Billyng who had resigned after a three years' tenure of office, and Urswyck held the post until his death in 1471, being succeeded by Humphrey Sterky. And this statement proven false, it is the more likely that Tanner's authority erred in saying that Robert Bale died in 1461; very possibly he mistook 'claruit' for the more usual 'obiit'.

It must be confessed that the contents of Robert Bale's commonplace book are not so pretentious or important as his namesake would have us believe. From John Bale's words we should rather picture the notary of the time of Edward IV as the successor, in the collection of facts concerning his native city, of John Carpenter, author of the *Liber Albus* and its fellows. But the work of Robert Bale from this point of view cannot be compared with the precious volumes left by the town-clerk of fifty years earlier. Bale did, it is true, compile a chronicle, a feat of which, so far as we know, Carpenter was innocent; and it may be that of the civic matters noticed above, those which are also contained in the later well-known work of Robert Arnold were taken from Bale's collection by the later writer, as the editor of Arnold's *Customs of London* suggested.<sup>1</sup> Bale gives in one place<sup>2</sup> an ordinance entered in one of the letter-books of the corporation, testifying to at least an acquaintance with this class of record. But to his civic collection the notary added items of more general interest—his accounts of the saints and other matters of a religious nature, one or two classical stories—'Exemplum Bonum,' 'Caesar Augustus ad filium,' and some other matters of an historical or antiquarian character.

Of more immediate importance, however, is the Chronicle of London, filling about one-third of the volume. It begins with Richard I and reaches to 1461. It is possible that part of the chronicle was written before that date: the last few years were clearly written after the rest of the work, and in the account for the year 1439 Bale speaks of Henry Bourchier as 'Earl of Eu', a title which he exchanged for that of Earl of Essex in June 1461; any one writing after that date would more naturally have used the latter title (unless he were copying an older chronicle, which Bale does not here seem to be doing). His use of the present tense in mentioning the Earl of Shrewsbury who was killed in 1453, is probably a slip, unless he confused the

lviii. 56-7; he is mentioned as 'Recorder of London' in 1466 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward IV, vol. i, 522).

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1811, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> p. 101. It is an ordinance made in the mayoralty of Adam de Bury (mayor 1364-5, 1373-4) entered in *Letter Book G*.

Duke with his son, in which case he must have written the words before the death of this latter duke in 1460. But whether he wrote before or after 1461, or both, there cannot be much doubt that the last and independent part of the chronicle (1440-60) was written by one who had lived through the years of which he writes. As far as the year 1440 the chronicle is very similar to *Harley 565* and *Julius B. I.*, agreeing more closely with the latter of these two in the early part.<sup>1</sup> In the account of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V some of the leaves are misplaced.<sup>2</sup> In 1420 it gives the account of the marriage of Henry V at Troyes and the convention made there,<sup>3</sup> as *Julius B. I.*, and, like that chronicle, contains in the entry for the next year the list of those present at Queen Katherine's coronation.<sup>3</sup> For a<sup>o</sup> 9 Henry V it resembles the same MS. but omits the treaty for the surrender of Meaux there given. In 1422, where *Julius B. I.* inserts the treaty for the surrender of Meulan, Bale's work contains the text of 'the alliance betwixt the Regent of France Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Brittany signed at Artois the 17th day of April, 1423',<sup>4</sup> giving a few unimportant additional notes. In the following year occurs the oration of the Speaker of Parliament to the infant king,<sup>5</sup> also as *Julius B. I.*, but for the next twelve years of Henry's reign Bale's chronicle is almost identical with *Harley 565*, being fuller than *Julius B. I.* With the year 1439, however, comes a change; the hand becomes less formal and the matter is henceforward different from that contained in any of the extant chronicles of London. It seems obvious enough that the writer used one or more chronicles ending in 1439. It has been remarked above<sup>6</sup> that several other London chronicles show signs of having borrowed from a version compiled in 1440, and we may safely add Bale's work to the number, the differences existing between

<sup>1</sup> Thus a<sup>o</sup> 44 Henry III Bale has 'Worcester', as *Julius B. I.*, where *Harley 565* has 'Gloucester'; similarly a<sup>o</sup> 8 Edward III, the two former call a certain man a 'carter', whilst *Harley 565* calls him a 'tanner'.

<sup>2</sup> The chronicle goes without warning from a<sup>o</sup> 31 Edward III (p. 150) to part of a<sup>o</sup> 38 Henry VI, changing equally suddenly (p. 152) to a<sup>o</sup> 35 Henry VI; then, returning to the last part of a<sup>o</sup> 7 Henry V, it continues to a<sup>o</sup> 9 Henry V, after which comes the remainder of a<sup>o</sup> 7 Henry V; from there the chronicle proceeds without a break.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *A Chronicle of London*, ed. Nicolas, App., Note LL, 162-3.

<sup>4</sup> Contained in *Rymer*, x. 280; cf. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, i. 330-1. Of additions it gives e.g. the price of corn in London this year 'but at viii d. a busshell'.

<sup>5</sup> To be found in Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 281-2; there are one or two very slight differences of reading: e.g. Bale reads 'expedient comfort', where Mr. Kingsford reads 'experient comfort'; 'symples mowe suffice' for 'symples suffice'.

<sup>6</sup> p. 64; Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, xxi.

the additional matter in the various copies probably indicating that these interpolations were derived from other sources.

The independent part of Bale's chronicle is of quite fair length for this type of chronicle. Naturally enough, it takes sides in its account of the last years of Henry's reign, and its partiality to the Yorkist cause is rather to be expected in a work written by a London citizen, in part, at least, in the reign of Edward IV. Its chief eulogy, however, is reserved for the Earl of Warwick, 'named and taken in all places for the most courageous and manliest knight living,' as it remarks in one place; and, again, the chronicle extols the Earl's naval feats 'wherein no lord of the land took the jeopardy nor laboured for the honour and profit of the king and of the land but only he . . . reputed and taken for as famous a knight as was living'.<sup>1</sup> In this, as indeed in his Yorkist attitude, Bale represented a section, and that no small section, of opinion in London and elsewhere in England. The *English Chronicle*<sup>2</sup> speaks of—

That noble knight and flower of manhood  
Richard Earl of Warwick, shield of our defence,

and Waurin similarly remarks<sup>3</sup> how 'le comte de Warwick avoit grande voix du peuple parce qu'il le savait entretenir par les belles douces paroles . . . il était le prince duquel ils faisaient le plus grand estime et a qui ils adjoustaient plus grand foi et credence'.

There are occasional comments on the disorders of the time which rather suggest a writer who had lived through and was wearied of the strife before and after the first battle between the forces of the rival Roses. 'For the world was so strange that time', he says in one place, 'that no man might well ride or go in no coasts of this land without a fellowship but that he were robbed.' There are various entries, not to be found in any of the other chroniclers, which support this view—the account of the half-completed execution of the servants of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester 'full heavy to the commons and the said ambassadors present this time'; the mention of news being brought to the mayor, once on the capitulation of Rouen and again in 1460, when 'heavy word and tidings' of the battle of Wakefield came to the city;<sup>4</sup> the frequent mention of the attitude of the people to measures or events; how they 'sore grudged' the expenses of the fruitless expeditions into France;<sup>5</sup> how the commons in Parliament in 1453 'took a displeasure because they were restrained from free election of the knights of the shire';<sup>6</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> pp. 144, 147.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 125, 152.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Davies, 93.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 126, 135, 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicle* (R. S.), v. 319.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 139-40.

persistence with which 'the commons of the Parliament laboured evermore that the king should admit and receive to have his resumption' and thereby 'as a king royal of power to reign upon his people'<sup>1</sup> (a statement abundantly borne out by the rolls of Parliament). Bale certainly represented the opinion of many in London in his favourable attitude to the early stages of the rising of Cade, whose aims, he says, 'were good, and for the weal of the land.'<sup>2</sup> There is something of almost personal civic pride in the way Bale records how the mayor and aldermen of the city refused to accept help from Lord Scales in 1460 against the Yorkist earls, or how the citizens were 'greatly aggrieved' because their charter of 1444 was called 'a new charter'.<sup>3</sup>

The additions made to our knowledge of the events of the years 1440-60 by this chronicle are in the main by way of details, often concerning matters of minor importance, but they are none the less of some interest and even occasionally of moment. Bale often gives us greater exactitude in the matter of dates, as in the rebellion of 1450.<sup>4</sup> He was evidently keenly interested in the affairs of Parliament, his interests throughout indeed being, in keeping with his position, rather legal and constitutional than economic. Thus, for example, in his account of 1456 he first mentions the anti-Lombard outbreak by relating how an 'Oy Determyner' was held at the Guildhall—after the riot had taken place—only later recording the reason for the trials;<sup>5</sup> and the references to prices, the weather, and similar topics, are few in comparison with those given by many of the London chroniclers. Bale records one or two fresh instances of disaffection in talk and action in these years—once a remark anent the evils of rule by a boy king, and again a rumour that London 'should put the king from his crown'.<sup>6</sup> He has an entry of no small interest concerning the performance of two 'plays'<sup>7</sup>—really romances—one at St. Albans and the other in Bermondsey. He notices Scottish affairs—the battle of the Sark, various raids on the marches in 1448-9<sup>8</sup>—when the other English chroniclers make no mention of Scotland. He brings out one result of the English disasters in France—the return to England of penniless soldiers who from inclination or necessity, or both, took to robbery and violence in London and elsewhere. These men pull down the arms of the unpopular Lord Say and the Duke of Suffolk in the city, despoiling the tomb of the former; the mayor is obliged to take three hundred men to St. Bartholomew's Fair 'that the soldiers do no harm to the chapmen and people of the country'. In the next year (1451) forty soldiers 'made a countenance' to

<sup>1</sup> pp. 125, 126.<sup>2</sup> p. 132.<sup>3</sup> pp. 150, 117.<sup>4</sup> p. 129 seq., notes.<sup>5</sup> p. 143.<sup>6</sup> pp. 118, 129.<sup>7</sup> p. 117.<sup>8</sup> pp. 123, 125, 139, 142.

the mayor and had to be dispersed by force. Probably the robbing of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth here recorded, the breaking out of the prisoners from Newgate, and the troubles of the city officers with the 'sanctuary men' of St. Martin's le Grand, may be put down to the same unruly folk who 'were driven out of France and Normandy and had not wherewithal to live but robbed'.<sup>1</sup> And not only penniless soldiers returned: in the early days of August 1450, when the English rule in Normandy had but just come to an end, were to be seen passing through the streets of London 'diverse long carts with stuff of armour and bedding as well of English as of Norman goods and men women and children in right poor array piteous to see'.<sup>2</sup> These words might well be those of an eyewitness, and a similar impression is received from the description of the measures taken by the mayor and sheriffs to keep the peace betwixt lord's man and citizen, native and alien.<sup>3</sup> Bale's account of the riot between the 'men of court' and the Londoners of Fleet Street and its neighbourhood<sup>4</sup> is the fullest we possess, and there are not a few other events in which Bale supplements, often in a minor way, our knowledge of the thoughts and acts of men who lived in the storm and stress of the early years of the Wars of the Roses.

MS. GOUGH LONDON 10 is a quarto measuring ten inches by seven, of fifty-two leaves of parchment, the hand—or rather hands—bold and legible, being of the second half of the fifteenth century. Each page is very neatly ruled and spaced; the whole of the text is freely ornamented with red, and for several of the initials gold and blue are added. The MS. contains, in addition to the chronicle (ff. 19<sup>v</sup>–52), much matter of civic interest—the dates on which were to be kept the *obits* of six London citizens<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> pp. 134, 136, 137.

<sup>2</sup> p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 133, 135, 136.

<sup>4</sup> p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> These were: John Carpenter, town clerk and compiler of the *Liber Albus* (1370–1441<sup>?</sup>); cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, viii. 155; Pref. to *Liber Albus* (R. S.).

Henry Barton, mayor 1416–17, 1428–9; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, ii. 477–9). John Reynewell, sheriff 1411–12, mayor 1426–7, died 1445; cf. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, ii. 576–7; Stow, *Survey*, i. 60, 109, 207, 240.

John Maldon, whose will, dated April 25, 1467, was proved in 1480, Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, ii. 580.

Walter Nele, sheriff 1337, died 1352; cf. *Liber Albus*, i. 583; *Cal. Wills*, i. 674; Stow, *Survey*, i. 245, 249.

William Olyvere. The wills of two London citizens of this name are preserved, one of date 1397, the other 1432 (*Cal. Wills*, ii. 324, 460); the later of these would seem to be the one designated here, and by Stow, *Survey*, i. 146, but a note makes this name—that of a co-founder of the hospital of Le Papey—a misreading of Cleves (*ibid.* ii. 293).

The notice of the date of an *obit* is followed by a statement of the

who had left bequests to the city (fo. 4); the names of the mayors and sheriffs of London for the first nine years of Henry IV (fo. 4<sup>v</sup>); the titles of many of the ordinances contained in the corporation letter-books, G to L (ff. 5-8); the oath to be taken by the city chamberlain<sup>1</sup> (fo. 10<sup>v</sup>); the form for admission to the freedom of the city<sup>2</sup> (ff. 11-12); the oath of the wardens of mercers (fo. 12<sup>v</sup>), and the different oaths to be taken by the following members of the goldsmiths' company: the 'warden', 'newmen', 'prestys', 'thassayer', 'bedell', the 'brocours', 'the goldsmyths that shall use the craft of fynyng', and 'the turnour'; in two distinct hands are added the oath to be taken by a servant and what seems to be the oath for a journeyman (ff. 13-19). The extracts from the letter-books are similar in form to those contained in the *Liber Albus*—which may have inspired them—but are given as they occur in each letter-book, not as in Carpenter's work, arranged under headings of the crafts they concern.<sup>3</sup>

The author of this work must of necessity have been some one in close touch with municipal life. From the fact that the first oath given is that of the chamberlain—none of the oaths for the other civic officers being included—that the *obits* of benefactors to the city at which the chamberlain received a bequest are recorded, and that the form for admission to the city freedom—a duty performed by the chamberlain—is given, it seems probable that the author was chamberlain of the city, and compiled the volume in part to serve as a kind of formula book for himself. He was also, we may surmise, a member of the goldsmiths' company,<sup>4</sup> for he gives the oaths for all the officials of that mystery, and for no other craft. Both these suppositions fit in with the fact that in the reign of Edward IV there were two successive chamberlains of London who were also members of the goldsmiths' company—William Philip, who held the office 1474-9, and Miles Adys, chamberlain 1479-84.<sup>5</sup> Either of these

amount the chamberlain is to receive at its keeping—e.g. 'The second day of November the obite of John Carpenter holden at Gildhall chapel, at which obite the Chamberleyn is bequest vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> To be found in the *Liber Albus* (i. 309-10) in Norman French, which this English version follows very closely.

<sup>2</sup> The oath of the freemen—but not the form of admission—is contained in Arnold, 96. The latter part of the formula as given in *Gough MS.* runs: 'I admyt yow in to the lyberte of the cite of London as a freman: god give yow joy therof.'

<sup>3</sup> The *Liber Albus*, being compiled in 1419, does not include extracts from these records later than *Letter Book I*, which ends in 1422.

<sup>4</sup> The goldsmiths' company had been incorporated in 1462 (Herbert, ii. 157; Hazlitt, 235).

<sup>5</sup> For this and the subsequent information about *Letter Book L*, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. R. Sharpe, Records Clerk to the City of

two might have compiled or owned the volume, but perhaps Adys has the better claim; the latest reference to the letter-books is to fo. 160 of *Letter Book L*, and is of date 1483, when Adys would be chamberlain, and so more closely in touch with the civic records than his predecessor. Inside the front cover of the MS. is a plate with the inscription 'The Right Honourable Algernon Capell, Earl of Essex, Viscount Maldon and Baron Capell of Hadsham 1701', by whom in all probability the MS. was bound and given the title of *Customs of London*, which, with a library mark, <sup>T</sup>S<sub>5</sub>, is stamped on the back of the leather cover.

The inscription has an interest beyond that of designating the eighteenth-century owner of the MS., for the founder of the greatness of the Capel family was William Capel, the well-known citizen of London of the end of the fifteenth century, a draper and several times master of his company, alderman, sheriff (1489), twice Lord Mayor of London (1503 and 1509), and builder of a 'proper chapell' in St. Bartholomew's Church, in which he was buried on his death in 1519. He was very wealthy and got into trouble thereby, being forced in 1495 through the offices of Empson and Dudley to pay £1,600 'for the breach of certain statutes made aforesaid', and again he was in the Tower when Henry VII died, for his refusal to pay £2,000 on a charge of negligence during his mayoralty.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that he acquired the MS. soon after its compilation; the fragment for the year 1495 may even be part of a continuation made by him, but there is no proof of his ownership, much less of his having written any part of this or any other chronicle.

The chronicle is incomplete, breaking off abruptly in 1470—just a year later than *Gregory's Chronicle*, which ends in a similarly incomplete way—the next and final entry being an account of the trials in January 1495 of those suspect of complicity with Perkin Warbeck's rebellion, this being written in a later hand. The original chronicle reached further than 1470, the fragment for 1495-6 forming in all probability the final part

London and editor of the *Letter Books* of the London Corporation, of which nine, A-I, have been printed; *Letter Book L* reaches as far as 7 Henry VII. Philip was possibly the son of Sir Matthew Philip, also a goldsmith, alderman of Aldgate, 1450, sheriff in the following year and mayor in 1463; he was created knight of the Bath in 1466 and knighted 1471 (*Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, vii, 1888, 16 seq.). Stow relates a story of an offence to the dignity of the mayoralty by the serjeants-at-law in his year of office (*Survey*, ii. 36). Of William Philip he tells us that he was serjeant-at-arms, 1473, and was buried in St. Mary's Hill Church (*ibid.* i. 209); cf. for a certain William Adys, *ibid.* i. 305; ii. 340.

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan, 690; Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, 205, 260-3, 324; Stow, *Survey*, i. 185, 197; Morant, *History of Essex* (1763), ii. 401-3.



of a continuation to that date. If the supposition as to the author be correct, we might assign the compilation of the first part of the chronicle to the last years of Edward IV, or the brief reigns that followed, and what little internal evidence can be found goes to support this suggestion. In a<sup>o</sup> 5 Edward IV it is 'the princess' who is born, not, as the chronicle in *MS. Vitellius A. XVI*<sup>1</sup> puts it, 'Dame Elizabeth, princess and first child of King Edward.' In the extracts from the letter-books the latest is of date 1483. There is reference to an ordinance made in the mayoralty of 'master hampton', who filled that office 1472-3, and in the oath of the assayer of goldsmiths mention is made of 'the statute made in the time of our sovereign Lord the King Edward the iiii. the xvi<sup>th</sup> year of his noble reign', a reference presumably made after his death, but possibly before the Lancastrian cause triumphed again, when also 'the princess' became Queen Elizabeth. As in the references to the laws governing the goldsmiths' trade there is no reference in the volume to an Act<sup>2</sup> 'for finers of gold and silver' passed in 1489, the part concerning the craft of goldsmiths is probably of date earlier than that statute.

The relation of the *Gough* Chronicle to the other London chronicles also goes to confirm this view as to its date of compilation. As far as 1440 the record resembles very closely the *Short English Chronicle*, and was very possibly, like that work, based on an 'abbreviated version' of the city chronicles drawn up about 1446.<sup>3</sup> It cannot have been taken altogether from the *Short English Chronicle*, for it contains entries not found therein, that chronicle, on the other hand, inserting passages not given in *Gough*; in general, for these years, where it disagrees with the *Short English Chronicle*, *Gough* closely resembles *Harley 565*, the fullest of all the English London chronicles for the early period.<sup>4</sup> Then for a few years, though still very brief

<sup>1</sup> Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. 4 Henry VII, c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, xi.

<sup>4</sup> Thus a<sup>o</sup> 2 Henry III *Gough* (fo. 21) has an entry 'this yeare the barons were taken at Lincoln', only duplicated in *Harley 565*; a<sup>o</sup> 23 Henry III (fo. 23) it records an earthquake 'the x kalends of march', mentioned by none of the other extant versions; in a<sup>o</sup> 25 Henry III it gives the numbers of the Scots slain as xxxiiij, where the *Short English Chronicle* gives no number, and *Harley 565*, xxiiij, liable to be misread into *Gough's* figure. The entry concerning the Battle of Sluys is identical with that in *Harley 565* and fuller than the corresponding passage in the *Short English Chronicle*; so too, though a<sup>o</sup> 11 Richard II is identical with this latter chronicle, the entry for a<sup>o</sup> 13 is quite different. In 1425 *Gough* records the sitting of Parliament—'and after Easter the last day of Aprill the kyngs parlement beganne at Westmynster. In which parlement the kyng kept his sete dyvers days, and in this parlement was grannted to the kyng the subsidie of xiiij<sup>d</sup> of the lb. of all manner of merchandises and iij<sup>s</sup> of the tonne and v. nobles

it does not agree with any of the extant versions, but from 1450 onwards it is in close affinity with *Vitellius A. XVI*, and, though in a less degree, with Fabyan's Chronicle. These two works, it is considered, had a common original ending in 1485,<sup>1</sup> a date which, as remarked above, would suit admirably for the completion of the first part of the *Gough* Chronicle, and a first thought was that this was indeed the original itself. But a close comparison of the three works makes it evident that this cannot be the case, and the *Gough* Chronicle for this period must be regarded as another compilation in part at least from the same source. To this original Caxton was indebted for his edition of the *Polichronicon*, published in 1482.<sup>2</sup> The printer continued Higden's work to 1460, by the aid, he says, of 'a lytel boke named Fasciculus temporum, and another called Aureus de Universo, in which books I find right litel mater sith the sayde tyme'. His continuation, however, has notices of events—mainly concerning the city of London—which cannot possibly have come from the sources he mentions. Thus (fo. ccllxxxiiij) he records the seizure of the liberties of London into the hands of the King in 1391, and his account of the reign of Henry IV is clearly taken from one of the chronicles of London. So, too, his version of the dubbing of the knights by Henry VI in 1425 (f. ccccxiii) is similar to, though fuller than, the accounts in *Gregory's Chronicle*, *Vitellius A. XVI*, and Fabyan. His entry for the year 1447 is identical with that of the Vitellian chronicle, save that at the end he adds, presumably from his other sources,

of the sake' (cf. *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 261, 275-6), an entry not found elsewhere. For the next few years it is identical with the *Short English Chronicle*, but a° 9 Henry VI, where this latter work has no entry, *Gough* records the hanging of Jack Sharp of Abingdon, and a° 15 Henry VI it records 'a semble in maner of a rysyng of mens [?] mercers] servaunts and they wer mett at grett conduit dyverse tymes and foughte and wolde not obey nother constables nor noon other officers; x or xij of theym were espied and arrested', an entry not paralleled in the *Short English Chronicle* or the other London chronicles extant.

<sup>1</sup> The relations of *Vitellius A. XVI* and Fabyan have been discussed by Busch, *England under the Tudors*, i. 410, and Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, xvi, xviii-xxi, xlii-iii, but Caxton's indebtedness to the same or some closely allied 'lost London Chronicle' has not been remarked. *MS. Rawlinson B. 479* (Bodleian) contains (ff. 90-2) some notices 'ex Anglico catalogo maiorum civitatis Londoniensis etc. Henrico III. ad primum Henrici VIII', but they are quite worthless extracts from *Vitellius A. XVI*, made, from the hand, in the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted, 1495, by Wynkyn de Worde, and again by John Reynes in 1527. Various *Fasciculi temporum* were published about this time, one in 1474 and another edition two years later. The work contained brief statements about the Popes, the various religious orders, and the monarchs of the different countries of Europe, but very little concerning England. For the 'Aureus de Universo', cf. *Polichronicon*, Rolls Series, ix (1886), xxiv, note.

an account of the election of a new Pope. His account of the rising of 1450 is likewise identical with that in *Vitellius*, but is rather shorter, and he records the advent of printing in the very words used by Fabyan and *Vitellius*. Caxton's continuation ends in 1460, and was certainly not the common original used by the Vitellian chronicler, Fabyan, and the author of *Gough*, but, like these, the printer must have had access to a civic chronicle in circulation when he printed his work, which he closed with the naïve assertion 'if I coulde have founden moo storyes, I wold have sette in hit moo.'

As the chronicle in *Vitellius A. XVI* could not have been taken from *Gough*, so the reverse could not have been the case.<sup>1</sup> While *Gough's* resemblance to the former chronicle makes it somewhat unimportant, its differences are worthy of note and at times informative. *Vitellius* is on the whole fuller than *Gough*, though occasionally the latter exceeds in length, notably in the account of the accession of Edward IV, of which *Gough* gives a longer account than is preserved elsewhere; not infrequently *Gough* supplies dates of month and day where *Vitellius* only records the year. Where this last chronicle differs from Fabyan's work, *Gough* goes with the anonymous record, and it does not agree with Fabyan in its differences from the former chronicle. Only those parts of *Gough* (from 1450 onwards) which differ in any degree from *Vitellius* have been printed here.

The last fragment for 1495 is of slightly more importance. So far the chronicle in *MS. Vitellius A. XVI* has been the recognized source for the trials which resulted on Perkin Warbeck's attempts to find supporters in England in 1494.<sup>2</sup> The account in *Gough* is very similar, but has differences, omissions, and additions enough to show that it could not have been the source of, nor entirely borrowed from, the other work. It is possible, of course, that they are two quite independent accounts; from all appearances *Gough* is contemporary, or nearly so, and the second part of *Vitellius*, ending in 1496, was probably 'written not long after'.<sup>3</sup> The trials of those implicated in the schemes of Warbeck began on Thursday, the 29th January, 1495, but the fragment in *Gough* only begins with the next day. Where *Vitellius*<sup>4</sup> says there sat as judges 'many lords and knights', *Gough* gives the names of those lords who sat in the court. The account of the proceedings is almost the same in

<sup>1</sup> In 1451, for example, an obvious omission in *Gough* (f. 41) may be supplied from *Vitellius*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Busch, *England under the Tudors*, i. 94-96, 340-1; Kingsford, 324.

<sup>3</sup> Kingsford, xvii.

<sup>4</sup> p. 203; so Fabyan's continuation, 685, but it is very brief in comparison with these two accounts.

both, though one or two of the accused are differently described ; Thomas Cressyner is 'steward with the lord Fitzwater' in the Vitellian record, servant of Sir William Daubeny and 'of Clement's Inn' in *Gough*; the 'man of York' in the latter is more definitely named as 'Thomas Astwode, steward of Marton Abbey', in *Vitellius*. *Gough* adds a little to our information by his statement that all those indicted 'confessed the same treason, save only Sir Robert Radcliff', and further subjoins 'Master Lassey' and 'Master Thomas Warde' to the list of those tried on the Saturday. It also records an impeachment of the Archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham, on the 4th of February, which is not mentioned by *Vitellius* or indeed elsewhere. This took place 'before the lords in the Star Chamber'. By 'the lords' *Gough* apparently refers to those of whom a list is given as acting as judges in the trials of the previous week; their sitting in the Star Chamber would not justify the assumption that they constituted a 'Court of Star Chamber' as laid down by the Act of 1487,<sup>1</sup> for neither in composition nor jurisdiction did the court which sat in the Star Chamber in this reign necessarily follow the statute. Archbishop Rotherham's case is placed among those concerned with Warbeck, although any real connexion seems antecedently improbable, and after 'my lord of Canterbury, chancellor of England', had gone surety for him 'body for body and goods for goods', in the expressive phraseology of the chronicler, we hear nothing further of any proceedings against him. The Archbishop had been present at the festivities of the previous November, when the King's second son Henry had been created Duke of York.<sup>2</sup> But neither before this date nor in the five years which elapsed before Rotherham's death in 1500—at the age of seventy-seven—is there record of his having committed any act, or being charged with any crime, so serious as to merit an impeachment. Yet the accuracy of the account of the trials and executions both before and after this brief notice concerning Rotherham is undoubted; it is possible future researches may throw light on what for the present must remain hidden.

For the more eventful trial of Sir William Stanley, the *Gough* Chronicle gives the names of the lords before whom he was arraigned. Of those who sat in the Guildhall, three—Derby, Ormond, and Daubeny—are not included in the second list; Derby, of course, was brother to the accused, and may not have

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 3 Henry VII, c. 1, 'An Act giving the Court of Star Chamber authority to punish divers misdemeanours.' Cf. Leadam, *Select Cases from the Court of Star Chamber* (Selden Soc., 1903), xlii, lix, lxxviii, and Miss C. L. Scofield, *A Study of the Court of Star Chamber*, Chicago, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VII*, ed. Gairdner, R. S., i. 393.

been altogether free from suspicion of complicity;<sup>1</sup> Sir Giles Daubeney was to succeed Stanley as Lord Chamberlain.<sup>2</sup> But other names were added; Stanley at least could not complain that he was not tried before his peers, although the particulars of the acts which brought him to the block are still, as Bacon, looking back from about a century later, remarked,<sup>3</sup> 'to this day left but in dark memory.' Altogether the entry for this year 1495 in *Gough* is of interest enough to cause regret that the earlier years of the same record have not been preserved.

MS. TANNER 2 is a stout quarto of 181 leaves of parchment bound in thick boards, the leather of which is somewhat damaged, whilst only the marks of clasps remain. The volume is wholly in Latin, and was probably penned about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the hand in which all save a very little of the MS. is written being small but as a rule fairly legible. On the front cover is written in large hand *Cronicon*. The words 'Henri Hobart and why not' occur on fo. 181<sup>v</sup>, possibly referring to Sir Henry Hobart, who filled the offices of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Attorney-General, and Chancellor under James I,<sup>4</sup> as an owner of the MS., and like many of the Tanner MSS., it belonged at one time to Archbishop Sancroft.

The volume contains (ff. 18-70) a *Scala temporum*<sup>5</sup> beginning, as usual, with the Creation, and reaching, with brief entries for almost every year, to 1525, the last few years being swollen a little by additions to the faithful but rather unsatisfying record of the accessions and deaths of monarchs and popes; these insertions are in a second hand, and concern mainly English events. Next come *Stemmata Gentium* (ff. 70-83), followed by excerpts (ff. 84, 112) from William of Malmesbury and Giraldus

<sup>1</sup> Henry, with his queen, visited the Earl at Lathom in July of this year, 'as an assurance that he dissociated him from the treason of his brother who had perished on the scaffold in the previous January'; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, liv. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VII*, ii. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Henry VII*, ed. Lumby, 123; Busch, 420, observes of Bacon's account of Stanley's execution 'it is only from his own invention that he fills in the scanty account of Stanley's end'.

<sup>4</sup> He died in 1625; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxvii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Bale, in his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (ed. R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson, *Anecd. Oxon.*, 1902, 487-9, 493), mentions a *Scala temporum*, a *Scala mundi*, *chronicon*, a *Scala Mundi*, and a *Scala Chronicorum*, which were probably works of this type; *MS. Arundel* in the College of Arms also contains a *Scala Mundi* dated to 1619, filled in as far as 1469 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, xx), and the various *Fasciculi temporum*, *Cronicae Cronicarum*, written and printed about this time were similar in character to these ambitious but useless compilations.

Cambrensis (fo. 151); a list of popes; a list giving the burial-places of the kings of England from the fabled Brut to Henry VI, and the number of years they reigned (ff. 137, 180); the names of the proctors of the University of Oxford from 1434 to 1519;<sup>1</sup> several letters concerning the relations of Edward I with Scotland (fo. 143); a list of the gifts sent to Hugh Capet by Athelstan; the chronicle of London; and on the last leaf a very few rude sketches of a knight and citizens.

The chronicle of London fills ff. 92-112, and the pages were apparently ruled out before the chronicle was written, as many of the entries overflow into the margin. To find a sixteenth-century London chronicle written in Latin is at first sight rather strange, but as with *Rawlinson B. 355*, it is probably a tribute to the wide popularity which these chronicles of London had obtained at this time. There is nothing in the other contents of the MS. to suggest that a citizen of London was its author; indeed the volume savours of the scriptorium rather than of the guildhall or the counting-house. The list of proctors may mark it as of Oxford origin, but the question of authorship is not of great moment; the writer was interested in the collection of historical or antiquarian matters, and culled his materials from whatever source lay nearest to hand. Amongst works of an historical nature extant at the beginning of the sixteenth century was the *Customs of London* of Robert Arnold, printed in 1502, and again eighteen years later. Comparison of the very brief London chronicle prefaced to the miscellaneous items which compose Arnold's work, with the somewhat fuller but still quite meagre record in this MS., leads to the conclusion that the author of the latter borrowed the form and some of his matter from the printed commonplace book. Many of his entries in the earlier part are identical<sup>2</sup> in content with those given by Arnold, whose errors he copies in one or two places, and occasional failures to notice events of purely civic interest are natural enough if, as suggested, the writer of *MS. Tanner 2* was not a citizen of London. It is probable, further, that it was the first edition of Arnold's work of which the compiler of this chronicle made use, for with 1502 the resemblance ceases, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Madan, *Manuscript Materials relating to the City of Oxford* (1887), 99.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in aa° 12-14 Edward IV the same events are recorded by both in corresponding terms; thus for a° 13 Arnold has 'A fray in Chepe, on Saint Peter's Evyn, betwyne the kyngis servauntis and the watchemen', the notice in *Tanner 2* (fo. 105) running 'Rixa in regione Chepe praesente rege inter aulicos et vigiles in vigilia apostolorum petri et pauli', and examples could be multiplied. An example of identity in error occurs a° 9 Edward IV, where both Arnold and the author of this chronicle say Alford and Poynes were executed, when in reality they received their pardon on the scaffold.

entries thereafter being quite different from the continuation of Arnold's chronicle found in the edition of 1520. But the compiler did not depend altogether upon the brief statements of the London merchant. While his chronicle is of no value at all for the early part, it does contain many notices of events not to be found in Arnold's work, and, in addition, displays the use of more than one record. The chronology is at fault from the reign of Edward I onwards, the calendar year being two years behind, though the regnal years are stated correctly. This continues to the end of the chronicle—the years were probably filled in before the events were added—though there are occasional signs that the writer realized all was not well. He sometimes adds after an event 'quidam in hunc, quidam sequentem annum referunt',<sup>1</sup> showing that he had access to several records, albeit he did not profit much thereby.

The chronicle ends with the names of the city officers for 1524-5, though it is spaced out for four years more. The last portion is in a different hand—or hands—from the rest of the chronicle, and it is probable that the preceding part was written some years before, early in the reign of Henry VIII. Only those entries antecedent to the reign of Henry VII which are fuller than the corresponding entries in Arnold are here printed. The account of the reign of Henry VII cannot claim to be either full or valuable, but the comparative scarcity of material for that period may justify its inclusion as an unusual type of London chronicle. The first few years of Henry VIII are treated in equally scanty fashion, but then follows the entry of most interest in the chronicle, written by a distinct hand. This concerns the King's campaign in France in the summer of 1513, and the battle of Flodden Field. It is possible that the writer was in France with the King, for although his account is not of great length, he describes, apparently with some knowledge, the details of the siege of T rouenne, uses the phrase 'our men' and reports a remark made by the Duchess of Burgundy on her departure after visiting the King. He records the reception of the news of Flodden in France, though omitting all mention of the coming of James's legates to the King before T rouenne, and, later, the visit of the young Prince Charles to Henry at Tournay. Somewhat unmeasured is his language in speaking of James, 'perfidissimus et ingrattissimus Jacobus,' and the next sentence suggests that the terms were used as they were felt at the time, in the heat of the English indignation at the Scottish invasion. For the writer says that James is 'unburied to this day' in the Carthusian monastery (presumably that of Easby) near to Rich-

<sup>1</sup> aa<sup>o</sup> 8, 9 Henry IV, 13 Henry IV, aa<sup>o</sup> 1, 25 Henry VI (ff. 101<sup>v</sup>, 102<sup>v</sup>).

mond. There was considerable disagreement both at the time and later as to the ultimate fate of the corpse of the King of Scots, rumour even denying that he had been slain, and so the testimony of this chronicle is not without interest. Writing to the Pope from Tournay as a victor, Henry refers<sup>1</sup> to the body of James as 'loco quidem honesto sed minime sacro hactenus asservatum', and asks that the corpse, though of one excommunicate, might be brought to London and buried in St. Paul's. Whether or no this took place is not of primary concern here, but it is noteworthy that the chronicler also uses the same expression 'to this day', an expression which could not have been used correctly very long after the royal letter, or the battle of Flodden. On the other hand he speaks of the English leader as 'Northfolchie comes', and Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey only received the title of Duke, not Earl, of Norfolk as a reward for his victory, after Henry's return from France. The account of the battle of Flodden must therefore have been written *after* Surrey's elevation to the dukedom on February 1, 1514—how long after cannot of course be said. On the whole, however, it is probable that this portion of the chronicle is contemporary or almost so, and this, of course, means that the earlier part was written soon after the opening of the century. But like the preceding Latin chronicle printed herein it is included as much for its interest as a late example of a London chronicle in that language as for any value it possesses as an historical record.

MS. WESTERN 30745. The chronicle of Lynn consists of six leaves forming ff. 33-8 of a volume of miscellaneous Norfolk documents, mainly of the seventeenth century. The hands of these leaves, however, are of about the middle of the sixteenth century, moderately clear but cramped by the narrowness of the page in places; the paper is rather soiled and faded. The chronicle was probably written at Lynn, but there is no clue to its author or owner. To 1538 it is in one hand, but from thence to the end is written by another finer hand.

The chronicle was most probably written in the last years of the reign of Henry VIII: possibly if it originally ended in 1542-3, it was written about that date. In describing the birth of the second son of Henry VII, the title 'King Henry VIII' is given him; in 1537 the birth of 'prince' Edward is recorded, which rather looks as if he were still prince when the chronicler wrote. The change of hand in 1538 might lead to the supposition that the earlier part of the chronicle was written in that year,

<sup>1</sup> 12 Oct. 1513; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 511; *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, i. 4582.



but this cannot be so; for in recording the grant of two fairs to the town in 1536-7 they are described as 'held four years', i. e. the chronicler wrote after they were put down in 1541. There is reason to think that it was written after 1542, though not long after if there was much space between the writing of the first and that of the second parts. For from 1539 to 1543 the nature of the entries is rather that of contemporary jottings than of records written long after the event. If, as seems almost certain, the Lynn chronicler used the chronicle of Robert Fabyan, it was most probably the edition published in 1542, for the dependence can be traced as far as 1541—at which point the 1542 edition of Fabyan stopped—whilst the entries for the last two years do not correspond with the entries for those years in the further continuation of Fabyan's chronicle published in 1559.

The Lynn chronicle does not give us any new facts of general interest for the period it covers, and its references to local affairs can in most cases be verified—even at times corrected—from other sources. Its interest lies primarily in the fact that it is an early example of a town chronicle written outside London. And it shows, further, how these later writers drew upon the London chronicles. There was considerable intercourse between Lynn and the capital, and it is not hard to imagine some townsman of Lynn,<sup>1</sup> probably a merchant and of some eminence and official position in Lynn, possibly a burgess in Parliament, attempting for his own town, in a humble way, what he saw done by and for citizens of London. A comparison of this slight chronicle with the work of Robert Fabyan, probably best known of all chronicles in the last years of Henry VIII, leaves no room for doubt that the Lynn writer borrowed some of his notices from the continuation of Fabyan's work; the entries for 1493 and the following year come direct from Fabyan; the references to the plague and the sweating sickness (1478, 1500, 1528), the mention of the capture of Sir Andrew Barton (1511), the account of the Ill May Day (1516), the record of the drought (1540)—all these are almost identical in both, whilst the extraordinary statement about Wolsey (1530) can also be explained by reference to the Londoner's work. It is, in short, practically certain that the

<sup>1</sup> Such a man as Thomas Miller of Lynn, who was mayor (or 'governor') of the town during the four years of strife (1520-24) with the Bishop of Norwich, and mayor again in 1529 and 1546; who was burgess of Parliament for Lynn in 1523, 1529-36 and 1542. He was employed on local commissions for subsidies; a merchant trading with Flanders, he got into trouble in 1531 for 'export of corn contrary to the King's command' and was in the King's debt five years afterwards; in 1534 his offices were used by the town to see that Cromwell had them 'in better remembrance' (*L. and P. of Henry VIII*, vii. 1569; x. 1257; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 173; Richard's *Hist. of Lynn*, i. 370).

Lynn chronicler had access to Reynes' (1542) edition of Fabyan's chronicle.

There are, however, in this Lynn record many notices not found in Fabyan's continuation. Some of them may be paralleled in Hall's *Chronicle*, but not a few, though recording well-known events and not of historical value, do not figure in the pages of any of the English contemporary chronicles. These are such things as the expulsion of the Jews from Trent in 1477, the siege of Rhodes two years later, the thunderbolt in Italy in 1496, an earthquake in Constantinople, Luther's action in 1518, the plague in Rome four years later—all foreign events, but events which might be familiar to the inhabitants of a seaport whose sailors traversed the waters of the Mediterranean as well as the narrow seas which divided them from the coast of Flanders. Possibly the imperfect chronology of the earlier among these notices may indicate their recall to memory long after their occurrence. The dating of events is indeed far from exact, and is rendered more confusing by the fact that the author reckons by the mayoral year like the London chroniclers. As the mayor of Lynn was elected on the Day of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (29th of August), this meant that the chronicler's year is five months behind the calendar year, and many events are thus apparently misplaced by a year. The omission, in most cases, of the month and day adds to the possibilities of error, and mistakes are fairly frequent,<sup>1</sup> though the chronicler becomes a little more accurate in the later portion of the record.

The most interesting side of the history of Lynn in the period covered by the chronicle is that which concerns the change from 'Bishop's Lynn' to 'King's Lynn'. The town has been considered as typical, for the fifteenth century, of towns on the estates of secular ecclesiastical lords.<sup>2</sup> For Lynn, as for Reading, the type of town on a monastic estate, the victory, if victory it can be called, did not come until the sixteenth century.

Looked at from one point of view, the change by which Lynn of the Bishop became Lynn of the King may be regarded as illustrating the general policy of the Crown in the early Tudor period—the reduction of all franchises, and chiefly those of the clergy. But this is only one aspect of the change: long before the Tudor policy of centralization was begun, the townsmen of Lynn were embarked on the attempt to free themselves from episcopal control. The first Bishop of Norwich to be Lord of Lynn was Bishop Herbert (1091–1119). The struggle began in the fourteenth century; in 1352 an appeal to the King evoked

<sup>1</sup> E. g. under the years 1477, 1484, 1490, 1491, 1500.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, i. 282–94.

a decision in favour of the Bishop; in 1377 the town was over two hundred pounds in debt through litigation against him.<sup>1</sup> A victory for the town by which the mayor obtained the right to have borne before him a sword with point erect—sign of complete independence—was followed almost immediately, on the appeal of the Bishop (1447), by the reversal of the verdict, 'for', says the royal brief,<sup>2</sup> the tone of which it is interesting to compare with that used less than a hundred years later, 'it was not, neither is not, our intent to prejudice any party and namely the church, for by our oath at our coronation we be bound to support and maintain the church and the right thereof.' In 1473 there was further contention; the townsmen objected to the Bishop's assumption to himself of the right of taking a view of frankpledge and of holding a court for civil cases, a power which had been in the hands of the sheriff of Norfolk. About this time the 'mayor and burgesses' obtained confirmation of their right to assess themselves for the defence of the town, though coupled with a reservation of the rights of the Bishop. They also obtained from Richard III in 1483 letters patent confirming what privileges they possessed, and the renewal of these from his successor three years later. The Bishop, apparently in retaliation, got royal confirmation of his own rights in the following year.<sup>3</sup>

In 1500, however, Bishop Goldwell died, to be succeeded by Richard Nix. From what we know of his life and character, the new-made Bishop was a man tenacious of his rights. Indeed, the immediate cause of his indictment in 1534 was that he had infringed the Act of Praemunire by citing before him the mayor of Thetford, a Norfolk town exempt from episcopal control.<sup>4</sup> In 1513 the Bishop obtained letters patent confirming all the rights his predecessors had enjoyed. It rather looks as if the burgesses of Lynn did not allow the pronouncement to pass without challenge, for in the following year, when Bishop Nix made a visitation of his diocese, included in his programme was an arrangement to visit St. Margaret's Church in Lynn on July 10th 'pro libertate villae ejusdem'.<sup>5</sup> But of the course or the result of the meeting in the town church between the jealous Bishop and the factious burgesses, no record remains. It is six

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xli. 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich (1492-1532)*, ed. Rev. A. Jessopp, Cam. Soc. 1888, 68; record of the visitation of the places to which the Bishop was to go, immediately prior to and after his visit to Lynn, remains, but as the MS. from which the account is taken is a copy, it may be that the scribe omitted the record of the visit to Lynn as of less ecclesiastical interest than those of the religious houses in which it occurred.

years before we have any more evidence of the progress of the struggle. In 1520-1, the chronicle tells us, began 'the suit between Lynn and the Bishop of Norwich for the liberty of Lynn'.<sup>1</sup> Wolsey visited the town in 1520; it is very possible, although we are not told so, that his presence there had something to do with the matter, for in 1528 it was at his mediation that the town got its fee-farm lease from the Bishop. But in 1521 the townsmen apparently lost their case, and that completely, for their mayor, elected by themselves, was replaced by a 'governor', doubtless appointed by the Bishop.<sup>2</sup> Even in the crushing defeat of 1354 they had retained the right of having a mayor, but now not until 1524-5 does the title reappear.

The Bishop had before this managed to get into trouble with the Crown, whether at the instance or on the appeal of the townsmen of Lynn cannot be said. In the general pardon of 1524,<sup>3</sup> however, the Bishop of Norwich is specially exempted and, the Act notwithstanding, all and every of the 'liberties and franchises . . . which the said Reverend Father late had or claimed to have within the said town [Lynn] and which were forfeited into the King's hands by the writ of "Quo Warranto" may still remain in the King's hands'. This points to formal proceedings against the Bishop on the part of the town, but of their exact nature we are ignorant. Very probably it happened that after bearing their defeat for some time, appeal to the Crown, doubtless backed up by the weighty arguments of the precious metals, secured for the town a reversal of the verdict of three years before. At any rate the chronicle could record that the men of Lynn 'had their liberty again restored and the sword borne before the mayor'.

It was in fact a royal grant of incorporation which the town obtained. By letters patent of 27 June, 1524,<sup>4</sup> the borough was 'reconstituted' with a mayor, twelve aldermen, eighteen common councilmen, a recorder, a town clerk, nine constables, two coroners, four serjeants-at-mace and a clerk of the market; the mayor

<sup>1</sup> In the chronicle of Lynn contained in *MS. Add. 8937* (Brit. Mus.) the entry for this year runs as follows: '1521 Mr. Thomas Miller. In his four yeres he sered (?) w<sup>th</sup> the Byshopp and the sword borne before the mayor againe. And yt hath bene so ever synce. Also this towne fell into the Kyngs hande shortlie after and soe the Byshoppe had no privilydge in Lyn never synce. Also this yeare and many yeares before this towne was called Byshoppes Lyn and at that tyme that the maior gott the sword it hathe ever synce bene called Kings Lynn and the sword hath bene carried before the mayor.'

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 193; cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 172.

<sup>3</sup> Stat. 14 & 15 Henry VIII, c. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 206.

and twelve aldermen were to elect—and if necessary depose—the common councilmen, who in turn were to elect aldermen to fill vacancies in the original twelve and from them to choose a mayor; the mayor might have his sword although it was to be sheathed. There is no mention of the change of name which the chronicler asserts took place at this date; indeed there is a final saving clause for the rights of the Bishop and his successors, and the name Bishop's Lynn obtained in official documents until 1537. But the position of the town was very much strengthened by its new grant, which not only defined its rights, but gave it a firm starting-point for fresh advances. The Bishop, it is true, made a counter-move by obtaining, early in the following year,<sup>1</sup> letters patent which confirmed his rights in Lynn and set forth in detail the tolls and customs due to him there. The struggle was wellnigh over, however. Bishop Nix, almost eighty years old, may well have tired of the struggle, and in 1528, by Wolsey's intercession, the town obtained from the Bishop a thirty years' lease<sup>2</sup> of the Court Leet, the Steward's Hall Court, the Tolbooth Court, 'and all such fairs and markets, waifs and strays, as the said Bishop had or ought to have in the said borough' at a rent of one hundred and four shillings yearly.

The story might have ended here had the crisis occurred at an earlier date, as it did for most other English boroughs, and Lynn might have stepped into line with them without becoming possessed of any regality of name. But now mightier forces than those of a group of traders were arrayed to attack clerical rights and privileges. Bishop Nix was well known as an opponent to the royal policy in matters ecclesiastical as well as matrimonial. In 1534 he was tried—and of course condemned—on a charge of Praemunire for the cause mentioned above. He was adjudged to lose all his possessions, to pay a fine, and remain at the King's mercy. In consideration, however, 'of his great age and debility', he was pardoned and had his goods restored to him;<sup>3</sup> before the close of the year 1535 he died. The voidance of the Bishopric, added to the disgrace of Nix and the claims of the town of Lynn, gave the Commons of Parliament—or the Crown—an opportunity of carrying still further the application of the principles by which, in the year of the attack on the Bishop of Norwich, the firstfruits and profits for one year from all spiritual benefices had been granted to the King.<sup>4</sup> The year

<sup>1</sup> 11 Feb. 16 Henry VIII (1525); *ibid.* 206. In the report this document is placed—wrongly—before the charter of incorporation. As Henry began his reign in April, June 16 Henry VIII would be 1524, Feb. 16 Henry VIII the following calendar year.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 246.

<sup>3</sup> Stat. 25 Henry VIII, c. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Stat. 26 Henry VIII, c. 3.

1536 saw an Act<sup>1</sup> passed for 'the assurance of all the temporalities belonging unto the Bishop of Norwich unto the King's highness and his heirs', wherein 'for divers right good and virtuous considerations moved and debated for the earnest setting forth of the good effects and proceedings that may grow and increase by the good execution of the king's godly purpose in the premises'—whatever this might mean—the manors and possessions of the Bishop of Norwich, including of course the episcopal rights in Lynn, were given to the King. The newly elected Bishop was obliged to content himself with the Bishop's Palace in Norwich and the houses of St. Benet's and Hickling—of the former of which he had been abbot—at a rent of £33 6s. 8d. a year. In the following year came for the town the final step of the change of name. By letters patent of July 7<sup>2</sup> the borough was to be called King's Lynn; the 'mayor and burgesses and inhabitants' were to have the Guildhall, the Tolbooth Courts and a yearly Court Leet; the mayor and the recorder, together with those aldermen who had served as mayors, were to be Justices of the Peace, and the town was also empowered to hold two fairs annually and two markets each week. For the grant of these privileges Lynn was to pay a yearly rent of 20 marks. This, it may be observed, was more than twice as much as the amount paid to the Bishop for almost identical rights, and the royal beneficence in bestowing on the town the name of King's Lynn is somewhat typical, analogous in fact to the reputation long enjoyed by Henry's successor as a founder of schools.

And it was not all plain sailing for the burgesses of King's Lynn even now. The Duke of Suffolk had enjoyed a fee of £5 from the stewardship in the days of the last Bishop of Norwich, and so the townsmen had to ask his consent to their 'liberties', promising to continue his fee.<sup>3</sup> And apparently they construed their new name in different terms from the King. They were not content to have the rights for which they had fought so long and had paid so dearly granted away by the King to whomsoever he would. In 1534 they write to Cromwell,<sup>4</sup> in a tone to which he was probably little accustomed from his correspondents, complaining of a certain Richard Bradford, who claims a royal grant of the office of gauger and searcher of fish in the town, which office in their opinion is entirely at the disposal of the town authorities. 'If', they boldly argue, 'the King has granted

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 27 Henry VIII, c. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 207; *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, xii (ii), g. 411 (24); the amount of the rent, not given in the *Hist. MSS. Comm.* copy, is supplied by the version in the Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> *L. and P.* xii (ii), 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 1569.

this office to the said Richard Bradford, which we think not (a direct hit at Cromwell by whose letters Bradford claimed the post), it is not effectual in law. If you are desirous, however, that he should have the appointment from the mayor at your request, we are content, so long as it be no prejudice to our liberties.' A bold letter truly, but despite their boldness they follow the usual custom of most of Cromwell's correspondents and send a present, '100 of great ling yearly.'<sup>1</sup> Again in July 1537, in thanking Cromwell<sup>2</sup> 'for obtaining the King's charter', they complain against 'one William Hastings who has a grant from the king of the bailiwick of Lynn and pretends to arrest and serve all processes', though neither of this nor the previous complaint do we find the answer—if any was given—recorded. In 1547, when the guilds came within the royal grasp, the town obtained the fee-farm of the possessions of the guilds of Holy Trinity and St. George,<sup>3</sup> as many other towns did for their guilds. Henceforth, indeed we might almost say from 1528, Lynn is in line with the majority of English boroughs, and the interest of this side of its history lies, not in the obtaining of new privileges, but in the working and development of the machinery with which it began its existence as King's Lynn.

During the years covered by the chronicle Lynn was of considerable economic and military importance. Lying at the mouth of the Ouse, it was the port for a large and important hinterland. Proximity to Flanders still meant a good deal; corn and malt from Norfolk went there through Lynn and Yarmouth, and the town also dispatched grain to Scotland, Ireland, and Calais, and to such English ports as, for example, in the year 1532, London, Dartmouth, Winchelsea, Plymouth, and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> It sent ships in the fishing fleets which went regularly to Iceland and the North Seas.<sup>5</sup> In common with the merchants of other seaports the men of Lynn were not above smuggling in years when the foreign policy of the Crown, or the fear of famine in England, led to the prohibition of trade with different countries; in 1537 Lynn merchants sent butter and other victuals to Spain despite a royal restraint, and even the mayor and his brethren were accused of connivance in the export of tallow and hides to Scotland 'unsearched and uncustomed'. In 1539 there was much petitioning

<sup>1</sup> In 1540 the town was still paying £10 yearly to provide the gift to Cromwell (*ibid.* xiv (ii), p. 328).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii (ii), 304; in Cromwell's remembrances about this time (*ibid.* ii. 192) there is one 'For the town of Lynn'; cf. *ibid.* i. 1330 (63) for Hastings's grant.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, xiv. 426; v. 1706.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iv (ii), 5101; vi. 480, ix. 234; in 1528 and again in 1533 Lynn sent 10 vessels of tonnage 35 to 95 tons; Yarmouth sent 30.

of the Duke of Norfolk, visiting the town, to allow the export of the wheat, malt, and barley, of which there was so much that, as the Duke wrote to the King, 'hundreds of ploughs are like to be laid up, and there are not sufficient gardeners (*sic*) to stow it in.'<sup>1</sup> There was also a too indiscriminate zeal in times of war which led to the seizure by merchant privateers of harmless trading vessels as enemies; in 1545, during the war with France, two Dutch ships, carrying victual to Scotland, were taken by Lynn men, and the Privy Council ordered the mayor and brethren to inquire into the matter: a month later the Council again address them, ordering the delivery of one of these ships—or another vessel—and also that henceforth the traders of Lynn 'meddle with no vessel trading that way unless clearly French'; yet before another month has passed, a Lynn man has spoiled a ship carrying Spaniards to their native land after service with the English King, and later in the same year the Privy Council intervenes in the case of a 'Savoyson' vessel manned by Scots which has been seized by a ship of Lynn.<sup>2</sup>

The town also played an important part in the military history of Henry VIII's reign in a more legitimate way. Situate about half-way between France and Scotland, and having behind it the grain supply of Norfolk, it served as a victualling base for forces operating in both those countries. In 1523 thousands of quarters of grain were gathered there and sent to Calais for the royal army in France; next year corn and ships were collected in Lynn to send to the garrisons at both Calais and Berwick. In October 1536, when there was fear of Reginald Pole landing with foreign troops to aid the rebels of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the town received special commands<sup>3</sup> concerning strangers; none were to be allowed to land who had 'any manner of weapon', and not more than twenty strangers together. But beyond the reading of a 'seditious' paper at an inn in the town, there is no trace of any feeling for or against the rising. When in 1539 the fear of invasion became still more acute, Lynn was naturally one of the places to be fortified, although the chronicler does not mention any work done there. In 1542, for the expedition into Scotland, it was arranged that victualling ships should go north from Lynn and Yarmouth, and merchants of the town contracted with the government to provide corn for the garrison, and also to victual and equip two ships of war, 'paying the wages of captain and men from time to time.' Two years later Lynn again provided vessels for the Scottish war, although only one-

<sup>1</sup> ? granaries. *L. and P.* v. 532; vi. 385, 1595 (10), 1617; vii. 141; x. 1257; xii (ii) 429; xiv. 541, 555; xvi. 392.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xx (i), 483, 518, 630, 755, 997, 1217; (ii) 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x. 908, 1260.



third as many as Hull and Yarmouth. At the same time the town was providing twenty footmen to fight in France, and sending foddors of lead to the King at Calais. Again in the next year Calais is short of victual, and wheat and malt are dispatched there and also to Boulogne.<sup>1</sup>

Just about the time that 'Lynn Episcopi' became 'Lynn Regis', there are signs that the burgesses were actively working for the prosperity of the town; in 1534 (on the petition of the mayor and burgesses) an Act<sup>2</sup> was passed 'for the re-edifying of void grounds within the town of Lynn', with the usual penalty to owners of forfeit for failure to repair within one year. And three years later another step is taken, for in the charter changing the name of the town they obtained a grant of two fairs annually, each of six days.<sup>3</sup> In 1510 they had been involved in a suit with the burgesses of Cambridge 'for the toll of Sturbridge Fair'; it may well be—we have no direct information on the point—that they lost, and so seized the opportunity when obtaining new privileges from the King to set up their own fairs and so be more independent of the Sturbridge Fair. But they were not allowed to enjoy the privilege long. The holders of existing fairs, notably Ely and Sturbridge, objected to this intrusion on their preserves, and the year 1541 saw an Act<sup>4</sup> revoking the grant passed, 'as the burgesses and inhabitants of King's Lynn and the people dwelling there nigh have . . . made, regrated and gotten into their hands and possession a great number of saltfish as ling, loob, cod, salt salmon, stockfish and herring to the great hindrance and loss of the King's subjects that have yearly repaired to Sturbridge Fair, Ely Fair, and other fairs or markets in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon and other shires for provision of salt-fish and herring for their households.' The loss, one imagines, would be less to the King's subjects attending than to those holding the fairs, but the wording of the Act is thoroughly in keeping with the legislation of the time. The deprivation of the fairs was naturally enough disliked in Lynn, and six years later an agreement<sup>5</sup> was arrived at between the mayor and burgesses of Lynn

<sup>1</sup> *L. and P.* iii (ii) 2823; iv (i) 58, 281, 961, 975; xiv. 655; xvi. 786; xvii. 786; xviii. 90, 147, 241; xix (i) 140, 274, 353, 927, (ii) 35, 253, 502; xx (i) 139, 294, 557 (p. 268), 397.

<sup>2</sup> 26 Henry VIII, c. 9; being passed on petition of the borough authorities, the Act was more likely to fulfil its object than the general Acts of the same nature passed in this reign; it is perhaps significant that in these later Acts Lynn is omitted, though in one (32 Henry VIII, c. 18) both Hull and Yarmouth are said to be decayed.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 207; they apparently had one fair already.

<sup>4</sup> Stat. 33 Henry VIII, c. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 246.

and of Cambridge respecting the charges levied on traders from Lynn at Sturbridge Fair, probably the end of a continuous if subdued effort on the part of the coast town to regain its short-lived rights.

Lynn was primarily a port, and we do not hear much of any industries in the borough. There was some cloth made in the town—some of Wolsey's household cloth came from there—but the craft of clothiers cannot have had many members in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1523-4 an Act<sup>1</sup> was passed making the cloth-makers of Yarmouth more independent of the Norwich clothiers, giving them a seal and authority to 'search' cloth in the town. It also lays down that 'when the town of Lynn shall be inhabited with ten sturdy householders using the said craft, then and so long as it is so' they may enjoy the same privileges as their fellow-workers in Yarmouth; when they have less than ten (apparently the case at the time) the worsted manufacture in Lynn is to be controlled from Norwich as before. This Act was to endure until the next Parliament. So in 1535<sup>2</sup> the Act is recited and made perpetual, as 'it is good and necessary for the true making of worsted . . . and very commodious for the said towns of Lynn and Yarmouth'. The conditional clauses regarding Lynn are still, however, inserted, and there is no evidence that the town had as yet its 'ten sturdy householders' making worsted.

Finally a word must be said as to the town and the religious movements of the period. It was of course in the English sea-ports, and especially in those nearest to the Netherlands, that the influence of the movements there and in Germany was strongest. It was from Norfolk too that Bishop Nix wrote his well-known letter<sup>3</sup> complaining how his diocese was 'accombred with such as keepeth and readeth erroneous books in English', of which Lynn would undoubtedly have its share. In 1528, two years before the Bishop's letter, a certain Robert Necton confessed to having taken New Testaments to Lynn. It was to Lynn also that William Roy, author of the satire against Wolsey, fled to take ship out of reach of the Cardinal's wrath.<sup>4</sup> The chronicler illustrates the knowledge of and interest in the Reformation movement. His first entry about Luther is not found in any of the other contemporary English chronicles; his references to Tyndale—'the' learned man as he calls him—to Barnes, Frith, and others such as Hunne and Tracy, show, when the brevity of the chronicle is considered, great interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 14 & 15 Henry VIII, c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. 26 Henry VIII, c. 16.

<sup>3</sup> May 14, 1530; Strype's *Cranmer*, ii. 694.

<sup>4</sup> *L. and P.* iv (ii), 4030; iii. 5667.

fortunes of the movement. And although his use of the title 'Bishop of Rome' is natural, considering the date at which he wrote, his opinions may perhaps be surmised from the phrase 'as they say', which he tacks on to the account of the burning of a heretic (1534), as if he himself were not so convinced of the justice of the verdict. In 1538 he uses the phrase 'idolatry forbidden'; but as Fabyan's continuer uses the same phrase, it probably comes from there, with how much genuineness on the Lynn chronicler's part we cannot say.

Here this account of Lynn in the period covered by the chronicle, and of the chronicle itself, must close. It may seem that with its brevity, its many errors, its scanty information even for local affairs, the chronicle is scarce worth the attention here bestowed upon it. The justification lies in the comparative rarity of such a record at this period, which gives it a place in a volume concerned with chronicles not only of London but of English towns in general, and also in the fact that despite the mediaeval importance of Lynn, the mantle of royal beneficence has somewhat too much obscured the less noticeable but not less important changes of garb whereby Lynn of the Bishop became Lynn of the King.

## LIST OF CHRONICLES OF LONDON

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Date.</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Publication or Description.</i>
1. <i>Liber de Antiquis Legibus</i> (MS. Guildhall).	1274.	ed. T. Stapleton, Cam. Soc., 1846. <sup>2</sup>
2. <i>Annales Londonienses</i> (MS. Add. 5444, Brit. Mus.).	1195-1329.	ed. W. Stubbs, <i>Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II</i> , R. S., 1882, vol. i.
3. <i>Croniques de Londres</i> (MS. Cotton Cleopatra A. VI, fo. 54 seq., Brit. Mus.).	1260-1345.	ed. G. J. Aungier, Cam. Soc., 1844.
4. <i>MS. Bodley 596.</i>	1413, 1422, 1474.	See herein, p. 10, and <i>note</i> .
5. <i>MS. St. John's College</i> (Oxford) lvii.	1432.	See herein, pp. 60-2.
6. <i>MS. of Marquis of Bath</i> (Longleat).	1432.	Herein, pp. 57-60, 99-101.
7. <i>MS. Cotton Julius B. II</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1435.	ed. C. L. Kingsford, <i>Chronicles of London</i> , 1-116.
8. <i>MS.</i> (late of) <i>W. Bromley Davenport, Esq.</i> (Baginton Hall, Worc.).	1437, 1512.	See <i>Hist. MSS. Comm.</i> , Rep. II, App. 80.
9. <i>MS. Cotton Vitellius F. IX</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1439.	See Kingsford, <i>op. cit.</i> , xiii-xiv.
10. <i>MS. Cotton Vitellius A. XVI</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1440, 1496, 1503, 1509.	<i>ibid.</i> , xv-xviii, 154-279.
11. <i>MS. of Sir Matthew Wilson</i> (Eshton Hall, Yorks.).	1219-1440, 1565.	See <i>Hist. MSS. Comm.</i> , Rep. III, App. 229.
12. <i>MS. Harley 565</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1443.	ed. Nicolas and Tyrell, <i>A Chronicle of London</i> , 1827.
13. <i>MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. IV</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1415-1443.	ed. Kingsford, <i>op. cit.</i> , ix-x, 117-52.
13 a. <i>MS. Harley 540</i> (Brit. Mus.) ff. 40-5.	1421-47. <sup>3</sup>	
14. <i>MS. Arundel XIX</i> (College of Arms).	1451, 1475, 1522.	See <i>Grey Friars Chronicle</i> , ed. J. G. Nichols, Cam. Soc., 1853, vi-vii.

<sup>1</sup> The date given is that at which the chronicle ends, and does not, of course, necessarily imply that the work was written or even originally ended at that date; where several distinct hands have contributed to a chronicle the various dates at which each portion breaks off are noted. Unless the year of commencement is given the chronicle begins in 1189; indeed all those chronicles of London which at present begin later than that year are imperfect, and almost certainly followed the general rule in their original form.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, together with the *Croniques de Londres*, has been translated by H. T. Riley, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kingsford tells me that this chronicle resembles the 'F' continuation of the *Brut* chronicle, printed by F. W. D. Brie, E.E.T.S., 1908.

Title.	Date.	Publication or Description.
15. <i>MS. Rawlinson B. 355</i> (Bodleian).	1214-1459.	Herein, pp. 62-6, 101-13.
16. <i>MS. E. 5. 9</i> (Trin. Coll., Dublin).	1461.	Herein, pp. 66-74, 114-53.
17. <i>MS. Harley, Roll C. 8</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1463.	See Stow's <i>Survey of London</i> , ed. Kingsford, i. xxxiv, xcii; ii. 382.
18. <i>A Short English Chronicle</i> ( <i>MS. Lambeth 306</i> ).	1465.	ed. J. Gairdner, <i>Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles</i> , Cam. Soc., 1880.
19. <i>Gregory's Chronicle</i> ( <i>MS. Egerion 1995</i> , Brit. Mus.).	1469.	ed. J. Gairdner, <i>Collections of a London Citizen</i> , Cam. Soc., 1876.
20. <i>MS. Gough London 10</i> (Bodleian).	1470, 1495.	Herein, pp. 74-81, 153-66.
21. <i>MS. Harley 541, ff. 215-9</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1482, 1498.	See C. L. Kingsford, <i>Chron. of Lond.</i> , xxi. 321, and Busch, <i>England under the Tudors</i> , i. 415.
22. <i>MS. Cotton Julius B. I</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1483.	See <i>Chronicle of London</i> , ed. Nicolas and Tyrell, <i>passim</i> ; Gairdner, <i>Collections of a London Citizen</i> , 258-62; Kingsford, <i>Chron. of Lond.</i> , xiii-xv. 279-88.
23. <i>Fabyan's Chronicle.</i>	1485, 1509, 1541, 1558.	Pr. 1516, 1533, 1542, 1558, 1811; cf. above, pp. 38-40.
24. <i>Arnold's Chronicle.</i>	1501, 1519.	<i>Customs of London</i> (ed. 1502, 1520, 1811), init.
25. <i>MS. Tanner 2</i> (Bodleian).	1513, 1524.	Herein, pp. 81-4, 166-84.
26. <i>MS. Lambeth 306.</i>	1468-1524.	See Gairdner, <i>Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles</i> , 92-3.
27. <i>MS. Balliol College 354</i> (Oxford).	1431-1536.	ed. R. Dyboski, <i>Songs, Carols, &amp;c.</i> , E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser., 1907, App. 142-65.
28. <i>A Short Cronycle</i> . <sup>1</sup>	1539, 1542.	Pr. John Byddell. See above, p. 51.
29. <i>MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xxv, ff. 38-46</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1500-45.	ed. C. Hopper, <i>Cam. Soc. Misc.</i> , iv, 1859, 1-18.
30. <i>A Cronicle of Yeres</i> . <sup>2</sup>	1543, 1544, 1551, 1557.	Pr. Thomas Petyt.
31. <i>MS. Harley 540</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1485-1555.	See Stow's <i>Survey</i> , ed. Kingsford, i. lxxxix; ii. 295, 352, 370.

<sup>1</sup> *A Short Cronycle, wherein is mentioned all the names of all the Kings of England, of the Mayors and Sheriffs of the Cytye of London; and of divers and other notable Actes and Things done, in and sith the Time of King Henry the fourth.* A third edition without date was also printed.

<sup>2</sup> *A Cronicle of Yeres, from the begynnynge of the Worlde, wherein ye shal fynd the names of all the kynges of Englande, of the Mayers and Shyreffes of pe Cyte of London and bryefly of many notable Actes done in and syth the Reygn of Kyng Henry the fourth.*

Title.	Date.	Publication or Description.
32. <i>The Grey Friars Chronicle</i> ( <i>MS. Cotton Vit. F. XII</i> , Brit. Mus.).	1556.	ed. J. G. Nichols, Cam. Soc., 1853; also by J. S. Brewer, <i>Monumenta Franciscana</i> , R. S., ii. 1882.
33. <i>Wriothesley's Chronicle.</i>	1558.	ed. W. D. Hamilton, Cam. Soc., 2 vols., 1875-7.
34. <i>MS. Harley 530</i> (Brit. Mus.).	1547-64.	Camden Miscellany. <sup>1</sup>
35. <i>Stow's Summarie of Eng- lyshe Chronicles.</i>		Editions, 1565, 1566, 1570, 1574, 1575, 1590, 1607, 1611, 1618.
36. <i>Stow's Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles abridged.</i>		Editions, 1566, 1567, 1573, 1584, 1587, 1598, 1604.
37. <i>Stow's Chronicles of Eng- land.</i>	1580.	See above, p.52.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kingsford, who has told me of this chronicle, informs me that he is about to print it, along with part of *MS. Harley 540*, in the Camden Miscellany.

MS. OF THE MARQUIS OF BATH  
(LONGLEAT)

Thomas Knolles	Willelmus Waldorn	} anno primo	fo. 55
	Willelmus Hyde		1399-
			1400

In the same yere after that kyng Richard hadde resigned in the Toure of London ffro thense he was ledde unto the castell of Leedys in Kent. And there he abood a while and ffro thense he was leed to the castell of pountfret in the northe countre and soon aftir he came thethir he dyed: and whan the kyng wyst that he was deed he lett ordyne a lyttir and clothed fo. 55<sup>v</sup> his body in a cheste and he was bawmid and servyd in lynnyn clothe with his vysage lyeing opene. And soo brought to London w<sup>t</sup> torche light byrnyng as ought to his astate unto seynt poules and there his enterment was holdyn w<sup>t</sup> alle the solempnyte of servis that myght be doon. And ffro seynt poules he was brought into the abbey of Westminster and ther he had his deryges and masses w<sup>t</sup> great solempnyte. And ffro Westmynster he was caaryed to the ffreares of langlee. And ther hee was buryd.

Johannes Walcote	Ricardus Merlowe	} anno quarto	fo. 57
	Robertus Chichele		1402-3

In the same yere came the Emperoure of Constantynoble withe meny lordes and knyghtes in to England. And the king recevyd hyme and his lordes right worthely and here he and all his many laie at the kynges costes. And in the same yere came dame Jane Duchesse of Bryteigne into England, and landyd at ffalmouthe in Cornewall. And she was brought to the citee of Wynchestre.

And ffourthe witte she was weddyd ther unto kyng henry in fo. 57<sup>v</sup> the abbey of seynt Roeethynes<sup>1</sup> in Wynchestre: and ffro thense

<sup>1</sup> ? St. Swithin's.

she was brought to London. And there the maire and the aldermen recevyd her in the mooste worthie wyse that they coulede: and roode w<sup>t</sup> hir through London to Westminster: and there she was crownd quene<sup>1</sup> and there the kynge made a solemp ffeast in the worshipec of hir and all the straungers that came withe hir.

. . . . .

1404-5

Johannes Hende      Willelmus Louthe } anno sexto.  
    Stephanus Spelman }

In the same yere Sir Richard Scrope Archibishope of Yorke and the lorde Mowbrey Marshall of Englande aysen in the northe countrie and gatherd a greet noumbr of pepull ayenste the king. And the king knowing hereof ordynyd his hooste and went northe ward in all the hast that he myght and mette  
 fo. 56<sup>v</sup> w<sup>t</sup> hym at yorke. And there were thies too lordes take and brought to the kyng and there juggement was gevyn that bothe there heedes shoulde be smytten of by cause of there untrow cause that they purposyd them on.<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .

fo. 67

1421-2

And in the same yere the xxix<sup>th</sup> daye of auguste<sup>3</sup> dyed kyng henry the ffyfte in the Citie of Parres. And ffrome thence w<sup>t</sup> all servis belongyng unto hyme through evirry goode citie and towne he was brought unto Caleys and soo brought into England. And a gaynst his commyng to London the mair and the aldermen and the most partie of all the comones clothed all in blake mett w<sup>t</sup> hyme upon the blake heethe and in Southwark ther cam all the religioes with ther crosses and brought his boddie unto seynt poules. And ther he had such solempnyte servis as belongyd to his astate and fro thence all the citee w<sup>t</sup> ryght hevye hartes went upon ffoot to Westminster w<sup>t</sup> his boddye and there

fo. 67<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The coronation took place on the 26th of February; cf. *Annales Ric. II et Hen. IV.*, R. S., 1866, 350; Walsingham, ii. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Julius B. II*, 64, merely says (its sole entry for the year) 'In this same year Sir Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, and the Earl Marshal were beheaded a little out of York on Whitsun Monday.'

<sup>3</sup> Henry really died two days later; *Julius B. II* has a notice of his burial in a<sup>o</sup> i Henry VI, and the *Longleat MS.* has an identical, i. e. second entry concerning the same event, presumably showing the use by its original of more than one chronicle.



he was beryed bisydes seynt Edwards shryne the vij day of November in the year of our lorde gode (M<sup>1</sup>) CCCC xxij. Of whose soule Jesu ffor his pittye have mercye and grace.

## MS. RAWLINSON B. 355

Robertus Large Philippus Malpas } a<sup>o</sup> xvij<sup>o</sup>  
 Robertus Marshall }

fo. 107  
 1439-40

In isto anno in die sancti botulphi<sup>2</sup> ante festum nativitatis baptistae quidam dominus Ricardus Wyche<sup>3</sup> vicarius de hermettiseworthe fuit degradatus apud sanctum paulum et combustus apud turrim londonii propter suam heresiam. In quo loco homines et mulieres de londonio in maxima multitudine reputantes ipsum martyrem sanctum erexerunt crucem et coeperunt offerre ibi argentum et ymagines de cera quousque per fo. 107<sup>v</sup> mandatum regium maior civitatis cum vicecomitibus et manu forti fugaverunt populum et cum fumo<sup>4</sup> animalium deturpaverunt locum ne ibi ulterius fieret ydolatria.

Et isto anno primo die Septembris Philippus Malpace et Thomas<sup>5</sup> Marshall vicecomites londonii cum suis officariis venerunt ad Sanctum Martinum-le-Grant et extraxerunt a sanctuario V personas videlicet Johannem Knyght, Christopherum Blakbone, Johannem Reede, Ricardum Morice, et Willelmum Janyver et ligatos compedibus duxerunt eos ad gaulam suam. Qui postea iusticia suadente restituti fuerunt ad sanctuarium per mandatum regis et decreto iusticiariorum suorum ultimo die Octobris a<sup>o</sup> MCCCCXL.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the text.

<sup>2</sup> June 17th; Day of Nativity of John the Baptist, 24th of June.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Amundesham, *Annales* (Rolls Series), i. 64. Stow, *Summary* (1575), 361, tells how the Vicar of Barlings had made profit by mixing powdered spices with ashes and strewing the compound in the place of the burning, so deceiving the people and enriching himself by their offerings; this accounts for the remedy adopted by the city officials.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic* MS; it should be *fimo*, dung.

<sup>5</sup> A slip for Robert as given above.

<sup>6</sup> Fabyan, 613, has a similar entry for this year, though he omits the names of those 'sette out' of sanctuary. Like this chronicle he assigns no cause for the action of the sheriffs. The other chroniclers do not record it.

1440-1

Johannes Paddisley Johannes Sutton } a<sup>o</sup> xix<sup>o</sup>  
 Willelmus Wetenhale }

In isto anno in mense Augusti domina Alianora Cobham ducissa gloucestrie fuit arestata pro coniecturacione mortis regis. Et eadem de causa attachiati fuerunt magister Thomas Southwell canonicus Westmonasterii<sup>1</sup> magister Rogerus Bultynbroke clericus deditus nigromantie cum Margeria Jurdemayne nigromantica de Eye. Que quidem Alianora adiudicata et dampnata pro heretica et nigromantica posita fuit ad perpetuos carceres in Insula de Manne sub custodia domini Thome Stanley Regis eiusdem insule. Et magister Thomas Southwell per dolorem moriebatur in turri londonii.<sup>2</sup> Rogerus bultynbroke fuit tractus suspensus et quarteriusatus<sup>3</sup> sed Margeria Jurdemayn fuit combusta in Smythfeld non sine causa.

fo. 108

Et etiam isto anno ultimo die Augusti noctus tempore magna fuit guerra in fletestrete inter causidicos et londonienses cum sagittis et sicut in terra guerrae ubi plures ex utraque parte fuerunt occisi et mutilati. Et principalis causa istius dampni fuit quidam ingraciosus vocatus Willelmus Harebotell unus socius causidicorum.

1441-2

Robertus Clopton Willelmus Combys } a<sup>o</sup> xx<sup>o</sup>  
 Ricardus Ryche }

1442-3

Johannes Addysley Thomas Bemond } a<sup>o</sup> xxi<sup>o</sup>  
 Ricardus Nordon }

In isto anno apud Bakwell halle<sup>4</sup> in londonio quidam laborarius frangendo parietem lapideum invenit in thesauro argenteo ibidem abscondito superscriptionis et ymaginis incognite CC. et XIX li.

<sup>1</sup> 'Canon of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster,' Stow and Fabyan; cf. W. Worcester, *Annales (Letters and Papers of the War with France*, ed. Stevenson, R. S., ii), 762-3.

<sup>2</sup> Died in the Tower for sorowe,' *Gregory's Chronicle*, 185.

<sup>3</sup> This is placed in the following year by Bale, *A Short English Chronicle*, and Stow, who gives the date 18th of November for the execution. The account of the riot is also placed in the 20th year by Fabyan, 616; he says 'the chief occasioner' Herbotell was of Clifford's Inn. *Vitellius A. XVI* mentions it a<sup>o</sup> 19, and then adds a short notice in the next year.

<sup>4</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, 184, says 'in a wall in the Guildhall'; so also does Bale.

Thomas Catworthe Johannes Norman } a<sup>o</sup> xxij<sup>o</sup>  
 Nicholas Wyfolde }

1443-4

In isto anno ordinatum fuit et preceptum quod die dominica victualia non venderentur nec aliqua alia mercimonia.<sup>1</sup> Et isto anno equitacio vicecomitum ab antiquo honorabiliter usitata fuit destructa.<sup>2</sup>

Henricus ffrowyk Stephanus fforster } a<sup>o</sup> xxii<sup>o</sup>  
 Hugo Wyche }

1444-5

In isto anno post festum omnium sanctorum dominus Willelmus de Pole Comes Suffolchie transfretavit pro domina Margareta filia regis Cicilie maritanda regi Anglie que portum applicuit apud Portismowthe in die sabbati post nonam.<sup>3</sup> Et die Jovis proximo sequenti desponsata fuit regi henrico sexto in loco religioso vocato Tychefeld non longe a Sowthampton. Et in crastinum solempnitatis corporis christi<sup>4</sup> venit ad turrim londonii. Cui obviam devenerunt maior cum civibus londonii apud Blakheth cum solempni apparatu conducentes eam ad turrim praedictam. Et in crastinum a praedicta turri londonii fo. 108<sup>v</sup> venit per civitatem londonii cum maximo honore et sic ad Westmonasterium. Ubi in crastinum fuit coronata domina regni tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus et communibus cum maxima solempnitate et cum tanta quanta non fuit visa per antea. Et isto anno in vigilia purificationis sancte marie post nonam horam vesperarum magna fuit tempestas tonitruum et fulguris choru-scantis in qua campanile sancti pauli ignitum sed miraculose cum

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan adds 'which ordinance held but a while'.

<sup>2</sup> It looks as if the writer had confused the sheriffdom of Norman with his mayoralty. It was as mayor in 1453 that John Norman changed the practice of riding on horseback to take oath before the King at Westminster to a journey by barge. From the way in which this chronicler records this change (a<sup>o</sup> 32, p. 108) it would appear that he disapproved of the change being made on the mayor's own initiative. Fabyan (628) has the same tone. Bale, on the other hand, says it was done 'by the desire and consent of the aldermen'; cf. also *Vitellius A. XVI*, 164. The city records tell us that the change was made in response to a petition of the commonalty, who, despite the objections of the Chancellor and the Duke of Somerset, were insistent on the change being made (J. E. Price, *Descriptive Account of the Guildhall*, 1886, p. 160).

<sup>3</sup> There was, however, an interval of five months between the departure of the Duke of Suffolk in November, 1446, and Margaret's landing in April, 1447.

<sup>4</sup> 28th of May; Fabyan, 617, says the 18th of May, probably a slip for 28th. She was crowned on the 30th of May, according to *A Short English Chronicle* and Stow.

ministerio laborioso hominum ante horam noctis decimam fuit totaliter subventum et extinctum. Similiter eodem tempore campanile de Kynggeston<sup>1</sup> eodem modo ignitum in magnum dampnum eiusdem ecclesie.

1445-6

Symon Eyre Johannes Derby }<sup>a° xxiiij°</sup>  
Galfridus Geldyng }

In isto anno inceptum fuit novum opus apud ledynhall per expensa praedicti Symonis Eyre.<sup>2</sup>

1446-7

Johannes Olney Galfridus Boleyn }<sup>a° xxv°</sup>  
Robertus Horn }

humfre-  
dus<sup>4</sup>

fo. 109

In isto anno x die februaryi parliamentum fuit inceptum apud Bery ubi communes circa custodiam regis tantis vigiliis et esurie ac frigore opprimebantur quod multi eorum moriebantur quod dolendum est.<sup>3</sup> Et ibidem (humfredus<sup>4</sup>) venerabilis dux Gloucestrie regis avunculus vitam suam finivit.<sup>5</sup> Et apud monasterium sancti albanii honorifice est tumulatus, cuius anima propicietur altissimus. Et isto anno obiit venerabilis amicus regis et regni henricus cardinalis et episcopus Wintonensis.<sup>6</sup> Et cito post proclamatus est dux Gloucestrie traditor regis et servientes ac sui dilectores fuerunt arestati et missi londonium et in diversos carceres videlicet lord Thomas<sup>7</sup> Chamberlayn miles et filius bastardus domini ducis Arteys dictus Harberd, Middelton et Nedam et postea fuerunt iudicati. Qui omnes fuerunt et suspensi apud Tybourne. Et cum essent quarteriusandi carta domini regis vita fuit eis concessa.<sup>8</sup> Et isto anno ultimo die Januarii quidam Johannes Davy pusillus statura appellavit Thomam<sup>9</sup> Katoure armarium de fletestrete quod

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for Kingston, W. Worcester, *Annales*, 765.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), i. 153-4: 'Simon Eyre, citizen of London, among other his workes of pietie, effectually determined to erect and build a certaine Granarie upon the soile of the same Citie at Leaden Hall of his oune charges, for the comon utilitie of the saide Citie to the amplifying and inlarging of the sayde granarie. . . . He buildded it of square stone in forme as now it sheweth, with a fayre and large chappell in the east side of the quadrant.' He died December 18, 1459, leaving numerous bequests to the city, which Stow details.

<sup>3</sup> Stow, *Annals*, 626, tells how 'all the waies about the said toun were kept with armed men both day and night so that many died with cold and waking'.

<sup>4</sup> Inserted by a later hand.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Cardinal Beaufort died April 11, 1447.

<sup>7</sup> Roger.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bale, below, p. 122, for a fuller account of this.

<sup>9</sup> Stow (*Survey*, ii. 32) and *Harley 565* (ed. Nicholas and Tyrell) give

ymaginavisset mortem regis. Et cum venissent in Smythfeld ad duellum contigit quod appellans vicit ibidem defendentem et occidit eum.

Johannes Gedney	Willelmus Abraham } Thomas Scott }	a <sup>o</sup> xxvi <sup>o</sup>	1447-8
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In isto anno in crastinum pasche fuit fluvius lunaris in tanto excessu quod litus Thamisie erga depfordstronde cum pratis et domibus cum capella absorpta sunt sine spe recuperandi.<sup>1</sup>

Stephanus Broun	Willelmus Cantelowe } Willelmus Marowe }	a <sup>o</sup> xxvij <sup>o</sup>	1448-9
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Thomas Chalton	Thomas Canyng } Willelmus Hulyn }	a <sup>o</sup> xxviii <sup>o</sup>	1449-50
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In isto anno ad festum omnium sanctorum<sup>2</sup> ordinatum fuit quod parliamentum teneretur in turri londonii sed consilio mutato inceptum fuit ad fratres praedicatores infra ludgate et abhinc continuatum usque Westmonasterium. Et post festum natiuitatis domini prorogatum fuit ad leycestre. Et isto anno in crastinum epiphanie episcopus cicestrensis transiit cum suis ad poortisdowne<sup>3</sup> ad recensendos soldarios et ibidem a nautis interceptus fuit. Et etiam parlamento existente apud leycestre Dominus Willelmus de Pole dux Suffolchie exosus tam dominis quam communibus regni fugam iniit per mare. Sed nutu dei captus fuit et in nave vocato Nicholas of the tour capite truncatus primo die maii. Cuius caput et corpus posita fuerunt super Dovir sonds. Et non multo post homines de cantia insurrexerunt et in festo Corporis Christi convenerunt ad blakheth. Quorum capitaneus fuit Johannes Cade. Et vocaverunt petitores et non insurrectores se ipsos eo quod diversas petitiones a rege voluissent sibi concedi. Et iii die Julii idem capitaneus cum manu forti intravit londonium<sup>4</sup> et ibi apud le Standard fecit

'William' Catur; *Julius B. I*, 135, 'this year the bataile betwene the armerer and his man'; cf. Bale's account, and Nicholas, *Privy Council*, vi. 55-9.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bale, below, p. 123; *A Short English Chronicle*, 66, 'Water brake in oute of Temmes besyde Lyme and in an other place in Temmes and dide much harm'; *Julius B. I*, 135, records 'grete fiodes' which 'drowned Stebenhith marsh, Rayneham and other lowe places'.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament began to sit November 6th; *Vitellius*, 158, records its movements.

<sup>3</sup> Portsmouth; he was slain January 9, 1450.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Worcester, 768, 'iii die Julii vi et armis London ingreditur.'

dominum Say decapitari corpusque eius trahi violenter per vicum de Chepe. Et eciam apud eundem locum fecit decapitari Crowmer armigerum de cancia. Et apud le Mileende fecit decapitari quendam vocatum Bayly. Et ad tabardum in Suthwerk fecit decapitari Ricardum Haywarden qui venit ad ipsum de sanctuario sancti Martini le graunt. Et alium eciam vocatum Mayne . . .<sup>1</sup> de Essex iussit decapitari. Et iste capitaneus spoliavit Geste et Malpas cum aliis divitibus civitatis. Quapropter londonienses secundum consilium et adiutorium domini de Scales et aliorum insurrexerunt contra ipsum et Hulyn unus vicecomitum cum suis expulsi eum extra civitatem claudendo portas pontis. Et nocte sequenti londonienses exierunt contra ipsum et totam noctem pugnaverunt adinvicem et multi fuerunt occisi ex utraque parte cum uno armigero vocato ab omnibus Mathew Goghe et uno aldermanno Suttone.

fo. 110

1450-51

Nicholas Wyfold	Willelmus Dere	}	a° xxix°
	Johannes Middelton		

In isto anno rege existente apud Westmonasterium venerunt ad ipsum cum magna potestate dux Eboraci qui dominus antea fuisset in hibernia et dux Northfolchie et comes de Devenshire cum aliis dominis et familiis cum soldariis quampluribus qui expulsi fuerant a normandia conclamantes regi de traditione vendicionis normandie et burdeux.<sup>2</sup> Et post nonam dicti soldarii consilium fecerunt in unum et in crastinum insimul transierunt ad fratres praedicatores iuxta ludgate et despoliaverunt bona ducis Somersete volentes unanimiter ipsum interficere sed dux Eboraci et Comes de Devynschyre eripuerunt eum de manibus eorum quia nondum venerat eius hora sed ad sanctum albanum reservata.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note on Bale's chronicle, below, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Fabyan, 626, mentions that there was 'much people in the city by reason of the Parliament and specially of lords' servants, which were awaiting on their lords in great multitude'.

<sup>3</sup> The spoiling of the Duke of Somerset's goods took place December 1, 1451; next day proclamation was made against robbery and acts of violence, and a man was executed at the Standard in Cheapside on the same day for riot; Stow, *Annals*, 638; *Gregory's Chronicle*, 196.

No other chronicler ascribes the escape of the Duke of Somerset to his rival; Wm. Worcester, *Annales*, 769 (followed by Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, 11, 120), says he escaped in the barge of the Earl of Devonshire; Bale (below, p. 137) says the city authorities aided his escape. As the chronicle

Willelmus Gregory Mathew Philip } a<sup>o</sup> xxx<sup>o</sup> 1451-2  
 Cristoferus Warle }

In isto anno ad instigacionem ducis Somersete rex cum suis dominis equitavit ad obviandum duci Eboraci proponens ei malum sed per aliam viam dux Eboraci comes de Devynschyre et dominus de Cobham venientes a Wallia venerunt per pontem de Kyngeston cum suo exercitu ad villam de Depford<sup>1</sup> et ibi campestravit. Rex vero cum suis dominis et suo exercitu adversus eum requievit apud le blaketh. Sed mediantibus comite Warwici, comite Sarum, episcopo Elyensis cum aliis nulla erat pugna. Quia dux affirmavit se illuc venisse non contra suum regem nec intentione aliqua contra ipsum rebellandi sed pro fo. 110<sup>v</sup> salua custodia proprie sue persone quam dux Somersete nitebatur destruere.<sup>2</sup> Et tunc mediacione dominorum pace habita rex cum duce Eboraci et aliis dominis venit londonium ad sanctum paulum.

Galfridus ffeldyng Ricardus Lee } a<sup>o</sup> xxxi<sup>o</sup> 1452-3  
 Ricardus Alley }

In isto anno rex secundum consilium ducis Somersete equitavit ad diversas villas domini ducis Eboraci ubi tenentes eiusdem compulsi fuerunt venire nudi cum cordis suffocatoriis circa colla eorum in maximo gelu et nive ad submittendum seipsos regie gracie pro eo quod fuerunt cum domino suo prae antea contra ducem Somersete cuius hora nondum venerat. Et rege eis pardonante idem dux iussit eos suspendi.<sup>3</sup> Et isto anno in festo sancti bartholemei apud clerkynwell tempore (feriarum<sup>4</sup>) quidam vocatus Cayles causator fuit scismatis inter maiorem londonii cum civibus eiusdem et inhabitantes prioratus sancti Johannis de Clerkynwell. De quibus diversi fuerunt occisi.

here printed is somewhat violently Yorkist, its statement must be received with caution.

<sup>1</sup> Really to Brent Heath 'a mile from Dertford', Hall; 'near unto Dertford,' Stow, who also gives the Bishop of Winchester as one of the mediators in place of the Bishop of Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of the Duke of York to the King, printed in Stow, *Annals*, 641-3; the procession took place March 10, 1452; *ibid.* 644.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Intro.*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> This (or some similar word) is omitted. We learn from Bale that the disturbance occurred at the wrestling; Stow inserts an account of the riot in *Vitellius A. XVI*, 164, *note*.

This chronicle omits all mention of the birth of Prince Edward, which occurred this year and is recorded by all the other chroniclers.

1453-4

Johannes Norman } Johannes Walden } a<sup>o</sup> xxxij<sup>o</sup>  
 Thomas Cook }

In isto anno honorabilis equitacio civium de londonio per dominum maiorem fuit destructa et per ipsum ordinatum fuit navigacio pro equitacione in die sui iuramenti a londonio usque Westmonasterium.<sup>1</sup> Et in isto anno in principio quadragesimae fuit horribilis ignis<sup>2</sup> a cornerio de la oold bayly usque ad ludgate. Per quem ignem unus cum sua uxore et pueris ac servientibus omnes fuerunt combusti et in nichilum redacti.

fo. 111  
1454-5

Stephanus ffoster } Willelmus Taylor } a<sup>o</sup> xxxiiij<sup>o</sup>  
 Johannes Felde }

In isto anno post festum nativitatis domini rex de sua infirmitate convaluit et tunc dux Eboraci qui fuit ordinatus protector anglie fuit disoneratus. Et incontinenter dux Somersete eductus fuit de carcere qui prius fuit arestatus in turri londonii. Et factus est capitalis inimicus duci Eboraci incitans celsitudinem regiam contra ducem Eboraci comitem Sarum et comitem Warwici redens illis malum pro bono. Et postea in ebdomada ante festum pentecostes<sup>3</sup> rex per consilium ducis Somersete praedicti cum magno exercitu transivit a Westmonasterio versus sanctum albanum contra praedictos tres dominos. Et cum venissent ad villam sancti albani dux Somersete nesciens quod iam venisset hora eius vallavit totam villam manu forti ne praedicti tres domini attingerent ad presenciam regiam. Sed viriliter introitum fecerunt animose certantes et plures occidentes.<sup>4</sup> In quo certamine idem dux Somersete occisus fuit quia venerat hora eius cum comite northumberlond domino de Clifford et domino Bertrando Nanutvesell<sup>5</sup> milite et pluribus aliis. Et intrantes ad regem saluum illum reducerunt londonium ad palacium episcopi. Et in die pentecostes sequenti rex coronatus processit in processione in ecclesiam sancti pauli in gaudium et letitiam populo suo.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 102, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Only in Stow's *Summary*, 373, do we find other record of this. According to the account there given, a cordwainer, his wife, three young men and a maid were all burnt, and the prisoners in Ludgate had to be moved to Newgate from fear of suffocation.

<sup>3</sup> Henry left London on the 21st of May.

<sup>4</sup> Whethamstede, i. 175, records the 'permulta cadavera occisorum' lying in the streets of St. Albans after the battle.

<sup>5</sup> 'Barton Entwesell', in Stow's list of about fifty killed in the battle, *Annals*, 651-2; Holinshed terms him 'Sir Barthram Antwisell knight, a Norman borne'.



Tunc rex cum consilio dominorum suorum constituit parliamentum quod inceptum fuit ad festum translacionis sancti thome martyris.<sup>1</sup> Et in isto parlamento dux Gloucestrie fuit proclamatus legius verus miles regis et sic fuit proclamatus in omnibus civitatibus et villis nundinalibus per totam angliam. Et tunc parliamentum fuit continuatum et prorogatum usque ad festum sancti martini in mense novembri. Et in isto parlamento omnia acta ad sanctum albanum per tres dominos praedictos fuerunt allocata et confirmata pro bono regis et regni. Et isto anno londonienses insurrexerunt contra latrones existentes in sanctuario sancti martini.<sup>2</sup> Qui resistentes totam noctem pugnaverunt usque in crastinum et occiderunt duos homines de londoniensibus et unus ex parte latronum fuit interfectus cui nomen fuit Pope serviens cuiusdam merceri. Et in crastinum se ipsos reddiderunt et ducti sunt in carcerem cum capitaneo eorum vocato Caylis. Et in isto anno fuit magna guerra inter comitem Sarum et dominum de Egremownd filium comitis northumberland. Sed filius comitis Sarum cepit eundem Egremond in bello et tradidit eum duci Eboraci. Qui perduxit eum londonium et commisit eum cum fratre suo in carcerem de newgate in londonio pro suis malefactis.

Willelmus Marrow } Johannes Yeng } a<sup>o</sup> xxxiiii<sup>o</sup> 1455-6  
 Thomas Holgrave }

In isto anno comes de Devynschyre et dominus de Bonevyle a diu inimici iuxta Excestre obviam ierunt et pugnaverunt adinvicem.<sup>3</sup> Sed dominus de Bonevyle fugit ad cancellarium anglie. Et rex misit ducem Eboraci pro comite de Devynschyre. Qui ante festum nativitatis domini equitavit pro eo expectans illum apud Schaftisbury. Et mittens pro eo venit cum filio suo sub-

<sup>1</sup> 7th of July ; Parliament began to sit two days later (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 278) ; it was prorogued to the 12th of November.

<sup>2</sup> Fabyan, 629-30, alone of the other chronicles preserves record of this disturbance, though his narrative differs in detail. He tells how, after the imprisonment of the sanctuary men, the Dean of St. Martin's complained of breach of privilege. The matter was carried before the King, who decided that the mayor should keep his prisoners until he (the King) should come and deliver final judgement. Probably the captain Cayles can be identified with the leader of the riot three years earlier at St. Bartholomew's Fair.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vitellius A. XVI*, 165-6, which records the 'great debate betwene the Earl of Devynshyre and the Lord Bonevyle in the West Country; wher, as it was said, moche people wer slayn'. The encounter took place on Clist Heath near to the city of Exeter, before the end of October.

fo. 112 mittens se sue dominacioni. Et post festum nativitatis domini venerunt londonium et tunc comes cum filio parlamento existente apud Westmonasterium committebantur in turrim londonii. Et in fine istius parlamenti dux Eboraci exoneratus fuit de dignitate protectoria. Et post hec regina cum filio suo equitaverunt versus borean. Et isto anno in mense maii in Chepa londonio scisma fuit inter lombardos et servientes mercerorum.<sup>1</sup> Maior vero londonii veniens arestavit servientes mercerorum, sed manu forti erepti fuerunt de manibus suis. Et nocte sequenti congregata multitudo despoliaverunt domos lombardorum. Et non fuit in potestate maioris vero ducis Bukynghame ipsos impedire, attamen pro illa spoliatione duo homines fuerunt suspensi. Et cito post rex equitavit versus borean. Et in fine istius parlamenti<sup>2</sup> ordinatum fuit ad supplicationem londoniensium quod lombardi non portarent a portibus transmarinis in istum regnum durante termino septem annorum coorfis ffrensis lacis vel rebans quia in tanta plenitudine talia adduxerunt quod mulieres in Anglia illius artis non habuerunt occupationem ad impetrandum victum suum ut dolorose referebant.

1456-7 Thomas Cannynges Johannes Steward } a<sup>o</sup> xxxv<sup>o</sup>  
Radulphus Verner }

In isto anno sabbato post festum sancti martini in mense novembri dominus de Egremond prisonarius verberavit et vulneravit custodem carceris de Newgate cum aliis et sic fugiebat a carcere. Et isto anno maior londonii arestari fecit diversos cives londonii et quidam eorum fugerunt ad sanctuarium sancti martini et plures missi fuerunt in carcerem quia certificatum fuit maiori quod collecta fuisset multitudo de londoniensibus apud byshops wode intentione insurgendi et destruendi lombardos. Sed maior civitatis collegit populum multum de civitate armatum ad guyhald pro salua custodia civitatis et lombardorum. Et maior praecepit lombardis ut manerent in suis hospitiiis portis et ianuis bene servatis. Et isto anno xxviiij die Augusti<sup>3</sup> francigeni appli-

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> The statute against the importation of silk manufactured goods (*Rot. Parl.* v. 325) was passed before the riot took place, as Parliament was dissolved March 12 (Bale, below, p. 143), and the disturbance took place in May.

<sup>3</sup> The *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 74, gives the same date (as also the 'Brief Notes' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 152-3); most of the other chroniclers omit it; cf. the account given in a letter of the city of

cuerunt terram apud Sandewiche et ibidem exportaverunt per IX horas spoliantes totam villam quorum capitaneus fuit nominatus dominus Petrus de Bracy. Et sic fuit inhabitantibus dies illa dies mala dies ire et vindicte.

Galfridus Boleyn      Willelmus Edwarde } a<sup>o</sup> xxxvi<sup>o</sup>.  
                                  Thomas Reynar            }

1457-8

In isto anno xxviii die novembris<sup>1</sup> episcopus cicestrensis nomine Pecok stetit ad crucem sancti pauli londonii coram omni populo et abiuravit ibidem manifeste certos articulos heresis et ibidem multi de suis libris fuerunt combusti. Et isto anno post festum nativitatis domini dux Eboraci venit Londonium eligens suum hospicium apud Baynardescastell. Et comes Sarum cum domino le Bewmond venientes a partibus borealis cum manu forti accepit hospicium suum apud le Erbere.<sup>2</sup> Et feria iij in carniprevio<sup>3</sup> venit comes Warwici a calisia cum forti exercitu capiens hospicium suum apud fratres minores. Sed contra istos dominos venerunt dux Somersete dux Excestre comes Northumbreland et frater suus dominus de Egremond et dominus Clyfford et dominus Radulphus Percy cum maximo comitatu. Qui omnes hospitati sunt extra Tempilbarre ad vindicandam mortem patrum suorum in bello occisorum apud Sanctum fo. 113 Albanum. Sed deus laudetur nichil fuit actum in re ex aliqua parte. Quia maior graciosus cum comitate ita portas civitatis custodiebat vi armorum die et nocte quod nullus fuit ausus pacem attemperare.<sup>4</sup> Quia in civitate nunquam antea fuit visa tam decorata multitudo armatorum sicut tunc fuit circa maiorem

London to the King offering to 'victual, man, and set forth diverse ships', and about 2,000 men, to avenge the injury, an offer which the King naturally accepted (Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, iii. 380-2).

<sup>1</sup> The real date, as given by Bale, p. 145, and the other authorities was the 4th of December. The date here mentioned was that on which Peacock made recantation in private before the Archbishop and others of the council; cf. Peacock, *Repressor*, ed. Babington, R. S., i. xlv. The words of his recantation are given in the *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 75-7.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Erbar' was a mansion close to the river, granted by Edward III to the Scroops, from whom it came to the Nevilles (Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, 1891, ii. 15). Fabyan, 632, gives a corresponding list of the arrivals and lodging-places of the lords, adding, however, the dates of their arrival; so also Hall, 237; Stow, 659; *Vitellius A. XVI*, 168; *Paston Letters*, i. 424-5; Kingsford's note in Stow, *Survey*, ii. 318.

<sup>3</sup> 14th of February, Shrove Tuesday.

<sup>4</sup> Stow, *Annals*, 659, says the mayor and aldermen rode about day and night 'by Holborne and Fleet Street' with two thousand men well armed; so, more briefly, in the *Chronicle of London*, ed. Nicolas, 139.

honorifice equitantem ad pacem regis conservandam. Et rex videns tantam malitiam inter istos dominos accitis dominis suis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus<sup>1</sup> et eorum sano potitus consilio ipse tanquam rex pacificus fecit omnes dominos suos pacis filios in pacis osculo confirmatos. Et in signum huius concordie ipse rex cum regina et omnibus dominis praedictis in festo annunciacionis dominice transierunt in processionem apud sanctum paulum. Et post hoc in ebdomada pentecostes magnum hastiludium fuit coram rege et regina apud turrim londonii. Et iterum in festo sancte trinitatis coram rege et regina apud grenewych. Et tertio in ffyket felde.<sup>2</sup> Et post hoc per avisamentum parliamenti comes Warwici fuit missus ad calisiam factus capitaneus eiusdem. Qui cum illuc advenisset navigium fecit in mari ubi obviam ivit hispanis et lubicensibus cum quibus viriliter pugnavit et cepit xvij hulkys onerata cum sale.<sup>3</sup> Et isto anno post festum sancti mychaelis obiit comes staffordie in pestilencia.<sup>4</sup> Et isto anno latrones fuerunt extracti a sanctuario sancte katerine et ducti ad newgate quia despoliaverunt Canyngges et Christofer Warter Aldermannos. Et eodem tempore plures lombardi de gena fuerunt arestati et incarcerati ac bona eorum confiscati pro spoliacione bonorum in mari cuiusdam mercatoris bristollie cui nomen Sturmynn.<sup>5</sup>

fo. 113<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Council met—after an adjournment—on the 28th of January, 1458.

<sup>2</sup> Whilst *Vitellius A. XVI*, 168, Fabyan, 633, Hall, 238, give accounts of the procession and the jousts at the Tower and Greenwich, none of the chroniclers record this third performance. Fickett's Field was the old name for Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, now Lincoln's Inn New Square (Wheatley and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, ii. 38). Some years earlier it was waste land, for the corpse of a man slain in a survival of the trial by combat was thrown there (Bale, below, p. 121).

<sup>3</sup> This seems a confusion of what were really two separate engagements; none of the chroniclers indeed give a clear relation of these two sea-fights and the fight of the next year. From the account of the first exploit written by one of Warwick's men who took part (Jernyngham, in *Paston Letters*, i. 428-9), it was 'xxviii sayle of Spaynyards' with which they fought on the 29th of May, 1458 (cf. Fabyan, 633, *Vitellius A. XVI*, 168-9, Stow, *Annals*, 660). It was shortly after this that Warwick met and took part of a fleet of salt barges bound for Lubeck (*A Short English Chronicle*, 71, agreeing closely enough with this account). As this act contravened a trading treaty signed two years earlier, a commission was appointed to inquire into it (Rymer, xi. 374, 915).

<sup>4</sup> This and the succeeding entry are not found in the other chronicles; *MS. Tanner 2* records, a<sup>o</sup> 39, 'pestis ingens per totam angliam'.

<sup>5</sup> *Vitellius A. XVI*, 169, relates how some Genoese in London were put in the Fleet and adjudged to pay 6,000 marks for violence against a Bristol merchant named Sturm (cf. Kingsford's note, *ibid.* 316, for local references).

Thomas Scotte Radulphus Josselyn; } a<sup>o</sup> xxxvii<sup>o</sup>  
 Ricardus Nedam }

1458-9

In isto anno die Jovis post festum Omnium Sanctorum<sup>1</sup> fuit magnum scisma apud Westmonasterium inter domesticos et aulares regis et servientes domesticos comitis Warwici eo quod unus de domo regis suppeditavit pedem alterius de familiis comitis Warwici ipso comite in domo parliamenti existenti et de hoc modo nescienti. Tamen per sanum consilium accepit naviculam suam et cum suis servientibus pacifice ivit ad fratres minores infra hospicium suum ibidem secrete expectans. Qui si expectasset apud Westmonasterium servientes domino regi cum gladiis et fustibus et furcis ferreis ipsum occidissent. Et tunc in crastinum idem comes valedfecit patri suo et sic reversus est calisiam. Et isto anno in die veneris in fletestrete ante diem lune vocatum holimonday<sup>2</sup> fuit magnum scisma inter causidicos et londonienses et ibi (multi) fuerunt occisi ex utraque parte et quamplures vulnerati rege tunc apud Westmonasterium existente. Qui de isto scismate informatus cum consilio dominorum iussit certas personas de londoniensibus cum suo aldermanno incarcerari apud Wyndesore et certas personas de causidicis incarcerari in castello de Hertforde. Et isto anno circa festum sancti petri<sup>3</sup> in mari comes Warwici pugnavit cum hispanis et ibi cepit unum caryk et iiij naves de hispania plenas mercimoniis et adduxit eas ad Sandwicum.

<sup>1</sup> The *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 78, says 9th of November; Fabyan, 633-4, also gives an account of the outbreak.

<sup>2</sup> 13th of April; *A Short English Chronicle*, 71, and Stow, *Annals*, 660, mention the riot. They both give the name of the Alderman as William Tailor; the former says that he stayed there until Hewlyn was mayor, which was in the next year; cf. p. 146, below.

<sup>3</sup> Day of St. Peter and Paul, June 29. Whethamstede, i. 330 (copied by Stow, *Annals*, 661, and Holinshed, iii. 250), gives a fuller account of this fight; he says that three ships were captured (Bale, below, p. 147, says four) and that they were taken to Calais, the fight having been continued for almost two days.

## ROBERT BALE'S CHRONICLE

1437-8      vic<sup>s</sup> Willelmus Hales } Willelmus Estfold maior a<sup>o</sup> 16  
               Willelmus Chapman }

p. 189      This yer was gret scarcitie of hey and grete derth of corn and grevous penury reigning among the peple.<sup>1</sup>

1438-9      vic<sup>s</sup> Nichas Yeo } Stephen Brown maior a<sup>o</sup> xvij<sup>o</sup>  
               Hugh Dyke }

This yer the cardynall, duke of york, Archebisshop york, the Erle Stafford, the Erle of Ewe<sup>2</sup> and oþer lordes yeden over to Caleis for the entrete of peas. And this yer þe mair provided full graciously and ordeyned such plenty of whete and greyn that the peple were well comforted.<sup>3</sup>

1439-40      vic<sup>s</sup> Robert Marchale } Robert Large maior a<sup>o</sup> xviii<sup>o</sup>  
               Philip Malpas }

parlia-  
ment.

This yere the Erle Huntingdon wan many tounes castels and abbeys at Guyan in short space<sup>4</sup> also þis yer the parliament was hold in London.<sup>5</sup> And emoved after cristemas to Redyng. In the which parliament was ordeyned that the lumbardes shuld goo to host for VII yer: and that all maner alienes enherite in the land shuld yerely pay a tribute to the kyng and that the see shuld be kept for enymyes which ordennces toke noon effect. And the ffriday the iij day of Juyn oon Richard Wych preist was brent at Toure Hille for Eresy enndited upon hym. And þe peple in gret multitude held hym a saint.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So *Cleopatra C. IV*, 145, 'whete was worth xx d. a bushell'; *Brut Chron.* (ed. Brie, *É. E. T. S.*), ii. 472-3; Stow, *Annals*, 617.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Bouchier; he was created Earl of Essex, June 30, 1461, after the accession of Edward IV; cf. for the embassy—which failed—W. Worcester, 762; Rymer, x. 718, 719, 723-4; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 914.

<sup>3</sup> Stow, *Survey*, i. 109, says the mayor sent into Prussia for corn and so reduced the price by more than one half; cf. *Annals*, 612, and Fabyan, 612, similarly.

<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Huntingdon was appointed King's lieutenant in Guienne in May 1439, and set out there in June to recover the places lost in the previous year; there is no record of his achievements: his fleet returned in October (Ramsay, ii. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Proceedings began 12th of December (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 3-6). The law concerning Lombards going to host was to remain in force for eight years; the extra tax on aliens was 16*d.* yearly for alien householders, and 6*d.* for non-holding aliens (*ibid.* 24-5, 5-6).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note on *Rawl. B.* 355, above, p. 101.

vic<sup>s</sup> John Sutton }  
 Willelmus Watenhale } John Paddysley mair a<sup>o</sup> xix<sup>o</sup> 1440-1

This yer the iiij day of Novemb<sup>r</sup> continuynge the seid parlyment the duke of Orlyauunce passed from London upon the poyntment of his deliveraunce toward ffrauunce.<sup>1</sup> Also the same yere was the feet of armes doon in Smythfeld betwene Sir Richard Wodevyle and a knyght of Spayn. And the xvi day of may the duke of yorke w<sup>t</sup> a greet power roode þurgh the citee toward ffrauunce.<sup>2</sup> Orliaunce.

Also the Sondag xxij day of Jull oon maisstr Roger denounced at powles crosse, the poyntes of expiring the kings deth and showed ther many marvelous craftes.<sup>3</sup>

Item upon seint Anne day folowyng dame alianore cobham Duches of Gloucestr was endited of treson for the same cause.

Item the same yer upon seint Edwards day the xxiiij day of Octobr in chesing of the mair clept Robert Clopton (divers persons<sup>4</sup>) wer at Guyldhall endited of pety treson by the avyse of the Aldremen or they departed out of the hall and comyt to newgate þerto abide the kings grace because they made a newe proclamacion upon Rauf holond aldremen afr that the same Robert Clopton was presented mair.<sup>5</sup>

vic<sup>s</sup> Willelmus Comber }  
 Richard Riche } Robert Clopton maior a<sup>o</sup> xx<sup>o</sup> 1441-2

This yere the Monday the xiiij day of novembr contynuyng p. 191  
 the seid parliament the seid duches of Gloucestre yede with a tapre brennyng in her hand þurgh a part of the citee which was enjoyed to her by the chirche for penaunce: that is to wite she yede the same day from Powles to Charyngcros, the Wednesday from the Swan in Thamestrete unto crichirch, the friday from powles wharf þurgh chepe to sent michel in cornhill.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The agreement by which the Duke of Orleans was required to pay 50,000 marks, and try to secure peace, was signed in July, and the safe-conduct was made out November 3 (Rymer, x. 821, 824).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cleopatra C. IV*, 148; the Duke sailed from Portsmouth in June.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *English Chron.*, ed. Davies, 58, and a good account in the *Brut Chron.* (ed. Brie, *E. E. T. S.*), ii. 477-82.

<sup>4</sup> These or some similar words are omitted in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> Fabyan, 615; *Vitellius, A. XVI*, 155; a proclamation was ordered to be made by the mayor and sheriff of London in October 1443, forbidding all save those summoned to interfere in the election (Rymer, xi. 43).

<sup>6</sup> *Chron. of Lond.*, ed. Nicolas, 129, and Stow, 619, give similar accounts.

Item the Saterdag folowyng wer many lordes atte Gild halle and many Jugges and ther wer brought afore þeym for the seid expiring of the kings deth the said maistr Roger and maistr John Humme.<sup>1</sup> And the seid maistr John Humme was quytt and the seid maistr Roger was jugged the same day by the ver-dite yeuyng of an enquest and hanged drawn and quartered.

And þis yer the xxx day of Janyver was a feet of armes doon in Smythfeld betwene a knyght of Aragon and John Asteley squyer which John for his deed doying was made knight in the said feld by the kyngs handes forthwith.

Item þis yer on our lady Eve of Assumpcion be ganne the greet pardone atte Kings college of Eton.<sup>2</sup>

1442-3

vic<sup>s</sup> Thomas Beaumont } John Hatherley maior a<sup>o</sup> xxi<sup>o</sup>  
Richard Nordon }

This yer the citee of Norwich was greuously hurt for a dis-cension moved betwene the citezons þere, and an abbot or a priour.<sup>3</sup>

Item this yere the duke of Somerset w<sup>t</sup> a grete power orden-ance and stuff moustred at portsmouth diverse tymes and might not have redy passage which was grevous to þe contree.<sup>4</sup>

Item the moneth of July the dukes Broþer of Bretaigne cam to England.

p. 192

1443-4

vic<sup>s</sup> John Norman } Thomas Catworth maior a<sup>o</sup> xxii<sup>o</sup>  
Nich(ol)as Wyfold }

mony  
found atte  
Guyld-  
hall.

This yer was found be a mason in the oold werk of the Guyldhall in london the first day of Octobr a greet portion of money whereof was greet multitude of pens wherof xx<sup>d</sup> weyed an unce.

<sup>1</sup> *Cleopatra C. IV*, 149, mentions 'Sir John Hom prest' who with a squire 'had her charterys at that tyme'.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently refers to the second and plenary pardon (May 9, 1442) granted in connexion with the King's foundation of Eton College in 1440. The first pardon of 1441 was only partial. May 1444 saw the grant by the Pope of still further enlarged powers of indulgence (H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton*, 1-22; cf. *Rot. Parl.* v. 45-52).

<sup>3</sup> The quarrel was with the Abbot of St. Benets' Holm; as a result of the riot that took place, the city lost its liberties for a time and a 'captain' was put in (*Cleopatra C. IV*, 150-1; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, iii. 146-155).

<sup>4</sup> Somerset was appointed in March; his force was engaged by the next month but he did not set sail until August (Ramsay, ii. 53-5). Petition was made in Parliament about this time against the outrages of the soldiers on the south coast waiting to embark.



Item the same yere was a comyssioun sued for the citee of london whiche was clept a newe chartre and the comones wer greetly agrieved þerwith.<sup>1</sup>

Item þe iii day afore cristemas deyed Sir John cornewall knight and lyeth buried atte blak ffreres.<sup>2</sup>

Item þis yer dyed in þe eend of may the seid duke of Somerset which was a full worthy werreour.<sup>3</sup>

Item this yer atte begynnyng of may was ordeined that the open marcates on the Sondag wer for doon.

Item this yer was at seint albons the last of Juyn a play of Eglamour and Degrebele.

Item the moneth of August was a play at Bermansey of a knight cleped fflorence.<sup>4</sup>

the new  
chartre.

Obit Sir  
John  
Corne-  
wall.

Obit  
ducis  
Somerset.

The mer-  
cates for  
doon on  
the  
Sunday.

<sup>1</sup> A Charter was granted October 26, 1444, confirming the mayor and sundry aldermen as Justices of the Peace, and granting to the city the land on the banks of the Thames within the city liberties (Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 281); the resentment to its language is not recorded elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, died at Amptill in this year; he gave a house to the Fishmongers in London (Stow, *Survey*, i. xciv, 215, 341).

<sup>3</sup> May 27, 1444.

<sup>4</sup> These 'plays' would seem to be mediaeval romances. The first is that of 'Sir Eglamour of Artois', a knight with a son bearing the name of Degrebell. Several copies of the romance exist in MSS. in England—a fifteenth-century version in English in the British Museum (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i. 766-7) may possibly represent the romance as recorded by Bale. The story was first printed in English at Edinburgh in 1538 (reprinted 1827), and it has also been edited by T. O. Halliwell in the *Thornton Romances* (Camden Soc., 1844, 121-176), and again in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* (ed. Hales and Furnivall, 1867, ii. 338-389).

The second 'play' mentioned is most probably the similar romance 'Florice et Blanchfleur'. 'Florice' is rendered 'Florian' on occasion (Wharton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ii. 186), and from that—or Florice—to 'Florence' is not a far cry for a fifteenth-century writer. 'Le bone Florence de Rome' cannot be meant, for 'Florence' here is a lady, 'Florice' on the contrary being a knight. Of the several versions of the romance extant in MSS. in the British Museum, one is English, of the fourteenth century (Ward, *Catalogue*, i. 714-17). The story has been printed in France, and in England by J. R. Lumby with *King Horn* (*Early English Text Soc.*, 1866; re-edited 1901). Summaries of both these romances are given in Ellis's *Specimens of English Romantic Poetry* (ed. Halliwell, 1848), 453, 533.

There is no record of the 'playing' of these romances in any of the other chronicles of the period; indeed the entry has a uniqueness of its kind. In 1409 there was a 'play' at Skinners' Well 'which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world' (Nicolas, *Chron. of London*, 91; Stow, *Survey*, i. 16, 193; ii. 272, note; Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 379-81); but this play was quite different in character from the romances mentioned by Bale, which strictly speaking were not plays at all. Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.* i. 74-86, for the minstrels.

Kerver de Redyng. Item the ffriday the iij<sup>th</sup> day of august oon Thomas Kerver of Redyng gentilman<sup>1</sup> was jugged to be drawen hanged and quartered for a traytor for seyng of thees wordes *Ve regno ubi puer est rex* and þe same day he was drawe þurgh þe citee of london ffrom the tour unto the Tybourn and as the roop was on his nek his chartre cam from the Kyng and he was saved and cam agen on horsbak þurgh the citee w<sup>t</sup> glad chier.

Item this yer dyed the Bisshop of Caunterbury and þan the Bisshop of Bath Chaunceller of þis lond was made Bisshopp of caunterbury and occupied þer with þe office of chauncellor.<sup>2</sup>

p. 193 Item þis yer wer made iij dukes þ<sup>t</sup> is to wite þe erle huntingdon was made duke of Excester the Erle Stafford Duk of Bukingham and þe erle of Warrewyk was made Duk of Warrewyk.<sup>3</sup>

1444-5 vic<sup>s</sup> Stephen fforster } Henry ffrowyk maior a<sup>o</sup> xxiii<sup>o</sup>  
Hugh Wych }

Dux Suffolk pro le merege. This yer the vj day of Novembr the Erle of Suffolk rode þurgh Chepe w<sup>t</sup> other diverse enbassiatoures for mariage to be hadde for the king w<sup>t</sup> a notable power w<sup>t</sup> hors trapped and chares w<sup>t</sup> ladyes and gentiles in þe moost joyull and costeous divyse þat ever was seyn in such caas.

Powles Steple fyre. Item upon candelmas eve powles steple was sodenly on fire and contynued brennyng iij houres but it was holpon and quenched w<sup>t</sup> venegre.

Bellum in Smythfeld: Comes Ormond. Item the thursday the xvij day of ffeverer was the day of bataill assigned in Smythfeld betwene Thomas ffitzGerot priour

<sup>1</sup> Other mention of this man occurs in a civic continuation of a *Brut Chronicle* (ed. Brie, *E. E. T. S.*, vol. ii, p. 485) where a certain *John Kerver* 'untruly and ungodly and agenst faith and law depraved the king', the date being given as August 22 of the same year: examined before the council he confessed his guilt and was sentenced to execution specially severe in method, but the King 'of his mercy' pardoned him. The order for his pardon (dated August 4) is printed in *Excerpta Historica*, 281; but he lingered in Wallingford prison for two years until the Chancellor was ordered to make out a writ to the Constable of the Castle for Kerver's release (*ibid.* 390). The expression attributed to him comes from *Eccles.* x. 16, 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child' (*Vulg.* 'Vae tibi, terra, cuius rex puer est'). More, in his *Life of Richard III* (ed. Lumby, 71), puts the same text into the mouth of Buckingham in his speech to the citizens of London at the Guildhall. Waurin also uses the words (*Chronicles*, R. S., v. 342); the expression likewise occurs in the prologue to *Piers Plowman* (ed. Skeat, i. 16) — 'whoso wil it rede' says the author, thinking of the days of Richard II.

<sup>2</sup> Chichele died April 12, 1444; Stafford, Lord Chancellor, succeeded him.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitellius A. XVI*, 156, omits Huntingdon, but adds that the Earl of Dorset was created Marquis of Dorset.

of the order of Seint John Jerusalem in Irland appellant and Sir James Erle of Ormond defendaunt on the poynt of treson and þ<sup>e</sup> was greet ordenance of Scaffold and greet nombr of peple gadered as ever was seyn afore in such caas. And the hertes of the comones in substaunce wer w<sup>t</sup> þe Erle: And a geinst the seid priour. And yet þer was noo batiell doon for the king toke it unto his hands and soo the king and his counseill wold not suffre the Bateill to be hadde. And so noo part appered and greet cost lost.<sup>1</sup>

Item the thursday suyng began a noþer parliament and was holden at Westminster and at Estre folowyng hit was prolonged.<sup>2</sup>

Item the ffryday the ix day of Aprill the Quene cam into England from hemirshen and loded at iiij afternoon at portsmouth and the sonday folewyn was made greet joy of her comyng and the belles wer rong and Te deum sung in every Chirche solempny.

The  
Quenes  
comyng  
to Eng-  
land.

Item the thursday after <sup>3</sup> the Quene was wedded at Suthwerk beside portsmouth. And the first day of May beganne þe lordes to ryde ageinst her and soo after (she <sup>4</sup>) was ledde and conveied in þis land from place to place be lord afr lord att severall tymes w<sup>t</sup> notable power and greet array.

p. 194  
Marriage  
Reginae.

Item the ffriday the xxviiij day of May the Queen cam from Eltham unto the blak heeth and ther the mair of london with alle the aldremen and comens in costeous aray and shee in a chare richely dight and xxj chares folowyng w<sup>t</sup> ladies and gentiles in riche array and conveyed her unto the Tour of london and þ<sup>e</sup> was the king present and resceyved her. And the leverye of the citee was blew gownes embrawd and reed hoodes and on the morowe she cam þurgh the citee unto Westminster in a litier of white cloth of gold and she in þe same array sitting and ij stedès trapped in the same bar þe same littier and a canape of the same

<sup>1</sup> *Vitellius A. XVI*, 156-7, has a short account, calling the appellant the Prior of Kilmayn; cf. Nicolas (*Privy Council*, vi. 57-9), who says it took place in November or December 1446. *Brut Chron.* 487; *Gregory's Chron.* 187; Mr. Kingsford tells me the real date was Oct. 4, 1446.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament rose for Easter on the 15th of March (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 66), continuing on the 29th of April.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. April 22; Fabyan and *Vitellius A. XVI*, 156, also read Southwick, but Tichfield Abbey (*Rawl. B.* 355, Stow and others) seems correct. The account here given of the procession and coronation in London varies from that given by Stow, *Annals*, 624, and Fabyan, 617-18.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in MS.

sorte born over her heed w<sup>t</sup> iiij knyghts and all lordes knyghtes and squyeres and other conveyed her and in all places of the citee was made as costeous array as ever was seyn afore.

Corona-  
cioRegine  
apud  
West-  
monas-  
terium.

Item the sonday morn folowyng she was crowned at Westminster and þ<sup>e</sup> wer roiall justes made and upon midsomer and seint petre even folowyng was made þe royallest wacche þ<sup>t</sup> ever was seyn ther a fore and the King the queen and þe lordes wer present the same evenes in the citee.

Item atte begynnyng of July com Enbassiators for trettee of peis and taryed her iij wekes and had greet chier.<sup>1</sup>

1445-6

Vic<sup>s</sup> John Derby } Symond Eyre maior a<sup>o</sup> xxiii<sup>o</sup>  
Geffrey ffeldyng }

p. 195

This yer the v day of aprill eended the seid parliament. Item the xv day of May began a greet counseill and the kyng lay atte Tour. And þ<sup>r</sup> and at Smythfeld wer proposed divers feets and chalenges and justes to be doon of royalte in honour of the seid coronacion. Also the same moneth wer made manye halpens at Tour. And the Bastard of Scales was slayn in fletestrete. And the same moneth during was greet wacch in the citee kept w<sup>t</sup> men of armes. But the cause werfor that hit was the peple knew not.

Item the ffriday the first day of July powles church was suspent and the v day folowyng halowed ageyn.<sup>2</sup>

1446-7

Vic<sup>s</sup> Robert Horn } John Olney maior anno xxv<sup>o</sup>  
Geffrey Boleyn }

Duellum  
inter le  
Armoure  
his man  
in Smyth-  
feld.

This yer the Tewesday the last day of Janyvere was the Bataill in Smythfeld betwene an armerer in fletestrete which was holden a good man of werr and his servant upon Treson that he appeled his maistr and the same servaunt slewe þer his maistr full vengeiably and forth with the seid armorer hede was

<sup>1</sup> *Vitellius A. XVI*, 157, records the coming of the ambassadors 'for to have concluded a perpetual peace; but in conclusion it turned into a truce for a year'. The prorogation was signed 13th of August, 1445 (Rymer, xi. 97; and see *ibid.* 85, 94, for the commissions of the ambassadors).

<sup>2</sup> There is no parallel to this statement in the other chronicles, nor does the historian of the cathedral—Dugdale—record it; the suspension was probably caused by the committal of some act of violence within the precincts of the cathedral. In 1496 St. Paul's was suspended 'from Wednesday until Friday at evensong' because 'a servant of Lord Grey of Wilton struck a servant of a gentleman' therein (*Vitellius A. XVI*, 212).

smyten of and set upon london Brigge and his body cast upon ffyketts ffelds and afterwards bury hit atte sute of his freendes in cristen buryelles.<sup>1</sup>

Item the monday the xiiij<sup>2</sup> day of ffeverey be gan þe parliament at Bury and the lordes rood thedir w<sup>t</sup> greet power as they shuld have riden to werr and all the peple of the contrees aboute wer secretly commanded to wacch for sauftte of the kings persone.

Parliament  
apud  
Bury.

Item the monday clept shrovetonday folewyng the xxi day of ffeverer the duke of Gloucestre was arrested at Bury þe kyng þer present and diverse of his knights squyers and Gentiles taken in diverse costs and comyt to severall prisons of treson and the iii day folowyng the same duke deyed for hevynes and þan his body conveyed from þens and buried at sent Albons.<sup>3</sup> And forthwith the parliament was finished whereof the comones of the land merveilled greetly and wer hevvy for the deth of the seid duke which hadde full pryncely and prudently kept this lond and þe peple in good rule peas and governaunce all the nonnage of the king.

Dux  
Glou-  
cestre  
arrested  
apud  
Bury.

p. 196

Item the Sondag the xv day of may Sir Reignold Pecok Bisshop of seint Asse preched at Powles crosse and declared that Bisshops wer not bound to preche.<sup>4</sup>

Episco-  
pus Asse.

Item the moneth aprill deyed henry cardinal Bisshop of Wynchestre and lieth buried at Wynchestre.

Item the xiiij day of Juyn the enbassiatres for tretye of peas cam þurgh the citee of london and were conveyed roially unto the king with many lordes and greet peple.<sup>5</sup>

Item the xij day of July wer reigned and dampned atte Barre at Westminster Sir Roger Chamberleyn knight Sir Artoys Son to þe seid duke of Gloucestre and oon Myddelton Gentilman upon treson of which rule the peple gruced and wer hevvy.

Knights  
drawen  
for þe  
Duk of  
Glou-  
cestre.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Really the 10th (*Rot. Parl.* v. 128).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 66; W. Worcester, 764, likewise praises the duke as 'amator virtutis et rei publicae sed praecipue clericorum promotor singularis'.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Repressor* (ed. Babington, R. S., 1860), ii. 613, for Peacock's vindication of his utterances on this occasion.

<sup>5</sup> Charles appointed ambassadors to treat for an interview with Henry in February 1447; the English ambassadors were appointed July 1; the agreement by which the English finally gave up Le Mans was signed in the same month (Rymer, xi. 160, 175, 176; *Letters and Papers of the War with France*, ed. Stevenson, R. S., ii. 638, 696).

And the seconday folowyng þe seid Sir Roger Artoys Middelton and oon Herberd Squyer and Richard Nedam mercer of london servauntes to the seide duke weren drawe from the kings Bench in Suthwerk thurgh Chepe unto the Tyborne. And they lay everyman on þe hurdelles in doubletts of velvet. And þe seide Artoys held a crosse of gold between his manacles. And evermore they praied the peple to pray for them as þey wer giltless of any treson which sight was fully hevy to the comones and the seid embassiatores present this tyme. And whan these men wer brought to the Galowes they wer hanged all v persons and þer with was their chartres<sup>1</sup> shewed þt the king hadde pardoned hem and sodenly the ropes smyten a sondre and they on lyve and cam a gen þurgh the citee þanking god and þe king of þt grace.

p. 197

Item the ij day of August the seid embassiators rood agen þurgh the cite toward ffrance whoose names weren þe Bastard of Orlyaunce and the Bastard of seint poule.

Item the v day of august deyed the seid duke of Excester and this yer was right plenteuauus of all maner cornes and frute and hey. And right drye and fair Innyng.<sup>2</sup>

1447-8

Vic <sup>s</sup>	Willelmus Abraham Thomas Scot	} John Gedeney a <sup>o</sup> xxvj <sup>o</sup>
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This yer a noon after lamesse the king graunted to the seid Erle of Ormond by the meanes and labour of<sup>3</sup> the maistr of<sup>3</sup> sent Thomas of Akreem london the chartre of the seid appell and the treson that was surmetted upon him was proved openly entrewe and falsly ymagined.

Item the same time the Bisshop of Norwich and maister Adam moleyns pryvee sell and other roden into ffrance at greet costes of þis realme to conclude for peas.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Rymer, xi. 178-9. This account of the scene and the popular feeling for the prisoners is the most vivid of any; its mention of details such as 'the crosse of gold' held by one of the convicted, or the presence of the ambassadors, rather suggests that the writer was an eyewitness of the event he describes.

<sup>2</sup> 'Innyng', reclaiming, taking in, 'the action of taking in crops' (Murray). *Julian B. I* (*Chron. Lond.* 135) records that a quarter of wheat fell in price from 9s. to 4s. this year.

<sup>3</sup> . . . <sup>3</sup> Repeated and crossed out in MS.

<sup>4</sup> The instrument authorizes Somerset, Bishop Moleyns, the Abbot of Gloucester, Sir Robert Roos, and Osborn Mundford 'pleno (*sic*) et fideliter

Item a noon after the ffrenssh men leyden sege to sent Julyan de Maunce in Aungeoy and in short time hit was yolden to the ffrensshmen<sup>1</sup> and in short tyme a power was ordeyned to passe into ffraunce.

Item the monday in Estre weke which was the day of the annunciation of our lady Stevenhith<sup>2</sup> Peche Brak and the Thames cam in at popeler and drenched many houses and did greet harme to the contree.

The breking  
Inn of  
Stebenhith.

Item the ij day of Juyn the Erle of Suffolk was made duke of Suffolk at Westminster and Sir Richard Wodevyle was made Baron and lord of Ryvers and Sir John Stoorton tresourer of the kings hous was made Baron of Stoorton.

Stryf had  
betwene  
Drapers  
Tailleurs.

Item the drapers and taillours of london made greet sute upon a truce betwene them but the taillors optened and recovered.<sup>3</sup>

Item the xxviii day of august the duk of norffolk was comanded to the tour of london wher he was prisoned vi dayes and þan hadde his discharge from the king and was delivered.

p. 198

Item the moneth of septembre þe king rode to York at which tyme the Scottes had issued into the English marches and brent and dyd moch harme and afterward as cowardes knowyng of þe kynges comyng stale home agein and ffiled into Scotlond and after them issued a greet power into þe land of Englysshemen of the marches and brent and slewe in Scotlond and wolde have distroied that land but they wer reconntred and comaunded by the king to ceas and soo cam ageyn. And þan the Scots of sotell ymaginacion rosen agein. And þan Sir Henre Percy and many other Gentiles pursued upon theym and sodenly they wer betrayed and taken in a mire ground which was a greet hevynes to the king and a grevous hurt to þis land.<sup>4</sup> And a noon after concordare et concludere tam de pace perpetua quam de et super omnibus contentionibus' (*Letters and Papers of War with France*, ii. 577; cf. *ibid.* 710; i. 207; Rymer, xi. 106).

<sup>1</sup> Orders had been sent to deliver up Le Mans to the French in the autumn of 1447, but it was not until the French had laid siege to it for about a month that it was definitely handed over (March 13, 1448) (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 80-4).

<sup>2</sup> Stepney; cf. note on *Rawl. B.* 355, above, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> The Tailors obtained a charter in 1439 which was the subject of some controversy, and they had had a quarrel with the Drapers three years later, when both parties presented candidates for the mayoralty, but this dispute does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. (Cf. C. M. Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors*, 1881; i. 36, 135-6.)

<sup>4</sup> Henry reached as far north as Durham, though he was back in York on

the Erle of Salesbury brent greet part of the marches of Scotland and toke many prisoners and greet store of their catell.

1448-9

Vic<sup>s</sup> Willelmus Marowe } Stephen Browne a<sup>o</sup> xxvij<sup>o</sup>  
 Willelmus Cantelowe }

Parliament.

This yere the xiiij day of ffeverer began the parliament at Westminster and John Say was made speker þerof and þan appered every night in the west from vj of þe hour unto viij a lennyng<sup>1</sup> sterr whereof þe peple merveyled and wondred and the xxx day of may the same parliament was prolonged and proroged to Wynchestre.

Item the same moneth of may oon Robert of Caan maryner of the west contree<sup>2</sup> toke a fore the toun of hampton w<sup>t</sup> xiiij shippes in his company Cvij shippes of enemyes and slewe and toke in theym moche peple be grace and fortune.

the 15th of October. Bale's entry is rendered the more interesting because of the noticeable silence of the other English chroniclers in regard to Scottish affairs. The border raids went on intermittently in 1448, but in October the English, under Henry Percy, suffered a decisive check—as related by Bale—in the battle of the Sark, near the Solway, Percy and some of his subordinates being captured and many of his followers drowned. Bale's account is, judging by our somewhat scanty knowledge of the circumstances, more patriotic than fair.

<sup>1</sup> ? Levinyng (levynyng, levenyng), 'lightning, the bright flashing of any light' (Murray). I owe this suggestion to Mr. C. C. J. Webb of Magdalen College.

<sup>2</sup> This Robert of Caen is clearly Robert Winnington (Wenyngton, Whytyng-ham) of Devon, whom the Earl of Devonshire and others received royal mandate to help in his task of cleansing the sea and rebuking the robbers and pirates thereof (*Letters and Papers of the War with France*, i. 489). The firstfruits of his commission was the capture of a fleet of about one hundred ships—of allies of England—laden with salt; 'Ye never saw suche a syght of ships take in to England this winter for we be armed night and day to keep them in,' wrote the bold Robert to a friend within two days of his victory (*Paston Letters*, i. 68, May 25, 1449; Fabyan, 621-2). The results were rather disastrous; English merchants' goods abroad were seized and the king had to write to various foreign ports assuring them that justice would be done, at the same time appointing a commission to look into the matter (Rymer, xi. 235, 236; cf. 264, 272); finally, in 1451 Henry paid over £4,666 to the Duke of Burgundy for damage done (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 102). Winnington meanwhile apparently betook himself to Caen, where, still as 'our trusty and well-beloved squyer', he remained during the siege in June 1450 (*Letters and Papers of the War with France*, i. 503, 631); he is called 'capitaine' in one communication ordering stores to be sent to him there, and it was very possibly at this time that he gained the surname 'of Caen'. Ramsay seems to suggest that Robert Caen and Robert Winnington were distinct persons; he also suggests that Winnington was the murderer of Suffolk (*ibid.* 102, 121); Winnington took out a pardon under the general amnesty of April 1452 (*ibid.* 151 note; *Paston Letters*, i. lxxxii); he was with the Duke of Somerset at Dieppe in 1460 (*ibid.* i. 526).



Item the parliament soo proroged began at Wynchestre the xvi of Juyn and the comones of the parliament long tyme wold not accord upon ony act to be made because they wold that þe king shuld resume his demaynes and lyve upon his right and enheritaunce and so as a king roail of power to regne upon his peple.<sup>1</sup> But the king in no wise as was seid wold resume his demaynes and soo the wednesday the xvj day of July the said parliament was desolved.

Item the same tyme the ffrensshmen gate pount large and verson in perch and many other strong townes and castels in ffrance<sup>2</sup> and slewe and token moche englyssh peple and the lord ffauconberge and meny oþer Gentiles wer take prisoner and the Scotts also the same tyme robbed, brent and slew in þe north mervelously and hevly to wite. Howe be hit oon Sir William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk havynge than aboute the king all þe rule and the governaunce of this land was wondrely in the comon voys of þe peple noysed and disclaundred to be þe meene and causer of the seid hurtes and losse taken by the seid ffrensshmen and scottes and þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> king wold not take the seid resumpcion.<sup>3</sup>

Vic<sup>s</sup> Willelmus Hulyn } mair anno xxviiij Thomas Chalton 1449-50  
 Thomas Canyngs }

This yer beganne anoþer parliament in þe moneth of novembre and ordennance was made þerfor atte Tour of london but hit was holden at ffrere precheours w'tyn Ludgate. And after hit was removed unto Westminster and atte begynning of the parliament cam woord þ<sup>t</sup> the citee of Roon was taken and yolden<sup>4</sup> up to þe ffrenssh kyng and soo hit was and þer were taken prisoner

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 126, note.

<sup>2</sup> Pont-de-l'Arche was taken May 16, 1449, and Verneuil on the 20th of July following; Lord Fauconbridge was captured in the former place (Fabyan, 620; Hall, 211; cf. *Letters and Papers*, ii. 619-34, for a list of the places captured by the French during the Duke of Somerset's administration).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vitellius A. XVI*, 158, on Suffolk's release, 'for which delyveryng all the comons of England were in a greate rumour for the losing of Angou and Mayne but most specialy for the death of the good Duke of Gloucester'.

<sup>4</sup> Rouen surrendered October 29 (treaty for its surrender in *Letters and Papers*, ii. 607-18); the hostages taken were eight in number (*ibid.* 628 for a list), but the Duke of Somerset was not one of these, as he marched out with his forces on the surrender of the city. The second son of the Earl of Ormond was Sir John Butler. It is noteworthy that Bale uses the present tense in mentioning the Earl of Shrewsbury. If this be not—as seems rather probable—a slip of the pen, it must imply that this part of the chronicle was written before 1453, when Shrewsbury was killed.

1449-50 the duke of Somerset the lorde Talbot which is Erle of Shrovesbury the lord sone Bergevenny the lord Roos the Erles second Ormond. sone of Ormond and many oþer knightes squyers and Gentiles and all the grettest and chief stuff of werre and ordenannce that Henricus king henry the V. hadde provided be his pollecy for the defence V<sup>tu</sup>. of Normandy and getyng of his conquest in ffrauce. And p. 200 forthw<sup>t</sup> wer yolden to þe seid ffrenssh king many oþer greet citees and castels and anoon upon that was made over to Calais a greet power of Sowdyers for to kepe that place and Guynes and þe marches ther and elles all hadde be gotten which was a greet cost to the comones of london ffor they ffoond over þe<sup>1</sup> sowdeors so that every person that was of any reputacion was sett and tasked to geve þerto a parcell of his goodes.<sup>2</sup>

Item a noon folowyng wer many other taskes and loones leveed of the peple be sotell and straunge meanes. And open werre was cryed w<sup>t</sup> fflaundes and Scotland. And a noon after peas w<sup>t</sup> them. So þ<sup>o</sup> was noo good rule nor stablenes (was) at that tyme to greet discomfort and hevynes of the peple. And the comones of the parliament laboured evermore that the king shuld admit and resceyve to have his resumpcion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is an omission of a word or two here.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Kyrelle was commissioned in October to proceed to Normandy with a force, but did not cross the Channel until March; attempt was made to provide money and artillery for Somerset, the royal plate being sold for the 'setting forth of our army into Normandy' (*Letters and Papers*, ii. 501-2, 503, 505, 619-34). Hall, 214, remarks of Kyrelle that he was 'a man of great stomach if he had had an army; but his power was too small either to recover that which was lost or to save that which yet remained ungotten'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the short poem *On the Popular Discontent at the Disasters in France* (*Pol. Poems*, ii. 221-3), and the lines *A Warning to King Henry* (*ibid.* ii. 229-31):—

Trowthe and pore men ben oppressedede  
And myscheff is nothyng redressedede  
So pore a king was never seene  
Nor richere lordes alle bydene  
The communes may no more.

Also the *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 80. Bale echoes the eagerness with which the Commons pressed the king to pass an Act of Resumption and 'live of his own'; they asked for it in the Parliament of 1450, and again in the next year (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 217-24), when an Act, useless from its long list of exceptions, was passed; the Parliament of 1453 witnessed a petition and statute on the same subject (*ibid.* v. 267), as did that of 1455-6, when a new Act was passed (*ibid.* v. 300-20), but in both cases the old exceptions which made the Act useless were only removed in order to make way for new ones, the character of these being mainly determined by the interests of Yorkists

Item the ffriday the ix day of Janyver the Bisshop of Chy-  
 chester pryve seall was sleyn and beheded at Chichestr<sup>1</sup> be  
 strenght of the comones.

The  
 Bishop  
 of Chi-  
 chester  
 hedded.  
 Queene of  
 the feyir.

Item the moneth of Janyver oon calling hym self Queen of  
 the feyre yede into Kent and Essex and did noon oppression  
 nor hurt to any persone.<sup>2</sup>

Item the xxij day of Janyver beganne the parliament agen at  
 Westminster and þe iijj day after the seid Duk of Suffolk was in  
 purpose to have departed from the king and to have goon to the  
 castell of Walyngford because the cominaltie of the land hadde  
 him in greet suspect and blame of all þe said losses and hurtes  
 and soo to have excused him self. And a greet power of peple  
 wer assigned to have conveyed hym from Westminster to the  
 said castell for his suretee and defence and as he shuld have  
 passed the comones of the parliament hadde laboured in such  
 wyse that he was comyt to the Tour of london.<sup>3</sup>

Item the same tyme was greet wacche aboute the kynge and in  
 the citee of london every nyght. And the peple wer in doute  
 and feer what shuld fall for the lordes com to Westminster and  
 to the parliament w<sup>t</sup> greet power as men of werr.

and Lancastrians as they were in power. That the king should not 'live of his commons' was one of Cade's demands (*A Short English Chronicle*, 94; Stow, *Annals*, 388-9), and a letter of February 1456, giving the news and talk of the capital, remarks 'the resumption, men trust, shall forth' (*Paston Letters*, i. 377). Men regarded the resumption, in fact, as a panacea for all the ills of the time.

<sup>1</sup> It was at Portsmouth, not Chichester, that Bishop Moleyns met with his death at the hands of Kyrelle's unruly soldiers, he being there for the purpose of paying their wages. The *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 64, says he was murdered 'for the abridging of their wages'; Stow, *Annals*, 629, adds that it was done 'through the procurement of the Duke of York'; cf. *Gregory's Chronicle*, 189, William Worcester, 766.

<sup>2</sup> There is no record of this particular demonstration in the pages of the other chroniclers, unless the 'Queen of the Fayre' can be identified with 'Blewberd' who, as related below and by the other chroniclers, e. g. *Vitellius A. XVI*, 158, Fabyan, 622, Stow, *Annals*, 629, was hanged early in February for riot in Kent. But it may well have been distinct from this later riot, save that they were both harbingers of the larger outburst of June; in April the sheriff of London was ordered to make proclamation against the affixing of bills on church doors (Rymer, xi. 268).

<sup>3</sup> Although one of the accusations made against the Duke of Suffolk was that he had fortified the castle of Wallingford to serve as a base for the French invasion to which he was said to have committed himself, there is no record elsewhere that he attempted before his arrest—on the very day apparently, for he was put in the Tower on the 26th of January—to seek refuge there.

p. 201  
1449-50 Item the same tyme a man was jugged and hanged and drawn for woordes that he said against the rule of the lordes.<sup>1</sup>

Item the ix day of ffeverer oon callyng hymself William Blewberd which hadde laboured to have accompanied a greet felawship for to have hadde a rule among the lordes was drawe þurgh the citee and hanged.

Item the same tyme laye many sowdeours at portsmouth which shuld have passed over afore Cristemas and soor pilled and empouered the contray.<sup>2</sup> And in the mean tyme the dolfyn and the kyng of Cecile the quenes ffader laboured in such wyse that they gate all normandy w<sup>t</sup>oute ony greet resistance and the erledome of Angeoy demayn which hadde be the olde enheritaunce and right evermore and tyme out of mynde of the kynges of Engeland. And than wer all þe Englysshmen dryven and sent oute from ffrance Normandy and Angeoy and cam into þis land in greet mysery and poverte be many companyes and felawships and yede into severall places of þe land to be enherite and to lyve upon the almes of the peple. But many of them drewe to theft and misrule and noyed sore the cominalte of þis land spirituell and temporell and many of þeym afterward hanged.

Item the Wednesday the xxv day of ffeverer was greet wedering of rayne and wynde and atte nyght the king's place at Eltham þe Quene beyng present þer sodenly was on fire.

And in þis parliament the comones þerof appeled and detect to þe kings highnes the seid duk of Suffolk being in þe tour as a prisoner of divers poyntes of treson<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding which appeel the king delivered be his prorogatif the same duke out of the tour at his large. And the xv day of March the same duk being at Westminster pryvely gate away from thens and yede that nooman knewe whether.<sup>4</sup> Where with the comones of this

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<sup>1</sup> This is not found elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> These would be Kyrelle's men; cf. note 2, p. 126 above.

<sup>3</sup> The Commons first accused Suffolk, January 28 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 176-7); then on the 9th of March they brought forward eighteen additional articles (*ibid.* 179-82) the truth of which was denied by Suffolk some days later. Hall, 217-18, gives a list of the accusations against him; cf. also the lines *On the Arrest of the Duke of Suffolk* (*Pol. Poems*, ii. 224 and 231).

<sup>4</sup> The order for the discharge of the duke is dated March 19 (*Letters and Papers*, i. 515); W. Worcester, 767, says a mob of two thousand Londoners ran riot, searching, in vain, for the duke, but venting their feelings by ill-treating his men.

land wer agreved and certeyn of þe seid duks men wer take in þe nyght be wacchemen of the citee and comyt to the comptours but they wer delivered ageyn be write w<sup>t</sup>out tarieng.

Item the Saturday the xxix day of March oon John Ramsey servaunt to a vynter in london was drawe<sup>1</sup> hanged and quartered be cause he seid london shall put þe kyng from his crown<sup>2</sup> and the monday folowyng the seid parliament was emoved to leycestre.

Item the xxj day of aprill Queneburgh was asawted be ffrensshemen and almost goten.<sup>3</sup> And in the mean tyme þe seid duk of Suffolk which hadde kept him at Est horp be side Bury yede to the see and had the Duke of Burgoyne saufconduct and when he was in the see betwene dover and caleys in the ship called the Nicholas of the Tour<sup>4</sup> he was encountred be oþer shippes and beheded and his body cast upon the sandes at Dover and his heed pight upon a stake which deed was doon the first day of maij. D. Suf-  
folk.

Item the xij day of Juyn assembled atte Blake Heath beside london of men of Kent c<sup>o</sup> a greet peple well arraied.

Item the same day cam the duk of Bokyngham and lord Ryvers into the citee w<sup>t</sup> greet power of peple in lyvereis w<sup>t</sup> veends and arraied for werr.

Item the monday the xv day of Juyn the kyng lyeng at Seint p. 203  
Johnes beside Smythfeld w<sup>t</sup> greet peple sent herades and knyghtes to þe seid blak heeth and to bydde þe capitaigne of Kent w<sup>t</sup> his peple there gadered to w<sup>t</sup>drawe theym. And þey sent answer ageyn that they wer there for the kynys right and

<sup>1</sup> This word is repeated in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> This is not recorded by the other chroniclers, but in a letter of the sheriff of London to the King (June 28, 1451) Ramsay is mentioned in connexion with Cheyny, Jakes, and Cade, being described as a 'wine drawer'; like the other 'traitors' he was executed and his quarters sent to various towns in the country (Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 107-8).

<sup>3</sup> None of the other chroniclers record this event: Cade attacked the castle in July, but was repulsed.

<sup>4</sup> Bale is in error here; the Nicholas of the Tower was the ship which took Suffolk from his own vessel to his death; cf. *Rawl. B.* 355, above; *Paston Letters*, i. 124-6; *A Short English Chronicle*, 66; *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 69; the attitude of the Commons is summed up by the ironical lines of a contemporary (*Pol. Poems*, ii. 232):—

Pray for this dukes soule that it might com to blis,  
And let never suche another come after this.

1449-50 the lond. And they hadde mervelously staked all þe feeld aboute þeym that no power of horsmen shuld com and override theym.

Item the same day ageinst even rood toward the same field by the kings comandement the Erle northumberlond the lord Scales and the lord lysle w<sup>t</sup> a greet ffelawship of speres and bowes and ther was nombred be an heraude of peple in the seid capitaignes felawship lxM. and moo.<sup>1</sup>

ijj<sup>xx</sup>  
thou-  
sand and  
moo.

le cap-  
tène de  
Kent.

p. 204

And on the morn þe kyng havyng w<sup>t</sup> him the duke of Excestre the Duk of Bukingham and many Erles lordes knyghtes in substance of all þis land w<sup>t</sup> a mighty power of peple was proposed toward the seid heth to have met w<sup>t</sup> the seid capitaigne. But be advyse of the kings counseill were sent to entrete w<sup>t</sup> the capitaigne the lordes whoos names folowen þat is to wite, The Cardynall Erchebissshop of York, the Erchebissshop of Caunterbury the duke of Bukingham the Bisshop of Wynchester and the lord Beaumont. And þe capitaigne demeaned him to the lordes in such wyse and called him self and his peple petitioners answeyng to theym þat his comyng to the heth was not to doo any harme but to have the desires of the comones in the parliament fulfilled.<sup>2</sup> And the lordes appointed w<sup>t</sup> hym that all things shuld be redressed and soo the lordes cam ageyn to the kyng and shuld be promyse bring or send to þe same capitaigne by a certen hour assigned from þe king a conclusion of the same appointment. Howe be it because the lordes neuther cam nor sent from the kyng werd to the capitaigne agein of the kings will to his entent and desire therfor the seid capitaigne refused þe kings appointment sent to him and

<sup>1</sup> This is the highest estimate of any of the chroniclers, rather reminding one—though the ‘by a herald’ gives it something of an official colouring—of the estimates of the Saracen hosts given by the Crusading chroniclers. *Gregory's Chronicle* gives 46,000, a figure which Kriehn (*The English Revolt in 1450*, 70) considers ‘mightily exaggerated’, his own estimate allowing not more than 10,000.

<sup>2</sup> Details of their requests are to be found, preserved by Stow, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 94-9. Bale adds one or two details to our knowledge of the early part of the rising. The fact that there were two successive embassies from the King to the rebels is not recorded elsewhere, nor are the names of the royal representatives given in any of the other existing chronicles; that they went so far as to promise redress of the grievances complained of, even in the vaguest manner, is an addition to what we know of these negotiations and furnishes some intimation of the position of the King at the outset of the revolt.

ordeigned and disposed him to kepe the feld against the king. And þen the king with a mighty power yede toward the seid heth and the seid capitaigne havyng þerof witing w<sup>t</sup> drewe him and all his peple in þe nyght and ffledde and toke w<sup>t</sup> þeym their stakes and ordennance.

Item on the morn Thursday rood for to pursue after þe seid capitaigne Sir Thomas Stanley and oon Danyell which had greet rule aboute the king and ledde w<sup>t</sup> þeym a greet peple well arraied for defence and as for a vaward rood toward the heeth the Erle Northumberland the lorde Ryvers the lorde Scales the lorde Grey, Sir Edmond<sup>1</sup> and William Stafforde and many oþer knightes and gentiles w<sup>t</sup> greet puissance to take the seid capitaigne. Howe be hit þe seid capitan and his peple lyeng in Busshement met and countred w<sup>t</sup> þese lordes and slewe the seid Sir Edmund Stafford and Willyam Stafford and hurt moche of their peple.

Item the same day at xi afore noon the king rode armed þurgh Chepe w<sup>t</sup> his seid dukes, Erles, lordes and knightes w<sup>t</sup> right a notable and roiall power toward the seid heth and at after noon cam woord of the discomfiture and deth of the seid Staffordes and all þe nyght and on þe morn cam moche peple to strength þe king at Grenewich of lancastr and Chesshir and oþer shires.<sup>2</sup>

Item the ffriday which was the eve of the Translacion of saint Edward the kyng comaunded all his host to moustr upon the seid heth and þer was þan a mighty puissance which puissance was assigned by the kings counseill to have ridden into Kent and pursued the seid capitaigne and his peple and so to have destroyed kent and taken theym. But the capitaigne and his

<sup>1</sup> All the authorities, save Bale, say Sir Humphrey Stafford; the place was close to Sevenoaks in Kent; cf. Fabyan, 623.

<sup>2</sup> The other authorities do not mention the drawing of forces from these distant counties: it may probably be explained by the fact that the southern shires were known to be somewhat disaffected. Many of them of course sent men to join Cade, and there had recently been disturbances in some of the towns of the south (Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 90; Rymer, xi. 262). A writ of July 1 commanded Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Harrington to assemble the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire, in preparation to march to the king (Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 95). Fabyan, 623, describes the scene on Blackheath, but his account is not so graphic as that of Bale, which indeed reads like that of a man who heard the shout and saw the whole scene.

1449-50 ffelauship disposed them in such wyse and departed his peple  
 in severall bussgements to have recounted w<sup>t</sup> þe lordes and  
 p. 205 þeir puissaunce. So that the kings host made þan a sodeyn  
 showte and noys upon the seid heth seing distroye we thise  
 traitours aboute the king which þat þe seid capitaigne hat  
 entended to doo or ever we will doo hit. Whereupon the king  
 graunted their desire and comaunded the lord Say Chamberleyn  
 of Engeland to be take and soo he was arrested in the kings  
 presence and the seid Danyell shuld have been arrested also.  
 But he was in to Kent as is above seid w<sup>t</sup> a greet felawship to  
 have destroyed and hurt þe peple in kent. But whan he herd of  
 þis rule he left his peple and fledde. And the seid lord Say was  
 comyt to the Tour.

Item on the Satirday folowyng<sup>1</sup> the king and the lordes w<sup>t</sup>  
 þeir greet power cam agein þurgh the citee from Grenewich and  
 went to Westminster.

Item the Tewesday folowyng the seid capitaigne cam agein to  
 the seid heth w<sup>t</sup> his felawship which he ded agein his ligeaunce  
 all þough his desires wer good and for the well of þe land as he  
 surmitted to have laboured by the which mean he gate the hertes  
 of þe greet part of the comones of the land.

Item on the Thursday the second day of Jull the seid capitaigne  
 w<sup>t</sup> his peple whiche wer a full rude peple cam sodenly at iiij after  
 noon into Suthwerk and toke up all the Innes and places.

Item on the morowe cam a greet ffelawship out of Essex  
 ordeined by the seid capitaigne. And they lay atte mileend w<sup>t</sup>  
 out Algate and soo they beseged the citee and than was london  
 p. 206 brigge drawe and the gates of the citee kept w<sup>t</sup> men of armes.  
 And oon Robert Horn alderman, Philip Malpas alderman, and  
 John Gest wer in the hevy conceite of the capitan and he and his  
 peple clept theym traytours and extorcioners and wold þat the  
 governors of the citee shuld have put and sent hem oute of the  
 citee to thentent that þey might hadde of hem their desir but  
 they wer escaped and cowde not be found as god wold.

Item the same day at after noone the seid capitaigne w<sup>t</sup> his  
 peple entred over london brigge into the citee. And the king

<sup>1</sup> The King left for Kenilworth, 'circa finem dicti mensis junii' (W. Worcester, 768); 'on the morn after midsummer day' (*Gough London 10*).



and the lordes wer then to Killingworth. And whan he was so entred he dispoyled the seid Philip Malpas place and bore w<sup>t</sup> him from thens greet goods and recovered into Suthwerk agen w<sup>t</sup> his peple and made his cryes in the kings name that noon of his peple shuld do ony harme but kepe the peas.

Item on the morowe Saterdag cam the Jugges at ix of þe clok unto the Guyldhall and þer wer diverse and many enquests charged for the Kyng to enquer of extorcioners and oþer evill doers. And in the mean tyme a fore xi of the clok the seid capitaigne cam riding w<sup>t</sup> his peple on foot from Suthwerk thurgh the citee to powles in a blewe gown of velvet w<sup>t</sup> sables furred and a strawe hat upon his heed and a sewerd drawn in his hand and retorned agen to london Brigg and into Suthwerk. And at iiij afternoon he and his peple cam agein into Chepe and drank þer at a tavern called the Crown and retorned to the Mildende wer as þe peple of Essex lay and there beheded oon Crowmer and a noþer clept William Bailly and cam ageyn in hast into Chepe and thoo ij hedes borne afore him on high poles. And atte Standard in Chepe he hoved and thedir was the lord Say brought from the Guyldhall wher he was be diverse enquestes endited of treson and atte same Standard the capitain ded doo the said lord Say beheded and dispoyled him of his aray boond his legges w<sup>t</sup> a roop to an hors and drewe his body on þe pavement þurgh a greet part of the citee.

Mors  
domini  
de Say.  
p. 207

Item the same night and on the Sunday folowyng þe same capiteigne and his peple appointed to have serched and had diverse worthymen and their goodes of the citee and the same Sunday the capitaigne beheded in Suthwark a gentilman which þe men of Essex delivered to him called Thomas Mayn of Colchestre.<sup>1</sup> And than the mair and the counceill of the citee laboured that Sunday all the servyse tyme to make and set a rule and ordenance that the seid capiteigne shuld no more entree into the city. And the same night which was the Eve of Seint Thomas the Martyr all the comones of the citee drewe to harneys. And the same

<sup>1</sup> *Gregory's Chronicle*, in addition to these chronicles the sole authority for mention of Thomas Mayne, says (193) he was 'a man of Hampton, a squire'. This would make him of Surrey, but as *Rawlinson B. 355* (above, p. 106) declares he was 'of Essex', and Bale, in addition to giving the name of a town there, adds how Cade executed him 'to please the men of Essex', they are probably correct.

1449-50  
Bellum  
super  
pontem  
londonii  
per  
homines  
de Kent.  
The  
Capitain  
slayn.

night and on the morowe unto iiij of the bell the peple of the citee and the capitaigne and his meyne countred and met to gider on london brigge and in Suthwerk and moch peple were slayn and hurt on either partie. And þan the seid capitaigne fledde and his men departed and soo his power seased and a noon after he was slayn in his defence and þan be heded and his heed set on london brigge and his body brought to the kyngs bench and from thens drawen deed þurgh the citee on þe pavement unto the Tyborn and quartred and his quartres sent to diverse places of the land and then wer diverse Oyes determyners hadde in diverse places and specially in kent and moche peple hanged and beheded for the same rysyng and sturing doon by the capitaigne : and in the seid bataill and skyrmissh wer slayn John Sutton alderman and mathewe Gough which was a noble werreour.

p. 208

Item the xxj day of July diverse and many of the Sowders that cam and wer dryven out of normandy toke upon them in þe chirch of the Greyfreres w<sup>t</sup>yn newgate where as þe seid lord Say was worthely buried and his heed leyd by him and his armes set on the pelours aboute drewe and pulled down the same armes and them reversed.<sup>1</sup>

Item the first day of August the duk of Somerset which was Regent of ffrauce cam from Normandy and brought many pore sawdeours w<sup>t</sup> hym.

Item the Sondag ij day of August the sowdeours yeden aboute in divers places and wher that they sygh ony armes eijer of the duk of Suffolk or lord say they pulled hem down and despouilled them and the same day was a quarter of the capitaigne which was set at Deptford strond stolen and borne away.

Item the Thursday and fryday suyng and soo dayly after cam thurgh Chepe diverse long cartes w<sup>t</sup> stuff of armor and bedding and household as well of Englissh as of norman goodes and men women and children in right pover array pitewus to see dryven out of normandy.

Item the Sondag the xxiiij day of august Cateworth being the maires depute and the shirrefs and certen aldermen rode w<sup>t</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stow, *Survey*, i. 320, tells us Lord Say was buried in 'All Hallows Chapel in the Grey Friars Church', his tomb being mentioned in a long list of those defaced.

CCC. men well arraied and defensable unto the ffeyr of seint Bartholmewe<sup>1</sup> to see that the peas and good rule wer kept that the sowdeours shuld doo noo harme to the Chapmen and peple of the contree. ffor the world was so strange that tyme<sup>2</sup> that noo man might well ride nor goo in noo cooste of þis land w<sup>t</sup>out Robbery. a strength of ffelauship but þ<sup>t</sup> he wer robbed.<sup>3</sup>

Item the same tyme the duk of york lieutenant of Irland Comes landed in Wales and sett in his steed the Erle of Ormond to be Ormond. his lieutenant þer undre the kyng.

Item on michelmas eve the priseners in newgate brake the p. 209 wardes beneth and gate the high tour. And they cast down stones and ffederes of Irn to hurt peple and made defence more than iiij howres continually but atte last they wer discomfited by the mair and shirrefs and chastised.<sup>4</sup>

Item the ix day of Octobre was such a wellyng and spring of waters both of the see water and the ffressh Ryvers and other springs that the lowe contre in divers places wer over flowe. And the same tyme was every mannes lyvelode extented at what value his yede, and of every xx<sup>s</sup> yerely was leveed to the king xij<sup>d</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fair lasted for three days round the Saint's day (August 25). It existed as early as the twelfth century (cf. Stow, *Survey*, ii. 27, and note ii. 361).

<sup>2</sup> Repeated in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the poems *On the Corruptions of the Times*, *Pol. Poems*, ii. 235, 238:

Idylnesse and thefte yet have they no care,  
 Thoughe that thys worlde thus endure ever more;  
 Oftyn tymes here wyde purse is full bare,  
 And other whyles here schoon be al totore;  
 The mete that thei ete ys alle forlore;  
 On the galwys they scholde anhaunse;  
 They greve the comunys and that ryghte sore;  
 Of all our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

<sup>4</sup> A more familiar outbreak from Newgate occurred about six years later, when Lord Egremont and some of his fellow prisoners escaped; cf. below, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> An income-tax of 6*d.* in the £ on incomes of £1 to £20, 12*d.* on incomes of £20 to £200, and 2*s.* on incomes over £200 had been granted by Parliament in the spring of 1450 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 172-4). But when Parliament met in January 1451, after the Christmas recess, it was stated that nothing had been done to collect the tax, and it was therefore ordered to be levied at once, though its scope was restricted (*ibid.* v. 211). Bale presumably refers to the collection under this later Act, but his statement is not quite accurate. He makes a more exact—and more correct—statement later on.

1450-1

Vic<sup>s</sup> Willelmus Deer } Nich(ol)as Wyfold mair a<sup>o</sup> xxix<sup>o</sup>  
 John Middelton }

This yer the morn after Symond clay and Jude the mair rood and all the crafts of the citee to Westminster to take his charge. And at even in his comyng to sent Thomas of Akres to doo his offering sowdeours to the nombre of xl men well armed for werr w<sup>t</sup> gleves and axes made a countenance to the mair and aldermen all the wey goyng from powles to seint Thomas wher with the mair being agreved comanded them in þe kings name to leve their wepens bering w<sup>t</sup>yn the citee. And þey revylyng the mair and his officers wold not obey his comaundement wherefor the mair w<sup>t</sup> his people set upon hem and toke their wepens from them and sent divers of them to prisen. And on þe morn was made a crye in þe citee that if ony man bare ax Gleyve Swerd or bill þat wer sowdeours or lordes man shuld be taken and put in pryson. And soo the peas was kept and sowdeours avoyded and wer rebuked.<sup>1</sup>

p. 210

Item the ffriday the xxx day of Octobr wer drawe down in divers places of the citie and aboute in þe subarbes þe armes of the seid duk of york a bage of the ffetherlok and the kings armes set up.

Item upon all halowen eve the seid armes of the duk of york wer set up agein and the mair for keping of the citee and the peas yede dayly w<sup>t</sup> men harneised defensable for the werr.

Item the vj day of novembr began the parliament at Westminster. And the comones chosen Sir William Oldhall knight w<sup>t</sup> þe duk of york speker of the parliament.

Item the same tyme was ordeyned in diverse places of the citee cheynes to be drawe awthwart the weyes to kepe þe citee sauf: for peple stode in greet dreed and doubt, for the varaunce between the lordes. And a cry was made the seid vj day in þe citee in þe kings name that no maner person shuld speek nor medell of eny mater doon in þe parliament nor of the lordes.<sup>2</sup>

Item the same tyme was leveed a greet money to convey and

<sup>1</sup> This riot, like more than one of those preceding it, is not recorded by the other chroniclers.

<sup>2</sup> Similar measures were taken three years later; at that time the city waits were ordered to lighten the militant atmosphere by going round the city every evening (Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 290).

set toward Burdeux<sup>1</sup> the sowdeours and such peple as wer dryven out of ffrauce and normandy and had not wherof to lyve but robbed and soo to have occupied theym in þe werres for to sauf and kepe þe kings right þerof. But þe wer soo many fals meanes and restreintes of the money þat the seid sowdeours shuld have that þey þerfor passed not out of þis land and soo becam theves and manquellers in divers places of þis land and the viij day of novembr the comones of þe parliament presented unto the king a bill desiring the seid duk of gloucestre might be proclaimed a trewe knight.<sup>2</sup>

Item the xxiiij day of novembr the seid duk of york w<sup>t</sup> iijM. p. 211 men and moo cam riding þurgh the citee his sweerd born Comyng a fore him and yede to þe parliament and þe king. And on the of the morn folowyng cam riding þurgh the citee the duc of norffolk w<sup>t</sup> york to a greet peple in Brigandiers and vj clarions a fore him blowyng. parlia-ment.

Item on the morn suyng came the Erle of Warrewyk þurgh the citee w<sup>t</sup> a mighty peple arreied for the werr and þe monday the last day of novembr was a marvelous and dredful sturmyng and noys of the comones and of lordes men at Westminster crieng and seieng to the lordes dooth justice upon the fals traitours or lett us be avenged. And upon þe morn which was the first day of Decembr the lordes men made a saute upon þe duk of Somerset atte Blakfreres in london and ther despoiled moch of his goodes but the mair and the comones of the citee gadered a power to gider and remedied hit a noon and elles had the duc be taken or sleyn.<sup>3</sup>

Item upon the Saterdag folowyng the lordes and the Jugges sat atte Guyldhall and the mair keping his estate and þe king

<sup>1</sup> Bordeaux capitulated on the 30th of June, 1451 (and Bayonne three weeks later); there had been wholly inadequate efforts to send help to the besieged from England; some money was sent, and a fleet, collected about this time, waited for six months for a force which was to have gone to France under Lord Rivers. But no force was dispatched, the fleet was dispersed in July (1451) and Guienne was lost to the English (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 144-6).

<sup>2</sup> There is no record of such a petition on the Rolls of Parliament, but there was considerable feeling on the subject at this time, as Cade's demand for punishment of the 'false traitors' who 'counterfeited and imagined' the death of the Duke shows. And in the Parliament of 1455-6 petition was made, and granted, that the Duke should be declared throughout the land 'the king's true liege man all the days of his life' (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 335; cf. below, pp. 142-3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Rawl. B. 355*, above, p. 106, note 3.

set upon an Oy detemyner for the dispoulling of the seid goodes and the same day the said duk was comyt unto the Tour.<sup>1</sup>

Item the xvij day of Janyvere peple wer had to the Guyld hall and þer paid for þextent of þeir liflode vj<sup>d</sup> for every xx<sup>s</sup> graunted atte parliament of leicestre: and the same tyme the king rood into kent.<sup>2</sup> And þe erle of Shrovesbury in his name ded execucion upon the peple and the xx day of ffeverer wer set upon london Brigge ix men heedes of kent.

p. 212

Item the ffriday folowyng wer set upon the gates of london divers quarters of men and soo forth in oþer places of þis land.

Item the last day sauf oon the Bisshop of Cauntorbury<sup>3</sup> was robbed at Lambe hith.

Item the vij day of Juyn cam from the king sent to the mair a comysson for to make a chevisannce of viijM. li. by act of parliament ffor which chevisannce to be had the lumbardes Janneys provided þerfor at hampton a lone.<sup>4</sup>

Item the xvj day of July the comones of london were cessed to pay for the rescus of Caley a xv<sup>th</sup> and di.<sup>5</sup> And also to

<sup>1</sup> There is no record elsewhere of Somerset being actually imprisoned at this time, although *Vitellius A. XVI*, Fabyan, and Gough say he 'was arrested'. It is true that the commons in Parliament petitioned that he, along with some others, might be banished from the court, but the request was not granted (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 216); it was in November 1453 that the Duke's lengthy stay in the Tower commenced.

<sup>2</sup> This was on a commission of Oyer et terminer to try the rebels of the previous summer; cf. *Paston Letters*, i. 186 and note; *Gregory's Chronicle*, 196.

<sup>3</sup> The title is repeated in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> An Act recites how the King had seized alum to the value of £8,000 belonging to Genoese merchants in Southampton and provides for their payment from the customs of the port (notwithstanding a grant of £20,000 from these same customs in which Henry had just been 'preferred' by Parliament). But the King required gold, and so it was ordered that the Genoese merchants should buy their alum again at the former valuation, thus leaving Henry with £8,000 ready money and the Italians with their alum, a claim on the customs, and a grant that no one in Southampton was to buy alum for a certain period save of them (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 214-16); it was thus, in effect, a loan.

<sup>5</sup> Although the other chroniclers do not record this, the statement that a levy was taken at this time is correct; the Goldsmiths' Company this year paid £34 19s. as their share to a tax to relieve Calais, and there was much friction between the city officers and the inhabitants of the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, who refused to pay their quota to the same subsidy (Herbert, *Livery Companies*, ii. 53; *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, vii, 1888, 202).

pay the iiij part of a xv<sup>th</sup> to defence a sute at Room for offerings.<sup>1</sup>

Item upon seint James even wer set upon london brig v men hedes.

Item the xij day of Octobre the king being at Wyndesor and the duk of york comyt the Erle Wiltshire and the lord Berkley to ward.

Shirrefs Mathewe Philip } William Gregorey mair anno xxx 1451-2  
Christofre Martre }

Item the viij day of novembre wer take divers scotts and normandes in the north contre.

Item the xxx day of Janyver oon Sir William Oldhall knight which was chamberleyn to the duk of York was restered agein unto the privilege and seinteuary at Seint Martyn Graunt in london which Sir William was take oute of þe place be greet violence be nyght be certeyn lordes few dayes a fore.<sup>2</sup>

Item the xiiij day of ffeveror cam maistr Thomas Kent þat p. 213 had been in message from the king w<sup>t</sup> the duk of york and brought such report to the king from the king<sup>3</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> his highnes was displeed so that the xvj day of the same moneth the king w<sup>t</sup> his lordes þat is to wyte the dukes of Bukingham Somerset and other (set out<sup>4</sup>) to ride against the seid duk and toke his journey toward coventre.

Shirrefs Richard Lee } Geoffrey Felding mair a<sup>o</sup> xxxj<sup>o</sup> 1452-3  
Richard Alley }

This yere the moneth of march began the parlement at Reding at which parliament the comones toke a displeisur be Parli-  
ment  
apud  
Reding.

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to a struggle which was going on at this time between the citizens of London and the clergy there, who demanded  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  on  $\mathcal{L}1$  of all rents in the city. In 1453 the clergy obtained a Bull from Rome, threatening the greater excommunication unless the claim was granted, but the matter dragged on until in 1457 the clergy agreed to receive a composition for the dues (Noorthouck, *History of London*, 97; Maitland, i. 196-7; the text of the Papal Bull and the compromise is given in Arnold, 57-70, 71-3).

<sup>2</sup> Oldhall had been attainted and outlawed in June 1452 for supporting the Duke of York and alleged complicity in Cade's rebellion; he took refuge in St. Martin's sanctuary, where, except for this hitherto unknown and apparently compulsory emergence, he stayed until the reversal of his attainer in 1455 (*Paston Letters*, i. 336, 344).

<sup>3</sup> A slip for 'duke'.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in the MS.

cause they wer restrayned from free eleccion of the knightes of the shir.<sup>1</sup> And in that parliament wer graunted greet Imposicions and charges to be taken of the comones.<sup>2</sup>

Item the same parliament was removed to Westminster and þe king being at Clarendon indispost sodenly was take and smyten w<sup>t</sup> a ffransy and his wit and reson w<sup>t</sup> drawn and þan the parliament was proroged and began a gein at Reding atte Eve of seint michell.

Item upon seint Bartholmewe day the mair being atte Wresteling at the Clerkenwerk<sup>3</sup> the priors men of seint Johanes and oon Cayles a mysruly persone toke upon theym to have fered and distressed the mair but howe be hit the mair manfully beet slewe and toke of þeym divers and put them to shamefull rebuke.

1453-4

Shirrefs Thomas Cook } John Norman maior a<sup>o</sup> 32  
{ John Walden }

p. 214

Md. that this yere the comones counceill be the desir and assent of the aldermen left the riding of the mair at his eleccion accustomed and used to Westminster, and yede be barge in water.<sup>5</sup>

The  
prince  
birth.

Item the moneth of Octob<sup>r</sup> the day of seint Edwarde which is the xiiij day þerof of the quene beyng at Westminster had a prince. Wherefor the belles rang in every chirch and Te Deum solempny song. And he was cristened at Westminster and his

<sup>1</sup> The interference of the Crown in the elections had been one of Cade's grievances, and the *Paston Letters* show how difficult a matter free election was in Norfolk. There is no record in the Rolls of Parliament or the pages of the other chroniclers of any petition made by the Commons at this time, but just before the Parliament of 1455 the King wrote to the sheriff of Kent ordering him to ensure 'free election', and the Parliament of 1455 witnessed a formal petition on the subject from the Commons (Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 246-7; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 367, 450-1).

<sup>2</sup> Parliament at Reading granted a fifteenth and a tenth to be levied half by November 11, 1453, and the remainder a year later. There was further a grant of tonnage and poundage for the term of the King's life, and increased customs duties, aliens being charged with a poll-tax (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 221-30). In addition, provision was made for the raising of 20,000 archers by means of subsidies from the shires and boroughs, London being assessed to pay £300 thereto (*ibid.* v. 245). The Session at Westminster lasted from April 29 to July 2, and Parliament met again at Reading, November 12, to be adjourned until February 11, 1454.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Clerkenwell; cf. *Rawlinson B. 355* above, p. 107; Stow, *Summary*, 373, *Survey*, i. 95, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in MS.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Rawlinson B. 355*, above, p. 103, note.



godfadres been the Cardinall Erchebisshop of Cauntbury Chancellor called Kemp and the Duk of Somerset and his Godmoder Duches of Buk. Of whoos birth the peple spake stranggely. And a geinst his birth was begonne a newerk at Westminster a place for a worys.

Item the chaunceller deferred the parliament agein unto ffeverer and be gaunne hit agein at Westminster and þan was the duke comyt to the Tour prisoner þat is to wite Somerset.<sup>1</sup>

Item the ffriday the xxij day of march the seid cardinall died sodenly at iiij in þe morning.

Item this yer was the Duk of york made protector of Engeland and the Erle of Salesbury Chaunceller<sup>2</sup> and they worshipfully ruled and governed.

Shirreffs William Tailor } Stephen fforster m.a<sup>o</sup> xxxiiij<sup>o</sup> 1454-5  
and John ffield }

Md. the xxvj day of Janyver the duk of Somerset was straungely conveied out of the Tour be the duke of Bukingham Erle Wiltshire and Lord Roos.

Wherfor þe Duke of York gave up the kings swerd and noo longer wold occupie protector. p. 215

And the xx day of Janyver Goditre a ffrer denounced and shewed at powles cros that the king and the quene had sewed to the Pope and hadde gotten unto þe priorie of Seint John Jerusalem in Smythfeld a generall remission and pardon to assoille all þoo that hadde made any avowe to goo the Stacions of Jerusalem or to Room paieng the iiij<sup>th</sup> part of the cost that every persone shuld ber in þat journey of such goodes as they hadde.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Somerset, at the time of his release in February 1455, declared that he had been in prison a year and ten weeks (Rymer, xi. 362), which puts his committal to the Tower in November 1453. Bale's account of the year 1453-4 is so brief that one may safely regard his placing of Somerset's arrest after the mention of the meeting of Parliament in February 1454 as a looseness of statement. There is no record elsewhere of Somerset being 'strangely conveyed' out of the Tower; the names given by Bale are those of the lords who on February 5, 1455, became surety for the Duke's appearance before the Council; that surety given, the prisoner was released, apparently in a formal manner, two days later.

<sup>2</sup> Salisbury's appointment as Chancellor is dated April 2, and that of York as Protector the next day (Rymer, xi. 344, 346).

<sup>3</sup> Early in July 1454 the Council desired the King to petition the Pope for 'annum jubileum' in England and Ireland for the good of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Rhodes; accordingly royal letters were sent to the Pope, the Cardinals, the Doge of Venice, and also to the Grand Master

Bellum apud sanctum albanum.

p. 216

Item the Thursday the xxij day of May the king being at sent albons and greet peple ther w<sup>t</sup> him assembled purposing toward leicestre and in his company the Duks of Bukingham and Somerset, the Erles of Northumbeland and Wilts þe lordes Clifford and Roos and oþer proclaimed ther the duke of york traitor. Wherupon forthwith the same duke of york and the Erles of Salesbury and Warrewyk entred into the same town w<sup>t</sup> þeir peple arraied for werr in like wise as the king and his seid peple wer arried: and þer the kings Baner displaid the same Duke of york and Erles of Salesburye and Warrewyk slewe the seid duke of Somerset and the Erle Northumbreland and lord Clifford and over threwe the kyngs Baner and preserved his person and toke the duk of Bukingham and lord Roos and the Erle Wilts fled. And they brought the king þe second day aft<sup>r</sup> to the citee of london in greet honour. And the seid duk of york riding on his right side and the Erle of Salesbury on the left side and the Erle of Warrewyk bare his swerd and atte Bisshops paleys at powles the king and the seid duk of york and Erles of Salesbury and Warrewyk and the Erle of Devenshir all the Witsonwyke kept the roialte and sport which bataill the comones trusted brake moch inconvenience and hurt that shuld have fall.

Item the Wedenesday the ix day of July beganne the parliament at Westminster and the same day cam worde to the king that the sege which was leyde to Berewyk be þe king of Scotts was remeved and he shamefully fledde and moch of his peple slein and distressed in mynes and taken also in vessels upon the water.<sup>1</sup>

Item the Saterdag the xvj day of August humfrey duk of Gloucestr was proclaimed in the citee above seid and soo after in

of the Order to dissuade him from recalling the prior of the Order from England (Rymer, xi. 351, 352-3, 354, 357). *Gough London 10* records how this year pardon came to England 'as whole as it was in Rome in the year of Jubilee'.

<sup>1</sup> *A Short English Chronicle*, 70, relates how 'the king of Scots with the red face', besieging Berwick, 'was driven thence and all his ordnance and victual that was on the water side left behind him'; letters were sent (July 9) to some of the northern lords, thanking them for their services therein (Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 247-8, cf. lxxi).

other places trewe and feithfull leigeman to the king and a trewe prince to the houre of his deth.<sup>1</sup>

Shirrefs } John Young and } William Marowe maior } 1455-6  
           } Thomas Oulgreve }           anno xxxiiij<sup>o</sup>

This yer was the lord Egremond and his brother comyt to Newgate þe moneth of novembr. And the same moneth the Erle devenshir and the lord Bonevyle fought in the west contrey and moch peple slayn on either side.

Item the moneth of Decembre the kings resumpcion of his liflode was graunted be the comones of the parliament<sup>2</sup> and the duke of york made protector agein. And the xxj day of ffeverer (the king<sup>3</sup>) toke upon him þe rule agein and discharged þe duke of York of protector and the xij day of march the seid parliament was dissolved.

Item the first day of maij was an Oy Determyner holde atte Guyldhall<sup>4</sup> and the mair kept the kings estate and upon his p. 217 right hand satt the Duke of Excestre and on the left hand the duke of Buk the Erles of Salesbury Penbroke and Stafford. And the Jugges on every side next the lordes the king lieng at Bisshopes palice atte powles for he cam the day a fore thedir be barge from Westminster and loded atte blackfreres and ther met hym the mair and aldermen w<sup>t</sup> a fair peple of men of armes and conveied him to the seid paly.

Item the v day of maij the seid lordes cam agein to the seid Guyldhall except the Erle Salsbury and the mair was redy w<sup>t</sup> his shirrefs and greet peple of men of armes or they cam and kept every wey and gate into the seid hall and wold suffre noon other com in thedir but the lordes and certein of their men. And vj enquests wer þer charged for the king to enquere and present all such prisoners as wer mysrulers and of ryot and debate among the peple. And þis was upon a towesday. And the Saterdag folowyng were endited of ffelony a sherman

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 137; and for the encounter between Devonshire and Bonville, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 300-20, 328-30; cf. above, p. 126, note. The Duke of York was made Protector November 19, 1455, and removed from the position on February 25 of the next year (*Rymer*, xi. 369, 373); the date of the dissolution of Parliament is not given elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> For this anti-Lombard riot and that of the following year see the article of the writer in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1910.

dwelling at algate and a noþer man of the citee and a lordes man for a rising and rifyng that was made upon lumbardes and þen after they wer hanged. Wherwith the peple sore gruced.

Item the xix day of September in the nyght tyme wer sett upon the Standard in fletestrete a fore the duk of york being þ<sup>r</sup> than lodged in the Bisshop of Salisbury place certein dogges hedes w<sup>t</sup> Scriptures in their mouthes balade wise<sup>1</sup> which dogges wer slayn vengeably the same nyght.

1456-7  
p. 218

Shirrefs Rauf Verney } Thomas Canyngs maior anno xxxv<sup>o</sup>  
John Styward }

This yer the ffryday the v day of novembre cam the Erle of Warrewyk unto London. And the same day afore his comyng rode ageinst him to have distressed him the dukes of Excestr and Somerset, the dukes son of Somerset and the Erle Shrewsbury Tresourer and the lords Roos and other w<sup>t</sup> iij C. peple and more as was reported. But thanked be god the seid Erle was þerof ware and purveied a remedy ageinst their malice and cam in saufte to the cite of london and they durst not countre w<sup>t</sup> him for he was named and taken in all places for the moost corageous and manliest knight lyvyng.

Item the xij day of novembr saterday the lord Egremond which was prisoner at newgate brake prison and stale fro thens to greet jeopardde of the shirrefs. And the same moneth the prisoners in newgate brake their wardes and gate into the tour above and threw down stones and all things þat they might fynd upon peple but þanked be god they wer soon scomfite.<sup>2</sup>

Item the xvj day of July seint Osmond was translated at Salesbury w<sup>t</sup> greet solempnyte.<sup>3</sup>

Item on lammesday folowyng divers householders and xvj men apprentices of the mercery were attached be writte of pryve seall and comyt to the castell of wyndesore for making a sawte upon the lumbardes.

Sande-  
wich.

Item the xxvij day of august Sonday the Toun of Sandwich

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the ballad set upon the gate of Canterbury city in 1460, *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 91-4.

<sup>2</sup> Similar account is given in Stow, *Annals*, 656; *Vitellius A. XVI*, 167; Fabyan, 632.

<sup>3</sup> The Bull for his canonization was obtained, after some difficulty, in the spring of 1457. See Thatcher, *History of Salisbury*, 1843, 125-37.

was robbed and dispoilled be enemys withoute rebuk or damage doon to theym.

verte ad iiij<sup>xx</sup> X folium precedens parte reversa.<sup>1</sup>

Item upon seint Edwards day the xiiij day of Octobre p. 152 Sir Robert Chamberleyn knyght and the twoo middeltons yede toward the See out of london w<sup>t</sup> V<sup>o</sup> men waged be the citee to the rescus of Caleis and comfort of þe Erle of Warrewik being then ther for the sauf gard therof.

Shirrefs	William Edwards } Thomas Reyner }	Geoffrey Boleyn maior anno xxxvj <sup>o</sup>	1457-8
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This yer the iij day of novembr the xxxvj yer was a greet assemble and moustres of men of the Shires about the citee by the kings comandement. Oo moustre atte long feld betwene harrengey park and Wheston and a nother moustre at houndeslowe heth upon Thursday which was a wete day and the friday was a nother moustr at seint George feeld in Suthwerk which was grevous to the comones.

Item maistr pecok Bisshop of Chichestr the saterday the iij day of decembr for sook and left all his points of heresy at lambhith afore the Bisshopes of Caunterbury Wynchestre and Rochestre and be toke him to his open penaunce which was doon the morn after at powles crosse in greet audience and sight of peple and many of his bokes brent ther.<sup>2</sup>

Item the xxiiij day of March our lady Eve of Annunciacion the king and quene being at Westminster and divers lordes condescended and agreed and ther made a full unyte and peas betwene the dukes of york and somerset and betwene the Erles Warrewyk Salesbury Northumbrelond and lord Clifford:<sup>3</sup> and the king pardoned all things doon afore aswell at Seint Albons as elles wher and proclamacion made þerof the same day thurgh the citee and therupon on the morn<sup>4</sup> the King and Quene and the lordes yede a procession at powles (which<sup>5</sup>) was a greet gladnes and comfort to the peple.

<sup>1</sup> The continuation is, as a matter of fact, only thirty-four leaves behind this part of the chronicle in the present arrangement of the leaves; it is in the same hand but is more cramped.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p 111.

<sup>3</sup> Whethamstede, i. 298-308, gives the text of the agreement; cf. for the procession Stow, *Annals*, 659-60. A ballad on the reconciliation is printed in the *Chronicle of London*, ed. Nicolas, 251-4, and *Pol. Poems*, ii. 254.

<sup>4</sup> The words 'on the morn' are repeated. <sup>5</sup> Omitted in the MS.

Item the ix day of maij the seid Erle of Warrewyk be the kings comandement rood thurgh the citee in enbasset w<sup>t</sup> a goodly felauship.

Item the Thursday xvj day of Novembr<sup>1</sup> the King and Quene being at Westminster a man of the kinges hous and a noþer of the seid Erle of Warrewyk fell at bate w<sup>yn</sup> the paleys and the Erles man hurt the kings man. Wherfor the Erle of Warrewyk shuld have be comyt to the Tour but he wisely purveied a remedy þerfor.

1458-9

Shireffs Rauf Joselyn } Thomas Scot maior a<sup>o</sup> xxxvij<sup>o</sup>  
 Ric Nedam }

p. 154

This yer the fryday the xiiij day of aprill<sup>2</sup> was a greet skirmyss in fletestrete betwene peple of the same strete and the men of court which contynued in fight and scott betwene theym iij houres. And the belles at seint Brides and seint Donstones range okewards<sup>3</sup> all the tyme for to have socour of the citee. Howe be hit be cause the king and the lordes lay at Westminster and aboute keping the counseill litle rescue as noon cam oute of the citee soo that the men of fletestrete had the victory and the men of court were overthrowe and discomfite and divers of them taken and led to prison and many oon after dyed of theym and of fletestrete deyed V persones and as god wold the Bisshopes and an heroude from the king cam and cesed theym and the crosses and our lordes body born w<sup>t</sup> prestes reversed betwene theym and elles hadde the men of court been sleyn and their Innes destroyed: nevertheles Cliffords Inne was despoilled and the men of court dryven thens and moche harme doon on the Temple.

Item afterwards in the moneth of maij divers men of fletestrete and of men of lawe wer for the same cause arrested and comyt to prison, som to Wyndesore castel and som to other casteles.

<sup>1</sup> The *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 78, says November 9, which 'seems to have been the true date' (Kingsford, *Chron. of Lond.*, 317), this making Bale just a week out.

<sup>2</sup> Bale preserves the fullest account we possess of this riot, though all the chroniclers, save Hall, mention it. Stow, *Annals*, 660, and *Vitellius A. XVI*, 169, tell us that the Queen's attorney was slain and give the name of the alderman who was sent to prison for the disturbance; cf. above, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Okewards, awkward, backwards, in the wrong direction, with a back stroke (Murray).

Item the viij day of Juyn cam riding þurgh the citee and fet w<sup>t</sup> Bisshopes a legat that cam from the pope:<sup>1</sup> at that tyme the Erle of Warrewyk being in kent (and) hadde gadered a greet felauship and a navy of shippes entending to kepe the see and to meet w<sup>t</sup> the fleet of Spayn and doo som enterprise upon the see in resisting the power and malice of the king and the londes adversaries wheryn that noo lorde of the lond toke the jeopardie nor laboured for the honour and profite of the king and þe londe but only he for the which manhode and his greet polley and dedes doying of worship in fortetieng of Cales and other feates of armes (that) all the cominalte of this lond hadde him in greet laude and chierte for the substauce and all other landes in lyke p. 155 wyse: and soo repute and take for as famous a knight as was lyving.<sup>2</sup>

Item<sup>3</sup> the begynnyng of July the seid Erle of Warrewyk mette in the See ij Carrykkes of Jean and iij greet Spaynessh shippes which weren arraied and stuffed w<sup>t</sup> men in greet nombr for werr and he scomfited and toke oon carryk and the iij greet shippes and slewe moch peple and brak the mast of the other carryk which escaped.<sup>4</sup>

Item the same moneth a part of ludgate to wards the sowth was broken and take down wher was found old coigne.

Item<sup>5</sup> the xx day of Septembr<sup>6</sup> the seid Erle Warrewyk rood

<sup>1</sup> The Legate Coppini, Bishop of Terni, came to England in this year in order to gain the King's support for the Council to be held in Mantua in the following year to devise plans for repelling the Turk (Rymer, xi. 419; Whet- hamstede, i. 331). He visited the King at Coventry, and after a stay of some length, returning by way of Calais, he changed his plans, and in June 1460 again crossed to England with the Earl of Warwick (*Eng. Chron.*, ed. Davies; *S. P. Venetian*, i. 91). He took sides with the Yorkists, and after Edward's accession was rewarded therefor, liberally enough to excite the anger of the Pope against him (Rymer, xi. 468; Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, i. 82-97).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> There is a possible change of the date of writing or even hand here; the ink is less black.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Rawl. B.* 355, above, p. 112, and note. This was the third of Warwick's sea fights; Bale omits all mention of the two combats of the preceding summer.

<sup>5</sup> There is another but slighter change in the colour of the ink here.

<sup>6</sup> The date of Warwick's return is not given elsewhere, and it has been assumed that he came over to England after the battle of Blore Heath, which took place on the 23rd of September. Salisbury was undoubtedly 'very inferior in point of numbers', the estimates varying 'from 500 to 5,000' (Ramsay,

p. 156 þurgh the citee of london w<sup>t</sup> iij C men well arraied which cam w<sup>t</sup> hym from Caleis and taried in the cite but oo knight and on the morn rood thurgh Smythfeld to his castell of Warrewyk wher the king and the Quenes meyne hadde doone moch hurt but they averted and bood not his comyng and than he rood forth from thens toward the Erle of Salesbury his ffader which was in greet jeopardde of lyf to have be destroyed by the Quens meyne but or the twoo Erles wer mette to gider the men of the Quene to the nombre of xij M recountred w<sup>t</sup> þe seid Erle Salesbury havyng iij M persones in his company and þe same Erle and his men overthrewe the Quenes peple and slewe and toke xv knyghts and divers Gentiles and after that the same twoo Erles mette to gider and yeven to the Duke of york and Erles of the march and of Rutland and whan they wer assembled they toke a feld to pentent to shewe unto the kyngs highnes the mischefe of his land for the defaute of good rule because they hadde noon oþer mean to com to his presence in saving their lives and they hadde w<sup>t</sup> them xx M peple and the king l. M.<sup>1</sup>

1459-60 mair William Hulyn 

John Stokker	}	Shirrefs a <sup>o</sup> xxxviii <sup>o</sup>
John Plomer		

And the xvij day of Octobr the seid duk and Erles left the feld because the king was in the vaward and displaid his baner to fight therfor and in eschewyng of his deth and shedding of greet blode the same duke and Erles fled and departed that is to wite the seid duk and Erle Rutland his sone into Irland and the Erle of March his son and heir and the seid Erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury to Caleys.

Item the moneth of novembre was a parliament at Coventry<sup>2</sup> and ther the same lordes and many knyghtes and Gentiles wer

*Lancaster and York*, ii. 214), so that Bale's figure may not be very far out; the Queen is said by *A Short English Chronicle* (72) to have had 14,000 men; cf. Whethamstede, i. 328.

<sup>1</sup> Bale forgets to mention Henry's offer of an amnesty, refused by the party of the Duke of York (Whethamstede, i. 339; Ramsay, ii. 215); in like manner he gives no account of the desertion from the Yorkist camp of certain professional soldiers, a defection which was probably of more moment in causing the dispersal of York and his followers than their feelings of loyalty to the King. *A Short English Chronicle* also estimates the King's numbers at 50,000; cf. Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, i, Introd. ccvii-ccviii.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament met November 20; the Bill of Attainder is given in *Rot. Parl.*, v. 346-50; Whethamstede, i. 346-56.



atteint of high treson and þerupon proclaimed traiters thurgh the londe.

Item<sup>1</sup> the xxij day of Juyn Sunday C dominical lettre oon Judde a conery of london a breton born, which hadde malicously ymagined and laboured to ordeyn and make all things for werr to þe distruccion of þe seid duke of yorke and all the other lordes and reported them for traitors in greet violence was slayn after his demerit be yond seint albons and so wrechedly as a caitif ended his life.<sup>2</sup>

Item the Wednesday folowyng the seid Erles of March, Warrewik and Salesbre entred and toke the town of sandewich and ther toke oon mountfort capitaigne w<sup>t</sup> Vc. men in lyvere of portcules waged by the kings counseill to goo to Guynes to rescu and fortify the duk of Somerset which kept þat hold be comaundement of the kings counseill to rebuke and in dispite of the seid lordes which letle profited him. And þe seid mountford beheded at Cales.<sup>3</sup>

#### Verte folio tercio precedenti

Item the next Wednesday folowyng which was the ij day of p. 151 July the same lordes cam into london w<sup>t</sup> Vc. horsemen and ledde an ost of foot men of comones of Kent Sussex and Surrey nombred at lx M.<sup>4</sup> which hadde pight their ffield be side seint George Barre the day afore. And thedir was sent oute of the citee be advise of the mair and vuds<sup>5</sup> the Recordor and certen aldermen and endrs<sup>5</sup> to entreet the seid lordes that they shuld

<sup>1</sup> The hand becomes slightly smaller here, as if the writer found his space becoming limited.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *A Short English Chronicle*, 73: 'And this year Judde, that was master of the King's ordnance, as he carried ordnance to the King's ward a little beyond Seynt Albons, he was slain on St. Albon's Day' (June 22). Judde was a London merchant who was created master of ordnance in December 1456 for his gifts of artillery to the King (*Excerpta Historica*, 10), and was therefore naturally somewhat odious to the Yorkist partisan.

<sup>3</sup> This account differs slightly from that given by Whethamstede (i. 370-1) and Worcester (772), who say—apparently more correctly—that Sandwich was captured by an expedition from Calais, and Mundeford sent to execution in this latter place, some days before the rebel lords crossed over. Whethamstede adds that they took the step on Lord Fauconbridge's representation of the friendliness of Kent and Sussex towards them; the *English Chronicle* (86, 91) corroborates this.

<sup>4</sup> Whethamstede, i. 370, says they had more than 40,000 soldiers; Worcester, 772, estimates their force at 20,000 men.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot make out these two words; the first one might possibly be meant for 'vices', short for 'viccomites', and the sense of the second place would suggest the word 'others'.

1459-60 not emproche to entre into the cite but take their cours another way for displaiser of the King and his counseill which hadde yoven by thadvys of his counseill comannement unto the mair to resist them and had willed and sent unto the mair the lord Scales and other to help the cite to w<sup>t</sup>stand the seid lordes and put them a bak which lord Scales the comones in no wyse wold agree nor assent to have to such entent for they considered that the cite was mighty and of power w<sup>in</sup> hit self to resist the seid lordes and their power, w<sup>t</sup> out any ayde of lordes yif that the seid lordes hadde o<sup>þ</sup>erwyse entended than the worship and weel of the King and his comenes: which was well understood þat they entended and willed and applied to their power and the honour and good prosperite to be had in every degree howe so ever they wer reported.<sup>1</sup>

Item the same day after that the seid lordes hadde take them lodgeing atte Grey ffreres w<sup>yn</sup> newgate which wer suffred so to doo upon certein pointments that they gave unto seid messangers aforseid sent to þem be þe seid citee than the seid Ost and feeld brake and they cam þurgh the citee and rested them in the ffield next unto seint Johanes beyond Smythfeld. And on the friday and Saterdag suyng they brake agein and departed in two weyes þat is to wite oon way toward Seint Albons and that other way toward Ware because that the seid lordes wold mete w<sup>t</sup> the king and countre w<sup>t</sup> his ost and lett and stopp þem þeir entre into

<sup>1</sup> This representation of the attitude of the city is to some extent borne out by the official civil records for the time (quoted by Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 297-301); in January of this year the governors of the capital had taken objection to a royal commission formed to collect forces against the Yorkist party, on the ground that by recognizing its powers the liberties of the city might be prejudiced. A deputation to the King secured a pledge that no such thing was intended. The same feelings, aided by the strong Yorkist opinion in the city, forced the Lords Hungerford and Scales, who had been left to hold London for the King, to retire to the Tower (*English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 95), so that when the advance of the rebel lords came, the city was left to meet it unhampered and unaided. The authorities at first (June 27) decided to resist the entry of the Yorkists and ordered measures to be taken to defend the city; within two days, however, they were less confident or less loyal, and a deputation was sent to ask the intention of the lords now advancing through Kent, their forces growing hourly. A letter from the Earl of Warwick—popular if only for his naval victories—disposed the civic authorities to regard the Yorkists' advent with more equanimity, and after the second deputation and reply, backed as it was by the sight of the immense and unruly host congregated across the river in Southwark, no objection was offered to the passage of the lords with their forces through the city.

the Isle of Ely, wher þen the kings counceill hadde proposed as was seid to have left the king and for their strength and saufigard ther to have hiden. But in as moche as the kings counceill might not opteyn that purpose they set a feld beside Northampton and thedir cam the seid lordes and their peple departed in iiij Batailles and þer was nombred than of them C lx M. and of the kings Ost xx M. And on the thursday was Bataill in which wer slain in þe kings Ost the Duk of Buk, the Erle Shrovesbury the lord Beaumont the lorde Egremond and many oþer gentiles and of oþer to the nombre of l. persones and on þ<sup>o</sup> oþer partie not over viij persones and the king preserved and kept þan in his magestie Roiall atte plaisur of þe lordes.<sup>1</sup>

verte ad tercium folium huius libri in principio.

Item the ix day of decembre the King lieing atte Bisshops p. 87 paleys at powles the seid duke of york which that be auctorite and graunte of the king and his parliament was assigned and chosen for the weell and rule of þis lond, rode toward York and oþer places of þis lond w<sup>t</sup> strength of peple having the kings full power<sup>2</sup> to arrer the enemies and to set Oyes Determyners and punysh and redresse rebellious malefactors oppressours extortioners and theeves in eny cost haunting and to arreste the

<sup>1</sup> The battle took place July 10; Whethamstede, i. 372, gives the numbers of the Yorkists as over 60,000, and adds that the King had a smaller force; the *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, 96, also states the lords had 60,000 men 'as it was said'. Bale's estimate of those killed is singularly small; while it is true that Stow, *Annals*, 669, relates how Warwick had before the conflict 'let cry' that 'no man should lay hand upon the king nor on the common people, but on the lords, knights, and esquires', the estimate of Worcester, 773, that over 300 were killed, seems more reasonable.

It seems incredible that after having followed so closely the events in London for the preceding years, and not least the meetings of Parliament, Bale should have omitted all mention of the advent of the Duke of York to the capital in October, the session of Parliament beginning in the same month wherein Richard laid formal claim to the throne, and the settlement arrived on the 31st of October (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 377-80). The disorder of arrangement in the earlier part of the chronicle, coupled with the fact that the end of the work is missing, points to the conclusion that before the M.S. was bound, several leaves were lost; John Bale says the work reached to the beginning of the reign of Edward IV, which at present it does not quite do; it will be noticed that the directions in the latter part of the chronicle as to where to turn for the continuation do not agree with the present arrangement of the leaves.

<sup>2</sup> He had authority from Parliament to raise forces with which to repress riots (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 382).

1459-60 malice and surrecion entended be the Quene, the prince, the Dukes of Excestre and of Somerset and of þe Erles of northumberlande, pembroke and Kyme called Tailboys, also (the) Erle of Devenshire the lord Clifford and the lord Roos and also of the Erle Wilton which was fled into fflaunders and of their power. Which wer sett of affinite and purposed as was reported and seid to have doon greet myschief and hurtes as they afore had used undre councciles and colour of supporting the kings right which proved evermore contrary as shewed be their werke.

Item<sup>1</sup> the same day the Erle of Salesbury rode thurgh Chepe not having w<sup>t</sup> him over a C. persones nor the seid Duc over iij [? c.] persones for hit was seid hit shuld not need them to have more multitude be cause the contryes wer advised to resort and strength them in þeir journey. And oon called lovelac a Gentilman of Kent folowed them w<sup>t</sup> greet ordenannce of Gounes and other stuffs of werre.

Item upon Cristemas day and newyeres day the king yede crowned a procession at powles and on cristemas day the king fested atte Bisshops paleys at london the maior aldremen of this citee and þer was greet rialte. And on the morn after newe yeresday cam hevvy word and tidings to the king and my lord of Warrewik that the duke of york, the Erle Rutland his sone and the Erle Salesbury wer trayterously and ageinst lawe of armes be taking of Tretys graunted, mordred and slain in the north beside pountfreite in a feld called wakefield<sup>2</sup> by the fals meanes and power arrered by the duk of Somerset the Erle Northumberland the lorde Roos and the lord Clifford and the lorde Nevyll and andrewe trollop and oþers. And they made their quarell in colour of that myschevous dede doing and they entended þerby to have the king at large surmetting by lettres of deffiance that they sent to the mair and comones of london that the king was enprisoned at london which was fals and be

<sup>1</sup> There is again a slight change in the colour of the ink here, probably representing entry at not quite the same time as the portion immediately preceding.

<sup>2</sup> Two days before, December 30, 1460. The *Epitaph for the Duke of York* (*Pol. Poems*, ii. 256) expresses a view akin to that of Bale :

Ce noble Duc a Wacquefelde mourut  
Doux paix traitant force sur luy courut.

that meanes they dispoilled divers places and robbed and slewe people be yond the trent shamefull to rite.

Item the xxviiij day of Janyver began the parliament agein and was hold at powles and all the countrees and shyres made greet peple to goo and be avenged upon the seid lordes in the north for their seid cruell dede.<sup>1</sup>

## MS. GOUGH LONDON 10

Thomas Chalton Maior } Thomas Canyngis } a<sup>o</sup> xxviiij<sup>o</sup> } 1449-50  
 William Hulyn } } fo. 39.

This yere was the Bataill at the brigge.<sup>2</sup> And this yere the moste parte of Normandy was lost. Also in feveryere the seid xxviiij yere the parlement beganne at the blak freres and con-  
 tynued till Ester after but they myght nat accorde. In the mene tyme the duke off Suffolke was arrested and putt in the Toure and grete wacche was made in the Cytee of London all the parle-  
 mente tyme and after Ester the parlement was aiourned to leycestre and there was till after Witsontyde and no thyng pro-  
 ceeded. In the mene while the duke of Suffolk as he was in the see goyng over he was taken by a schipp called Nicholas of the toure and his hed smytten of on mayday and the body and the hed cast on the sandes beside dover. And sone after the comons of kent arose w<sup>t</sup> grete power and com doune to blak heth the xi day of Juyn and there enbaytaled them and picched them round about w<sup>t</sup> stakis and dichis and there abode vii dayes. And whan the kyng harde this whiles he was at leycestre he made all the lordys gadder all the puysaunce that they couth to go w<sup>t</sup> hym ayenst the kentysshmen and so they did and com to london and sent dyvers lordys to the blak heth to witt what they ment.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicle ends imperfectly here with a reference, not to be verified in the volume in its present state, 'penultima scripti folia xxx<sup>o</sup> sequentia finitur . . . cronicula regis.'

<sup>2</sup> This apparently refers to the fight described below by which the Kentishmen were finally driven out of the city. The account of the rising given here resembles that in the *Vitellian Chronicle*, and to a slightly less extent that of Fabyan, but it gives several dates—as that of the arrival of the Kentishmen at Blackheath—and other details not found in the other two records.

1449-50

fo. 40

And they seid they were petycyoners and besought the kyng that certeyn thyngis that they felt hem agreved w<sup>t</sup> myght be amended. But the kyng wolde nat graunt them. The Capteyn of them they called John Mortymere: and divers appoyntmentis were taken w<sup>t</sup> hem but they wolde not holde them wherfor the thursday the xvij day of Juny the kyng toke all his lords w<sup>t</sup> all their peopill in goode array after fourme of werre and rode to blaketh but the capteyn and his meyne were goone the night afore but no man knewe whidder. Wherfor certeyn lordys that kept the forward followed their trace. And it happened that Sir Umfrey Stafford Knyght and William Stafford Squyer and an other Squyer w<sup>t</sup> all their menny mett w<sup>t</sup> the kentysshmen about Sevenok and there bikerd w<sup>t</sup> theym and there were Slayne the said Sir Umfrey and William and many of their men. And on the fryday after dyvers lordys men drewe them gidder on the blak heth and seid that they sawe their frendys slayne and that they were like to be sleyn also yff they followed the kyng and his traitors. And whanne the duke of Bokyngham hard that he went to the kyng to grenewiche and told hym that his pepill wolde forsaaake hym w<sup>t</sup> out he wolde do execucion on his traitours. Wherefor anon the kyng made the lorde Saye to be arrested and brought to the tower by the duke of Excestre and on the morn after midsomer day<sup>1</sup> the kyng remeved from Westminster to the castell of kelyngworth: but or he went it was tolde hym the kentysshmen wolde com ageyne. Wherefor he sent for the meier and aldermen and counceill of london and commaunde theym to kepe them out off the cytee. And the morn after seynt peter's day the captein of kent com to blak heth ageyn and there beheded oon pareis a pety Capteyn of hys:<sup>2</sup> and on the same day there come tythyngs to london that the Bysshop of Salisbury was slayn in Wyltshire.<sup>3</sup> And on the thursday the first day of Juyll the capetayn w<sup>t</sup> his ost com into Suthwerke and there leged all nyght and the gatis of the brigge were shutt save the wykkett: and that was kept w<sup>t</sup> harnessed men: but pit by leve

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bale, above.

<sup>2</sup> 'Forasmuch as he had offended against such ordinances as he had established in his host,' Fabyan tells us.

<sup>3</sup> The death of Bishop Aiscough is mentioned at the end of the entry for the year in *Vitellius A. XVI.*

men went oute but the kentysshmen wolde nat suffre men to pass the ferther Stulpis<sup>1</sup> of the brigge after they were come : and the same day the comons of Essex come doune to myle end to the seid capteyne, and oon the morn after the comons of london wente to yelde hall by cause of a sommaunce made by a commision that was sent from the kyng to certeyn lordys and to the maier and certeyn Justices for to enquire of all thoo persones þ<sup>t</sup> were traytours extorcyoners and oppressours of the kynges people but the Justices wolde nott be founde. Wherefor the comons of london were right wroth. Neverthelesse certeyn Enquestis were called and while the maire satt the comons fo. 40<sup>v</sup> cryed soore on Malpas aldremen and caused that he was discharged of his cloke. And Robert Horne an oþ<sup>er</sup> aldremen prough the noise of the pepill was there arrested and put in Newgate : and the same day at V. of the klok at after noone the said capetayn com into london over the brigge and hewe the roopis a sundre that the drawe brigge was bent w<sup>t</sup> and whan he was at seynt Magnus he made a crie that no man in his host upon peyne of dethe dispoyled no man in london and ayen at leden hall. And forthe w<sup>t</sup> he went to Malpas place and dispoiled all that was þerein and after rode oute to myle ende to the oste of Essex men and from thens ayen into Suthwerk the same nyght : and on the morowe the maier and aldremen and ii Justice satte at yelde hall and charged x. questis. Which endited the lorde Say and other of treson and or the maier went to the hall he sent Horne to the capteyn and he raunsoned hym and many other men of the citee : and while the maier was at the hall the capetayn com ageyn into london and went to the fflete and from thens to oon Crowmere a Squyer that hadde wedded the lorde Sayes dowghter and had been shireff of kent and doon grete extorcion there as they seid and he beheded hym at white chapell w<sup>t</sup> oute algate w<sup>t</sup> an other man that was called bailly and a clerke<sup>2</sup> and brought the heddys on stakys þourow london

<sup>1</sup> Stulp, 'a stout short post fixed in the ground' (Wright); Gloucester in 1425 accused the Bishop of Winchester of having barred his road by 'letting draw the chain at the Stulpes' of London Bridge (*Julius B. II*, Kingsford, 77).

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of a clerk, or indeed any one other than Crowmer and Bailey, being beheaded by Cade at this time, in *Vitellius* or any other chronicle; it is possible the writer intended to put Bailly, a clerk, and as we know nothing of Bailly save that as Fabyan tells us, he suffered

fo. 41

and the same day the said capteyn dyled at Cestes place by toure strete and took from hym greete goodys. And the same day at after none the lorde Saye was sent for to the toure by dyverse aldremen and men harnesssed and brought to the yelde halle and there was reyned at the barre and after he was delyvered to the comons<sup>1</sup> and ledde to the Standard in Chepe and there he was beheded and his bodye drawe thorow london to seynt Thomas Waterng and there hanged and thanne quartred and caried ayen in to Suthwerke.<sup>2</sup> And on the morn that was Sunday at night the said capteyne made a crye in Suthwerk that every man of the cytee shuld drawe hym in to the cytee: and that all his men shulde drawe to hym in their best arraye ffor it was tolde hym that the maier and aldremen of london wolde arrere the cytee: and so hit happed that about ix of the klok in the evenyng the lorde Scales and Mathew Gough Squyer that was a noble werreoure w<sup>t</sup> their meyny went ayenst the seide capteyn and his men and fought from that tyme till viii of þ<sup>o</sup> klokke in the mornyng and much pepill slayne on bothe sidys. And þ<sup>o</sup> was Slayn the said Mathew Gough and Sutton aldremen and oþ<sup>er</sup> worthy men of the cytee and than the kentysshmen sett ffire on the draw brigg so that men myght not com to theym and anon after viii the erche bisshopp of caunterbury<sup>3</sup> and the cardenale of york chaunceler of England and other went bytwene and made truse. And on the morn after that was seynt Thomas day of Cauntorbury the seid capteyne voyded to blaketh w<sup>t</sup> all his peple and so forth into kent and on thursday the x day of Juyll the said capteyne goods wer taken at Rochester. And on Sunday after Alisander Iden that was Shyreff off kent w<sup>t</sup> other tooke the said captayne besyde Maydestone and (he) was soore hurt as he was taake so that he died thereof and on Monday because he knew too much of Cade previous to the revolt, he may quite well have been the clerk.

<sup>1</sup> *Vitellius A. XVI* says Lord Say was taken from the Guildhall by 'force and strength' of the Kentishmen, who would not listen to his plea to be tried by his peers.

<sup>2</sup> *Vitellius* and Fabyan add the name of 'Roger Heysant' to those of Sutton, Gough, 'and many others' slain at the bridge.

<sup>3</sup> The *Vitellian Chronicle* says the Chancellor of England; Fabyan has 'the Archbishop of Canterbury the Chancellor of England', which is certainly wrong, as Kemp (who was made Chancellor in January of this year) was not made Archbishop of Canterbury until two years later, in succession to Stafford.





1454-5  
fo. 42<sup>r</sup>

Stephen fforster maior }  
John ffelde }  
William Taillour } anno xxxiiij<sup>o</sup>

fo. 43

This yere on alhalon even the lorde Egremond was taake by Sir Thomas Nevyle and Sir John Nevile knyghtys by grete bataill in the north contree. Where was many slayn: and at Newesyeres tyde after the kyng releved from his siknesse at grenewiche. Wherfor processions wer made at london: and w<sup>t</sup> in a while after the duke of yorke protectoure was discharged of his office and the Duke of Somerset went out of the Toure at his large: and in lent after the vij day of Marche the erle of Salisbury Chaunceller was discharged off his office<sup>1</sup> and the Bisshop of Caunterbury called Bourghcier made chaunceler: and the same year the pope sent Bulles in to England of pardon as hole as it was at Rome in the yere of Jubilee<sup>2</sup> and in Maij the Duke of Yorke the Erle of Sarum and the Erle of Warwyk assembled to theym an armye for to distroye the traitours<sup>3</sup> a bout the kyng: and the xxi day of may the kyng and the duke of Somerset the Erle of Northumberlond the lorde Clyfford w<sup>t</sup> many other lordis knyghts and Squyres rode to seynt albanys purposed toward leycestre to holde a counceill there: and the xxv day off maij that was the thursday afore Witsontyde at seynt albons the seid duke of yorke and other lordis w<sup>t</sup> there armye tooke felde and þ<sup>r</sup> fought w<sup>t</sup> the duke off Somersett at none in the toun. Where þ<sup>e</sup> duke of Somersett, the Erle of Northumberlond the lord clyfford were slayn and duryng the bataill the duke of yorke and the other lordys had the kyng into the abbay and there kept hym unhurt and there the kyng graunted to be ruled by þem.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vi. 358; he had been in office just eleven months, *ibid.* 355-7, Rymer, xi. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bale, above, p. 158; the entry for this year is quite different from that in the *Vitellian Chronicle*; Fabyan records only a riot in the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand. The battle of St. Albans took place on the 23rd of May (Whethamstede, i. 167-9).

<sup>3</sup> *Vitellius*, 165, is not so strong in its language; it merely says the barons came 'to remove the said Duke of Somerset and others from the king'.

Thomas Canyngis }  
 John Styward } a° xxxv°  
 Rauff Verney }

1456-7  
 fo. 43<sup>v</sup>

This yere<sup>1</sup> died the Erle of Richemond that was brother to the kyng and after that the lorde Egremond brake out of Newgate. Also the same yere the first day of decembre the Counceill beganne at Coventre where was moche murmure among the lordis: but as the tounne sadly kept the pees for the yong duke of Somersett was purposed for to affrayed w<sup>t</sup> the duke of Yorke but the kyng and the lordys made an end therof: and duryng the counceill the duke of Somersett and Sir John Nevyle knyght son of the Erle of Salisbury had grete visagyng to gidder at london and mustred for to have bykered to gidder in Chepe: but as grace was that they wet nat togidder: and also the meier kept grete wacche to kepe the pees. The same yer frenchemen entred at Sandwiche and took there greett goodes and scope unponysshed.

Geffrey Bolleyne maior }  
 William Edward } a° xxxvj°  
 Thomas Reyner }

1457-8  
 fo. 44

This yere Bisshop Pecok was abioured at Paules Crosse: and þe same yere about Candilmas the Duke of Somersett the duke off excestre the lord Egremond and the lorde Clyfford come to the Counceyll w<sup>t</sup> grete people in forme off werre and they laye in dyverse bishoppis placis w<sup>t</sup> out temple barre to thentent to have met w<sup>t</sup> the duke of york and the Erle of Salisbury as they had goon to Westminster by water and the maire of london made grete wacche in the Cytie to kepe the pees: on Chroftetewesday the Erle of Warwikk come from Caleis w<sup>t</sup> a faire felloshipp: and a non after that he was come the duke of somersett and the other lordys sent away their meyne home to their countreyes<sup>2</sup> and in lent after the Erle of Northumberlond come

<sup>1</sup> The account in *Vitellius*, 167, for this year is fuller than that given here, but it differs in one or two points; it does not record a council at Coventry nor the threatened fray between Somerset and York there, though it mentions the near approach to a conflict between Somerset and Sir John Neville in London. The Council is said elsewhere to have begun on the 7th of October (*Paston Letters*, i. 403; cf. *Introd.* cxcvi).

<sup>2</sup> There is no parallel to this statement in the *Vitellian Chronicle*, and it does not seem *a priori* very probable or consistent with the statement almost immediately following; the attempted attack on Warwick and the service to pray for peace are likewise not found in *Vitellius* nor indeed in the other chroniclers. Bale records a somewhat similar move against Warwick as

to toun the secunde sonday of lent and in the week afore myd-  
 lentt on thursday the duke of Somersett and the Erle of Northum-  
 berlond w<sup>t</sup> theire meyney harnessed and arride in forme of  
 werre went to Westmynster to thentent to have mett with the  
 Erle of Warwyk there but certeyn lordis seyng it went ayenst  
 the Erle of Warwick and mett hym in his barge in thamyse<sup>1</sup>  
 and so returned him ayen<sup>1</sup> and so no thyng was doon  
 blessed be god: and it was said that Warwick seid he wolde  
 to Westmynster on the morow maugre of them all. Where-  
 for the maire made grett wacche to kepe the pees. And the  
 thursday after mydlent the kyng com to Westmynster: and  
 on the morne there was made a generall procession to praie for  
 the pees: and at after none the quene cam to the kyng and the  
 weke follewng the lordys by the kynges commandment went in  
 tretice betwene the other lordys so that on oure ladys Even in  
 lent þ<sup>t</sup> was friday they were made accorded at Westminster  
 before the kyng and eche tooke other by the hande and so cam  
 forthe togidder arme in arme as frendys and at after noone the  
 kyng sent wrytyng to the maier and commanded hym to pro-  
 clayme þourgh the Cytee how the lordis were accorded and on  
 the morn that was oure lady day the kyng and þe quene and all  
 the lordys went on procession at powlis solemply thankyng god  
 that the lordis were accorded: and there was seen that day on  
 off the grettest multitude of people that day that ever was seen  
 in<sup>o</sup> powlis: and on thursday in the Witson weke the duke of  
 Somersett wyth antony Ryvers and other iiij kept Justices<sup>2</sup>  
 afore the kyng and the quene in the toure ayenst iij Squyres of  
 the quenys: and on Sunday after they kept newe Justices<sup>2</sup> at  
 Grenewiche: and on the moneday after Trinitee Sunday certeyn  
 shippes of Caleys apperteynyng unto the Erle of Warwyk mett  
 in the see w<sup>t</sup> the Spannysshe shippes and there bikered w<sup>t</sup> them  
 and tooke vi Spannysshe Shippes full of marchaundises: and  
 other vi were drowned about Boleyn and the remenaunt of the  
 Spaynardis fled to the nombre of xvi Shippes which were

fo. 44<sup>v</sup>

taking place in November 1456, and there was a more serious riot between his men and the servants of the King's household two years later, but, unless Gough is confusing these several occasions, he adds yet another to the many minor acts of hostility between the two parties.

<sup>1</sup> These words are repeated in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Jousts.

soone bett and moche of there people slayne and of Englysshe-men were slayn about C. and many hurt.<sup>1</sup> The same yere the Janewayes tooke Starmyns Shipp of Bristow and other w<sup>t</sup> hym þ<sup>t</sup> hadde been in hethenesse. Wherfor the Janewayes that were in london were arrested and putt in the fleete and paid for the harme viM markes.

And the Thursday after<sup>2</sup> the Erle of Marche and the Erle of<sup>1460-1</sup> Warwik come to london wyth a grett puisshaunce and on Son-<sup>fo. 46<sup>r</sup></sup>day after all the host mustred in Seynt Johannis ffelde and there was redde among theym certeyne articles and poyntys that kyng harry the vi hadde offended in ayenst the realme. And then it was demanded of the people whether the said harry were worthy to regne still and the peopill cried nay: and than was axed iff they wolde have the Erle of Marche to there kyng and they cryed yee: and then certeyne capitaynes went to the Erle of Marches place at Baynardis Castell and mucche people w<sup>t</sup> hem and tolde hym that the people had chosen hym for kyng and he thanked theym and by the advyce of the bisshop of Countorbury the Bisshop of Excestre and the Erle of Warwik w<sup>t</sup> other graunt it to take it upon hym:<sup>3</sup> and on tewesday after made cryes that all maner people shulde mete him on the morn that was the iiij day of Marche at powles at ix of the clokk and so they did: and thidder come the Erle of Marche w<sup>t</sup> the lordis in goodly array and there went on procession þurgh the toune w<sup>t</sup> thee letanye: and after procession doon the bisshop of Excestre Chaunceler made a sermon: and at the Ende of the Sermon he declared the Erle of Marches right and title to the crowne and demaunded the people yff they wolde have hym to her kyng as his right axed and they cryed yee: than all the people were prayed to goo w<sup>t</sup> hym to Westmynster to see hym taake his possession and so the people did: and than the Erle of Marche

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for this sea fight, above, p. 112. *Vitellius A. XVI* omits mention of any place for the battle, and gives the number of the Spanish ships fleeing as xxi; Fabyan says Warwick captured six and drowned and chased xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> February 28, 1461; Gough's account of the accession of Edward IV is fuller than that in *Vitellius* or Fabyan.

<sup>3</sup> The *Vitellian Chronicle*, 174, inserts in this place an account of the execution of Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyrelle, and the flight of certain of the Yorkists to Flanders.

fo. 47

w<sup>t</sup> the lordis spirituell and temporell roode thidder and whan he come at the halle he alighted and went in and so up to the chauncery and there he was Sworn afore the bisshop of Caunterbury and the Chancellor off Englund and the lordis that he schulde truly and justly kepe the realme and the lawes there of maynteyne as a true and a Juste kyng: and than they did on hym kynges roobis and the cappe of Estate and than (he<sup>1</sup>) went and satt in the See as kyng: and than it was axed of the people yff they wolde have hym to kyng and hym maynteyne supporte and obeye as true kyng and the people cried yee: and then he wente thorowe the paleys to Westmynster chirche: and the abbot w<sup>t</sup> procession boode hym in the chirche hawe w<sup>t</sup> Seynt Edwardis Septure and there tooke it hym and so went into the Chirche and offered at the high awter w<sup>t</sup> grett Solempnitee and after at Seynt Edwardis shryne: and than cam doune into the Quere and satt there in the see whiles Te Deum was songe solemply: and thanne<sup>2</sup> went into the paleys ayene and chaunged his array: and after com doune by water and went to poules to the paleys and there logged and dyned. And the maier and the aldremen and comons in Westminster hall besought thee kyng to be goode and gracious lorde to the cytee and to the fraunchies theroff that they myght enjoye hem as they did afore his tyme: and there he graunted hem goode lordeship and all their fraunchises as they were graunted them and promitted to afferme them and charged the maier aldremen and comons to kepe the cytee to his behoffe and honoure.

And the said kyng Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup> beganne his reigne the seid wedenysday that was the iiij<sup>th</sup> day off marche the yere of oure lorde god MCCCC<sup>o</sup>lxj.<sup>3</sup>

1461-2  
fo. 48

. . . . .  
 Hugh Wyche maior    John Lokk    } a<sup>o</sup> j<sup>o</sup> 1461  
    George Ireland }

This yere on Wedenesday the iiij day of Novembre began the parlement at Westmynster and on the morne after that was Thursday died John duke of Norfolk a noble prince that had

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the text.<sup>2</sup> Repeated in MS.<sup>3</sup> *Vitellius* omits the formal heading here, going straight on with the account of the year (not printed here from *Gough* as the two chronicles are practically identical) and inserting the heading 'Mayors and sheriffs', &c., before the names of the city officers for 1461-2.

holpon Kyng Edward gretly to his right<sup>1</sup> on whom god have mercy: and on all halowen day at Westmynster the kyng made fo. 48<sup>v</sup> his yong brother Richard duke of Gloucestre the lorde bourgchier Erle of Essex and the lorde fawconbrigge Erle of Kent: and the kyng kepte his Cristmas at Grenewiche and his moder at Eltham and there was the yeres mynde kepte of the duke off yorke rially on New Yeres even the masse and on the morow after xii day the kyng remeved toward Cauntorbury and so forthe to Sandwiche<sup>2</sup> bicause it was seid that Shipmen had caried away Som of the Shippes: and the xii<sup>th</sup> day off feveryere the Erle off Oxenford and the lorde awbrey vere his son Sir Thomas Tudenham William Terell and other were brought into the toure of london ffor treason: and on Satirday the xx<sup>th</sup> day of the seid moneth the said lorde aubrey was drawe from Westmynster to the tower hill and there beheded. And on the xxiiij day of feveryere next after that was Tuesday and seynt Mathewes evyn Sir Thomas Todenham Tyrell and Montgomery were beheded atte Towre Hill: and on friday next ffolewying the Erle of Oxenford was led on his fete fro Westmynster to towre hill and there beheded at afternone: and is buried at frere Austyns and the last daye off Juyll the Castell of Anwik was yolden to the lorde hastyngis by poyntment: and the Erle off Kent with bisshoppes went in to Breteyn and here gate the Ile of Conkett and patised it to Englund in the begynnyng of Septembre.

. . . . .

Richard Lee maior	Richard Gardener	}	anno x <sup>o</sup> .
	Robert Droope		

1469-70  
fo. 50<sup>v</sup>

This yere after alhalontyde there was proclamacions made in london by þe kyngis commandment that the kyng had pardoned all the Northynmen for their Rysyng and all other as well for the deth of the lorde Ryvers as other: and afterward there was moche a doo for a rysyng that was made in lincoln

<sup>1</sup> As in the instance noticed above, *Vitellius* is more non-committal in its tone, merely saying of the Duke that he had been 'a great helper to King Edward'.

<sup>2</sup> The *Vitellian Chronicle* records Edward's journey to Canterbury, but says nothing of its continuance to Sandwich; there were rumours current at the time, however, that the French were about to invade the country, and the King may have gone so far.

Shire: and the kyng ordeyned him to goo thidder ward. And in feveryere the Erle off Warwik com to london ayene and or he cam there was moche a doo for billes that were sett up in divers places in london of the duke of Claraunce and him: and on Shrofe Sondag the kyng hadd purposed to have goone Northward and the same day the duke off Claraunce com to toune: and therefor the kyng taried as it was seid till Shroftywesday or he yede: and that same day at iij after noone the kyng come from Westmynster to Baynardis Castell in a barge and his lordys with hym: and so they com to poules and the kyng offred and thanne went to horsebak and Roode to Ware the same nyght and w<sup>t</sup> hym the Erle of arondell and Percy that was newe made Erle of Northumbrlond and the lorde hastyngis<sup>1</sup> and other: and at þat tyme the Erle of Warwik was at Warwik and had reysed moche people . . .<sup>2</sup>

1494-5  
fo. 51

Also on ffryday the xxx<sup>th</sup> day off Janyvere the seid yere satt in the seid Guyhalde on a detemyner the maier the duke of Bukkyngham the lorde markes the Erle off Aronndell the Erle off Derby the Erle of Suffolke the Erle of Essex the Erle of Surrey the Erle of Vrmond the lorde off Burgeveny the lorde Hhastyngs þe lorde Daubeney the lorde Denham Sir Reynolde Braye Sir Thomas Lovell dyverse Juges Barons and aldremen and there were brought afore theym the deane off poulis the provyncyall off the blak fryers<sup>3</sup> the prior off langley Sir Symond momford Sir Robert Ratclyff<sup>4</sup> w<sup>t</sup> William Daubeney and his servant Cresseno of Clementes ynne and a dowcheman all whiche persones was endyted off Treson and confessed the same treson save oonly Sir Robert Ratclyff: and there were juged to be

<sup>1</sup> The names of Arundel and Hastings are omitted in the *Vitellian* record, which is, however, almost identical with *Gough* for this as for the immediately preceding years.

<sup>2</sup> The chronicle breaks off abruptly here, the end apparently being lost. The fragment for the year 1494-5 is probably part of a continuation by another hand; the writing is less clear, the parchment less smooth, the pages are not ruled and there is no underlining of names and capital letters as in the earlier part.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitellius*, 203, adds of him 'a noble divine and famous preacher'. Langley Priory was close to Norwich; cf. for these trials, Busch, 94-6, 340.

<sup>4</sup> 'Sometime porter of Calais,' *Vitellius*; and of Thwaites 'sometime Treasurer of Calais'; Daubeney likewise is described as 'sometime clerk of the Jewel house with King Edward IV'.



drawn from the toure of london to tyborne the dene of poulys the provynycall of the blak ffryers the prior of langeley and there to be hanged and quartred.

Also on Saterdag the last day off Janyvere the seid yere sat in the seid guyhall on determynng the maier and all the seid lordys and there were brought befoore them Sir Thomas Thwaytes Sir Symond Momforde Sir Robert Ratclyff Docto(r) Sutton master Lassy master Thomas Warde Doctor Suttones brother master William Daubeny Cressno of Clementes Jnne a maryner<sup>1</sup> and a dowcheman and there were Jugged the same day to be drawn from Newgate to the tour hill and there to be heded and quartred Doctor Sutton master dawbeney Cresno of Clemente Jnne a maryner a man off yorke and a dowcheman and there was endyted off consperysy Sir Thomas Thwaytes.

Also on Wedenesday<sup>2</sup> the iiij<sup>th</sup> day off ffeveryere were drawn fo. 51<sup>v</sup> from Newesgate to the towere hill and there beheded Sir Symon Momford Sir Robert Ratclyff master William Daubeny and there were that had ther charters Cresno and a man of yorke.

Also the same day was apeched the archebisshop of yorke and cam before the lordys in the starre Chambre and there was suerty ffor hym body for body and goodes for goodes my lorde of Cauntorbury Chanceler of England.

Also on thursday the v<sup>th</sup> day of ffeveryere was drawn ffrom Newegate to tiborne and there hanged and quartred the maryner and a flemmyng.

Also the same day satt in the yelde hall on a determynacioner the maier dyverse Jugis the kynges solysitor and the Recorder and there were dyverse enquestes charged and there was dampned oon pety John<sup>3</sup> to be drawn and hanged at Tyborne.

Also on ffryday the vi<sup>th</sup> day of feveryere in the kynges benche

<sup>1</sup> *Vitellius* gives the names of the mariner, a 'shipman' as it calls him, Robert Holborn, and of the Dutchman as Hans Troys; the 'man of york' is also defined more exactly as Thomas Astwode, steward of Marton Abbey (in the North Riding of Yorkshire); Doctor Sutton is described as 'the parson of St. Stephen's in Walbrook', but Thomas Warde is omitted (unless he is Thomas Astwode the Yorkshire man).

<sup>2</sup> *Vitellius* adds that an inquest took place on the Tuesday also, but gives no particulars; of the pardon of Cressyner and Astwood it remarks that the judgement 'gladdened much people for they were both young men'; it omits all mention of Archbishop Rotherham's impeachment.

<sup>3</sup> 'A stranger, called a Briton' (*Vitellius*).

satt the chieff Juge, the chieff Juge of the comon place Sir guy ffarefaxx the chieff Baron off the Chekker w<sup>t</sup> other Jugis the duke off Bokyngham the lorde markes the Erle off Arundell the Erle of Essex the Erle off Surrey the Erle of Suffolk the Erle of Northumberlond the lorde Hastynge the lorde Stewarde the lorde Denham the lorde burgeveny the lorde grey cotenor<sup>1</sup> the lorde Wellys Sir Reynold Bray and Sir Thomas lovell and there was indyted of treson Sir Williom Stanley lorde chamberleyn and there reyned.

fo. 52

Also on Saturday the vii<sup>th</sup> day off ffeveryere all the seid Jugis and lordys satt in the kyngis benche and there was reyned Sir William Stanley lorde Chamberleyne and by a quest was dampned and had jugement by the chieff jugge to be drawn from the rounde hous at Westminster to the towre hill and there hanged and after his hed smytten of and his bowells brent.

<sup>2</sup> Also the xvj day off feveryere moneday was Sir William Stanley Lorde Chamberleyne pardoned off the kyng off hangyng and drawyng and the seid day bytwene xj and xij at noone was he ledde from the toure of london to the toure hyll and there his hed smytten off and is beryed at Saint Donnstones<sup>3</sup> in the . . .

## MS. TANNER 2

1460-1  
fo. 104

1459 Ricardus Lee miles Robert Flemyng }  
Joannes Lambard } 39

Dux Eboraci cum exercitu mittitur in Borean inhibiturus conatus regine et aliorum qui decretis parlamenti rebellarent. Nam in iisdem decretis erat ut si rex pactis non staret e vestigio, dux regaliam possideret. Regina cum exercitu duci occurrens

<sup>1</sup> Codnor in Derbyshire.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is in a smaller hand save for the last three words, which are in large heavy writing. There is a final entry, scrawled and partly illegible, relating how some person named Antony 'the xvj daye of maye in anno domini 1550 begane to playe on the fyddell and yt was granted to him to make a froude (?) on every mans dore . . . he dyd playe (. . .) and so play at 3 of the cloke in the mornyng'.

<sup>3</sup> Probably St. Dunstan's in the East, close to the Tower, is meant, but we learn from the privy purse accounts of Henry VII for 1495 that £15 19s. was paid 'for Sir William Stanley's buryall at Syon' (*Excerpta Historica*, 101).

victoria potita est<sup>1</sup>, ubi occisi sunt ipse dux Eboraci, comes Rutlond, Thomas Nevyll eques auratus, etc. Et comes Sarum, Johannes Harowe, dux peditum et alii capti decapitati sunt ad pountfret in fine decembris. Comes Marchie tunc existens Shrewsbury audita cede patris collecto<sup>2</sup> exercitu acre prelium habuit contra comites Penbrok et Wyltschyre ad crucem Martineri in Walliam in principio february. In quo victoria cessit comiti Marchie. Regina cum principe et dominis septentrionalibus coacto grandi exercitu ad sanctum Albanum occurrunt duci Northfolchie et comiti Warwyke cum suo exercitu in fine february.<sup>3</sup> Ubi regina victrix fugatis adverse partis ductoribus regem henricum illuc adductum recepit et dominum Bewelde et Thomam Tyrryll equitem auratum decapitavit et sic cum rege et toto exercitu redierunt in Borealia. Comes Marchie et Comes Warwyke venerunt londonium ubi ex dominorum consensu comes Marchie declaratus est 4 die Martii rex Edwardus 4 quia dictabant regem henricum contravenisse decretis parlamenti. Edwardus autem comparato exercitu profectus est in septentrionem, ubi ad Towton prope Eboracum cum grandi exercitu occurrit Rex Henricus 22 die martii, qui erat dominica palmarum, et utrinque cruentur dimicatum est ut occisa dicantur 30 Milia hominum. In eo prelio victor evasit Edwardus, imperator acclamatus est ubi ex parte henrici cesi sunt Comes Northahumberlond, dominus Clifford, Johannes Nevyll frater comitis Westmorland eques auratus, Andreas Trollope, etc. Rex vero henricus cum regina et principe, Dux Somersete dominus Roos et alii Eboraco profecti sunt in Scotiam. Edwardus recepta provincia et pacata relictoque comite Warwyke preside revertit londonium.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Wakefield, December 30, 1460.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the account for this year is in the margin, at the side of the entries for the succeeding years.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the battle was February 17; it was Sir Thomas Kyrelle, who was executed with Bonville; cf. Whethamstede, i. 390-5, the writer being in St. Albans at the time of the conflict. The date here given for the battle of Towton is a week too early, March 29 (Palm Sunday as stated) being the accepted date.

<sup>4</sup> He arrived in the capital again midway through June, having gone as far north as Durham, and as far west as Chester (Ramsay, *Lanc. and York*, ii. 274).

1470-1  
fo. 104<sup>v</sup>

1469 Johannes Stokton miles Johannes Crosby }  
Johannes Warde } 10

Rex Edwardus revertitur in Angliam intrans ad portum flambrowhe in Holderness<sup>1</sup> veniens Eboracum inde Coventriam ubi non lacessitus nec lacessens praeteriit comitem Warwyke et fratrem Mowntegue habentes illic exercitum. Tunc facta concordia venit ad eum frater suus Georgius dux Clarentie et sic una venerunt londonium in cena domini. Et in vigilia pasche exiit rex Edwardus, et ad Bernet commisit cum exercitu comitis Warwyke 14 aprilis,<sup>2</sup> diluculo pasche, ubi occisi sunt comes Warwici, cum fratre domino Marchie Montegewe. Rex autem rediit londonium vesperi trahens secum regem henricum quem ad prelium eduxerat et eum recludit in turri. Regina Margareta cum Edwardo filio intravit in devoniam,<sup>3</sup> cui cum exercitu venienti, Rex Edwardus currit ad Tewkysbury cum suo exercitu ubi commissum est cruentum prelium 4 die maij, ubi captus et occisus princeps Edwardus filius regis henrici: occisi quoque Edmundus dux Somerset, cum fratre domino Johanne, et langestroder, domino sancti Joannis et plerisque aliis equitibus auratis, dominus quoque Wenloke proditor pugnii a suis in vestigio occisus est. Regina capta remissa est in natale solum.<sup>4</sup> Nothus ffawkyndrigge intrans a mari per Cantiam cum tumultuario exercitu conatus est irrumpere londonium proclamans henricum VI. et Warwicum sed repulsus est et occisus pro quo tumultu Edwardus gravi multa pecuniaria Cantianos punivit.<sup>5</sup> Rex Henricus occiditur clam in turri.

<sup>1</sup> It was at Ravenspur, near Spurn Head, and more than thirty miles from Flamborough Head, that Edward landed (*Arrival*, ed. Bruce, Cam. Soc., 1838, 2; Warkworth, 13; *Vitellius*, 183). He entered York March 18th.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the account for this year has overflowed into the margin.

<sup>3</sup> She landed at Weymouth on the day of Barnet (Warkworth, 17). Concerning Lord Wenlock's end, Hall (300) tells how, as Wenlock stood giving no help to Somerset in his need, the latter, after reviling him, 'with his axe strake the brains out of his head.' It is perhaps worth noting that the chronicler says that Prince Edward was taken prisoner and then slain.

<sup>4</sup> Although Margaret was captured at this time, it was not until five years later that, as one condition of the Peace of Étamples, she was allowed to leave the country for France in January 1476 (Rymer, xii. 19-20, 21-2).

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Neville's attempt on London took place in May, but he was not captured until September, near the end of which month his head was set on London Bridge (*Paston Letters*, iii. 17; *Vitellius*, 185, 'the end of the same year').

Warkworth, 21-2, mentions the commissions which sat in Kent, Sussex,

1481 Edmondus Shaa }  
 Willelmus Whyte }  
 Joannes Mathewe }<sup>22</sup>

1482-3  
 fo. 105<sup>v</sup>

Rex Edwardus moritur 9 die Aprilis. Ricardus plantagoneth dux Eboraci<sup>1</sup> appellatus protector anglie occurrit principi et eum excipit venerabundus ad Stonyng Stratford et londonium deducit. Interea sub specie comperte prodicionis custodiri iubet Anthonium Ryvers dominum Skalys fratrem regine Elyzabethe et dominum Ricardum Wodvyld<sup>2</sup> regine filium et Warham equitem auratum necessarios et comites principis et Pomphretam deduci. Interea dominum Willelmum Hastyns camerarium anglie in turri obruncat et statim apud Pomphretam iubet dictos dominos decollari.<sup>3</sup> Tunc e vestigio Edwardus princeps et frater Ricardus dux indigna nece suppresso mortis genere in turri tolluntur e medio.<sup>4</sup> Et ipse sibi regimen vendicat verumtamen a 9 die aprilis usque ad 26 Junii stetit dictus princeps ut rex quia eius nomine acta publica et scripta prodibant.

Ricardus Tercius Cognomento.

1482 Robert Byllesdon }  
 Thomas Norlond }  
 Willelmus Martyn }<sup>1</sup>

1483-4

Rex Ricardus 3<sup>us</sup> cum Anna uxore filia comitis Warwyci coronantur ad Westmonasterium 6 Julii. Eodem anno dux Bokyngname Sarum decapitatus est et Cowrtney episcopus Exoniensis et Johannes Chayny Willelmus Bowkley Egydius Dawbney equites aurati et plerique alii proceres fugerunt in franciam sociantes se comiti Rychemunde et Penbroke.<sup>5</sup> Reliquie henrici sexti transferuntur a Chertseia Windesorium.<sup>6</sup>

and Essex, after Fawconbridge's rising, 'some men paid 200 marks, some £100, and some more and some less, so that it cost the poorest man vii<sup>s</sup> . . . and so the king had out of Kent much good and little love.'

<sup>1</sup> This is crossed through by a later hand; Richard Duke of York was of course brother, not uncle, to the young king.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Richard Grey, son of Elizabeth by her first husband Sir John Grey; Woodvyle was the name of the Earl of Rivers.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings was beheaded the 13th of June; the 25th day of the same month witnessed both the deposition of the young monarch and the execution of the prisoners in Yorkshire.

<sup>4</sup> Both this chronicle and the chronicle of Lynn (below, p. 185) add their testimony to the general belief of the early sixteenth century as to the fate of the princes.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold, xxxvii, says 'divers lords and knights fled into France' this year.

<sup>6</sup> Stow, *Annals*, 776. Apparently this was largely a bid for popularity on the part of Richard (Ramsay, *Lanc. and York*, ii. 527).

1484-5

1483 Thomas Hyll Richard Chester  
Thomas Bretayn }<sup>2</sup>

In Augusto comes Rychmundie nepos henrici sexti et comes pembrochie qui diu in ffrancia exulaverant cum his proceribus qui superiore anno fugerant venerunt in angliam applicantes in Wallia et collecto exercitu contenderunt londonium. Quibus occurrit Rex Ricardus cum ingenti exercitu et prelium factum est ad Bosworth prope Laycestriam. In quo occisus est rex Ricardus et dominus Howard dux Northfolchie et plerique alii et comes Richmundie coronatus est 30 Octobri et in ffebruario<sup>1</sup> sequenti duxit uxorem reginam Elysabetham filiam regis Edwardi 4<sup>i</sup>. Eodem anno et sequenti desaevit novum genus febris pestilentialis dictum pestis sudoralis per totam angliam divites et pauperes inopinate rapiens et necans adeo ut in Septembri crearentur londonii tres praetores quorum medius non integrum viveret tertium diem.

Henricus Septimus Cognomento

1485-6

1484 Hugh Bryce Joannes Tate  
Joannes Swan }<sup>1</sup>

Hastiludia celebria Westmonasterio. Pestis sudoralis debacchatur.<sup>2</sup> Modius salis veniit iij<sup>s</sup> iiii<sup>d</sup>.

1486-7

1485 Henricus Colett Hugh Clopton  
Joannes Percyvall }<sup>2</sup>

Arthurus primogenitus henrici nascitur.<sup>3</sup> Comes lyncolnie collecto exercitu venit ad Stoke iuxta Newark cui occurrens rex cum exercitu confluxit 16 Junij in quo prelio occisi sunt ipse comes lyncolnie, dominus Lovell, frater comitis Keyldare<sup>4</sup> et quidam fflandricus egregii nominis in armis dictus Martyn Swarte cum ignobili plebe.

1487-8

1486 Willelmus Horne Joannes ffenkyll  
Joannes Remyngton }<sup>3</sup>

Joannes Mydylton Ascheley et Joannes Amyntre maior in hibernia decapitantur.

<sup>1</sup> The marriage took place January 18, 1486.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold, xxxviii, this year (not in the previous one) mentions 'a great death and a hasty called the sweating sickness'; so *Vitellius*, 193, Pol. Verg., *Anglicae Historiae* (ed. 1555), 720 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> 19th of September; Arnold places this (wrongly) in the third year.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Fitzgerald, Chancellor of Ireland.

1487 Robert Tate Rauf Tylney }  
 Willelmus Isaak } 4 1488-9  
 fo. 106

Comes Northhumberlond seditione occiditur tumultuante plebe. Wylowbe dominus de Broke Johannes Cheyny eques auratus et alii ducunt exercitum vij M. in Britanniam minorem ad tuendas res domine illic contra francos. Papa mittit regi insignia.<sup>1</sup>

1488 Willelmus Whyte Willelmus Capell }  
 Joannes Broke } 5 1489-90

Arcturus primogenitus regis creatur princeps Westmonasterii. ffranke Harry Davy Johannes Mayne decapitantur. Compositio pacis in eternum inter Angliam et Daciam.<sup>2</sup>

1489 Joannes Mathewe Herry Cote }  
 Robert Renell } 6 1490-1  
 Hugh Pemberton }

Robertus Marchall reus maiestatis decapitatus est. Secundus filius regis henricus nascitur dux Eboraci. <sup>3</sup> Robertus Chamberlayne eques auratus decapitatur. Cives Londinienses dant in expeditionem in franciam 9682 li. 17<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. ad quam summam plurima pars senatorum viritim contulit 200 li. et quidam inferiores 100 li. reliquam partem vulgus supplevit.<sup>4</sup>

1490 Hugh Clopton Thomas Wood }  
 Willelmus Brown } 7 1491-2

Rex cum exercitu traicit in franciam et obsidet Boloniam.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth uxor regis Edwardi quarti moritur. Granatam expugnat rex hispanie. Rome pars sancte crucis in muro conclusa reperitur.

Pax inter duos reges Anglorum et francorum composita est in finem anni primi post obitum alterutrius alteri superstiti. In cujus etiam supplementum rex francie sese obligavit ad solvendum

<sup>1</sup> The entry for this year is very similar to that of Arnold, save that the latter omits the names of the leaders; these are to be found in Hall, 442. The 'insignia' consisted of sword and cap of maintenance.

<sup>2</sup> Denmark; the treaty was signed January 20, 1490 (Rymer, xii. 381).

<sup>3</sup> The remainder of the entry for this year is written by another hand, very small and neat.

<sup>4</sup> So *Vitellius*, 193, and Fabyan, 684, with slight differences; Arnold does not mention this loan, levied as a Benevolence for the expenses of the campaign in Brittany (cf. Rymer, xii. 446; Busch, 61-2).

<sup>5</sup> There is an erasure here and a space; after the notice of the death of the Queen dowager, the later hand continues the entry.





1495 Johannes Tate } Joannes Shaa }  
 Richard Haddon } 12

1496-7

Mense Junii Cornubia et Devoniam tumultuantur et supra 30 eorum milia ascenderunt Londonium, ducibus domino Awdley et quodam ingenuo legisperito vocato fflammacke et Michael Joseph fabro ferrario dicto Black Smyth de Bodinam in oppidis per quae fecerunt iter precomponentes multos articulos quorum reformandorum causa in regno et circa regem dicebant se venisse et venerunt ad Blackheth in Cantia ubi per exercitum regis fusi et disiecti sunt. Dominus Awdley decapitatus est frater occisus in prelio. fflammacke et Mychaell distracti suspensi cuisterati et dissecti.<sup>1</sup> Vij die Septembris quidam juvenis dictus Perkyn Warbeke qui se praedicabat Ricardum Plantageneth filium regis Edwardi et perinde duxerat uxorem Katerinam filiam comitis de Hawntley in Skotia appulit in Cornubia prope promontorium sancti Mychaell cui stolidam plebem adhesit et repulsus ab Exonia venit ad Tawnton sed approquinante Egidio Dawbney domino camerario cum exercitu populus fugit et Perkyn fugit ad asilum in Bewly prope Sowthampton.<sup>2</sup> Sed proposita pactione venit ad regem agentem tum cum exercitu ad Tawnton tuncque rex profectus est Exoniam. Et continenter regii commissarii fo. 106<sup>v</sup> sederunt iudices in Cornubia et Devoniam punientes praecipuos tumultus auctores quosdam suspendio quosdam multa pecuniaria qua etiam affecti sunt hi in toto eorum itinere qui eis auxilium contulerant.<sup>3</sup>

1496 Willelmus Purchas } Thomas Wyndough }  
 Barthylmew Reed } 13

1497-8

Grave incendium in palatio seu manerio regio de Rychemund prope Schene 22 die decembris cum rex illic natale christi celebraret. Petasus pyramidis paulini novo instauratur.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best account of this rising is preserved in the *Vitellian Chronicle*, 213-16, but neither there nor elsewhere is there any mention of Lord Audley's brother; Arnold's account is much more brief.

<sup>2</sup> Perkin is generally credited with having made the first step in flight by departing from his camp at midnight, leaving his followers 'amazed and disconsolate'; *Vitellius*, 217; Pol. Verg. 605 'clam et noctu se in fugam dederit'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pol. Verg. 606-7; Rymer, xii. 696; *L. and P. of Henry VII*, ii. 336-7.

<sup>4</sup> This yere in Dec. was taken down the weather cock of Powles, the cross and the ball and all new made, and in May after, solemnly hallowed

1498-9

1497 Johannes Percyvall }  
 Thomas Bradbury } 14  
 Stevyn Janyng }

Edmundus tercius filius regis nascitur ad Grenewyche et creatur dux Somersetie.<sup>1</sup> Juvenis dictus perkyn Werbeke clandestina fuga dilapsus iterum capitur et proponitur ludibrio populo in Chepe in locis editis et deinde ducitur in turrim et iudicatus incarceration.

1499-  
1500

1498 Nicolas Alwyn }  
 James Wyllford } 15  
 Richard Brond }

23 die novembris dictus perkyn warbeke et Johannes Water qui fuerat praetor yowghell in hibernia distracti et suspensi sunt prodicionis convicti et damnati et 28 die novembris comes Warwyke filius ducis Clarentie custodie commendatus ab xi anno sue etatis maiestatis reus iudicatus decapitatur. Hoc anno intumuerunt aquae fluviales supra memoriam hominum et inhorruerunt venti fulgura et tonitrua. Rex cum regina traiecit Calisiam ubi occurrit iis officii causa philippus dux Burgundie et collocti splendide epulati sunt. Et rex 14 die Junii appulit in angliam. Eodem mense obiit Edmundus filius regis. Eodem anno obierunt Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Eboracensis episcopi Eliensis et Norwicensis. Incendium ad Babraham.<sup>2</sup> Caritas annone.<sup>3</sup>

and set up again,' Arnold, xxxix; *Vitellius*, 222, also mentions the fire at Shene.

<sup>1</sup> February 24, 1498; cf. for Perkin, *Vitellius*, 223; Pol. Verg. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Babraham is a village south-east of Shelford, near Cambridge. Arnold, xi, calls it the 'town of Paburham'. The notice is of some interest as illustrating the zeal which Foxe displayed in recruiting his army of those who suffered for the Protestant faith. He records (*Acts and Monuments*, ed. Cattle, iv, pp. 8, 122) that in 1498 'a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt in the month of July, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copy which I have written. Albeit in the book Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is A. D. 1499.'

The words of Fabyan (or rather his continuator) are (ed. 1811, p. 687) 'And this year was Babram in Norfolk burnt. And in July was an old heretic burnt in Smithfield'. It seems pretty obvious that 'Babram in Norfolk' is really Babraham, and that Fabyan's continuator really meant to describe the burning of a *place*; this, indeed, is the natural deduction one would draw from his words. But Foxe, his mind running on conflagrations, aided by the mention of a heretical burning in the next sentence, elaborated these words of the chronicles into a burning at the stake, endowing his supposed martyr with virtues suited to the occasion.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold's entry, xl, is almost identical, save that he omits the date of Perkin's execution and all mention of John Walter (who had been mayor of Cork not Youghal); also, his final entry is of 'a great pestilence', *Vitellius*,

1499 Willelmus Remyngton } Joannes Hawe } 16  
 Willelmus Stede } 1500-1

Edmundus de la Pole dux Suffolchie cum suo fratre Ricardo fugerunt in transmarinam mense augusti Caterina filia regis hispaniarum cum splendido apparatu venit et recepta est in Angliam. Rex egregie instauravit manerium suum de Schene vertens eo nomine ut appellaretur Rychmonde et maneria Baynardys castel et Grynwyche. Caritas annone.<sup>1</sup>

1500 Johannes Schaa } Laurence Aylmer } 17  
 Herry Hed } 1501-2

Caterina filia regis hispaniarum cum exquisitissimis honoribus et pompa traducta est per honoratiores plateas londonii et in templo divi pauli nupsit filio regis Arcturo principi 8 die Octobris. Quo tempore rex insignivit 57 equites auratos. Et paulo mox Westmonasterii celebrata sunt hastiludia.<sup>2</sup> In novembri venerunt legati a Scotia petentes filiam regis Margaretam in coniugem suo regi et 27 Januarii dicto regi desponsata est. Et circa principium aprilis Arcturus princeps diem obiit ludlowe et sepelitur Wurcestrie. xi die Maii Johannes Tyryl et Johannes Wyndham equites aurati decapitati sunt ad collem turris.<sup>3</sup>

232, also records 'the great sickness' this year, and cf. below, p. 188; Prince Edmond died the 12th of June, Cardinal Morton in October.

<sup>1</sup> Arnold mentions the rebuilding of Shene, but places the coming of Katharine in the following year, omitting the flight of Suffolk to Maximilian in the Tyrol; this was the second time Suffolk had thus left the country, the first departure taking place in the summer of 1499, when, after crossing to Flanders, he returned within a few months (Busch, i. 166, 171, 362-3). *Vitellius*, 233, records how 'by the subtily and crafty dealing of the Bakers was great scarcity of bread within the city of London, and yet plenty of corn lacked not'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for the pageants in the city, *Vitellius*, 234-53, and note, 332; Hall, 494; Arnold, xli, whose entry is similar to that given here. With this year, however (the end of the 'chronicle' in the 1502 edition of Arnold's work), the resemblance between the two records ceases. For the negotiations with Scotland, ending in the treaty signed January 24, 1502, which provided for Margaret's marriage to James, cf. Rymer, xii. 729, 787, 793, 804; Busch, i. 141-7; she was married by proxy January 25, 1502.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James (not John) Tyrrell and Sir John Wyndham, together with Lord William de la Pole, Lord William Courtenay, and others of less importance, were arrested as a result of the Earl of Suffolk's flight to Maximilian; Tyrrell and Wyndham were beheaded May 6, 1502, others of the suspects being executed at the same time; the year 1504 witnessed an Act of Attainder against them (*Vitellius*, 256-7; Pol. Verg. 611-12; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 545; Busch, i. 172).



Henricus viii cognomento.

1507 Stephanus Jenys taylor }  
 Thomas Exmewe goldsmyth }  
 Ricardus Smyth taylor }<sup>1</sup> 1509-10

Rex custodiri iussit plurimos qui sub umbra favoris quo pollebant apud patrem suum peculatum exercuerant et tyrannidem in regno opprimentes insontes inter quos praecipui fuerunt Ricardus Emson et Edmundus Dudley.<sup>1</sup>

1508 Thomas Brabbery mercer }  
 George Monony draper }  
 Joannes Dogett taylor }<sup>2</sup> 1510-11

Empson et Dudleye capite cesi sunt.<sup>2</sup>

1509 Henry Kebyll grocer }  
 Johannes Mylborn draper }  
 Johannes Rest }<sup>3</sup> 1511-12

1510 Rogerus Achylley draper }  
 Nicolas Skelton mercer }  
 Thomas Myrfyn skynner }<sup>4</sup> 1512-13

Bellum indictum regi francorum ob impietatem in summum pontificem quod eum deponere praesumeret et ob iniustam detentionem domini Normandie Gascon et Gyen. Conflictus in prelio navali in quo cetera<sup>3</sup> ingentis magnitudinis et bombardis supra estimationem credibilem armata cui praerant 4 magni nominis domini et navis praeterea anglica dicta Sofferayn<sup>4</sup> cui praerat Thomas Knevet eques auratus congressae sunt adeo feroci marte ut post omnia terribilis pugne strategemata utrumque navigium cum omnibus in eis fluctibus absorberetur.

1511 Willelmus Copynger fyschmonger }  
 Robert Holdernes }  
 haberdasher }  
 Robert ffewrother }  
 goldsmyth }<sup>5</sup> 1513-14

Duo filii domini howard ducis Northfolchie et dominus fferes cum classe infestant maritima Britannie ferro et flamma late omnia populantes et inter configendum minor filiorum periit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnold, xlv; Hall, 505; Pol. Verg. 613, 620.

<sup>2</sup> August 18, 1510.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the chronicler's expression for the 'Caricke of Brest', the *Cordelière*, which Hall describes as 'a strong ship furnished in all points'. The event was the well-known engagement between the English and French ships, but the later writer erred in making Knevet captain of the *Sovereign*. In the fight the *Sovereign* missed the carrack, on seeing which Sir Thomas ran his own ship, the *Regent*, alongside the French vessel, and, after a severe fight, fire broke out and both ships with all on board perished (Hall, 526-7, 534; *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, i. 3388; below, p. 191).

<sup>4</sup> This word is inserted by the later hand, the original writer having left a space.

<sup>5</sup> A letter to Wolsey (*L. and P.* i. 4020) gives a graphic account gathered from eyewitnesses of the death of the Lord Admiral; cf. *ibid.* 3974; Hall,

1513-14 Incendia quibus magna pars palatii regalis Westmonasterii et  
 sacellum in arce londonii et pleraque alia loca in Angliam con-  
 flagraverunt. Rex cum exercitu instructissimo xxx milium<sup>1</sup>  
 fo. 107<sup>v</sup> traiecit in ffranciam.<sup>2</sup> Et cum putaretur obsessurus Bolinum  
 mutato itinere exercitum duxit ad Terwynum eumque obsedit,  
 oppidum natura et arte munitissimum. Accidit quod galli rati  
 futurum id quod acciderat antea illic praesidium miserant sex  
 aut amplius milium pugnatorum armis et viribus instructissi-  
 morum. Rex autem quotidie urbem infestabat iactu pilarum  
 ferrearum stupende magnitudinis e bombardis et aliis diversi  
 generis machinis et tormentis. Molitus quoque est variis in locis  
 irruptionem deiectionem murorum per cuniculos subterraneos.  
 Obsessi nihil segnius resistere et incaute palantes conficere cata-  
 pultis et minoribus bombardis. ffaciebantque identidem ex-  
 cursus equestres quasi prelium inituri sicque nostros audacius  
 et inconsultius insequentes trahebant in insidias partim cedentes  
 partim captivos ducentes sed maiori semper suo malo. Nam  
 unius nostratium detrimentum triplo aut amplius suorum dampno  
 compensabant. Exercitus quoque regis equestris longe lateque  
 discurrebat annonamque obsessis inferri penitus prohibebat cum  
 ipsi summa fame laborarent. Hec dum agerentur advenit cum  
 octo milibus suppetiis imperator Maximilianus a rege magnifi-  
 centissime acceptus et eius impensis cum exercitu duobus men-  
 sibus altus, multis praeterea muneribus imperatore dignis donatis,  
 inter quae fuit collare ornamentum cuius precium fertur decem  
 librarum milia equasse. ffuit ea res regi honori maximo et  
 sine exemplo cum publice fateretur pulchrum esse anglorum  
 regi habere se in suis castris imperatorem non modo consiliarium  
 verum etiam sub regio vexillo militantem. Sed quam probe  
 operam navarit ipse viderit. Domina etiam Margareta impera-  
 toris filia et Sabaudie ducissa que paulo antea xii stupende ma-

536. Lord Ferrers was in command of the *Trinity Sovereign*; *L. and P.*  
 i. 3977, 4005.

<sup>1</sup> The estimates for the royal army give 26,000 foot-soldiers; later, the  
 English force was estimated at 34,000, in addition to 15,000 Germans (*L. and*  
*P.* i. 4309, 4464, 4329); Polydore Vergil, 626, puts the force at 30,000 strong;  
 the King crossed to Calais on the 30th of June. John Taylor, clerk to the  
 Parliament, wrote a diary of the events of the campaign (summarized in  
*L. and P.* i. 4284), which contains an account of the siege of T erouenne,  
 similar but fuller and more exact; cf. Hall, 537 seq.

<sup>2</sup> The account is continued from this point by the second hand.

gnitudinis bombardos dono regi miserat, venit in castra salutatum regem et eum coram visura cuius famam audierat tam inclitam. Ea quoque digno occultu et munificentia accepta est ut recedens diceret anglorum regem solum esse eo nomine dignum. Hec dum agerenturque Terwinenses obsidebantur adeo fame laborabant ut nisi mature eis subventum esset deditionem facere cogentur id quod ffrancorum regi prius significaverant. Quapropter xvij kalendas Septembres galli putantes regem otiose agere quod pridie festum fuerat Assumptionis Beate Marie coacto exercitu ante lucem accesserunt praesidium et annonam obsessis illaturi. At rex quem non latebat eorum consilium iam antea loca insecerat e quibus eos invaderet et totis copiis gallos adortus eos fudit atque disiecit confecissetque totum exercitum si non ut galli se deprehensos viderunt fuge se dedissent.<sup>1</sup> Capti in eo prelio plerique nobiles cum signis e quibus praecipui fuerunt Dux Longavildie et Dominus Claremontanus. Itaque Terwinenses desperato subsidio per legatos supplices de deditione cum rege ceperunt agere tandemque impetraverunt ut incolumes cum bonis oppido excederent.<sup>2</sup> Rex autem bonam murorum partem evertit domosque incendit: templa tamen et religiosa loca reliquit innoxia nisi quod ante deditionem spera ferrea e bombardo iacta foramen ingens per primarii templi parietem transvolans excaverat. Hec dum geruntur in ffrancia rex scotie maximum et fortissimum exercitum cogerat. Nam constat in eo fuisse plusquam pugnatorum centum milia putans cum regnum Anglie viribus esset exhaustum quod rex cum principibus et instructissimo exercitu in transmarinis ageret confidebat se posse nemine resistenti in angliam grassari sed (se) fefellit cum sua opinione. Nam vix tria miliaria in Angliam intraverat cum dominus howardus Norfolchie comes collecto exercitu ei occurrit et temerarii ausus penitentem provocat ad pugnam.<sup>3</sup> Itaque

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Spurs; cf. Hall; *L. and P.* i, p. 625; and *ibid.* 4402, for a list of those captured in the engagement.

<sup>2</sup> The surrender was agreed upon on the 22nd of August, and the King entered the town a few days later (*L. and P.* i, p. 625; Nos. 4420, 4431).

<sup>3</sup> Flodden Field, October 9, 1513, *L. and P.* i. 4434, 4439, 4441; Hall, 563, gives a similar list of the slain, closing with the same remark as to those not identified; cf. Fisher, in *Political History of England*, v. 185-9, and 189, note, for other modern accounts. Norfolk, however, did not succeed to the title until *after* the battle, his elevation to the dukedom being the reward for his victory.

fo. 108<sup>r</sup>

utrinque totus exercitus explicatur in aciem et infesto Marte totis viribus diu confligitur tandemque angulus victor scotos passim cedit. Cesa sunt in ea pugna plusquam viginti scotorum milia fuissetque ea strages multo maior nisi reliqui fuga sibi consulissent nec Anglis incruenta fuit illa victoria. Nam in ea pugna quinque aut sex anglorum milia desiderata sunt. Cecidit in vestigio rex ipse scotorum pluribus vulneribus confossus et sagitta traiectus. Ceciderunt quoque pene omnes scotorum principes in quibus praecipui filius ipsius regis nothus Archiepiscopus sancti Andree episcopus Ilesius, Abbas Nithafrancis, Abbas Kylwynnensis, Comes Mowntrensis, Comes Craffordensis, Comes Argilensis, Comes Lennoxensis, Comes Glinarnensis, Comes Ketuenensis, Comes Castellensis, Comes Bothwellensis, Comes Arrelensis, Constabularius Scotie, Comes Addyllensis, Comes Athellensis, Comes Mortomis, Dominus Lowett, Dominus fforbos, Dominus Elveston, Dominus Roos, Dominus Inderby, Dominus Sayntlerere, Dominus Maxwell cum quatuor fratribus, Dominus Dawnley, Dominus Seympyll, Dominus Brothyk, Dominus Bogonye, Dominus Askyll, Dominus Blakkater, Dominus Colwyn, Dominus Douglas, Cuthbertus Home, Dominus ffastecastell, Equites aurati Alexander Sutton, David Home, Magistri Johannes Grawnte, Donkyn Canifylde, Saunders Lowder, Georgius Lowder, Mariscallus, Kayel, Elliott, Kawellen clericus cancellarie, Decanus Ellister, Mackeen Macleen et plerique alii non satis agniti quia nullus caduceator scoticus eos disquisivit. Denique nobilioris et florentioris generis xii millia illic cesa sunt. Et hanc quidem mercedem suis sceleribus dignam recepit perfidissimus et ingratis-simus Jacobus Scottorum rex qui sub anathematis pena prohibitus a summo pontifice ne quid in absentia henrici regis regnum inclinetur, rupto nihilominus pacis federe quod sacrosancte iuraverat, voluit sic debacchari, nec mirum, cum adhuc juvenis paterna cede sese sedavit.<sup>1</sup> Itaque cadaver eius sine honore ut

<sup>1</sup> James IV was only fifteen years old at the time of his father's death at the Battle of Sauchie Burn in 1488, and can scarce be said to have been the origin of it. It is true that the rebel nobles of Scotland paraded the cause and the person of the prince, but he was taken to the field of action from Stirling Castle, having been given up by the governor, in whose custody his father had left him: cf. Lindsay of Pitscottie, *Chron.*, ed. Mackay, i. 204-5; Pinkerton, ed. 1797, 333; Holinshed, v. 459-60; Lang, *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 349, however, says the prince joined the opposition.



excommunicati ad domum usque Cartusiensem prope Rychemundum allatum est ubi hactenus iacet insepultum.<sup>1</sup> ffelicitate pugne magnum Anglis detrimentum attulerunt ii qui Ryddysdale et Tyndale inhabitant qui dum pugnaretur ut nefarii latrones castra comitis et aliorum ducum diripuerunt et equos abegere.<sup>2</sup> Perlato ad regem tante victoriae nuntio ille ut prudens christianus deo maximas egit gratias illi totum referens acceptum.<sup>3</sup> ffama vero tante stragis in scotos edite gallorum regem super quam dici potest vehementer perculit. Rex autem Anglus totis castris exercitum duxit ad Tournacum eumque obsedit. Vero Tornacenses post aliquantam tolerationem obsidionis consideratione malorum que obstinatis Terwynensibus acciderant nec satis praesidii ipsi habentes regi sese dedunt placateque accipiunt et in suam perpetuam ditionem veniunt, ingentem auri vim partim tunc representantes, partim in annum tributum datis obsidibus pollicentur. Accipiunt nihilominus praesidium anglicum cum suo duce apud se alendum. Rex his feliciter actis cum galli nullam pugnandi copiam facere auderent et hyemps appeteret in Angliam cum incolumi exercitu sese recepit.<sup>4</sup>

Johannes Bryges  
1512 Willelmus Broune Johannes Dawys et } 6  
Johannes Basford

1514-15

Hoc anno rex comitem Northfolchie egregie laudatum quod suo ductu scoti tam feliciter fuerant oppressi creavit ducem Northfolchie creavit quoque Carolum Brandon ducem Suffolchie qui paulo ante ex mero equite factus erat dominus lyle ex connubio domine heredis: huic ferebatur ducendam ducissam Sebaudie sed res effectum sortita non est.<sup>5</sup> Ineunti autem vere rex maiore

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 83-4.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, 563-4, mentions the same thing as occurring in the night after the battle.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor relates how on the receipt of letters from the queen telling of the victory Mass was celebrated, the *Te Deum* sung, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of St. Asaph (*L. and P.* i, p. 626; cf. Nos. 4451-2).

<sup>4</sup> Tournay surrendered September 21; Poynings was made Lieutenant to hold the town, and the King, after receiving a visit—not recorded here—from the young Prince Charles, left Tournay on October 13, embarking at Calais just over a week later; *L. and P.* i, p. 626, Nos. 4472, 4502; Hall, 566-7.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Brandon was created Duke of Suffolk February 1, 1514 (he had been made Viscount Lisle the previous year, having arranged to marry his ward Elizabeth Viscountess Lisle); he was dispatched to Margaret of Burgundy to arrange plans for a new campaign. A letter of Henry's some

fo. 108<sup>v</sup>

apparatu statuerat iterum cum exercitu in ffrancos ducere cum subito affuerunt legati persolventes redemptionem dominorum ducis longavildie et Claremountani et nomine regis ffrancorum cum nostro rege de nuptiis inter dominam Mariam regis sororem olim destinatam duci Burgundie filio phillipi et suum regem ffrancorum que res post multam consultationem et solidam pactionem splendidissime dotis et ingentis vis auri ad arbitrium regis anglie sibi solvendi in compensationem dominorum et nuntiorum transacta est et solennibus legatis ultro citroque repente missis tandem ipsa virgo in Kalendis septembris cum ingenti apparatu sumptu et splendore transfretavit et pari ambitu excepta et parisiis deducta regique copulata in quarum nuptiarum celebratione dux Suffolchie et dominus marquis<sup>1</sup> egregia rei militaris facinora deponentes magnificis praemiis donati cum summa gloria rediere. Hoc anno Leo decimus consilium lateranense a Julio inceptum probavit et mense Julio sessionem prosequitus est.

1515-16

1513 George Monox }  
 Thomas Mundy }  
 Johannes Yarford }<sup>7</sup>

ffransiscus<sup>2</sup> rex francorum primus eius nominis successit Ludovico qui obiit primo die Januarii cuius uxor regina nupsit Carolo Brandon duci Suffolchie. Eodem anno Thomas Wulsey priore anno factus episcopus lincolniensis creatur archiepiscopus Eboracensis et cardinalis<sup>3</sup> et anno subsequenti cancellarius anglie. Eodem anno (Margareta<sup>4</sup>) filia regis henrici vij et regina Scotie cum viro suo rebus suis non satis confidentes confugerunt in Angliam et ipsa gravida peperit.<sup>5</sup>

weeks later remarks on the possibility of a marriage between the two, but although the rumours were not entirely without foundation, the matter came to naught (*L. and P.* i. 4072; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vi. 219).

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset; cf. *L. and P.* i. 5560, 5590, 5606, for some account of their doings.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be another change of hand here.

<sup>3</sup> A year intervened, however, between his receiving the Bulls for the Archbishopric in September, 1514, and his creation as Cardinal; it was in December of the same calendar—though not mayoral—year, 1515, that he succeeded Warham as Chancellor.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> She crossed the border on the last day of September 1515, Margaret Douglas being born at Harbottle Castle eight days later.

1514	Willelmus Butlar	Henricus Wurlay Willelmus Bayly Ricardus Grey obiit	1516-17
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Hoc anno fernandus rex aragonum et hispaniarum diem obiit.<sup>1</sup>

1515	James Rest	Thomas Semer John Thurston	1517-18
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1516	Thomas Exmewe	Thomas Baldry Radulphus Symond	1518-19
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Selinus rex Turchariorum Sultanum regem, Babilioniorum in Aegypto prelio occidit. Campegius cardinalis et legatus venit in Angliam.

1517	Thomas Myrfin	Joannes Aleyn James Spencer	1519-20
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Maximilianus imperator diem clausit extremum. fo. 109

1518	Jacobus Yardforde	Joannes Wylkinson Nicholus Partrich	1520-1
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Carolus rex Castilie eligitur imperator qui navigaturus in Burgundiam appulit in Angliam cum regina Aragonum honorifice acceptus. Rex et regina cum reliquo pene flore transmiserunt Gessoriacum quibus occurrerunt rex et regina francorum et mutuam amicitiam summa magnificentia consolidaverunt nec minus sumptuum splendore illustraverunt. Selinus imperator veneno periit primogeniti sui studio sibi illato.

Mulieres macleenses et lovainenses magno tumultu grassabantur.

1519	Joannes Brug	Joannes Kyme Joannes Steynton	1521-2
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Edwardus dux Buckingham securi percutitur. Cardinalis Eboracensis mare traicit.

Opera Lutheri damnantur.

Leo papa moritur.

Imperator fines Gallorum populatur.

<sup>1</sup> This and the succeeding entries are in another hand; they are almost identical with entries in the *Scala temporum* in the earlier part of the volume, from which they are probably copied.



1479 John Borbave maior<sup>1</sup>

In this yere Mahomet the torke besydged the Rode but lost his labr.<sup>2</sup>

1480 William Marche maior

1481 William Marche maior

In this yere the Skots begane to store and the deweke of glossytr was sent to them but he returned w<sup>th</sup> out battell.<sup>3</sup>

1482 Thorsbe maior

In this yere Kyng Edward (died<sup>4</sup>) the 4<sup>th</sup> died the 9 day of apryll and lefte behend hym 2 sons Edward the prynce and Rychard þe deweke of Yorke w<sup>th</sup> 3 dawghters.<sup>5</sup>

1483 Robarte Pyllye maior

In this yere the xi day of aprell Edward the V<sup>th</sup> begayne his rene being of the adge of a xi yers and never was crowned but most shameffully murdred at the comandement of his owen uncle rychard the 3 who in Joune next after began to reyne.<sup>6</sup>

1484 Thomas Wryght maior

fo. 38

In this yere the deweke of buckyngam was beheded.<sup>7</sup>

1485 John Tyllye maior

In this yere was bosworth fyld<sup>8</sup> wherin kyng Rychard was

dying from it. It was raging in Norfolk in 1479 (Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, iii. 169; cf. *Vitellius*, 188; Arnold, xxviii; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, 22; Hall, 327).

<sup>1</sup> Blomefield, in his list of the mayors of Lynn (*Hist. of Norfolk*, viii. 533), has John 'Burbage'.

<sup>2</sup> Rhodes was besieged in 1480 by Masih Pasha with a considerable fleet: the bravery of the defenders, the incapacity of the Turkish general, and finally the death of Mahomet himself (May 3, 1481) saved the town. The other English chroniclers do not record this.

<sup>3</sup> In this campaign Gloucester, though he did not fight a battle, achieved considerable success; he besieged and took Berwick and devastated the country as far north as Edinburgh (Hall, 330-8); Fabyan and *Vitellius* do not mention it.

<sup>4</sup> This word is crossed through.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth, Cecilia, and Katherine.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fabyan, 668; the chronicler may have confused ix and xi. Edward V was born in November 1470, and so would be in his thirteenth year; Richard began his reign June 26; Edward V reckoned his reign from the day of his father's death, April 9.

<sup>7</sup> October 1483.

<sup>8</sup> August 22. As a matter of fact, Henry dated his reign from the day before the Battle of Bosworth, in order that his opponents on that field might

ove<sup>r</sup> throune in the 3 yere of his Reyne by henery the Erle of Rychmond who was afterwa<sup>r</sup>d Kyng by the nam of Kyng henry the sevethe.

In this yer the 22 of August henery the 7<sup>th</sup> begane his rene.

1486 Rycharde Godwyne maior

In this yere King henery the 7<sup>th</sup> maryed Elyzabeth the eldest dowghter of Edward the 4<sup>th</sup><sup>1</sup> and by meanes wherof the tow houses of yorke and longcaster was set at one w<sup>r</sup> as þe wer enymys.

1487 Robarte Pylly maior

In this yere the quen was mary<sup>e</sup>d.<sup>2</sup>

1488 John Tegoe maior

In this yer was a grete battell betwyne the Kyng and other nobles by reson þ<sup>t</sup> a pryst called rychard symond [who] conveyed awaye a yong chyld into yerlande saying to the nobles that he was sonne to the deweke clarons.<sup>3</sup>

1489 John Gryndell maior<sup>4</sup>

1490 John Gryndell maior

fo. 37 In this yere the Kyng was at Walsyngame:<sup>5</sup> also ther was a taxt of the tent penyne of mens lands by means wherof the

be stigmatized as rebels, as they were by the Parliament which met in November (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 276). There is a ballad descriptive of the battle in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* iii. 237.

<sup>1</sup> January 28, 1486; Hall, 491; Fabyan Continuation, 683, but without any comment.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a slip for 'crowned'. The coronation took place November 25, 1487, in the year after the marriage; Fab. Cont. 683; Hall, 438; Arnold, xviii; *Vit. A. XVI.* 194; Ricart's *Kalendar*, 47, also records it.

<sup>3</sup> The rising of Lambert Simnel, the 'yong chyld'—he was, however, fifteen years old—was put down at the Battle of Stoke, June 16, 1487; this entry should therefore be placed 1486-7, not 1488-9.

<sup>4</sup> Here a space is left in the MS. but no entry is made.

<sup>5</sup> Henry was at Norwich for Easter 1487, 'for the confirming of those parts,' and from there made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham; but this was before the Battle of Stoke, and although he sent his banner there from Lincoln after the victory, there is no record of a second visit.

comons rose and slewe the erle of northumberland<sup>1</sup> ffor w<sup>th</sup> cawse<sup>2</sup> ther captene w<sup>th</sup> divers others was hanged.

And in this yere Kyng henrye the VIII<sup>th</sup> was borne.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1491 Robarte Podyche maior

In this yere the sowthe ylle of sant marget's church was ffynysched:<sup>4</sup> also in this yere the kyng of Scots was slain bye the nobles of this ryelm and Jamy his sone was kyng in his stead.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1492 Thomas Wryghte maior

In this yere was a grete ffray in lyne betwyne the towen and the undr stryf<sup>6</sup> and the excheker w<sup>th</sup> ther men. In this yere also was fray in the cete of London upon the esterlynes<sup>7</sup> and the kyng aryved in ffrance and a peace was taken and a tribet granted w<sup>th</sup> was xxv M. crownes by yere.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out and re-written below.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament in 1489 granted a tenth for the expenses of the war in Brittany. There was opposition to its collection in Yorkshire and Durham from poverty, and perhaps, as Bacon says, from 'the old humour of those parts, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts; if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up' (*History of Henry VII*, ed. Lumby, 65). The Earl of Northumberland was slain, but the revolt was quickly put down by the Earl of Surrey. One of the leaders, Sir John Egremont, fled to Flanders, but John a Chambre and others were hanged at York; cf. Skelton's Dirge upon the death of the duke (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, i. 6-14); also *Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton, Cam. Soc. 1839, 61.

<sup>3</sup> June 24, 1491.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Thorsby, mayor 1478-9, 1482-3, 1502-3, built the south aisle of the chancel of St. Margaret's, the town church, 'at his charge and cost'; a certain Richard Scowte also left £40 about this time for the same work of church restoration (Beloe, *Our Borough, King's Lynn*, 97-101).

<sup>5</sup> James III of Scotland was murdered by certain of the Scottish nobility on June 11, 1488. It looks as if the chronicler may have written 'this' for 'his' by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> ? sheriff. In 1488 letters patent 'of pardon and release' were granted to the 'Aldermen warden and Brethren of the Gild of the Holy Trinity at Lynn' (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. XI, App. iii. 205); it is just possible that this has some connexion with the affray mentioned here; the dispute may have arisen over the customs of the port, or over the collection of the subsidy granted in 1490, but no record of it has been found.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fab. Cont. 684, 'in the month of October . . . was the fray made upon the Easterlings by the commons of the city and specially mercers servants'; Hall, 467; *Vitellius*, 198.

<sup>8</sup> Henry crossed to Calais in October 1492 with an army, but the Peace of Étapes was made before hostilities could begin. Charles was to pay the costs of the English preparations for war and also a yearly tribute of 25,000 crowns for Henry's expenses in Brittany (Rymer, 497, 505-9; Hall, 457).

1493 Edmunde Howsey<sup>1</sup> maior

In this yer was wheat at vi<sup>d</sup> a bushell and bay salt was for 3 pence ob. a bushell.<sup>2</sup>

1494 Wyll<sup>a</sup>m Amfflays maior

In this yer begane the ffrence pokes<sup>3</sup> and whyt heryng was sold for 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>. the barrell.<sup>4</sup>

1495 Wyllm Aumfflays maior

1496 John Palmer maior

fo. 37<sup>r</sup>

In this yer cam henrye the VII<sup>th</sup> to lyne w<sup>th</sup> the quen the yong prynce and the Kyngs mother and lodged at the fryer awgustyne.<sup>5</sup> In this year also was blace heth ffyld:<sup>6</sup> and the 18 day of June a stone of a gret begnes ffell in Itely and cam out of the are and brake in 3 pesses, yt was as thoughe yt had come out of the are in ffyre.

1497 Robarte Trewe maior

1498 John Tayller maior

1499 Thomas<sup>7</sup> Daye maior

In this yere parkyne warbeke sooffred and shortly after the erle of warwyke.<sup>8</sup>

1500 Androwe Wollse maior

In this year was ther gret pestelence in London:<sup>9</sup> and mar-

<sup>1</sup> Edward Rowsey (Blomefield, viii. 533).

<sup>2</sup> This is identical with Fabyan Continuation, 685; *Vitellius* has a longer entry giving additional prices.

<sup>3</sup> This was the pestilence which broke out after the French excesses during Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in this year; the French invasion is mentioned by *Vitellius*, 205 (and cf. *ibid.* 217), but none of the English chroniclers record the outbreak of the disease.

<sup>4</sup> Fabyan Continuation, 685. Here again *Vitellius* is fuller—'Also this year in lent white herring was of such plenty in London that after midlent men might have bought a barrel of good herring of lawful assize for 3s. 4d.'; cf. *Grey Friars Chronicle*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> The royal party visited Lynn in 1498 according to Richards, *History of Lynn*, i. 369.

<sup>6</sup> June 17, 1497. The engagement in which the Cornish revolt was crushed.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cal' is written and then crossed out, before 'Daye'.

<sup>8</sup> Perkyn Warbeck was executed on the 23rd of November, 1499, and the Earl of Warwick five days later. It is significant of the nature of the chronicle that the death of the Bishop of Norwich, which occurred this year, is not mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Fabyan Continuation, 687, 'And this year was a great deth in London, wherof died over 20 thousand of all ages'; so *Vitellius*, 232; *Grey Friars*, 26; Hall, 491.



garet the Kyngs dowghter was maryed to Jamys þe kyng of skotts and ffranando maryed his dowghter [and] Kataryne to prince artter.<sup>1</sup>

1501 Symone Baxster maior

In this yere dyed pryNSE arthor.<sup>2</sup>

1502 Thomas Thorsby mair

In this yer dyed elyzabethe the quen in the tower in chylde bed.<sup>3</sup>

1503 John Pallmar maior

In this yere ther was much hurt in London bye ffyre.<sup>4</sup>

1504 Wyllyam Trewe maior

1505 Wyllyam Grarye<sup>5</sup> maior

In this yere the wather coke of [sant margets]<sup>6</sup> powels blawen down: and the deweke of borgony by stres of wather was dryven into the west cuntrye.<sup>7</sup>

1506 Androwe Wollsyne maior

In this yere sant margets church of lyne was suspended and they chrystened in the charnell:<sup>8</sup> and in this yere a great part of Norwyche was brent.<sup>9</sup>

fo. 35

<sup>1</sup> Margaret left England in July 1503, not 1500-1, and Katherine reached the country in October 1502, the marriage taking place on the 12th of November.

<sup>2</sup> April 2, 1502, at Ludlow Castle.

<sup>3</sup> Queen Elizabeth had been ill in the summer of 1502. She died February 4, 1503, to be followed shortly afterwards by her infant daughter Katharine.

<sup>4</sup> The London chroniclers give the names of the parts of London in which the different fires broke out (Fabyan Continuation, 688; *Vitellius*, 260).

<sup>5</sup> Gervis (Blomefield, viii. 533).

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting as showing how the Lynn chronicler was using a London chronicle to see that he first wrote 'sant margets'—the church which was to the townsmen of Lynn something like St. Paul's to the Londoner—and then, remembering, crossed out the words, and began a fresh line with 'powels'. All the London chroniclers mention the accident.

<sup>7</sup> Duke Philip was on his way to Spain in January 1506, when he was driven into Weymouth harbour, Henry making use of his opportunity to obtain an alliance with his enforced guest, which was much to the profit of the English; Rymer, xiii. 123-6, 132-42; *L. and P. of Henry VII*, ii. 363-5; *Vitellius*, 261; Hall, 500-2.

<sup>8</sup> The Bishop of Norwich interdicted the church 'because the inhabitants were not obedient to some of his orders' (Blomefield, viii. 499); the charnel chapel was a small building adjoining the church, with a chantry and a 'charnel priest'.

<sup>9</sup> Fire broke out in Norwich in April 1507, and again in June, each time

1507 Robarte Jarvyte maior

1508 Jhon Bordye maior

In this yere at Constantynople was great erthequake so that husses and towres were over throune withe the torkes pallas wherbye manye people wer destroyed and the great torke was constraayned to flye.<sup>1</sup> In this yere the 21 day of apryell Kyngge henry the VII<sup>t</sup> died and in the 24<sup>th</sup> yere of his reyne.

In this yere also kyngge henrye the VIII<sup>th</sup> begane his reyne the 22 of apryll in anno 1508.<sup>2</sup>

1509 John Gryndelle maior

In this yere begane the sute betwyne Lyne and Cambredge for the toll<sup>3</sup> of Sturbyche ffare.<sup>4</sup>

This yere also was beheded both hempsen and dudlay:<sup>5</sup> and the kyngge maryed lady katheryne having a dyspention ffrom leo the byshop of rome.<sup>6</sup>

burning for several days before it could be extinguished; it was estimated that over 700 houses had been burnt, and the decline of the city was undoubtedly helped by these disasters (Blomefield, iii. 182-3). Skelton has lines 'Lamentatio urbis Norvicensis' on this disaster (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, i. 174).

<sup>1</sup> It was in 1509 (September 14) that the great earthquake occurred at Constantinople. Houses and mosques were overthrown and the walls of the palace and the city ramparts fell; shocks continued to be felt there and in the neighbouring towns for over six weeks (Le V<sup>te</sup> A. de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 198). The other English chroniclers do not mention the catastrophe.

<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII was the last English king to date his regnal years from the day *after* the death of the preceding monarch; the date was of course 1509 (April 24); henceforth the method of dating the regnal years of a monarch from the day of the predecessor's death obtained.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'for the toll' are repeated and crossed through.

<sup>4</sup> Richards (*History of Lynn*, ii. 1192) mentions the suit (and Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, v. 291, from him), but there is no detailed record, or mention of the result. The authorities of Cambridge were involved in several suits of a similar nature about this time owing to their attempts to levy toll on the traders of places which, like Lynn, possessed charters giving them freedom from toll throughout the realm. In 1519 there was a dispute with the men of Northampton (*Records of Northampton*, ii. 536); a few years later Hertford men were involved in a like suit (Walford, *English Fairs*, 70); cf. *Intro.* p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> The marriage took place in June 1509. The dispensation was given by Julius II, for it was not until four years later that Leo became Pope.

1510 Thomas Wyte<sup>1</sup> maior

In this yere henry the first sone of kynge henery the VIII was borne on new years daye.<sup>2</sup>

## 1511 Thomas Wyte maior

In this yere lord hawarde towoke Androo bartton and 2 ffare shyppes.<sup>3</sup>

## 1512 John Davye maior

In this yere the paryshoners of St. James parysh contended against ther pryst ffor sarten injores and ffor sellyng of the tryes in the churche yarde.<sup>4</sup>

In this yere also the lord haword lord admyrall was slayne in fo. 35<sup>v</sup> breten. The regent of England and the karyck of ffrance was brent. Sr thomas knevyt was capten in the regent and had 700 men wythe hym and Sr pers morgyn capten in the karyk w<sup>th</sup>in was 900 men.

In this yer also the kyng of skots entred in to yngland and was slayne w<sup>th</sup> xij erles be the erle of Surrey.<sup>5</sup>

## 1513 Rycharde Bowsher maior

In this yere Sr (John)<sup>6</sup> Walles bornyd dyvers towenes and vyllages in Normandye.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wych (Blomefield, viii. 533).

<sup>2</sup> January 1510; it should therefore have come in the previous year. He died 'on St. Matthew's Day in the third year of the King' (Fabyan Continuation, 695).

<sup>3</sup> Hall, 525; cf. Fabyan Continuation, 'Lord Howard took Andrew Barton and an hundred Scots and two fair ships'. There is a ballad account printed in Child's *Ballads*, iii. 334; *Percy MS.* 490; *Roxburgh Ballads*, i. 10; and reference in *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, i. 3136, 3339, 3618, 3631.

<sup>4</sup> The churchyard was the property of the parish, being looked after by the wardens. Similar complaint was made against a Cambridge vicar in 1534; he pleaded the poverty of his benefice 'because of the great payments yearly made to the King' (*L. and P.* viii. 727).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, pp. 179-80.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted and written above.

<sup>7</sup> Sir John Wallop—not Walles—was one of the sea captains who fought under Lord Howard in the naval war of 1512-13. He was present at the fight in which the Lord Admiral was slain. He captained the *Sancho di Gara* in 1512 and the *Great Barbara* the next year (*L. and P.* i. 3980, 4005, 4020, 5112, 5130, 5761). Hall, 569, relates how in consequence of the ravaging of Bighthelmonst in Sussex by the French fleet, the Lord Admiral sent Wallop 'incontent', 'which sailed to the coast of Normandy and there landed and burnt xxi villages and towns with great slaughter of people,' and 'quit himself so that men marvelled of his enterprises, considering he had

## 1514 Robert Some maior

In this yere was a peace taken and concluded betwen yngland and ffrance and the ffrence Kynge maryed the lady mary the kyngs syster of yngland w<sup>ch</sup> ffrence kyng emedyatly died and his wyffe was ffatched agayne by the deweke of Suffolke:<sup>1</sup> also in this yere Rycharde Hunne was borned in the lollard towere.<sup>2</sup>

## 1515 Thomas Gryndell maior

In this yer was there a woman borned in the market plase ffor kylling of her husband.<sup>3</sup>

## 1516 Robarte Amfloe maior

In this yere was sant stevens flud: such a frost ensued that men w<sup>th</sup> carts myght pass betwyne westmynster and lambethe.

This yere in fabruary was borne at grynwyche the lady marye the kyngs dowghter.

In this yer on may day w<sup>ch</sup> is called the yle may day was there an insurrection in london of yonge persons agaynst alyans of the w<sup>ch</sup> divers were put to execution and the resudewe cam to Westmynster w<sup>th</sup> halters about ther neks and were pardoned: and the 24 of may the quen of skots retorned into skotland agayne.<sup>4</sup>

at the most but 800 men and took land there so often.' Fabyan Continuation does not mention Wallop, but news of his exploits would be carried to a seaport like Lynn, albeit 'Wallis' for 'Wallop' looks rather like an error of transcription.

<sup>1</sup> The Treaty was signed August 7, 1514, the Princess Mary leaving England in October; 'emedyatly' is not strictly true, for Louis died early in January 1515.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hunne was discovered hanged in the Lollards' Tower in St. Paul's, December 4, 1514. The close resemblance of this account to that in Fabyan Continuation makes it probable that the Lynn chronicler wrote 'borned' through carelessness in copying for 'hung'; the words 'Lollard Tower' would suggest 'burning' rather than hanging. Cf. *Keilway's Report (English Reports, 72, King's Bench)* for Hunne.

<sup>3</sup> By Stat. 25 Edward III, 5 c. 2, this crime, as a 'petty treason', was made punishable in this way; Stevens, *History of Criminal Law*, iii. 34-5; cf. *Gregory's Chronicle*, 93, 184, for earlier examples of the infliction of the punishment, which was not abolished until 1790 (Lecky, i. 506).

<sup>4</sup> The entry for this year is almost identical with that in Fabyan Continuation, save that the mention of the birth of Princess Mary, February 18, 1516, rightly placed by that record in the preceding year, is interpolated, and that the date of the Scottish Queen's return is there correctly given as the 18th of May.

## 1517 Thomas Layghten maior

In this yere many died of the swete.<sup>1</sup> Tornoy was give over into the ffrench kyngs hand ;<sup>2</sup> the terme was adiurned to Oxford and agayne to London.

## 1518 William Castell maior

In this yere leutor wrot to leo the byshop of rome consarnyng pardons and other matters of relygyon for w<sup>o</sup>h cawse he was proclamed [trator]<sup>3</sup> heretycke but by the mantynance of the duke of Saxton he preched and wrot styll agaynst the pope.<sup>4</sup>

## 1519 Robarte Jarvyte maior

In this yere the carnoll thomas wolsye was at lyne.<sup>5</sup>

## 1520 Thomas Myller maior

In this yere begane the sut betwyne lyne and the bishop of norwyche ffor the lyberty of lyne.<sup>6</sup>

1521 Thomas Myller (maior)<sup>7</sup> governer

In this yer was the deweke of bukyingam beheded the 17 day of may ;<sup>8</sup> the emperor charles cam to london.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This outbreak of the sweating sickness in England raged over a considerable area (cf. Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, 245-50). The adjournment to Oxford was due to this (Hall, 592). Fabyan Continuation, 697, mentions the adjournment in the exact words used by the Lynn chronicler, but he does not mention the sweat, or any cause for the adjournment ; the Lynn chronicler apparently failed to notice any connexion between the two events.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty by which Tournay was to be restored to Francis for 600,000 crowns, and a marriage arranged between Princess Mary and the Dauphin, was signed in October 1518 (*L. and P.* ii. (ii), 4467, 4483).

<sup>3</sup> This word is crossed through.

<sup>4</sup> Luther hung up his theses at Wittenberg on the 31st of October, 1517 ; he forwarded them to the Pope in May of the next year. None of the other English chroniclers speak of Luther at this date.

<sup>5</sup> Wolsey was at Lynn in August 1520, with two bishops and 'many knights and squires'. The town spent the sum of £22 *os. 6d.* in gifts of wine, sheep, and all sorts of provisions ; after a two days' stay Wolsey departed 'with great laud and thanks' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 172).

<sup>6</sup> See *Introd.*, p. 86 seq.

<sup>7</sup> This word is crossed through, 'governer' being written above.

<sup>8</sup> All the chroniclers record this, Buckingham's execution making a great impression in the country ; a ballad concerning it is printed in *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, ii. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Charles was in England in May 1521, but he only came as far as Canterbury ; next year, however, in June he visited London, and it is this visit that the Lynn chronicler, like Fabyan Continuation, records. Cf. *L. and P.* ii. (ii), 2307 ; Hall, 604, 634-42.

fo. 36<sup>v</sup>

## 1522 Thomas Myller governer

In this yere the deweke of albeny began to enter this land but by heryng the erll of Shrosberye was comynge to fyght w<sup>h</sup> hym then a pease was taken ffor vi monythes:<sup>1</sup> a great pestilence in Rom this yere ther died 100 thousand:<sup>2</sup> and the gret turke besedged the Roods and took yt on chrystmes day.<sup>3</sup>

## 1523 Thomas Myller governer

In this yere a peace concluded betwyne yngland and skottland: in this yere the towne of lyne had ther libertye agayne restored and the sword borne befor the mare and the townen was called kynges lyne.<sup>4</sup>

## 1524 John Gryndell maior

This yere a pease concluded betwyne yngland and ffrance.<sup>5</sup> The coyne was inhanssed:<sup>6</sup> the Kynges maiestye was allmoste drowned by leapyng over a dyche after his hauke.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is almost identical with the entry in Fabyan Continuation, 697, save that the latter—correctly—says it was a truce, not a peace. The Lynn chronicler falls into the same error in the following year, for a truce—a series of truces—and not a peace was all that the unsettled government of Scotland rendered possible (cf. *L. and P.* iii. (ii), 3506; iv. (i), 621). Albany's advance took place in November 1523; Skelton wrote some satirical verses relating 'How the douty Duke of Albeny lyke a coward knyght, ran away shamefully' (*Works*, ed. Dyce, ii. 68).

<sup>2</sup> Pestilence raged in Rome with varying fierceness from the autumn of 1522 until well on in the next year (*Cal. of State Papers, Spanish*, ii, pp. 483, 500, 552, 638, 646, 648). Neither Fabyan Continuation, Hall, nor the other chroniclers record this.

<sup>3</sup> The Knights of St. John surrendered after a siege of some months to Solyman the 'great turk' (*L. and P.* iii. (ii), 2841, 'a brief relation'; Fabyan Continuation, 698; Hall, 653-5).

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 88-9.

<sup>5</sup> The treaty was concluded in September, 1525 (*L. and P.* iv. (i), 1600-3, 1634-6).

<sup>6</sup> The coin was enhanced in the autumn of 1526; *L. and P.* iv. 2541, 2595; Hall, 718; Wriothsley, i. 15. Fabyan Continuation puts it 1524-5, though it states that it occurred 'in the 17th. yere of the Kyng', and the Lynn chronicler has followed this error.

<sup>7</sup> Hall alone of the other chroniclers records this (697, anno 16): 'In this year the king following of his hawk leapt over a ditch beside Hychyn with a pole and the pole brake so that if one Edward Mody, a footman, had not leapt into the water and lift up his head, which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned; but God of his goodness preserved him.'

## 1525 Thomas Layghten maior

In this yer was ther a grete insurrection in Jarmenye, 100,000 people slayne w<sup>th</sup> in 3 monthes.<sup>1</sup> In this yere begane the dewlyshe doctryne of the anabaptys.<sup>2</sup>

1526 Chrystover Brodhauke mar.<sup>3</sup>

In this yere was grete murmerynge in Suffolke but yt was ffor pament of surten mony wrby ther arose in Suff<sup>(olk)</sup> 40,004 men but wer apesed by the deweke.<sup>4</sup> In this yere docter barnys fo. 33<sup>v</sup> bare a ftagott at poweles cros<sup>5</sup> and gret dethe was in london.<sup>6</sup>

## 1527 Robarte Some maior

In this yere cam to lyne the quen of ffrance the deweke of Suffolk wyf and loged at mr comes plase.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Peasants' Revolt in Germany began June 1524; it was finally crushed in May of the next year. Hall, 702, says that 'almost a hundred thousand' people rose, 'of whom a great number were slain and destroyed'; Fabyan Continuation does not mention the rising.

<sup>2</sup> Although most of the features of Anabaptism had appeared before this, it was just about this time—perhaps at their conference at Augsburg in 1526—that they formally recognized the distinctive belief which then or even two years earlier gained them their name of 'kata-' or 'ana-' baptists (cf. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 432-4).

<sup>3</sup> The edge of the MS. Blomefield has Brokebank; the words 'but wer apesed' are repeated.

<sup>4</sup> Wolsey's attempt in the spring of 1525 to raise an 'amicable loan' on the plea of the King's personal invasion of France, was met with opposition in several counties, and in Suffolk there was a near approach to an insurrection (*L. and P.* iv. (i) 1284, 1295, 1311, 1318-19, 1321, 1323-5, 1343). Hall in his account, 697-701, gives the numbers of those who rose as 40,000, but places it before the record of the revolt in Germany. Fabyan Continuation, 698, also places it—rightly—in the previous year.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Barnes was born in the neighbourhood of Lynn and his career may therefore have had the more interest to this writer, although he omits to mention the burning of Bilney at Norwich five years later. A violent sermon at Cambridge in December 1525 led to Barnes's arrest and examination before Wolsey. With much difficulty he was persuaded to abjure his 'heresies' and carried a faggot at St. Paul's early in the next year (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii. 254).

<sup>6</sup> Hall, 707, mentions the 'great death' in London.

<sup>7</sup> The Duke of Suffolk and his wife 'the French Queen' were in Lynn in January 1528, Suffolk examining two men in sanctuary there. In the previous autumn commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the grain supply and Suffolk visited Norwich and Lynn on that matter. The town gave presents of wine, swans, and other provisions; 'comes' may be the mayor's name carelessly spelt (*L. and P.* iv. (ii) 3544, 3665, 3712, 3811, 3819, 3822, 3883, 4414; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XI, App. iii, 173).

1528 John Waters maior

In this yere was sene thre sonnes in the are : corne was very dere : the swetyngc syncnes reyned in sondry plasses.<sup>1</sup>

1529 Thomas Myller maior

In this yere the cardnole was deposed of and from the chansershippe of ynglande.<sup>2</sup>

1530 Rychard Bowsher mare

In this yere the cardenall dyed and was boyllid in Smythefyld for poysenyngc.<sup>3</sup>

Tyndall testament was borned.<sup>4</sup>

1531 John Power maior

In this yer was ther dyvers prechyngc one agaynst the other for the Kyngs maryedge.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sweating sickness broke out in London at the end of May, 1528, and lasted through the summer and autumn (*L. and P.* iv. (ii), passim, Hall, 750); Fabyan Continuation, 699, 'corn was very dear and had been dearer if merchants of the steelyard had not been and Dutch ships restrained and an abstinence of war between England and Flanders'.

<sup>2</sup> Wolsey surrendered the Great Seal on the 17th of October, 1529 (*L. and P.*, iii. 6025). The phrase of Fabyan Continuation, 699, is very similar, 'And in October the Cardinal was deposed of the chancellorship.'

<sup>3</sup> The clue to this extraordinary statement can probably be found by a reference to Fabyan Continuation, which has (1530-1), 'This year the French king's children delivered. One boiled in Smithfield for poisoning. The cardinal died on St. Andrew's Even'; it only needed the inversion of the two latter sentences and the omission of 'a man' or 'one' to produce the startling entry of the Lynn chronicler. Wolsey died November 29, 1530. The man who suffered in Smithfield was Richard Rulse, cook to Bishop Fisher. It was affirmed that he had made an attempt to poison the Bishop, several of whose household died from eating food cooked by Rulse. Parliament hurriedly passed an Act imposing the penalty of boiling alive for the crime, and Rulse suffered the awful death (*L. and P.* v. 120; Stat. 22 Hen. VIII, c. 16; Hall, 780-1).

<sup>4</sup> Hall, 762-3, gives an account of the burning, one effect of which was to provide the Reformer with more money.

<sup>5</sup> Preaching of a controversial nature on this subject took place in 1532, when William Peto, Provincial of the Grey Friars, preaching before the King on Easter Day, argued strongly against the divorce. The irate King got one of his own chaplains to answer the attack on the following Sunday, but the chaplain's denunciation of Peto (who was absent) and his views was interrupted by another Grey friar, Elston, who offered in church to substantiate the arguments of his superior. In the event both friars were imprisoned (*L. and P.* v. 941, 989). There must also have been much discussion of the divorce question in the country generally (Campeggio's court had sat over



## 1532 Robarte Awmfler maior

In thes yer was the Kyng devorssed from hys wyf and maryed anne bollone: and in this yer was borne at grynwyche Lady Elyzabeth.<sup>1</sup>

## 1533 Robarte Parmyter mare

In this yer was wyllim trase taken out of his grave and bornd who died thre yeres before<sup>2</sup> [of norffolke].<sup>3</sup>

In this yere the beshop of Rome corssed the Kyng and the fo. 33<sup>v</sup> realme becase of his [mary]<sup>4</sup> devorsment: the holly made of kent w<sup>h</sup> others soffored deathe;<sup>5</sup> the beshop of rome was abbollyshed this relm.<sup>6</sup>

## 1534 Robart Segreve maior

In this yere a deuche man was borned in the market please for cressye as the say:<sup>7</sup> in this yere John frythe was borned in

two years before), and it may be this general debating of the subject, in which Katherine almost universally had the sympathies of the people, to which the chronicler refers.

<sup>1</sup> Sentence of divorce was pronounced by Cranmer on the 23rd of May, 1533, although Henry and Anne had been married some months. Anne was crowned queen June 1 and Elizabeth was born September 7.

<sup>2</sup> William Tracy, a Gloucestershire squire, died in 1530. Convocation found his will heretical and ordered his remains to be exhumed and burnt, a decision which caused some outcry against the clergy (*L. and P.* v. 928; vi. 40-1; Hall, 796; Wilkins, iii. 746-7).

<sup>3</sup> These words are written at the top left-hand corner of fo. 33<sup>v</sup>, being ruled off from the chronicle proper; they are very indistinct and possibly refer to the writer or owner of the MS.

<sup>4</sup> This—the first part of ‘maryedge’—is crossed out. A Bull threatening Henry with excommunication if he failed to restore Katharine was promulgated in August 1533, but it was not until after the deaths of Fisher and More that it was issued, August 30, 1535 (*L. and P.* vi. 953, 1392; ix. 15, 207).

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, was attainted, with Masters, Bocking, and four others, by the Parliament which met in January 1534; they were executed at Tyburn on the 20th of April (Stat. 25 Hen. VIII, c. 12; *L. and P.* vii. 522; Hall, 806-15; Wriothesley, i. 22-4).

<sup>6</sup> The short Act (Stat. 26 Hen. VIII, c. 1), completing the anti-papal legislation of the preceding years, by making the King ‘supreme head of the church of England’, was passed in November, 1534. Fabyan Continuation, 700, and Hall, 816, both use phrases similar to that of the Lynn chronicler.

<sup>7</sup> Wriothesley (i. 28) records that June 4, 1535, twenty-two Dutch men and women were convicted of heresy and fourteen of them condemned; two were burnt in Smithfield ‘and the other twelve were sent to divers good towns in England, there to be burnt’; the man burnt at Lynn was in all probability one of these. Stow (*Annals*, 965, ed. 1592) says they were Anabaptists, which makes the chronicler’s doubting ‘as they say’ rather inconsistent with his remark about the ‘devilish doctrines’ of that sect. The

Smythfyld :<sup>1</sup> this yere the fyrst frutts and tents was granted to the Kyng :<sup>2</sup> the byshop of Rochester and Sr thomas more was beheded.<sup>3</sup>

1535 Thomas Waters Maior

In this yere the (lady)<sup>4</sup> Katheryne ended her lyffe: and willyam tyndall þe larned man was borned in Brabon.<sup>5</sup>

1536 Thomas Layghten maior

In this yere was ther a comotion in lyncolne shyre and yorke-sheer the lynconshyre men beyng but 20 M. wer fyrst staid the yorke-sheer men being 40 M. had ther badges of the V wonds the fygurs of the Sacrement and Ihs wrytten in the medel and at what tyme the batoll shold have bene ffought the nyght before a water that was betwyne them arose that nether of the partyse cold com to other and then a pease was concluded betwyne them.<sup>6</sup>

fo. 34

In this yere one william chysborow and a whyght fryere was hanged drawn and quarterd the next day after corpus christi daye.<sup>7</sup>

chronicle of Richard Hill (*Carols and Songs*, ed. R. Dyboski, *E. E. T. S.*, *Ex. Ser.* 1908, 165) also records the burning of Dutch folk in Smithfield.

<sup>1</sup> John Frith was condemned for heresy June 21, 1533, and executed July 14; the Lynn chronicler is thus two years out (*L. and P.* vi. 682, 761; Hall, 815-16, wrongly places it in 1534; Wriothesley, i. 22).

<sup>2</sup> By Statute 26 Hen. VIII, c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Fisher was tried June 17, 1535, and beheded five days later; More was tried July 1 and suffered on the 6th of the same month (*L. and P.* viii. 886, 948, 974, 996; Hall, 817-18; Wriothesley, i. 29).

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in MS.; she died on the 8th of January, 1536, at Kimbolton Castle.

<sup>5</sup> Tyndale died at the stake on the 6th of August, 1535, at Vilvord in Flanders. Fabyan Continuation omits this, but mentions the death of Katharine, as does Wriothesley; Hall, 818, mentions both.

<sup>6</sup> The Lincolnshire rising consequent on the suppression of the small monasteries began in the first days of October 1536; it was quickly 'staid', but almost immediately the real 'Pilgrimage of Grace' broke out. The army of 'pilgrims' and the royal forces led by Norfolk came face to face with the waters of the Don between. It was not, however, as the Lynn chronicler states, in common with Hall and—with slight variation—Wriothesley, the miraculous rise of the river which prevented a battle, but Norfolk's fear for his raw levies, not nearly equal to the forces of the north country. He arranged a truce as politic for the royal cause as it was displeasing to the royal dignity (*L. and P.* xi. 909; Hall, 820-3; Wriothesley, i. 56-7). Fabyan Continuation merely mentions a 'foolish commotion' in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

<sup>7</sup> In April 1537 there were rumours of disaffection in Norfolk about Walsingham. Swift and stern measures were taken; those suspected were

In this yere begane the mart at Lyne holdynge 4 yers 2 times a yere that ys to say fyrste is at the assention of our lady and the other is at the puryfycation.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1537 Wyllyam hawlle maior

In this (yere)<sup>2</sup> prince Edward was borne on St. edwards even and his mother Queen Jane died ymmedyatly after in chyld bed. In this yere the lord darcy the lord hussye w<sup>th</sup> Sir thomas ersye suffred ffor hygh tresson.<sup>3</sup> ffryer fforest was hanged a nd afterward borned for treson and erese.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1538 Rychard Bowsheer maior

In this yere was the ffears supressed at lyne on myghellmes day<sup>5</sup> and pylgrymes and<sup>6</sup> Idolytrye forbyden. Abbays suppressed and dyvers gentollmen put to deathe for tresson.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1539 Wyllyam Hawlle tayler mayor

In this yeaere the gret Onell invaded the Inglyshe pale<sup>8</sup> and the maryage of King henry the VIII<sup>th</sup> and the lady ane of cleve was concluded.<sup>9</sup>

seized, tried, and condemned, and in May and June executions took place in Norwich, Yarmouth, Walsingham, and Lynn, at which last place William Gysborough and John Pecok—the White friar—suffered on June 1 (*L. and P.* xii. (i), 1056, 1063, 1212, 1300).

<sup>1</sup> See *Introd.*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> 'Year' omitted. Prince Edward was born October 12, 1537, and the Queen died on the 24th of the same month.

<sup>3</sup> They were beheaded at the end of June 1537 for complicity in the risings of the previous year (*Hall*, 824-5; *Wriothesley*, i. 62-6).

<sup>4</sup> May 22, 1538, Forest was burnt on a gallows in Smithfield; *L. and P.* xiii. (i), 1024, 1043; *Hall*, 825; *Wriothesley*, 78-80; *Fabyan Continuation*, 701. 'In May . . . was Friar Forest hanged and afterwards burnt in Smithfield for treason and heresy, with the image of Darvell Gadern in Wales.'

<sup>5</sup> There were houses of all four orders of friars at Lynn; the surrenders were taken at the end of September (*L. and P.* xiii (ii), 471-3, 501).

<sup>6</sup> The handwriting changes here; from this point to the end the chronicle is written in a finer hand and the ink is more yellow.

<sup>7</sup> The 'divers gentlemen' executed were the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Nevill, who were attainted by Parliament for treason and executed on the 9th of January, 1539. *Fabyan Continuation*, 701, gives their names; cf. *Hall*, 827; *Wriothesley*, i. 92.

<sup>8</sup> *Hall*, 852, mentions the raid.

<sup>9</sup> January 6, 1540 (*L. and P.* xv. 10, 14, 20-3; *Hall*, 832-6; *Wriothesley*, i. 109-11). *Fabyan Continuation* mentions neither this nor the preceding event.

fo. 34<sup>v</sup>1540 Edwarde Newton and Allyn Baker maiors<sup>1</sup>

In this year the 2 marts at lyne was put downe. And in thys (year)<sup>2</sup> ther was a gret drought that one bushell of corne wold ben geven ffor the other gryndinge in many plasses.<sup>3</sup> Barnes cherome and gared priests rekanted<sup>4</sup> and the lord cromwell beheded.<sup>5</sup> And Kynge henrye the VIII devorssed ffrom the ladye anne of cleve.<sup>6</sup>

1541 Henrye Dewplacke Maior

In this year the countes of Sallysberye was beheded<sup>7</sup> and 2 of the gard hanged :<sup>8</sup> the lord darsse for murder and spoyll suffred :<sup>9</sup> the lord lenerd graye apprehended<sup>10</sup> the lady kateryne haword attaynted<sup>11</sup> and the kynge of skottes w<sup>th</sup> promysed kynge henry to mete hyme at yorke cam not ther but dessembled.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Newton died in his year of office and Baker succeeded him (Blomefield, viii. 533).

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fabyan Continuation, 701 (1539-40), 'In this somer was a great heate and drought so that in many places the people would have given one bushel for the grinding of another,' of which the Lynn chronicler's entry is obviously an abbreviation; cf. also Hall, 841; Wriothesley, i. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard were burnt in Smithfield for heresy, July 31, 1540 (*L. and P.* xvi. 578); the chronicler may have confused the recantation of Barnes in 1536 with the present occasion. Hall, 840, Wriothesley, i. 120-1, and Fabyan Continuation, 701, record this burning, but all three mention in conjunction the execution on the same day of three monks, Abell, Powell, and Fetherstone, for denying the royal supremacy. The Lynn chronicler had perhaps less interest in this.

<sup>5</sup> July 29, 1540.

<sup>6</sup> Henry obtained a divorce, and married Katharine Howard, in July 1540 (*L. and P.* xv. 901-2, 925; xvi. 5 11).

<sup>7</sup> May 28, 1541.

<sup>8</sup> June 14. They had 'waylaid and robbed a merchant near the court' says Marillac (*L. and P.* xvi. 903).

<sup>9</sup> It was Thomas Fines, Lord Dacre of the south, and not Lord Darcy who was executed on the 27th of June, 1541, for riotous action in Kent (*L. and P.* xvi. 931, 941).

<sup>10</sup> Lord Leonard Gray was arrested in June 1540; after twelve months' imprisonment in the Tower he was tried and condemned (June 25, 1541) on a long list of offences in his government of Ireland (*L. and P.* xv. 775, 830; xvi. 77, 932, 941).

<sup>11</sup> She was attainted by the Parliament which met January 16, 1542, and was executed on the 13th of February (Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, c. 21).

<sup>12</sup> Henry was at York in September, 1541 (*L. and P.* xvi. 1200, 1207 seq.). He had promised to make a 'progress' there in 1537, but put it off until this year.

## 1542 Wyllyam Kenete maior

In this year the gret onelle submytted hym self to the Kyng: <sup>1</sup> also a loan of mony granted and paid: <sup>2</sup> also on saynt mychelmes day the skots was over throwen: <sup>3</sup> also harowld of yngland was slayne by rebels: the comon people was constrayned for rydyng the byble: <sup>4</sup> dyvers lerned men rekanted. <sup>5</sup> London w<sup>th</sup> the plague was sore vexed: <sup>6</sup> the kyng was maryed to the lady kateryne latymer: <sup>7</sup> the taker of depe and the mynyon had a great fyght: being both mery they departed. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> September, 1542 (*L. and P.* xvii. 831-3).

<sup>2</sup> This was a 'benevolent loan', collected in the spring of the year (*ibid.* xvii. 1138-40).

<sup>3</sup> At the Battle of Solway Moss, November 24; Somerset Herald was murdered by two English refugees in Scotland, whilst on his way from Edinburgh (*ibid.* xvii. 1137-43, 1156).

<sup>4</sup> Convocation in January declared its dissatisfaction with both Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions and projected a scheme for the revision of their work. Meantime a proclamation was issued that after the 31st of August no one was to keep any version of the Bible or its parts, save that known as the 'Great Bible' of 1540.

<sup>5</sup> Wisdom, Beacon, and Singleton made written recantations in May (*L. and P.* xviii. (i), 538-9).

<sup>6</sup> The plague raged in the capital from May 1543 until early in the next year (*ibid.* xviii. (i), 588, 886; (ii), 66, 317, 497).

<sup>7</sup> July 12, 1543 (*ibid.* xviii. (i), 873).

<sup>8</sup> An engagement between the *Minion* and the *Sacre* of Dieppe (the French Admiral's vessel) took place in the Channel on the 6th of July, 1543. According to the English captain, the *Sacre* had barely escaped 'sore beaten', but by the French version of the story their vessel had beaten off two English ships and slain their captains (*L. and P.* xviii. (i), 849, 867, 905, 908, 938, 966).

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